

GENDER AVÝZKUM GENDER AND RESEARCH

GENDER A VÝZKUM

GENDER AND RESEARCH

Časopis vydává Sociologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v.v.i.

The journal is published by the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences

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Adresa redakce:

časopis Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research

SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1

telefon: +420 210310351 e-mail: genderteam@soc.cas.cz

http://www.genderonline.cz

Časopis vychází dvakrát ročně. První číslo 22. ročníku vychází v červenci 2021.

Časopis je registrován pod číslem MK ČR E13740.

Časopis je veden v databázi SCOPUS, ERIH PLUS, DOAJ, CEJSH a v dalších databázích.

Návrh obálky a sazby Rudolf Štorkán

Sazba TYPA, spol. s r. o.

Tiskárna Protisk, s. r. o.

Vytištěno na recyklovaném papíře.

Do roku 2016 časopis vycházel pod názvem Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum / Gender and Research. Until 2016, the journal was published under the name Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum / Gender and Research.

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ISSN-print: 2570-6578 ISSN-online: 2570-6586



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Vztahovost jako rámec chaosu a řádu sociální duality věku a genderu

Lucie Vidovićová

Vidovićová, Lucie. 2021. Vztahovost jako rámec chaosu a řádu sociální duality věku a genderu / Relationality as a Frame for the Chaos and Order of the Social Duality of Age and Gender. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 3–15, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.015.

Stárnutí je jedním z největších fenoménů 21. století a genderové aspekty jsou jeho nejvýraznější charakteristikou. Nejenže stárnutí je většinově zkušeností žen, které mají v průměru delší naději na dožití než muži, ale stárnutí *per se* je silně ovlivněno genderem. Až potud se jedná o známá fakta, ale již podstatně méně je známo, co představují pro sociální aktéry a aktérky a v jakém smyslu se jejich aktérská praxe rozvíjí na pozadí různých kulturních a sociálních kontextů.

Stárnutí je nutné vnímat jako celoživotní proces, který je tvořen různorodými komponentami s proměnlivými výsledky. Jednou z výrazných zkušeností stáří je i sociální exkluze, vyloučení. Oproti běžnému porozumění tomuto konceptu v ekonomických pojmech, jako téměř synonymum chudoby a etnicity, Kieran Walsh et al. (2021) zkoumají sociální exkluzi ve vyšším věku z pěti různých pohledů: 1) exkluze prostřednictvím prostoru a komunity, 2) exkluze ekonomická, 3) ze sociálních vztahů, 4) z občanských práv a 5) ze sociálních služeb. Disponibilní výzkumná zjištění ukazují, že rozdílná pohlaví mají odlišné zkušenosti s těmito různými formami exkluze. V případě starších žen je velmi výrazná exkluze ekonomická, jež zejména v kombinaci s dalšími minoritními statusy vede například k vyšším rizikům chudoby především v jednočlenných domácnostech (Vidovićová et al. 2015). Oproti tomu v případě osamělosti jako produktu sociální exkluze ze sociálních vazeb nejsou výsledky jednoznačné. Některé poukazují na výrazně vyšší míru osamělosti u mužů, například v důsledku dřívějších rozvodů, jiné naopak u žen vlivem vdovectví. Rozdílné trajektorie, které ženy a muži ve svém pozdějším životě zakoušejí, tak podtrhují komplexitu souhry věku a pohlaví, jež se vzpouzí jednoduchým interpretacím a výkladovým rámcům. Sociologie, sociální gerontologie, ani studium genderu nejsou v pozici, aby poskytovaly jednoznačné od-

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povědi. I když se nám podaří na chvíli vysledovat a otestovat vzájemnou empirickou souvislost mezi dvěma fenomény, učiníme několik kroků do jiného sociokulturního prostředí, uplyne historická etapa, nebo jen využijeme jiný empirický nástroj, a náš model se třese jako příslovečný domeček z karet.

Fluidní komplexita vztahu mezi věkem, pohlavím, genderem, sociálním prostředím, kulturou a časem je jedním z hlavních závěrů monotematického čísla, které tematicky stojí na třech pilířích: gender, věk a vztahovost. Vztahovost je přitom chápána jako konceptuální rámec, jenž zahrnuje jak vztahy interpersonální, niterné, tak vztahy široce společenské, mezigenerační, a konečně i ty systémové, strukturální, tedy mezi systémy sociálního světa a jeho institucí, mezi koncepty a teoriemi. Texty nás provedou světem vztahů sociálních, rodinných, oblastí vzdělávání i trhu práce, veřejným obrazem i historizujícím kontextem, i vznikajícími teoriemi a modely. Autorky a autoři příspěvků jsou reprezentantkami a reprezentanty deseti zemí, ale ještě více národností, jejich témata se geograficky rozpínají od České republiky přes Litvu, Maltu, jižní Asii až po starověký Řím, řada z nich má ale univerzalisticky globální aspirace, nebo naopak přináší globální koncepty do kulturně specifických prostředí.

Prvním z takových a zároveň jedním ze dvou, které se věnují oblasti rodiny, je text Kateřiny Prášilové. Kateřina je mladou vědkyní, jež zpracovala zřejmě vůbec první českou přehledovou studii na téma prarodin. Fenomén v ČR známý především pracovníkům a pracovnicím sociálních služeb a služeb Orgánu sociálně-právní ochrany dítěte (OSPOD) má významné sociologické kontury a otvírá nové možnosti pohledu na analýzu sociálních rolí pozdějšího věku. Rolemi a rolovými očekáváními se zabývá i text Sary Casamayor Mancisidor, ale činí tak ve specifickém kontextu starověkého Říma. Analýzou dynamiky vztahů mezi stárnoucími matkami a dospělými dětmi vykresluje obrázek "starých pořádků", které jsou až překvapivým způsobem relevantní pro dnešní analýzy performance věku a genderu. Typově podobný datový arzenál, tedy literární prameny, využívá i leva Stončikaitė ve své analýze produkce vlivné autorky zahraničních bestsellerů Ericy Jong, česky vyšly například Strach vzlétnout (Odeon 1994), Strach z padesátky: zastavení v půli života (Eroika 2001), Desátá múza Sapfo (Lika Klub 2007). leva inspirovaná fascinací feministických studií touto autorkou a revolucí, kterou v 70. letech přinesla prostřednictvím autobiografické beletrie (srov. např. Hogeland 2016), představuje Ericu Jong jako novou názorovou vůdkyni nabízející transformativní narativy stárnutí pomocí vymezení se vůči stárnutí jako úpadku. Jak ale Stončikaitė argumentuje, nečiní tak zcela bezkonfliktně. Stať levy Stončikaitė je přitom velmi cenná nejen svými empirickými závěry, ale už i teoretickým úvodem, který nastiňuje vybrané klíčové koncepty oboru věkových studií (age studies) (Pickard 2016; Gullette 2004; Katz 2014).

Oproti kvazisoukromým sférám jednotlivce a rodiny se problematikou veřejných domén trhu práce a vzdělávání zabývají stať Radky Dudové a esej Marvina Formosy. Radka Dudová na pozadí profese řidič/ka veřejné dopravy vykresluje vztahy mezi

věkem, pohlavím, genderem a stárnoucím tělem. Vyvstalý obraz je malován reflexí aktérů a aktérek, kteří se často dlouhé roky pohybují v prostředí, jež je plíživě alternováno technologickou změnou na straně jedné a proměnou nesenou jejich vlastní stárnoucí tělesností na straně druhé. Rozhovory s pracovníky a pracovnicemi ve vyšším středním věku navíc dávají vyniknout někdy velmi subtilním genderovým předpokladům, se kterými jsou nastolovány podmínky výkonu této práce i její velmi praktické každodenní aspekty. Například problematika dostupnosti veřejných toalet ve městech je považována za jednu z klíčových a kulturně průřezových podmínek prostředí přátelského k věku (tzv. age-friendly environment; Moulaert, Garon 2016). Pro stárnoucí řidiče a řidičky je součástí přátelskosti vůči věku v jejich pracovním prostředí a lakmusovým papírkem jeho genderovanosti.

Některé texty této kolekce vycházejí z věkové optiky a stárnutí, jiné naopak stavějí na základu studia genderu a pozorují přidanou hloubku nesenou dynamikou věku. Esej Marvina Formosy je příkladem prvního přístupu, který se kriticky pozastavuje nad absencí feministických a genderových studií v tématu celoživotního vzdělávání. Marvin Formosa je tím, koho bychom nazvali celebritou oboru, a díky svému historickému přehledu reflektuje, že seniorské vzdělávání kvůli své silné feminizaci poskytuje řadu příležitostí pro redefinici poznání o ženském vědění prostřednictvím jeho formalizované formy učení (zejména ve formátu populárních Univerzit třetího věku) a vzdělávání se obecně. Jeho argumenty přicházejí v pravý čas, neboť se znovu otvírá politická debata o významu celoživotního, resp. pozdního vzdělávání a jeho role v aktivním stárnutí, včetně zvládání nových výzev digitalizovaného pracovního trhu 21. století (European Commission 2018). Tyto úvahy budou klíčové v debatách a reflexích nelineárních životních drah, které nás však teprve čekají (Leichsenring 2018).

Pokud Formosa hovoří o ztraceném zájmu, Sehar Ezdi mluví přímo o ztracených ženách. V přísném oborovém pohledu by text obdobného zaměření vyšel spíše v časopise orientovaném na demografii a populační strukturu. Ezdi totiž prezentuje demografickou analýzu vybraných jihoasijských zemí a vysvětluje efekty kohorty a životní dráhy jako zdroje maskulinizace stárnutí. V naší kolekci je ale proto, že efektivně nastavuje zrcadlo našemu běžnému uvažování o stárnutí jako "problému žen", sycenému již uváděnými rozdíly v naději na dožití (76 let u mužů a 82 u žen při narození; 20 let pro ženy 65leté a 16 let pro stejnou věkovou kategorii mužů) (ČSÚ 2021a) a výsledným poměrem téměř tří žen na jednoho muže ve věkové skupině stoletých a starších (ČSÚ 2021b).

Z jiného empirického i geografického zdroje, a zároveň i s velmi kvalitativně odlišným výsledkem, se na starší muže soustředí i text autorského kolektivu vedeného Sarmitè Mikulionienė. Empirická studie zpracovává kvantitativní výběrové šetření tří baltských států a sleduje koncept sociálního začlenění, ukotvení (social embeddedness). Jejich analýzy přicházejí se zajímavým zjištěním, že pohlaví hraje klíčovou úlo-

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hu především v extrémních pozicích sociálního zasíťování – tedy mezi těmi, kteří jsou nejméně anebo naopak nejvíce ukotveni v sítích podpory. Oproti běžným obecným teoriím, argumentuje autorský tým, jsou to zejména muži, na které dopadají negativní efekty vyloučení ze sociálních vztahů ve vyšším věku silněji.

Vyloučení ze sociálních vztahů je i nosným tématem textu kolektivu vedeného Marjou Aartsen, kterým celé toto tematické číslo otvíráme. Aartsen se spoluautory se snaží najít způsob, jak vnést určitý řád do genderované komplexity exkluze ze sociálních vztahů, a navrhuje heuristický model. Vyloučení ze sociálních vztahů ve stáří v něm definuje jako situaci, v níž jsou lidé sociálně a emocionálně odpojeni od odpovídající (adekvátní) úrovně intimních vztahů, sociálních sítí, sociální podpory a/ nebo sociálních příležitostí, přičemž gender je jak průřezovým, tak zastřešujícím faktorem, který zkušenost sociální exkluze ze vztahů ve vyšším věku ovlivňuje. Argumenty nasbírané Marjou Aartsen mimo jiné upozorňují na to, že individualizované dopady sociální exkluze ze vztahů, jako je osamělost, horší zdraví nebo životní pohoda, jsou zároveň možnými individuálními prediktory vzniku tohoto typu exkluze. Model může pomoci budoucím empirickým studiím, jež se v různých socioekonomických a kulturních kontextech budou snažit testovat sílu těchto vazeb. V neposlední řadě je už ale i sám model využitelný jako mapa možných cílů intervenčních opatření, pokud se některá ze společností rozhodne proti negativním dopadům sociální exkluze bojovat.

Jsou ale i témata, která se do tohoto tematického čísla nevešla, přestože by byla pro promýšlení věku, resp. stárnutí, genderu a vztahovosti přínosná. Zejména problematika péče, jejího poskytování a přijímání (viz např. Dudová 2018) dává vzniknout otázkám, jež celkový obraz genderu v žité realitě stárnoucích nezanedbatelně zvýznamňují. Z kapacitních důvodů jsme také vynechali problematiku hluboké sociální změny vyvolané reakcemi na pandemii onemocnění covid-19. Pandemie velmi specifickým způsobem jako tlustý zvýrazňovač odkrývá, jak se jako společnost stavíme k seniorům a seniorkám (Hasmanová Marhánková 2021) a jaké dopady přijímaná opatření mají na generace, rodiny, pečovatele i genderovaný trh práce (Heřmanová 2020). V našem souboru textů chybí i větší pozornost k jinak sociálně gerontologicky extrémně důležitému tématu prostoru jako rámci pro pohlaví, gender a vztahy (srov. např. Herbert 2018; Vidovićová et al. 2021). Pozornému čtenáři ani pozorné čtenářce neunikne, že jsme v přehledu genderovaných zkušeností nepřekročili binární hranici a sexuality se dotkli jen okrajově. Téma stárnutí na pozadí LGBTQIA+ zkušenosti se přitom dostává stále více do popředí (Hasmanová Marhánková 2018), stejně jako otázky pohlaví a genderu v kontextu každodennosti. Těm se velmi inspirativním způsobem věnuje podobor kulturní gerontologie, který je charakterizován koncepty, jako je subjektivita a identita, tělo a ztělesnění (embodiment), reprezentace a vizualita nebo čas a prostor (Twigg, Martin 2015; Teuscher, Teuscher 2007). V českém kulturním prostředí také tato témata ještě čekají na své důkladnější zpracování.

I přes určitou tematickou selektivitu chce tato monotematická kolekce přispět k zapojení věku do genderových studií a genderu do studií věku a stárnutí. Duální vztah pohlaví a stárnoucího těla i genderu a stárnutí plodí dynamický obraz sociální skutečnosti, v níž jsou budovány mnohovrstevnaté vztahy jedinců, kolektivit, struktur, institucí i idejí. Jak se snažíme ukázat i prostřednictvím našich textů, může vztahovost posloužit jako vhodný teoretický i empirický rámec, díky kterému můžeme sledovat svébytný řád i nestálost těchto dvou zřejmě nejsilnějších lidských charakteristik. Přejeme vám inspirativní čtení a těšíme se na diskusi s vámi nad zveřejněnými texty na našich sociálních sítích: https://www.facebook.com/GenpathTeam/.

Věnováno památce Jiřiny Šiklové.

Poděkování

Editorial monotematického čísla "Gender, věk a stárnutí" byl podpořen projektem "GENPATH: Genderové cesty exkluze v sociálních vztazích ve stáří pohledem životní dráhy" spolufinancovaným se státní podporou Technologické agentury ČR v rámci Programu ZÉTA. GENPATH je pokračujícím projektem COST ActionROSEnet (CA15122) a součástí projektu GENDER-NET Plus ERANET COFUND, který je financován z programu pro výzkum a inovace Evropské unie Horizon 2020 pod číslem dohody N° 741874. Národní týmy konsorcia byly podpořeny těmito granty: Rakousko (FWF I4210/GNP187), Česko (TA ČR ZÉTA TJ03000002), Irsko (GNP-187), Izrael (MSTS 3-15667), Norsko (NFR 299859), Španělsko (PCI2019-103627), Švédsko (Vetenskapsrådet 2018-00929).

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Lucie Vidovićová, Ph.D, je socioložka. Je spoluzakladatelkou CERA – Centra pro výzkum stárnutí, pracovní skupiny Katedry sociologie Fakulty sociálních studií Masarykovy univerzity. Mezi její výzkumné zájmy patří věk, stárnutí a sociální role a moderní technologie ve stárnoucích společnostech. Korespondenci zasílejte na: vidovicova@fss.muni.cz.



Relationality as a Frame for the Chaos and Order of the Social Duality of Age and Gender

Lucie Vidovićová

Vidovićová, Lucie. 2021. Vztahovost jako rámec chaosu a řádu sociální duality věku a genderu / Relationality as a Frame for the Chaos and Order of the Social Duality of Age and Gender. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 3–15, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.015.

Ageing is one of the biggest issues of the 21st century and it is significantly characterised by its gendered aspects. Not only do women have a longer life expectancy than men, ageing is also a powerfully gendered experience. These are the facts we have been dealing with to now, but much less is known about what these facts mean for social actors, for actual men and women, and how their experiences of ageing unfold in different cultural and social contexts.

Ageing should be viewed as a life-long process that is shaped by different factors with changing effects. One of the most significant experiences of ageing is social exclusion. In contrast to the standard interpretation of this concept in economic terminology, where it is almost a synonym for poverty and ethnicity, Walsh et al. (2021) examine social exclusion among people of an older age from five different perspectives: spatial and community exclusion, economic exclusion, and exclusion from social relations, civic rights, and social services. Available research evidence has shown that different sexes experience these forms of exclusion in different ways. In the case of older women, economic exclusion is a serious issue, and when combined with other minority statuses it leads, for example, to a higher risk of poverty, especially in single-member households (Vidovićová et al. 2015). Conversely, the findings on loneliness as a product of social exclusion are not so clear-cut. Some studies indicate a higher level of loneliness among men, as a result, for example, of divorce earlier in life; others, conversely, observe more loneliness among women, once they become widows. The different trajectories that women and men follow in later life thus underscore the complexity of the interplay between age and sex, which defies simple explanations and frames of interpretation. Sociology, social gerontology, and



even gender research are not in a position to provide any straightforward answers. Even if we succeed for a moment in tracing and testing the empirical connections between two phenomena, we need take just two steps into a different sociocultural environment, move into a new stage in history, or use a different empirical instrument and our model will collapse like a house of cards.

That there is a fluid complexity to the relationship between age, sex, gender, social environment, culture, and time is one of the main conclusions of this thematic issue, which rests on three thematic pillars: gender, age, and relationality. Here relationality is understood as a conceptual framework that encompasses both close, intimate interpersonal relationships and wider social, intergenerational relationships, as well as systemic and structural relationships, which means relationships between the systems and institutions of the social world, and relationships between concepts and theories. The articles in this issue guide readers through the world of social and family relations, education and the labour market, public discourses and historical contexts, and emerging theories and models. The contributing authors represent ten countries and an even larger number of nationalities, and the subjects of the articles range geographically from the Czech Republic to Lithuania, Malta, South Asia, and even Ancient Rome. Many of the articles are more universalistic and global in their aims, while others, by contrast, take global concepts and apply them to a specific cultural environment.

The first such article, and one of two that focus on the family, is by Kateřina Prášilová, a young scholar who is presenting here what is probably the first Czech scoping review of 'grandfamilies'. This phenomenon, which in the Czech Republic is mainly familiar to social workers and the staff of OSPOD, the Czech agency for the social and legal protection of children, has significant sociological contours and offers new ways of approaching an analysis of social roles among older people. Roles and role expectations are discussed in the article by Sara Casamayor Mancisidor, but within the specific context of Ancient Rome. Her analysis of the dynamics of the relationships between elderly mothers and their adult children creates a picture of 'ancient orders', which are in an almost surprising way relevant for analyses of the performance of age and gender today. Ieva Stončikaitė uses a similar type of data arsenal, literary sources, in her analysis of the work by the influential and internationally bestselling author Erica Jong (works published in Czech include Fear of Flying (Odeon 1994), Fear of Fifty: A Midlife Memoir (Eroika 2001), and Sappho's Leap [Lika Klub 2007]). Inspired by a fascination with Jong's feminist studies and the revolution her autobiographical novels caused in the 1970s (cf., e.g., Hogeland 2016), Stončikaitė presents Jong as a new opinion leader on the basis of the transformative narratives she offered on ageing that contest the notion of ageing as signifying decline. As Stončíkaitė argues, however, this did not occur without generating some conflict. Stončikaité's article

is extremely valuable, not just for its empirical findings but also for its theoretical introduction, which offers a presentation of selected key concepts in the field of 'age studies' (Pickard, 2016; Gullette 2004; Katz 2014).

In contrast to the quasi-private spheres of the individual and the family, the public domains of the labour market and education are the subjects addressed in the article by Radka Dudová and the essay by Marvin Formosa. Dudová examines the relationship between age, sex, gender, and an ageing body through the profession of a public transit driver. She presents a picture of this profession that is created out of the reflections of men and women who have often been working for many years in an environment marked by a creeping transformation in the form of technological developments on the one hand and their own ageing bodies on the other. The interviews she conducted with workers at the older end of middle age sometimes revealed the very subtle gendered assumptions that underpin the conditions that govern the performance and very practical everyday aspects of this type of work. For example, the issue of access to public toilets in cities is regarded as a key and culturally cross-sectional precondition for creating an age-friendly environment (Moulaert, Garon 2016). For male and female public transit drivers, this is part of making their work environment age-friendly and the litmus test of its genderedness.

Some articles in this collection are centred on the perspectives of age and ageing, while others revolve around gender and acquire an added depth by including age dynamics. Marvin Formosa's essay is an example of the former approach. In it he puzzles critically over the lack of any feminist and gender studies devoted to lifelong learning. Formosa notes that learning in the third age is highly feminised and therefore offers a number of opportunities for us to redefine our understanding of women's knowledge through formalised modes of learning (and especially through the popular format of Universities of the 3rd Age) and education in general. His arguments have arrived just in time, as a political discussion is again arising around the meaning of lifelong or later-life learning and its role in the active ageing process, including coping with the new challenges of a digital labour market in the 21st century (European Commission 2018). These reflections will be of key importance in the discussions and thinking on non-linear life courses that yet await us (Leichsenring 2018).

Where Formosa talks about a lack of interest, Ezdi speaks directly about a lack of women. Strictly in the terms of scholarly field, an article like Ezdi's would usually be more at home in a journal dealing with population studies. Ezdi here presents a demographic analysis of selected South Asian countries and explains the masculinisation of ageing on the basis of cohort and life-course effects. She also very effectively holds a mirror up to our usual way of thinking about ageing as a feminised phenomenon amplified by the aforementioned differences in life expectancy (life expectancy at birth being 76 years for Czech men and 82 years for Czech women;

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and 20 years for 65-year-old women and 16 for men of the same age [ČSÚ 2021a]) and the resulting ratio of there being 3 women to every 1 man aged 100 years and over (ČSÚ 2021b).

Sarmitė Mikulionienė and her team of co-authors focus on older men from the perspective of a different type of empirical and geographical source and with qualitatively very different results. This empirical study works with a quantitative sample survey that was conducted in the Baltic states and examines the concept of social embeddedness. Their analysis yields the interesting finding that the effect of sex on social networks is primarily observed among people at the two extreme ends of social embeddedness – which is to say, among the people who are the least and those who are the most embedded in networks of social support. In contrast to the usual theories, the authors argue that it is primarily men who are most impacted by the negative effects of exclusion from social relations in older age. Social exclusion is also the central theme of the article by Marja Aartsen and her team of co-authors, which opens this thematic issue. Aartsen and her coauthors try to find a way in which to bring some order to the gender complexity of exclusion from social relations and propose a heuristic model of exclusion from social relations in old age. They define exclusion from social relations as a situation in which people are socially and emotionally disconnected from a requisite (adequate) level of close relationships, social networks, social support, and social opportunities, wherein gender is both a cross-sectional and overarching factor that influences the experience of social exclusion at an older age. The arguments that the authors have gathered here reveal, among other things, that the individualised effects of social exclusion from relations, such as loneliness and poorer health and wellbeing in life, are also potential individual predictors of the occurrence of this type of exclusion. This model should be of use to future empirical studies conducted in different socioeconomic and cultural contexts that try to examine the strength of these social ties. Finally, the model itself can also be used as a roadmap for potential policy measures should any society decide to try to combat the negative effects of social exclusion.

There are also, however, subjects that did not make it into this thematic issue, even though they are key for thinking about age and ageing, gender, and relationality. The issue of care, its provision and receipt (see, e.g., Dudová 2018), brings out questions that give significantly more meaning to the picture of gender in the lived reality of people as they grow older. Owing to spatial constraints we also had to leave out discussion of the deep social transformation ushered in by reactions to the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has in a unique way starkly exposed how we as a society treat older people (Hasmanová Marhánková 2021) and what kind of impact the mitigating measures we adopt have on generations, families, carers, and the gendered

labour market (Heřmanová 2020). This collection of articles also does not pay much attention to a topic that is extremely important for social gerontology, which is the issue of space, place, and community as a frame for sex, gender, and relations (cf., e.g., Herbert 2018; Vidovićová et al. 2021). Attentive readers will notice that in our overview of gendered experiences we did not go beyond a binary division, and we only marginally touched on sexuality. The subject in relation to LGBTQIA+ experiences is, however, an 'emerging' topic (Hasmanová Marhánková 2018). In the field of social gerontology, the subject of sex and gender in an everyday context is addressed in an inspirational way by the subfield of cultural gerontology, which is characterised by intersecting points such as subjectivity and identity, the body and embodiment, representation and visuality, or time and place/space (Twigg, Martin 2015; Teuscher, Teuscher 2007). In the Czech cultural environment these topics have yet to be addressed.

Despite a certain thematic selectivity, this thematic issue hopes to help bring age into gender studies and gender into age and ageing studies. The dual relationship between sex and the ageing body and gender and ageing generates a dynamic picture of social reality in which multi-layered relationships are built between individuals, collectives, structures, institutions, and ideas. As we try to show through the articles published here, relationality can serve as a useful theoretical and empirical frame with which we can observe the distinctive order and instability of these two very powerful human characteristics. We wish you an inspiring read, and we look forward to discussing the published texts on our social networks: https://www.facebook.com/GenpathTeam/.

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Jiřina Šiklová.

Acknowledgements

The Editorial for this thematic issue, 'Gender, Age, and Ageing', was supported by the project 'GENPATH: The Gender Paths of Social Exclusion in Older Age from a Life-Course Perspective', which is co-funded by the Technology Agency of the Czech Republic under its ZÉTA Programme. GENPATH is a spin-off project of COST Action ROSEnet (CA15122) and part of the GENDER-NET Plus ERANET COFUND project, which European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement no. 741874. The national teams have been supported by following grants: Austria (FWF I4210/GNP187), Czech Republic (TAČR ZÉTA TJ03000002), Ireland (GNP-187), Israel (Ministry of Science, Technology and Space 3-15667), Norway (NFR 299859), Spain (PCI2019-103627), Sweden (Vetenskapsrådet 2018-00929).



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Vidovićová, L., M. Alisch, S. Kümpers, J. Perek-Bialas. 2021. Ageing and Caring in Rural Environments: Cross-National Insights from Central Europe. Pp. 223–236 in K. Walsh, T. Scharf, S. Van Regenmortel, A. Wanka (eds.). 2021. Social Exclusion in Later Life: Interdisciplinary and Policy Perspectives. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
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Lucie Vidovićová, PhD, is a sociologist. She is a co-founder of CERA – the Centre for Research on Ageing, a working group of the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University. Her research interests include age, ageing, and social roles, and modern technology in ageing societies. Contact e-mail: vidovicova@fss.muni.cz.



Exclusion from Social Relations in Later Life and the Role of Gender: A Heuristic Model¹

Marja Aartsen, Kieran Walsh, Feliciano Villar, Ariela Lowenstein, Ruth Katz, Sigal Pearl Naim, Andreas Motel-Klingebiel, Anna Wanka, Anna Urbaniak, Thomas Hansen, Lucie Vidovićová

Abstract: Being socially connected is a universal human need, but a substantial number of older men and women are or become excluded from these connections in later life. Exclusion from social relations (ESR) is unwanted as it undermines people's ability to lead a healthy, active, and independent life. Policies to reduce this form of exclusion have been limited in effectiveness, due in part to a broader lack of knowledge about the dynamics of social exclusion in older ages and the intersection of social exclusion with gender constructions. To advance our understanding of ESR in later life, we develop a heuristic model based on theories and previous empirical studies. Considering the gendered constructing forces of ESR in older age that can potentially lead to loneliness and reduced health and wellbeing, the model identifies individual drivers, such as biopsychosocial conditions, personal standards and life-course transitions, and macro-level drivers, such as norms and welfare state provisions. This model can serve as a conceptual platform for further theoretical development and empirical study on the gendered construction of ESR in later life. While our focus is on drivers of ESR and its outcomes, potential reversed effects are also discussed.

Keywords: social exclusion, social relations, older age

Aartsen, Marja, Walsh, Kieran, Villar, Feliciano, Lowenstein, Ariela, Katz, Ruth, Naim, Sigal Pearl, Motel-Klingebiel, Andreas, Wanka, Anna, Urbaniak, Anna, Hansen, Thomas, Vidovićová, Lucie. 2021. Exclusion from Social Relations in Later Life and the Role of Gender: A Heuristic Model. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 16–35, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.005.

¹ Acknowledgements: This study is funded by the GENDER-NET Plus ERANET COFUND project, which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement no. 741874. The national teams were supported by the following grants: Austria (FWF I4210/GNP187), Czechia (TAČR ZÉTA TJ03000002), Ireland (GNP-187), Israel (MSTS 3-15667), Norway (NFR 299859), Spain (PCI2019-103627), Sweden (Vetenskapsrådet 2018-00929). The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Social exclusion is a broad concept, and in the context of older men's and women's lives it can be understood as the process in which people are or become separated from mainstream society (Moffatt, Glasgow 2009). The term social exclusion originally referred to those in poverty and who were excluded economically as a result of being unprotected by social insurance (e.g. homeless people, refugee and migrant populations). Despite research perspectives emphasising the multidimensionality of the phenomenon and incorporating material, social, civic, socio-cultural, and neighbourhood and community factors (e.g., Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd-Reichling, Patsios 2007; Walsh, Scharf, Keating 2017; Van Regenmortel, De Donder, Smetcoren, Lambotte, De Witte, Verté 2018; Dahlberg, McKee, Fritzell, Heap, Lennartson 2020), this narrow economic focus is still visible in present-day understandings within European policy. The European Commission, for example, defines social exclusion as being at risk of poverty, severe material deprivation, and/or living in households with very low work intensity (Eurostat 2015). Increasing attention, however, especially with respect to later-life experiences, is being directed at the social relational elements of the construct (Bak 2018) and the capacity of exclusion from social relations (ESR) to create a significant social disadvantage for heterogeneous populations of older men and women. Not many studies have given comprehensive and multifaceted consideration to ESR in older age, but there are some notable exceptions. In a critical review of the literature, Burholt et al. (2020) described ESR as an unwanted situation for both individuals and society, leading to lower levels of physical and mental health and lower levels of well-being, increased societal costs, and reduced social cohesion. It is the broader concept of social exclusion, and its manifestation in and its influence on the lives of older men and women, that is the focus of this article.

Despite the valuable contributions of some recent work (Van Regenmortel et al. 2021; Precupetu, Aartsen, Vasile 2019; Burholt et al. 2020), a major gap in the literature on ESR has been the limited attention devoted to the gendered construction of ESR and the influence of the gendered construction of ESR in older age. How the combined influence of individual (e.g. biopsychosocial conditions, life-course transitions) and macro socio-economic drivers (e.g. welfare state provisions; normative practices and values) operate through ESR to generate gender differences in loneliness, health, and wellbeing is also poorly understood. While some women can potentially possess all the major risk factors for ESR (e.g., being widowed, in poor health, with low income), there has been limited theoretical discussion of gender as an individual-level characteristic and as a constructed social position in experiences of this form of disadvantage. Gender differences can often be more pronounced in older age, where the combined negative effects of being old and being female on social exclusion is greater than being old or female alone. This indicates a potential double jeopardy for



older women (Chappell, Havens 1980; Wenger, Davies, Shahtahmasebi, Scott 1996; Bradshaw, Kemp, Baldwin, Rowe 2004; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, Abdulrahim 2012; Kieny, Flores, Maurer, 2020). Nevertheless, as the construction and consequences of ESR may be different for heterogeneous groups of people, as well as across different societies (Crenshaw 1991), not all older women face significant risks of exclusion, and some older men can be particularly vulnerable to social disconnection. There are complex orders of advantage and disadvantage, oppression, and discrimination, which can bolster the role of gender in ESR based on the location of different individuals and groups at the intersection of age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and economic background.

The aim of this paper marks an initial effort to further develop the framework presented by Burholt et al. (2020) into a heuristic model that explicates the gendered pathways of ESR, and the outcomes for loneliness, health, and wellbeing in later life. Based on theory and previous empirical research, we will examine how individualand macro-level drivers may create gender differences in ESR and use this model to emphasise factors that need to be considered when studying gendered aspects of ESR in later life. Our model also utilises aspects of the social convoy model of social relations (cf. Antonucci, Ajrouch, Birditt 2013; Fuller, Ajrouch, Antonucci 2020). The convoy model is a framework for understanding the determinants and outcomes of supportive intimate relationships, called the 'social convoy', that surround individuals and develop with them throughout their life course. People move in and out of the social network over the life course, and those who are the least close can become intimates as people age. Our model differs from the convoy model in the sense that it focuses not only on intimate social relations but on the three 'spheres of sociability' (Gallie, Paugam, Jacobs 2003): the household, the social network, and the wider society. Since we are interested in how drivers can contribute to the creation of ESR outcomes, and not vice versa, we do not focus on potential circular and reinforcing inter-relationships, where health and wellbeing can also serve as drivers of ESR, leading to changes in an individual's conditions and transitions. Like the social convoy model (Antonucci et al. 2013), in our model we also apply a life-course perspective (Elder 1994), where we consider conditions, opportunities, and decisions in earlier life phases to be important factors for ESR, with their impact and influence depending on historical and contextual positioning and origins in time and place. Life transitions, such as moving from wife to widow or from worker to retiree, are an important aspect of this perspective and can be accompanied by a shrinkage/change in family and social networks, contributing to a higher risk of social disadvantage (Yang, Victor 2011). We also acknowledge that people's current levels of ESR can be partly dependent on developments in other people's lives, exposing the influence and relevance of 'linkedlives' in the life-course analysis of social relations and resources.

We begin by presenting the development of our definition of ESR in later life. Next, we describe potential individual- and macro-level drivers of ESR for older populations, followed by a discussion of theories on the intersection of these drivers with gender. We then present some methodological issues that may arise when measuring ESR. We conclude by presenting our heuristic model and a short discussion of the challenges involved in inferring and assessing causal relationships within this topic.

Towards a definition of exclusion from social relations

In using the term social relations, we refer to both interpersonal intimate connections with other individuals, and more general social relationships in the wider society that are valued by an older person. While all relationships may be important, social relations can have varying degrees of intimacy (e.g. partner, child, friend, neighbour, club members). A person's collection of social relations can vary in structure (size, composition, or frequency of contact) and function (e.g. support provision, stress buffering, socialising). Following Gallie et al. (2003), we include three domains of social relations: the household, the social network, and the wider society. The household consists of relations that are generally the closest, in physical and emotional terms (e.g. a partner, children, siblings), with people whom a person typically feels the need to belong to and connect with. Household relations can often provide the vast majority of support in times of crises because of their level of intimacy and proximity. The social network refers to the collection of people from outside the household, with whom a person also feels closely connected and maintains interpersonal relations and from whom a person may receive support. Wider society is used here to incorporate the contacts and exchanges that, while they may be the least close, are still important for providing valuable opportunities to connect with mainstream society, such as through voluntary work or political participation.

Across these three spheres, we consider ESR for older men and women as an objective (e.g. number of relations), subjective (e.g. perceived quality), and continuous multidimensional concept. We focus on its continuous nature, as a person is not included or excluded in a binary form, but rather can be excluded from one or more dimensions to various degrees. The multidimensional construction of ESR is considered as it incorporates/implicates the relationships, networks, supports, and opportunities that the three relational spheres represent. On this basis, we define ESR for older men and women as a situation in which people are socially and emotionally disconnected from adequate levels of intimate relationships, social networks, social support, and/ or social opportunities.



Drivers of ESR

In our discussion of drivers of ESR, we argue that ESR in later life arises from the direct effects on the individual and macro level, as well as from the intersection of processes and outcomes on these two levels. The function of this section is to provide a very brief overview of both sets of drivers. While their intersection with gender is highlighted where appropriate, this is primarily dealt with in a subsequent section.

Individual drivers

Individual aspects that we consider relevant for ESR and its outcomes are conditions, relationship standards, and life-course transitions. With conditions, we refer to the biopsychosocial conditions of an individual that shape their engagement with other people, such as gender, sexual orientation, income, socio-economic status, migration, and physical, mental, and cognitive health (Burholt et al. 2020). While women tend to have more kinship relations in the network than men (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, Brashears 2006), they are also more often widowed because of their longer life expectancy. Older lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) adults more often live alone and are less likely to have children compared to people with a heterosexual orientation (Yang, Victor 2018). They are also considered to be more often excluded as a result of the prejudicial attitudes of other people and service providers (ibidem). Poor mental and physical health impairs a person's ability to maintain their preferred level of social interaction (Bertoni, Celidoni, Weber 2015; Coyle, Dugan 2017; Croda 2015). While an increased need for support may mobilise helpers (Van Tilburg 1998), it can also lead to a reduction of helpers if the increased need arises from cognitive deterioration (Aartsen, Van Tilburg, Smits, Knipscheer 2004). A low socioeconomic status has been linked to having a lower-quality network (in terms of intimacy and providing support), which in turn leads to poor health (Aartsen, Veenstra, Hansen 2017). Low income, material deprivation, and poverty further limit participation in the wider community and compromise a person's ability to optimise their social network (Ajrouch, Blandon, Antonucci 2005). Relationship standards refer to the expectations that people have with respect to the level and nature of engagement with their network members. Relationship standards can act as motivators to maintain or enhance the quality and quantity of social relations people have, and those with high standards may work to replace social relations with new ones if they are lost. High standards may also induce loneliness if they are unrealistic, or simply not achievable given other personal, social, and economic parameters (De Jong Gierveld, Van Tilburg, Dykstra 2016). Major transitions in life, such as retirement, widowhood, divorce, or other forms of partnership dissolution, can function to shrink a person's social network if the lost relationships are not replaced by others (Bekhet, Zauszniewski 2012; Dahlberg, Andersson, McKee, Lennartsson 2015; Van Tilburg, Aartsen, Van der Pas 2015). Finally, migration within a country or across national boundaries can have a profoundly negative effect on social relations, as people who migrate are cut off from their primary contacts (Ajrouch et al. 2005; De Jong Gierveld, Van der Pas, Keating 2015).

Macro-level drivers

With macro-level drivers, we refer to the forces at the local and societal level that construct or influence ESR, such as neighbourhood qualities, norms and values, population turnover, and welfare state provisions. Aspects of the neighbourhood that are relevant to ESR include social, cultural, and health facilities within the locality and the walkability of the streets or the community, all of which can mediate social contact and the formation of social networks (Buffel, Phillipson, Scharf 2013; Walsh, O'Shea, Scharf 2019). Deprived neighbourhoods can possess higher crime rates, which increases the risk of victimisation for older people, and decreases personal mobility 'and socialisation within local settings (Scharf, Phillipson, Smith 2005). A sense of safety, which is not the same as objective measures of crime, can be related to a sense of belonging and place-based identity, which are important for fostering social interaction within the locality (Acierno, Rheinold, Resnick, Kilpatrick 2004). In countries where the norm is to be married and to rely on family when in need of support, people often have larger networks than those in individualistic countries, where people are more often alone (Yang, Victor 2011; Fokkema, De Jong Gierveld, Dykstra 2012; Sundström, Fransson, Malmberg, Davey 2009). Large-scale population turnover (such as that driven by immigration) at both the country-level and neighbourhood-level can reduce social cohesion, which undermines trust, reciprocity, and collective forms of socialisation, and that in turn increases the risk of ESR (Kearns, Bailey, Gannon, Livingston, Leyland 2014). Evidence also suggests that welfare state provisions can directly impact integration. For example, a study conducted in Israel found that well-developed and adequate services, facilitated by local associations, enabled older people to become more involved in the community and to experience a greater level of integration in society (Brick, lekovitch, Naim 2018). Hence, macrolevel drivers may impact all three levels of ESR: the household, the social network, and the wider society.

Interrelations between individual and macro-level drivers of ESR

The impact that individual drivers have on ESR may not be independent from macrolevel drivers, and the risk of being socially excluded differs across European countries (Tsakloglou, Papadopoulos 2002). Strong social policies typical for social democratic



welfare regimes may lower the negative impact of individual factors through processes of decommodification and defamilialisation. Decommodification is the degree to which an individual or family can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of labour-market participation (Esping-Andersen 1999). Defamilialisation refers to actions taken by the state to support professional care services for the purpose of facilitating greater participation of women in the work force, such as universal or subsidised childcare services and welfare support for part-time work (Mandel, Shalev 2009). It is therefore important to consider the macro-social context when analysing drivers and outcomes of ESR.

Relational standards, previously discussed as motivators for social interaction, can be shaped by culturally defined gender norms linked to being alone and/or the provision of care and support. While people in southern collectivistic countries expect help from their family and friends when they are in need of care, people in individualistic Nordic countries have lower expectations as they can rely on professional organisations for their support (Jylhä, Jokela 1990). Therefore, people who are a little more isolated with a little less support may be more likely to experience feelings of loneliness in collectivistic countries. This is supported by a growing number of cross-national studies that have observed that despite the higher number of people who are alone in the northwest of Europe, the prevalence of loneliness is lower than in the southeast of Europe (Jylhä, Jokela 1990; Yang, Victor 2011; Fokkema, De Jong Gierveld, Dykstra 2012; Hansen, Slagsvold 2016; Sundström, Fransson, Malmberg, Davey 2009). Welfare state provisions, such as professional health care or social services, may compensate for the absence of social relations that are important for the individual (Broese van Groenou, De Boer 2016), which may lead to a weakened association between ESR, on the one hand, and loneliness health, and wellbeing, on the other.

The life-course perspective (Elder, 1994) provides a framework with which to understand how and why individual and macro-level drivers of ESR interact. Applied to exclusionary processes, it emphasises how an individual's current level of ESR can be shaped by earlier conditions, opportunities, and decisions during their lives. It is also shaped by historical and temporal and geographical/spatial context as the choices people make in life are bounded by circumstances, such as those regulating gender-based expectations, roles, and institutional support, which vary across time, place, and social group. As noted by Dewilde (2003), individual differences in education levels are shaped by the family in which people are born including the household expectations regarding male and female children, and the opportunity structures provided by the welfare system to access education. This affects the ability of men and women to accumulate financial and social resources over the life course and the various ways in which social groups rewards the decisions of individuals.

Exclusion from social relations and the impact on loneliness, health, and wellbeing

Although ESR and loneliness are highly correlated, they are not the same. Some people can feel lonely even if they are objectively well-embedded in a social network, and not all people who are excluded from social relations do feel lonely (De Jong Gierveld et al. 2016). Loneliness is a perceived state and arises when there is an unacceptable discrepancy between the quality and quantity of the social relations that an older man or woman has and what they would like to have (Perlman, Peplau 1982). In line with the Burholt et al. (2020) framework and the cognitive approach to loneliness developed by Perlman and Peplau (1982), we consider loneliness an outcome of ESR. Both ESR and loneliness can lead to adverse health and wellbeing outcomes

The extent to which health outcomes should be attributed to ESR, to loneliness, or to both in a linear process of construction is not always clear (Steptoe et al. 2013). Some studies associate ESR with an increased mortality risk that is comparable to long-standing risk behaviours, such as smoking, obesity, or lack of physical activity (Alcaraz et al. 2019; Holt-Lunstad, Smith, Layton 2010), with similar effects being observed for loneliness (Luo et al. 2012). ESR was also found to be related to an increase in general health problems in older age, such as higher blood pressure and coronary disease (Thurston, Kubzansky 2009; Tomaka, Thompson, Palacios 2006), and a decline in cognitive function (Shankar, Rafnsson, Steptoe 2015). Older people who are experiencing loneliness tend to have more physical-health consultations with a doctor (Gerst-Emerson, Jayawardhana 2015), and their self-rated health is typically significantly worse than people who are not experiencing loneliness (Coyle, Dugan 2012).

ESR and loneliness are also associated with a number of wellbeing aspects. Higher levels of loneliness are associated with poorer life satisfaction (Bai, Yan, Knapp 2018), lower self-esteem, mistrust, and a lack of self-confidence (Masi et al. 2011), and with higher levels of anger, anxiety, pessimism, and depression (Cacioppo et al. 2006). Longitudinal studies on loneliness point to how mental health outcomes of loneliness in older age might be greater than in other life stages (e.g. Dykstra et al. 2005; Victor, Bowling 2012). In line with the cumulative advantage/disadvantage theory (Dannefer 2003), this can be interpreted as an accumulation of disadvantages, as the oldest old people experience the greatest cumulative exposure. In sum, there is solid evidence that ESR leads to increased loneliness, and ESR and loneliness may have independent and combined negative effects on health and wellbeing.



The role of gender

Up to this point, we have only referenced gender differences, as they pertain in a cursory way to drivers and outcomes. In this section, we focus on the specific role that gender can play in relation to ESR. With gender, we refer to the roles and responsibilities of people as constructed by families, societies, and cultures, which are generally distinct for men and women. A social role can be seen as a set of social relations between a person and a social circle involving negotiated duties obligations, rights, and privileges (Lopata 2006). Microstructural perspectives on gender inequalities have emphasised the importance of social roles and socialisation in constructing gender differences. Based on differences in socialisation (Stockard 2006), gendered social roles in the private and public sphere have different opportunities to create or maintain relations in the three spheres of sociability. As men most often occupy roles in the public sphere and women roles in the private sphere of the household (Lopata 2006), the prescribed social roles may lead to gender inequalities in ESR and loneliness. For example, women are typically the primary caregivers for children in married or partnered households, and it is also often women who have children in their care after a divorce (McLanahan, Kelly 2006). These responsibilities limit the possibilities women have for paid employment outside the home, which can potentially lead to an accumulation of disadvantages and increased gender inequalities with respect to the different facets of economic and social participation (Dunn, Skaggs 2006). As a consequence, older women are more likely to be excluded from social relations and more likely to be lonely. However, it is also observed that divorce in midlife leads to a higher increase in loneliness among men, compared to women, which can sometimes be due to women possessing alternative sources of support (Dykstra, Fokkema 2007).

Gender theories that emphasise a macro-structural perspective may further help to illuminate gender inequalities in ESR. A relevant example that uses this perspective is the feminisation of poverty, and poverty increases the risk of ESR and loneliness (Scharf, Phillipson, Smith 2005). There are various explanations for this, including changing family structures (e.g. first marriages occurring at a later age and an increase in divorce rates) and the meagre welfare benefits that certain groups of women sometimes receive, including various kinds of carer allowances (McLanahan, Kelly 2006). Moreover, older women tend to have lower levels of education and this has ramifications for a range of different exclusionary outcomes throughout the life course. This includes earning not only less than their male counterparts, but often experiencing more disrupted working careers because of their role in family care. As a result, older women are likely to receive lower pensions and consequently encounter higher risks of poverty (Eurostat 2015). An increasing proportion of single people, therefore, have to rely on their own economic resources, and these resources are generally lower for women than for men. Gender

thus creates the basis for women to end up in a more disadvantaged position than men, and although differences between men and women may not be that clear-cut, it is a cross-cutting and overarching factor in our model.

Theoretical perspectives on ESR-changes over time

While we discussed ESR mainly as a static situation of exclusion, we acknowledge its dynamic nature, as people can move in and out of a situation in which they are excluded from social relations (Burholt et al. 2020; Antonucci et al. 2013). Individual transitions and changes in resources affect a person's risk of being excluded, and experiencing one form of exclusion can raise the odds of experiencing exclusion in other domains (Walsh et al. 2017). Events in society such as the housing crisis in 2008 have increased the number of homeless and poor people, and homelessness and poverty can in turn make it more difficult to maintain and improve social relations, at least during a crisis. The social distancing that was introduced to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus in 2020 has also resulted - hopefully temporarily – in the exclusion of people from their social networks and has reduced their opportunities to participate in the wider society. The fact that ESR can change over time is relevant for our theoretical understanding, it is also important that empirical research acknowledge that the state of ESR can change over the life course.

A number of theories can be helpful in order to better understand ESR changes. The Socio-emotional Selectivity Theory (SST) developed by Carstensen (1992) understands changes in the composition of a social network as a consequence of changing motivations for particular types of social relations. SST is based on the notion that it is not age but rather people's perceived time horizon that determines their motivation to choose certain types of relations. As long as an individual's time horizon is perceived as open-ended, knowledge-related goals are prioritised. When time is perceived to be limited, emotional goals become more important. Consequently, when life unfolds and people become older, their preference for social relations change from relations that provide knowledge to social relations that provide intimacy and emotional support. This is likely to be true for men and women, albeit to different degrees.

A scholarly debate in family research that is relevant for changes in household relations has centred on the conceptualisation of intergenerational relationships and the solidarity–conflict ambivalence model (Lowenstein 2007; Katz et al. 2005). The premise of the solidarity–conflict model is that levels of cohesion and conflict predict parent–child relations and their outcomes in later life. The ambivalence model states that adult intergenerational relations revolve around sociological and psychological contradictions. This is important because of the profound increase in average life expectancy, meaning that more people spend more years within family



structures, while these structures are constantly changing. Moreover, population ageing and globalisation have increased the diversity and complexity of family lives and intergenerational bonds.

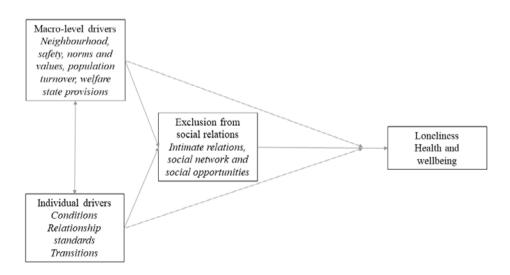
Methodological considerations in the assessment of ESR

Before presenting our heuristic model, we address some methodological considerations related to the key concept of ESR. In our approach to ESR, we distinguish between three different levels of social relations: the household, the social network, and wider society. Being excluded from household relations implies a situation in which a person may live without a partner and/or children in the same household. This includes people who are divorced or widowed but not remarried, as well as people who never married or have a partner outside the household. Measuring the social network entails assessing the network in terms of both quality and quantity. While a large network may potentially have more support capacity than a small network, this is not necessarily true. Relevant aspects of the social network with respect to ESR include the structure of the network (e.g. number of people in the network, contact frequency, and the composition of the network) and its function (e.g. support provision, the quality of social relations, network satisfaction). There is a dynamic interplay between network size and the amount of support provided by the social network, as network members may be less ready to provide support if the network is large and other people are available to provide support (Tolkacheva et al. 2011). Therefore, a number of scholars have argued that a network typology that combines the structural and functional aspects of the social network is necessary when studying the construction and outcomes of the social network (Wenger 1991; Litwin, Shiovitz-Ezra 2006; Cheng et al. 2009). There are several approaches to defining network type, one of the first of which was the qualitative approach by Wenger (1991), which was based on interviews with older people living in Wales (UK). Inspired by these ideas, quantitative studies have attempted to develop a network typology, often based on a person-centred approach. The goal of a person-centred approach – as opposed to variable-centred approaches – is to group people in smaller homogeneous subgroups of individuals who have the same structural and functional characteristics of their social network, which is different from other subgroups (Muthén, Muthén 2000). A helpful method for defining network types in a dataset is Latent Class Analysis (McCutcheon 1987), which empirically identifies groups of people with the same social network type based on a number of observed variables that are indicative of the quality (support exchange, network satisfaction) and the quantity (network size, composition, contact frequency) of the social network. This method of creating network typologies was applied in previous studies (e.g., Aartsen et al. 2004; Ellwardt et al. 2017; Litwin 2001; Mikulionienė, Gaižaukaitė, Morkevičius 2021). Social connections with people in the wider society include a variety of relations that are more distant but are still important to the individual and are with individuals with whom they are in regular contact. Voluntary work, participation in social, leisure, or political activities, or providing help to people outside the household or social network are examples of social opportunities that connect people to others with whom they are the least close and connect them to mainstream society.

Towards a heuristic model of gendered ESR

Our heuristic model of ESR builds on the critical review of Burholt et al. (2020) and the social convoy model (Antonucci et al. 2013) and emphasises gender as a cross-cutting and overarching factor that influences experiences of ESR in later life. We defined ESR as a situation in which people are socially and emotionally disconnected from adequate levels of intimate relationships, social networks, social support, and/or social opportunities. We incorporated relevant aspects of feminist theory, understandings of social exclusion in later life, socio-emotional selectivity theory, and the conceptual interrelationship between solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence. We further argued that ESR is driven by individual and macro-level factors and the interaction between the two. We also discussed that ESR leads to increased feelings of loneliness and diminished health and wellbeing and that individual and macro-level drivers may modify the strength of these impacts. The heuristic model is depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Heuristic model for the causes and consequences of exclusion from social relations





Although we present the model mainly in terms of drivers of ESR and its outcomes, the model does not exclude feedback loops and reversed causation. For example, the health and wellbeing outcomes in our model may in turn lead to ESR, which was also acknowledged when discussing the individual drivers of ESR. In addition, it is argued that loneliness can also motivate people to reconnect or maintain social relations in the same way that hunger and thirst motivate people to feed the body (Hawkley, Cacioppo 2010). When analysing and interpreting the heuristic model, scholars should take into account potential reversed effects.

To conclude, the heuristic model may provide a useful framework for analysing the origins of gender differences in the prevalence and generation of ESR across European countries and for identifying the consequences of this exclusion for health and wellbeing. A next step would be to validate the model, and to do this crossnational and longitudinal studies are needed. Findings from such studies would be highly relevant for the scientific debate about gender inequalities in ESR and would help inform policies for the reduction of the levels of exclusion from social relations amongst older men and women.

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- BY-NC Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2021.

Marja Aartsen, PhD, currently works as s research professor at NOVA Norwegian Social research at Oslo Metropolitan University. She is a sociologist by training and specialised in longitudinal research on social exclusion, social inequalities, loneliness, and cognitive functioning in older adults. Contact e-mail: maraar@oslomet.no.

Kieran Walsh is Professor of Ageing and Public Policy and Director of the Irish Centre for Social Gerontology at National University of Ireland Galway. His research interests include social exclusion in later life, place and life-course transitions, and informal and formal infrastructures of care. Contact e-mail: kieran.walsh@nuigalway.ie.

Feliciano Villar, PhD, is a full professor at the Cognition, Developmental, and Educational Psychology Department of the University of Barcelona. His research focuses on generativity in later life and the participation and contributions of older people in families and communities. Contact e-mail: fvillar@ub.edu.

Prof. Emerita Ariela Lowenstein is a member of the Faculty of Welfare & Health Sciences, Haifa University, Israel. She established the Graduate Department of Gerontology and the Centre for Research & Study of Aging. Her research interests are intergenerational family relations, elder abuse and neglect, family caregiving, and gerontological education. Contact e-mail: ariela@research haifa ac il

Prof. Emerita Ruth Katz, a family sociologist, is a faculty member of the Sociology Department and the School of Social Work. She was for several years the head of the Department of Human Services and a senior researcher at the Center for Research & Study of Aging, all at the University of Haifa, Israel. Her research interests are on intergenerational family relations, family caregiving, family lifestyles, family-work conflict and balance, successful ageing, and older adults' quality of life. Contact e-mail: ruth@soc.haifa.ac.il.

Sigal Naim, PhD, is a gerontologist, a lecturer at the Departments of Human Services, Yezreel Academic College, Israel, and an academic consultant for the programme of Gerontological Advisory and Treatment Management at the Academic Center for Law and Science, Israel. She also coordinates the Center for Research and Study of Aging at the University of Haifa, Israel. Her PhD thesis topic was on older adults' social media activity (mainly Facebook) – motivations, patterns of use, benefits and risks – and her post-doc dealt with digital literacy in old age. Contact e-mail: sigaln@yvc.ac.il.

Andreas Motel-Klingebiel, Dr. phil., Sociologist and Gerontologist, is Professor in Ageing and Later Life and Head of the Division Ageing and Social Change, Department of Culture and Society, Linköping University, Sweden. His research focuses on the connections between key societal processes, life-course trajectories, human ageing, and later life. His main thematic interests are quality of life, diversity, distributions, social inequality and exclusion, the life course and individual development, and social and cultural change. Contact e-mail: andreas.motel-klingebiel@liu.se.

Anna Wanka, PhD, is a sociologist and postdoctoral researcher at Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main and at the University of Stuttgart in Germany. She is interested in the social construction of age. Her areas of expertise comprise life-course transitions, the reproduction of social inequalities across the life course and material gerontology. Contact e-mail: wanka@em.uni-frankfurt.de.

Anna Urbaniak, PhD, is a sociologist who works on social exclusion in older age. She is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Vienna and Jagiellonian University and a research associate at the Irish Centre for Social Gerontology. Her interest focusses on spatial aspects of ageing, life-course transitions, the re/production of social inequalities across the life course, ageing migrants, and people living with dementia. Contact e-mail: anna urbaniak@univie.ac.at

Thomas Hansen, PhD, works as a research professor at the Norwegian Institute of Public Health and at Norwegian Social Research (NOVA) at Oslo Metropolitan University. A psychologist by training, his research focuses on subjective well-being, mental health, loneliness, social isolation, and volunteering in relation to ageing and later life. Contact e-mail: thomas.hansen@oslomet.no.

Lucie Vidovićová, PhD, is a sociologist. She is a co-founder of CERA – the Centre for Research on Ageing, a working group of the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University. Her research interests include age, ageing, and social roles, and modern technology in ageing societies. Contact e-mail: vidovicova@fss.muni.cz.



Patterns of Social Embeddedness in Later Adulthood: Gender and Other Covariates²

Sarmitė Mikulionienė, Inga Gaižauskaitė, Vaidas Morkevičius

Abstract: The concept of social exclusion is widely used in academia and social policy discourse in European countries. However, one of the constituents of social exclusion, namely, exclusion from social relationships, remains unclear and underdeveloped both conceptually and empirically. Moreover, knowledge on the patterns of exclusion from social relationships among men and women in later adulthood is even less advanced. Therefore, we developed a multidimensional scale for measuring an individual's level of embeddedness in social relationships and examined the gender patterns of social embeddedness. We applied latent class analysis to survey data collected on a sample of 2015 residents of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia aged 50+. We derived a seven-class model based on a continuum from strong to weak social embeddedness. We identified two classes with a high level of exclusion from social relations and, conversely, two classes with a high level of social embeddedness. Subsequent multinomial regression analysis revealed that gender was a statistically significant predictor in the cases of the most excluded class and one of the most socially embedded classes.

Keywords: social relationships, social exclusion, latent class analysis

Mikulionienė, Sarmitė, Gaižauskaitė, Inga, Morkevičius, Vaidas. 2021. Patterns of Social Embeddedness in Later Adulthood: Gender and Other Covariates. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 36–58, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.013.

Like many leading researchers in the field (Walsh et al. 2017; Regenmortel et al. 2016; Levitas et al. 2007; Burchardt et al. 2009), we understand exclusion from social

² This article was supported with funding from the European Social Fund (project no. 09.3.3-LMT-K-712-01-0063) under a grant agreement with the Research Council of Lithuania (LMTLT). We thank Dr Jolanta Aidukaitė and Dr Inga Blažienė for useful discussions and for comments on the manuscript and Dr Ramunė Dirvanskienė for contributing to the construction of the survey instrument.

relations as one of the important elements of overall social exclusion in later life. Following Walsh et al. (2017: 92), we see social exclusion as

a complex process that involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services as people age, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people across the varied and multiple domains of society. It affects both the quality of life of older individuals and the equity and cohesion of an ageing society as a whole.

Domains that contribute to old-age social exclusion include exclusion from material and financial resources, social relations, services, amenities and mobility, civic participation, neighbourhood and community, and the sociocultural aspects of society (Walsh et al. 2017).

It cannot be said that exclusion from the domain of social relations is less explored than other domains; however, some studies (Baumgartner, Burns 2014; UNECE 2016) show that there are still too many uncertainties, ambiguities, and challenges in operationalising and measuring the phenomenon of exclusion from social relations. The quality of measuring instruments of social inclusion was assessed as indeterminate (Cordier et al. 2017: 23). As many as 45% of the scales that are described in the literature (Cordier et al. 2017) lack a methodological (psychometric) quality assessment, which in turn limits their diagnostic power and, consequently, the possibility of combating exclusion from social relations. It is already known from other studies that social exclusion (or specifically exclusion from social relations) has multiple negative consequences for a person and decreases their wellbeing. However, we still lack a better understanding of the patterns of social exclusion among older people (and specifically their inclusion in social relationships) in Eastern European countries (Mikulionienė et al. 2018). Even less is known about differences relating to the inclusion of older women and men in social relationships. Therefore, we applied a new scale for measuring a person's level of embeddedness in social relationships and examined gender differences according to this scale.

The aim of the article is to examine profiles of social embeddedness among older (50+) men and women in the Baltic States and to predict the probability of older people belonging in empirically identified groups according to their levels of embeddedness in social relations. Therefore, we seek to answer two research questions: (1) What are the patterns of social embeddedness (conceptualised via dimensions of social participation, civic participation, and sense of belonging) among older (50+) men and women? (2) What are the predictors that affect the probability of belonging to groups of people identified according to their different levels of embeddedness in social relations in later life? To answer these questions, we analyse sociological



survey data collected in the research project 'Building the Welfare of Older People: Empowerment Policies, Monitoring Indicators, and Older Voice'. We employ latent class analysis (LCA) with covariates in order to identify patterns of engagement in social relationships and study their predictors.

Conceptualising and measuring social embeddedness in later life

International scholarship (Antonucci 1990; Pinquart, Sörensen 2000; Berkman et al. 2000; Gyasi et al. 2019; Ye, Zhang 2019) strongly recognises the importance of social embeddedness for older people's wellbeing. Moreover, a lack of meaningful social environments and weak social embeddedness are considered important risk factors for social exclusion in old age (Walsh et al. 2017; Regenmortel et al. 2016; Yanicki et al. 2015; Barnes et al. 2006). However, researchers and policymakers are still not satisfied with the available statistics on social exclusion in general and on exclusion from social relationships in particular (UNECE 2017: 28–32; Ward et al. 2014; Labonté et al. 2012).

As we are interested in measuring the full spectrum of older people's social relationships (recognising that, between the two extremes of either inclusion in or exclusion from social relationships, there are many intermediate positions that are possible), we decided to explore social embeddedness, which, as we understand it here, refers to the social relations that foster a sense of belonging (see Palmberger 2017). Social embeddedness is continuously created and maintained through everyday interactions with others (Wenger et al. 2007). It includes daily routines with others at home and outside the home (for instance, at the workplace or a place of learning), during leisure and hobby activities, and in different local (and spiritual) communities and in society as a whole, and it relates to the sense of belonging a person has to these different-level groups. We base our definition on the synergy of theoretical insights coming from sociology and social psychology. American sociologist Robert Ezra Park (1926: 11) argued that 'society exists in and through communication', and individuals who share a common experience and maintain a common life create interaction networks. These social networks are essential for the creation and maintenance of social relationships among individuals. Social relationships can be investigated and measured (Park 1924). Social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1951), who examined the experiences and perceptions of belonging to a group, showed that members of groups develop shared perceptions of the world around them. A sense of belonging to the community is a vital component of identity, and Maslow (1954) argued that belonging is a basic human need. According to Hagerty et al. (1992), a sense of belonging is the experience of being both personally involved and integrated within an environment or system. Therefore, to fully grasp social embeddedness we base our study not only on behaviour and social networks (social and civic participation) but also on a subjective characteristic – people's sense of belonging.

According to Cordier et al. (2017), contemporary researchers' experience of measuring social inclusion¹ can be summarised as focusing on three basic components of inclusion: (1) participation (i.e. economic, social, and spiritual), (2) connectedness and a sense of belonging (i.e. having a sense of connectedness to one's family, friends, neighbours, the wider community), and (3) citizenship (i.e. political and general community engagement, demonstrating altruism, and having access to community services). Cordier et al. (2017) found 25 instruments for measuring social inclusion that have been documented in the literature. They note that, so far, the different instruments that have been used have combined, in different proportions, indicators from one or two of the three components mentioned above, but none of the instruments has covered all three.

Drawing on other studies in the field (Cordier et al. 2017; Palmberger 2017; Baumgartner, Burns 2014; Levasseur et al. 2010), we constructed an analytical model to cover the three domains that make up the core of what constitutes the social embeddedness of older persons: social participation, civic participation, and a sense of belonging. Our model includes an individual's social participation because it captures the diversity and frequencies of everyday social interactions (objective); civic participation because it shows higher-order social activities (levels 5 and 6 of social activities in the typology of Levasseur et al. (2010)); finally, a sense of belonging because it reflects what these relationships mean to the ego (subjective). This set of dimensions ensures that our model is consistent with the argument of many contemporary scientists: it is vital to study objective and subjective indicators of social relationships (Burholt et al. 2020; Baumgartner, Burns 2014).

Social participation. Researchers have shown that social participation is an essential predictor of the social inclusion and wellbeing of an individual (Levasseur et al. 2008, 2010). However, how the concept of social participation is defined in the literature still varies (Dijkers 2010; Piškur et al. 2013). Some researchers (Piškur et al. 2013: 3) point out that social participation can be related to consumer activity, communication, or a greater level of involvement in society. Others distinguish three hierarchical types of social participation (starting from the bottom up): collective, productive, and political participation (Bukov et al. 2002). Levasseur et al. (2010: 2,

¹ Cordier et al. (2017) used the term social inclusion in two ways. In the first part of the article, its definition was based on the classical perception of the term. In the empirical part, according to the keywords for the record-search employed (social participation, social capital, social responsibility, community inclusion, social justice, social acceptance, social reinforcement, community participation) and the scales found, it can be ascertained that a narrower concept was used. It mainly covered social relationships and left out other domains of social inclusion/exclusion.



16) looked at social activities, and after a systematic review based on (1) the level of an individual's involvement with others and (2) the goals of these activities, they distinguished six levels of social activities:

1) doing an activity in preparation for connecting with others, 2) being with others, 3) interacting with others without doing a specific activity with them, 4) doing an activity with others, 5) helping others, and 6) contributing to society.

Investigators (Levasseur et al. 2010: 2) defined levels 3 through 6 as social participation, and levels 5 and 6 as a higher-order social participation that they call social engagement. In our model, it is just as important for us to include level 3-6 social activities and clearly delineate levels 5 and 6. It is also important to capture several parameters when measuring social participation: the list of social networks (sufficient number and diversity) in which the person is involved (this is a prerequisite for long-term, meaningful relationships); the frequency of his/her social interactions, and the contexts in which the interactions take place (in a household or outside).

Therefore, we include in our measurement instrument variables that indicate the level of social participation: social participation in micro-groups (hosting guests and visiting others in their home; interaction with children, grandchildren, parents, and other relatives; interaction with friends, co-workers, and neighbours), social eating (in cafes and restaurants) as one of the social consumption activities, the consumption of culture (visiting cinema, theatres, museums, etc.), and participating in arts and sports activities. We also include 'spiritual' activity, which refers to social participation in religious events. In Cordier et al.'s (2017) classification, this category is also mentioned separately from social participation; in our opinion, it is not necessary to distinguish the declared spiritual activity from its hidden social function – being a member of a religious community also brings a person an important sense of belonging to the community (Durkheim [1912] 1995).

Civic participation. This encompasses social relationships that transcend the boundaries of individual and interpersonal and rise to the societal level, where a person is socially engaged in pursuing the benefit of a community or society. Many authors define this as a different type of social activity (Walsh et al. 2017; Ward et al. 2014; Scharf et al. 2005). However, following Levasseur et al. (2010), we argue that although this activity differs from everyday socialisation activities, in its essence it is also a social participation activity, just a different type of such activity – performed in relation to the wider, societal level, while bearing in mind the direct or indirect impact on others' wellbeing.

Thus, we include in our measurement instrument variables that indicate the level of civic activity: certain more reactive types of civic participation – following national

news in the mass media; voting in elections; and certain proactive types of civic participation – participation in the community (the person worked for the community, expressed opinions on issues important to the community/society, participated in protests, signed a petition, etc.) and engagement in altruistic activities (provided help (for non-relatives) without remuneration; volunteering).

A sense of belonging. A sense of belonging is based on relationships with social groups and feelings of emotional attachment to the related group (Taket et al. 2009; Lee, Robbins 1995). It is quite an informative indicator: studies have reported that perceived social connectedness has a significant positive association with health status (Ashida, Heaney 2008), and perceived social connectedness is positively associated with social network density and proximity (Ashida, Heaney 2008). The literature reveals that several measures of belongingness have been developed: the Sense of Belonging Instrument (SOBI) (Hagerty, Patusky 1995); the Social Connectedness Scale (Lee, Robbins 1995); and the Social Connectedness Scale-Revised (SCS–R) (Lee et al. 2001). However, they were designed for the general population or college students. Belongingness reflects a person's emotional attachment in the context of his or her social connections. Therefore, we feel that it is vital to capture a sense of belonging as a separate domain of social embeddedness because high levels of social and civic participation do not always result in a correspondingly high sense of belonging (Crisp 2010).

To capture this dimension in our instrument, we include a subjective assessment of the quality of family relationships (the level of tension in the relationships between household members, the presence of a person in the household with whom a person can speak sincerely, and a feeling of being close to and needed by one's family). Since social relationships include a person's involvement in social networks at various levels, we also believe that it is essential to include here the indicator of a respondent feeling close to and needed by people in his/her neighbourhood and the feeling that he/she is a full-fledged member of society.

The gender dimension. Traditional gender roles that permeate our lives may have a strong impact on older people's social embeddedness. However, little is known about how men and women organise their social relationships in later life, especially in the region of Eastern Europe. We know only some relatively well-calculated statistical parameters that apply to the Baltics as well: older women live longer than men, the widowhood rate among them is higher than among men, their physical health and economic wellbeing are lower than that of men of the same age (Pinquart, Sörensen 2001). A truth that seems also to apply well to the Baltics is that older women experience continuing disadvantages in income, status, and power (Inglehart 2002). However, when it comes to characteristics that are more difficult to define without ambiguity and to express in numbers, the research results on gender differences do



not provide convincing evidence. For instance, multiple attempts to examine gender differences in life satisfaction have produced contradictory results: some authors agree with the gender similarity hypothesis, others find mixed trends or apparent gender differences (see Joshanloo, Jovanović 2019). Gender differences in life satisfaction are small (Pinquart, Sörensen 2001), levels of loneliness, even across the whole life span, demonstrate no apparent gender-specific patterns (Maes et al. 2019). According to Becker et al. (2019), it seems that symptoms of depression are more common among older men than among women of the same age.

Research methods

We collected our data by means of survey research. Representative surveys of the residents of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia² aged 50 years and older were conducted in the three countries between October and December 2019. The total size of the sample was 2,015 respondents (800 in Lithuania, 605 in Latvia, and 610 in Estonia). The survey was administered in the form of face-to-face interviews in the home of each respondent (PAPI³ in Lithuania and CAPI's⁴ in Latvia and Estonia). Nationally representative samples of populations aged 50+ in each country were drawn from the national statistics offices' latest population data⁵. The sampling procedure in each country covered all the territory of the country. The samples were designed using a method to ensure proportional representation, where households were selected randomly (random route method) and the individuals within the household selected using the last-birthday rule combined with the quota method. The gender distribution in the overall sample is 61.2% and 38.8% male respondents (respectively, 60.2% female and 39.8% male respondents in Lithuania; 64.8% female and 35.2% male respondents in Latvia, and 59.0% female and 41.0% male respondents in Estonia).

The structured survey questionnaire included measures of health status, the level of independence in day-to-day activities, safety and trust, economic participation, participation in education, social participation, connectedness and a sense of belonging, citizenship and rights, services, help, internet use, subjective wellbeing, and sociodemographic characteristics. The core questionnaire was constructed in the Lithuanian language and then translated into Latvian, Estonian, and Russian for use in the fieldwork.

² Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are small (in terms of population), unique and independent countries. However, because of their similar political and socio-economic experiences and transitions in the 20th century, these countries are often presented under their regional name - the Baltics.

³ Paper-based personal interview.

⁴ Computer-assisted personal interview.

⁵ Respectively, Statistics Lithuania, the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, and Statistics Estonia.

For the purposes of the study, we used latent class analysis (LCA) with covariates (Collins, Lanza 2010) implemented in the *R* statistical software package LCCA (Schafer, Kang 2013). We decided to employ LCA because it is a case-oriented method and thus differs from other, similar methods that are more variable-oriented. It was important to identify potentially diverse categories (classes) of older people with regard to the level of their social embeddedness in (or, conversely, – their exclusion from) social relations. For the task of identifying the latent classes, we used three dimensions of social embeddedness (composed of a series of indicators, see Table 1): social participation, civic participation, and a sense of belonging. This allowed us to identify classes along the continuum of social embeddedness—exclusion from social relationships.

After a thorough revision of the 2- to 10-class models initially retrieved (see the Annex, Table 1), we chose a 7-class model as the most relevant (and statistically sound) one for the purpose of our study. Although the 5- and 6-class models also would have allowed us to identify meaningful class patterns, the 7-class model was more sensitive to the important details across the classes.

For further analysis of the predictors of belonging to one of the seven classes, we employed LCA with covariates (resembling a multinomial regression analysis in the presentation of results). We compared the predicted probabilities of belonging one class or another using the following covariates: gender, subjective economic status of a household, subjective health status, achieved education, participation in education, household size (number of people living together in a household), marital status, knowledge of the titular language (the official language of a country of residence), employment status, in-group trust (a composite measure of trust in family, people in the neighbourhood, and people one knows personally), out-group trust (a composite measure of trust in people of another religion and another nationality), and subjective wellbeing (a composite scale) (Kairys et al. 2013).

Results

Based on the results of the LCA, in the 7-class model we were able to clearly identify two classes with a high level of social embeddedness (class 6 and class 1) and two classes that are highly excluded from social relations (class 3 and class 7) (see Table 1 for more detail). The remaining classes (2, 4, and 5) are partially socially embedded,

⁶ We included a standard measure applied in the European Values Study, Wave 2017 (European Values Study, 2018); it was also used in the World Values Survey, Wave 2005-2006, and some other international comparative surveys.



and as we reveal in the class profile descriptions below, the people in these classes have distinct patterns of characteristics across the dimensions of social embeddedness.

Social embeddedness class profiles

We present the class profiles in a decreasing order in terms of their overall level of social embeddedness, from the most embedded class 6 to class 3, which is mostly excluded from social relations.

Class 6 – the highest level of social embeddedness. This class includes older people who are overall the *most active*. They are socially engaged at the highest level (above the average compared to members of other classes) in every dimension of social embeddedness: social participation; civic participation, and a sense of belonging. They have higher scores for each indicator of every dimension of social embeddedness than the members of other classes do. They stand out for their high rates of regular socialising (hosting guests and visiting others), they interact more regularly with their children and grandchildren (as well as with other categories of people); they tend to volunteer, provide help, and be more civically engaged than others. Their sense of belonging (to family, community, and society at large) is also higher.

Class 1 – a high level of social embeddedness. The members of this class are older people who in most cases live in *one-person household* but otherwise are *well socially embedded*. The level of their social embeddedness is close to class 6. Their scores of social embeddedness are above the average compared to the remaining classes in terms of their social participation, networks, and civic participation. The overall level of civic participation of class 1 is only slightly lower than that of class 6. However, members of class 1 objectively lack an important social resource – a network of family members who share the same household. Thus, class 1 is characterised by a modest sense of belonging: overall it is lower compared not only to class 6 but also to class 2, class 4, and class 5. The latter classes have a lower overall level of social embeddedness than class 1, although the sense of belonging is lower in class 1. Therefore, living in a one-person household may affect a person's sense of belonging to others in various ways. Nevertheless, members of class 1 apparently compensate for the lack of family networks through active engagement in the community and through civic participation.

Class 2 – partial social embeddedness. Although members of class 2 live in a household with other family member(s), they seem to be slightly *detached from familial social relations*. They are also more involved in activities in the public space. The overall level of social embeddedness is a little lower but still close to that of class 1; however, class 2 differs in terms of of its household composition (people in this class are thus more likely both to receive emotional support and to experience tensions among household members than those in class 1). Nevertheless, the social

participation of class 2 is selective: these people are less engaged with neighbours and the family network outside their household (presumably they still share a household with their children and do not yet have grandchildren) but more often than sample average they socialise in the public space, and attend activities in sports and the arts. They are active in civic participation (and, like class 6 and class 1, at an above-average level). However, the level of their sense of belonging is below the sample average. The members of this class have a weaker sense of belonging to family, community, and society at large. Also, their probability of experiencing tensions with household members is at the same level as that observed for class 2.

Class 4 – partial social embeddedness. The members of class 4 are well *integrated* into *familial networks* both in and outside the household (children and grandchildren). Their social participation is selective (though in a different way than for class 2). They are deeply engaged in networks of family members, relatives, and neighbours, and they more often that other classes interact with grandchildren (at a level comparable to class 6). However, socialising outside the family network is rarer for this class than the sample average (except in relation to religious practices). Passive forms of civic engagement prevail in class 4 (following national news and voting). This class is less likely to engage in civic activity or volunteer. Class 4 has overall a strong sense of belonging (close to the level observed for class 6 and above the sample average). Among the indicators of a sense of belonging, feeling close to one's family is especially strong among members of class 4. It is important to note that the probability of belonging to this class is the highest among older people in the Baltics.

Class 5 – partial social embeddedness. People in this class stand out for what seems to be their *disrupted ties to social networks* (both extended familial and community) *outside* their *household*. In some respects, they are like class 2: they live in households with other family member(s) and their social participation in public spaces (e.g. social eating, consumption of culture, religious practices) is above the sample average. However, their civic participation is centred on volunteering and helping others. Despite their low level of interaction within social networks outside the household, the overall level of their sense of belonging is rather strong (it is stronger than that of the more socially embedded classes 1 and 2). Presumably, the lack of a wide social network is compensated for by the solid relationships they have with family members within the household and the meaningfulness of volunteering and providing help. It is important to note that older people in the Baltics are the least likely to belong to this class. However, as the discussion of the predictors used in the regression analysis will show, members of this class may constitute a specific group of citizens.

Class 7 – a low level of social embeddedness. Most members of class 7 live in one-person households, but in contrast to class 1 they score low (below the average) on most of the indicators of social embeddedness. Their social network is limited

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to micro groups outside the household (primarily, neighbours, also relatives). Their social participation is weak in all other respects. Though at a lower rate than the average, they tend to host guests or visit others and attend religious events; however, all other activities in the public space are at a critically low level. Their level of civic participation is also low: they do somewhat follow the national news and they may vote but they are otherwise passive in terms of civic activity. Moreover, they have the lowest level of social belonging among the seven classes. Their sense of belonging to family, community, and society at large is weak and they do not have the objective prerequisite for close familial ties because they live in a one-person household. In contrast to class 1, this class does not seem to have a compensatory mechanism for the lack of familial and other social ties.

Class 3 – low level of social embeddedness. This is the most *socially isolated* class. These people *live* in households with other *family member(s)* and their network of social relations is largely limited to family. They score low on every indicator of social activity. They may host guests or visit other people, attend religious practices, or interact with neighbours, but otherwise their social participation is limited. They exhibit almost no civic participation and their sense of belonging is low. Although they live with other family members and thus have someone to talk to, they seem to experience tensions with other household members more often than the other classes do, and their sense of belonging to the family, community, and society at large is the lowest out of all the classes. This fact coupled with the very low level of social and civic participation means that this class is the most at risk of social isolation, even though they do not live alone.

Table 1: Profile output for the LCA model of 7 classes

	Class 6	Class 1	Class 2	Class 4	Class 5	Class 7	Class 3	
Dimensions and indicators	Class prevalence, per cent							
	14.8	14.7	14.0	22.5	5.6	12.6	15.9	
Social participation, sum of indicators 1–13	12.224	9.895	8.931	7.564	6.607	4.937	4.114	
Hosted guests	1.6768	1.425	1.237	1.282	1.197	1.018	0.996	
Visited others	1.646	1.548	1.287	1.169	1.152	0.885	0.762	
Participated in social eating in public place	1.227	0.989	1.141	0.478	0.922	0.178	0.208	
Participated in religious or spiritual meeting	0.874	0.773	0.751	0.748	0.751	0.592	0.476	
Consumed culture	1.110	0.920	1.025	0.394	0.773	0.147	0.163	
Participated in arts activities	0.707	0.573	0.577	0.151	0.328	0.072	0.041	
Participated in sports activities	1.124	0.928	1.054	0.379	0.702	0.108	0.191	

Interacted with neighbours	0.835	0.746	0.540	0.773	0.046**	0.631	0.517
Interacted with friends	0.698	0.570	0.447	0.409	0.082**	0.204	0.138*
Interacted with children***	0.853	0.604	0.369*	0.771	0.384*	0.529	0.322*
Interacted with grandchildren***	0.694*	0.388*	0.142*	0.584	0.040**	0.315*	0.150*
Interacted with relatives***	0.427	0.302	0.130	0.245	0.161**	0.219	0.089
Interacted with parent(-s)***	0.353**	0.129**	0.231*	0.181**	0.069**	0.039**	0.061**
Civic participation,	4 222	3.726	3.679	2.899	2 702	2.192	2.157
sum of indicators 14-18	4.323	3./26	3.6/9	2.899	2.703	2.192	2.15/
Followed national news	1.619	1.536	1.574	1.549	1.156	1.291	1.47
Voted in national elections	0.864	0.817	0.840	0.741	0.681	0.582	0.445
Provided unpaid help (for non-relatives)	0.652	0.536	0.542	0.333	0.413	0.161	0.139
Volunteered	0.568	0.396	0.305	0.073	0.294	0.068	0.025
Undertook civic actions	0.620	0.441	0.419	0.204	0.159	0.090	0.078
Sense of belonging,	0.020	0.111	0.115	0.201	0.133		0.070
sum of indicators 19-23	5.871	3.118	3.823	5.318	4.801	2.155	2.579
Has a person in household to talk to	0.962	0.001**	0.840	0.954	0.796	0.001**	0.719
No tensions with household members	0.788	0.001**	0.495	0.755	0.731	0.001**	0.489
Feels close to family	1.806	1.403	1.261	1.727	1.537	1.009	0.799
Feels close to neighbourhood	1.091	0.672	0.419	0.938	0.659	0.504	0.227
Feels a full-fledged member of society	1.224	1.041	0.808	0.944	1.078	0.640	0.345
Overall social embeddedness, total sum of indicators 1-23	22.418	16.739	16.434	15.782	14.111	9.284	8.850

White cell – the level of expression (frequency or intensity) of indicator for the class is 100 per cent and more of the average for that indicator.

Light grey cell – the level of expression (frequency or intensity) of indicator for the class is 60-99 per cent of the average for that indicator.

Grey cell – the level of expression (frequency or intensity) of indicator for the class is less than 60 per cent of the average for that indicator.

- * Some but no more than half of members of the class (0.202-0.496) reported that the relationships in question are not applicable in their case.
- ** More than half of members of the class (0.531-0.998) reported that the relationships in question are not applicable in their case.
- *** Respondent interacted with named persons living outside his/her household.
- ⁸ For dichotomous variables, the maximum possible value is '1'. The researchers, having available differentiated data on the intensity (frequency and strength) of activities and feelings, sought to purposefully highlight the relief of the levels of engagement in social relations. Thus, the role of the highest intensity indicators in the analysis was strengthened they were multiplied by a coefficient of '2' during coding. Therefore, the values in cells exceeding '1' means the exceptional intensity of activity or feeling within the specific class.



The covariates of socially embedded classes

We also looked at the covariates that could provide a more detailed understanding of the characteristics that may predict or are linked to belonging to each of the seven classes of social embeddedness. We were able to identify some of the objective prerequisites that may define different levels of social embeddedness. We specifically examined whether we could trace gender differences among the classes. We found that gender can have a statistically significant effect on the chances of belonging to class 1 and class 3. Otherwise, gender was significant only in separate cases of class comparisons.

Below we highlight the main statistically significant covariates for each class. Table 2 in the Annex provides a detailed inter-class comparison in relation to the covariates.

Gender. In general, there is no clear pattern to indicate that men or women have different chances of being socially embedded in their later lives. However, we observed statistically significant gender effects in two classes: class 1, which was characterised by a high level of social embeddedness, and class 3, which, on the contrary, had the lowest level of social embeddedness. There are more women in class 1 than in class 2, class 5, class 7, and class 3. Whereas in class 3 there are more men compared to classes 6, 1, 4, and 5. Also, gender differences can be observed when other classes with moderate to low levels of social embeddedness are compared to class 6 and class 1 (both of which have high levels of social embeddedness). Men are more likely to belong to class 4 than to classes 6 and 1, to class 2 than to class 1, and to class 7 than to class 1. Therefore, data analysis allows us to presume that men at an older age may be at a slightly higher risk of experiencing lower levels of social embeddedness than women.

Other potential predictors. We additionally examined the covariates that can potentially predict the chance (or risk) of an older person experiencing a higher or lower level of social embeddedness. We focused on the subjective economic status of a household, subjective health status, educational attainment, participation in education, household size (number of people living together in a household), marital status, knowledge of titular language (the official language of a country of residence), and employment status. We provide the most observable statistically significant covariates for each class and list them in the order of decreasing levels of social embeddedness (for details see Table 2 in the Annex).

Class 6 – The chance of experiencing a high level of social embeddedness is better for older people who are still employed and / or in training, have higher educational attainment, have a better subjective assessment of their health, and live in a larger household.

Class 1 - As we discussed above, being a female is an apparent predictor of belonging to this class; also, members of this class more often live alone than members

of other classes do; their educational attainment is to a statistically significant degree higher than that of members of class 7 and class 3.

Class 2 – One of the key predictors for this class is being employed (statistically significant compared to class 1, 4, 7 and 3), and members of this class tend to live in smaller households than those in classes 3, 4, and 6, and their subjective health is better that that of the least socially embedded classes 7 and 3.

Class 4 – Members of this class tend to have lower educational attainment, are less involved in training and employment (except when compared to class 3), and live in bigger households.

Class 5 – This class stands out for the lower level of the command of the titular language among its members. It is a proxy variable for residence status and being born in the given country. Therefore, we can predict that residents of foreign descent (potentially without citizenship status) tend more often to belong to this class. They live in bigger households, tend to have a higher level of educational attainment (compared to those in classes 4, 7, and 3), and experience more financial difficulties (compared to those in classes 6, 2 and 4).

Class 7 – These people tend to live in smaller households, have a lower level of educational attainment, are not employed, and have a lower level of subjective health.

Class 3 – As already observed, men tend to belong to this class more often. Members of this class also have a lower level of subjective health and lower educational attainment, are not employed or in training, and live in bigger households.

Social trust. Trust is an important social resource; in-group trust (or trust in those who are close and familiar) is more universal, whereas out-group trust (or trust in those who are strangers to and are different from us) has been found to reflect human empowerment when dependency on in-group relations lowers and outgroup cooperation or engagement expands (Delhey, Welzel 2012; Crepaz et al. 2017). Social trust is a complex phenomenon, so it can be interpreted as both an input and an output variable. Therefore, we looked at how the two forms of social trust could be linked to the level of social embeddedness. We found some interesting though not unexpected patterns in our results. In the overall sample of respondents aged 50+, most respondents (close to 90%) expressed in-group trust. However, when it came to out-group trust, around one-quarter of the respondents did not identify their level of trust (chose answer option "don't know / hard to say") and another 40 to 50% of them did not trust out-group categories of people very much or at all. Thus, it is not surprising that there are no significant out-group trust differences between the classes except for class 4. Being primarily embedded in familial social relations (which seems are supportive to them), the members of this class have significantly lower levels of out-group trust, which is also reflected in their low level of civic participation. Their in-group trust levels are significantly higher than those in other classes. Class



6 demonstrates statistically significantly stronger in-group trust than classes 2, 5, 7, and 3. Class 2, on the contrary, has lower levels of in-group trust than any other class, which reflects their detachment from familial relationships. The least socially embedded class, which is 3, has lower levels of in-group trust than the most socially embedded one, class 6, and also lower than class 4 (though it is higher than class 7). Class 7 also has lower in-group trust than classes 6, 1, and 4.

Subjective wellbeing. We presume subjective wellbeing to be an output covariate and examine whether a higher or lower level of social embeddedness is linked to higher or lower subjective wellbeing. Our data analysis confirms that subjective wellbeing is significantly related to social embeddedness. Its effect is especially apparent in the classes at the marginal end of the continuum of social embeddedness. In class 6, with the highest level of social embeddedness, the levels of subjective wellbeing are statistically significantly higher than in most other classes with lower levels of social embeddedness (2, 5, 7, and 3). In the class with a high level of social embeddedness (class 1), the levels of subjective wellbeing are significantly higher than the less socially embedded classes (2, 7, and 3) as well. Conversely, the level of subjective wellbeing is statistically significantly lower among members of the classes with the lowest levels of social embeddedness. For older people who belong to class 3, subjective wellbeing is lower than it is in classes 6, 1, 4, and 5; in class 7 subjective wellbeing is lower than it is in classes 6, 1, and 4.

There are two more classes that have an interesting pattern of linkage between social embeddedness and subjective wellbeing. One of the classes with a higher level of social embeddedness (class 2) has a statistically significantly lower level of subjective wellbeing compared to classes 6, 1, 4, and 5 (its subjective wellbeing is at the level of the least socially embedded classes, 7 and 3). Subjective wellbeing in class 4 does not differ from that in the most embedded classes, 6 and 1 (and also the partially embedded class 5), but it is significantly higher than in classes 2, 7, and 3. Comparing the profiles of class 2 and class 4 we can see that they differ in the closeness of their familial ties; thus, it is possible to presume that having wider and better familial ties produces higher overall subjective well-being even when the overall social embeddedness is lower.

Discussion and conclusion

The LCA method helped to identify subgroups of the older population according to the level of their embeddedness in social relationships (conceptualised via dimensions of social participation, civic participation, and sense of belonging) and to examine patterns of social embeddedness by gender. The study revealed that people aged 50 and over residing in the Baltics are consistently dispersed across the social

embeddedness continuum. The two extremes of this continuum are represented by rich and diverse social and civic participation and a strong sense of belonging at one end and scarcity, one-sided participation, and a low sense of belonging at the other end. Intermediate positions on this continuum consist of various combinations of the measured dimensions. Some subgroups (class 2) have relatively high levels of social and civic participation, but this does not result in a correspondingly high sense of belonging. Other subgroups are relatively less socially and civically involved, and their social participation also tends to be concentrated in one area (community or family), but their sense of belonging varies – in some cases (classes 4 and 5) it does not suffer (it is quite strong), while in others (classes 7 and 3) it is weak.

The various combinations of different dimensions that constitute overall social embeddedness that we observed here allowed us to summarise that not only the breadth and frequency of social relations but also their quality is vital for stronger social embeddedness. In line with this, we observed that if a person has connections but there is lack of trust, this will be manifested as weaker social embeddedness.

The patterns of older men's and women's social embeddedness confirm the gender similarity hypothesis (Hyde 2005) in classes 2, 4, 5, and 7. Women's and men's probability of belonging to these classes is similar and we did not detect any statistically significant differences. We found gender differences in two subgroups (classes 1 and 3) of older adults residing in the Baltics. These classes are located at opposite ends of the social embeddedness scale. Older women dominantly belong to class 1, which is characterised by the high level of social embeddedness. In contrast, older men much more often than women of the same age tend to be members of class 3, which includes older people with the lowest indicators of embeddedness in social relations. Class 6, which occupies the position at the very top of the scale (the highest indicators of social embeddedness), is also slightly more predominated by women (compared to classes 4 and 3). When everything is considered, this means that older women tend to be slightly more concentrated at the top of the social embeddedness scale, while their male counterparts tend to be located somewhat more often in the lower segments of the scale. This is, however, a rather surprising discovery. To now older women have more often been described in the literature as vulnerable (Arber, Cooper 1999; Inglehart, 2002; Saito et al. 2012). Nevertheless, our study revealed that older men predominate among those most poorly embedded in social relationships. They are in a critical situation because it seems that many of them are unable to go out to socialise (except to visit neighbours or attend church), and their social networks outside the household and their interactions with them are very limited. Most of them do not live alone – they are surrounded by family member who live in the same household, but these relationships appear to be unsupportive and do not create a sense of belonging to the family. One explanation for the predominance

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of frail older men in unsupportive households could be provided by the findings of Carvalho (2019), who observed gender differences in the preferred types of long-term care. Carvalho (2019) argues that older men were more likely to choose a home setting with informal, unprofessional caregiving, even when their level of disability increased; women by contrast more often chose help from professionals, sheltered homes, or institutional care.

Our study of social embeddedness among the 50+ population implicitly revealed (through covariates) and confirmed the insights of other researchers (Walsh et al. 2017; Regenmortel et al. 2016; Levitas et al. 2007; Burchardt et al. 2009) that an individual's involvement in the labour market plays a significant role in his or her social embeddedness. Both working older men and women tend to end up in classes with a higher level of social embeddedness than people who are not working. It seems that withdrawal from the labour market is usually associated with a descent in the hierarchy of social-embeddedness levels. However, an exception was recorded in our survey. This is class 1 (accounting for one-seventh or 15% of the sample), where the decisive majority is made up of women who live alone, are not working, and have a higher than disadvantaged classes 7 and 3 level of educational attainment. Members of class 1 were able to maintain a surprisingly high level of social embeddedness and thus share a high position in the social embeddedness continuum together with classes 6 and 2 (both of them are populated by employed older adults). This shows that not working people may have constellations of social networks, an intensity of interactions with others, and a sense of belonging, all of which creates an even stronger embeddedness in social relationships than the embeddedness of people who are working (class 1 compared to class 2).

Although, overall, the respondents in our sample tended to demonstrate high level of in-group trust, the regression analysis revealed that both a lack of social ties and a lower perceived quality of existing social ties weakens the basis for forming trust even within a circle of familiar people. This, in turn, can lead to further exclusion from social relationships, whereas higher social embeddedness is accompanied by a stronger tendency towards in-group trust. Even though we did not see any clear pattern to indicate that social embeddedness enhances the level of out-group trust (as it is also less characteristic for the sample as a whole), we can see that social embeddedness that is highly dependent on familial ties may prevent the formation of out-group trust and may thus reduce the likelihood of a person engaging with wider social circles.

The study showed that the model we developed was useful for providing a more nuanced picture of social embeddedness, identifying subgroups of older people according to their level of embeddedness in social relations, and understanding their heterogeneity. The study also filled in the gap in knowledge about the gendered

risk of old-age exclusion from social relationships in one Eastern European region. However, some limitations should be mentioned. We applied the LCA to the overall survey sample; however, it would be reasonable to further explore LCA models separately for men and women and for each country under study to identify even more detailed patterns of social embeddedness and risks of exclusion from social relationships. Based on a multidimensional conceptualisation of social embeddedness, we constructed a measurement tool that covers all three of its dimensions. However, we believe that it is important to further refine the conceptual clarity of social embeddedness, its composite parts as well as its relationship to the current variety of parallel concepts that exist, such as community participation, social inclusion, social connectedness, social integration, social capital, social well-being, community inclusion, social acceptance, etc.

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Dr. Sarmité Mikulioniené is a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences (Lithuania). Her main research interests are the demography of population ageing, ageing policy, ageism, social exclusion and loneliness, intergenerational relationships, and lifelong learning. Contact e-mail: mikulioniene@lsct.lt.

Inga Gaižauskaitė is a junior researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences (Lithuania). Her main research interests include democratisation, social and political trust, intergenerational relationships, and developments in social research methodology. Contact e-mail: inga.gaizauskaite@lstc.lt.

Dr. Vaidas Morkevičius is a senior researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities of Kaunas University of Technology (Lithuania). His latest research is on interwar socio-economic history and social structuration of the Baltic states. Contact e-mail: vaidas. morkevicius@ktu.lt.

Annex

Table 1: Criteria for the appropriate LC model selection

Number	Loglikelihood	Loglikelihood +	-2 *	AIC	BIC
of Classes		penalty	Loglikelihood		
2	-37850.53544	-37916.87273	75701.07089	75879.07089	76378.21622
3	-37337.97401	-37441.75259	74675.94801	74943.94801	75695.47019

4	-36597.98966	-36748.61654	73195.97932	73553.97932	74557.87835
5	-36154.60189	-36348.34016	72309.20379	72757.20379	74013.47967
6	-35830.65526	-36062.50395	71661.31052	72199.31052	73707.96326
7	-35603.28210	-35875.35017	71206.56420	71834.56420	73595.59378
8	-35453.63934	-35765.77166	70907.27868	71625.27868	73638.68511
9	-35309.03997	-35663.83316	70618.07994	71426.07994	73691.86323
10	-35125.40691	-35522.95818	70250.81381	71148.81381	73666.97395

Table 2: Multinomial regression analysis results

Class	6	1	2	4	5	7	3
6*		^** 2 pers***	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ Females	↑ Econ strain	↑ Higher edu	↑ Females
		HH****	↑3+ pers HH	↑ SHealth	↑ Language	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ SHealth
		↑ 3+ pers HH	↑ Ing trust	↑ Adv edu	↑ In training	↑3+ pers HH	↑ Adv edu
			↑ SWB	↑ Higher edu	↑ Ing trust	↑ Employed	↑ Higher edu
				↑ Language	↑ SWB	↑ In training	↑ Married
				↑ Employed		↑ Ing trust	↑ Language
				↑ In training		↑ SWB	↑ Employed
				↑ Outg trust			↑ In training
							↑ Ing trust
							↑ SWB
1	↓ 2 pers HH		↑ Females	↑ Females	↓ 2 pers HH	↑ Females	↑ Females
	↓ 3+ pers HH		↓ 2 pers HH	\downarrow 2 pers HH	↓ 3+ pers HH	I↑ Adv edu	↑ Adv edu
			↓ 3+ pers HH	\downarrow 3+ pers HH	↓ Single	↑ Higher edu	↑ Higher edu
			↓ Single	↑ In training	↑ Language	↑ Employed	\downarrow 2 pers HH
			↓ Employed	↑ Outg trust		↑ Ing trust	\downarrow 3+ pers HH
			↑ Ing trust			↑ SWB	↑ In training
			↑ SWB				↑ SWB
2	↓ 2 pers HH	↓ Females		↑ Higher edu	↓ Econ strain	↑ SHealth	↑ Females
	↓ 3+ pers HH	↑ 2 pers HH		\downarrow 2 pers HH	\downarrow 2 pers HH	↑ Higher edu	↑ SHealth
	\downarrow Ing trust	↑3+ pers HH		↓ 3+ pers HH	↓ 3+ pers HH	I↑2 pers HH	↑ Higher edu
	↓ SWB	↑ Single		↑ Employed	↑ Language	↑3+ pers HH	\downarrow 2 pers HH
		↑ Employed		↑ In training	\downarrow Ing trust	↑ Single	\downarrow 3+ pers HH
		↓ Ing trust		↓ Ing trust	↓ SWB	↑ Employed	↑ Employed
		↓ SWB		↑ Outg trust		↑ In training	↑ In training
				↓ SWB		↓ Ing trust	↓ Ing trust
4	\downarrow Females	↓ Females	↓ Higher edu		↓ Econ strain	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ Females
	↓ SHealth	↑ 2 pers HH	↑2 pers HH		↓ Adv edu	↑3+ pers HH	↑ SHealth
	↓ Adv edu	↑3+ pers HH	↑3+ pers HH		↓ Higher edu	ı↑ Ing trust	↑ Higher edu
	↓ Higher edu	↓ In training	↓ Employed		↑ Language	↑ SWB	↑ Married
	↓ Language	↓ Outg trust	\downarrow In training		↓ Employed		↑ Employed
	↓ Employed		↑ Ing trust		↑ Ing trust		↑ In training
	\downarrow In training		↓ Outg trust		↓ Outg trust		↑ Ing trust
	↑ Ing trust		↑ SWB				↑ SWB
	↓ Outg trust						

5	↑ Econ strain	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ Econ strain	↑ Econ strain		↑ Higher edu	↑ Females
	↑2 pers HH	↑3+ pers HH	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ Adv edu		↑ 2 pers HH	↑ SHealth
	\downarrow Language	↑ Single	↑3+ pers HH	↑ Higher edu		↑3+ pers HH	↑ Adv edu
	\downarrow In training	↓ Language	↓ Language	↓ Language		↑ Single	↑ Higher edu
	↓ Ing trust		↑ Ing trust	↑ Employed		↓ Language	↑ Single
	↓ SWB		↑ SWB	\downarrow Ing trust		↑ Employed	↑ Married
				↑ Outg trust			↓ Language
							↑ Employed
							↑ In training
							↑ SWB
7	↓ Higher edu	↓ Females	↓ SHealth	↓ 2 pers HH	↓ Higher edu		↓ 2 pers HH
	\downarrow 2 pers HH	↓ Adv edu	↓ Higher edu	\downarrow 3+ pers HH	\downarrow 2 pers HH		↓ 3+ pers HH
	\downarrow 3+ pers HH	↓ Higher edu	↓ 2 pers HH	↓ Ing trust	↓ 3+ pers HH		
	↓ Employed	↓ Employed	↓ 3+ pers HH	↓ SWB	↓ Single		
	↓ In training	↓ In training	↓ Single		↑ Language		
	\downarrow Ing trust	\downarrow Ing trust	↓ Employed		↓ Employed		
	\downarrow SWB	↓ SWB	↓ In training				
			↑ Ing trust				
3	↓ Females	↓ Females	↓ Females	↓ Females	↓ Females	↑2 pers HH	
	\downarrow SHealth	↓ Adv edu	↓ SHealth	↓ SHealth	↓ SHealth	↑3+ pers HH	
	\downarrow Adv edu	↓ Higher edu	\downarrow Higher edu	↓ Higher edu	↓ Adv edu	↑ Ing trust	
	↓ Higher edu	↑ 2 pers HH	↑ 2 pers HH	↓ Married	\downarrow Higher edu		
	↓ Married	↑3+ pers HH	↑3+ pers HH	↓ Employed	↓ Single		
	↓ Language	↓ In training	↓ Employed	↓ In training	↓ Married		
	↓ Employed	↓ SWB	↓ In training	↓ Ing trust	↑ Language		
	\downarrow In training		↑ Ing trust	↓ SWB	↓ Employed		
	↓ Ing trust				\downarrow In training		
	↓ SWB				↓SWB		

^{*} The order of classes is based on their decreasing level of social embeddedness.

2 pers HH = 2-person household

3+ pers HH = 3- or more person household

Adv edu = advanced vocational / special secondary / higher (non-university) level of achieved education

Econ strain = economic [financial] difficulties in the household

Higher edu = higher (university) level of educational attainment

In training = currently in education or improving qualifications

Ing trust = in-group trust

Language = knowledge of titular language – native speaker / good knowledge

Outg trust = out-group trust

SHealth = subjective health (very) good

SWB – subjective wellbeing

^{**} Arrows show statistically significant differences comparing a class in the row against a class in the column. ↑ means 'higher', ↓ means 'lower'.

^{***} Data in bold = p < 0.001; data without bold = p < 0.05.

^{****}Abbreviations:



Age, Gender and Feminism: Addressing the Gap from Literary and Cultural Perspectives

Ieva Stončikaitė

Abstract: Although important demographic shifts have generated both an interest and profound transformations in sociocultural interpretations of ageing and old age, the experience of growing older is still perceived negatively and is often measured according to how successfully people adapt to the current Western ideals of later life. In the light of recent research on cultural and literary representations of ageing, this article critically addresses contemporary American writer Erica Jong's mid-life and later works from feminist and gender perspectives. It shows how the author's writings contest the narrative of decline and ageism and incorporate some aspects of positive ageing in terms of body image. Yet, instead of following the model of successful ageing, Jong offers alternative views of ageing femininities and sexuality that enable a different narrative of growing older to emerge. The writer's work also shows that socially and culturally constructed gender and power relationships can be deconstructed, which allows for new forms of self-expression that are not moulded into antiageing discourses and their neoliberal imperatives.

Keywords: ageing, gender, feminism

Stončikaitė, Ieva. 2021. Age, Gender and Feminism: Addressing the Gap from Literary and Cultural Perspectives. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 59–77, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.012.

A longer life course and rapidly changing demographic shifts have generated profound transformations in social, political, and cultural interpretations of ageing and later life (Gilleard, Higgs 2014; WHO 2018). These important changes have also contributed to a growing interest in interdisciplinary and critical approaches to the process of growing older, which includes but also goes beyond the traditional field of gerontology (Blaikie 1999; Calasanti, King 2015; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Marshall, Katz 2012; Twigg, Martin 2014). The greater attention given to the realities and challenges of ageing has propelled the emergence of cultural and literary gerontology, which extends gerontological frameworks by analysing ageing through the lens of intersectionality



and critical standpoints and offers a more meaningful view of gender relationships and the multifaceted experience of ageing. Critical age-related approaches to literary texts also help reveal that ageing, often portrayed by the persistent narrative of decline (Gullette 2004) and the double standard of ageing (Sontag 1972) in Western societies is, in fact, a dynamic process marked by continuity and a journey inwards (Baars 2012; Barry, Vibe Skagen 2020; Casado-Gual, Domínguez, Worsfold 2016; Cohen-Shalev 2008; de Medeiros 2016; Gullette 2004, 2011; Hepworth 2000; Waxman 1990; Wyatt-Brown 2010; Wyatt-Brown, Rossen 1993). Although a literary approach to age-related narratives does not explain the reasons for growing older nor give us answers to questions about old age, it examines what the process of ageing implies culturally, socially, and politically (Kriebernegg 2015). To use Kriebernegg's words, literary gerontology makes it possible to foster 'productive interdisciplinary dialogue on how ageing as a lifelong process is understood and experienced' (2015: 839). At the same time, it provides scholars with significant perspectives for interpreting and comprehending the dynamics of ageing and old age (Zeilig 2011).

As will be shown here, the representations of contemporary female ageing in Erica Jong's work make it possible to dive deeper into the complexities of coming to terms with age in relation to gender, body politics, and intimacy. By employing critical literary analysis, and by integrating feminist and gender perspectives in it, this article draws upon selected scenes from Jong's middle and later-life writings¹ that demonstrate how the author contests the narrative of decline and incorporates some aspects of successful ageing. Yet, at the same time, her writings do not follow the ideals of positive ageing. Instead, Jong enables the development of a different narrative of growing older that goes beyond the dominant Western age-related discourses and challenges a gender-specific representation of old age. Her position as a spokeswoman of the American post-war cohort is especially relevant, given that the women of her generation are now approaching their latest stages in life and, therefore, are exposed to new challenges within the context of controversial antiageing imperatives.

In fact, since the publication of her bestselling book, *Fear of Flying* (1973), the author has never ceased to explore her cohort's emotional, professional, and sexual needs. Although *Fear of Flying* was a revealing book for many women during Second-Wave feminism and the sexual revolution of the 1970s, Jong's tendency to incorporate sexual female experiences mixed with humour and wit has generated a lot of controversy,

¹ This article focuses on Jong's mid-life works *Fear of Fifty* (1994) and *What Do Women Want?* (1999) and her later-life writings *Seducing the Demon* (2006) and *Fear of Dying* (2015). The author is grateful to the reviewers for their valuable comments, which helped improve the manuscript.

thus denigrating her career as a woman writer (Templin 1995, 2002). Although criticised, the author has continued to voice professional, intimate, and personal fears and anxieties that concern women of her generation (Templin 1995, 2002). In her midlife memoirs and other later writings, which are often autobiographical in nature, she reveals important aspects about the conflicting and, at the same time, enriching experience of female ageing and that of being an older woman in contemporary society. An age-, gender-, and feminist-studies approach to Jong's later writings contributes to a better understanding of the sociocultural significance of her work, and shows important, but often silenced, aspects of female identity that have not been sufficiently addressed. Her works also help address the gaps that represent the lack of dialogue, reflections, and insights about how feminist critiques and gendered Western ageing norms have not adapted to our rapidly ageing society. A deeper reflection on the author's later writings reveals alternative perspectives from which to view the process of ageing for white, middle-aged, and often well-off women, who are also Jong's targeted audience.

The following sections draw from various literary and scientific sources to explore how the process of ageing and its psychological, sociocultural, and physical complexities intersect with gender and feminism. They identify key messages from early feminist writings and long-standing cultural notions about successful ageing along with its neoliberal imperatives and the double standard of ageing (Sontag 1972), which reveals that older women face more pressures than men because of the loss of sexual and physical attractiveness. Sontag's argument of the double standard of ageing shows how appearance-related disadvantages have harsher consequences for ageing women, and lead to a double categorisation and discrimination based on gender inequality and ageism.

Feminist and gender approaches to age(ing) studies

Female ageing realities reflected in literary texts would be incomplete without feminist and gender scholarship. As gerontologist Toni Calasanti highlights, feminism 'gives us the tools to examine ageism and age relations more deeply' (2004: 7). Feminist scholars, concerned with the double marginalisation that both ageing and gender imply, were the first to problematise ageing in literary age studies (Barry, Vibe Skagen 2020). The growing visibility of the feminist input in ageing studies is evident in the expansion of topics, methods, and new areas of study that provide feminist scholars with new vantage points from which to reflect not only on the political, social, cultural, and historical implications of ageing, but also on their own ageing experiences (Calasanti 2004). In recent decades, there has been a notable growth of literary works that critically look into the ways in which age is represented in relation



to broader topics that concern women today (Barry, Vibe Skagen 2020). The depiction of older women's experiences has become more emphasised because the generation of feminists who were active during the 1960s and 1970s have gone through their midlife crises, and thus have become more interested in defending their rights and privileges, determining their roles, and changing the stigmatisation of older women (King 2013).

Simone de Beauvoir's The Coming of Age (1972) (first published in French under the title La Vieillesse in 1970) is one of the first texts to voice the concerns of ageing women and show their marginalised position as discriminated 'Others.' According to de Beauvoir, women have always been victims of sexual and gender inequality. In her book, the writer argued that even though midlife and older age could be seen as liberating stages that exempt women from social obligations, family burdens, and the patriarchal order, they are not fulfilling because those freedoms can no longer be used to women's own benefit. According to the author, growing older makes women less visible and more neglected in society in comparison to men. Even though de Beauvoir highlighted the concerns of ageing women in her work, it did not receive much attention and interest from Second-Wave activists. In fact, the feminist positioning of ageing women as victims has strengthened the associations of older women as frail and in need of protection. Although Susan Sontag addressed the negative connotations ascribed to ageing women in her famous article *The Double* Standard of Aging (1972), it was not until the 1990s and beyond that age-related issues became more pronounced in the feminist agenda.

The feminist writer Germaine Greer saw the need to empower ageing women as a way to fight patriarchy and ageism. In *The Change: Women, Ageing and the Menopause* (1991), Greer observed that as a woman grows older, she becomes more satisfied with herself and her inner being. A post/menopausal woman embodies invisibility and freedom from sexual objectification, which allows her to get closer to her true self. To Greer, old age is not a time of crisis for a woman but is rather an autumn that is 'long, golden, milder and warmer than summer, and is the most productive season of the year' (1991: 142). Similarly, the feminist author Carolyn Heilbrun celebrated the midlife stage for women and called it the 'magic circle of invisibility' that leads to 'the land of new accomplishment and new passion' (1991: 27). According to these pioneering feminist scholars, reaching older age is a turning point in life because it coincides with the onset of menopause and thus the end of the reproductive life course, which grants women more freedom and allows them to get closer to their true selves.

However, although the notion that older women may feel liberated as they are freed from the ubiquitous patriarchal control over their bodies and the male gaze may be true for some women, this view does not challenge or subvert the already

established sexist and ageist ideas towards older women today. Ageing women continue to be socially stigmatised, marginalised and discriminated, which shows the persistence of ageism, sexism, gender inequality and the double standard of ageing. Betty Friedan, along with other feminist writers, has pointed to the importance of giving a voice to ageing women. In her work The Fountain of Age (1993), Friedan examined practical issues that concern older women and called for the reconsideration of the negative stereotyped meanings that are attributed to older age. Margaret Morganroth Gullette is among the first age critics to challenge negative connotations about ageing women, biological essentialism, and ageism in Western cultures. She also noted that age-related stereotypes are often coded into a narrative of decline, according to which ageing women are perceived as frail, asexual, and dependant (2004). Other feminist gerontologists, such as Toni Calasanti and Kathleen Slevin (2001), have suggested including a consideration of age, along with race, class, and gender, as a social category that is inextricably linked to social inequalities, power relations, and ageism. In their view, traditional feminist theory has not considered age-based relations and social structures that create long-lasting effects on older women and limit opportunities in later life. Additionally, these scholars argued that the discourse of successful ageing has also greatly conditioned ageing women's freedom and their experiences of ageing by stressing women's bodily image and sexuality. In her later works, Erica Jong also examines contemporary female ageing realities and depicts the increasing emphasis on rejuvenation and active sexual lives in later years. As will be demonstrated, the critical use of literary gerontology helps better illustrate how Jong's writings challenge and connect with gendered and ageist attitudes about later life and notions of positive ageing.

Gendered ageing female bodies in Jong's later work

Erica Jong's later work and her personal accounts resonate with gender-sensitive research on ageing, as both the writer and her fictional characters fall prey to the discourse of successful ageing. Originating in the United States in the second half of the 20th century, this anti-ageing ideal was defined in the works of social scientists John Rowe and Robert Kahn (1987, 1998), who focused on three main standards of ageing that emphasised the avoidance of disease and disability, high levels of cognitive and physical functioning, and active social engagement. Rowe and Kahn also highlighted that ageing successfully was an individual's own responsibility: '[o]ur main message is that we can have a dramatic impact on our own success or failure in ageing. Far more than is usually assumed, successful ageing is in our own hands' (1998: 18). In other words, the main idea behind the model of successful ageing is that as long as people keep an eye on their physical and mental wellbeing



and enthusiastically participate in social circles and leisure activities, they are ageing gracefully (Blaikie 1999; Calasanti 2016; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Katz 2000; Katz, Calasanti 2015; Marshall, Katz 2012; Martinson, Berridge 2015; Timonen 2016; Twigg, Martin 2015; Vincent, Phillipson, Downs 2006). Yet, and very importantly, older people are in charge of their own 'success' in later life. As Calasanti and King state, '[s]uccessful ageing means not ageing and not being old because our constructions of old age contain no positive content' (2005: 7). The successful ageing discourse, closely intersected with neoliberal rationality and capitalist ideology, has imposed new ways on ageing and divided older people into two categories: winners and losers (Strawbridge, Wallhagen 2002). However, Rowe and Kahn's defined model of success in later life continues to be present in today's society and is now a significant part of Western thought, politics, research, media, social relations, lifestyles, healthcare, and the anti-ageing industry (Calasanti 2016; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Katz 2000; Katz, Calasanti 2015; Marshall, Katz 2012; Timonen 2016). As age scholar Stephen Katz observes, this discourse is so integrated into how the wellbeing of older adults and their lifestyles is measured that to question it 'would be considered unprofessional, if not heretical' (2000: 135). Along with the emergence of the discourse of successful ageing, age-related norms and behaviour patterns have become more flexible and blurred (Blaikie 1999; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Marshall, Katz 2012). These changes are especially visible in the treatment of the body and sexuality in later life, the tropes that are recurrent in Jong's later writings.

Anxieties about physical attractiveness are visible in Jong's works, in which she reflects on gendered attitudes towards female bodily changes and their stigmatisation in youth- and beauty-obsessed Western society. Although in her early writings Jong was already expressing worries about her outward appearance and a desire to adapt her body to the beauty ideals of femininity and desirability, the concerns about her body became more pronounced as she entered the second half of her life (Stončikaitė 2019). In her midlife memoir Fear of Fifty (1994), Jong writes that as a woman grows older, almost every birthday becomes a turning point in her life, one that further reduces her visibility and desirability. Reaching midlife also coincides with the biological marker of menopause, which symbolises the end of a woman's reproductive life (Heilbrun 1991; Greer 1991; Woodward 1999). Although the feminist writers mentioned above have argued that midlife is a liberating stage in life for a woman, since it grants her invisibility and freedom from the male gaze, Jong, as will be shown, does not follow this thought in terms of older women's sexuality. The author argues that as women grow older and their bodies become more unforgiving and less socially acceptable, they become not only less visible, but even feared in society, which reveals ageism, gendered inequalities, and the double standard of ageing. In one interview, Jong, at the age of seventy-three, stated that '[a]s women, we can't look old. We can't be fat. We're supposed to look like the 14-year-old models in *Vogue*, who are younger and younger and skinnier and skinnier, and they are air-brushed and contoured and Photoshopped' (Burns 2015: n/p).

For instance, in the latest novel to date, Fear of Dying (2015), Jong's heroine Vanessa expresses her envy for younger women and confesses that she did not know how to appreciate her youth when she still had it. The protagonist is so ashamed and unhappy with her ageing body and the loss of her youthful charms that she would even abandon her values or morals if it meant she could regain her youthfulness and beauty: 'I hate, hate, hate getting older. I would sell my soul to the devil to stay young' (Jong 2015: 151, emphasis in original). Vanessa, like Jong herself, struggles to accept her ageing body and cannot reconcile her still youthful inner self with her ageing physical body. Instead of providing a sense of liberation and freedom in later life, the ageing body seems like a 'betrayal of the youthfulness of the inner self', and thus becomes a threat to a woman's identity and self-worth (Öberg 2003: 106). Jong's inner frustrations and troubled feelings indicate the mismatch between her external appearance and the inner perception of the self, which closely relate to the 'mask of ageing', a term coined by Featherstone and Hepworth (1989, 1999), which refers to the sense of the younger self that lives within an older body and to which a younger self-identity is bound.

In order to achieve congruence between one's inner sense of self and one's outward image, older individuals, especially women, tend to seek solutions in non-surgical cosmetic interventions. The more ashamed women are about their looks and inability to meet the socially defined standards of beauty and success in later years, the more willingly they decide to undergo cosmetic surgery (Henderson-King, Henderson-King 2005; Farshidfar, Dastjerdi, Shahabizadeh 2013; Greer 1991). Woodward observes that the disguised purpose of cosmetic surgery is not to change the bodily image per se, but to correct it and adapt it as much as possible to resemble the youthful model that is represented 'by the aesthetics of smoothness, tact, and good taste' (1991: 162). As Jong and her fictional characters grow older, they become unhappier with their ageing bodies to the extent that their concerns lead them to get a facelift (Stončikaitė 2020). They give in to anti-ageing ideals and contemporary Western beauty standards, which reveal how the model of successful ageing and the emphasis on youthful looks have invaded female bodies and even their inner beings. Jong's experiences with life after a facelift are a recurrent theme in her other later works, in which she writes about the worries and uneasiness that arise after the surgical intervention (Stončikaitė 2020). Jong's inability to frown after the operation and the sensation she had that her face has been cut and stretched to adjust it to the ideals of feminine beauty make her feel lifeless and generate guilt and conflicting feelings. The writer cannot find her true self in a newly reshaped face, which lacks the very essence of life:



I felt like I was dead. I felt like I had entered a bardo between one existence and another. I sat there waiting for my face to heal, waiting to become myself again, to undo the spell I was under. ... I kept expecting to look in the mirror and find another person. However many times I looked, I did not believe what I saw. It was as if I expected a brand to show up on my forehead reading, 'V' for vanity. (Jong 1999: 62–63)

Jong's literary representations of internal conflicts and struggles related to an ageing body and surgical interventions highlight the cultural constructs of female beauty and the social pressure to adhere to them. Aspirational medicine, innovations in biotechnology, and anti-ageing products spread the message that an ageing body can be reshaped, rejuvenated, and adjusted to social expectations that are based on the ideals of beauty and youth (Bayer 2005; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Katz 2000; Katz, Gish 2015; Laliberte 2015; Mykytyn 2006; Sandberg 2013; Smirnova 2012; Vincent 2008). The anti-ageing industry in tandem with the pharmaceutical industry and the discourse of successful ageing assure women that the ravages of time can be efficiently effaced from their body with a helping hand from scientific and medical advances. In fact, anti-ageing products and procedures are presented as important remedies that guarantee good health, wellbeing, and guality of life in later years, all of which is associated with the ideals of successful ageing (Calasanti, King 2005; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Katz 2000; Mykytyn 2006; Smirnova 2012; Timonen 2016). People entering the second half of their lives are instructed that they have a fundamental right to their health and are entitled to "age better" by "not being old" (Gilleard, Higgs 2014: 145-146). As Calasanti and King note, we regard the signs of ageing as markers of 'personal goodness' and the '[f]ailure to appear healthy permits others to stigmatize a person as unfit' (2005: 195). The fact that one's exterior body image is considered an extension and an expression of one's personal responsibility, morality, and good will again reveals the existence of neoliberal practices and capitalist interests in the model of successful of ageing (Katz 1996, 2000).

Jong and her fictional characters keep their ageing bodies under constant surveillance, which also shows the ongoing disciplinary power of age, as highlighted in Katz's (1996) Foucaultian study of old age. Jong continues to acknowledge that it is very hard for the women of her generation to find their true selves because consumerist lifestyles and the youthful ideals of beauty influence women's social and individual identities. Although anxieties about bodily decline and the desire to look youthful affect both men and women, bodily changes are more visible on women's bodies and, especially their faces, because of the double standard of ageing (Daniluk 2003; Sontag 1972; Wolf 2002). Higher demands and pressures are placed on women than men to keep their youthful looks and to embody a socially

and culturally acceptable image, and this is often in turn translated into a sign of desirability, femininity, and sex appeal (Daniluk 2003; Wolf 2002). As Marshall and Katz state, successful ageing expects us to grow older without getting and looking older, which is especially applicable to women 'because of the cultural idealization of their bodies as age-defying technologies' (2012: 224).

Jong's ambivalence and sociocultural constructs

Although Jong and her fictional characters ultimately decide to yield to social pressure and undergo a surgical intervention in order to keep their youthful looks and adhere to feminine beauty standards, their uneasy feelings and anxieties reveal their criticism of the anti-ageing industry, feminism, and socially constructed Western ideologies. According to the author, the female representatives of the baby-boom generation lack role models and, thus, struggle to come to terms with their inner selves (Stončikaitė 2019, 2020). In Fear of Fifty, Jong writes that feminist activists have failed to establish the proper validation of older women and to change what female ageing means. Although women activists of the 1970s challenged gender, racial, and social inequalities, they did not take into account the construction of age and its impact on female identity and the female condition (King 2013). As mentioned previously, even if some feminist writers, such as de Beauvoir, Friedan, and Sontag, addressed the concerns of ageing women, older women were not a priority issue in the feminist agenda in that historical period. Therefore, their worries and needs remained unvoiced and unknown until the 1990s and beyond (King 2013). Jong seems to be trapped in an ongoing paradox: although she criticises the Second-Wave feminist movement that did not address ageism and the double standard of ageing, she struggles to fight the powerful ideologies and image of successful ageing that link morality, personal goodness, and overall success in later life to what a person looks like on the outside (Calasanti, King 2015; Katz 1996, 2000). As she states, 'years of brainwashing are not so easy to forget. The beauty trap is deeper than you thought' (Jong 1994: xviii). Jong's troubled feelings about the ravages of time and her fluctuating position in terms of female desirability and attractiveness reveal that the author's concerns and fears are a product of the sociocultural climate of our times, conditioned and marked by the powerful anti-ageing industry, the lack of role models for ageing women, and the inactivity of the feminist agenda (Stončikaitė 2019, 2020). The author and her character's conflicting feelings also reveal the existence of socially constructed ideologies that act in a particular relationship with power and that influence our identity and social roles, which we are encouraged to accept and internalise.

Jong's ambivalent position in terms of gendered ageing body politics can be better understood by looking at French philosopher Louis Althusser's (1971) concept



of interpellation and feminist scholar Judith Butler's (1990) performativity theory. According to Althusser, interpellation is the process by which ideology, expressed in social and political institutions, influences people's subjective identities, desires, and social interactions. Sociocultural ideas and values call on individuals to believe that their choices are their own and enlist them in the policing of their own everyday lives for capitalist profit, as exemplified in the model of successful ageing and its neoliberal imperatives. Such ideologies operate in invisible but persuasive ways and play a crucial role in constructing an individual's particular place and role in society. Relatedly, in Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990) Butler applies Althusser's concept of interpellation to signal gendered identities and social construction. Following postmodernist and poststructuralist practices, Butler argues that gender is constructed through repetitive performative acts that are never stable and coherent but are subjected to discourses, societal expectations, and stylised imitations of dominant conventions. By enacting our gendered identities through a variety of acts and expected behaviours, such as adhering to anti-ageing ideals or feminine beauty standards, we make the idea of gender possible, and it is then perceived as natural and, thus, unquestionable. The performance of gendered roles and social conventions creates a sense of subjectivity that seems to be ordinary and free-flowing and gives us a sense of freedom and agency. Butler claims that individuals think that the way they shape their bodies is an individualistic expression of their free will, yet their acts are mere expressions of how they have been influenced by cultural norms. The promotion of the idea that people are not constrained but free to exercise subjective power makes the successful ageing discourse feasible. The anti-ageing industry further confirms gender relations by promoting different youthbased ideals as a sign of wellbeing, happiness, and quality of life in older age. By seeking rejuvenation, Jong and her heroines enact gendered, age-based, and socially constructed roles, and in so doing they reinforce the oppressive status guo and hegemonic social conventions. This applies especially to women, who are expected to 'adorn' themselves to be sexually appealing to the heterosexual male gaze. In fact, according to Butler, the natural body as a material entity does not exist, because all bodies are discursively regulated and adjusted to a set of recurring social rituals and habits that have been going on since our birth. The increasing use of surgical and non-surgical cosmetic interventions makes the anti-ageing practice appear normative and even natural; it thus becomes no longer questionable, like gender itself. Moreover, over time, our cultural creations become our social reality: unquestioned and taken for granted, such notions and modes of life are eventually passed onto other generations through the process of habitualisation (Berger, Luckmann 1991). As sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann put it:

All human activity is subject to habitualization. Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern, which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort and which, *ipso facto*, is apprehended by its performer as that pattern. Habitualization action further implies that the action in question may be performed again in the future in the same manner and with the same economical effort. (1991: 70–71)

By acting out their gendered identities in accordance with social expectations, Jong and her heroines comply with the societal roles and reinforce the legitimacy of the anti-ageing industry and power relations. A fake sense of subjectivity, agency, and freedom of choice – 'to lift or not to lift?' (Jong 1994: 3) – make the writer and her fictional characters morally accountable for their own ageing, happiness, and health in later life, as is expected in the discourse of positive ageing.

These aspects relate not only to post-reproductive identity and the inevitable physical changes that come with age, but also to sexuality in later life. However, instead of succumbing to powerful ideologies related to sexual activity in older age, Jong offers alternative narratives of sex and sexuality in her later works. In so doing, the author signals that what is constructed can also be deconstructed (Calasanti, Slevin 2011). By providing different notions of sexuality in older age, Jong shows that people *can* resist being moulded into socially created discourses and negotiate new meanings and different ways of self-expression that may also help uproot ageism and sexism.

Jong's alternative sexual narratives in later life

In her later works, the writer challenges social constructivism and the narrative of decline (Gullette 2004) and its association with ageist ideologies by showing that older women are not asexual and uninterested in sexual relationships. At the same time, she critically approaches the emphasis on the erectile phallus and heteronormative sexual performativity as signalling health and happiness in older age (Calasanti, King 2005, 2007; Katz, Marshall 2003; Sandberg 2013, 2015; Sandberg, Marshall 2017; Wentzell 2013). Jong thinks that both young and aged men are too obsessed with their phalluses, which they see as a proof of their heteronormative sexuality, masculinity, and virility, which is reflected in the ideals of successful ageing (Stončikaitė 2017).

Although the emphasis on sex has allowed for more freedom of sexual expression for older individuals and challenged the notion of old age as a stage of asexuality, it has also generated confusion among many ageing individuals. The importance assigned to sex in later years of life has created new pathological pressures to conform



to the new ideals of a good old age (Calasanti, King 2005, 2007; Katz, Marshall 2003; Sandberg 2013, 2015; Sandberg, Marshall 2017; Wentzell 2013). Both older men and women are expected to embody youthful images as closely as possible, be sexually appealing, and be willing to have sex in order to age 'successfully' under the paradigm of positive ageing (Calasanti, King 2005). Those older individuals who cannot adapt to these expectations, suffer from sexual dysfunction, or are not interested in sex may develop a sense of inadequacy or feel excluded or even discriminated against (Calasanti, King 2005; Gilleard, Higgs 2014; Katz, Marshall 2003; Sandberg 2015; Sandberg, Marshall 2017; Wentzell 2013). To solve any sex 'problem', older people are advised to use sex-enhancing tools, such as Viagra or lubricant gels, get a consultation with a sex therapist, or even undergo medical interventions. As Gilleard and Higgs observe, in our modern society, heteronormative sexual expressions are now regarded as 'our social virtues and indicators of emotional physical and mental well-being' (2014: 109). They also state that 'sexual expression became a right to which all are entitled, to the point that those unable to access sexual partners ... are considered to have "unmet needs" that health and social care services should at least consider, if not meet' (2014: 109). The notion of heteronormative sex creates a powerful narrative of a happy old age and excludes queer, inactive, and physically and mentally disabled subjects, which again reveals the gendered inequalities and marginalisation in the current models of positive ageing (Sandberg, Marshall 2017).

In her later work, Jong does not diminish the importance of sexual expression among older men and women; however, she neither follows the ideals of successful ageing nor the notion that asexuality is a means of female liberation for older women and a way for them to find their true self. Instead of celebrating older women's invisibility and the so-called freedom from the male gaze, Jong shows that human sexuality is ageless and complex and, therefore, cannot be conceptualised. She offers her readers different narratives of sex and sexuality that reveal that the human body is an erogenous zone with unlimited possibilities, even in older age (Stončikaitė 2017). Jong's view of expressions of intimacy in later life aligns with the idea that sex is an 'enjoyable, gratifying, and stress-relieving leisure activity' that can become even more satisfying in retirement (Berdychevsky, Nimrod 2017: 232). As people grow older, they have more time to spend together, get closer to each other, and develop a greater sense of emotional stability, shared intimacy, and mutual understanding (Berdychevsky, Nimrod 2017; Butler, Lewis 2002; Roberts, Padgett-Yawn 2001). Additionally, new sexual experiences can help improve quality of life by enhancing a person's sense of happiness and self-esteem and can provide older people with physical health and psychological benefits (Berdychevsky, Nimrod 2017; Butler, Lewis 2002; Fileborn et al. 2015; Gott, Hinchliff 2003; Loe 2012; Roberts, Padgett-Yawn 2001; Walz 2002).

In her later work, Jong considers tantric sex as a new way of lovemaking that is not linked to youthful sexual urges and the search for the desire for orgasm. Instead, it is wedded to a sense of intimacy and new understandings of sexual expressions in older adulthood (Stončikaitė 2017). Rather than a problem, impotence becomes an opportunity to explore alternative ways of sex that make people grow closer to each other. The ageing protagonists in Fear of Dying discover kundalini, a physical energy that runs through the body like an electric serpent and grants new bodily sensations (Kumar, Larsen 2003; Jong 2015). The newly found whole-body experience through tantric sex teaches the couple that human sexuality, rather than sexual intercourse, is actually a mental state that allows them to experience a mutual flow of spiritual energy. As Jong's heroine Vanessa grows older, she places less importance on orgasmoriented experiences and youthful sexual urges: '[f]uck young and beautiful - this is worth everything – and I come with fierce contractions that seem to go on and endlessly' (Jong 2015: 213, emphasis in original). Instead of viewing sex as genital stimulation, Vanessa regards it as the power of mind and emotional fulfilment. In the novel, Jong argues that the process of ageing not only provides space to discover alternative sexual practices, but it also allows for a higher degree of intimacy and mutual understanding between partners, who become more confident when experimenting with sex in later years (Stončikaitė 2017).

The author's later writings are also in line with research findings that reveal that men as they age focus less on the phallus and place more emphasis on foreplay, intimacy, closeness, and touch (Roberts, Padgett-Yawn 2001; Sandberg 2013; Wentzell 2013). Age-related sexual disabilities and the cessation of penetrative sex, instead of being regarded as a problem, often lead to the development of multifaceted understandings of human sexuality in older age (Sandberg 2013; Wentzell 2013). In her work, Jong shows that sexual pleasures can be lived through a different spectrum of sensual expressions, in which touch, tenderness, and closeness become the most important elements of sexual satisfaction in older age. In one of her interviews, conducted after the publication of Fear of Dying, the author stated that 'throughout our lives, from infancy to old age, we need touch. ... It's a lie that women shouldn't be touched when they're older. But it's another powerful aspect of sexist propaganda – that you're only fuckable if you're under 25 and pathologically underweight' (Abraham 2015: n/p). To Jong, human expressions of sexuality, closeness, and transcendence are synonymous since they help us to get closer to our inner being and attain a sense of spirituality and emotional intimacy.

Newly discovered sexual experiences also make Jong question heteronormative sex in later stages of life. In her later-life memoir *Seducing the Demon* (2006), Jong writes that as people grow older, heterosexuality loses its significance and individuals become freer than ever before to consider other forms of sex. According to Jong, since



men die younger and tend to experience more health problems than women, older women have to contemplate alternative forms of sexual expression: 'heterosexual men grow scarce ..., but there are so many lovable women. Who knows what the future holds? I have learned never to say never' (2006: 95). Jong's arguments align with studies that demonstrate that growing older can sometimes bring out unusual swings in sexual orientation as post/menopausal women may discover a growing inclination towards lesbianism or bisexuality (Daniluk 2003; McCarn, Fassinger 1996; Weasel 1996). As Daniluk states, for many women 'it is not until midlife that they begin to be aware of and acknowledge the strength of their erotic desires toward women' (2003: 262). These observations again reveal that the interplay between ageing and sexuality is a complex one, and it becomes even more dynamic as we grow older. By offering alternative sexual narratives in her writings, Jong expresses her critical standpoint in terms of sexual optimisation in later life, the social construction of gender, ageism, and the successful ageing discourse. Additionally, she shows that human sexual expressions, like the experiences of growing older, are multifaceted and cannot be categorised.

Conclusion

Erica Jong's mid- and later-life writings reveal her self-evolution and alternative perspectives on the lingering gaps between feminism, gender, sexism, and ageism in two major areas: women's bodies and sexuality. On the one hand, Jong and her heroines attempt to erase the ravages of time with a facelift, even if it is the antithesis of the writer's call to redefine unattainable Western ideals of femininity. On the other hand, the author offers different ways of experiencing sexuality in later life that do not necessarily depend on intercourse and genital stimulation. Jong's works surpass the narrative of decline and the model of successful ageing by providing alternative views of old age that recreate a distinctive image of ageing women and especially the female representatives of the baby-boom generation in the United States. In her writings, the author invites her readers to rethink human sexuality in later years and argues that it is not bound to anti-ageing ideas. According to Jong, it can be focused on intimacy and emotional connection and that female liberation does not have to be premised on sexual inactivity. Jong also criticises heteronormative sexual practices as lacking the full potential of pleasure for both women and men. Instead, the writer goes on to suggest that women, as they age, may experience more freedom and feelings of uninhibited desires that help broaden their notions of sexuality to the point where gender per se becomes irrelevant.

Jong also expresses her deep-rooted concerns about the current feminist agenda and the ongoing double standard of ageing, which is especially visible on women's bodies and, in particular, their faces. The author shows how, despite the liberations and promises from the feminist movement of the 1970s and after, older women continue to struggle with the modern evolutions of ageism and sexism. Jong and her fictional characters find it hard to strike a balance between their youthful inner selves and their exterior appearance, which shows the powerful influence that socially constructed ideologies have. By allowing their bodies to be altered and reshaped, Jong and her heroines enact gendered roles, comply with expected feminine beauty ideals, and subject themselves to patriarchal anti-ageing discourses and capitalist profit.

Although juxtaposed with the many challenges facing ageing women today and with fading physical beauty, Erica Jong ultimately offers alternative representations of female ageing in her later works. Some of these positive aspects pertain to embracing oneself as an older woman in the purest manner possible in order to pursue a self-acceptance that is not marked by frailty, invisibility, or asexuality. The author contests the narrative of decline and the notion that older women's freedom and self-discovery is only possible through liberation from the patronising male gaze. By representing ageing heroines who try to challenge the double standard of ageing, the author seems to signal that later life may be a stage in life from which to explore alternative ways of pleasure-seeking and personal fulfilment and to take an active critical stand on sexism, gender inequality, and ageism.

This article has also attempted to show that literary representations of older age can help us to rethink the current constructions of ageing and provide us with new insights into what it means to grow older today. As Wyatt-Brown and Rossen note, 'to ignore that aspect of a writer's or character's life experience is to ignore a fundamental part of human nature' (1993: 1). Literary representations of old age contribute to a better understanding of gender relationships within feminist politics and help expand thinking beyond monolithic perceptions of ageing. In feminist thought, cultural and literary age studies appear to play a central role in reflections on age relations within the traditional feminist framework and in efforts to combat ageism, social inequalities, and the narrative of decline. In addition, feminist analysis not only applies to issues that concern women but is also relevant to men's studies and power and gender relations, among many other areas of study (Calasanti 2004, 2008). Ultimately, critical cultural and literary approaches to age, gender, and feminist studies can create space for broader discussions and can contribute to the ongoing development of dialogue in these disciplines. Hopefully, more positive representations of ageing women in popular culture and literature will gradually render older women more visible and decrease discrimination based on the female condition. Relatedly, they should make us more aware of the complexity of the reality of ageing, which involves more than just the biological processes and sociocultural constructs of growing older.



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Ieva Stončikaitė, PhD, is an adjunct lecturer in Comparative Literature at the Department of English and Linguistics of the University of Lleida (Spain). She has presented her research in conferences and scholarly journals, such as The Gerontologist, Journal of Aging Studies, and Life Writing. Ieva is interested in interdisciplinary age studies with a special focus on later-life creativity, cultural/literary gerontology, senior leisure tourism, and arts-based research on ageing. Contact e-mail: iewukaz@yahoo.com.



The Masculinisation of Old Age in South Asia

Sehar Ezdi

Abstract: This paper shows that the universal female survival advantage evades all the countries of South Asia, except Sri Lanka. Consequently, contrary to the global trend, these countries have more older men than older women in their populations. In view of this, the paper first develops a theoretical model (using the life-course perspective) to explain the mechanisms behind the possible persistence of this female deficit, i.e. the (older) missing women phenomenon, and highlights why this model may apply to South Asian countries. This discussion addresses the higher mortality of females' compared to males at each stage of the life course that culminate in old age (the life-course effect), the role of conflict and natural disasters that affect female mortality more adversely than male mortality (cohort effects), or a combination of the two. Subsequently, the paper calculates the extent of the female deficit in South Asian countries. The results of the calculation accord with the theoretical discussion by allowing the classification of the older missing women phenomenon as a life-course effect in some countries (e.g. India), a cohort effect in other countries (e.g. Nepal), and a combination of the two in specific countries (e.g. Pakistan).

Keywords: older missing women, female deficit, life-course

Ezdi, Sehar. 2021. The Masculinisation of Old Age in South Asia. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 78–107, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.014.

The female survival advantage, as measured by higher female vis-a-vis male life expectancy persists across all countries worldwide (Barford et al. 2006). This would suggest that the number of women exceeds the number of men (Hazzard, Bowden 1990). The population estimates in Table 1 provide evidence of this fact. Table 1 calculates the sex ratios (male/female) for the world and different regions therein to show that regardless of the level of development, the number of women exceeds the number of men in the 60+ population in all regions of the world, and this excess of women becomes more pronounced as the population ages (i.e. from 60+ to 80+).

 Region/country
 60+
 80+

 World
 0.86
 0.63

 More developed regions
 0.77
 0.55

 Less developed regions
 0.90
 0.71

 Least developed regions
 0.88
 0.81

Table 1: Sex ratios (male/female) for world regions in 2015

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

The ratios in Table 1 translate into women accounting for 54% of the world population aged 60+ and 61% of the population aged 80+ in 2015 (UNDESA 2015a). By 2050, the comparative estimates are projected to be 53% and 58% (UNDESA 2015a), respectively, with the lower percentages resulting from male gains in life expectancy in developed countries (UNDESA 2015a). Nevertheless, the female advantage at older ages until 2050 is substantial enough for some authors to dub it the feminisation of later age on a global level (e.g. Davidson, DiGiacomo, McGrath 2011), both in developed countries (e.g. Peace et al. 2007) and in developing countries (e.g. UN–INSTRAW 1999).

However, this seemingly universal phenomenon appears to evade some countries, i.e. in some countries the number of older men exceeds the number of older women despite the female advantage in life expectancy, creating a contradiction between life expectancy and female preponderance in old age. Table 2 uses the example of South Asia to shed further light on this.

Table 2: Sex ratios (male/female) and life expectancy (female-male) for South Asian countries in 2015

Region/country	L.E. gap	S.R. 60+	S.R. 80+
World	4.56	0.86	0.63
Asia	3.84	0.95	0.70
South Asia	2.85	0.97	0.86
Afghanistan	2.47	0.92	0.77
Bangladesh	3.13	1.02	0.93
Bhutan	0.27	1.21	1.11
India	2.85	0.95	0.82
Iran	2.24	1.04	1.10
Maldives	2.06	1.07	1.35
Nepal	3.04	0.88	0.75
Pakistan	1.85	1.04	1.10
Sri Lanka	6.79	0.80	0.67

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.



Table 2 illustrates that the preponderance of women observed in Table 1 is either non-existent or less noticeable in all the countries of South Asia except Sri Lanka. In Bhutan, Iran, Maldives, and Pakistan, it is clear that the pattern is reversed for both older categories: Not only is there a preponderance of men in the older population but also this preponderance increases as the population ages (i.e. from 60+ to 80+). In Bangladesh, the number of older men exceeds the number of older women in the 60+ category, with the trend reversing in the 80+ category while still remaining well above the world average. In Afghanistan, India, and (to a lesser extent) Nepal, this general trend of a reduction in the share of men as the population ages is evident; however, the proportion of women in the older population is far below the average for the world or less developed countries. This contradiction between the gender gap in life expectancy and the female deficit in old age (i.e. older missing women) entreats an explanation.

Over two decades ago Amartya Sen (1990, 1992) introduced the term 'missing women' to refer to the number of women who should be alive at a given point of observation but are not. He estimated that in the 1990s more than 100 million women were missing in parts of Asia and Africa (Sen 1990). Since then several authors have attempted to refine the methodology used to calculate the number of missing women (e.g. Coale 1991; Klasen 1994), update the number of missing women (e.g. Klasen, Wink 2003; Bongaarts, Guilmoto 2015), identify the causes (e.g. Park, Cho 1995; Das Gupta, Shuzhuo 1999) and the consequences (e.g. Hudson, Den Boer 2005; Ebenstein, Sharygin 2009) of missing women, outline future policy implications that might overcome the problem of missing women (e.g. Chung, Das Gupta 2007), and even calculate the expected number of missing women in the future (e.g. Attané 2006). However, the majority of studies that attempt to explain the phenomenon do so at the time of birth and early childhood, with only a few recent studies addressing the phenomenon in adulthood. These studies focus on Asia (e.g. Guilmoto 2009) and Africa (Bongaarts, Guilmoto 2015) at a broader regional level or emphasize specific countries in East and Southeast Asia (e.g. China; Zhu, Lu, Hesketh 2009) and India (e.g. Das Gupta, Mari Bhat 1997). There are only four papers to date that address the existence of the phenomenon in the older (60+) population. The first paper, Anderson, Ray (2010), restricts its analysis of the missing women phenomenon by age group to three regions: China, India, and Sub-Saharan Africa. The second paper, Anderson, Ray (2012), addresses the age distribution of the female deficit across different states in India. The third paper, Bongaarts, Guilmoto (2015), shows the persistence of missing women in the older population on a global level. The final paper, Ezdi, Künemund (2019) shows that the brunt of the missing women phenomenon is moving from younger to older age categories in the Middle Eastern countries of Asia and East and Southeast Asia, and is more heavily concentrated in the former rather than latter set of countries.

In light of Sen's writings, subsequent literature and the relatively recent demographic transformation of South Asian countries (Véron 2008), the deficit of women at an older age (as presented in Table 2) should come as no surprise, as it is continuous and contingent upon a lifetime of cumulative disadvantages, and it would be (and to some extent already has been) revealed by a comparative analysis of younger and middle-aged men and women (Gibson 1996). Furthermore, the disadvantaged position of older women in society is well established because of their vulnerability across multiple domains throughout the life course, especially in old age (Davidson, DiGiacomo, McGrath 2011; Bennett, Zaidi 2016).

The discussion to this point makes it evident that while literature documents the persistence of an (older) missing women phenomenon and female vulnerability in old age, it fails to provide not only a concrete explanation for the mechanism that perpetuates the older missing women phenomenon, but also an explanation of the factors that generate cross-national variability in the (older) missing women phenomenon. This paper addresses these concerns by: (1) providing a theoretical foundation for the persistence and cross-national variation of the (older) missing women phenomenon; (2) using data from UNDESA (2017) and the example of South Asia to depict the practical applicability of this theoretical framework. The paper is organised as follows: the second section presents the theoretical foundation of the analysis; the third section discusses the data and methodology; the fourth section describes the results of the South Asian example; the fifth section provides an analysis and discussion of the results; and the sixth section concludes the paper.

Theoretical foundation

The (older) missing women phenomenon is based on three theoretical premises: First, being female generates inequalities at each life stage that either lead to premature mortality at that life stage or accumulate into a higher mortality risk for women at subsequent life stages (Ferraro, Shippee 2009). Second, the inequalities (and cumulative disadvantage) faced by women may differ by birth cohort (Ryder 1965) or by cohort and/or period effects (Mayer 2004). Third, the inequalities/cumulative disadvantages faced by women and birth cohorts may vary at the cross-national level (Settersten, Mayer 1997; Mayer 2004). Figure 1 depicts how these premises amalgamate within the life-course framework to precipitate the (older) missing women phenomenon at each life stage and in the population as a whole.

The analysis starts at the micro level, i.e. the level of the individual. The individual life course can be divided into five distinct stages (before/at birth, childhood, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age). These stages are tied together by the principle of life-course effects (Komp, Johansson 2016; Ezdi 2017). The principle



Conflicts and natural disasters

Missing women total population

Social context:
norms/institutions

AGGREGATION

Macro

Micro

Micro

Micro

Figure 1: (Older) missing women in a life course framework

Source: Author's systematisation.

of life-course effect implies that what happens to individuals at an earlier point in life affects them at a later point in life (Komp, Johansson 2016). At the macro level, the individual life course is embedded in and governed by the social context (Elder Jr. 1994). The social context entails geographical and temporal elements, the effect of which are such that individuals and birth cohorts born at different times and places in different life stages and locations may be exposed to different varieties of disadvantages (Ryder 1965; Mayer 2004). The social context at the macro level differentiates the life courses of men and women by conceptualising factors and intermediary forces in the individual life courses of women. Factors are causal determinants of female mortality that either lead to missing women at the given life stage or create a female survival disadvantage at a subsequent life stage that precipitates premature mortality. Factors are assumed to be the result of predominantly social and behavioural differences in the treatment of men and women in society. Intermediary forces are elements that influence the effect of factors across the life course (e.g. education, income, social change) and thereby serve to exacerbate or depress the effect of the factors on the (older) missing women phenomenon. Figure 2 provides an overview of potential factors at each life stage and their possible interaction with intermediary forces, with a consequent impact on the (older) missing women phenomenon.1

¹ The factors and intermediary forces delineated in Figure 2 have universal applicability, with the effects of factors and forces being stronger in some countries than others.

As Figure 1 shows 1, the cumulative impact of factors and intermediary forces has the potential to lead to the premature mortality of the female birth cohort at each life stage so that by the time this birth cohort reaches the old age a significant fraction of the female cohort has been eroded, thereby creating a female deficit in the older population (Dannefer 2003; Ferraro, Shippee 2009). This deficit may be aggregated at each life stage by birth cohort to present the missing women phenomenon at that life stage (Coleman 1986). The older life stage marks the culmination of the female deficit for a given birth cohort (Coleman 1986). The summation of the missing women phenomenon across all life stages would then present the missing women phenomenon in the total population. Since the individual life course is a function of the society/country in which an individual belongs (i.e. social context) and is not indelible across time or geography (Mayer 2004), the factors and intermediary forces that affect individuals and, in their aggregate, the birth cohort at each life stage may vary across countries. As a result, the cumulative disadvantage that accrues to each birth cohort at each life stage, the resulting cumulative disadvantage in old age, and the consequent impact on female deficit in old age may also vary across countries (O'Rand 1996).

Independent of this endogenous mechanism, exogenous shocks in the form of conflicts and natural disasters (Figure 1) may create or exacerbate the missing women phenomenon at each life stage or in the total population. Cross-national studies provide evidence that in the case of civil conflicts, women and children are the most common long-term victims (morbidity and mortality) and in all types of conflicts long-term female mortality is at least as high as male mortality (Ghobarah Huth, Russett 2003; Li, Wen 2005). Empirical evidence also suggests that civil wars decrease the gender gap in life expectancy (Plümper, Neumayer 2006). Similarly, with the exception of famines, natural disasters reduce the gender gap in life expectancy (Neumayer, Plümper 2007). Consequently, conflicts and natural disasters are seen as discrete historical events that, by creating a system upheaval, may channel lives in a new direction by possibly altering patterns of continuity and creating change for specific groups of the population and thereby affecting existing configurations of social inequalities (Neugartan, Datan 1973; Mayer, Goedicke, Diewald 2006).

The theoretical foundation of the (older) missing women phenomenon makes two things evident. First, the (older) missing women phenomenon is the result of two groups of potential effects: factors across the life course and intermediary forces and/ or cohort effects in the form of conflicts and natural disasters. Second, the reasons for the (older) missing women phenomenon in different countries vary, as factors, intermediary forces, conflicts, and natural disasters are country specific. Therefore, the female deficit in old age displayed by the countries in Table 2, for example, may not just have distinct causational mechanisms but may also have accumulated across different stages of the life course.



Data and method

Data

Data from UNDESA 2017 for the year 2015 are used for two types of analyses: first, to estimate the existence and magnitude of the older missing women phenomenon in the total, the 60+, the 75+ populations across countries in South Asia, with the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants. Second, to analyse the sex ratio (male/female) trajectory (by five-year age groups) of countries across South Asia that exhibit an (older) missing women phenomenon from the first exercise. These analyses are intended to complement each other, with the objective being not only to identify the existence of the deficit but also to confirm their life-course or cohort-effect interpretation and the likelihood of their persistence in future generations of the older populations in the affected countries.

The UNDESA follows a four-step procedure to construct its yearly population estimates. First, it collects data from census surveys, vital and population registers, and other national surveys. Second, it corrects the accuracy of the statistics collected by using post-enumeration surveys and demographic adjustment techniques. Third, it uses a balancing equation to check whether the estimates are consistent with each other and with the statistics corrected in the second step. Finally, since the UNDESA is producing estimates for countries all over the world, it crosschecks the consistency and balances the population estimates at the regional and world levels (UNDESAb 2015).

The population estimates and projections of the United Nations are based on the de facto population in a given country (UNDESAb 2015). According to the OECD (2006), the de facto population can be defined as 'a concept under which individuals (or vital events) are recorded (or are attributed) to the geographical area where they are present (or occurred) at a specified time'. Therefore, estimates of net migration (immigrants – emigrants) need to be subtracted from the population estimates to obtain an accurate demographic profile of the nationals of any given country. Such an exercise would require flow data by gender and age on South Asian countries. Although flow estimates for the population as a whole may be available for some South Asian countries,² they are not disaggregated by gender and age and therefore cannot be used to calculate sex ratios by age. The best alternative, especially for South Asian countries, is the gender and age distribution of the international migrant stock that is provided by the UNDESA (Fargues 2006; Cainkar 2013). The United Nations defines the international migrant

² Abel and Sander (2014) convert migrant stock data provided by the United Nations Population Division into flow data, thereby providing flow estimates for 196 countries in the world. The United Nations Population Division provides flow estimates for 43 countries worldwide, most of which are in Europe and North America. However, the data provided by Abel and Sander (2014) are not disaggregated by age or gender and therefore cannot be used for the purpose of this paper.

Figure 2: Factors and intermediary forces responsible for missing women by life stage

Life Stage		Factors			
Before/at birth	Sex-related	 Parent carrier of Hepatitis B virus Heterogeneous probability of having a son 			
	Gender-related	Son preference and daughter devaluation Infanticide/neglect at the time of birth Prenatal sex selection Birth order & gender composition effects	`	<	
Childhood	Sex-related		\ \	1	
	Gender-related	Son preference and daughter devaluation Neglect in health and nutrition			
		Birth order & gender composition effects			
		 Trade-off with sex ratios at birth 	Intermediary forces		
		• Adoption	Fertility decline and	C	
Young	Sex-related	Reproductive role	technology	CO	
adulthood	Gender-related	Female subordination	Socioeconomic forces	Η	
		Mortality risks of reproduction	(m)()(i (i)(+0)(-)(0)()	(O	
		No access to health care	(e.g. education, income,	R	
		• HIV/AIDS	rural-urban differences)	Т	
		Son preference and daughter devaluation	 Legislation 	Е	
		 Direct impact on female mortality 	Disease composition	FI	
Adulthood	Sex-related			FΕ	
	Gender-related	Female subordination		C	
		• Lack of preventive care		T	
		Son preference and daughter devaluation	_	S	
		 Repercussions of failure to have a son 			
		 Possible negative consequences of female labour-force participation 			
Old age	Sex-related				
	Gender-related	Female subordination	✓	<u> </u>	
		• Widowhood		\	
		 Absent property rights 		>	
		• Financial vulnerability			
		 Changing household structure 			
		• Violence			
	30;+c 2;+c 230;+27;2 2,x0 4;1.V .002;10				

Source: Author's systematisation.



stock as 'the number of people born in a country other than that in which they live, including refugees' (UNESCO 2010). Therefore, UNDESA data on migrant stock are used to analyse sex ratios, with the exclusion of immigrants.

Methodology

The primary methodological consideration in calculating the number of missing women in any age group is the identification of the hypothetical number of women that should be alive in the given age group in the absence of missing women. This requires the identification of an ideal sex ratio (male/female) that would prevail in the absence of missing women. This was one of the earliest problems to emerge in the missing women literature by the pioneer authors in this area (i.e. Sen 1990; Coale 1991; Klasen 1994), in which there were debates about the ideal reference standard that should be used to calculate the number of missing women in the population. This debate is also apparent in relation to the time of birth, where one would expect that, in the absence of intervention, sex ratios would approach the same biologically normal levels across different countries. However, not only does the biological standard at birth differ across populations (e.g. populations of Sub-Saharan Africa or African American descent have lower sex ratios at birth; Garenne 2009), but also the sex ratio at birth is connected with the life expectancy of the population such that populations with longer life expectancies (e.g. industrialised Western countries) may be expected to have higher sex ratios at birth (Klasen 1994). While literature attempts to correct for these discrepancies the problem remains that if the ideal standard of comparison at the earliest life stage varies, the benchmark for subsequent life stages would be imprecise. This may be especially evident in the young adult and adulthood stages, where women's reproductive role predisposes them to certain risks that men are not exposed to and this makes it difficult to disentangle excess female mortality through this channel from normal levels of mortality (Anderson, Ray 2010). For example, it seems unlikely that in any country maternal mortality (or the cumulative disadvantages thereof) could fall to zero and some reference mortality rate would be needed (Anderson, Ray 2010).

To overcome such pitfalls, the world sex ratio (male/female) has been used as the standard of comparison for South Asian countries: the sex ratios in the total, the 60+, and the 75+ populations and in each five-year age category for each country must be less than or equal to the respective world sex ratio. This ensures a conservative measure as not only are South Asian countries with their relatively large populations included in the world average but also other countries like China and Middle Eastern countries of Asia (proven to have large female deficits in their total and older populations; Ezdi, Künemund 2019), thereby masculinising the world sex ratio and preventing an overestimation of the missing women phenomenon. Hence,

using world sex ratios would lead to an optimal solution, with higher sex ratios in some countries being offset by lower sex ratios in other countries, and would provide an average for comparison in the respective age categories.

For the first analysis, the sex ratios (male/female) of each South Asian country are subtracted from the world sex ratios for the specific age category and the total population (the latter for comparative purposes, discussed in detail in the results section). A negative number indicates an older missing women phenomenon in the given age category and country (as the ratio of men/women of that country is higher than the ratio of men/women for the world) and a zero or positive number indicates no older missing women phenomenon in the given age group and country, compared to the world average. This analysis is conducted including and excluding the immigrant stock for each country, as it will become evident in the subsequent discussion, age- and gender-specific immigration patterns in some countries may distort the findings.

In the second analysis, the sex ratio trajectory by five-year age groups for countries identified as presenting the older missing women phenomenon in the first analysis is examined with respect to the world sex ratio (male/female) trajectory by five-year age groups, and the differences with the inclusion and exclusion of immigrant stock are evaluated. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of the second analysis is to assess the age distribution of missing women to check the age at which the female deficit is concentrated and confirm whether or not the deficit in the older population is large enough to create a female deficit in the total population.

Results

Sex ratios (male/female) by broad age categories

Figure 3 presents the results for the sex ratios (male/female) for the total, the 60+, and the 75+ populations in South Asian countries as deviations from the world average. Columns below the mean indicate a female deficit in the respective age category in a given country.

0,1 0 -0,1 -0.2 -0,3 -0.4 -0,5 -0,6 ndia Afghanistan **3angladesh** Bhutan ran akistan Maldives sri Lanka **■** 60+ **■** 75+ Total

Figure 3: Sex ratios for South Asian countries in 2015, including immigrants

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

Figure 3 shows that, with the exception of Sri Lanka, all countries in South Asia exhibit an older missing women phenomenon due to a female deficit in both their 60+ and 75+ age categories. The most dramatic deviations from the world average seem to exist in Bhutan for the 60+ population and in Maldives, Bhutan, and Pakistan for the 75+ population. At first glance Sri Lanka appears to be an outlier in the opposite direction for the 60+ population, perhaps indicating higher male mortality in the past. However, this may also reflect the standard of comparison, i.e. the world average, which includes all countries. If the standard of comparison were the industrialised countries of Western Europe perhaps even Sri Lanka would display a female deficit in the 60+ population.

A comparison of the female deficit for the selected countries by age groups with the result for total population may provide hints at a cohort effect, i.e. if the female deficit appears only in older age categories and not in the total population then the population formulating the respective older (60+) age category today may have suffered from conflicts or natural disasters in younger age groups that led to the creation or precipitation of this female deficit. This appears to be the case for Iran and Nepal as deficits in the older population (60+ and 75+) are accompanied by a surplus in the total population (albeit small in the case of Iran). This finding is reinforced by the observation that the difference between the female surplus in the total population

and female deficits in the older population, in both countries, is substantial enough to consider that an exogenous force may have at least precipitated the predominance of the missing women phenomenon in the older category.

For the six remaining countries that display the older missing women phenomenon, i.e. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan, and Maldives, the female deficit in old age is accompanied by a female deficit in the total population. For the first five countries, the female deficit in the older population (60+, 75+) exceeds the female deficit in the total population. This could indicate an increased vulnerability among older women either due to an exacerbation of gender inequalities in old age or a lifetime accumulation of female disadvantages. It could also indicate a trend over time. Maldives is the only country where the female deficit in the total population exceeds the female deficit in the 60+ population. However, as the population ages, i.e. from 60+ to 75+, the female deficit in the older population exceeds that of the total population. This may be indicative of male-dominated immigration in Maldives (UNESCAPS 2010). Sex ratios may become less masculinised in the 60+ population as labour immigrants leave the country at the end of their working years and more masculinised in the 75+ population as the gender inequalities faced by the local population in old age surface.

To control for the potential distortion caused by immigration (even if it is expected to significantly alter sex ratios in Maldives only), Figure 4 recalculates the preceding estimates by excluding immigrants in South Asian countries. The revised estimates show essentially the same patterns as with the inclusion of immigrants for Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. However, the older missing women phenomenon in Bangladesh now appears to be a cohort effect. This change indicates a slight masculinisation of immigration in Bangladesh, as the female deficit in the total population, when immigrants are included, is imperceptible (Figure 3) and the female surplus, when immigrants are excluded, is relatively small (Figure 4). The exclusion of immigrants also alters the results for Maldives. Not only is there a substantial reduction in the female deficit in the total population but also the older missing women phenomenon in the country is concentrated in the 75+ population only, and it continues to follow a life-course explanation. This may point to the presence of a female surplus as a cohort effect in the younger-old age bracket in the country (aged 60-75 years). Without historical cohort-specific data, the existence of the age-specific discrimination of older women cannot be completely ruled out (such as would result from – just to provide a drastic example – the ritual burning of widows). Therefore, the hypothesis of female discrimination occurring in the past and accumulating into older age groups today is much more plausible.



0,1 0 -0,1 -0,2 -0,3 -0,4 -0,5 -0.6 India Afghanistan Nepal **3angladesh** 3hutan sri Lanka ran Maldives Pakistan ■ Total ■ 60+ ■ 75+

Figure 4: Sex ratios for South Asian countries, excluding immigrants

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

Sex ratio trajectory by five-year age groups

To verify these previous findings, Figures 5 to 12 trace the sex ratio (male/female) trajectories by five-year age groups for countries in South Asia that exhibit a female deficit. The figures show the trajectory both with the inclusion and with the exclusion of immigrants and present the world sex ratio trajectory for comparative purposes.

Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8 show that the sex ratio trajectories with the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants for Afghanistan, India, Iran, and Pakistan are not only identical but also overlap. This shows that either there is no immigration in these countries or that immigration is not distorted in favour of either gender. The age distribution of a female deficit in India clearly reveals the persistence of a female deficit in each five-year age category, starting from birth and continuing into old age. This points to the persistence of a female survival disadvantage across the life course, thereby supporting the previous results. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, the female deficit appears after a specific age category (20+ in Afghanistan and 45+ in Pakistan) and, on average, continuously worsens in each subsequent age category. This allows for both a lifecourse explanation and cohort-effect explanation for the female deficit, especially in Pakistan where this effect is more pronounced. On the one hand the 20+ population in Afghanistan and the 45+ population in Pakistan may have been exposed to specific

events (conflicts and/or natural disasters) that have led to excess female mortality in these countries. On the other hand, the female survival disadvantage may be most pronounced at the aggregate level within these age categories and may continuously accumulate well into old age. A joint explanation is also likely. As discussed in the next section, conflicts and natural disasters have been shown to exacerbate existing gender inequalities and worsen the life expectancy and survival advantage/disadvantage of women especially in the long run (Plümper, Neumayer 2006; Neumayer, Plümper 2007). Given the different possibilities for the older missing women phenomenon, the results for Afghanistan and Pakistan are consistent with those previous findings. The sex ratio trajectory of Iran is highly erratic, displaying female deficits in some age categories and female surpluses in other age categories. However, the magnitude of the deficit in the older categories vis-à-vis the surplus and deficits in other younger age categories would support a cohort-effect interpretation of the country, thereby supporting the previous results. At the same time, Figure 8 indicates that selected younger age categories (e.g. ages 40-54) in the country that display a female deficit in 2015 will create an older missing women phenomenon in the future as they enter the older (60+) category.

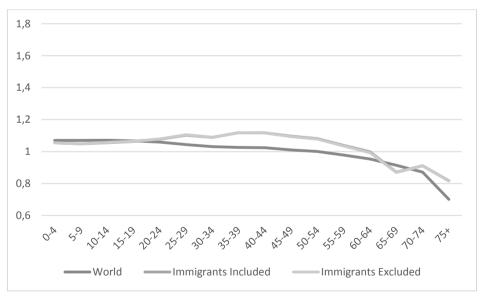
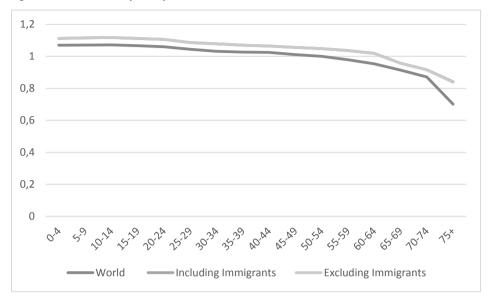


Figure 5: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Afghanistan (2015)

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

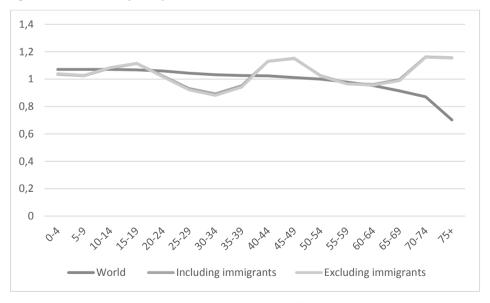
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Figure 6: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), India (2015)



Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

Figure 7: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Iran (2015)



Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

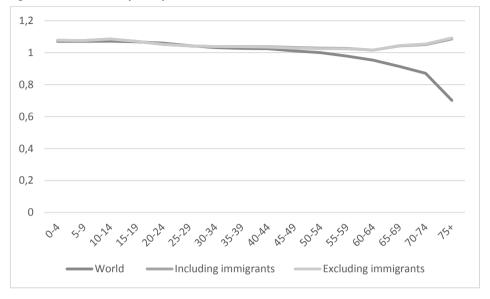


Figure 8: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Pakistan (2015)

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12 show that the sex ratio trajectories of Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, and Nepal with the inclusion and the exclusion of immigrants are identical but do not overlap. In both Bangladesh and Bhutan, the exclusion of immigrants leads to an overall reduction in the female deficit. In both countries the bulk of the reduction is concentrated in the working age categories. Consequently, the female deficit is concentrated in the 45+ population for Bangladesh and the 30+ population for Bhutan. The situation in these two countries is therefore similar to Afghanistan and Pakistan in allowing for a life-course explanation, cohort-effect explanation, or joint explanation for the female deficit, and it is therefore consistent with previous findings. In Maldives, the exclusion of immigrants also leads to an overall reduction in the female deficit and converts the female deficit in the 40–74 age category into a female surplus. Consequently, the female deficit is concentrated in the 15–39 and 75+ age categories. The results from Figure 4 show that the female deficit in these two age categories is large enough to offset the surplus in the remaining age categories. Therefore, in contrast to the previous results and the sex ratio trajectory that includes immigrants, the sex ratio trajectory that excludes immigrants yields a cohort-effect interpretation for the older missing women phenomenon in Maldives. Figure 11 further shows that, like in Iran, an older missing women phenomenon may be expected to re-appear in the future as the population aged 15–39 in 2015 enters

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the older category. In Nepal, Figure 12 shows a slightly feminised immigration trend. In Nepal, with the inclusion of immigrants the female deficit only appears in the older age category, thereby supporting the previous results. With the exclusion of immigrants, alongside the female deficit in the older population there is a negligible female deficit in the 50-59 age category. Given the magnitude of the deficits and surplus, the cohort-effect interpretation, in accordance with the previous results, continues to hold, with the expectation that, like in Iran and Maldives, the country will continue to exhibit an older missing women phenomenon in the near future due to the female deficit observed in the population aged 50–59.

Figure 9: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Bangladesh (2015)

 $Source: United \ Nations \ Department \ of \ Economics \ and \ Social \ Affairs \ (2017), \ author's \ calculations.$

1,8

1,6

1,4

1,2

1

0,8

0,6

0,6

World — Immigrants Included — Immigrants Excluded

Figure 10: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Bhutan (2015)

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

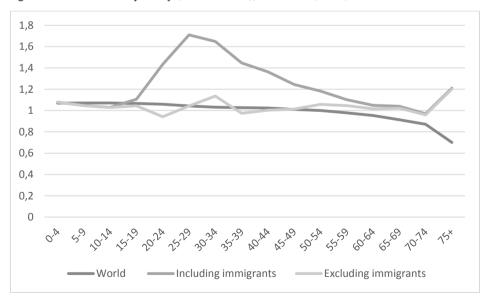


Figure 11: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Maldives (2015)

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

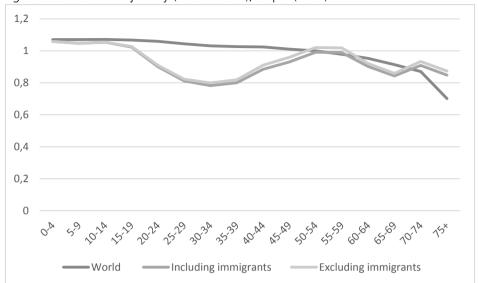


Figure 12: Sex ratio trajectory (male/female), Nepal (2015)

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2017), author's calculations.

Discussion

The results indicate the presence of an older missing women phenomenon, both with the inclusion and with the exclusion of immigrants, in all countries of South Asia except Sri Lanka. In India, the results allow for a clear life-course explanation for the phenomenon as the deficit is persistent across all age categories. However, as the deficit does not worsen with age, a hypothesis of cumulative survival disadvantage cannot be confirmed from these results. In Nepal and Iran, the phenomenon can be explained as a cohort effect, as it is not persistent across all ages and may fade as younger cohorts enter old age. Nevertheless, there is a potential for the re-emergence of the phenomenon in these countries as younger cohorts who display a female deficit enter the older category. In Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Pakistan, the phenomenon may be explained as a combination of the life course and cohort effects, in that conflicts and/or natural disasters may have exacerbated existing gender inequalities and precipitated the female survival disadvantage. The cumulative nature of this deficit as the population ages lends further credence to this argument. Maldives is the only country where immigration alters the main results.

The results depicting the effect of immigration on the female deficit in affected South Asian countries are compatible with the literature on immigration trends in the region. The exclusion of immigrants leads to the feminisation of the sex ratio trajectory in

Maldives, Bhutan, and Bangladesh, with the strongest effect observed in Maldives and the weakest effect in Bangladesh. Both Maldives and Bhutan are labour-receiving countries, where the sex ratios of immigrant workers are highly skewed in favour of males: 92% of the registered immigrant workers in Maldives and 99% of the immigrant workers in Bhutan are male (UNESCAP 2010). Although Bangladesh is primarily a labour-exporting country, Rohingya refugees from Myanmar and a limited number of foreign workers form its relatively small immigrant population (UNESCAP 2010; Wickramasekara 2011). The feminisation of the sex ratio trajectory that occurs on the exclusion of immigrants may be due to the masculinisation of foreign workers in the country. In Nepal the exclusion of immigrants leads to the feminisation of sex ratios in the country. This is because amongst all South Asian countries (including Sri Lanka), Nepal has the most feminised immigrant population, with women accounting for more than half of the total immigrant stock in the country (UN 2017; Timothy, Sasikumar 2012).

In Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and India the sex ratio trajectories with the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants are identical. Migrant inflows in the latter three countries primarily consist of refugees and return refugees (UNESCAPS 2010). Return refugees to Afghanistan, Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and Afghan and Iragi refugees in Iran predominate among the immigrant populations in these three countries, respectively (Majidi 2017; UN 2017). In addition, a relatively small fraction of Pakistani and Nepalese workers in Afghanistan and a fraction of Chinese workers in Pakistan comprise the immigrant population in the respective countries (UNESCAPS 2010). A consequent 1:1 ratio of men to women amongst these immigrants may explain the identical sex ratio trajectories upon the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in these countries.³ India has the third most feminised immigrant stock in South Asia (followed by Nepal and Sri Lanka; Timothy, Sasikumar 2012). From 1990 to 2010 female immigrants formed approximately 48–49% of the immigrant stock, indicating a roughly equal proportion of men and women in the immigrant population, leading to identical sex ratio trajectories upon the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants (Timothy, Sasikumar 2012).

It may be argued that given the emigration and migration profiles of the South Asian countries displaying the female deficit, the failure to account for emigration merely leads to an underestimation of the (older) missing women phenomenon. Although South Asian countries are classified as net emigration countries because of the high emigration versus immigration rates, with the exception of Sri Lanka, the

³ Note: A sex ratio (male/female) of 1 does not mean that the (older) missing women phenomenon is absent because, as the population ages, the preponderance of women in the population is expected to increase and the sex ratios (male/female) decrease.



share of female emigrants from countries in the region remains disproportionately low (Wickramasekara 2011; Timothy, Sasikumar 2012; UN 2017). Restrictive emigration policies have limited female outflows in the past in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Nepal and, at a minimum, men continue to make up more than 50% of emigrants from these countries (ILO 2014; Timothy, Sasikumar 2012, Simkhada et al. 2018). From Afghanistan, Bhutan, and Maldives combined, women comprise 0.8% of the international migrant stock of South Asia, so men predominate in the emigration flows there (UNESCAPS 2010; UN 2017). A similar situation holds for Iran, where, leaving Afghan return refugees aside, OECD data reveals a predominance of male over female Iranian emigrants in highly skilled occupations (Dumont et al. 2007). These patterns of emigration make it clear that the results provide a conservative measure of the extent of the (older) missing women phenomenon in respective South Asian countries and that the problem is significantly more serious than depicted in this paper.

While the absence of emigration data may not limit this analysis, the lack of longitudinal data for the majority of affected countries makes it difficult to identify the exact causal mechanisms behind the (older) missing women phenomenon. In the case of India, a substantial body of literature provides evidence of factors throughout the life course as the main causative mechanism, examples of which include: sex-selective abortion at before/at the time of birth (Manchanda et al. 2011); gender discrimination in nutrition and health care during childhood (Das Gupta 1987); reproductive mortality in young adulthood (Sanneving et al. 2013); violence in adulthood (Anderson, Ray 2010); and poverty in old age (Dreze, Srinivasan 1997). The results for India in this paper support this body of literature. In addition, the availability of representative longitudinal data for the 45+ population in the country may allow for a further elaboration of the causal mechanisms. For the remaining countries it is interesting to note that neither of the countries display a female deficit at the time of birth, a causal factor that is not only immediately evident in sex ratios and is non-cumulative in terms of survival disadvantage but has also predominated in the literature on the missing women phenomenon. With the exception of Maldives and Nepal, this may be explained by religion. In Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Maldives, and Pakistan, over 90% of the population is Muslim (PEW 2019). The literature on sex selection at birth in India and amongst immigrant communities in Western countries provides strong evidence of the absence of sex selection behaviour amongst Muslims (e.g. Borooah, Iyer 2004; Almond, Edlund, Milligan 2013). Therefore, in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan factors after the stage of birth are more likely, whereas in Maldives and Iran the cohort-effect explanation (conflict/natural disasters) is the likely causative mechanism.

Substantial literature on Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan points to the persistence of gender inequalities at all ages after birth across these countries (e.g.

Zaman 1999; Bartlett et al. 2005; Qureshi 2012). These gender inequalities are similar to those identified for India after the stage of birth in the preceding paragraph. The previous results, however, indicate that the deficit does not emerge immediately after birth but rather in the 20+ population in Afghanistan and in the 45+ populations in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Given the evidence from the literature, this may be attributable to a worsening of discrimination in these countries, which may or may not have been triggered by conflicts or natural disasters. The likelihood of conflicts and natural disasters having operated as a cohort effect is entirely plausible given the history of these countries. From 1946 to 2017, the UCDP/PRIO armed conflicts database records 40 conflicts for Afghanistan, 13 conflicts for Pakistan, 11 conflicts for Iran, and 4 conflicts for Nepal, these being conflicts in which the total death toll had exceeded 1000 deaths⁴ (Gleditsch et al. 2002; Petterson, Eck 2018)⁵. The Emergency Disasters Database records the following numbers of deaths by natural disasters for each country over the past 70 years: 16,025 in Afghanistan; 200,000 in Bangladesh; 304 in Bhutan; 131,353 in Iran; 325 in Maldives; 15,802 in Nepal and 97,988 in Pakistan (Guha-Sapir 2016). These figures indicate the occurrence of conflicts and natural disasters that have the potential to have a lingering and long-term detrimental impact on female mortality and could thereby either give rise to a female deficit or exacerbate the already existing female deficit.

The severity of the older missing women phenomenon in countries where it follows a life-course explanation (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Pakistan) may have adverse consequences for the population as a whole that could be magnified in future generations. The literature on China and India already details the consequences for women of a surplus of young men of marriageable age who are unable to find wives: social victimisation, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, kidnapping, and forced marriage migrations (Kaur 2004; Ebenstein, Sharygin 2009; Trent 2015). Such consequences are likely to be magnified in each subsequent age category due to their potential spill-over effects on preceding age categories. For example, the female deficit in young adulthood in China precipitated an indelible spill-over effect by creating missed opportunities for a union between men and the missing women, thereby depressing fertility rates (Attané 2006). At the older stage, the persistent shortage of women has the potential to increase male rates of widowhood, thereby not only multiplying the problem of forced marriage but also exacerbating the quality of life of daughters and daughters-in-law who provide caregiving services (Ezdi,

⁴ The UCDP/PRIO armed conflicts database classifies the intensity of a conflict (by death toll) into two categories: category 1 includes a death toll between 25 and 9999; category 3 includes a death toll of 1000 or more (Gleditsch et al. 2002; Petterson, Eck 2018).

⁵ For the 21 conflicts recorded for Bangladesh, the death toll per conflict is less than 1000 deaths/conflict.



Künemund 2019). In this way, the surplus of older men is likely to shift the work of caring for older people from the family to the society, further precipitating the breakdown of traditional norms and intensifying the already existing pressure on economic and social institutions to cater to rapidly ageing populations in South Asia.

Given the negative social consequences of the older missing women phenomenon, immediate remedial action is necessary to rectify the female deficit where it occurs. Possible courses of action include social pensions and legislative change. Such measures may result in financial independence in old age; elevating the position of women in society and changing gender norms (Chung, Das Gupta 2007; Vlachantoni, Falkingham 2013). It is yet to be seen, however, if such changes will be sufficient to reverse the female deficit across multiple life domains in the worst affected countries.

Conclusion

This paper uses a theoretical framework (Figure 1) to examine the (older) missing women phenomenon and uses the example of South Asia to apply this framework. It explored the potential causal mechanisms, ones not restricted to South Asia or the older life stage, behind the (older) missing women phenomenon (Figure 2 and discussion).

The results for some of the South Asian countries are not very surprising in terms of missing women in their total population: Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh have already been discussed in the literature as having missing women in their total population, and Anderson and Ray (2012) have discussed the existence of missing women in the older population in India. However, the presence of a female deficit, especially in the older age groups, in the remaining countries, i.e. Afghanistan, Bhutan, Iran, Nepal, and Maldives, is mostly undocumented.

The results of this paper reveal that although most of the missing women literature has concentrated on explanations of the phenomenon that occur at the time of birth and during childhood, a substantial female deficit persists in the older (60+) population of all South Asian countries except Sri Lanka. It also highlights the gendered nature of conflicts and natural disasters, and their role in contributing to the (older) missing women phenomenon. Although the same results are found when immigrants are included and excluded, the analysis clearly shows the importance of taking migration into account when estimating the scale of the missing women problem.

Although the investigation here focused on South Asia, the results of this paper have universal applicability for three reasons. First, the (older) missing women phenomenon is an extreme manifestation of a gender bias that persists on some level in most countries in the world. A cursory glance at Figure 2 may shed some light on this: for example, rural-urban differences may in most countries predispose

older women in rural settings to violence; natural disasters may have more adverse consequences for women than for men worldwide. Second, the paper sheds light on how migrant (including refugee) inflows and outflows affect the demographic composition of the population. Migration flows dominated by a specific gender create strong imbalances in the sending and receiving countries and may provide an opportunity for receiving countries with an ageing population to rectify their demographic problems. Third, the concept of missing women is no longer restricted to a few countries in Asia and Africa. Over the past decade, substantial literature has shown the pervasiveness of the missing women phenomenon among Asian and, to a lesser extent, African immigrant communities in Europe and North America (e.g. Almond, Edlund, Milligan 2013; Mussino, Miranda, Ma 2018). Understanding the age distribution of the phenomenon at different life stages in the country of origin is therefore a first step in understanding its pervasiveness in immigrant communities.

The (older) missing women phenomenon is an extreme manifestation of gender bias. Figure 1 shows how easily it can be adapted to fit any country in the world. Figure 2 provides a non-exhaustive list of the mechanisms that drive it. The example of South Asia uses numbers to not only express a theory but also to quantify the human cost of gender discrimination. The investigated countries show a cluster of factors and intermediary forces that are responsible for missing women and that are present to some extent worldwide, which makes it possible to measure the true impact of these factors and forces on women. The present analysis should therefore be used to monitor gender roles and discrimination worldwide.

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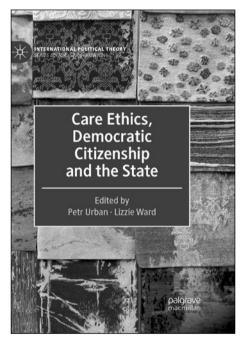
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Sehar Ezdi is a postdoctoral researcher at INSERM (Maintain Aging Research team, CERPOP, Université de Toulouse, Inserm, Université Paul Sabatier) in Toulouse, France. Prior to this she worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre Maurice Halbwachs (ENS, CNRS, EHESS) in Paris, and as a senior researcher (ERC project) at the University of Turku, Finland. The current article is an excerpt from her PhD thesis, which she completed at the University of Vechta, Germany, in 2017. Contact e-mail: sehar.ezdi@inserm.fr, seharezdi@gmail.com.

Care Ethics, Democratic Citizenship and the State

Petr Urban, Lizzie Ward (eds.)

This book reflects on theoretical developments in the political theory of care and new applications of care ethics in different contexts. The chapters provide original and fresh perspectives on the seminal notions and topics of a politically formulated ethics of care. It covers concepts such as democratic citizenship, social and political participation, moral and political deliberation, solidarity and situated attentive knowledge. It engages with current debates on marketizing and privatizing care, and deals with issues of state care provision and democratic caring institutions. It speaks to the current political and societal challenges, including the crisis of Western democracy related to the rise of populism and



identity politics worldwide. The book brings together perspectives of care theorists from three different continents and ten different countries and gives voice to their unique local insights from various socio-political and cultural contexts.

Palgrave McMillan 2020.

Petr Urban is Senior Researcher at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic.

Lizzie Ward is Principal Research Fellow in the School of Applied Social Science at the University of Brighton, UK.





'You Owe Me': Affections and Duties between Elderly Mothers and Their Adult Children in Ancient Rome

Sara Casamayor Mancisidor

Abstract: This paper explores the relationships of affection and duty that elderly Roman mothers established with their adult daughters and sons. Analysing the written sources, it shows what duties adult children had towards their mothers in consideration for the care received during childhood, and how mothers demanded this support. The paper looks at the affective relationships between mothers and their offspring and highlights the importance of older women for the cohesion of the Roman family. This study draws five main conclusions. First, that care practices performed by Roman mothers gave them a privileged position in old age. Second, that the survival of Roman women in old age depended largely on the ties they had with their younger relatives. Third, that the relationships these women established with their adult sons and daughters were characterised by a mixture of affection and authority. Fourth, that the women studied here used old age as a discursive weapon to achieve their ends, presenting it as an especially vulnerable stage in life, but also as a source of power. And lastly, that the relationship elder Roman mothers had with their children was dependent on the gender of the child.

Keywords: old age, the Roman family, the history of emotions

Casamayor Mancisidor, Sara. 2020. 'You Owe Me': Affections and Duties between Elderly Mothers and Their Adult Children in Ancient Rome. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 108–126, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.009.

This paper deals with the relationship between mothers and their children in Ancient Rome once their offspring reached adulthood and did not need their parents for basic survival.¹ We thus examine motherhood in old age, a moment in the life cycle

¹ I thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of the manuscript and their many insightful comments and suggestions. I feel that this has resulted in a stronger paper.

that has been little studied in comparison with pregnancy, birth, and the child-raising years. How did the passage of time affect the mother-child relationship? What did mature or elderly mothers expect from their offspring? And what did the latter expect from their mother? Here, we focus on analysing the relationships of affection and (moral and material) duties that existed in Ancient Rome between mature and elderly mothers and their offspring. In this paper aged mothers are defined as all women over 50 years of age,² as well as those with adult children, and all women who are described in the sources as old, even though we do not know their age. In addition, I will apply a gender perspective and analyse whether the relationship that the mothers established with their sons was analogous to that which they had with their daughters.

To do this, I will rely on literature, papyrus, and epigraphy from between the 3rd century BCE and the 4th century CE. I realise that I am dealing with a very broad period and with diverse types of sources. This is due to the relative scarcity of sources that exist for the subject of this paper, a fact that has been noted in general for all issues relating to old age in Ancient Rome (Harlow, Laurence 2002; Laes 2005; Parkin 2003). On the other hand, an analysis of such varied types of texts and an extensive chronology allows us to appreciate the existence of certain gender roles, stereotypes, and social constructs that are recurring over time.

I approached the sources from different methodological perspectives. On the one hand, gender history has abundant reference works on the Roman family and the role of women in it and on the configuration of gender roles in Ancient Rome. To explore age as a socially constructed category and how old age interacts with gender, I turned to social gerontology. This discipline has already been used successfully to address old age in a historical perspective. Finally, I drew on the history of emotions as a tool to analyse affective relationships between mothers and children.³

I begin by exploring what it meant to be an elderly mother in Ancient Rome. I then address the relationships of affection and duty that existed between Roman mothers and their children, and how *vetulae* could demand respect from their offspring. After this, I examine to what extent these relationships were marked by gender.

This study draws five main conclusions. First, that care practices exercised by Roman mothers gave them a privileged position in old age. Second, that the survival of Roman women in old age depended largely on the ties they had with their younger relatives. Third, that the relationships these women established with their adult sons

² On the choice of 50 years as the threshold upon which women entered old age in Rome and the biological, demographic, and legal reasons for this, se Casamayor (2019) and Harlow and Laurence (2011).

³ Some examples are provided in Dixon (2014), Hackworth and Salzman (2012), and Sánchez and Cid (2018) (Gender History), Casamayor (2019) and Rubiera (2018) (Social Gerontology), and Hernández (2014), Kaster (2005), and Langlands (2006) (History of Emotions).



and daughters were characterised by a mixture of affection and authority. Fourth, that the women we study used old age as a discursive weapon to achieve their ends, presenting it as an especially vulnerable vital stage but at the same time as a source of power. And lastly, that the relationship elderly Roman mothers had with their children was probably gendered, which is to say that it depended on the gender of the child.

The aged Roman mother and her adult children

Roman mothers, particularly among the elite, were very important in maintaining the family group, especially in terms of their public image. While they lacked power because of their sex, at least in theory, Roman women could attain public renown by becoming role models; hence the importance of education and the example the maternal figures set for their children.

The responsibility that mothers had in the earliest education and socialisation of their children could have led to the forging of close emotional relationships between them. For example, classical authors believed that moral values were transmitted to children through breastfeeding, so that their behaviour as adults would depend partly on the personality of their mothers (Gell. 12.1.17-32, Macrob. Sat. 5.11.15-18, Plut. Mor. 12.1).4 Either directly or by supervising the tasks of others, it was up to Roman mothers to ensure that their children were well socialised and grew up according to Roman customs (Dixon 2014). Moreover, due to the demographic patterns of ancient societies, the likelihood of growing up with a mother was higher than that of growing up with a father (Parkin 2003). Therefore, so was the possibility of establishing solid and lasting emotional ties with them. That is why the sources speak of the loss of sons and daughters as the worst thing that could happen to a mother (Apul. Apol. 10.26.2, Apul. Met. 10.28.2, CIL 6.30110, Ov. Met. 3.133-135, 6.320-323, 6.500, Plin. Ep. 3.10, Sen. Helv. 16.2, 18 and Marc. 16, 19). Adult sons and daughters are presented to us as their parents' support in old age and as their primary emotional support.⁶ An example of this can be found in the epitaph of Papyria Tertia (1st century CE), in which she states that it is better to remain childless than to lose your child and live a miserable

⁴ However, there is an important debate about the actual role that upper-class mothers played in early natal care, including breastfeeding. Recent works on this are Centlivres (2017), Mulder (2017), and Reboreda (2018).

⁵ The classic texts that have been consulted here are editions from the Loeb Classical Library or The Latin Library and Perseus digital libraries. For the inscriptions I drew on/referred to Arachne CIL Open Access and the papyri in the digital database of Duke University and in Bagnall and Cribiore (2006), Huebner (2013), and Winter (1933).

⁶ However, in the absence of children, *vetulae* could turn to other members of the family, as well as to their friends (Casamayor 2019; Huebner 2013).

old age (CIL 5.2435). The inscription, in which Papyria is represented together with probably her husband and son, seems to have been commissioned during her lifetime by the *vetula*. We do not know how many children Papyria had, nor at what age they died, but they left an emotional void in her that became unbearable in old age.

Socially, parents without offspring would also be disadvantaged because, as Huebner points out, 'children were important for establishing one's social identity because they integrated their parents into the wider community. Children offered them the possibility to take part in networks and social events, such as rites of passage, marriages, or education' (Huebner 2013: 168).

Not only did the relationship of affection, care, and obedience between a Roman mother and her children remain in place over time, but the authority of the mother inside the family would grow as she grew older and the number of people under her supervision increased, both in relation to her sons and daughters and in relation to the other members of the group, as grandmothers, aunts, and mothers-in-law (Casamayor 2019; Dixon 2014). In literary sources, old women appear to have a significant role associated with their age and position in the life cycle. They were moral models for young women, especially in their role as mothers, by virtue of their experience and the *auctoritas* and *gravitas* that growing old brings.

One of the key concepts relating to Roman families was the idea of *pietas* or respect and obedience towards one's parents – and towards family members in general. As filial piety, *pietas* served to regulate intergenerational solidarity, both in private and in public. Thus, disrespect or disobedience towards one's parents, as well as lack of support in vulnerable situations like old age, had negative effects on the child's public image (Huebner 2013). The most exemplary cases of compliance with *pietas* towards parents that are found in the sources do, in fact, occur in the context of old age. The best-known example is that of Aeneas, who fled Troy carrying his elderly father on his shoulders, even though that could have slowed down his escape (and therefore increase the chances of being captured by the enemy) (Verg. *Aen.* 2.27.707-710). This action was emulated in the 1st century CE by Pliny the Younger, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, saved his elderly mother from the toxic cloud (Pliny Ep. 6.20.11-13). If we read Pliny the Elder, the goddess Pietas herself owes the location of her temple in Rome to a daughter's act of care for her elderly mother:

A woman of quite the lower class, and whose name has consequently not come down to us, having lately given birth to a child, obtained permission to visit her mother, who was confined in prison; but was always carefully searched by the gaoler before being admitted, to prevent her from introducing any food. At last, however, she was detected nourishing her mother with the milk of her breast; upon which, in consideration of the marvellous affection of the daughter, the



mother was pardoned, and they were both maintained for the rest of their days at the public charge; the spot, too, was consecrated to Piety, a temple to that goddess being built on the site of the prison, in the consulship of C. Quintius and M. Acilius, where the theatre of Marcellus now stands. (Plin. NH 7.36)⁷

On a more real level, fulfilling *pietas* would involve everything from maintaining emotional relationships to economic sustenance, to providing a roof over a parent's head, or food, clothing, and medical care, etc. (Nep. *Att.* 17, Ov. *Fast.* 5.55-79, *P. Giss.* 21, *P. Mich.* 8.514, Plin. *Ep.* 2.18.2, Plut. 479f, Sen. *Contr.* 7.4, Val. Max. 2.1.9-10). All these tasks would be done with the collaboration of other family members and with the enslaved people, who would probably take care of the more daily and less pleasant tasks, such as personal hygiene or feeding and transport a dependent or sick older person, although the ultimate responsibility for this would lie with the children (Casamayor 2018; Huebner 2013). Sometimes the situation was the opposite, and old mothers would continue to take care of their children – and grandchildren in their parent's absence – by paying them frequent visits, exchanging letters, and sending goods and money (*BGU* 2,380, *P. Brem.* 63, *SB* 5,7572). When analysing this issue, we must bear in mind that the fulfilment of these precepts would depend on many factors, such as the quality of the parent-child relationship, the economic situation of the children, or the geographical distance between both parties.

Part of this support would perhaps be to share a home with the aged parent in order to take care of them. This seems to be the case in Roman Egypt, where it occurred more frequently in the case of mothers than fathers (Huebner 2013).⁸ In other cases, children could live not under the same roof but near the elderly mother, paying frequent visits or moving in with her when needed (187 *Ar* 5). For example, at the end of the 3rd century CE, Aurelia Techosis moved from Small Oasis to Oxyrhynchus to take care of her widowed mother, who was ill: 'My mother was stricken with illness, and I in the goodness of my heart nursed and tended her and was assiduous in performing what is owing from children to parents.' (*P. Oxy.* 8.1121)⁹ When the old woman died, Techosis also provided her with the corresponding funeral services.

Fulfilling *pietas* could also be seen as a means by which to obtain certain benefits. Teochis, whom we have already mentioned, argued that taking care of his mother during her final moments and arranging her funeral were sufficient reasons for him

⁷ Translation by Mayhoff (1906). The same case and a similar one between a *senex* and his daughter are narrated by Valerius Maximus in 5.4.ext.1 and 5.4.7. For the meaning of these episodes, see Mulder (2017), who points out that none of the ancient writers explain the difference between the mother or the father being imprisoned, nor the possible symbolic significance of this.

⁸ For some examples, see 11 Ar 1; 117 Ar 6; 201 Ar 9; 173 Pr 14.

⁹ Translation by Winter (1933: 110).

to be entitled to inherit her properties (Huebner 2013: 84–85). In the year 211, Isidoros renounced his rights of inheritance in favour of his brothers, Hermeinos and Theognotos, in exchange for not assuming his father's debts or taking care of his mother (*P. Lond.* 3.932). A century later, Aurelia Ammonia divided her property equally between her two sons in her will, breaking the custom of bequeathing more to the first-born, because the younger son had taken care of her when she became a widow and had taken over the family business (*P. Coll.* 2.83). This care could not be taken for granted. For example, Horace (*Sat.* 2.1.54-57) recommended going to a certain Sceva to kill an aged mother. This commentary should not be taken as proof of a common practice, given the author's satiric intentions, but it illustrates the existence of a stereotype about the controlling mother who becomes a burden in her old age.

Sometimes these benefits could be received while the parent was still alive. In 46 BC an older couple gave their property to their children (two sons and two daughters) and a grandson in exchange for the male heirs providing them, for the rest of their lives, with wheat, oil, and money, and arranging the funeral after their death (*P. Mich.* 5,322).¹⁰ Other women from Roman Egypt came to a similar arrangement with their daughters (*BGU* 1.86, *BGU* 4.1013, *P. Oxy.* 3.472).

With regard to the emotional relationships, the mothers come across in the sources as affectionate persons, who supported their offspring, even against the will of the *paterfamilias* (Huebner 2013: 67). Letters exchanged in the 1st century CE between Apollonios and his mother Eudaimonis contain references to the concern for the health and general wellbeing of both, as well as for the rest of the family (*P.Giss.* 21, 22 and 58, *P. Flor.* 3.332).¹¹ The sources also show us adult children concerned about the emotional wellbeing of their mothers (Catull. 9, *P. Col.* 8.215, *SB* 3.6263). One such case is Atticus, who maintained a close relationship with his mother Cecilia, who died at the age of 90. When he was away from her, he frequently showed interest in her wellbeing, never argued with her, and gave her a proper funeral (Cic. *Att.* 1.7-8, Nep. *Att.* 17). Some of the references may not have been sincere displays of affection, as they were standardised formulas that were routinely included in letters, or ways of deliberately presenting oneself as a good son or daughter and thus a good citizen. Nevertheless, they show that a socially acceptable attitude towards mothers included taking care of their physical and emotional wellbeing.

Vetulae in general, and in their role as mothers in particular, appear as unifying elements of the family, possessing an integrative power, with the capacity to inspire loyalty and to unite others through respect, love, and compassion towards the family

¹⁰ For more details on this case, see Huebner 2013: 135–137.

¹¹ For more examples, see *BGU* 1.332 and 2.380, *P. Mich.* 8.510, *SB* 3.6263.



group, the children, the country, or any social or cultural entity (Martínez 2012, Mustakallio 2011). These elderly mothers – or, in their absence, the grandmothers or mothers-in-law – were responsible for resolving internal conflicts, organising daily domestic issues, and guiding young family members, especially women (Cass. Dio. 5.18, Liv. 39.9-14, *P. Bre.* 63, *P. Mich.* 8.514, *SB* 3.6264, Tac. *Dial.* 28.5-6, Val. Max. 5). They could do so because the wisdom that comes with the passage of time granted them authority, but also because, as women, Roman society had assigned them an affectionate character that was part of the ideal model of motherhood.

However, vetulae were also represented as particularly vulnerable and sensitive, both because they were women and because they were aged (Ter. Hec. 590-595, Verg. Aen. 7,440). Despite the fact that Eudaimonis appears in the letters exchanged with her son as a strong woman capable of taking care of the family estate, on one occasion when Apollonius was away from home she wrote to him with her concerns that in his absence she feared that Diskas (her brother, with whom she had an otherwise unexplained conflict) would take advantage of the situation to act against her (P. Flor. 3.332). The widow Aurelia (4th century CE) experienced a similar situation: she was robbed by her estate manager while her sons were away (P. Oxy. 1.71). In satirical texts a regular topos is a rich old woman looking for young lovers on whom to spend her money, with subsequent complaints from her children, who see their inheritance decreasing (Hor. Ep. 1.1.75-80, Juv. 1.37-40, Mart. 2.34, 3.76, 4.56 and 9.80, Plaut. Mostell. 275-280). It is worth asking whether, beneath this stereotype of an old libidinous woman, there were perhaps women who were looking for affective/romantic relationships in old age, involving sex or not, in response to the poor or non-existent relationship they had with their offspring. Aside from the comic purpose of this notion, this is precisely one of the arguments that was used by Apuleius (2nd century CE) in his defence of Pudentilla: it was logical that this woman favoured her new husband over her children, when the latter did not fulfil their affective duties (Apul. Apol. 85).12

What could an older Roman woman do if she was going through difficulties of any kind and her children did not comply with the requirements of *pietas*? Parkin (2003) supports the theory that the great power of the *paterfamilias* would guarantee that he would always receive adequate care and be well provided financially and materially. But what about those older people who were not *patresfamilias*, or when children did not obey the orders of the head of the family? If we consider Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.13.3), in the Republican era part of the work of the censors would be to ensure that children respected their parents' wishes. Although we do not know to what extent this statement is true, we can find various rhetorical-legal exercises in which both sons or daughters did not take care of their aged parents,

¹² On this case, see Harlow (2007) and Hidalgo (2011).

and which refer to laws that would oblige them to comply with the pietas or that would allow a father to transmit his powers to a child in exchange for care in old age (Quint. Inst. Or. 5.10.97, 7.1.55, 7.6.5, Sen. Contr. 1.1, 1.7, 7.4). Although in this case we cannot know if these were real cases or simple school exercises, in the second case they must have been inspired by a reality in which the helplessness of an older person was a possibility. Both the *Digest* (23.3.73, 24.3.20, 25.3.5, 42.1.15) and the Codex Iustinianus (5.25.1-3, 8.46.5) allude to cases of parents who demand that their children support them in their old age. As Parkin (2003: 214) points out, it does not seem that there was a law regulating these relationships, but simply that those older people who felt abandoned by their children could go to court to obtain the necessary care or resources to survive. In relation to the contracts for the transfer of property in exchange for care that existed in Roman Egypt, mentioned above, we have a letter in which Theogiton threatens to denounce a certain Appollonios – a friend or relative according to Huebner (2013: 137) – if he did not comply with the care he had promised to his old widowed mother (P. Fay. 124). Imperial rescripts in the Codex Iustinuanus are another source of the distress that elderly mothers sometimes suffered.¹³ To give just one example of a mother (we do not know her age) complaining about her offspring, there is a rescript from the 3rd century CE in which a woman named Galla claims that her children were not respectful towards her, perhaps to the point of physical abuse (Cod. Just. 8.46.4).

In other cases, it is possible that the conflict over the care of the aged mother arose among her own children. In the 2nd century CE, a certain Sempronius wrote a letter of reproach to his brother Maximus, who was responsible for the care of their mother Saturnila, as he had heard that she was not receiving the proper care:

Sempronius to Maximus his brother, very many greetings. Before all I pray for your health. I learned that you are treating our revered mother harshly as if she were a slave. Please, dearest brother, do not distress her in anything. If anyone of the brothers talks back to her, you ought to box their ears. For now you ought to be called father ... For we ought to worship her who bore us as a god, especially when she is so good. This I have written to you, brother, since I know the sweetness of dear parents. Please write to me about your health. Farewell, brother. (*SB* 3.6263)¹⁴

Among the reasons that Sempronius alludes to in justifying a proper *pietas* is the fact that Saturnila had given birth to him and his brothers and had been good to them,

¹³ On the specific characteristics of rescripts as a source, see Evans (2005).

¹⁴ Translation by Winter (1933: 49).



which can be understood to mean that she raised them well. It is this need to revere the elderly mother as repayment for the care received in childhood that we deal with in the following section.

A somewhat different attitude to that of Sempronius or Atticus was that of Tiberius, Augustus' heir (1st century CE). The relationship between him and Livia illustrates how the Romans constructed the figure of the elderly mother. Livia is presented to us as a severe woman, invested with prestige and authority, but at the same time affectionate to her husband and concerned about Tiberius' wellbeing and about ensuring he has a successful political career (Tac. Ann. 5.3.). However, Tiberius is also presented as openly despising his mother, a hatred that increased in her old age, leading to her not being visited during a long period of illness (Suet. Tib. 50, Tac. Ann. 1.14). The aversion he felt towards Livia was one of the causes, according to Tacitus, that Tiberius decided to retire to the countryside, being already a senex himself: 'It is also transmitted that he was ousted by the unruliness of his mother, who he spurned as his partner in despotism but could not dislodge, since he had received that very despotism as her gift.' (Tac. Ann. 4.57)15 It is true that Tacitus was not favourable to Livia and Tiberius, and that he intended here to present them as conspirators. If in other cases, such as that of Atticus, a mother of impeccable morals raised a child of impeccable morals, a woman such as the one Tacitus imagined Livia to be could only beget an immoral son like Tiberius. On the other hand, Livia is here a suffocating mother who controlled her weak son like a puppet, a situation that caused him to tolerate her less and less as the years went by and he became a grown man who remained in his parents' shadow.¹⁶

The discursive use of the elderly mother

The previous section has shown that the elderly Roman mother was a figure who moved between affection and severity. Elderly mothers were vulnerable as ageing individuals and as women, but at the same time were portrayed as being able to handle family matters with authority. If we listen to what the classical authors have to say, women themselves made use of this apparent duality to get their children to do what they wanted.

One episode that best illustrates this recourse to old age is the story of Veturia and Coriolanus. The episode, which allegedly took place around 488 BC, was reflected in the writings of various authors between the 1st century BC to the 3rd century CE (Cass. Dio 5.18.8-11, Liv. 2.40.1-12, Plut. 4 and 23-37, Val. Max. 1.8.4, 5.2.1 and 5.4.1), although the one who provides the most information is Dionysius of

¹⁵ Translation by Woodman (2004).

¹⁶ When Augustus died (in 14 CE), Tiberius was 56 years old. When Livia died (in 29 CE), he was 71.

Halicarnassus (8.40-54.2). He is the closest source to the events, and we must consider that four centuries later the story had become a legend and therefore somewhat distant from the real facts. Coriolanus, a prestigious Roman general who had been expelled from Rome, had allied himself with the Volscian army and was fighting against his homeland. After several failed attempts to convince him to sign a peace treaty, a woman named Valeria decided to create a retinue of *matronae* led by Veturia and Volumnia, Coriolanus' mother and wife, respectively. Veturia accepted Valeria's proposal and, after an emotional meeting between mother and son in the Volscian camp, Veturia asked Coriolanus to sign the peace treaty with Rome, otherwise misfortune would befall Roman citizenship and herself:

For this is a right which the law of Nature has prescribed for all who partake of sense and reason; and putting my trust in this law, Marcius, my son, I too beg of you not to make war upon your country, and I stand in your way if you resort to violence. Either, therefore, first sacrifice with your own hand to the Furies your mother who opposes you and then begin the war against your country, or, if you shrink from the guilt of matricide, yield to your mother, my son, and grant this favour willingly. ... When you were left an orphan by your father, I took you as an infant, and for your sake I remained a widow and underwent the labours of rearing you, showing myself not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a sister, and everything that is dearest. When you reached manhood and it was in my power to be freed from these cares by marrying again, to rear other children, and lay up many hopes to support me in my old age, I would not do so, but remained at the same hearth and put up with the same kind of life, placing all my pleasures and all my advantages in you alone. Of these you have disappointed me, partly against your will and partly of your own accord, and have made me the most wretched of all mothers. For what time, since I brought you up to manhood, have I passed free from grief or fear? Or when have I possessed a spirit cheerful on your account, seeing you always undertaking wars upon wars, engaged in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon wounds? ... and my life thereafter – if, indeed I ought to call it life since you departed leaving me and these children, too, desolate - has been spent in this squalor and in these rent garments of mourning. In return for all this I, who was never a burden to you nor ever shall be as long as I live, ask this favour of you – that you will at last be reconciled to your fellow citizens and cease nursing that implacable anger against your country. In doing this I am but asking to receive what will be a boon common to us both, and not mine alone. (Dion. Hal. 8.51.2-52.2).¹⁷

¹⁷ Translation by Cary (1945).



In Veturia's speech we can see how mothers sometimes demanded that their children fulfil their duties, resorting to maternal nurturing as well as to the economic and emotional effort involved in raising them. Veturia, in whom old age is marked by her very name and who is called a woman of advanced age (Liv. 2.40.2), possesses the typical auctoritas of the Roman mother, which also increased as she aged. She is portrayed as a wise woman, perfectly aware of the political situation of the time, and the history of Rome. She is both firm and compassionate, reminding Coriolanus of the importance of his romanitas but without forgetting her love for him. For his part, her son is also moved to see his mother, treating her with the honours that magistrates are due, rushing to embrace her, acknowledging his mistake, and assuring her that even if he goes into exile he will not lose contact with her or the rest of his family. If he continued with his plans of attack, Coriolanus would have committed a double treason against the woman who gave him life and against the Roman state. We also see how, in the absence of the paterfamilias, the responsibility for maintaining the family fell on both women, Veturia and Volumnia, as grandmother and mother of Coriolanus' minor children. However, as we have noted above, the sources narrating this episode were written long after the events and are therefore probably telling us more about the late Republican and early Imperial model of motherhood than that of the 5th century BCE. The alteration of the original story into a moralising legend may also be the cause of the elderly mother's suspicious name, although it supports our argument that the vetula was a figure of sufficient authority to be highlighted throughout the episode.

Centuries after the Veturia episode, Cornelia reproached her son Gaius for the political decisions he had taken, fearing that he would suffer the same fate as his brother Tiberius, as eventually happened in 121 BC, when he was beaten to death. In a letter reported by Cornelius Nepos, the authenticity of which is disputed (Dixon 2007: xiii; López 2008), Cornelia wrote the following to Gaius:

I would swear a solemn oath that, apart from those who slew Tiberius Gracchus, no enemy has given me as much vexation and pain as you have in this affair-you who should have assumed the roles of all those children I once had and have seen to it that I had as little trouble as possible in my old age, and that, whatever things you were up to, you would chiefly want them to please me, and that you would consider it a crime to take any major step against my will, especially since I have but a brief time to live. So you can't be of service for even that short length of time without going against my will and destroying the state? Where will it finally end? Will our family ever cease being mad? Will there ever be a limit put on it? Will we ever stop taking and giving offense? Will we ever feel thoroughly ashamed of setting the state in an uproar and confounding it? Well, if that just

can't be, seek the tribunate when I'm dead; feel free to do what you like when I won't know about it. When I am dead, you will perform the last rites and call upon my parental spirit. Won't you be ashamed at that time to invoke the spirits of those whom, while alive and present, you left abandoned and deserted? May Jupiter above not allow you to continue on this course or permit such insanity to visit your mind! But if you continue on, I'm afraid that, thanks to your own fault, you will experience such pain throughout your entire life that you yourself will not be able to be pleased with yourself at any time. (Nep. *Fr.* 2)¹⁸

Whether or not these words were written by Cornelia, one can see in them the influence that Roman mothers could have on their adult children. An attitude that would also not be considered reprehensible, since Cornelia became the image of a model wife, widow, and mother, embodying the perfect matrona in the Roman imagination: she was an exemplary wife, had 12 children – only one daughter and two sons reached adulthood – and raised and educated them and their grandchildren, and she helped her sons achieve notable political positions and her daughter to marry an influential man, which benefited the whole family. The letter also tells us how Roman society expected children to take care of their elderly mothers and how vetulae did not hesitate to reproach their offspring, mentioning the headaches inherent in upbringing, thus highlighting the authority of the maternal figure and their right to be proud of having raised men who fulfilled their political and family duties. On the other hand, we can see in both speeches how mothers used their age as a way of persuading their children, either by seeking compassion from them, or as a way of reinforcing their authority. Moreover, these women were only reminding their children of the values that they were taught when young: the male role of power, the feeling of belonging to a particular family, and one's duty to the state.

The use of old age and childhood care as a weapon is not only found in legendary discourses, as it also appears in other literary genres and private correspondence. In the 1st century CE, Hikane wrote a letter to her son Isidorus, who was away from home, begging him to think of her: 'I wrote you a letter [?but did not receive a] letter. Was it for this that I carried you for ten months and nursed you for three years, so that you would be incapable of remembering me by letter?' (*P. Berenike* 2.129)¹⁹ In Terence's work *The Mother-in-Law* (590-595), the old woman Sostrata uses the vulnerability of old age as a discursive weapon to elicit compassion from her son. Those who also

¹⁸ Translation from the website Diotíma: Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World. Retrieved 15/6/2021 (https://diotima-doctafemina.org/translations/latin/cornelias-advice-to-herson-gaius-gracchus/).

¹⁹ Translation by Bagnall and Cribiore (2006: 169).



allude to care in old age as payment for upbringing are mature or older prostitutes who urge their daughters to follow in their footsteps (*Plaut. Cist.* 105 and 120–145). Although these characters belong to comedy and are largely intended to reinforce the stereotype of the evil and greedy old woman who corrupts younger women and seeks to harm men, their words are a good example of the feelings that Romans had of female old age and how it could be used as a persuasive element (Casamayor 2019, Strong 2012). We must not forget that stereotypes are constructed by the ruling ideology in order to reinforce its assumptions and remain in power, but at the same time they influence reality, so society takes them as real and even imitates them. In the 2nd century CE, Lucian recreated a situation of this kind in the dialogue between Crobile and her daughter Corinna, in which the mother tries to convince the daughter to become a prostitute:

'We've no other way of earning a living, you know, daughter. Do you realize how badly we've lived these last two years since your blessed father died? When he was alive, we had everything, with no problem. He worked metal and had a great name in Piraeus... When he died, first of all I sold his fire-tongs and his anvil and his hammer for two *minae*, and we managed to live off of that for seven months. Then I earned our daily bread with difficulty, sometimes by weaving, sometimes by spinning the two kinds of thread, for woof and warp. I was feeding you, daughter, waiting for you to fulfill my expectations... I reckoned that when you were the age you are now, you'd be able to look after me, and easily get yourself clothed well, grow rich, and have purple robes and maids. (Luc. *Dial. Meret.* 6.1)²⁰

Interestingly, some of the examples mentioned refer to the fact that the protagonist could have remarried after being widowed, which would have been beneficial to her, but instead decided not to do so in order to favour her offspring. This is a curious thing when we consider that, in antiquity, it was the stepmother who had a bad reputation, not the stepfather (Apul. *Met.* 9.30, Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.) As Huebner (2009) points out, supporting the family after being widowed meant a significant economic, physical, and mental burden, even for wealthy women, and to highlight not having done so because of the possible prejudices this could have had for her children's inheritance is one more way of pointing out all the sacrifices she made as a mother and justifying her request for compensation.²¹

²⁰ Translation by Strong (2012: 125).

²¹ While there was also a danger that the widow spent the state the dead father left to their children, as happened to a man from Karanis in the 2nd century CE (*P. Lond.* 2.198). On the specific vulnerability of widows in Ancient Rome, see Rathbone (2006).

Affections and duties between elderly mothers and their children in Ancient Rome: a gendered phenomenon?

Gender bias has had a significant effect on this paper from its very beginning. It is the reason why there are many more surviving sources on the relationship between Roman mothers and their sons than between mothers and their daughters, even in the ruling families. Not only were mother-daughter relationships of less interest to classical writers than mother-son relationships, but, as Strong (2012: 121) explains, most of the conversations and interactions we know of between mothers and daughters in antiquity are written by men and are probably highly unrealistic and almost always focused on matters related to other men, either to praise them or to plot against them. Although some scholars have tried to ameliorate this imbalance with excellent works that show the nature and characteristics of these female relationships (Cid 2018, LaFosse 2017, Phillips 1978, Strong 2012), the difference in the amount of available information continues to be a major obstacle. In addition, as we argue below, and perhaps due to this noted inequality, the way in which Roman society constructed gender roles, and specifically motherhood, shaped the way Roman women interacted with their offspring. Or at the very least it shaped how Roman writers portrayed these interactions. While they were probably reproducing and exaggerating culturally constructed stereotypes about motherhood, old age, and intergenerational relationships, written sources that are less conditioned by literary style, such as private letters, show that to some extent these roles were adopted by society.

In her book on Roman motherhood, McAuley (2016: 148) analyses the different image of motherhood that Venus and Ceres project in Ovid. In her relationship with Cupid, Venus is viewed as an ambitious and ruthless woman trying to fulfil her desire for power through the political success of her son, while Ceres maintains a more intimate and emotional relationship with her daughter and presents herself as a mother terrified for her daughter's physical and emotional wellbeing (Ov. *Met.* 5.438). In this sense, these relationships can be read as a sample of the differentiated behaviour that elite Roman mothers were theoretically expected to display in relation to their offspring depending on their gender, seeking for their sons a good political career and providing their daughters with protection from the dangers posed by men.

The idea that there was a closer relationship between Roman mothers and their daughters than with their sons has been raised by various experts (Dixon 2014, LaFosse 2017). As Rosa Cid (2018) has argued, it is not strange to think about the existence of a 'gender complicity' that fostered closer relationships between mothers and daughters, with whom they shared domestic activities, a family cult, etc. Within the patriarchy, but at the same time at its margins, Roman women created community,



resources, and support within 'women's worlds', with behaviours and roles dictated by age and family position (LaFosse 2017: 208). This notion is reinforced by the idea, present in various satirical texts, that mothers are the best allies that women have against men in general and against their husbands in particular (Juv. 6.230-240, Plaut. *Cist.* 49-50). Mothers, and especially old women, are found in sources conspiring with young women to encourage adultery and take financial advantage of men, in passages that should perhaps be understood as manifestations of male rejection of sorority and the unknown female world (Casamayor 2019).

This close mother-daughter relationship may have been more important if both women were single or widowed. An example of mother-daughter economic dependence is the case of Theodora, a 4th-century woman who sold her daughter into prostitution in order to support both of them (BGU 4.1024). After the murder of her daughter, Theodora was left destitute, but she managed to get the governor to sentence the murderer to death and to give her a tenth of his property, as he had deprived her of her only livelihood. This relationship of economic and emotional dependence between a prostitute and her mother (who in some cases had also been a prostitute) is also reflected in the works of Plautus (Cist. 49-50), Petronius (Sat. 140, where the old woman prostitutes both her daughter and her son), and Lucian (Dial. Meret. 6.1-2) and it illustrates the vulnerability that old women from the lowest social strata could face. They may have been at greater risk of this extreme situation in families formed only by women, as shown in the examples above. According to Sabine Huebner (2013), co-residence with married daughters must have been a rare phenomenon, at least in Roman Egypt, and this would only have occurred when these women did not have children to look after them.

However, a look at papyri shows us that, at least in Roman Egypt, some parents maintained a close relationship with children who no longer lived with them, including married daughters, and that that they frequently visited each other (*P. Mich.* 3.203; *SB* 3.6263). Furthermore, as Huebner (2013) has shown, the letters that women in Roman Egypt wrote to their families of origin were usually addressed to their mothers even while their fathers were alive, which could indicate that the emotional bond between mother and daughter was stronger than that between father and daughter, and that these women did not lose contact despite living separately and in theory already belonging to different families (*P. Oxy.* 2.295; *SB* 5.7572).

On the other hand, in the previous pages we have seen how sons also appear in the sources as showing affection for their mothers and worrying not only about their economic wellbeing, but also about their health and happiness. This fact, together with the texts that tell us about how elderly mothers and adult daughters exchange food, clothes, and money, leads us to talk about complex relationships. Roman mothers could not get the political status for their daughters they could obtain for

their sons, but they could plan marriages that would leave both them and their daughters in a privileged position. Much remains to be said, therefore, about the relationships between elderly Roman mothers and their children.

Conclusion

In this paper we have seen how Roman mothers could expect a peaceful old age under the care of their children. Roman society understood that, as a reward for having raised their children and prepared them for adult life, they should care for and attend to their elderly mothers in ways that included providing them with money, a house, regular visits or letters, medical care, and resources. The relationship of dependency that extended over time (from mothers to children in childhood and from sons and daughters to mothers in old age) was also an affective relationship, which can be seen with particular intensity in private letters. On the other hand, we have seen how Roman society perceived that children's morals could be inherited from their mothers, and how Roman writers used this notion to reinforce the positive or negative image of various characters.

However, sometimes children did not comply with the precepts required by *pietas*, so elderly mothers were forced to remind their children of the obligations that had towards their mothers. In these cases, in addition to going to court or asking third parties to intercede for them, it seems that *vetulae* also used words to try to move and convince their children. In this sense, elderly mothers behaved in public in the same way as they did in private, using affectivity, motherhood, and *pietas* as discursive weapons. This is perhaps due to the fact that the men who wrote about them represented them in the roles they had seen them play in everyday life, the roles that social ideals assigned to them – mother, wife, respectable widow; roles that, though stereotypes, we have seen were internalised by the women studied in this paper. Found in private letters, but also in legal writings, satire, and theatre, these stereotypes were used to construct a model of elderly motherhood that remained valid throughout the centuries.

In addition, we have seen that both female old age in general and elderly motherhood in particular were viewed in Ancient Rome as especially vulnerable stages of life, both physically and economically. At the same time, however, there was also the figure of the authoritarian old woman, who defied social conventions by telling men how to act and women how to survive in a male-dominated world – a seemingly contradictory image that reinforces the idea that, in reality, social relations in Ancient Rome were much more complex than the texts have traditionally portrayed.

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GENDER A VÝZKUM

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Sara Casamayor Mancisidor obtained PhD from the University of Salamanca (Spain) with a dissertation about women and old age in Ancient Rome. Her research focuses on three main topics: gender, old age, and disabilities. Currently she holds a Full Scholarship in the ESI Post-Doctoral Program 2021-2022 with the project 'DepTech: Functional Dependence and Domestic Technologies of Care in Imperial Rome (1st-3rd centuries AD)'. Contact e-mail: saracasamayor@hotmail.com.



Fenomén "prarodin": prarodiče intenzivně pečující o vnoučata (přehledová studie)

Kateřina Prášilová

The Grandfamily Phenomenon: Grandparents Providing Intensive Care (Scoping Review)

Abstract: This article deals with the phenomenon of grandfamilies. It sets out to determine what the existing literature reports on the issue of grandparents in the position of surrogate parents, and to introduce the topic of grandparents as it has been examined in international sociological studies published in the past decade, thereby embedding the topic into the sociology of ageing and the sociology of the family. It also identifies key concepts and gaps in research. It employs the scoping review method, and the articles assessed in the scoping review were analysed according to their country of origin, research methods, and the concepts they employed. The articles' research questions, goals, and recommendations for further research were divided into six categories: general characteristics, intergenerational relations, health, culture and ethnicity, wellbeing, and support. The article concludes with a summary of the research that has been done on grandfamilies in the past ten years and with recommendations for future research in this area.

Keywords: grandfamilies, grandparent-headed families, grandparent-headed households, grandparents as parents, grandparents raising grandchildren, scoping review

Prášilová, Kateřina. 2021. Fenomén "prarodin": prarodiče intenzivně pečující o vnoučata (přehledová studie). *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 127–147, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.010.

Fenoménu prarodin, tedy rodinám vedeným prarodiči, je v České republice věnována jen malá sociologická výzkumná pozornost, ačkoli tato forma příbuzenské náhradní rodinné péče má dlouhou tradici, a v současné době tvoří prarodiče až 60 % všech



pěstounů v ČR.¹ Tento podíl je dvojnásobkem situace před deseti lety a nadále vykazuje rostoucí trend (Mošťková, Sobotková 2016).

Při převzetí pěstounství prarodičem dítě může nadále vyrůstat v rodině, i když se o něj rodiče nemohou z různých důvodů postarat, a není nutné dítě umístit do ústavní výchovy (Pazlarová 2016). Tyto trendy jsou v souladu se společenskou poptávkou po snížení významu institucionální péče a posílení soudržnosti rodiny jako nejlepších zdrojů formy podpory vývoje dětí v rizikových situacích. Nejedná se vždy o volbu bez "vedlejších nákladů", a to zejména pro seniory a seniorky, pro něž tato situace znamená narušení běžného, očekávatelného průběhu životní dráhy. Rozpoznání potřeby podpory prarodičů v takových situacích vedlo např. k vytvoření spolku s regionální působností Rozum a cit, jenž se ve svých výukových materiálech pro rodinné pečující osoby věnuje problematice dítěte ve výchově příbuzných, včetně popisu nejčastějších problémů, kterým jsou pečující osoby vystaveny, a způsobům, jak se s nimi vyrovnat (Rozum a Cit 2010). Publikace tohoto typu vychází ze zkušeností s rodinnou pěstounskou péčí, nemůže se ale opřít o žádný reprezentativní sociologický výzkum, jenž by se tímto fenoménem v ČR zabýval. Tento text si klade za cíl udělat první krok k nápravě této situace vytvořením přehledu toho, co je známo z dosavadní literatury o problematice prarodičů na pozici náhradních rodičů, představit téma prarodin optikou zahraničních sociologických studií publikovaných v letech 2008-2019, zasadit fenomén prarodin do sociologie stárnutí a sociologie rodiny a poté identifikovat klíčové koncepty a mezery v současném výzkumu.

V následujícím oddílu uvedeme klíčový koncept našeho textu, tedy definici prarodin, a stručně uvedeme některé z nevýznamnějších faktorů, které ovlivňují kvalitu života starších pečujících. Poté seznámíme s metodou výběru textů pro vytvoření přehledové studie a se syntézou výsledků vyvstalých z tohoto přehledu. V závěru diskutujeme o limitech práce a navrhujeme cíle pro další zkoumání v této oblasti.

Co jsou prarodiny a kdo je tvoří?

Takzvané prarodičovské rodiny (anglicky *grandparent headed families*), zkráceně také prarodiny, jsou domácnosti vedené prarodičem. Obecně se prarodinou rozumí domácnost, která se skládá z prarodičů a vnoučat, bez rodičů dítěte (Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2016; Amorim, Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2017). Kromě toho jsou jako prarodičovské rodiny chápány rovněž tzv. neformální rodiny vedené prarodičem (*informal grandparentheaded family*) (du Preez, Richmond, Marquis 2015). Jedná se o rodiny, kde prarodič

¹ Mé poděkování patří Mgr. Lucii Vidovićové, Ph.D., vedoucí mé bakalářské práce, z níž tento text vychází, a dále dvěma anonymním recenzujícím, jejichž cenné rady a připomínky významně přispěly k úpravě původního textu.

pečuje o vnouče bez jakéhokoli vkladu biologických rodičů dítěte, a to se souhlasem rodičů (ale i bez něj), často také bez formálního soudního příkazu (COTA National Seniors 2003; du Preez, Richmond, Marquis 2015). Dále se lze setkat s tzv. rodinnou péčí prarodičů (*custodial grandparent families*), to jsou prarodiče, jimž bylo vnouče svěřeno do péče formálně, na základě rozhodnutí soudu (Dunifon, Kopko, Ziol-Guest 2014). Rozdíl mezi formální a neformální péčí prarodičů spočívá především v možnostech čerpání sociální podpory, jež je v případě neformální péče značně omezená a formalizování péče může být jediným způsobem, jak mohou prarodiče získat přístup k podpoře (Baldock 2007; Bunch, Eastman, Griffin 2007).

Domácnosti vedené prarodičem se dále dělí na třígenerační domácnosti a domácnosti s vynechanou generací. Třígenerační domácnosti (*three-generation households*) jsou domácnosti, kde prarodič a vnouče žijí současně s jedním nebo oběma rodiči dítěte (Kreider 2008; Baker, Mutchler 2010; Dunifon, Kopko, Ziol-Guest 2014). Domácnosti s vynechanou generací (*skipped-generation households* nebo také *grandfamilies*) jsou domácnosti, kde prarodiče a vnoučata bydlí společně bez přítomnosti obou z rodičů (Kreider 2008; Baker, Mutchler 2010; Amorim, Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2017).

Většina dětí v USA žijících v tzv. grand-headed households přebývala ve třígeneračních domácnostech, jež se skládaly z obou prarodičů a jednoho rodiče (nejčastěji svobodné matky) (Kreider 2008; Baker, Mutchler 2010; Amorim, Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2017). Druhý rodič (obvykle otec dítěte) bývá označován jako tzv. nerezidentní rodič. Nerezidentní rodiče jsou rodiče, kteří nežijí s dítětem v jedné domácnosti, ale zachovávají s ním kontakt (Dunifon, Kopko, Ziol-Guest 2014; Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2016).

Příčinou vzniku prarodiny bývají především události, které vedou k nepřítomnosti jednoho nebo obou z rodičů anebo k jeho/jejich neschopnosti starat se o dítě (Baldock 2007; Dunne, Kettler 2008). Jedná se zejména o domácnosti s vynechanou generací, jelikož třígenerační domácnosti mohou vycházet z potřeby finanční podpory prarodičů, z potřeby rodičů zajistit péči o prarodiče nebo z kulturních preferencí rodin (Dunifon, Kopko, Ziol-Guest 2014).

Vlivy intenzivní péče o vnouče na prarodiče

Ve srovnání s tzv. nezávaznými prarodiči (non-custodial grandparents) čelí prarodiče vychovávající vnoučata horšímu fyzickému a psychickému zdraví, jsou více zatíženi stresem (Generation United 2005; Baldock 2007) a potýkají se s osobními, mezilidskými a ekonomickými problémy více než jiné domácnosti s dětmi (Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2016; McLaughlin, Ryder, Taylor 2017). Prarodiče rovněž nebývají na výchovu dětí finančně připraveni. K péči o děti se často dostávají v letech, kdy šetří peníze na stáří, a jsouli tyto peníze investovány do péče o dítě, tak to může mít pro prarodiče závažné dlouhodobé důsledky (Inskeep, Ludden 2014). Nečekaný nárůst výdajů může nastat



především u těch prarodičů, kteří žijí v jednopokojových bytech nebo v bytech, kde děti nejsou vítány, a tak se musí přestěhovat do větších a dražších bytů (Generations United 2005).

Přechod na opětovné rodičovství je obzvláště náročný pro mentální pohodu a zdraví prarodičů, což může být způsobeno například vlivem konfliktu s dospělými dětmi nebo konfliktu role prarodiče a rodiče. Péče o vnoučata (ačkoli může být motivací ke zdravému a aktivnímu stárnutí) s sebou přináší i mnohé fyzické potíže. Ve srovnání s vrstevníky mají pečující prarodiče vyšší výskyt artritidy, hypertenze, nespavosti atd. Často se objevují i nové zdravotní problémy anebo se dosavadní nemoci zhoršují (Bigbee et al. 2011).

Intenzivní péče o vnoučata může mít na prarodiče i řadu pozitivních vlivů, jako jsou například zvýšený pocit cílevědomosti, štěstí a spokojenosti, lepší příležitosti k budování rodinných vztahů, pokračování v rodinné historii, přijímání lásky a společnosti (Langosch 2012; Lent, Otto 2018), ale také silnější pouto mezi prarodičem a vnoučetem (Dunifon, Kopko, Ziol-Guest 2014).

Proměna sociální role a rolová očekávání

Rozdíl mezí rolí rodiče a prarodiče spočívá například v odlišnosti typu odpovědnosti za dítě. Hranice mezi prarodičovskou a rodičovskou rolí může být ale i fluidní, jelikož role prarodiče bývá spojena s pocitem zodpovědnosti vůči vlastním dětem, a tudíž provázána s rolí rodičovskou. Kumulace rolí, tzv. rolové přetížení, může vést k rolovým konfliktům, rolové ambivalenci, pocitu přílišné zátěže nebo ke snížené kvalitě života (Jandourek 2007; Galčanová, Kafková, Vidovićová 2015). Zatížení prarodičovské role povinnostmi je spojeno také se sníženým subjektivním vnímáním pohody. Ve státech, kde nejsou na prarodiče kladena vysoká očekávání ohledně zapojení se do péče o dítě, vykazují prarodiče vyšší kvalitu života a vyšší subjektivní pohodu bez ohledu na to, zda o dítě pečují, či nikoliv. Rizika ambivalentních situací lze pozorovat zejména u prarodičů (převážně babiček), které poskytují intenzivní péči o dítě, ale zároveň stále pracují. Zaměstnání a péče o dítě kladou na prarodiče protichůdná očekávání a způsobují tak strukturální ambivalenci (Haberkern, Neuberger 2014). Ta se projevuje především ve státech, kde je role prarodičů spojena s vysokými sociálními očekáváními (Connidis, McMullin 2004).

Sociální očekávání ohledně povinností prarodičů úzce souvisí rovněž s rodinnou politikou. V Evropě se liší především zejména v závislosti na úrovni veřejných služeb péče o děti. Státy, kde je úroveň těchto služeb nízká (Itálie, Řecko), je očekávána intenzivní péče prarodičů o vnoučata, zatímco u států, kde je úroveň veřejných služeb péče o děti vysoká a dobře dostupná (Dánsko, Švédsko), rodiče dítěte nespoléhají na každodenní pomoc prarodičů v péči o dítě (Igel, Szydlik 2011).

Z hlediska genderových rozdílů dědečkové a babičky o vnoučata pečují odlišně a mají rovněž odlišná očekávání od prarodičovské role (Cavrini et al. 2018). Ženy jsou většinou pečující a inklinují k veřejnému sdružování, zatímco muži se obvykle zabývají naplňováním role prarodiče spíše v oblasti práce a volného času (Galčanová, Kafková, Vidovićová 2015). Tyto rozdíly bývají připisovány tradičním očekáváním spojeným s prarodiči, genderovými úkoly a povinnostmi (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018).

Podpůrné služby

Potřebami, s jejichž řešením mohou prarodiče potřebovat pomoc, mohou být například: právní pomoc (při zavádění rodinného opatrovnictví), finanční pomoc (sociální a zdravotní péče, náklady na bydlení aj.), vzdělávání (zápis dítěte do školy), poradenství pro prarodiče, ale i pro děti, které se vyskytly v obtížné životní situaci (Brotherson, Saxena 2013). Významnou podporou jsou pro pečující prarodiče rovněž různorodé podpůrné skupiny, ať už se jedná o skupinová sezení, nebo internetové komunity (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014).

Speciální podporu pro prarodiny a kontakt s dalšími pečujícími prarodiči mohou poskytovat také bytové komplexy, jako je například Pemberton Park v Kansas City (USA). Samotnému zahájení výstavby Pemberton Parku pro prarodiny předcházely rozhovory s prarodiči o jejich specifických potřebách a přáních. Byty jsou určeny pro osoby ve věku 55 let a více, které vychovávají vnoučata mladší 21 let a nacházejí se ve finanční nouzi. Nájem v Pemberton Parku je dotován vládou. Komplex je postaven v blízkosti školek, škol, obchodů nebo parku (Gentile 2014).

Metoda

Abychom mohli popsat, co již zahraniční korpus vědění obsahuje o tomto fenoménu, byla zvolena metoda přehledové studie typu scoping review podle Hilary Arksey a Lisy O'Malley (2005). Ta slouží k systematickému mapování dostupné literatury na určité téma, s cílem identifikovat klíčové pojmy, teorie a zdroje důkazů.

Strategie vyhledávání textů

Pro identifikaci relevantních studií bylo zvoleno vyhledávání prostřednictvím služby EBSCO Discovery Service (databáze SocINDEX s fulltextovým vyhledáváním, Scopus a JSTOR Journals) a databáze Web of Science (databáze Social Sciences Citation Index a Science Citation Index Expanded).

Vyhledávány byly pouze články v recenzovaných akademických periodikách a v anglickém jazyce publikované v letech 2008–2019, jelikož cílem je mapování nejnovějších poznatků o problematice prarodičů na pozici náhradních rodičů. Dalším kro-



kem byla formulace klíčových slov pro vyhledávání za užití booleovských operátorů. Základní forma pro vyhledávání, která byla dále upravena v závislosti na možnostech vyhledávání v databázích, byla: "grandfamilies" OR "grandparents raising grandchildren" OR "grandparents as parents" OR "grand-headed families" OR "grand-headed households"

Kritéria pro zařazení

Omezení na pouze vybraná periodika bylo zvoleno, jelikož i přes ostatní výběrová kritéria byl výčet článků početnější, než tato práce může z důvodu omezeného rozsahu pojmout. Bylo tedy nutné zavést další omezující kritérium, kdy jako nejnosnější bylo zvoleno redukování článků na základě periodik, v nichž byly publikovány. Jako stěžejní pro tuto práci byla zvolena periodika, která v rámci zahrnovacích a vylučovacích kritérií publikovala nejvíce relevantních článků.

Bylo vybráno sedm periodik pocházejících z pěti vydavatelství:

- Educational Gerontology (Taylor & Francis, USA),
- European Journal of Ageing (Springer, USA),
- Journal of Applied Gerontology (Sage Publications, USA),
- Journals of Gerontology: Social Science (Oxford University Press, USA),
- Journal of Intergenerational Relationships (Taylor & Francis, USA),
- Journal of Marriage and Family (Wiley, USA),
- The Gerontologist (Oxford University Press, USA).

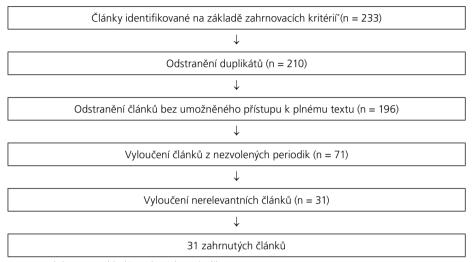
Všechna vydavatelství sídlí v USA, nicméně čtyři ze sedmi zvolených periodik se zaměřují na mezinárodní výzkum, z nichž *European Journal of Ageing* se primárně věnuje evropskému výzkumu v oblasti stárnutí. Periodika, která se soustředí na národní výzkum, jsou *The Gerontologist* a *Journals of Gerontology: Social Science* vydávaná organizací The Gerontological Society of America (2019), což je nejstarší a největší americká národní organizace zaměřující se na mezioborový výzkum, vzdělávání a praxi v oblasti stárnutí. Dalším americkým národním periodikem je *Journal of Marriage and Family*, což je časopis vydávaný americkou národní radou National Council on Family Relations (2019).

Vyřazeny byly články, které nevyhovovaly zahrnovacím kritériím, tedy články vydané před rokem 2008, články neodpovídající tématu, sociologicky nerelevantní články, články z jiných než zahrnutých periodik, duplicitní články a články bez přístupu k plnému textu.

Diagram PRISMA

Pro mapování zaznamenaných zahrnutých a vyloučených studií byl použit diagram PRISMA (Moher et al. 2009). Z celkového počtu 233 nalezených článků bylo do analýzy zahrnuto 31 článků (obrázek 1).

Obrázek 1: Diagram PRISMA zachycující průběh vyhledávání



^{*} Bez redukce, na základě zvolených periodik.

Zdroj: Zpracování autorky.

Výsledky

Metodou přehledové studie bylo získáno celkem 31 relevantních textů, které byly podrobeny analýze s cílem identifikovat jednak formální vlastnosti textů (země původu, volené metody výzkumu), jednak kategorizovat stěžejní koncepty, představené závěry a doporučení studií, které do přehledu výše uvedenou metodou vstoupily. Výstupy této analýzy jsou obsahem následujících oddílů.

Země původu studií

Země původu byla studiím přiřazována podle toho, ve kterém státě se nacházejí univerzity, na kterých autoři a autorky působí. Ve většině případů, a to 23 ze 31 (74 %), pocházeli autoři a autorky z USA. Důvodem může být skutečnost, že téma prarodin je nejvíce zkoumáno ve Spojených státech, ale také to může být dáno zaměřením se na práce v anglickém jazyce, což mohlo vést k výběru periodik z amerických vydavatelství. Dále je zde zastoupena dvěma případy Velká Británie a po jednom případu Itálie,



Portugalsko, Jižní Korea a Nový Zéland. Ve dvou případech byli autoři a autorky jedné studie z různých evropských zemí, jednalo se o Německo, Itálii, Španělsko a Velkou Británii. Nebyly zastoupeny žádné studie z východní Evropy, což poukazuje na to, že v této oblasti nebylo téma prarodin představeno pro anglicky mluvící autory a autorky.

Metody výzkumu prarodin

Nejčastěji používanou metodou ve vybraných studiích byla sekundární analýza dat, jež byla využita v 11 případech ze 31 (35 %). Z toho se jednalo ve třech případech o analýzu longitudinálních dat. Mezi další metody, které byly použity ve vybraných studiích více než v jednom případě, patří například literární rešerše, kvantitativní a kvalitativní výzkum (viz tabulku 1).

Tabulka 1: Metoda výzkumu článků

Metoda výzkumu	Počet článků
Sekundární analýza dat	11
Kvalitativní výzkum	5
Literární rešerše	4
Kvantitativní výzkum	4
Smíšený výzkum	1
Panelový výzkum	1
Longitudinální výzkum	2
Komparativní výzkum	1
Faktorová analýza	1
Evaluační výzkum	1

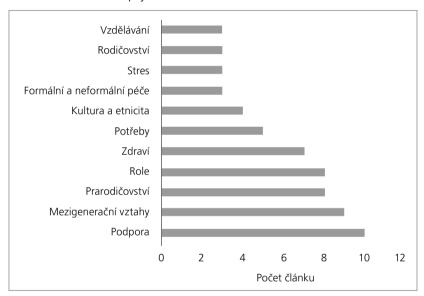
Zdroj: Zpracování autorky.

Data ze sekundárních analýz dat pocházejí nejčastěji, a to ve čtyřech případech, ze studie *Health and Retirement Study* (USA). Jedna ze studií využívá kromě analýzy dat z Health and Retirement Study i data z jiných studií, a to: *China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study, English Longitudinal Study of Ageing, Generations and Gender Survey, Korean Longitudinal a Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe.*

Dále se jedná převážně o data z různých výzkumů zaměřených na rodiny: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (USA), National Survey of America's Families (USA), National Family Caregiver Support Program Study (USA) a Family and Social Subject Survey (Itálie).

Klíčové koncepty ve výzkumu prarodin

Shrnutí klíčových konceptů je jedním ze způsobů, jak uvést stěžejní témata, kterými se výzkum ohledně prarodin posledních přibližně deset let zabýval. Tento jednoduchý přehled také lze využít jako první krok při odhalování mezer v dosavadním výzkumu. Klíčové koncepty článků přehledové studie byly určeny podle klíčových slov zařazených u jednotlivých článků a rovněž podle témat, která byla v daných článcích stěžejní. Výsledkem je graf 1, v němž jsou uvedeny klíčové koncepty, jejichž četnost byla nejméně tři a více.



Graf 1: Klíčové koncepty článků

Zdroj: Zpracování autorky.

Hojně zastoupené koncepty byly především ty, které byly předmětem vyhledávání při přehledové studii, a tak nebyly do grafu 1 zařazeny. Jedná se o koncepty: pečující prarodiče, prarodičovská domácnost a prarodina.

Z grafu 1 je patrné, že je v posledních letech silné zastoupení výzkumu zejména v oblasti podpory, mezigeneračních vztahů a sociálních rolí, zatímco výzkum vzdělávání prarodičů, prarodičovského stresu, formální a neformální péče se v textech vyskytuje nejméně.



Přehled témat a doporučení dosavadních výzkumů

Výzkumné otázky, cíle a doporučení vycházející ze zvolených studií lze rozdělit do šesti klíčových kategorií, a to: obecné charakteristiky, mezigenerační vztahy, zdraví, kultura a etnicita, blahobyt, podpora prarodin.

Obecná charakteristika prarodin

Výzkumy, které se věnují obecné problematice prarodin, se zaměřují na definici a význam prarodičovství, kdy k přechodu k prarodičovství dochází, jaké jsou důsledky tohoto přechodu pro rodiny (Hank et al. 2018, Cavrini et al. 2018), na srovnání pečujících prarodičů s dalšími klíčovými skupinami (např. svobodnými matkami) (Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2016) a adaptačními strategiemi prarodičů na jejich specifickou situaci (Bailey, Letiecq, Porterfield 2009). Dále jsou zkoumány trendy prevalence v soužití s vnoučetem ve vybraných zemích, socioekonomické a demografické charakteristiky jedinců v prarodinách, jejich změny v čase (Gessa et al. 2018) a rozdíly v postojích a nastavení rodičovství u prarodičů a rodičů (Casto et al. 2008).

Bylo identifikováno pět témat, jež zachycují průběh procesu vyrovnávání se a přizpůsobování se u prarodičů, kteří pečují o vnouče. Jedná se o změnu role, identity, vztahů, zdrojů a vnímání situace. Je doporučeno pokračovat v identifikaci způsobů vyrovnávání se situací a přizpůsobování změnám u pečujících prarodičů prostřednictvím větších reprezentativních vzorků, prozkoumat vztah mezi zátěží prarodičů a péčí o dítě se speciálními potřebami a identifikovat procesy, které vedou k maladaptaci nebo bonadaptaci (Bailey, Letiecq, Porterfield 2009). Kupříkladu při výchově dítěte s emocionálními nebo behaviorálními problémy jsou na tom pečující prarodiče podobně jako rodiče, kteří se starají o dítě se specifickými potřebami (Casto et al. 2008).

V následujících letech je vysoce pravděpodobné, že podpora prarodin poroste (Hank et al. 2018). Pro zjištění přetrvávání vzorců mezigenerační soudržnosti je doporučeno využít nejnovějších údajů ze sčítání lidu ve všech studovaných zemí, jsou-li k dispozici (Gessa et al. 2018). Další výzkum by se měl věnovat rovněž analýze prarodin z hlediska genderu a zaměřit se i na praprarodiče a bezdětné prarodiče. Intervence a sociální politika na podporu prarodin v oblasti duševního zdraví by měla být navržena s ohledem na genderové rozdíly mezi pečujícími prarodiči (Hank et al. 2018). Je vhodný pečlivější výběr srovnávací skupiny pro vyvozování závěrů o blahobytu v prarodinách (Dunifon, Pilkauskas 2016).

Poskytovatelé podpory by se měli zaměřit mimo jiné i na způsob, jakým prarodičům pokládají otázky. Otázky pro prarodiče by měly být podrobné, například na typ činností, které s dětmi podnikají, aby bylo možné snáze identifikovat problémy, s nimiž se prarodiče potýkají (Hank et al. 2018). Dále je potřebné zajistit vzdělávání pečujících prarodičů o důležitosti empatie a jejího vyjadřování při péči o dítě a také udržování vhodných rolí (dospělý-dítě) (Casto et al. 2008). Měla by být prozkoumána

rovněž skutečnost, zda hospodářský cyklus nebo sociální a kulturní změny souvisejí s nárůstem počtu prarodin (Albuquerque 2011).

Mezigenerační vztahy

V oblasti mezigeneračních vztahů je zkoumána pozice babičky ve vztahu k vlastní dceři a následné role přijaté v tomto vztahu (Harper, Ruicheva 2010), dále četnost kontaktu nerezidentních rodičů s dětmi do 14 let a jejich vztah k pečujícím prarodičům (Albertini, Tosi 2018) a také faktory, které ovlivňují vnímání pečujících prarodičů u mladých dospělých (Baird et al. 2009).

Vztahy mezi pečujícími prarodiči a rodiči dítěte mají významný vliv na zvládnutí péče o dítě a na obtížnost umístění dítěte do nového prostředí (prarodičovské péče) (Cobb, Harbert, Nichols 2008). Děti, jež se velmi často stýkají s nerezidentními rodiči, přijímají mnohem lépe péči od těchto prarodičů než děti, které se s nerezidentními rodiči vídají jednou týdně nebo zřídka. Také mohou přijít o kontakt s prarodiči ze strany nerezidentního rodiče (Albertini, Tosi 2018). Je třeba zjistit vztah rodin náhradní rodinné péče k členům jejich pečovatelské sítě, a to na základě složení rodinné jednotky, kvality mezigeneračních vztahů v rodině a rovněž z hlediska uspořádání péče (Cobb, Harbert, Nichols 2008).

Náhradní role prarodiče (partnerská nebo rodičovská) je také velmi vítána svobodnými matkami jako emocionální podpora a prarodičovská pomoc vede ke zmírnění jejich stresu a zátěže. Jako tzv. náhradní partneři se stávají emocionální podporou, posluchačem a spolu s rodičem dítěte (obvykle svobodnou matkou) řeší každodenní povinnosti obavy nebo problémy s dětmi (Harper, Ruicheva 2010). Prarodiče mohou být v různé míře odlišně vnímáni mladými dospělými v závislosti na tom, jaký byl důvod převzetí prarodičovské role, anebo zda pečují o problematické dítě. Zde je doporučeno vzdělávání i pro mladé dospělé, kteří by měli být informování o problémech, kterým jsou pečující prarodiče vystaveni (Baird et al. 2009).

Zdraví pečujících prarodičů

Výzkum zaměřující se na zdraví prarodičů se věnuje roli sociální podpory při predikci zdraví u prarodičů pečujících o vnoučata (Hayslip, Blumenthal, Garner 2014) a zkoumání rozdílného preventivního chování u babiček, které nedávno začaly intenzivně pečovat o vnouče, ve srovnání s babičkami, jež o vnouče intenzivně nepečují (Baker, Silverstein 2008). Dále jsou hledány společné a rozdílné faktory spojené s psychologickým zdravím prarodičů žijících v domácnostech s vynechanou generací (Park 2009) a také vliv péče o vnouče na očekávanou délku života a blahobyt jak pečujících prarodičů, tak vnoučete (Worrall 2009; Gordon et al. 2010; Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018). Součástí je i výzkum platnosti měřítka zplnomocnění rodin (FES), jeho vnitřní konzistence, konstrukce a výzkum struktury faktorů (Hayslip et al. 2017).



Prarodiče se potýkají s horším fyzickým zdravím a depresivními příznaky, dále se stresem, napětím v rodině a s problémy ve fungování rodiny. Tyto potíže se v průběhu času zhoršují (Gordon et al. 2010). Péče o vnoučata má jednoznačný vliv na zdravotní prevenci prarodičů. U prarodičů, kteří nedávno začali intenzivně pečovat o vnoučata, bylo signifikantně méně pravděpodobné, že podstoupí vakcinaci proti chřipce a screening cholesterolu než u prarodičů, kteří o vnoučata nepečují. Nicméně u prarodičů intenzivně pečujících o vnouče dva roky a déle byla signifikantně vyšší pravděpodobnost podstoupení zdravotního vyšetření a vakcinace proti chřipce. Na intervence směřující k podpoře zdravého chování u prarodičů by se měly zaměřit i podpůrné skupiny (Baker, Silverstein 2008).

Bylo také zjištěno, že sociální podpora predikuje zdraví, nikoli naopak. Prarodiče postrádající podporu se potýkali mnohem častěji s depresivními symptomy než prarodiče s podporou (Hayslip, Blumenthal, Garner 2014). Faktory, které ovlivňují psychické zdraví, se liší i v závislosti na pohlaví prarodiče. Psychické zdraví babiček bylo nejvíce ovlivněno špatným zdravím, středoškolským vzděláním, nezaměstnanosti, chudobou a péčí o vnoučata se specifickými potřebami. Rovněž je spojeno s nižším věkem babiček. U dědečků na psychické zdraví působí život bez manželky, špatné zdraví, péče o vnoučata do pěti let nebo vnoučata se závažnými problémy s chováním (Park 2009).

Větší a sociodemograficky rozmanitější vzorek prarodičů by měl být také využit u výzkumu dalších intervenujících proměnných, které mohou pomoci vysvětlit vztah mezi sociální podporou a zdravím. V oblasti zdraví je doporučen rovněž výzkum nepřímých ukazatelů zdraví u pečujících prarodičů (Hayslip, Blumenthal, Garner 2014).

Kulturní a etnické rozdíly mezi prarodinami

V oblasti kulturních a etnických rozdílu mezi pečujícími prarodiči je zkoumána kulturní diverzita pečujících prarodičů (Cox 2018), vliv poskytování péče o vnouče na trajektorie zdraví u prarodičů se zaměřením na etnické rozdíly (Bao et al. 2014) a také zdravotní stav, sociální a ekonomická pohoda a zvláštní potřeby u hispánských prarodin (Burnette 2009). Jeden výzkum se zabývá sociodemografickým složením domácností s prarodiči v Portugalsku (Albuquerque 2011).

Prarodičovské role jsou nadále formovány kulturou a tradicemi a ovlivňují zkušenosti prarodičů s výchovou vnoučat. Podle toho, jak se akulturace liší, dodržují se také normy a hodnoty. Chudoba je mezi těmito rodinami hlavním zdrojem stresu a je klíčové odstranit překážky, které brání využívání podpůrných služeb (Cox 2018). Život v domácnosti s vynechanou generací má obzvláště negativní vliv na zdraví afroamerických prarodičů. Při tlumení negativních účinků rodinné soudržnosti na zdraví prarodičů pomáhají především finanční a sociální zdroje, ačkoli se účinek této pomoci liší na základě rasy a etnicity prarodiče (Bao et al. 2014). Nicméně studie zkoumající změny vnímání subjektivního blahobytu u pečujících prarodičů v průběhu

péče uvádí, že míra blahobytu se za dobu výzkumu u sledovaných prarodičů zhoršila, ačkoli většina z nich nadále pokračovala v péči a mnozí získali zákonné opatrovnictví (Burnette 2009).

Je vhodné, aby dosavadní programy podpory zhodnotily negativní dopad, který mohou mít na konkrétní etnické skupiny a jak to může ovlivnit vnímání a využívání podpůrných služeb těmito skupinami. Přijímání a využívání služeb lze zajistit začleněním prarodičů do všech plánů péče (Cox 2018). Je doporučen také výzkum opatření ohledně množství a intenzity prarodičovské péče o vnoučata a rovněž výběr sociálních a ekonomických zdrojů a jejich nárazové účinky (Bao et al. 2014).

Blahobyt prarodin

Výzkum zaměřený na blahobyt prarodin se věnuje přechodům v péči o vnoučata (z prarodiče na primárního pečovatele) a jejich vlivu na pečující prarodiče (Gordon et al. 2010), vlivu intenzivní péče o vnouče na subjektivní blahobyt pečujících prarodičů (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018) a riziku chudoby a materiálních potíží u prarodin (Baker, Mutchler 2010).

Intenzivní prarodičovská péče o vnouče je obecně spojena s vyšším pocitem subjektivního blahobytu. Intenzivní prarodičovství má pozitivní vliv na pocit subjektivního blahobytu především v zemích, kde prarodičovská péče o vnoučata není běžná a společensky očekávaná. Naopak v zemích, kde je běžné, že prarodiče v případě krize převezmou péči o dítě, může nepřijetí této role negativně ovlivnit pocit subjektivního blahobytu (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018).

Rodičovská soběstačnost, znalost podpůrných služeb a jejich využívání je důležitým faktorem pro zvládnutí prarodičovské péče o dítě (Hayslip et al. 2017) a rovněž vztahové, kulturní, právní a sociálně-ekonomické otázky mají zásadní dopad na to, jak pečující prarodiče vnímají péči o vnouče (Worrall 2009). Také děti v prarodinách čelí mnohým potížím. Jsou více ohroženy špatným zdravím, bytovou a potravinovou nejistotou. Potýkají se s vysokým rizikem chudoby a bariérami při získávání soukromého pojištění (Baker, Mutchler 2010).

Budoucí výzkum v oblasti prarodin by se měl nadále zaměřovat na zkoumání překážek, kterým čelí prarodiny. Je třeba zavést programy a politiky na podporu prarodin tam, kde dosud chybějí (Baker, Mutchler 2010). Rovněž je vhodná studie rozdílu ve vnímání intenzivní prarodičovské péče a možných benefitů z ní plynoucích u bohatých a chudých pečujících prarodičů (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018).

Podpůrné služby

Oblast podpory prarodin je ve výzkumech soustředěna na popis programů a služeb pro pomoc prarodinám (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014), na tvorbu webových informačních příruček (Brintnall-Peterson et al. 2009), politiku v oblasti podpory (finance, právo,

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bydlení, zdraví) a jejich vliv na blahobyt pečujících prarodičů (Cox 2009). Dále se věnuje doporučením ke zlepšení v poskytování služeb prarodinám (Bundy-Fazioli, Fruhauf, Pevney 2015), spokojenosti prarodičů s těmito službami a identifikaci mezer v poskytování podpory (Burt et al. 2009). Je zkoumán vztah mezi využíváním zdrojů a služeb prarodiči a jejich úrovní zátěže, stejně jako faktory, které ovlivňují využívání zdrojů a služeb a úroveň zátěže prarodičů (Boeckel et. al. 2010; Strom, Strom 2011). Ve dvou případech je cílem popis programů pro podporu prarodin, a to programu Kinship Navigator (Cox 2009) a Larimer County Aliance pro prarodiny (Bundy-Fazioli, Fruhauf, Miller 2012).

Úroveň zátěže prarodičů se liší v závislosti na poskytování vládních zdrojů a na jejich finanční situaci (Boeckel et al. 2010). Jako hlavní problém, jemuž prarodiče čelí a který má vliv na dostupnost podpůrných služeb, byla identifikována dualita mezi formální a neformální péčí o dítě (Cox 2009). Prarodiče potřebují pomoc v různorodých oblastech, například v komunikaci s dětmi, v povzbuzování autoevaluace dětí, ve spolupráci s rodičem sdílejícím odpovědnost za péči o dítě, měli by být být informováni o výhodách a přístupu ke komunitním službám (Strom, Strom 2011). Počet rozmanitých rodinných struktur narůstá a rodičovský stres a zátěž je u některých skupin větší než u jiných. Zvláště znevýhodněné skupiny (pečující prarodiče, svobodné matky aj.) se potýkají se zvýšeným stresem a zátěží (Pudrovska, Reczek, Umberson 2010).

V souvislosti s výchovou dětí čelí prarodiče mnoha problémům, a to i necitlivým poskytovatelům služeb. Rovněž jsou sužováni pocity marginalizace a izolace v komunitě (Burt et al. 2009). Prarodiče, kteří pečují o problémová vnoučata nebo vnoučata se speciálními potřebami, pociťují vyšší úroveň zátěže než prarodiče, kteří se starají o vnoučata, jež nevyžadují speciální péči (Boeckel et al. 2010).

Škála strategií pro pomoc pečujícím prarodinám by měla obsahovat podpůrné skupiny, školicí programy pro profesionály v oblasti lidských služeb, systémy meziagenturní spolupráce. Jako příklad se uvádí program Kinship Navigator (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014). Je potřebná především silnější podpora prarodin, kvalitnější podpůrné služby a vytvoření kontinua podpory (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014). Je vhodné využít informační příručky jak prarodiči, tak odborníky. Prarodičům mohou sloužit pro osobní potřebu, lze je použít i v podpůrných skupinách (Brintnall-Peterson et al. 2009). Zásadní pro zlepšení kvality života prarodin je rozšíření programů opatrovnictví a náprava rozdílů mezi formální a neformální péčí (Cox 2009).

Poskytovatelé služeb by měli být vyškoleni, měli by znát možnosti podpory a rozumět jim, snažit se posílit postavení pečujících prarodičů a pomáhat jim při získávání podpory a služeb, které potřebují (Bundy-Fazioli, Fruhauf, Pevney 2015). Je vhodné šířit informace o zdravotních rizicích a strategie při péči o vlastní zdraví. Velmi úspěšnou pomocí pro pečující prarodiče jsou periodické pravidelné přestávky v péči o vnoučata na základě potřeb prarodičů (Burt et al. 2009). V oblasti vzdělávání je třeba zajistit

přístup ke vzdělávání rodičům i prarodičům dítěte, jelikož vývoj rodiny a specifická situace prarodin vyžadují přizpůsobení více než jen jedné generace (Strom, Strom 2011).

Výsledkem přehledové studie je také shrnutí výzkumu o prarodinách z období let 1999–2009 (Pudrovska, Reczek, Umberson 2010) a výzkum pravděpodobnosti, že se prarodiče zapojí do dobrovolnických aktivit, na základě toho, zda pečují o vnouče (Bulanda, Jendrek 2014).

Diskuse

Prarodiny jsou velmi častou formou náhradní rodinné péče, přesto jim není věnována patřičná pozornost. Prarodiče, kteří intenzivně pečují o svá vnoučata, jistě nejsou homogenní skupinou. Odlišují se jak příčiny, které je vedly k péči o vnouče, tak i důsledky této péče na kvalitu jejich života. Přesto lze říci, že pečující prarodiče ve srovnání se svými vrstevníky čelí více problémům v mezigeneračních vztazích, s psychickým i fyzickým zdravím, snížením blahobytu a nedostatkem podpůrných služeb, což může navíc být umocněno kulturními a etnickými rozdíly. Spolu s charakteristikou prarodin se jedná o hlavní oblasti, na něž byly rozčleněny články vycházející z této přehledové studie.

Důležitost sociální podpory pro pečující prarodiče, a to hlavně setkávání se s dalšími prarodiči, kteří pečují o vnoučata (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014), dokazuje i studie Berta Hayslipa, Heidemarie Blumenthal a Ashley Garner (2014), podle kterých sociální podpora predikuje zdraví. Vzhledem k tomu, že prarodiče jsou ve srovnání s vrstevníky více ohroženi psychickými a fyzickými problémy (Bigbee et al. 2011), jedná se o prvek, který může významně zvýšit jejich kvalitu života.

Ukazuje se, že sociální očekávání mají významný vliv na poskytování péče prarodiči. Prarodiče zvládají péči o dítě subjektivně lépe, pokud na ně nejsou kladena vysoká sociální očekávání (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018), jelikož vysoká očekávání mohou vést ke strukturální ambivalenci u prarodičů (Haberkern, Neuberger 2014, Connidis, McMullin 2004). Ve studii Corinne Igel a Marca Szydlika (2011) byla sociální očekávání propojena s rodinnou politikou, kde v zemích s nízkou úrovní veřejných služeb jsou očekávání kladená na prarodiče vyšší, a tak lze předpokládat, že péče o vnoučata v těchto zemích bude spojena s nižším subjektivním blahobytem (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018). Formování prarodičovské role kulturou a tradicemi se věnuje i Carole Cox (2018), která také upozorňuje na důležitost odstranění překážek, které využívají podpůrných služeb. Pro hlubší porozumění odlišnostem mezi prarodinami by patrně byl vhodný výzkum hledající spojitost mezi odlišnými sociálními očekáváními, rodinnou politikou zemí a vlivem, jenž mají na subjektivní blahobyt, zvládání péče nebo psychické zdraví prarodičů pečujících o vnoučata.

Prarodiče nezatěžují jen sociální očekávání spojená s péčí o vnouče, ale také gen-



derové role a povinnosti (Arpino, Balbo, Bordone 2018), na což odkazují i Karsten Hank et al. (2018) a Hwa-Ok Hannah Park (2009), kteří upozorňují na to, že v oblasti psychického zdraví prarodičů hrají významnou roli i genderové rozdíly mezi prarodiči a je třeba je brát v úvahu.

Existuje mnoho podpůrných služeb, jež mohou prarodiče potřebovat (např. Brotherson, Saxena 2013) a které bývají spojovány s některými podpůrnými programy, jako je například Kinship Navigator (Kaplan, Perez-Porter 2014), případně bytové komplexy, jako je Pemberton Park (Gentile 2014), které mohou být prospěšné především prarodičům ohroženým chudobou. Carole Cox (2018) uvádí, že právě chudoba je hlavním zdrojem stresu a brání využívání podpůrných služeb. Programy (případně bytové komplexy) zároveň umožňují střetávání se v rámci komunity, ale rovněž dostupnost profesionálů v oblasti poskytování podpůrných služeb, kteří jsou patřičně vyškoleni ohledně možností podpory pečujících prarodičů (např. Bundy-Fazioli, Fruhauf, Pevney 2015).

Závěry

Použité články přehledové studie byly rozděleny nejprve podle země původu, metod výzkumu a použitých konceptů. Ve většině případů se jednalo o studie z USA a nejčastěji použitá metoda byla sekundární analýza dat. Nejčetnější klíčové témata článků (podpora, mezigenerační vztahy, prarodičovství, role) ukazují, čemu se výzkumy ohledně prarodin posledních přibližně deset let věnují nejvíce. Naopak nejméně byly zastoupeny koncepty: vzdělávání, rodičovství, stres, formální a neformální péče, a bylo by tedy vhodné věnovat větší pozornost oblastem výzkumu prarodin spjatých s těmito problémy.

Dále byly na šest kategorií rozděleny výzkumné otázky, cíle a doporučení pro další výzkum, a to: a) obecné charakteristiky (definice, srovnání, socioekonomické a demografické charakteristiky), b) mezigenerační vztahy (vztahy mezi prarodičem a rodičem dítěte, s nerezidentními rodiči), c) zdraví (prevence, psychické zdraví, očekávaná délka života), d) kultura a etnicita (kulturní diverzita), e) blahobyt (přechody v péči, subjektivní blahobyt, riziko chudoby) a f) podpora (programy, služby a politiky).

Z doporučení pro další výzkum vyplývá, že je třeba nadále pokračovat v identifikaci různorodosti rodinných forem a překážek, s nimiž se prarodiny potýkají. Důraz byl kladen na výběr vhodných srovnávacích skupin pro zkoumání prarodin a na důležitost dalšího porovnání v oblasti etnických, kulturních a geografických odlišností mezi pečujícími prarodiči, dále na další výzkum v oblasti genderových rozdílů u pečujících prarodičů a také různorodost v péči na základě ekonomického zajištění domácnosti. Bylo by rovněž vhodné srovnat české prarodiny s těmi zahraničními nebo zkoumat vypořádávání se s rolovými konflikty, případně s přetížením rolí u prarodičů pečujících o vnoučata. Pozornost by také měla být věnována roli praprarodiče a bezdětného

prarodiče, jelikož v obou případech se jedná o témata na okraji zájmu. Budoucí práce by se rovněž měly zaměřit na překonání limitů zde využitého přístupu, tedy zejména využít větší šíři zdrojů, včetně zahrnovacích a vylučovacích kritérií. Přestože již tato přehledová studie představila poměrně komplexní obrázek situace a problémů prarodin ve vybraných zemích, další zahrnuté databáze a periodika, včetně neanglických jazykových textů, by mohly přinést ještě další zjištění, která zde nemohla být postihnuta. Jedním z nich by mohla být například situace v prarodinách během pandemie covid-19, kdy se prohlubují stávající problémy ve společnosti nebo vznikají problémy nové. Doufáme však, že i už i jen tyto výsledky přinášejí přesvědčivou argumentaci pro nutnost zvýšení výzkumného zájmu o české prarodiny, pro pochopení jejich specifické situace a hledání inovativních cest podpory.

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Bc. Kateřina Prášilová je absolventkou bakalářského studia sociologie a environmentálních studií na Fakultě sociálních studií Masarykovy univerzity. V současnosti pokračuje v navazujícím magisterském studiu sociologie s profilací na populační studia tamtéž. Kontaktní e-mail: Katka.Prasilova@seznam.cz.



"Všichni tím volantem nakonec musí točit stejně": gender, věk a tělesnost v práci řidičů veřejné dopravy¹

Radka Dudová

'In the End They All Have to Turn the Wheel the Same Way': Gender, Age, And Embodiment in the Work of Public Transport Drivers

Abstract: The article explores the meanings of gender, embodiment, and ageing in the work of public transport drivers. This profession is been strongly masculinised: men outnumber women and driving has traditionally been understood as men's work. The article asks the following questions: how have the working conditions in this profession changed and what does this mean for the people who perform it and for their interpretations of the work? What does the process of prolonging working lives on one side and technological development on the other bring to this profession? This is a case study of a 'man's job' in the situation where the working population is ageing and technological changes are occurring. The text is based on a qualitative study of drivers of buses, trolleybuses, and trams who are over the age of 50, and it is accompanied by interviews with HR managers and trade union representatives. It contributes to our understanding of the 'embodiment' of work: it shows how specific gendered bodies with their differences are invisible or are regarded as obstacles at work. The embodied workers compare and adapt themselves to the abstract idea of the universal worker, which in reality corresponds to nothing.

Keywords: work, body, embodiment, ageing, gender, drivers, transport

Dudová, Radka. 2021. "Všichni tím volantem nakonec musí točit stejně": gender, věk a tělesnost v práci řidičů veřejné dopravy. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 148–177, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.006.

¹ Článek vznikl v rámci projektu DAISIE – Dynamics of Accumulated Inequalities for Seniors in Employment, podpořeném v programu EU NORFACE Dynamics of Inequality Across the Life-course (DIAL), reg. č. 462-16-113, a s podporou dlouhodobého koncepčního rozvoje výzkumné organizace RVO: 68378025.

Řízení autobusu, trolejbusu nebo tramvaje je práce, jež byla a nadále je silně maskulinizovaná, tj. významně v ní převládají muži nad ženami, a zároveň je tradičně pokládána za mužskou práci. Symbolicky se s ní totiž spojují významy charakteristické pro maskulinitu: ovládání velkých strojů, technická zdatnost, řízení vozidla a zvládání silničního provozu (Flink 1988; Mellström 2004). V současné době lze ale pozorovat určité proměny tohoto povolání – nejen v podobě nástupu žen do této profese, ale zejména stárnutí pracovní síly v této pracovní oblasti. Jak vypadají pracovní podmínky v tomto oboru práce a co to znamená pro lidi, kteří ji vykonávají, a pro významy s ní spojené? Co představuje proces prodlužování pracovních drah a stárnutí na jedné straně a technologický vývoj na straně druhé pro charakter této profese a jakým způsobem jsou v rámci dané práce udržovány či stírány staré nerovnosti a zakládány nerovnosti nové? Obecněji, jak se propojuje gender, věk a zdravotní stav v procesu prodlužování pracovních drah a jak se to projevuje v "genderovanosti" a tělesnosti určité profese? Práce řidičů je představena jako případová studie profese, na níž je možné analyzovat, co se děje, když do původně "mužské" profese založené na fyzické síle a technických dovednostech vstoupí technologický pokrok a stárnutí pracující populace. Článek vychází z kvalitativního výzkumu řidičů a řidiček autobusů, trolejbusů a tramvají starších 50 let, doplněného o rozhovory s klíčovými aktéry a aktérkami – personálními manažery a manažerkami, majiteli/majitelkami dopravních firem a představiteli/představitelkami odborů. Teoreticky přispívá k porozumění "vtělenosti" práce: ukazuje, jak jsou konkrétní genderovaná těla se svými odlišnostmi v práci zneviditelňována, případně přímo chápána jako překážky výkonu práce.

"Mužské" a "ženské" profese

Je poměrně banálním konstatováním, že povolání jsou genderovaná, podobně jako jsou genderovaní ti, kdo je vykonávají. Trhy práce jsou významně genderově segregované – muži a ženy se koncentrují do specifických povolání a oblastí (Charles, Grusky 2004; Reskin, Roos 1990). Pro definování toho, které povolání nebo práci lze pokládat za mužské či ženské, lze v první řadě vyjít ze statistik popisujících, jaký gender/pohlaví zde početně převažuje. Ke statistické rovině se ale přidává ještě organizační, symbolická a identitní rovina genderu (viz Harding 1986). Z organizačního hlediska jsou mužská privilegia v různých povoláních zachovávána a reprodukována prostřednictvím složité souhry mezi genderovými očekáváními zakotvenými v organizacích a genderovými zájmy, které si pracovníci přinášejí do zaměstnání (Williams 1995). To, jak je organizována pracovní doba, prostor, v němž je práce vykonávána, jakým způsobem je kontrolována a rozdělena na jednotlivé úkony, jaká část práce je oceňována a uznávána, a jaká nikoli, jak vypadá organizační hierarchie a řízení, to všechno určuje, zda a nakolik bude konkrétní práce v organizaci prováděna muži, či ženami, nebo



pokládána za vhodnou pro muže, či ženy (viz Acker 1990). V symbolické rovině se jedná o kulturní obrazy a symboly spojované s maskulinitou a femininitou. V rovině identity jde o to, že lidé "dělají" svůj gender tím, že si vybírají určité povolání, ale i tím, jak v daném povolání pracují. Typ povolání a způsob výkonu práce jim umožňuje vytvářet a posilovat feminitu či maskulinitu a souběžně to, jak danou práci vykonávají, dále posiluje genderovanost konkrétní profese (Cockburn 2009: 271). Jak uvidíme dále, práce řidiče/řidičky je příkladem práce s "mužským" znaménkem ve všech těchto úrovních: nejen že cca 95 % jejích představitelů/představitelek jsou muži, ale práce je organizována tak, že vyžaduje dlouhodobou přítomnost mimo domov a fyzickou a technickou zdatnost; ovládání velkého stroje – dokonce i řízení osobního auta – je dlouhodobě a stále symbolicky spojeno s mužstvím (viz např. Flink 1988; Mellström 2004); práce řidiče tak primárně souvisí s mužskou identitou.

Tělo a práce

Lidé jsou tělesné bytosti; tělo je podmínkou a základem jednání. Toto tělo je tělo genderované (Witz 2000). Ve světě práce to znamená, že tělo pracujících je součástí pracovního procesu, ať už jako nástroj, kterým přímo práci vykonávají (ruce, jež točí volantem; těla, která mění pneumatiku, zapojují troleje či pomáhají cestujícím nastoupit), nebo pasivněji jako "nositel" ducha, jenž vykonává duševní práci. I v této druhé roli tělo pracující/ho nějak uschopňuje nebo omezuje, při práci mu/jí pomáhá, nebo ho/ji naopak zpomaluje. Tělo je nezbytnou podmínkou schopnosti práci vykonávat a zároveň je tělo, ať už v aktivní, nebo pasivní roli, prací opotřebovávané; stárne a jeho zdraví se může zhoršovat (ale naopak i zlepšovat). Zásadní roli v tom hrají konkrétní fyzické podmínky, ve kterých člověk pracuje. O pracující tělo je nutné pečovat, aby mohlo nadále práci vykonávat, a veškerá práce je ve skutečnosti vtělená (McDowell 2009). Mužská a ženská těla mohou mít odlišné potřeby a nároky a také se různí očekávání a nároky na ně kladené; podobně se ale mohou lišit i mladá a stará těla, či ještě spíše zdravá a nemocná těla.

V sociologii byla souvislosti těla/tělesnosti a práce věnována poměrně malá pozornost. Nepočítáme-li Marxovu diskusi o komodifikaci (fyzické) práce a Foucaultovy texty zaměřené na racionální řízení společenského života (a lidských těl) prostřednictvím technologií dozoru, odborných znalostí a nápravných zásahů (např. Foucault 1980), většina novější literatury zkoumající souvislosti tělesnosti a práce se zaměřuje na tyto oblasti: (i) práce prováděná na vlastním těle, (ii) placená práce prováděná na tělech ostatních, (iii) zvládání ztělesněného emocionálního zážitku a obrazu těla a (iv) produkce nebo úpravy těl prostřednictvím práce (Gimlin 2007). Zkoumání tělesnosti práce, která sice nepoužívá tělo jako bezprostřední místo vykonávání práce a nezahrnuje intimní kontakt s tělem (viz Wolkowitz, 2006), ale tělo je přesto její inherentní a nutnou

součástí, začalo být v sociologii rozvíjeno poměrně nedávno. Carol Wolkowitz (2006) zdůraznila v sociologii nutnost přehodnotit význam fyzické a "tělesné" práce, která by měla být vždy chápána jako sociálně konstruovaná a interpretována spíše než jako "přirozená". Kristina Zampoukos (2021) argumentuje, že tělo v práci je třeba zkoumat jako prostorovou entitu samu o sobě, jež je v neustálé interakci s okolním prostředím. Tato interakce mimo jiné zahrnuje souhru mezi pracujícím tělem a pracovním místem a prostředím, představami, které mají silné prostorové konotace a které si zaslouží obnovenou pozornost pracovních geografů (viz také Hastings, Mackinnon 2017). Tělo může být v práci vystaveno nebezpečí ze strany škodlivých chemikálií, strojů, sexuálnímu a rasistickému obtěžování, jakož i (hrozbám) násilí, flexibilním pracovním režimům, stresu atd., a je tedy nutné uvažovat o něm jako o samostatném prostoru (Smith, Swanson, Gökarıksel 2016; Holton 2020).

Pozornost musí být věnována genderovanosti těl, jež práci vykonávají, a sociálním významům, které se se sexualizovanými a genderovanými těly v práci pojí. Joan Acker (1990) poukázala na to, že genderovaná povaha práce a pracovních organizací je částečně skryta právě zamlčením vtělenosti práce. Univerzální pracující je ve skutečnosti muž: abstraktní představa pracujícího obsahuje mužské tělo, sexualitu a vztah k placené a reprodukční práci. Obrazy mužských těl a maskuliny prostupují organizační procesy, marginalizují ženy a přispívají k udržování genderové segregace v organizacích. "Ženská těla – jejich sexualita, schopnost prokreace; těhotenství, kojení a péče o děti, menstruace a mytická "emocionalita" – jsou podezřelá, stigmatizovaná a používaná jako základ pro ovládání a vyloučení" (Acker 1990: 152). Gender, tělo a sexualita jsou v pracovních organizacích nástrojem udržování hierarchie a součástí kontrolních procesů (Acker 1990: 140).

Abstraktní univerzální pracující je nejen muž, ale také je to zdravý muž (Oliver, Barnes 1998). Zdravotní stav je proto jednou z linií nerovnosti, která strukturuje nejen přístup k placené práci a lepším či horším pracovním podmínkám, ale i začlenění do společnosti (Křížková, Hašková, Pospíšilová 2018). Znevýhodnění lidí s horším zdravotním stavem či tělesnou jinakostí přitom nevyplývá primárně z jejich individuální odlišnosti, ale ze sociokulturního kontextu, v němž existují (Davaki et al. 2013; Kolářová 2012) – tedy například z nastavení očekávání, časových, fyzických či prostorových podmínek a dalších opatření v organizaci, v níž člověk pracuje (nebo by chtěl pracovat). "V současné situaci je zdravé tělo bez hendikepu normou, jež staví lidem s hendikepem na trhu práce bariéry" (Křížková, Hašková, Pospíšilová 2018: 131). Pokud má práce negativní dopad na zdraví pracujících, neomezuje to jen jejich schopnost práci vykonávat, ale negativně to ovlivňuje i další oblasti jejich života. Helen Lingard a Michelle Turner (2021) například ukázaly, jak fyzická bolest vzniklá v důsledku náročné manuální práce přispívá ke konfliktu mezi prací a rodinou. Pokud zakoušejí bolest, nejsou pracující schopni účastnit se rodinných aktivit a péče o děti, a navíc musí čas



mimo pracovní dobu věnovat aktivitám sloužícím ke snížení bolesti. Fyzická bolest pramenící z práce dopadá negativně paradoxně ve větší míře na soukromý život pracujících než na jejich výkonnost v práci (Frone, Russell, Cooper 1992; Lingard, Turner 2021). Ačkoliv stárnutí nelze zaměňovat se (zhoršeným) zdravím, statisticky lze předpokládat, že s rostoucím věkem se zvyšuje incidence zdravotních obtíží. Chronologický věk se navíc sám o sobě stává ve světě práce zdrojem znevýhodňování a nerovností (Vidovićová 2008). Lze tedy říci, že abstraktní univerzální pracující, s jakým počítá většina pracovních organizací, je zdravý a relativně mladý muž.

Práce řidiče/řidičky představuje případovou studii práce, ve které můžeme zkoumat průsečíky významů a sociálních konstrukcí tělesnosti a genderu. Jedná se o práci, v níž dominují mužská těla a muži jako vtělené bytosti, zatímco ženská těla jsou marginalizovaná. Gender a sexualita těla se zde navíc specifickým způsobem protíná se zdravotním stavem a stárnutím pracujících těl.

Gender, technologie a práce

Práce řidiče je podobným příkladem "mužské práce" jako profese sazeče, již v roce 1981 analyzovala Cynthia Cockburn v knize *Machinery of Dominance* (Cockburn 1985, 2. vyd.). Zahrnuje totiž také požadavek fyzické síly a zároveň technických dovedností a zručnosti, spojovaných stereotypně s muži a maskulinitou. Historicky v ní lze spatřovat pokračování práce kočích a vozků, kteří přišli o své pozice v rámci rozvoje individuální automobilové dopravy. Řízení strojů veřejné dopravy původně vyžadovalo kombinaci řady poměrně různorodých dovedností: ovládání stroje, jež bylo do značné míry fyzicky náročné, zvládání silničního provozu, technické schopnosti tento stroj opravit a udržovat v provozu. Ať už z hlediska čísel, nebo symbolického významu této práce, jednalo se o práci prováděnou muži a pokládanou za mužskou. Rozvoj technologie a faktory s ním spojené (rozšíření železnice a kolejové dopravy, vynález spalovacího motoru a rozšíření silničního provozu) přitom sehrály klíčovou roli v genderovanosti a genderové segregaci povolání.

Jak argumentuje řada autorek (např. Wajcman 1991, 2004), technologie sama o sobě není genderově neutrální. Záleží na její konkrétní podobě, rozdělení a organizaci úkonů či nastavení standardů práce. Jak ukázala C. Cockburn na práci sazečů, stroje sice nahradily řadu fyzicky a technicky náročných úkonů, sazeči ale ve spolupráci s odbory dokázali využít své fyzické dovednosti tak, aby nadále kontrolovali stroje, které je zastupovaly (Cockburn 2009). To, jak je technologie navržena, v první instanci odráží zkušenost toho, kdo ji navrhoval. Fyzická síla, zkušenosti i tělesné proporce inženýrů i těch, kdo stroje obsluhovali, jsou vtištěny do podoby těchto strojů a nadále se promítají do nároků na ty, kdo je budou v budoucnu obsluhovat. Technické dovednosti potřebné pro výkon práce jsou potom spíše výsledkem ideologické definice

(tedy toho, jak jsou jednotlivé úkony poskládány, jak vypadá prostředí, v němž mají být vykonávány, jaký je design používaných nástrojů či jak velké jsou jednotky tvořící základ pracovních úkonů) než daností, jež by byla ze své povahy nutně vlastní spíše mužům než ženám (Cockburn 1982; 2009). Výkon práce je následně pro muže zdrojem tzv. "zprostředkované maskulinity": pracujícím sice pomáhají nástroje, ty jsou ale zkonstruovány tak, že vyžadují o trochu větší sílu, než jakou disponuje většina lidí s tělem ženy. Poté je daná činnost systematicky přisuzována tělům mužů bez ohledu na to, jaké má konkrétní člověk skutečné fyzické schopnosti. To umožňuje všem mužům zprostředkovaně konstruovat svou maskulinitu jen prostřednictvím příslušnosti k dané pohlavní kategorii – tím, že se ztotožňují s úzkou skupinou mužů, kteří skutečně ztělesňují ideál silného muže (Crawley 2011).

Kvalitativní studie řidičů dálkové dopravy v ČR, provedená v roce 2008 Renatou Sedlákovou, také konstatuje, že technická znalost fungování vozidla a schopnost jej opravit může být pro řidiče výhodou, ale především moderní autobusy vyžadují specializovaný servis a řadoví zaměstnanci / řadové zaměstnankyně se na jejich opravách nepodílejí. Autorka ukazuje, že práce řidiče/řidičky je vnímána jako "mužské" povolání, přičemž řidiči hledí na řidičky s despektem. Na práci řidiče dálkové mezinárodní přepravy lze podle Sedlákové aplikovat tradiční model maskulinity, jak jej popisuje Stephen Whitehead (2002). Struktura pracovní náplně řidičů, která výrazně determinuje jejich životní rytmus i ostatní aktivity, odkazuje k tzv. mužskému hrdinskému projektu, mytickému heroickému vyprávění, v němž se život hrdiny odehrává primárně ve veřejné sféře, tedy mimo domov, v neustálém cyklu odchodů a návratů. S tím souvisí také to, že kariéra řidičů vykazuje určité posloupnosti. Muži zpravidla nejdříve pracují jako řidiči kamionu a snaží se najezdit co nejvíce, později "přesedají za volant" dálkových autobusů, kde je pracovní režim volnější, a v předdůchodovém desetiletí volí práci v okolí bydliště, například v hromadné dopravě, která jim umožňuje vykonávání práce "z domova" a poskytuje tak určité pohodlí. Nejde přitom ani tolik o přítomnost v domácnosti, ale spíše o spánek ve vlastní posteli (Sedláková 2008). Práce řidiče linkové či městské hromadné dopravy proto představuje způsob, jak pokračovat v práci řidiče i v pokročilejším věku.

Stárnutí a prodlužování pracovních drah

Cynthia Cockburn si už v roce 1981 všimla toho, že mnoho sazečů shledávalo některé aspekty své práce jako příliš fyzicky namáhavé, což neumožňovalo starším mužům pokračovat ve výkonu práce. Zároveň ale organizace práce nedovolovala, aby ji vykonávaly fyzicky slabší ženy, což mužům umožňovalo udržet si v této práci "monopol". Rozvoj technologie na jedné straně snižuje fyzické nároky na výkon tradičních "mužských" povolání a tím teoreticky pomáhá prodloužit pracovní dráhu,



ale také zvyšuje "riziko" masivnějšího nástupu žen do těchto profesí. Na druhé straně rozvoj technologie klade větší nároky na kognitivní dovednosti a přizpůsobivost pracujících – zejména v současné podobě digitalizace a komputerizace práce. Proto je často vnímán jako v konfliktu se zaměstnáváním starších lidí. Vliv technologického rozvoje může být dvousečný: v některých oblastech může vést ke sbližování mezi muži a ženami v jejich zkušenostech s prací, ale muži mohou nadále hájit oblasti kompetencí a dominovat v pracovních pozicích s vysokým statusem a mocenským postavením (Stanworth 2002). Technický pokrok může některá povolání či oblasti práce učinit dostupnými lidem, kteří by na ně v minulosti kvůli svým fyzickým atributům nemohli aspirovat – zejména ženám, ale i starším či chronicky nemocným. Zároveň ale vede ke vzniku a budování nových nerovností. Ty jsou legitimizovány sexismem, ageismem a disabilismem, jež lze, podobně jako rasismus, definovat jako diskursy, kterými jsou vykonávány specifické formy kontroly a podřízení nad určitými skupinami (Bytheway 1995).

V souvislosti s pokračujícím demografickým stárnutím populace se nejen v České republice zvyšuje průměrný věk pracujících. Vzrůstá i věk, kdy člověk získává nárok na státní důchod, a zároveň také věk, kdy reálně opouští pracovní trh (viz Dudová, Pospíšilová, v tisku). Za posledních dvacet let většina zemí posunula svoji politiku směrem ke konceptu "aktivního stárnutí" ve smyslu prodlouženého pracovního života (Axelrad, Mcnamara 2018). Globalizace a flexibilizace trhů práce společně se škrty v sociálních transferech v mnoha zemích změnily pracovní život starších lidí a tím i jejich ekonomické zdroje. Proměnily se vzorce zaměstnanosti s růstem krátkodobých smluv, jež ovlivňují schopnost lidí získat nárok na důchod. Tento vývoj má negativní finanční důsledky pro ty, kteří nemohou déle pracovat, ať už kvůli zdravotním problémům, nebo jiným faktorům (Powel, Taylor 2016). Lidé tedy pracují déle a podmínky jejich práce se mění rychleji než kdy dříve, což jim na jedné straně otvírá nové možnosti a na straně druhé klade zvýšené nároky na jejich schopnost učit se moderním postupům a přizpůsobovat se novým situacím.

Starší pracující musí čelit nejen výzvám, které přinášejí změny spojené se čtvrtou průmyslovou revolucí (podobně jako pracující každého věku), ale i formám útlaku, předsudkům a znevýhodnění spojených s věkem. Ageismus se projevuje nejen na úrovni postojů jednotlivců, ale i na mezoúrovni organizací a makroúrovni vládních politik a celonárodních statistik. I když studiím věku, stárnutí a ageismu byla v sociologii věnována již poměrně značná pozornost, průsečíku věku a genderu ve studiích organizací se tolik pozornosti nedostalo (Jyrkinen, McKie 2012). Výzkum ukazuje, že ženy a muži zažívají věk, stárnutí a ageismus v organizacích různým způsobem (Itzin, Phillipson 1995). Colin Duncan a Wendy Loretto (2004) ve své studii finančního sektoru ve Velké Británii zjistili, že ženy jsou na základě věku diskriminovány častěji než muži. Dominantní diskurs v organizacích považuje stárnutí za nebezpečí, za proces

snižování dovedností a energie (Duncan, Loretto 2004; Taylor, Walker 1994). K tomu navíc péče o děti či další členy rodiny, péče o domácnost a emoční práce okolo rodiny jsou silně genderované a mají větší dopad na ženy.

Ani postavení starších mužů v práci ale není jednoznačné: Hegemonická maskulinita je "založena na životech a tělech mladších mužů" (Calasanti 2004), jelikož jejími hlavními atributy jsou výkon, aktivita, agrese, výdrž a síla. S tím, jak těchto atributů s věkem pozbývají, mohou někteří muži vstupovat do "marginalizovaného mužství", zatímco jiní se stoupajícím věkem získávají vyšší mocenské postavení. Jeff Hearn (1995: 100) poukázal na paradoxní povahu stárnutí pro muže ve světě práce, kde stárnutí může v kontextu čtvrté průmyslové revoluce teoreticky snížit i zvýšit hodnotu jejich pracovní síly. Předpokládal, že přechod od manuální práce k práci "mysli/technologie" mohl posílit status některých starších pracujících mužů. To, zda je věk přínosem, nebo ztrátou, závisí na konkrétní pozici člověka v široké síti sociálních nerovností, vnějších podmínek i vnímání sebe samého (Comeau, Kemp 2007). Co se týče řidičů/řidiček, kvalitativní studie Renaty Sedlákové (2008) ukázala, že za nejlepší pracovníky jsou považováni muži středního věku – jsou pokládáni svými nadřízenými za klidnější a zkušenější. Vyšší věk ale může být provázen horším zdravotním stavem, který je důsledkem dlouholetého vykonávání této práce.

V tomto textu se zaměřím na organizační úroveň povolání řidičů/řidiček veřejné dopravy a ukážu, jakým způsobem se technologický vývoj a změny v organizaci práce podepsaly na tělesnosti této práce. Popíšu, jak řidiči a řidičky reflektují podmínky, které v tomto povolání panují, a jaký vliv to má na jejich těla, genderové vztahy a stárnutí v práci. Jejich zkušenosti budu porovnávat s perspektivou klíčových aktérů a aktérek: manažerů a manažerek, kteří tyto podmínky do určité míry utvářejí, a představitelů odborů, které do tohoto procesu s větším či menším úspěchem vstupují. To umožní porozumět tomu, jaké nerovnosti se reprodukují a které nové vznikají, a to v souvislosti s demografickým vývojem, trendy na trhu práce a rozvojem technologie. Zaměřím se na tři oblasti, jež se na základě kvalitativní analýzy rozhovorů s řidiči a řidičkami a klíčovými aktéry/aktérkami z daného odvětví ukázaly jako klíčové: změny ve fyzické a psychické náročnosti práce, konkrétní fyzické podmínky práce a organizace pracovní doby.

Kontext

V sektoru veřejné dopravy v letech bezprostředně předcházejících výzkumu panoval výrazný nedostatek pracovní síly. Dopravní podniky v ČR měly problém získat dostatek řidičů a řidiček tak, aby mohly obsadit všechny linky nasmlouvané s kraji a obcemi. Řidiči a řidičky autobusů v roce 2019 představovali povolání, ve kterém bylo odpracováno nejvíce přesčasů ze všech kategorií ISCO (více uvedli jen "nejvyšší



představitelé organizací") – celkem 21 hodin přesčasů měsíčně (ISPV Trexima 2019).² Zároveň se jednalo o povolání s nejvyšším počtem odpracovaných zaplacených hodin měsíčně: řidiči autobusů, trolejbusů a tramvají v roce 2019 v průměru odpracovali 190 hodin měsíčně, řidičky 189 hodin (ČSÚ, Struktura mezd zaměstnanců 2019). Podmínkou pro výkon práce řidiče či řidičky veřejné přepravy osob je vedle řidičského průkazu také profesní průkaz a periodické absolvování lékařských a psychologických testů, což vyžaduje poměrně značné časové a finanční investice, a rekrutace nových zaměstnanců/zaměstnankyň proto není příliš flexibilní. Od roku 2017 se díky iniciativě odborových svazů poměrně výrazně zvýšily mzdy (minimální mzda pro řidiče/řidičky vzrostla ze 71,60 Kč na hodinu na 98,10 Kč a byly navýšeny i platby za čekání a příspěvek za práci v náročném prostředí). ³ V roce 2019 činila průměrná mzda řidičů/řidiček veřejné dopravy 35 374 Kč, téměř o 1000 Kč méně než průměr všech mezd (ČSÚ, Struktura mezd zaměstnanců 2019). Mzdy řidičů/řidiček jsou v průměru vyšší než průměrná mzda mužů se středoškolským vzděláním bez maturity (30 648 Kč), odpracují ale v průměru o 15 hodin měsíčně víc.

Konkrétní pozice řidičů/řidiček je výsledkem průsečíku (mimo jiné) jejich genderu, věku a zdravotního stavu (viz Křížková, Hašková, Pospíšilová 2018). Práce řidiče/řidičky nejenže je nyní v České republice vykonávána převážně muži, ale také převážně staršími muži. Ženy se v tomto povolání sice objevují a organizace čelící nedostatku pracovníků/pracovnic i v některých případech ženy aktivně vyhledávají a povzbuzují k nástupu do této práce, přesto zde muži dlouhodobě převažují. V prvním čtvrtletí roku 2000 podle dat VŠPS bylo mezi řidiči veřejné dopravy 95 % mužů a 5 % žen a tento podíl se, zdá se, nijak dramaticky nemění (v roce 2017 bylo mezi řidiči podle databáze VŠPS 4 % žen, v roce 2020 to bylo 10 % žen; výkyvy mohou být způsobeny nízkými čísly). Podle přesnějších údajů ČSÚ pracovalo v roce 2019 jako řidiči hromadné dopravy celkem 18 900 osob, z toho 6,3 % tvořily ženy (celkem 1200); v roce 2009 bylo žen v tomto povolání 5 %. Podíl žen je vyšší v některých městech a v konkrétních sektorech – podle dotázaných expertek a expertů je jich více v městské dopravě a zejména u větších dopravních podniků, které nabízejí větší flexibilitu při organizaci pracovních směn.

Zároveň se zvyšuje průměrný věk pracujících v tomto povolání. Zatímco v roce 2000 byl podle databáze VŠPS průměrný věk osob pracujících jako řidiči/řidičky autobusů, trolejbusů a tramvají 44 let, v roce 2020 to bylo již 51 let. Stárnutí pracovní síly navíc

² Viz https://ispv.cz/cz/Vysledky-setreni/Archiv/2019.aspx. Staženo 15. 2. 2021.

³ Zdroj: https://www.idnes.cz/ekonomika/doprava/doprava-stavka-mzdy-ridici-autobusu-odbory. A170215_125008_eko-doprava_rts. Staženo 15. 2. 2021.

⁴ Jedná se navíc převážně o muže z etnické a národnostní majority. Ačkoli se podle našich informantů/ informantek některé dopravní podniky snaží rekrutovat pracující ukrajinské národnosti, je jich jen málo a nezůstávají ve svých pozicích dlouho.

v tomto povolání probíhalo rychleji než v ostatních odvětvích práce: průměrný věk všech pracujících činil podle databáze VŠPS 39,3 let v roce 2000 a 44,7 let v roce 2020. Podstatný podíl mezi řidiči/řidičkami osobní hromadné dopravy v roce 2020 tvořili pracující starobní důchodci/důchodkyně. Mezi muži, kteří v šetření VŠPS 2020 uvedli, že pracují jako řidiči, bylo 12,5 % starobních důchodců. V tomto odvětví práce se tedy výrazně odráží trend stárnutí pracovní síly. Zdá se, že vykonávat práci řidiče/ řidičky je možné do dosažení důchodového věku i déle, což je pravděpodobně dáno právě automatizací této práce a snižováním fyzické náročnosti. Přesto zůstává tato profese "mužským povoláním".

Metodologie

Představená analýza vychází z kvalitativně orientovaného výzkumu představitelů/ představitelek této profese, stejně jako klíčových aktérů a aktérek, kteří jsou součástí dané sítě vztahů moci a nerovností – představitelek a představitelů zaměstnavatelů, odborů a profesních organizací. V rámci výzkumu byly provedeny kvalitativní polostandardizované rozhovory s 25 muži a deseti ženami pracujícími jako řidiči nebo řidičky autobusů, trolejbusů či tramvají. Na počátku rozhovoru komunikační partneři a partnerky za asistence tazatele či tazatelky vyplnili tzv. tabulku života, v níž graficky zaznamenali významné události svých životů v těchto oblastech: práce, rodina, bydlení, zdraví a nečekané události. Díky tomu rozhovory začínaly jako rozhovory biografické. Poté pokračovaly dotazováním na dosavadní pracovní zkušenosti, pracovní podmínky (s důrazem na podmínky pro osoby nad 50 let), na prodlužování pracovních drah a plány ohledně odchodu do důchodu. Zároveň se uskutečnily rozhovory s klíčovými aktéry/aktérkami: šesti personálními manažery/manažerkami dopravních organizací a třemi představiteli odborových svazů zastupujících řidiče a řidičky. Ty se zaměřovaly na přístup organizací k zaměstnávání osob nad 50 let, na jejich zkušenosti, podmínky a opatření a obecně situaci v daném sektoru. Vzorek zahrnuje 23 řidičů a řidiček autobusů, deset řidičů a řidiček tramvají a dva řidiče a řidičku trolejbusu. Komunikační partneři a partnerky pracovali celkem v 16 dopravních organizacích (kromě dopravních podniků Prahy a Brna se jednalo o dopravní společnosti v dalších městech ve všech regionech ČR). 21 z nich tvořili řidiči či řidičky městské veřejné dopravy, 14 řídilo meziměstské linkové spoje. Jejich věk se pohyboval mezi 50 a 78 lety, přičemž většině (28) bylo mezi 50 a 59 lety, pět dotazovaných v rozmezí 60 a 69 let a dva byli starší 70 let. Průměrný věk komunikačních partnerek činil 55,8 let, průměrný věk komunikačních partnerů 57,8 let.

Rozhovory byly přepsány a analyzovány pomocí softwaru Atlas.ti. Nejprve byly kódovány s využitím kódovacího klíče společného pro všechny rozhovory v daném projektu, poté proběhlo jemnější kódování zaměřené na specifika daného výzkumného



souboru a odvětví. Při kódování rozhovorů byly vyhledávány klíčové pasáže vypovídající o strukturálních souvislostech pracovních životů komunikačních partnerů a partnerek, o intersubjektivních zkušenostech a o institucionálních bariérách či zdrojích. Při analýze byl využit přístup "strukturního čtení" narativů popsaný Umut Erel (2007), zaměřený na analýzu dopadů sociálních struktur na lidi. Vyprávěný životní příběh v sobě spojuje informace o tom, jak sociální instituce (např. pracovní organizace a podmínky práce, nastavení důchodového systému nebo genderové role a normy) ovlivňují (omezují či uschopňují) jednání člověka v různých životních situacích, a zároveň informace o tom, jak tento člověk aktivně tyto vlivy využívá, brání se jim, vnímá je a interpretuje jejich působení. Přístup strukturního čtení poskytuje prostor pro kritickou analýzu a "problematizování toho, co by jinak mohlo být příliš jednoduše viděno jako arbitrárně a individuálně konstruované, řízené a udržované" (Gubrium, Holstein 2003). Pomáhá tak uchopit situaci komunikačních partnerů a partnerek jako výsledek souhry strukturních podmínek (nastavení pracovní doby, fyzických podmínek a prostoru, v němž se práce odehrává, očekávání a norem s prací spojených) a průsečíku jejich individuálních charakteristik, jako je gender, věk, zdravotní stav, rodinný stav atd. Zároveň umožňuje zachytit interpretace a významy, prostřednictvím kterých dotázaní na svou realitu nahlížejí, a odhalit, jak tyto interpretace přispívají k reprodukování či (de-)konstruování nerovností ve světě práce.

"Práce pro starý?": Fyzická a psychická náročnost práce řidiče

Technický pokrok se v práci řidičů a řidiček autobusů, trolejbusů a tramvají (zkráceně řidičů) projevil zejména snížením fyzické náročnosti práce. Spočíval ve zdokonalování a vyšší bezpečnosti řízených dopravních prostředků, v menší míře v digitalizaci odbavování cestujících a zavádění integrovaného dopravního systému ve větších městech. Dotázaní řidiči a řidičky s dlouhodobou zkušeností s touto prací se shodovali na tom, že dopravní prostředky jsou méně poruchové, ovšem jejich údržba je stále složitější. Od řidiče/řidičky se již neočekává, že si bude umět autobus či tramvaj sám opravit, a vzhledem k digitalizaci to ani není možné. Práce tak sice kvůli digitálním terminálům nebo integrovanému dopravnímu systému klade vyšší nároky na digitální dovednosti, ale nižší na technické znalosti a na fyzickou sílu. Podle výpovědí dotázaných řidičů a řidiček převažoval spíše druhý faktor, a sice výhody technologického vývoje odstraňující fyzickou náročnost práce. Nižší fyzická a technická náročnost práce je výsledkem nejen technologického pokroku a změn, ale i s ním související odlišné organizace práce – tedy že řidič/řidička nemusí vykonávat některé fyzicky namáhavé činnosti, které bývaly součástí jeho práce. Zatímco dříve řidič musel zajistit běžný servis svého stroje sám, nyní jsou u většiny organizací pracovní úkoly rozděleny tak, že servisní a údržbové úkony provádí dílna a řidič/řidička pouze řídí:

Píchnul sis gumu, tak sis ji musel vyměnit, olej sis vyměnit musel, umejt sis to musel. Já, když jsem přišel potom, to jsem byl už v důchodu, do toho XXX, tak jsem byl v úplně jiným světě. (...) Přijel jsi na dvůr, tam byl chlap, sedl si do autobusu, dal ti tam naftu, odvezl to na umývárnu, tam ti to umyli. (Daniel, 78 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě ve větším městě, 60 let v oboru)

Není to tak ale všude – zejména u menších dopravců a dálkových autobusů stále mají řidiči/řidičky povinnost např. vyměnit kolo nebo provádět základní údržbu vozidla. Fyzická a technická náročnost práce řidiče/řidičky se proto liší podle typu práce a podle typu organizace; přesto obecně lze říci, že se snižuje. Paralelně s tím se ale zvyšují nároky psychické, způsobené stále silnějším a složitějším silničním provozem a nároky na jednání s klienty/klientkami, což potvrzovali všichni dotázaní řidiči a řidičky. Stres pramenící z nepřehlednosti provozu, z agresivity ostatních řidičů/řidiček a z chování některých cestujících se tak stává hlavní charakteristikou této práce. To odpovídá zjištěním R. Sedlákové (2008), podle nichž je psychický stres hlavní charakteristikou práce řidičů/řidiček mezinárodní přepravy. Na schopnost zvládání stresu se zaměřují psychologické testy, kterými musí řidiči a řidičky povinně v několikaletých intervalech procházet, a může se promítat do zdravotních potíží, jako je vysoký tlak či problémy se žaludkem. Psychický stres je přímo spojen s fyzickým zdravím, jelikož dlouhodobé vystavení stresu v práci je příčinou řady zdravotních potíží (Ganster, Schaubroeck 1991).

(Fyzicky) to není náročný. Ale po psychický stránce člověk musí být ve střehu celých těch 14 hodin. U toho nákladu, když člověk byl trochu unavenej, tak zastavil kdykoliv. Ale tady když se člověk vyspí jenom šest hodin. (Marek, 62 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, dva roky v oboru)

Větší stres klade vyšší nároky na tzv. měkké dovednosti řidičů/řidičů – nejen zvládat řízení v hustém provozu, ale jednat s cestujícími či s dalšími řidiči, se kterými se v provozu mohou dostávat do konfliktu, ovládnout se, i když jsou pod tlakem, být příjemní a vstřícní, ale přitom umět udržet v autobuse či tramvaji pořádek. V podstatě se jedná o "emocionální práci" (viz Hochschild 1983), vyžadující zvládání vlastních emocí a jejich produktivní využívání.

Spousta jich třeba v 60 skončí, že to třeba nebudou dávat psychicky. V téhle práci je ta psychika hodně zásadní. Kolikrát kočírovat sám sebe, když vám někdo udělá nějakou prasečinu na silnici, a nějak si neuvědomí, že máte za sebou třeba 40 lidí a nemůžete na to dupnout jako s tím osobákem. A ukočírovat v sobě



takový to, že by ho člověk nejradši vytáhnul z auta a tam mu namlátil hubu. (Josef, 52 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, více než 30 let v oboru)

Tyto dovednosti jsou pokládány za vlastní spíše ženám, jelikož jsou k nim socializovány a jsou od nich očekávány (Hochschild 1983). Přesto jsou ženy v profesi řidičů veřejné dopravy nadále spíše výjimkou. Teoreticky by vyšší přítomnosti žen v této profesi, a tedy i slabšímu spojení této práce s maskulinitou, mohla nahrávat také ona snižující se fyzická náročnost práce, daná technickým vývojem a (s ním související) odlišnou organizací práce, tj. rozdělením práce na jednotlivé úkony, z nichž samotné řízení je fyzicky nejméně náročné. Natálie, řidička tramvaje, například pokládala za největší výhodu této práce, že se "fyzicky nenadře". Dotázaní muži se přesto shodovali v tom, že se pro ženy hodí spíše pouze pozice řidiček městské dopravy, u společností ve velkých městech, které mají k dispozici vlastní dílny a servis. Jiné pozice byly nadále vnímány jako pro ženy ne příliš vhodné právě kvůli fyzické náročnosti. Dotázané ženy narážely i na to, že jejich vedení a kolegové a kolegyně předpokládali, že pro určité úkony nejsou dostatečně technicky zdatné – například nedokážou řídit určitý složitější či větší typ stroje. Představitelé a představitelky organizací předpokládali, že ženy mají z řízení větších strojů strach:

(Ženy) zase mají trošku mentální problém s tím, že se bojí řídit ten velkej autobus; (...) jakoby primární odpor je: Jéžiš, to je moc veliký, to já neumím (personální manažerka, dopravní společnost ve větším městě, 39 let).

To ale některé komunikační partnerky vnímaly jako stereotyp až diskriminaci.

Zkušenost Hany, jež řídila pro regionální autobusovou linkovou dopravní firmu, tento pohled dále komplikuje. Hana uznávala, že sama není fyzicky schopná vykonat úkon, který se od ní v práci vyžaduje – vyměnit pneumatiku na autobuse. Musela žádat o pomoc své kolegy a v terénu by to asi sama nezvládla. Zároveň si ale uvědomovala, že jej sama nedokáže ani řada jejích kolegů. Nejde tedy o gender, ale o individuální fyzickou kondici, a zejména o podmínky, rozdělení a organizaci práce, jež zaměstnavatel nastaví.

Ty gumy jsou někdy i pro chlapa těžký, nadávají na to všichni. A taky jsou tam chlapi, který mají metr padesát, a takovouhle gumu tam měnit. A z druhý strany tam jezdí pán, který má amputovaný prsty, chodí o berlích, chodí na takovýhle nastavovaných botách, když jsem ho viděla poprvé, tak jsem myslela, že to je invalida, než jsem zjistila, že má uniformu firmy. (Hana, 50 let, řidička autobusu v linkové dopravě, deset let v oboru)

Snižování fyzické náročnosti práce tedy podle vyprávění komunikačních partnerů a partnerek nevedlo tolik k omezení genderové segregace a proměně genderového znaménka profese řidiče, ale spíše ke změně vnímání této práce jako práce vhodné pro starší (muže). V roce 2020 bylo podle dat VŠPS 23 % řidičů starších 60 let. Tomu odpovídá i pozorování dotázaných personálních manažerek a manažerů. Podle výpovědí řidičů/řidiček pracují stále častěji jako řidiči i muži s různými zdravotními problémy či tělesnými hendikepy. Ačkoliv rozhovory byly primárně zaměřeny na věk (komunikační partneři byli rekrutováni mezi lidmi staršími padesáti let a řada otázek byla zaměřena na reflexi stárnutí v práci), hlavní kategorií, která podle komunikačních partnerek a partnerů určovala schopnost vykonávat tuto práci, bylo zdraví, nikoli věk sám o sobě. Věk byl vnímán jako velmi relativní.

Stárnutí v práci řidiče/řidičky představovalo značně rozporuplnou zkušenost: Na jedné straně většina dotázaných mužů i žen hovořila o úbytku sil a zhoršujícím se zdraví, na druhé straně zdůrazňovali zkušenosti rostoucí s věkem, větší rozvážnost a klid. Práce řidiče byla komunikačními partnery a partnerkami (včetně představitelů odborových svazů) vnímána jako velmi náročná, s negativními dopady na zdraví. Tomu odpovídá povinnost řidičů a řidiček absolvovat v pravidelných intervalech nejen psychologické, ale i zdravotní testy; četnost testů se s přibývajícím věkem zvyšuje. Představitelé odborových svazů a řidiči a řidičky, kteří toto povolání vykonávali celoživotně, zdůrazňovali, že by vzhledem k náročnosti této práce a míře odpovědnosti, kterou nesou, měli mít možnost odcházet do důchodu dříve než jiná povolání. Na druhé straně řada dotázaných popisovala práci řidiče jako práci, k níž se uchýlili poté, co již nebyli schopni pracovat ve svém předchozím zaměstnání. Například Filip pracoval jako zedník a poté, co kvůli zdravotním potížím a operaci zad již tuto těžkou fyzickou práci nemohl vykonávat, nechal se v 55 letech zaměstnat jako řidič linkové autobusové dopravy. Marek zase začal řídit autobus poté, co prodělal amputaci prstů na nohou a nezvládal již práci na nákladní dopravě, která obnášela i nakládání a vykládání nákladu:

Kdybych neměl tu nohu, tak bych, ani bych nepřemýšlel. Tak bych to nedělal. Jinak je to lepší na tom nákladu, tam máte víc volna. (Marek, 62 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, dva roky v oboru, dříve řidič TIR)

Značná část mužů řidičů pracovala v mladším věku jako řidiči nákladní dopravy a autobus začali řídit až po překonání padesátky, kdy jim přestaly vyhovovat podmínky této práce – časté a dlouhé pobyty mimo domov a manipulace s těžkým nákladem. Podle personálních manažerek/manažerů tato skupina představovala ideální zaměstnance: padesátiletý muž se zkušeností s řízením velkého auta, který hledá jistotu a stabilitu



práce a chce v ní zůstat do důchodu. Mladí pracovníci nebyli pokládáni za příliš perspektivní, jelikož v práci "nevydrží":

Pro mě je ideální kandidát po padesáti letech, řidič kamionu, který se vylítal po světě a dneska už chce být na stará kolena, nechce tolik chodit, chce být doma (...). Takže pro mě je řidič od padesáti a klidně do 65 prostě ideální člověk. (personální manažerka, dopravní společnost ve větším městě, 39 let)

Značný podíl řidičů podle kvantitativních i kvalitativních dat představují "pracu-jící důchodci" – lidé, kteří již získali nárok na státní důchod, ale rozhodli se v práci pokračovat. Někteří z nich pracovali nadále ve stejném pracovním poměru na plný úvazek. Většina ale volila možnost pokračovat v práci formou brigád, tj. prací na dohodu o pracovní činnosti. Ta jim poskytla flexibilnější nastavení pracovních podmínek a zejména možnost pracovat na nižší časový úvazek. Tito pracující si na rozdíl od zaměstnanců na standardní smlouvu mohli volit objem odpracovaného času a směny:

Dokonce jsou takoví lidé, řidiči, kteří prostě když už mají důchodový věk, tak si prostě dupnou a řeknou: Tak já končím. Ukončí pracovní poměr, už mají jakoby důchod, a řeknou: Jsem ochoten tady jezdit, ale jenom víkendy. Jako prostě v tejdnu ne, protože je provoz velký, a to už je nebaví, ale víkendy, to je taková, jak se říká, trošku pohodová jízda. (představitel odborových svazů DP Praha, 58 let)

S brigádní prací byla ovšem spojena i řada nevýhod. Dohody pro ně znamenaly větší nejistotu, ztrátu zaměstnaneckých benefitů a mnohdy nižší platy. Částečný úvazek v zaměstnaneckém poměru ale nebyl zaměstnavateli nabízen. Vzhledem k nedostatku uchazečů o tuto práci si starší řidiči mohli snáze vyjednat vyhovující podmínky (například méně náročné, ale lépe placené víkendové směny), i když pouze v mezích práce "na dohody". Díky těmto podmínkám bylo řízení autobusu či tramvaje vnímáno komunikačními partnery a partnerkami jako ideální práce i v pozdějším věku. Někteří z nich dokonce uvažovali o tom, že se v důchodu k řízení vrátí poté, co budou nějaký čas pracovat v jiném oboru. Zaměstnávání "pracujících důchodců" ovšem považovali představitelé/představitelky organizací jen za nouzové řešení a v době, kdy bylo zájemců o práci dostatek, preferovali spíše mladší pracující.

Asi tak, když byla doba, že jsme měli těch zájemců za bránou hodně, tak jsme to s nimi řešili na některých divizích i radikálně. Že jsme jim víceméně naznačili, že mají důchodový věk a že tu máme mladé zájemce nebo mladší. A dneska už

jsme rádi, když jezdí dál. (personální manažerka, dopravní společnost v menším městě, 63 let)

Stejné faktory, které v současné době nahrávají zaměstnávání starších mužů (tj. snižující se fyzická náročnost práce a souběžně nedostatek pracovní síly), napomáhají teoreticky i zaměstnávání žen v tomto stále ještě typicky mužském oboru. Přesto je podíl žen nadále velmi nízký a práce řidiče byla stále většinou dotazovaných klíčových aktérů i samotných řidičů, jak uvidíme dále, vnímána jako pro ženy nepříliš vhodná. Kromě technologických změn do hry totiž navíc vstupují konkrétní fyzické podmínky a organizace práce, jež marginalizují těla žen.

Tělo jako překážka: Fyzické pracovní podmínky

Dotázaní muži a ženy popsali několik specifických situací, které je v práci řidiče fyzicky omezují, práci jim ztěžují a/nebo mají přímo negativní dopad na jejich fyzické zdraví.

Ta cukrovka, tlak. Ten tlak většinou vzniká, že se v práci rozzlobí, to tak vzniká, hádání a tak. Artróza většinou taky, jak tam má to otvírání dveří, tak táhne na ty nohy a ramena. (Ctirad, 52 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, 23 let v oboru)

Opakujícím se problémem, o kterém se zmiňovali jak řidiči, tak řidičky, ale i představitelé odborů, bylo chybějící hygienické zázemí a toalety. Řidiči a řidičky si mohou dojít si na záchod, pouze pokud mají dostatečně dlouhou pauzu na konečné své linky. Zde se fyzické podmínky práce dotýkají i organizace pracovní doby: pokud je pauza příliš krátká nebo časový plán není dobře nastaven a linka nabírá zpoždění, nemají na návštěvu toalety čas. U řady městských linek na konečné žádné záchody pro řidiče či řidičky nejsou, jelikož chybějí pozemky nebo vůle k jejich vybudování.

Ten problém je, že ten pozemek tý smyčky nebo tý zastávky, kde končí, nám nepatří, takže my tam nemůžeme vybudovat sociální zařízení, ale maximálně se to dá řešit, že se tam dá přenosnej chemickej záchod. (představitel odborových svazů v sektoru dopravy, 51 let)

Nemožnost "dojít si na záchod" se více dotýká starších mužů, navíc je sama o sobě zdrojem jejich zdravotních potíží:

(Lidé) si stěžovali, že tam chodí děti na procházku ze školky a že tam řidiči čůrají.

STATI / ARTICLES

A kam mají chodit? Tak potom nepijou a pak z toho vznikají zdravotní problémy. To by nikoho nenapadlo, že ty řidiči fakt nemají kam chodit na záchod. To byl taky jeden z důvodů, pak vám vznikají ty zdravotní problémy. Chlapi mají problémy s prostatou. (Hana, 50 let, řidička autobusu v linkové dopravě, deset let v oboru)

Zatímco dotázané personální manažerky a manažeři problém s toaletami neuváděli, představitelé odborů si ho byli dobře vědomi. Poukazovali na to, že do sociálního zařízení organizace neinvestují. Problém ale spatřovali v tom, že sami řidiči si na špatné zázemí a nedostatek času na konečné zaměstnavateli nestěžují a snaží se dodržovat jízdní řády za každou cenu:

To zase se snažíme těm mladejm tohle říkat, aby neblbli, jako že no tak pozdě přijel, pozdě odjel, za to ti nikdo hlavu neutrhne. Jó, jsou takoví, že jsou právě ve stresu "já už mám bejt pryč a honem", no tak zdraví má člověk jenom jedno. (představitel odborových svazů, 55 let)

Řidiči k tomu ale mají své důvody: zpoždění znamená snížení prémií, a navíc je pro ně nepříjemné o těchto intimních tělesných záležitostech komunikovat s vedením:

(To) já zase považuju za naprosto dehonestující, abych já volal dispečink, abych já volal a řekl, prosím vás, já na té konečné pojedu o pět minut později, protože potřebuju na záchod. Tak to je pro mě natolik ponižující. (Ota, 54 let, řidič tramvaje a autobusu v městské dopravě ve větším městě, 12 let v oboru)

Nevyhovující toalety a málo času pro jejich použití představuje větší problém pro starší řidiče, ale rovněž pro řidičky. Podle dotázaných řidiček i podle představitelů odborů mají ženy větší hygienické nároky a potřeby. Nejen že je pro ně méně společensky přijatelné "odskočit si" jen tak venku, na toaletě se při močení musí více svléknout a sednout si, a také tam v době menstruace chodí častěji a tráví tam více času. Problémem je proto nejen nedostatek, ale i fyzická podoba toalet:

A tam je kadibouda jenom, já jsem z toho úplně hin. Já jsem tu trasu začala nemít ráda. Kvůli tý kadiboudě. Nejsem cimprlich, ale v zimě, ač jsou zimy mírné, stejně občas zamrzne. A jako ženská se tam v malým prostoru, ve tmě musíte nad tou mísou nějak odstrojit, nějak vykonat potřebu, nedej bože při menses, no hrozný. (...) Chlapům jsem říkala, vám se to řekne, vy si akorát rozepnete poklopec a jdete ke stromu a ani tam do toho smradu nemusíte vstoupit, ale co my? A oni chi, chi, cha, cha. Tak běž na kanálek a takový,

a mně to prostě vadilo. (Sofie, 59 let, řidička tramvaje ve větším městě, deset let v oboru)

Další fyzickou komplikaci nejen ve spojení s toaletami znamená pro ženy menstruace. Řidičky si v době menstruace potřebují vyměnit vložku či tampón a umýt se; mohou také potřebovat častější přestávky. Žen po padesátce, na které byl výzkum zaměřen, se to již nemusí tak často týkat, ale některé komunikační partnerky v rozhovorech vzpomínaly na své zkušenosti z mladšího věku.

No, přeci jen ty podmínky-. (...) Nedokážu si představit, že bych ještě někde měla lítat ještě s vložkama, jak ty mladý holky, to jsou prostě podmínky, to se nemůžete vyčůrat, kdy chcete, na záchod nemůžete jít, kdy chcete. Když to přežiju bez poškození metabolismu, tak to bude asi zázrak. (Adéla, 52, řidička tramvaje ve větším městě, čtyři roky v oboru)

U linkových (meziměstských) autobusů může představovat podobný fyzický problém prostor pro odpočinek řidičů. Řidiči mají v depu zpravidla k dispozici tzv. "šoférky", kde tráví čas mezi ranní a odpolední částí směny, jelikož bydlí příliš daleko a nevyplatí se jim vracet domů. Na "šoférkách" jsou lůžka k odpočinku. Pro řidičky tento odpočinkový prostor není oddělený od prostoru mužů. Naše komunikační partnerky to sice nevnímaly jako problém; může to ale být jeden z faktorů, kvůli kterému je tento typ práce pro ženy nepřitažlivý nebo pokládaný za pro ženy nevhodný.

Třetím fyzickým problémem je oblečení: stejnokroje dostatečně nereflektují potřeby žen. Hana popisovala, jak si musela sama uniformu upravovat a přešívat, protože jí vůbec neseděla.

Ale pořád to na to není připravený. Takže kravatu, klasicky pánskou košili. A když si dáte pánskou košili, tak abych ji zapnula přes prsa, tak zase rukávy jsou takhle. Takže to už vím, že musím pouze krátký rukávy mít. (Hana, 50 let, řidička autobusu v linkové dopravě, deset let v oboru)

Oblečení navržené primárně pro muže nejenže je pro ženy nepohodlné, ale navíc nevyhovuje jejich tělesným potřebám a může je vystavovat riziku přílišné sexualizace a stigmatizace. V případě menstruace, když navíc žena nemá možnost dělat přestávky, tak jak potřebuje, například představují příliš světlé kalhoty riziko, že krev bude v případě "nehody" vidět. Řidičky jsou tudíž vystaveny stresu z "nezvládnutí" svého těla a "zvládání menstruace" (viz Oxley 1998) v práci na ně klade velké nároky. Ema po hysterektomii zalitovala, že ji nepodstoupila dříve, aby nemusela tyto problémy řešit:



Já jsem třeba měla strašně moc krvácení a přeci jenom člověk sedí čtyři hodiny za volantem, nemůže se pohnout. A to byl problém. Teď si říkám, že jsem do toho měla jít dřív. Než mít pořád ty nervy, teď vstanu a jestli jo, nebo ne. A když jsem jezdila s trolejbusem a ty faje spadly třeba na střechu, někde jsem vytrolejila, tak jsem musela vstát a hned to nahodit. To všichni koukají, tak jsem si říkala, ježišmaria, a světlý kalhoty, tak to jsem jezdila v černých. A pak mě odchytnul výpravčí, že: porušuješ uniform režim, já tě nahlásím. (Ema, 54 let, řidička autobusu v městské dopravě ve větším městě, 15 let v oboru)

Fyzický problém odlišný pro muže a pro ženy může představovat i prostor z hlediska bezpečí. Některé linky v městském prostoru mají konečnou v místech, která jsou považována za potenciálně nebezpečná pro ženy. Řidičky samy sice o pocitu ohrožení nehovořily, vnímali to tak ale někteří dotázaní muži. Ve výsledku také to může přispívat k tomu, že je práce řidiče interpretována jako pro ženy nepříliš vhodná:

Mně to osobně nevadí (ženy na pozici řidičů, pozn. aut.). Ale podle mého názoru je to pro tu-. Ženské jsou dobré řidičky, ale není to pro ně dobré. Jestli to můžu naostro říct, když si potřebuju odskočit, můžu si odskočit kdekoli. Ona je na tom přeci jen trochu hůř. Já si můžu vzít snazší oblečení na léto. Pro holku je tady ta práce dost tvrdá. (Milan, 54 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě ve větším městě, 27 let v oboru)

Ženy samotné zdůrazňovaly to, že nejsou příliš "ženské", a právě proto tuto práci mohou vykonávat a být v ní dobré; případně že vlivem práce v mužském prostředí "zhrubly". Přizpůsobení se "mužskému", "silovému" a "hrubému" prostředí u nich probíhalo na úrovni osobní identity, například zdůrazňováním vlastních, spíše maskulinních charakteristik, jako u Emy:

Je to zřejmě naší fyzickou konstrukcí a já jsem taková statná, babička taky byla statná. Já jsem taková spíš chlap než ženská, já mám rovný nohy, chlupatý jak srnka. (Ema, 54 let, řidička autobusu v městské dopravě ve větším městě, 15 let v oboru)

Dále se také odráželo v reflexi vlastního chování a jeho změny, jako u Sofie:

Poslední tři roky už na ně jdu-, už jdu na tvrdo do hádky, (...) nejsem sprostá teda, ale klidně někomu řeknu, aby držel klapačku. A to je to, co mi taky vadí. Ne, že bych zhrubla nějak katastroficky, ale zhrubla jsem v tý práci. (Sofie, 59 let, řidička tramvaje ve větším městě, deset let v oboru)

Mimo jiné i kvůli tomu, jak byly nastaveny fyzické podmínky práce, vnímali řidiči a řidičky svou práci jako vhodnější spíše pro starší než pro mladší ženy. Nejenže na nich již nespočívaly závazky péče o děti, jak uvidíme dále, ale starší ženy nemusely řešit komplikace způsobené menstruací. V extrémním případě Emy byla chirurgická změna ženského těla vnímána pozitivně, jako odstranění problému periodického krvácení a přiblížení se mužskému ideálu. Těla starších žen nebyla vystavena takové sexualizaci; přítomnost starších žen v prostředí hrubší "mužské" komunikace a sexistického humoru nebudila takové rozpaky, jako by to mohlo platit pro ženy mladší:

Víte, jak se tam hecujou na šoférce, jaký měli výkony doma a takhle. A já jim říkám, tady usnete u zpráv, a přitom takhle machrujete. (Hana, 50 let, řidička autobusu v linkové dopravě, deset let v oboru)

Dotazovaní představitelé/představitelky zaměstnavatelů si ale až na výjimky nebyli vědomi toho, že by změnou nastavení fyzických podmínek mohli vytvořit příznivější prostředí pro znevýhodněné skupiny zaměstnanců/zaměstnankyň (např. ženy, starší pracující či pracující se zdravotním hendikepem), případně necítili potřebu to dělat. Chápali např. jako dostatečné to, že ženy cíleně nediskriminují. Příkladem je výrok personální manažerky:

Neodmítáme ani ženy, není doba na to, abychom je odmítali. (personální manažerka, dopravní společnost v menším městě, 63 let).

Přesto v této organizaci žádné ženy nepracovaly. Atmosféra ve firmě, fyzické podmínky a chování nadřízených vedly k tomu, že ženy práci zde nevyhledávaly. Podobně ředitel a majitel dopravní firmy zdůrazňoval, že jako zaměstnavatel o ženy stojí, protože v nich vidí spolehlivější pracující. Za dostatečnou motivaci pokládal to, že jsou ohodnoceny stejně jako muži:

Ale dáváme samozřejmě lidem stejný peníze, protože věříme, že ženy jsou pracovitější, loajálnější a všechno s tím souvisí. (vlastník dopravní společnosti ve větším městě, 47 let)



Lidé pro práci, práce pro lidi: Organizace pracovní doby

Zásadní vliv na genderovanost práce řidiče, ale i na její dopad na jejich těla a zdraví, má kromě fyzických podmínek a fyzické náročnosti práce také organizace pracovní doby. Časová organizace práce předurčuje určitý typ práce jako více nebo méně vhodný pro ženy nebo muže, ale i pro mladé či staré. Řidiči a řidičky veřejné dopravy pracovali v naprosté většině případů na plný úvazek ve směnném provozu. Směny zasahovaly do "nesociálních časů" – ranní směny začínaly ve 3–4 hodiny ráno, odpolední směny končily nejdříve o půlnoci, mnohdy až v 1–2 hodiny ráno. Specifické časové uspořádání práce představovaly "dělené" směny neboli tzv. šejdry, kdy řidič začíná v brzkých ranních hodinách, pak má několikahodinovou přestávku a poté pokračuje v odpolední dopravní špičce. Směny se střídají v turnusech; toto střídání se liší v různých dopravních podnicích. Jen vzácně naši komunikační partneři a partnerky pracovali v jednom stálém turnusu, který si mohli vybrat. Vzhledem k nedostatku řidičů ve firmách chyběli pracovníci a pracovnice "na střídání" a řidiči a řidičky byli různým způsobem nuceni či motivováni pracovat přesčas; měsíčně tak nezřídka odpracovali až 200 hodin.

Praxe je, že to ty lidi, že už mají teďka vyčerpaný přesčasy, protože nejsou lidi. Praxe je taková, že si lidi chtějí hlásit dovolenou, a ten den už je plno. Praxe je taková, že má napsanou dovolenou, ale oni mu ji zrušej, protože nejsou lidi. (představitel odborových svazů v sektoru dopravy, 51 let)

Velké dopravní podniky (v Praze a v Brně) nabízely možnost směnných turnusů vhodných pro matky s dětmi (např. pouze ranní směny), částečné úvazky ale zpravidla neumožňovaly. Ostatní organizace nedělají podle dotázaných personálních manažerek a manažerů i představitelů odborových svazů mezi pracujícími rozdíly a brání se zvýhodňování určitých skupin pracujících při výběru služeb se strachem, že by to vyvolalo mezi zaměstnanci/zaměstnankyněmi zášť nebo by to bylo organizačně příliš náročné:

Tak je tady dvě stě lidí na týhle vozovně, tak nemůže 186 lidí mít výjimku, taky to musí někdo oddělat. (představitel odborových svazů v sektoru dopravy, 55 let)

Příliš dlouhá a nesociální pracovní doba ovšem nepředstavovala problém jen pro ženy s dětmi. I u mužů se extenzivní pracovní doba podepisovala na rodinném životě:

Mám spoustu kolegů, co jsou rozvedený, že ty ženy to nezvládly, po té stránce být furt doma samy nebo doma s dětma, spoustu. (Josef, 52 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, 30 let v oboru) Extenzivní pracovní doba a nesociální časy práce více vyhovovaly (nebo byly snesitelnější) pracujícím, kteří neměli/y závazky péče a nepotřebovali/y či nechtěli/y trávit pravidelný čas se svou rodinou. Proto byla komunikačními partnery a partnerkami práce řidiče chápána jako vhodnější pro starší lidi, kteří již nemusí pečovat o děti. Týkalo se to v podobné míře mužů i žen.

Proto jsem si rozbil manželství, já to přiznám. Protože opravdu, která ženská by ti tohle trpěla. Jsem měl dvě malý děti, nebyl jsem v létě vůbec doma. Ty mladý kluci se vůbec nehrnou na autobus. Ty chtějí dělat, já nevím, od šesti do dvou. Soboty a neděle volno. Jenže to na osobní dopravě nejde. To prostě neexistuje, rozumíš. (Daniel, 78 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě ve větším městě, 60 let v oboru)

Řada řidičů a řidiček tuto práci vykonávala i přes její časovou náročnost i v době, kdy měli malé děti. V případě mužů převládal v těchto případech model tradiční genderové dělby práce a péče v rodině. Ženy častěji nastupovaly do tohoto povolání až v okamžiku, kdy měly děti trochu odrostlé a dokázaly skloubit potřeby rodiny s pracovní dobou. Osm z deseti komunikačních partnerek se stalo řidičkami až později ve své pracovní dráze – tehdy, kdy už nebyly limitovány péčí o děti, a zároveň se jim kvůli věkové diskriminaci nedařilo získat jinou práci. Řízení autobusu či tramvaje představovalo možnost jisté práce s okamžitým nástupem a relativně slušnou odměnou.

Ano, to bylo v té advokátce, pak jsem přišla o práci, to bylo vlastně vloni. A záchrana byl dopravní podnik, protože oni, jak mají chudáci nedostatek řidičů, tak berou opravdu kohokoliv. A já, protože je nás doma plná hromada, tak člověk si nemohl dovolit zůstat dva tři měsíce a hledat nějaký zaměstnání, a jak správně poukazujete svým výzkumem, o zdatné padesátníky takový zájem není. Tak jsem byla u dopravního podniku. (Adéla, 52, řidička tramvaje ve větším městě, čtyři roky v oboru)

Řízení veřejné dopravy tak pro ženy i pro muže představovalo vhodné povolání pro změnu pracovní dráhy – bylo možné získat rekvalifikaci a místo i ve věku nad 50 let a setrvat zde až do věku nároku na státní důchod (i po něm). Nahrává tomu to, že se jedná o relativně otevřenou profesi s nízkými nároky na vzdělání uchazečů/uchazeček. Musí sice získat řidičský průkaz skupiny D a profesní průkaz, což je poměrně nákladné (sami respondenti a respondentky odhadovali náklady na cca 50 tisíc Kč), v situaci nedostatku pracovních sil se ale na těchto nákladech alespoň částečně podílela zaměstnávající organizace, případně Úřad práce. Časová náročnost práce však



nadále prohlubuje paradox stárnutí v práci řidiče/řidičky a ne/vhodnosti této práce v pozdějším věku. Na jedné straně byla tato práce dotázanými pokládána za vhodnější pro starší pracující, kteří již nemusí řešit závazky péče, než pro otce a matky mladších dětí. Na druhé straně právě vysoká časová intenzita této práce a nepravidelná noční práce přinášela zdravotní rizika, jež si více uvědomovali právě starší pracující. Potíže se zvyšujícím se věkem představoval podle dotázaných zejména stres spojený s provozem, nutnost pracovat v noci a neustále měnit denní rytmus:

No a když už si tělo zvykne na tenhleten ranní režim, tak zase příští týden jdu na tu odpolední a končím ve dvanáct hodin, a než se dostanu domů, je půl jedný. A když je to celej tejden, tak člověk si připadá někdy jak po flámu. Obzvlášť v tomhletom věku, to možná dřív mi to tak nějak nepřišlo, ale prostě jak se to nastřádá, tak je to docela záhul. (Zbyněk, 63 let, řidič autobusu linkové dopravy v menším městě, deset let v oboru)

Fyzická náročnost práce byla spojována zejména s délkou směn, v situaci, kdy většina firem své zaměstnance a zaměstnankyně co nejvíce využívala, ještě v kombinaci s nedostatkem spánku a odpočinku, strnulou pozicí v sedě a (v létě) s horkem. Přesto rozhovory s představiteli a představitelkami zaměstnavatelů – personálními a přímými manažery a manažerkami ukázaly, že ani v situaci nedostatku pracovních sil v oboru nebyli příliš ochotni vyjít řidičům/řidičkám vstříc a přizpůsobit časovou organizaci práce ani fyzické pracovní podmínky tak, aby usnadnili vykonávání této práce i ženám a/nebo starším pracujícím. Očekávali, že se konkrétní pracující – se svými odlišnými těly, osobními životními situacemi či případnými závazky péče – přizpůsobí dané pracovní pozici, nikoliv že by se pracovní pozice mohly přizpůsobovat konkrétním vtěleným pracujícím:

Tady není co přizpůsobovat, v téhle profesi si myslím, že to není. Ta se musí dělat pořád stejně, ať to jezdí 30letý chlap nebo 65letý. Výsledky nebo ta činnost je úplně stejná. A čekáme nebo vyžadujeme to odvedení práce úplně stejný k tomu zákazníkovi. (...) protože tím volantem musí kroutit jak ten, tak ten. Za předpokladu, že neporuší nebo nepřekročí délku směny, kterou máme my nařízenou. Ale budeme to vyžadovat jak po mladým, tak po starým. (personální manažerka, dopravní společnost v menším městě, 63 let)

Představitelé odborů sice pokládali dlouhou a nepravidelnou pracovní dobu za jeden z klíčových problémů profese řidiče a zdůrazňovali negativní dopady fyzické, psychické a časové náročnosti této práce na těla a zdraví těch, kdo ji dlouhodobě vykonávají. Jejich cílem ale bylo tuto nevýhodu pracujícím kompenzovat vyšší mzdou

a možností dříve odejít do důchodu, nikoli hledat jiné, vhodnější způsoby organizace práce. Dotázaní odboráři se snažili v rámci svých odborových organizací o zvýšení mzdy těch, kdo pracují v nejnáročnějších směnách (např. tzv. "šejdry"). Dále usilovali o snížení věku odchodu do důchodu:

Jako ten život řidičů je fakt jako tvrdej, to říkám, a když to řeknu úplně narovinu, ani těch šedesát si nemyslím. Já si fakt myslím, že odchod do důchodu by měl bejt v nějakejch pětapadesáti. (představitel odborových svazů, 51 let)

To, zda pracující tělo odpovídá požadavkům pracovního místa, je pravidelně kontrolováno prostřednictvím lékařských testů, které jsou se stoupajícím věkem stále častější. Jakmile pracující testy neprojde, nemůže práci řidiče/řidičky vykonávat. Některé velké dopravní podniky měly díky působení odborů sociální programy umožňující zaměstnat takového pracovníka / takovou pracovnici na jiné pozici; vhodných míst je ale nedostatek a častější scénář je ten, že řidič/řidička od firmy odchází:

To ne, to řeknu svými ústy. Vy jezdíte, pokud jste pro ně jezdící, dokud jste pro ně platnej, tak jste fajn, až skončíte a budete zdravotně v pytli, až dožijete se nějakýho věku, tak po vás neštěkne pes, vezmou vám legitku a prostě končíte. (Radim, 52 let, řidič autobusu městské dopravy ve větším městě, 30 let v oboru)

Řidiči a řidičky sami tento stav většinou přijímali, jelikož si ze své pozice nedokázali představit, že by práce mohla být zorganizována jinak. Práce přesčas jim poskytovala možnost zvýšit své výdělky. Pokud vyjadřovali nespokojenost, pak jen s dílčími problémy, a pokud se nedokázali přizpůsobit nárokům a podmínkám organizace práce nebo jim práce působila zdravotní problémy, mnohdy to pokládali za své individuální selhání:

Člověk se musí snažit, něco proto dělat a hýbat se. Asi možná kdybych cvičil na ty záda a něco pro to dělal, tak třeba by to nebylo špatný. (Stanislav, 58 let, řidič autobusu v linkové dopravě v menším městě, 29 let v oboru)

Závěr

Řízení prostředků veřejné osobní dopravy je sektorem zaměstnání, ve kterém v současnosti v České republice převažují starší muži. Zároveň je to povolání tradičně a stereotypně spojované s maskulinitou. I přes určité změny způsobené technologickým pokrokem nedochází k výraznější genderové desegregaci povolání řidiče. To je dáno



mimo jiné tím, že fyzické a organizační podmínky této práce jsou nadále nastaveny tak, že vyhovují více mužům než ženám. Přetrvává organizace práce, jež nedovoluje kombinovat práci a péči, která je přitom nadále spíše očekávána od žen. Technický pokrok sice vede ke stírání důrazu na "silnou a výkonnou maskulinitu", což umožňuje práci v daném povolání i ve starším věku, ovšem ostatní organizační charakteristiky práce zůstávají. Práce řidiče sice již nevyžaduje nadprůměrné fyzické a technické schopnosti, ale další okolnosti (mužské prostředí na "šoférkách", velmi dlouhá pracovní doba, zázemí odpovídající spíše potřebám mužských těl, symbolické spojení velkých strojů a motorů s maskulinitou) udržují představu práce řidiče jako mužské práce, pro ženy a priori nevhodné. Pro řadu našich komunikačních partnerů tato práce dávala možnost zachovat si práci v mužském prostředí a uchovat takto zprostředkovaně svou maskulinitu, například poté, co již fyzicky nezvládali práci řidiče mezinárodní nákladní dopravy (viz také Sedláková 2008). Práce řidiče autobusu mužům, kteří v této práci pokračují i s horším zdravím a ve vyšším věku, umožňuje identifikovat se s ideálem mužské síly a technické zdatnosti a konstruovat svou maskulinitu zprostředkovaně pouze na základě toho, že mají tělo s mužským pohlavím. Technický vývoj tak napomáhá řidičům sdílet tzv. "zprostředkovanou maskulinitu" (Crowley 2013).

Ženy pracující jako řidičky zpravidla volily tuto práci ve středním a starším věku, kdy již na nich nespočívala péče o děti. Komunikační partnerky v našem výzkumu ve většině případů začaly pracovat jako řidičky po dosažení 40, či dokonce 50 let věku, když ve svém původním povolání na pracovním trhu nespatřovaly perspektivu dobrého zaměstnání. Při práci se musely přizpůsobit "mužskému" prostředí, tzv. "zhrubnout" – akceptovat sexistické narážky a vtipy na "šoférkách" či přisvojit si vulgární vyjadřování. Těla starších žen nebyla tolik sexualizována jako těla mladších žen, nebyla tedy ani vnímána jako "femininní". Řidičky nemusely řešit omezení, která tato práce klade před těla schopná reprodukce. Zkušenosti našich komunikačních partnerek naznačují, že starší ženy se mohou snadněji stát "sociálním mužem" (viz Sorenson 1984 in Acker 1990) a tak obstát v tradičně mužském povolání. Intersekcionální kvalitativní analýza proto ukazuje, že starší ženy se mohou nacházet v tomto tradičně mužském prostředí ve výhodnější pozici než ženy mladé.

Práce řidiče/řidičky poměrně překvapivě pro řadu dotázaných nejen žen, ale i mužů představovala jistou práci, kde nebyl problém získat místo ani po padesátce a v předdůchodovém věku, a zároveň umožňovala pracovat i po dosažení nároku na důchod. Díky technologickému vývoji a snižování fyzické náročnosti se tato práce v tomto pohledu teoreticky jeví jako ideální *bridge job*, tedy povolání přemosťující období plného zdraví a fyzické zdatnosti a odchod do důchodu a vyhovující tělům s horším zdravotním stavem. Celkově byly ovšem podmínky zaměstnání řidičů/řidiček výrazně ovlivněny situací v tomto sektoru, a sice nedostatkem pracovní síly. Pro zaměstnavatele/zaměstnavatelky byli v současných podmínkách stávající zaměstnanci a zaměst-

nankyně nepostradatelní, a proto by měli mít silnou vyjednávací pozici. Ta jim v roce 2017 umožnila vyjednat významné zvýšení mezd. Jejich pozice je ale podmíněna jednak jejich dobrým zdravotním stavem, jednak také závisí na tom, zda mají zaměstnavatelé k dispozici dostatek mladších zájemců o práci. Fyzické podmínky práce a uspořádání pracovní doby nadále více vyhovují zdravým mužům ve středním věku, kteří nenaplňují závazky péče a mají nižší nároky na hygienické zázemí a bezpečnost práce, a celkově jsou fyzické podmínky práce nastaveny podle jejich standardů. S tím, jak tito muži v práci stárnou, i jim ale přestávají nastavené podmínky vyhovovat. Velmi dlouhá pracovní doba a zvyšující se stres spojený se změnami v provozu ovlivňuje podle jejich výpovědí negativně jejich zdravotní stav. Organizace se ale stárnoucí pracovní síle nijak nepřizpůsobují; nedostatek pracovníků/pracovnic řeší ad hoc najímáním důchodců coby brigádníků. Zaměstnávání starších pracovníků/pracovnic není ale ani jejich cílem, ani promyšlenou strategií čelící realitě nabídky pracovního trhu, pouze odráží jejich snahu získat co nejrychleji pracovní sílu s co nejnižšími náklady. Pro pracující představuje práce "na dohodu" možnost vyjednat si relativně lepší podmínky o pracovní době, důsledkem ale je, že nejsou nijak chráněni v případě propouštění a nevztahují se na ně zaměstnanecké benefity. Prodlužování pracovního života se tak v tomto sektoru jeví jako chaotický a neřízený proces, bez podpory ze strany organizací či státu. V okamžiku, kdy se změní situace na trhu práce, budou pracující pravděpodobně po dosažení důchodového věku tlačení k tomu ,aby práci opustili, jako to bylo v minulosti.

Zaměstnavatelé a zaměstnavatelky jsou podobně slepí vůči tělesným potřebám starších mužů i vůči potřebám žen z hlediska časových a fyzických podmínek práce. Výpovědi účastníků a účastnic výzkumu ukazují, že práce řidiče/řidičky, tak jak je v současné době organizovaná, není vhodná ani pro ženy, ale ani pro starší muže – kvůli nedostatečnému zázemí, zvyšujícímu se stresu, dlouhým směnám a nevyhovujícím podmínkám ohrožujícím zdraví. Není ale vyhovující ani pro muže mladší – zejména kvůli práci v nesociálních časech a obrovské časové náročnosti, která neumožňuje takřka žádný čas trávený s rodinou. Představa ideálního abstraktního zaměstnance, jenž by měl obsadit pracovní místo řidiče veřejné dopravy, je tak prázdnou představou, které v realitě nic neodpovídá. Důsledkem je – v době hospodářské konjunktury – chronický nedostatek pracovníků. Přesto v době, kdy byl výzkum prováděn, přetrvávala snaha zaměstnavatelů/zaměstnavatelek hledat lidi pro práci, nikoliv přizpůsobit práci lidem.

Těla řidičů a řidiček jsou nadále v práci těla "neviditelná". I přes technický pokrok, který umožnil tuto práci vykonávat většímu okruhu lidí, nebere nastavení fyzických pracovních podmínek a organizace pracovní doby v potaz to, že práci vykonávají konkrétní tělesné a genderované bytosti v určitém věku a zdravotním stavu. Těla žen jsou v této práci marginalizována například absencí vyhovujícího zázemí či oblečení nebo



ignorováním jejich potřeb plynoucích z jejich reprodukční schopnosti. Těla starších pracujících jsou znevýznamňována a nezviditelňována požadavky na dlouhé setrvání v jedné pozici či prostřednictvím krátkých a málo četných přestávek. Těla obecně jsou ignorována v nastavení pracovní doby – nedostatku odpočinku, práci v nesociálních časech a nepravidelnosti střídání bdělosti a spánku. Pracující jsou představiteli a představitelkami organizací většinou vnímáni jako jedinci bez závazků péče, bez fyzických potřeb a projevů; jejich těla jsou chápána primárně jako překážky dobrého výkonu práce, nikoli jako základní podmínka a místo, kde je práce vykonávána. Rozhovory s řidiči a řidičkami ukazují, jak jsou těla v práci opomíjená a neviditelná, a to i v tomto typu práce, jež má do značné míry manuální povahu. Pokud se v této práci s nějakým tělem počítá, je to abstraktní představa mužského zdravého těla. To, nakolik jejich konkrétní těla této abstraktní představě vyhovují, pravidelně kontrolují lékařské a psychologické testy, kterými řidiči a řidičky povinně procházejí, a sankcionují je zákazem činnosti a následně ztrátou práce. Nastavení podmínek práce přitom nevyplývá z žádných inherentních požadavků, bez nichž by tato práce nemohla být vykonávána, ale jsou výsledkem nastavení organizačních procesů. Nelze je ospravedlnit ani požadavkem na bezpečnost práce – extrémně dlouhé směny a nedostatek odpočinku jsou k ní naopak v přímém protikladu. Nyní můžeme v důsledku nadcházející ekonomické krize a zvyšující se nezaměstnanosti pravděpodobně očekávat, že ani v blízké budoucnosti k žádnému zlepšení situace v tomto sektoru zaměstnání nedojde.

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Doc. Radka Dudová, Ph.D., je vědeckou pracovnicí Sociologického ústavu AV ČR. Zaměřuje se na témata sociologie stárnutí, péče a rodičovství a na analýzu sociálních politik. Je autorkou knih Otcovství po rozchodu rodičovského páru (2008), Interrupce v České republice: zápas o ženská těla (2012) a Postarat se ve stáří. Péče o seniory v rodině (2015). Korespondenci zasílejte na adresu: radka.dudova@soc.cas.cz.



Later-Life Learning and Older Women Learners: A Feminist Commentary

Marvin Formosa

Abstract: Later-life learning continues to remain well under the radar as far as feminist theorising and empirical research are concerned. This exclusion is surprising considering that older women make up the majority of learners in later-life learning programmes. This essay has three objectives: to present the available knowledge on older women and learning given that this information remains undocumented; to apply a feminist critique to the mainstream literature on older adult learning, with a special reference to the University of the Third Age (U3A) and Women's Institutes (WI); and to promote an understanding of the similarities and diversities of older women by highlighting the significance of socially diverse factors such as class, ethnicity, and age in shaping their learning experiences or lack thereof. In an ageing society, organisations such as U3As and WIs have the potential to improve the quality of life of older women and the overall community in which they live. However, their role in enabling older women to attain some level of critical consciousness by leading them to reflect on everyday realities and analyse the relationships between personal contexts and the wider social forces of marginalisation was found to be marginal at best.

Keywords: older women, later-life learning, feminism, University of the Third Age

Formosa, Marvin. 2021. Later-Life Learning and Older Women Learners: A Feminist Commentary. *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* 22 (1): 178–200, http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/gav.2021.007.

Recent decades have seen considerable academic attention devoted to the impact of gender relations on adult learning and human ageing. While feminist educators have highlighted how males' positionality as the promoters of ideas is responsible for the masculinist tendencies in theories and practices in adult education (Zarestky et al. 2019), feminist gerontologists have recorded the experiences of older women to theorise gender relations as power relations that are embedded and institutionalised in social arenas and that have vital consequences for the life chances of ageing women (Hooyman 2018). Yet, it is regrettable that later-life learning has remained

well under the radar as far as feminist theorising and empirical research are concerned (Formosa 2019a). Although back in the mid-1990s it was noted that 'there remain few areas of scholarly activities untouched by critical feminist interventions' (Rogers 2006: 189), twenty-five years later the sub-field of older adult learning remains steadfastly immune to gender and feminist inferences. On one hand, educational gerontologists dedicated scant attention to older women's experiences and trajectories. Despite the considerable interest in learning among older men observed in the new millennium, largely as a result of the successful global travails of Men's Sheds (Carragher, Golding 2015), feminist and women-friendly approaches have remained scarce. On the other hand, feminist educators and gerontologists alike have overlooked the guestion of older adult learning. While the attention of the former has remained narrowly focused on the middle-age phase of the life course, the preoccupation of the latter has been restricted to the issue as a 'social problem', with a focus on the ways in which older women tend to be poorer, more vulnerable to abuse, and severely lacking in access to affordable health care. Such exclusionary trends in older adult learning are highly surprising considering the heavily gender-biased rates of participation, as it is common for older women to outnumber men by three to one in some later-life learning programmes, where at times they even make up as much as 80% of the student body (Ware 2013).

This essay was intended to address the prevailing lack of feminist debate on later-life learning and older women learning. 1 Its impetus arose from both my long-standing personal engagement with radical approaches to education and learning and from my agreement with Leathwood and Francis's opinion (2006: 2) that the 'policies and practices of lifelong learning ... are gendered in their construction and effects'. This has resulted in a very limited understanding of older women's learning amongst adult educators and educational gerontologists, so that many learning practices with older women continue to be based on obsolete or, in the worst-case scenario, on 'malestream' information and perspectives. Although a number of studies on older adult learning did draw on the life history of learners (Broecher, Davis, Painter 2017), few incorporated feminist outlooks on education and ageing (Kamler 2006; Wilińska 2016). This is warranted because women's learning must be understood and valued in its own right and within a broader social context that encompasses the social determinants of gender roles and norms (Leavy, Harris 2019). Indeed, learning practices with older women lose much of their efficacy if facilitators remain unaware or insensitive to how society, for instance, systemically denigrates older women, excludes them from the mainstream of educational opportunities and productive life,

¹ Acknowledgements: I sincerely thank the two anonymous reviewers whose comments and suggestions helped to substantially improve and clarify this paper.

and judges them primarily in terms of their appearance and declining skills (Withnall 2009).

The objectives of this essay were threefold. The first objective was to compile an exposition of the available knowledge about older women and their learning, given that this information remains undocumented. The second endeavour was to apply a feminist critique to mainstream literature on later-life learning, with a special reference to the University of the Third Age (U3A) and Women's Institutes (WIs), which are two of the most successful institutions involved in older adult learning. Finally, the essay sought to promote a cultural understanding of the similarities and diversities of older women by highlighting the significance of such factors as class, ethnicity, and age in shaping their learning experiences and opportunities or lack thereof.

Feminist education and later-life learning

Cultural critic and feminist theorist bell hooks (2000: vii) defined feminism as a 'movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression'. However, feminism is a highly contested concept. There are many strands of feminist education, and different models have adopted different theoretical standpoints. For instance, the psychological model prioritised the creation of learning support networks that enable women to speak about their experiences and see themselves as 'knowers' who are capable of producing knowledge (Belenky et al. 1986). While this approach was lauded for foregrounding learners' experiences as women and emphasising affective as well as rational knowing, its individualistic orientation implied a complete lack of attention to race, ethnicity, and class differences, and hence failed to account for differences between women or differences in power relations based on various positionalities. In response, other feminists adopted a structural outlook that both built upon and went beyond Freire's (1970) focus on class so as to deal also with gender, race, and sexual orientation (Luke, Gore 1992). Extolled for its attention to the learners' diverse positionality resulting from unequal power relations, such a turn was nevertheless criticised for downplaying the individual's capacity for agency. In Tisdell's (1996: 310) words, such theories 'focus too much on structures, and do not account for the individual's capacity for agency, the capacity to have some control outside of these social structures'.

One possible way to transcend the limitations of such models is provided by poststructural feminism, which forms a synthesis of the psychological and liberatory models to promote both personal emancipation and public action. The poststructural approach is able to account for all four recurring themes that underlie feminist pedagogy: how knowledge is constructed, the development of voice, the authority of students and teachers, and addressing differences (Formosa 2005). A poststructural feminist perspective

...would emphasize the importance of relationship and connection to learning, but also account for the fact that power relations based on a multitude of factors including gender, race, and class are always present in the learning environment and affect both how knowledge is constructed on the individual level as well as the social and political factors that affect as what counts as 'official' knowledge and how it is disseminated.

(Tisdell 1996: 311)

This perspective devotes attention to the role of power in how knowledge is shaped and disseminated in the classroom and, perhaps more importantly, in society at large by recognising how the self constructs knowledge in relation to others, and how both the self and others are situated and positioned within social structures that are simultaneously privileged and oppressed. Poststructural feminism strives to give a 'voice' to those who have been traditionally marginalised in adult education. It also problematises the power and authority of the teacher and considers the potentials and ramifications of the learning event for redistributing power. Finally, it addresses both the differences and similarities of learners by using participants' autobiographical and life experiences, rather than falling into the trap of homogenising all women as equally oppressed, which is usually the case in critical pedagogy.

Bearing in mind that feminist thought has had an interest in/has been discussing adult education since the 1980s and that the first studies on the 'double jeopardy' of ageing and gender emerged in the early 1970s, one would expect the field of later-life learning to long ago have incorporated a sensitivity to gendered and feminist considerations. Regrettably, this failed to materialise, and to date there have been few analytical and empirical attempts to apply a feminist lens to later-life learning. One early foray in this respect was Meade and Walker's (1989: 181) criticism of pre-retirement learning initiatives for adopting a male 'gaze' by assuming that later life is a 'time of personal freedom and choice', when for older women the work of household chores and caring continues and may even intensify as husbands and other members in the extended family become frail. Similarly, Harold (1992: 515) argued that although learning programmes designed for later life are based on a personal growth concept and are therefore an excellent means for facilitating social participation and personal development, they 'fall far short in being instrumental in significantly altering the well-being of aging women or changing either personal or societal concepts about old age and older women'. She also rejected the malestream assumption behind the functionalist rationales for older adult learning that the role-discontinuity of retirement is something that only affects men, while the real crisis that affects women is widowhood. She thus advocated for later-life learning to distance itself from objectives that prioritise individual learning or development 'tasks' and instead

to adopt strategies that initiate 'both personal and social change in quality-of-life issues related to women's aging process' (Harold 1992: 519).

Researchers also examined the choices and constraints that older women experience in accessing learning by focusing on the lifelong learning programmes organised by the National Federation of Women's Institutes (NFWI). Founded in the United Kingdom in 1915, at the end of 2019 the NFWI (2019) included 69 regional federations, 6,300 WIs, and a membership of 208,464 women in 201 WIs, the majority of whom were aged 50+. The NFWI offers 'women the opportunities to make an impact in their communities, to influence local, national and world issues affecting the social, economic and environmental life of families and communities, and to learn traditional and new skills' (Jackson 2006: 75). Since 1948, the NFWI has managed Denman College as its residential academy to run a wide variety of educational courses, which last from two to four days and range from 'personal development' programmes focusing on beauty and fashion to modules on social studies, history, and public affairs² (Beaumont 2018). A qualitative study found that older women learners value Denman College as a 'safe space' and an opportunity to acquire knowledge and new skills, something that was particularly appreciated during difficult times such as retirement and widowhood, as such activities helped them to gain confidence, develop new interests, and build their social networks (Jackson 2005, 2006, 2012). Nevertheless, the same study also claimed that most learning initiatives served to anchor older women in gendered expectations about traditional roles:

Women are taught how to dress and wear make-up as well as how to undertake a host of feminine arts and crafts. And they are taught how to enhance their cooking skills, the better to produce that homemade jam. Learning these things makes women more fulfilled, and enables them to be better wives and mothers (despite the fact that none of them are likely to have children at home). (Jackson 2006: 85)

The learning experience at Denman College was also criticised for approaching older women as a homogenous group characterised by middle-class (gendered) identities and for remaining relatively insensitive to the fact that older women are more vulnerable to poverty, social exclusion, and morbidity compared to their male

² In July 2021, the NFWI Board of Trustees issued a statement announcing the closure of Denman College owing to financial problems caused by the three-month closure during the COVID-19 lockdown period (NFWI 2020). In its stead, the NWFI (n.d.) launched the 'Denman at Home' website, where members can book and participate in a range of virtual learning programmes.

peers (Jackson 2006, 2012). Indeed, no attempt was witnessed at WIs to mitigate the fact that older women learners continued to be constrained by the gendered and traditional constructions of them as wives and mothers that defined them when they were younger. As a result, Etienne and Jackson (2011a, 2011b) were sceptical that the positive benefits of the learning programmes at WIs were being experienced by a growing ageing population characterised by loneliness, isolation, and social exclusion. They concluded that in retirement the choices that exist for older women learners (still) 'are largely influenced by family responsibilities, money, networks of support as well as the expectations of the wider community' (Etienne, Jackson 2011b: 239).

Older women learners

Research has also focused directly on the experiences and benefits of learning among older women. Hiemstra (1993) argued that older women learners differ markedly from their male peers of the same age and from younger women in that they are more likely to be self-directed, be interested in self-fulfilment learning, and express a preference for liberal over vocational learning subjects. Similarly, McFadden and Atchely (2001) reported that older women learners set high goals for themselves and require consistent affirmative feedback from their instructors. Kamler (2006) threw cold water on mainstream lifelong learning policy by pointing out that its emphasis on employability, jobs, and working lives was at odds the inclusive goal of widening participation to include people – such as older women – who had previously prevented from taking up learning opportunities because of social and economic constraints. In an attempt to reverse this situation, she launched a lifelong learning project that engaged older women in Australia in the processes of writing, public speaking, performing, and film-making, and provided an inspiring account of the potential and benefits of learning for achieving social transformation in older women's lives. In her own words, the project

...produced change in the older women's lives. Meeting together in the workshops the women found a community of survivors, a space of friendship and laughter and a place to be taken seriously as learners. But the narrative work also had significant material effects on the older women's sense of well-being and survival. Through the process of physically remaking stories of ageing in film, writing and performance, many women began to rewrite themselves as well as their texts.

(Kamler 2006: 160-161)

In direct contrast to the ominous warnings about the burdens that an ageing population is having on public welfare programmes, Maidment and Macfarlane (2011) documented the contributions of a resilient and committed group of Australian older women to community fundraising, building social networks, and providing each other with learning opportunities. The benefits went well beyond the customary ones that revolve around learning craft-making skills, like the 'mutual sharing of resources such as knitting and sewing patterns and specialist equipment, car pooling, recipes, health information, home maintenance help, financial tips, and hospitality" imbued participants with higher levels of social capital' (Maidment, Macfarlane 2011: 287).

Survey research on the perceived motivations and benefits on behalf of older learners also found distinct patterns of difference due to the influence of gender. In Germany, Sagebiel (2006) distributed a questionnaire amongst current students and past alumni of a 'senior course of studies' at the University of Wuppertal and found that many older women became motivated to get involved in learning following some life crisis – for example, retirement, children leaving the family home, a serious illness, and/or becoming a widow. Remarkably, as many as 45% of married women pointed out that they were often prevented in pursuing their wish to start learning something by their husbands and by the gendered role expectations of their families, so it would have been a struggle to attend classes. Interestingly, older women were not only discouraged by family expectations but also by women in their social network of the same age who preferred to interact with family members and significant contacts rather than generalised others. Sagebiel revealed various gendered differences in learning:

The female mode of learning concentrates as much on achievement in subject matters as on creating a communicative learning atmosphere, while men concentrate solely on their own performance. Although interviews and observations have shown that women and men often suffer from similar learning difficulties, men seldom talk of any learning problems or weaknesses while women demonstrate a willingness to reflect upon their perceived limitations. (Sagebiel 2006: 354)

Similarly, Narushima, Liu and Diestelkamp's survey (2013) found that older women were generally more enthusiastic and appreciative of the opportunity to engage in later-life learning, and generally favoured crafts and fitness classes over courses related to practical knowledge and skills such as information and communication technology. In the authors' view, this was because:

...older women feel freer and want to learn something new for joy and self-realization in group settings, which reflects traditional gender life course and socialization ... it should be underscored that practical and social motivations and benefits (e.g., to keep myself physically active, to take courses with affordable fees, to meet new people and make friends, I found learning keeps me going in difficult times) were far more frequently reported by women in this study. This implies that women may use the program as a coping strategy as well. (Narushima Liu Diestelkamp 2013: 582)

Universities of the Third Age (U3As) have also been the subject of numerous research initiatives in the past two decades, and this has included a focus on gendered patterns and older women in U3As (Formosa 2019b). The first U3As were founded in France in 1973³ and can be defined as 'socio-cultural centres where senior citizens may acquire new knowledge of significant issues, or validate the knowledge which they already possess, in an agreeable milieu and in accordance with easy and acceptable methods, with the objective of preserving their vitality and participating in the life of the community' (Midwinter 1984: 18). Although the organisers of U3As are at liberty to do so in the way that works best for them, there are two main U3A models. While U3As that follow the Francophone model form part of a traditional university set-up and are thus able to make use of its premises, human resources, and financial funds, others that follow the Anglophone model are independent, autonomous, and based on the 'mutual-aid' principle⁴ (Formosa 2014).

Williamson's (2000) research at the Liverpool U3A found that older men and women approached later-life learning very differently. Whilst men were inclined to adopt an indifferent approach to learning in later life, women deemed later-life learning an opportunity to do things denied them during middle age. In Williamson's words,

³ The U3A movement has not only withstood the test of time but has also witnessed a substantial increase in the number of centres and members all over the globe (Formosa 2019b). Although comparative statistics are lacking, Australia had some 300 U3As, with a membership of around 100,000, whilst its neighbour New Zealand has 84 U3As, with the members of the 25 Auckland U3A communities numbering 3,719 in 2017. Figures for Britain reached over 1,000 U3As (400,000 members) in 2018, and a 2013 Interest Group Survey revealed that there are more than 36,000 U3A interest groups in the region. In the Asian continent, China alone included 60,867 U3As and around 7,643,100 members in 2015.

⁴ Irrespective of the model adopted, the differences between U3As and WIs are unmistakable. The WI was developed as a feminist movement that 'has provided a significant space for feminist activity since its formation 100 years ago' (Andrews 2015: 11), as surely evidenced by their campaigns for the rights of single mothers and illegitimate children, and for the recognition of rape within marriage (Robinson 2012). The U3A, on the other hand, is unapologetically 'non-political' (Third Age Trust n.d.) and 'non-sectarian', and centres do not take a public stance on any contentious contemporary issues such as climate change or ageing-related concerns such as pensions and euthanasia (Formosa 2019b).



Some women, once they lose their husbands, become free, come to life, and like to do many of the things they've wanted to all their lives and haven't been able to...They had been drawn toward the further learning which U3A courses afforded them for reasons associated with their own life histories including lost educational opportunities, child rearing and domestic responsibilities, a need to get out and do things...

(Williamson 2000: 56)

Many of the women interviewed by Williamson pointed out that being in the third age gave them a great sense of freedom since they had had fewer opportunities than men to pursue their interests outside the home prior to retirement, despite their wanting to participate in a diversity of social and cultural activities. As in Sagebiel's (2006) study, a number of older women learners confessed how they had to overcome their husbands' as well their own misgivings in order to get a break from domestic life, where a wife can 'go out and not be at home for a meal' (Williamson 2000: 60). Another obstacle that prevented older women from enrolling and participating in the U3A was their limited education – what Lamb and Brady (2005) called the 'education begets education phenomenon' – as older persons with higher levels of education (and financial security) tend to return to continue their learning journey well into retirement. Another study on older women attending a U3A situated in Malta found that despite being more numerous in the classroom, they still tended to be less visible than male learners, who tended to dominate the discussion even when in the minority⁵ (Formosa 2005). Most women voiced their discontent at the fact that most educators organised the learning sessions in 'teacher-led' ways and they disliked being 'treated like kids' when they possessed a wealth of life experience and diversity (Formosa 2005: 404). This led Formosa (2005: 404) to infer that third-age

⁵ Given that this article will make multiple references to studies on the University of the Third Age in Malta, we should here add a note to help explain the role of women in Malta in a socio-cultural context (Formosa 2015). Until the new millennium, and thus for most of older women's lives, Malta subscribed strongly to the so-called 'southern model of welfare', which means that since state provision for care is marginal, people are dependent on female relatives for care. The fact that Malta is also a Catholic country and strongly influenced by male-dominated trade unions, this 'familialism' coincides with a strong 'male breadwinner model'. Suffice it to say that although the marriage bar to working after marriage was lifted in 1979, women re-entering the workforce (after having children) were not permitted to return to their previous grade[to a job on the same level]; the large majority of married women moreover remained inactive in the labour market either out of personal choice or due to social pressure, and it was only in the 1990s that married women began challenging the bishops' mantra that advocated 'intensive mothering'. This 'maternalist' discourse was also championed by the state, which tried to entice women to assume responsibility for caring for frail relatives by offering a 'carer's benefit/allowance' pegged at an amount equal to half the minimum wage.

learning may emerge as a 'reflection of masculine suppositions regarding later life', and thus there is urgent need for later-life learning to 'focus on women's abilities on creating positive images and on having meaning and relevance at an individual level' (Phillips, Bernard 2001: 168).

In a ground-breaking study on older women within the context of U3As in Poland, Wilińska (2016: 334–335) declined to present them as 'void of the sense of agency that could be mobilized to mount active resistance'. During her field research, she uncovered stories of older women whose lives were transformed by the power of subjective and emotional responses to the socially imagined ways of being old. One informant, Julia, was certainly a case in point:

Shortly after she retired ... she began to panic ... for the first time, she had a lot of free time...For Julia, her work had been her main orientation...Her friends provided her with resources and helped to direct her towards a new space - the U3A. Julia saw that there was a world outside of her former workplace, that things were happening, and she wanted to be part of it. She gladly joined to realize that, 'I have found my way for the second time in my life' (the first time was when she decided on her occupation as a teacher). (Wilińska 2016: 338)

On the basis of this and other life stories, Wilińska (2016: 342) posited that U3As mitigated against the sexist and ageist discourses that remove the bodies of older women from the public sphere by relegating them to an invisible space, and that they did this by becoming a 'space for women's activism and of embracing their womanhood'. While older women are generally stereotypically pigeonholed as grandmothers, this is only one of many roles they enjoy performing, and Wilińska's (2016: 343) study pushes gendered boundaries by demonstrating that they 'continue to enter public spaces to mark their presence and to become visible'. Although this occurs at the individual level and is not affected by the feminist emphasis on solidarity among women in an effort to challenge the gender order, Wilińska (2016) succeeds in offering a different perspective on the organisation and mobilisation of older women via the vehicle of later-life learning.

The construction of knowledge and giving people a voice

One key strategy of feminist adult education is enabling learners to 'see with a third eye', which is to say, to move away from a 'universalized mode of thought ... [to] one that is personal' (Maher, Tetreault 1994: 202). Achieving this objective involves recognising how 'social structures and power relations affect not only how knowledge

has been produced in a society', but also 'how what has counted as "knowledge" has been determined, and by whom' (Tisdell 1998: 150). Unfortunately, past literature has shown that this has not been done in later-life learning. For instance, past and current developments in pre-retirement learning are marked by an extensive preoccupation with softening the negative effects of the so-called crisis of losing one's paid employment, and therefore, 'retirement' and 'post-employment' are treated as equivalent. Pre-retirement learning continues to be geared to the needs and interests of men and tends to exclude ageing women whose adult lives may have been circumscribed by the gendered expectation that a wife's primary responsibility is to ensure that her husband and offspring have a 'home sweet home' to return to, and who now require guidance on how to overcome these domestic boundaries, which keep them isolated and lonely in later life. The fact that most pre-retirement learning programmes occur at workplace settings (Findsen, Formosa, 2011), rather than at community centres, suggests that older women are still not take seriously as learners and as producers of knowledge. This contradicts the inclusive goals of lifelong learning, especially in terms of widening participation to people previously marginalised from educational opportunities due to social, economic, or geographical constraints. The fact that women have a longer life expectancy than men, and thus outnumber them in later life, not only makes their inclusion in the pre-retirement preparation for retirement an urgent matter, but also means that there is a need for specifically tailored programmes that do not resemble 'training courses' and a need to include women educators and women-friendly curricula and styles of presentation in these programmes.

Formosa's (2019c) comparative research of U3As in Europe and the Asian-Pacific region found that most centres follow a malestream 'banking' educational model, as if the 'students are "objects" into which teachers pour prescribed knowledge' (Freire 1998: 4). Indeed, none of the authors in this edited manuscript uncovered an attempt on behalf of educators to discuss with or prompt learners as to how sociostructural systems of privilege and oppression – such as race, ethnicity, class, religion, sexual orientation, and, most importantly for the research here, gender - impact the construction and validations of knowledge. Irrespective of the specific learning objectives and outcomes, the contribution of women was never foregrounded in the respective curricula. Formosa's (2007, 2012, 2019d) research observations at the Maltese U3A noted that, for instance, study-units on sociology, anthropology and criminology only presented and discussed the works and thoughts of male scholars (e.g. Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Levi-Strauss, Lombroso, etc.). The educators even went so far as to describe such theorists as the 'founding fathers' of the disciplines in question, as if all the protagonists in the construction of the social sciences were men. Similarly, in learning programmes on foreign literature only books written by male authors were studied (e.g. Shakespeare, Dickens, Twain, Hardy, etc.), and in religious seminars the texts that were studied hinted at the mental, moral, and spiritual inferiority of women. Not only was a focus on women's rights completely absent during his observation period, but the way women were represented or portrayed was firmly entrenched in the sphere of domesticity, with the most dominant images being mothers and homemakers, and with an emphasis on (promoting?) proficiency in such (female) leisure pursuits as knitting and quilting. The automatic assumption was that whilst older men learners came to the U3A on the back of a long career in occupational enterprises, women were supposed to have spent their adulthood at home.

Putting such annotations and other research in perspective (e.g. Robbins-Ruszkowski 2017; Mackowicz, Wnek-Gozdek 2016) one finds no evidence that the U3A movement reflects the way older women's stories may even negate the 'home sweet home' images of stability by representing 'homemaking' 'as a lifelong process of change, of remaking and rebuilding after a divorce or the death of a child or spouse ... or ill health' (Kamler 2006: 158). In fact, in an earlier research Formosa (2005) noted how at the Maltese U3A older widows found themselves in double jeopardy, as they were perceived and labelled as 'unfortunate' and 'vulnerable' persons for whom the U3A served as a therapeutic activity to alleviate their loneliness and isolation. However, this perception did not apply to widowers, as men were viewed as independent and mentally and physically strong. Finally, the fact that the majority of U3A managers in Formosa's (2019e) review of European and Asian-Pacific U3As were men signifies an urgent need for what Voet (1998: 136) calls an 'active and sex-equal' citizenship, which advocates equal participation in decision-making. There is no doubt that solely ensuring the social inclusion of older women in the U3A is definitely not enough, since 'inclusivity' often means being included as part of the dominant ideology, whereby the values and experiences of marginalised groups remain ignored or rendered invisible. Of course, as one anonymous reviewer pointed out, it could be argued that the role of U3As is not to build the capacity of feminist adult education per se but to provide an opportunity for education and to inform and empower the learners. Wilińska's (2016) research is certainly a testament to this opinion and there is certainly much room for further research into this aspect through comparative studies.

Despite NFWI's commendable travails in political advocacy, Denman College still failed to deliver a 'personalised' learning experience. Despite research at WIs uncovered a willingness on behalf of women to 'share experiences', to 'get on with others', and to 'encourage others to join', Jackson (2006, 2012) found the learning environment was commandeered by an almost exclusively middle-class habitus. While most chairmen and women described their social class standing as 'middle' or 'professional', with very few exceptions identifying themselves as 'working-class', at the same time they



bolstered a sense of class closure by expecting that fellow members are 'people like us'. As Bourdieu (1984) argued and demonstrated, poverty is no obstacle to middle classness, since subjects can rest on non-material resources and cultural symbols to mark their social distinction:

The middle-class habitus of both the WI and the College is embodied in the bedrooms of the College, decorated and furnished by individual Federations in styles recognised by the students at the College and enabling them to 'feel at home.' It is also one of the roles of the College chairmen to ensure that students continue to feel at home throughout their stay.

(Jackson 2006: 84)

The fact that many of the past courses on offer at Denman College were rooted in women's roles – in teaching women how to dress, wear make-up, cook, and how to undertake a host of feminine arts and crafts – testifies to a long-standing and ongoing attempt on behalf of WIs to claim the badge of respectable femininity. This should not be surprising since after the 19th century femininity became established as a (middle-) class sign: 'femininity was seen to be the property of middle-class women who could prove themselves to be respectable through their appearance and conduct' (Skeggs 1997: 99 - italics in original). This occurs because normative conceptions of middle-class women's respectability are measured by prioritising 'home life' above 'occupational careering' by perfecting domestic, care, and socialising roles. Indeed, a look at the WI's (n.d.) Denman website finds virtual learning programmes on 'paper cutting for Valentine's Day', 'cushion covers', 'ready, steady, sew', 'reversable aprons', 'daffodil wreaths', 'needle felted pictures', as many as 10 different 'cooking courses', and the so-called 'lifestyle courses' that include classes on gigong and mindful yoga. Learning such skills enables older women to be better partners, wives, and mothers – despite the fact that, as Jackson (2006: 86) noted, 'none of them are likely to have children at home' - and thus to buy into a cult of domesticity that is central to the self-definition of the middle classes. A concluding note on the way that knowledge is constructed at WIs concerns the usage of the term 'chairman' to refer to the Regional Chairs, which is certainly a curious practice for a women's organisation. Jackson (2012) inquired into this practice and found that many of the women had never considered the sexist implications of applying such a word and even accepted this nomenclature since the WI was a women-only organisation. She observed no wish on the part of either the 'Chairmen' themselves or the members to change or challenge this language. At the time of writing, this terminology remains in use.

The theme of 'voice' is also key to feminist learning, since this is associated with knowledge, empowerment, and the active claiming of a transformed identity. In his

consideration of the formal educational system, Bernstein (1996: 7) noted that 'we can ask about the acoustic of the school. Whose voice is heard? Who is speaking? Who is hailed by this voice? For whom is it familiar?' Undoubtedly, these interrogations can be levelled to the acoustics of later-life learning avenues. Formosa (2005) observed that at the Maltese U3A the division between those who speak easily and fluently, those who tend to remain silent in the learning environment, and those who are consciously recognised as either a 'follower' or a 'leader' follows the same systems of gendered privilege and exclusion. Although older women always made up three-quarters of the learners in every class, they rarely asked any questions, unlike the men, who not only frequently asked questions but also contributed comments to supplement the educators' presentations. Jackson's (2006) research at WIs uncovered similar trends. Even though developing people's political voices, both in local communities and in national campaigns, is a sacred objective of WIs, it was still observed that

...despite the occasional exposure to the personal and political in women's lives (such as in the quilt-making sessions), the women appeared to have very little recognition of constructions of gender or of feminist consciousness, with a concern that the inroads made by feminism had left women 'victims of their own success.' In a curious way, women had to take their places in their families and communities as (middle-class) women (constructed as home makers, carers and supporters) and in the wider world as surrogate men. (Jackson 2006: 87)

Following Bourdieu's (1984) ideas on class, capital, and subjugation, Jackson (2006: 85) concluded that whilst classes at Denman College offered women the advantage of a women-only learning space, such learning opportunities also served as a mechanism for exclusion as classes and gendered expectations are '(re-)created and perpetuated in different contexts, including non-formal and informal learning'.

Authority, positionality, and difference

Feminist adult education does not advocate a relationship of equals between educator and learners. Whilst authoritarianism has no place in any critical learning programme, educators are envisaged to being able to have a level of authority over the learning process in two key ways. First, the educator should use his/her authority to, as hooks (1994: 3) argued, 'educate for the practice of freedom. Yet, there is very little literature to be found on liberatory initiatives in older adult learning, and even less on programmes that adopt women-friendly or feminist approaches. For instance, in Findsen and Formosa's (2016a, 2016b) review of older adult education

in as many as 42 countries, none of the contributing authors noted the presence of either of these sensitivities being given any attention in the learning programmes in the countries studied. Rather, reviewers confirmed how most courses followed a traditional andragogical-liberal outlook, where older learners are asked to focus on a curriculum that has been fixed in advanced and to follow their own learning pace. In this approach, the social fabric is generally presented as being fair and meritocratic, where each individual has an equal possibility and opportunity to reach his/her objectives (Formosa 2011). This kind of learning programme fails to recognise that groups with a larger share of ethnic, class, and especially gender privilege are more often recognised and given more status in society (Formosa, Galea 2020). For instance, Formosa (2000, 2007) observed that at the Maltese U3A stereotypical depictions of working-class communities either presented in the learning materials/in the classroom or arising in class discussion went unchallenged by educators, and thus argued that U3As may not only fail to act as an archetype of transformative education, but may also act as yet another euphemism for a kind of glorified occupational therapy that is both conservative and oppressive and that panders to the cultural pretentiousness of the ageing bourgeoisie.

Second, educators should involve themselves and learners in 'engaged pedagogy', which means that they should take into account people's emotions and critical thinking (hooks 1994). Yet again, most geragogical literature fails to document the use of a personalised teaching approach by educators, who, on the other hand, seem to prefer to keep their emotions in check by delivering courses in an impassioned voice, are reluctant to voice support for ideas that go against the grain, and use only PowerPoint presentations as visual aids. Indeed, educators engaged in later-life learning have only in exceptional cases been found to use the visual arts, music, or films in the learning process or to request learners to write narratives that share their own cultural story (e.g. Hallam, Creech 2016; Creely, Southcott 2020). This is unfortunate given the existing research that documents how writing and the arts have the potential to help learners become more aware of themselves and the world, see things in a fresh light, and to have not only the power to meet challenges but also to help solve them (Formosa, Cassar 2019).

A feminist approach to older adult learning requires that educators directly consider how their and the learners' own gender, ethnicity, age, class, and sexuality have an influence on teaching and learning, the ongoing construction of knowledge, and classroom dynamics. Although critical proponents of later-life learning steadfastly encourage their learners to examine the structural power relations that have affected their lives, they still refrain from problematising how they have been empowered and politicised by means of their past and present social locations. Indeed, it is only by problematising their lives and disclosing how their own gender, ethnicity, age, class,

and sexuality influences their perception of the world, and most importantly, led to their 'teacher' status in the classroom, will educators be successful in generating group bonding and understanding, whereby learners feel 'safe' enough to find their voice, confront and deal with power relations, and join the struggle for social change and emancipation (Tisdell 1998).

Turning again to Formosa's (2000, 2007, 2012, 2019c) studies, the Maltese U3A was characterised by a middle-class, male, heterosexual, and Roman Catholic body of educators, whose discourses, as a result, reinforced a specific type of dominant knowledge and symbolic capital. The norms, values, and linguistic codes characteristic of the local working-class community, or of members of the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender community, and/or of faiths other than the Roman Catholic religion were constituted as 'other'. For example, while the researcher observed that no other sexual orientation than heterosexuality was ever addressed or even mentioned in any of the social science courses, the academic year and social events began with a celebration of Catholic Mass. The academic curriculum, in fact, included a healthy number of theological study-units delivered by priests. The majority of U3A members found this positionality to be entirely normal, since it was only recently that Malta began practising the political separation of state and church by legalising divorce, cohabitation, and gay marriage. Of course, it can be risky to problematise the identity of older learners if their identity is a subaltern one, and this needs to be considered and done with the utmost sensitivity and at the right time and context. While a white, practising doctor who is heterosexual and married can safely disclose her age and be a strong advocate for the human rights of refugees and third-country migrants, it is not as easily for an unmarried and childless lesbian who suffers from depression and anxiety to disclose her sexual orientation and mental health issues and argue in favour of more LGBTIQ-friendly policies. In such situations, the authority of educators can never be overstated, as they need to assume the responsibility for establishing a 'safe' learning environment in which subaltern learners can be comfortable enough to take a risk in declaring their own marginalised social positions. Indeed, a key task of educators in feminist later-life learning is to deal with differences (as per structural feminism) rather than similarities (as per psychological feminism).

Foregrounding positionality is key to a critical engagement in women's learning since there is no universal 'women's experience'. As Haraway (1985: 72) argues, 'there is nothing about being "female" that naturally binds women' since 'being' female is 'itself a highly complex category constructed in contested sexual discourses and other social practices'. Indeed, as older women are in no way a homogeneous group – as they differ in terms of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and age – later-life learning centres tend to accommodate particular categories of women at the expense of others. For instance, studies have highlighted how the ethos of the U3A movement is 'skewed'



towards the middle classes and those with higher levels of educational attainment (Formosa 2019f). In Patterson et al.'s study of a U3A in North-East England, learners felt that the term 'university' implied well-educated middle-class individuals:

U3A I thought was for really clever people, like university people, the middle class...I thought they'd be too clever...I mean we never went to university, so to me the word 'University' on something means well it's probably not for me. I think there's still a lot of people the same...I don't want to offend anybody, but looking at it, to me, I would say that this was aimed at more middle-class people. (U3A members, as cited in Patterson et al. 2016: 1591)

The same was true of WIs, as Etienne and Jackson (2011b: 239) noted how WI members tend to be 'highly privileged'. However, they also observed a recognition of 'difference' based on 'ethnicity', as WI members perceived Asian women as not being 'like us':

...we have an Asian lady that comes and she educated us to their way of life... We did think of setting up in an Asian community, but because of the way they work men control the money side of it and they would want the right to come... And of course the WI can't do that.

(Etienne Jackson 2011a: 55)

Despite Dadzie's (1993) unprecedented study on the lack of educational opportunities for older black people and older people in ethnic minorities, such individuals and communities continue to experience exclusionary practices in assessing meaningful lifelong learning opportunities. At the same time, later-life learning centres are generally embedded in an ageist paradigm as membership does not tend to include older women with either mobility and/or cognitive difficulties. Robbins-Ruszkowski (2017: 2017-8) noted that 'despite attending U3As in two cities over a period of four years, I never saw anyone in a wheelchair. Very few people used a cane', thereby demonstrating the high likelihood that later-life learning centres will be marked by 'a deep cultural discomfort with what could (or should?) be regarded as the normal human conditions of frailty, (inter)dependence, vulnerability, and transience' (Lamb, Robbins-Ruszkowski, Corwin 2017: 13). At WIs, an age-divide was revealed by the anger of some women when they heard that Denman College was planning to try to attract younger women in the future, and by their concern as to whether the cut in funding would mean that they would no longer be able to afford to enrol on courses at Denman College as they grew older.

Conclusion

Although feminist theorising has long played a key role in both adult education and ageing studies, the same cannot be said for the field of older adult learning. One cannot, of course, not acknowledge later-life learning's potential to meet a range of older women's social and emotional needs by mitigating against solitude and loneliness in later life – generally resulting from widowhood, mandatory retirement, health problems, and/or poverty – and helping them to improve their coping strategies. However, this article has guestioned whether, in the long run, such an approach is in the best interests of older women. In the research studies reported here, older women learners seemed to have very little awareness of constructions of gender or of feminist consciousness, as the later-life learning centres they were enrolled in neglected to either grapple or embrace any of the inroads made by feminism pedagogy. When they did actually adopt a politically standpoint, as was the case of the WIs, the focus was on injustices faced by younger women, whereby they chose to overlook the agerelated power relations that are embedded and institutionalised in social arenas that in turn have vital consequences for the life chances of older women. Moreover, older women at all times still had to assume or maintain their place or position as (middleclass) women within their family and community (constructed as home makers, carers and supporters), despite the fact that 'since woman is a socially defined and inherently distorted term ... we have no reason to think females have an inherent nature or role' (Saulnier 1996: 174 – italics in original). This resulted in the juxtaposition of the public and private spheres, whereby men and women are allocated to the former and latter, respectively. On the one hand, this ensured that women's and men's activities were treated as mutually exclusive. On the other hand, this had the effect of identifying particular roles and characteristics such as submission, nurturing, and caring as the domain of women, and the roles of leadership and decision-making as the role of men, where the latter are valued and cherished more.

There is no doubt that in an ageing society, organisations such as U3As and WIs have the potential to improve the quality of life of older women and the overall community in which they live. The benefits of membership in such organisations include the ability to develop positive identities that spur and encourage older women to play an active and useful role outside the family and employment avenues. Yet, their role in enabling older women to reach some level of critical consciousness by leading them to reflect on everyday realities and analyse the relationships between personal contexts and the wider social forces of marginalisation is marginal at best. This can only be achieved by means of three strategies (hooks 1994). First, educators should replace the old paradigms of education with a new one that focuses on the individual's experience, along with an acknowledgment of the individual's

environment/background. Second, the learning event should focus on educating those who are marginalised with the help of strategies that empower the self and develop leadership skills. Finally, instructional methods should abandon the 'banking' model of education in favour of the development of reflexivity, personal and collective empowerment, and the redistribution of power within the classroom setting. These recommendations, together with this article, should act as a catalyst for feminist initiatives in the field of older adult learning.

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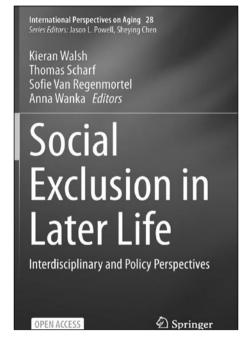
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Marvin Formosa PhD is an associate professor at the Department of Gerontology and Dementia Studies, Faculty for Social Wellbeing, University of Malta. He also holds the posts of Chairperson of the National Commission for Active Ageing (Malta) and Director of the International Institute on Ageing United Nations – Malta (INIA). His recent publications include *The University of the Third Age and Active Ageing*, and *Population Ageing in the Middle Fast and North Africa*. Contact e-mail: marvin formosa@um edu mt

Social Exclusion in Later Life. Interdisciplinary and Policy Perspectives

Kieran Walsh, Thomas Scharf, Sofie Van Regenmortel, Anna Wanka (eds.)

Drawing on interdisciplinary, cross--national perspectives, this open access book contributes to the development of a coherent scientific discourse on social exclusion of older people. The book considers five domains of exclusion (services; economic; social relations; civic and socio-cultural; and community and spatial domains), with three chapters dedicated to analysing different dimensions of each exclusion domain. The book also examines the interrelationships between different forms of exclusion, and how outcomes and processes of different kinds of exclusion can be related to one another. In doing so, major cross-cutting themes, such as rights and identity, inclusive service infrastructures, and displacement



of marginalised older adult groups, are considered. Finally, in a series of chapters written by international policy stakeholders and policy researchers, the book analyses key policies relevant to social exclusion and older people, including debates linked to sustainable development, EU policy and social rights, welfare and pensions systems, and planning and development. The book's approach helps to illuminate the comprehensive multidimensionality of social exclusion, and provides insight into the relative nature of disadvantage in later life. With 77 contributors working across 28 nations, the book presents a forward-looking research agenda for social exclusion amongst older people, and will be an important resource for students, researchers and policy stakeholders working on ageing.

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LGBTQ inkluzivní paliativní a hospicová péče – od zvláštnosti na okraj po změnu paradigmatu

Jaroslava Hasmanová Marhánková

Acquaviva, K. D. 2017. *LGBTQ – Inclusive Hospice and Palliative Care*. New York: Harrington Park Press.

Kniha Kimberly Acquavivy ve svém úvodu začíná jasně formulovaným předpokladem, že sociální pracovníci/ce nediskriminují ani nevyčleňují LGBTQ osoby záměrně a že na začátku jejich přístupu k těmto klientům/kám a jejich rodinám nestojí vědomé rozhodnutí, že by jim chtěli poskytovat péči méně kvalitní. Zároveň ale uvádí, že pokud poskytovatelé paliativní a hospicové péče neučiní vědomé rozhodnutí zapojit se do LGBTQ inkluzivní praxe, péče, jež je takovýmto klientům/kám poskytována, té nejvyšší kvality, kterou si zasluhují, dosahovat nebude. Pojetí, jež autorka ve své knize představuje, přitom usiluje o změnu představy o tom, co by měl přístup adresující potřeby LGBTQ lidí zahrnovat.

V rámci poskytování sociálních služeb a zdravotní péče se můžeme setkat se dvěma přístupy k LGBTQ osobám. V prvním z nich nejsou jako klienti a klientky rozpoznáni, a jejich přítomnost není reflektována jako něco, co by mohlo či mělo poskytovanou službu ovlivňovat. Ve druhém případě jsou pojímáni jako příslušníci a příslušnice jedné "speciální" (často jednolité) skupiny, jejichž potřeby mohou být odlišné od potřeb běžných klientek a klientů. Inkluzivní péče o LGBTQ osoby je pak vnímána jako taková, jež tato specifika vyžaduje. Je tedy představována jako "zvláštní" typ služby, kterému jsou v odborných příručkách věnovány dovětky a samostatné kapitoly mimo obecné vymezení toho, co by hospicová a paliativní (či jakákoliv jiná forma profesionální) péče měla zahrnovat. Kniha Kimberly Acquavivy se vůči takovému přístupu vymezuje. Nepřistupuje k LGBTQ lidem jako k minoritě, jež si zaslouží specifický přístup, a tudíž i samostatnou příručku (k čemuž by některé interpretace názvu knihy mohly svádět). Zaměření se na otázky LGBTQ pomáhá autorce především zvýznamňovat různé typy bariér, kterým lidé čelí (nejen) v rámci paliativní péče, a tak i potřebu individuálního a respektujícího přístupu ke každému z nás. Kniha jako celek směřuje zejména k obecné úvaze o tom, že takový typ uvažování o péči musí představovat základ práce s jakýmkoli klientem/kou. Jako svůj cíl přitom deklaruje změnit perspektivu pohledu z poskytování speciální péče LGBTQ lidem na perspektivu poskytování inkluzivní péče všem lidem, včetně těch, kteří se identifikují jako LGBTQ. Být inkluzivní přitom neznamená s každým jednat stejně (důraz na význam stejného zacházení přitom bývá jedním z nejzásadnějších argumentů, jež zaznívá v debatách o tom, proč není potřeba sexuální orientaci či genderové identitě klientů/tek věnovat zásadnější pozornost). Přístup, kdy je s každým nakládáno stejně, jen velmi zřídka přináší ty nejlepší výsledky pro klientku či klienta, ať už se identifikuje jako LGBTQ, či nikoliv. Důvodem je prostá skutečnost, že nejsme stejní. Naše životní situace, výhody a obtíže s ní spojené, se odvíjejí od různých forem znevýhodnění a předchozích zkušeností. Jejich pochopení je klíčové i pro poskytování profesionální péče. Inkluzivní péče o LGBTQ osoby začíná uvědoměním si nutnosti nakládat s klientkami a klienty jako s jednotlivci, jejichž potřeby, problémy a možnosti jejich řešení jsou provázány s jejich předchozími zkušenostmi a životními podmínkami. Kniha tak nepromlouvá k těm, kteří chtějí poskytovat kvalitní péči specificky LGBTQ klientů/kám, ale k těm, kdo se chtějí věnovat kvalitní péči o každého.

Inkluzivní hospicová a paliativní péče o LGBTQ podle autorky vyžaduje změnu na dvou úrovních. První z nich je úroveň individuální. Ta znamená schopnost uvědomovat si a být schopen/na pracovat s vlastními postoji, přesvědčeními a emocemi (nejen) ve vztahu k LGBTQ klientům/kám. Často například cítíme jinou míru soucitu k lidem s ohledem na to, do jaké míry věříme, že na svém zhoršeném zdravotním stavu nesou osobní odpovědnost. To, co by ale mělo podle autorky stát v základu inkluzivní péče, je schopnost tyto předpoklady reflektovat. Na druhé, institucionální úrovni zahrnuje inkluzivní péče o LGBTQ nastavení fungování organizace nejen ve vztahu ke klientům/kám, ale rovněž k zaměstnancům/kyním. Jednotlivé kapitoly příručky mapují dílčí kroky při práci s klienty/kami a jejich rodinami od komunikace (a používání citlivého jazyka) přes respektování diverzity rodinných dynamik a zapojení blízkých do procesu rozhodování o péči, procesu identifikace, co by mělo být cílem péče, zajištění etických standardů až po adresování spirituálních potřeb klientů/tek. Příručka zároveň pojímá inkluzivní přístup k LGBTQ jako rámec pro organizační kulturu – čili nesměřuje pouze ke klientům/kám, ale rovněž k vytváření respektujícího prostředí pro jednotlivce, kteří v organizaci pracují.

Lidé, kteří potřebují paliativní či hospicovou péči, jsou ve výrazně zranitelné pozici. Většinou jsou ve vztahu k naplňování i těch nejzákladnějších potřeb zcela závislí na svém okolí. Acquaviva ve své knize vyzývá k uvědomění si této mocenské nerovnováhy (například poukazuje na neproblematické časté označování pacientů/tek jako "nespolupracujících", což odkazuje k představě, že úkolem pacienta/ky je především následovat pokyny lékaře/ky). Kniha přitom apeluje zejména na překročení této mocenské nerovnováhy, jejíž nedílnou součástí je reflexe nejen potřeb a pocitů opečovávaných, ale i těch, kteří péči poskytují. V první kapitole věnované komunikaci autorka například rozebírá nejen otázky, které je potřeba na začátku péče explicitně vyjasnit (ve vztahu k genderu pacienta/ky, způsobům, jakým si přeje být označován/a, rodinným vazbám či preferencím ohledně poskytované péče), ale rovněž práci s po-

city, které lidé pečující o tyto pacienty/ky mohou prožívat. Základní imperativem se tak stává nejen poznání, kdo pacient/ka je jako osoba a co je pro něj/ni důležité, ale také poznat vlastní emoce v průběhu interakce s pacientem/kou a učinit vědomou volbu, že tyto emoce a přesvědčení nebudou péči ovlivňovat. Autorka se přitom při představování přístupu k inkluzivní péči o LGBTQ opírá o vlastní zážitky a zkušenosti z praxe. Její návody jsou doprovázeny konkrétními životními příběhy a reflexí vlastních pocitů a prožitých událostí.

Ty z vás, kteří jste dočetli tuto recenzi až téměř do konce, možná v tuto chvíli napadá, proč se o této knize dočítáte v časopise, jenž je zaměřen na humanitní a sociální vědy, když je kniha *LGBTQ-Inclusive Hospice and Palliative Care* určena primárně pro ty, kteří se pohybují ve zdravotnických a pomáhajících profesích. Je pravdou, že kniha má mnohem větší ambici být praktickou příručkou než akademickou studií o tématu LGBTQ či péči. Přesto se jí daří promlouvat k mnohem širšímu publiku (i díky tomu, že Acquaviva se nevyhýbá zásadním osobním reflexím, konkrétním příkladům i formulacím požadavků na to, jak přistupovat ke vztahu mezi těmi, kdo péči poskytují, a těmi, kteří jsou na ni odkázáni). Nabízí velmi konkrétní návod, jak překročit představu, že dobrá péče je taková, v jejímž rámci je ke každému přistupováno stejně. Ačkoliv kniha primárně směřuje k poskytovatelům/kám zdravotní a sociální péče, způsob, jakým o péči hovoří, je inspirativní i mimo tyto obory a může vést k hlubokým zamyšlením nad vnímáním lidské důstojnosti, potřebami na konci života a vztahy mezi různými aktérkami a aktéry, kteří do procesu péče vstupují.

Ačkoliv přístup, jenž autorka v příručce představuje, je možné chápat jako zastřešující paradigma pro jakoukoliv formu profesionální péče, kniha je specificky soustředěna především na průběh hospicové a paliativní péče. V tomto ohledu zároveň otevírá téma, které je stále tabuizované. Péče o lidi v poslední fázi jejich života je psychicky a emocionálně náročné. Zároveň stojí na okraji společenských debat a zájmu. Důstojné umírání je něco, co si všichni přejeme, jen málokdo z nás však o něm mluví. Co znamená ona důstojnost? Jak zajistit respektující přístup a to, že přání klienta/ky jsou vyjadřována a naplňována v co největší míře? Současná pandemie koronaviru mimo jiné obnažila nejen malou společenskou připravenost otevírat a řešit tyto otázky, ale rovněž i nedostatečné zajištění podpory pro ty, jež nás na konci života často provázejí. Více než kdy jindy izolovala smrt nejen od ostatních blízkých a prostředí domova, ale i od běžného lidského kontaktu. Kniha Kimberly Acquavivy je napsána stylem, jenž má potenciál nabídnout podporu těm, kdo poskytují (nejen) paliativní a hospicovou péči. Otevřený a velmi přístupný styl psaní umožňuje projít různými kroky práce s pacienty/kami, kteří jsou součástí této péče. Naplňování kvalitní paliativní péče by mělo představovat cíl pro každou společnost. Kniha Kimberly Acquavivy tento požadavek akcentuje. Vznáší ho prostřednictvím tématu LGBTQ, jež bylo v oblasti péče poměrně dlouhou dobu marginalizováno (či tematizováno ve vztahu k potenciálně

patologickým jevům). Acquaviva nicméně požadavek na inkluzivní péči o LGBTQ formuluje především jako požadavek na péči, jež respektuje individuální životní historii jednotlivce a specifický kontext jeho života. Troufám si říct, že to je péče, o kterou by stál/a každý/á z nás.

Věk v akci

Iva Šmídová

Hearn, J., Parkin, W. 2021. *Age at Work: Ambiguous Boundaries of Organizations, Organizing and Ageing.* Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC, Melbourne: SAGE.

Jeff Hearn a Wendy Parkin nabízejí pestrý pohled na to, co si spojuje sociologie s věkem a stárnutím. "Věk v akci" (nejen v práci), jak by se dal název knihy *Age at Work* volně přeložit, netematizuje jen sféru pracovních organizací, jak navozuje její podtitul. Přibližuje vztahy, procesy a dělání organizací, do kterých se zejména jako zralí a stárnoucí lidé, ale poté i posmrtně, dostáváme.

Vlastně už jsme málem odvykli používat výraz "věk", potlačil jej termín spojený se stárnutím populací i individuí. A kniha je v tomto smyslu od autorů dobrou připomínkou řady zjednodušení a stereotypů, jež se na dělání věku a organizací nabalují. Kombinuje přitom jak reflexe konceptuální, tak biografické. Pracuje s opomíjeným, připomínaným i vzpomínaným nebo zapomínaným. A je to skvělé i napínavé čtení.

První část knihy (po úvodu), sepsaná ve spoluautorství s Richardem Howsonem, nabízí teoretičtější, konceptuální pohledy na to, jak pracovat s věkem, který hraje roli ve všech etapách života, nejen ve stáří. Dále se autoři ve spolupráci s Charlottou Niemstö zaměřili na konkrétní režimy fungování a dělání organizací s ohledem na věk a stárnutí. Druhá část knihy představuje, jak věk organizuje a spoluvytváří kontext, podoby i cíle, strukturu, procesy, ale i každodennost organizací. Nejobsáhlejší, závěrečnou část knihy dvojice hlavních autorů věnuje hraničním záležitostem věku a organizací (či organizování). Podobně jako v úvodní kapitole publikace se vracejí také k autobiografickému přístupu a s odkazem na vlastní věk zařazují kapitoly o etapě "po životě", překročení konečné hranice (smrti) a organizování věcí posmrtných, bezpřítomných.

Jak na začátku, tak i na konci knihy autoři reflektují, problematizují a otevírají další pole a oblasti nejasností, rozmazaných hranic a přechodů, nebo naopak nabízejí rozostření těch mantinelů, které sami dosud považujeme za nepřekročitelné a konečné.

Připomínají zapomenuté a neviditelné (věk v jednotlivých etapách života, organizaci věku institučními pravidly i sociálním řádem) a nabízejí uznání a (roz)poznání těchto neviditelností ze zkušenosti, jak sami stárli a stárnou. Sami přitom promýšlejí a píšou knihu o věku v práci či v organizacích koncepčně, strukturovaně. Vymezují věk a stárnutí (nebo také zralost) ve vztahu k dalším strukturujícím kategoriím sociální analýzy, jako jsou gender, třída. Činí tak jak v rovině individuálních biografií, generačních vztahů, tak i kulturních konstrukcí toho, jak, kde a kdo definuje(me) "stáří", nebo jaké významy přikládáme různým etapám zralosti (věku, stáří). Autoři rovněž dekonstruují koncept organizací a přistupují k němu kriticky, nepovažují jej za danost či fixní věc, ale za výslednici konstelací, vztahů a praxe, v níž dominuje určitý segment dospělých, a to v oblasti ekonomiky, státu či občanské společnosti (s. 20). Sledují jak diskursivní, tak materiální perspektivy změn organizačního světa, struktur a procesů.

Věk je jednou ze základních os sociální stratifikace a vztahů a projevuje se rozdílně v odlišných prostředích, společnostech, kulturách, historických obdobích. Funguje obdobně, ale ne stejně jako gender – věk je všudypřítomný a samozřejmý bez reflexe nerovností na něj vázaných. Věk není jen vlastností jedinců, jejich životy organizační pravidla konsolidují a strukturují. Organizace a věk se propojují do dělání věku (age work, s. 22).

Kniha je obsahově i analyticky zaměřena na marginalizaci lidí (a jejich organizací) ve zralém a starším věku, k jejich periferním pozicím a ageismu spojenému s tím, kdy se z osob v pracovních organizacích stávají konzumenti jejich služeb. Tato praxe dopadá samozřejmě jak na politiku věku a potřeby její zásadní změny pro každodenní životy a nerovnosti, tak na způsoby, jakým věk a organizace zkoumáme a studujeme – zvlášť i společně – i tomu se kapitoly knihy věnují.

Celý text je provázaný, vzájemně odkazuje na jednotlivé pasáže a témata představená v knize. Zůstává přitom čtivý a snadno srozumitelný, jeho "hyperlinková" podoba tak zdůrazňuje komplexitu intersekcionálního tématu, ale i velmi zdařilou autorskou a editorskou práci. Osobně mi připadalo inspirující, až napínavé pročítat velmi osobní, zkušenostní přístup autorů propojený jasnou červenou nití ve "velkém vyprávění" plném různých zákoutí, meandrů i temných míst konceptualizace "věku v práci". Kniha zůstává přístupná široké škále odborně zaměřených čtenářek a čtenářů nejen z oblasti studií nerovností, organizační kultury, stratifikace, intersekcionality, stárnutí nebo genderu, ale i těm, pro něž se studium životního cyklu kritickou sociologickou perspektivou teprve začíná otevírat.

Osvobozeny od práce? Životy žen v domácnosti

Magdaléna Ezrová

Orgad, S. 2019. *Heading Home: Motherhood, Work and the Failed Promise of Equality.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Málokdo by zřejmě zpochybnil myšlenku, že péče o domácnost je potřebná a prospěšná činnost. Přesto se ale netěší přílišné společenské úctě a váže se k ní mnoho mýtů a stereotypů. S nimi se ve své knize Heading Home: Motherhood, Work, and the Failed Promise of Equality kriticky vyrovnává socioložka a antropoložka Shani Orgad. Studii ukotvuje v mezinárodních odborných diskursech rámovaných feministickou antropologií, sociologií genderu, sociologií rodiny nebo sociologií médií. Přitom významně navazuje na knihy Betty Friedan The Feminine Mystique (1963), Arlie Hochschild The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home (1989) nebo Pamely Stone Opting out? Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home (2007). Využívá ale také široké spektrum dalších zdrojů, které podrobuje sociální analýze. Jedná se o soudobé filmy, seriály, beletristickou literaturu a reklamy nebo, inspirována Friedan, marketingové průzkumy Ernsta Dichtra (Dichter 1960). Nevynechá ani knihy ze žánru osobního rozvoje (Sandberg 2013; Slaughter 2015). Kritizuje dominantní diskurs, který podporují a který hlásá, že ženy mohou mít vše – fungující rodinu, uspokojující práci a plnohodnotný osobní život. Pouze stačí, aby se do toho dostatečně "opřely", jak hlásá například název knihy Sharyl Sandberg Lean In. Orgad tak vytváří barvitý obraz společnosti, jež podle jejího názoru slibuje svým členkám a členům mnohé, ale málo z toho dokáže splnit. Kniha zároveň přináší zajímavé argumenty do současné společenské diskuse o patriarchálních strukturách a možnostech jejich přerámování.

Základem předkládaného výzkumu jsou hloubkové rozhovory s třiceti pěti vysokoškolsky vzdělanými ženami žijícími v Londýně, převážně běloškami, které domů k dětem zamířily z již "rozjetých" pracovních kariér. V pěti případech vedla autorka rozhovor i s manžely svých komunikačních partnerek. Orgad předkládá životy svých informátorek ve formě barvitých příběhů, které zasazuje do sociokulturních souvislostí, hledá jejich vnitřní motivace a snaží se porozumět jejich volbám. Vytváří sociální sondu mezi poměrně úzkou skupinou privilegovaných, finančně zajištěných žen se zaměřením na jejich každodenní žitou zkušenost a pocity, které mají ze svého současného "povolání" žen v domácnosti. Její komunikační partnerky nejenže vyrostly v kulturním i politickém prostředí, jež podporuje kombinaci mateřství a placeného zaměstnání, ale zároveň jim dovoluje zajistit si placenou pomoc s péčí o děti. Obojí

by jim umožnilo v zaměstnání zůstat. Právě důvody, proč místo toho volí jinak, se autorka rozhodla hlouběji prozkoumat. Zajímá ji, zda se opravdu jedná o svobodnou volbu odrážející jejich osobní preference a postoje, a v případě, že ne, co stojí za jejich rozhodnutím.

Při analýze rozhovorů autorka vycházela z práce Valerie Walkerdine (Walkerdine, Lucey, Melody 2001). Nejprve identifikovala klíčové body, motivy a situace, poté hledala společné, nebo naopak rozdílné momenty. Třetí částí analýzy byla detailní interpretace rozhovorů ve smyslu použitých slov, výrazů, metafor či tónu hlasu, pozornost ale směřuje i k tomu, co řečeno nebylo, čemu se informátorky vyhýbaly a pro co nemohly najít slova.

Kniha je rozdělena na tři části, přičemž každá obsahuje dvě kapitoly. V první části se kniha zabývá okolnostmi, za nichž ženy opustily svou pracovní dráhu. Orgad upozorňuje, že to nejsou jen genderové stereotypy, které ženě po narození dětí určí péči o domácnost a muži placené zaměstnání, ale také "toxická firemní a pracovní kultura" (s. 27). Dlouhá pracovní doba, vyžadování neustálé dostupnosti a velmi intenzivní tempo jsou pracovní normy, jimž se přizpůsobuje chod celé rodiny bez ohledu na to, zda je to jejím členům příjemné.

Ve druhé kapitole první části se Orgad věnuje použití reklamy a marketingu při tvorbě mediálního obrazu "dokonalé ženy", která je v současném diskursu interpretována jako žena "vyrovnaná", tedy taková, jež si sice uvědomuje nerovnosti na trhu práce a v politickém systému, ale přesto je schopna dosáhnout žádoucí rovnováhy mezi prací, rodinou a svými osobními touhami. Pocity nedostatečnosti či neschopnosti dostát obecně prezentovanému ideálu a využít předkládaných možností považují ženy za své osobní intimní potíže způsobené nedostatkem vlastních ambicí a sebedůvěry. Orgad v kapitole analyzuje pojmy "rovnost" a "možnost svobodné volby" a tvrdí, že opravdová volba není ve skutečnosti možná. Tuto situaci přirovnává k rovnostářské iluzi, která je nerovnou životní realitou.

Ve druhé části se zaměřuje na současný život participantek, jejich orientaci na chod domácnosti a rodiny, na to, jak vnímají svou roli matky a manželky v kontrastu kulturního a společenského diskursu. Orgad upozorňuje na rozpory v pojetí státních rodinných a zaměstnaneckých politik, kde jsou na jedné straně ženy podporovány v zaměstnání, je adorován jejich přínos tržní ekonomice, zároveň je ale také glorifikována žena jako matka pečující o domácnost. Mateřství je prezentováno jako opak práce, tedy jako činnost, jež přináší úlevu a odpočinek. Aby obhájily své rozhodnutí stát se matkami v domácnosti, stavějí se informátorky do role "ředitelek" rodiny. To jim pomáhá dát smysl jejich životu, znovuobjevují svoji vlastní identitu, která je zcela spojena s jejich rolí matky a manželky, a budují "kariéru novou".

Ve čtvrté kapitole reflektuje Orgad přístupy žen k jejich rolím matek a manželek. Participantky jako první a hlavní důvod pro opuštění zaměstnání v rozhovorech udávaly nutnost pečovat o děti. Při popisování konkrétních situací a důvodů se ale v narativech silně identifikují nejen s rolí matky, ale zejména s rolí manželky, jež péčí o děti zajišťuje muži prostor pro budování jeho kariéry. Svá rozhodnutí tudíž žena koná zejména z pozice manželky a nikoliv matky. Dvoukariérní manželství by chod rodiny silně zkomplikovalo. Muži i ženy o tomto rozhodnutí mluví jako o rozumném vyústění problému, kdy se žena rozhodne z legitimních důvodů zůstat doma s dětmi, ale ve skutečnosti uvolňuje prostor pro realizaci svému muži. Svobodné rozhodnutí rovnocenných partnerů je podle Orgad jen zdáním, jež klame a pod kterým se skrývá stále stejná idea o ženě jako primární pečovatelce a vychovatelce dětí.

Třetí a poslední část knihy se věnuje životu žen poté, co jejich děti povyrostou. Komunikační partnerky vědí, že chtějí do budoucna od života "něco víc než uklízení" (s. 139). Všechny touží po zaměstnání, které bude flexibilní, kreativní, nezávislé a budou ho mít pod kontrolou. Řešením je podnikání. Orgad používá slovo *mompreneur* (složeniny anglických slov *mother* a *entrepreneur*). U kuchyňského stolu vymyslí projekt *start up*, jenž samy uskuteční podle svých časových i prostorových možností. Tento způsob podnikání je svou flexibilitou pro ženy alternativou ke kariéře uvnitř patriarchální korporátní sféry. Podle Orgad se tak ženám dostává příležitosti k naplnění společenské představy o vyrovnané ženě, která řídí svou firmu a zároveň vzorně pečuje o rodinu a domácnost. Tím se vytváří dojem, že péče o dítě je jednoduchý úkol, jenž může být s trochou kreativity zkombinován s podnikáním, což je podle autorky zákeřná fantazie, která opět pouze upevňuje představu ženy jako primární pečovatelky.

Orgad také podrobuje kritické analýze rozličné intervence vlád do politiky zaměstnanosti i soudobé přístupy k feminismu, které se nyní podle jejího mínění zaměřují na posílení postavení žen, jejich sebevědomí a podnikatelského ducha namísto rovnosti, sociální spravedlnosti a svobody, jako to platilo pro předchozí vlny. Současné poselství feminismu odkazuje výhradně k transformaci ženské psychiky, myšlení, chování či přístupu ke světu prostřednictvím "práce na sobě", přičemž kapitalistické a patriarchální struktury a materiální podmínky zůstávají téměř beze změn, neboť ty vyžadují čas a trpělivost. Orgad ale nedefinuje, kdo by měl změnu přinést, a upozorňuje na to, že ani její komunikační partnerky nejsou aktivistkami snažícími se o změnu *statu quo*. Naději vkládají do svých dcer, jež vybavují do života pocitem, že mohou dosáhnout čehokoli. Samy se ale přizpůsobují kulturní definici ženy jako matky a manželky.

O čem je nutné se zmínit je skutečnost, že si autorčiny komunikační partnerky na svůj život nestěžují, ale období, ve kterém se rozhodovaly o ukončení pracovního poměru, popisují často jako velmi emocionální a psychicky traumatizující. Některé uvádějí, že byly do odchodu z práce "tlačeny" nebo že se bály, že pokud v práci zůstanou, muž je opustí a ony přijdou o celou rodinu. Orgad hledá v rodinách komunikačních partnerek společné ukazatele a přichází na určitou rigiditu, neschopnost flexibilně řešit

potřeby obou partnerů ve vztahu k práci a k osobnímu životu či v samotném chodu rodiny a v rozdělení rolí, jež zůstává nezměněno například i v situaci, kdy muž ztratí zaměstnání a finanční zapojení ženy by se zdálo logické. Orgad si všímá, že téměř všechny informátorky litují, že nikdy neuměly vést se svým okolím diskusi o tom, co si přejí dělat, jaké jsou jejich představy o životě a jaké všechny důsledky jejich volby mají, včetně té o odchodu ze zaměstnání. Upozorňuje ale na to, že ani muži nemluví o svých potřebách a pocitech jako jediných "chlebodárců", na kterých stojí hmotné zajištění rodiny.

Autorka analyzuje rozhovory velmi citlivým, v mnohém až psychoterapeutickým způsobem. Ve chvíli, kdy v textu rozebírá neverbální chování informátorek a předkládá své subjektivní pocity v reakci na jejich zastavení v řeči, slzy v očích nebo třesoucí se hlas, ale vyvstává čtenáři a čtenářce na mysl nutně otázka, zda se její interpretace shoduje s realitou tak, jak ji komunikační partnerky vnímají, nebo zda neodpovídá spíše autorčinu přání.

Kniha Shani Orgad přináší bystrou analýzu rozpolcenosti mezi vnějším a vnitřním pohledem na mateřství a rovnoprávnost. Staví do opozice často opomíjený rozpor mezi pohledem medií, sociálních sítí a státních politik a žitou zkušeností žen-matek. Poukazuje na to, do jaké hloubky a současně s jakou nenápadností je vnímání žen ve vztahu k sobě samým a k jejich roli ve společnosti ovlivněno sociokulturním prostředím, v němž vyrostly a žijí. Posílení a podpora žen ve vyjádření jejich postojů může vést k přerámování patriarchálních struktur a ke skutečné rovnosti jak v domácnosti, tak v zaměstnání. To jistě tato kniha nezmůže sama o sobě, ale vytváří stavební kámen, který může podpořit diskuse nad strukturou současné společnosti.

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GENDER A VÝZKUM GENDER AND RESEARCH



Jiřina Šiklová – Kočka, která nikdy nespí

Linda Sokačová

Dne 22. května zemřela Jiřina Šiklová – disidentka, socioložka, zakladatelka genderových studií v České republice i nestorka sociální práce. Její energie, nápady, komentáře i schopnost druhé nadchnout a motivovat k dalšímu aktivismu tu budou jednoznačně chybět.

Jiřina Šiklová byla už za svého života legendou, ale ne takovou, kterou známe jen ze stránek lesklých časopisů nebo televizní obrazovky. V jistém smyslu to zní jako klišé, ale Jiřina skutečně byla schopna promlouvat s lidmi v nouzi, i s intelektuály. Dokázala s nimi mluvit jazykem, jemuž rozuměli, ale uměla jim i naslouchat a snažila se porozumět. Projevilo se to i po její smrti, kdy sociální sítě nezažívaly obvyklé boje dvou nesmiřitelných táborů obdivovatelů a kritiků – ale většina, jež o Jiřině věděla a znala ji, vyjadřovala svůj smutek a truchlila. Své vzpomínky doprovázeli velmi často i společnou fotografií s Jiřinou. Jiřina Šiklová byla neustále mezi lidmi. Fyzicky se s nimi stýkala na různých akcích, ale neváhala zatelefonovat nebo napsat, když měla nějaký nápad nebo návrh, který by dotyční mohli zrealizovat nebo jinak zúročit. A bylo jí jedno, zda to je člověk na ředitelské, nebo asistentské pozici. Hodnotu pro ni měli všichni stejnou.

Zakladatelka gender studies "u nás"

V roce 1991 byly v bytě Jiřiny Šiklové položeny základy genderových studií u nás – vznikla knihovna genderových studií, jež je dnes součástí etablované neziskové organizace Gender Studies, o.p.s., a také byla zahájena tradice diskusí, přednášek a kolokvií k tématům spojeným s genderem, feminismem a postavením žen a mužů v evropské i americké společnosti, které byly pro české genderové a feministické hnutí klíčové a přispěly k dalšímu rozvoji v oblasti rovných příležitostí žen a mužů.

S Jiřinou jsem se blíže seznámila potom, co jsem v listopadu 2000 začala pracovat v jí založené obecně prospěšně společnost Gender Studies. Jako zakladatelka měla prominentní postavení, kterého ale nikdy nezneužívala, a organizaci, jež vznikla díky ní, umožnila rozkvět: lidem, kteří tam pracovali, věřila a nechávala jim volnou ruku. Když bylo potřeba, pomohla. Její osoba činnost Gender Studies obohacovala, umožňovala propojovat různé světy a stavět na tradici, propojovat historii se současností. I díky ní se ženské organizace, ale i Sociologický ústav AV ČR a vědecké pracoviště NKC Gender a věda zaměřily na opomíjené téma role a významu žen v českém disentu, jež bylo a bohužel stále je v české společnosti přehlíženo a zůstávalo po dlouhou dobu dostatečně nezdokumentováno.

ZPRÁVY / INFORMATION

Jiřina Šiklová, obdobně jako Alena Wagnerová, byla nositelkou tématu blízkého porozumění i nepochopení mezi českým, evropským a americkým feminismem, rozdílů, které se v dobách, kdy zakládala genderová studia, projevily odlišným vnímáním světů i rolí žen a mužů v české a "západní" společnosti a spolu s tím i očekáváním, které mohou genderová studia do naší společnosti přinést. Reflexe žité reality a zkušeností Jiřina Šiklová vyjadřovala nejen v rámci genderových studií, ale i v přemýšlení o roli protestního hnutí v 60. letech 20. století a roli nové levice. Obě tato její svým způsobem celoživotní témata se v určitém bodě proťala. Její myšlenky mohou přispět k přemýšlení o roli a postavení levice v české společnosti i dnes: "Já jsem se zabývala hnutím studentů na západě, hlavně proto, že jsme jezdili se studenty z filozofické fakulty a potkávali jsme tam studenty z těchto skupin. Pamatuju se na jaro 68, kdy bylo výročí K. Marxe. Konaly se bouřlivé manifestace studentů k oslavám Karla Marxe na západoněmeckých univerzitách. My v Čechách jsme k tomu však měli takový rezervovaný vztah. Pro nás byl marxismus oficiální a i proto odmítanou filozofií. (...) O toto téma jsem se zajímala i proto, že mě zajímalo, proč se naši studenti se na tyto otázky tváří zcela opačně než na západě. Proč my nemůžeme pochopit je a proč oni nemohou pochopit nás. Po 89. roce mě na západoamerickém feminismu zajímalo to samé: proč my nerozumíme jim a oni nerozumí nám. Ženy na západě měly totiž jiné zkušenosti, obdobně to bylo v roce 68. My jsme si navzájem připadali jiní, nepochopitelní a tak trochu cizí. My jsme socialismus měli v sobě v reálné podobě a oni od něho čekali spásu. Domnívali se, že kdyby na Západě došlo k převratu, tak že by to mohli vést jinak.1"

Žena tisíce témat

Že byla Jiřina Šiklová rozkročena mezi celou řadu oborů a zájmů, dokazuje, že stála u zrodu nejen genderových studií, ale iniciovala i založení katedry sociální práce na Filozofické fakultě (kterou do roku 2000 i vedla). I proto je dodnes považována za ikonu sociální práce a v roce 2020 získala ocenění Gratias 2020 za významný přínos v sociální práci.

Její význam pro českou sociologii spočívá v tom, že otevírala nová a opomíjená témata pro českou společnost. Patří mezi ně i téma stárnutí – s tím přišla dávno před tím, než se stalo populárním tématem pro evropské fondy –, či smrti. Stárnutí se věnovala ve své úspěšné knize *Deník staré paní*, kterou pojala "jako praktickou pomůcku pro ty, kdo se ocitají na prahu stáří, i pro ty, kteří s nimi toto období prožívají". Generačním dialogem se zabývala ve své další knize *Dopisy vnučce*, kde se opět ve shodě se svým životním krédem snažila poukázat na důležitost porozumění a hledání spojitostí a podobností mezi zdánlivě odlišnými věcmi a životy vzdálených generací.

¹ Nová levice v Československu. Rozhovor Lindy Sokačová s Jiřinou Šiklovou v časopise A-kontra 1/05.

Důležitou hodnotou, již si ze setkávání a rozhovorů s Jiřinou odnáším, je propojování, hledání mostů a porozumění mezi zdánlivě odlišnými světy, které ale mohou být v určitém kontextu i spojenci.

Osobní vzpomínka na Jiřinu Šiklovou

Lucie Vidovićová

Je smutnou souhrou osudu, že toto číslo časopisu *Gender a výzkum* s podtitulem "Gender, věk a stárnutí" vychází v době, kdy odešla první dáma tématu Jiřina Šiklová (*17. 6. 1935 – † 22. 5. 2021). Její *Deník staré paní* jsem četla už jako doktorská studentka ve vydání nakladatelství Kalich z roku 2003. Dříve jasně růžové desky knížky jsou dnes vybledlé do jemně růžového odstínu, který kontrastuje s křiklavě růžovou fixou označující mé poznámky v textu: "Lidé se raději přiznávají k tomu, že jsou nemocní, než k tomu, že jsou staří" (s. 53), "(d)neska nebereme život jako úděl a chceme být soběstační i ve chvílích, kdy sotva dechu popadáme" (s. 58).¹ Když jsem se probírala historií e-mailů, narazila jsem na naši první korespondenční výměnu z dubna roku 2005. Prosila jsem ji o nějaké názory do projektu, který se věnoval konceptu aktivního stárnutí: "*Mám vám odpovídat do e-mailu? Tak to vlepím do toho celku, to bude jako internetová diskuse? Zdravím Jiřina Šiklová,*" zněla její první odpověď. "*Tak to píšu přímo do toho, opravdu jako asociace. Promiňte, že …. nějak je toho teď moc,*" napsala záhy omluvně, aby tím jen podtrhla, že žádný dotaz, byť by přišel do toho nejhektičtějšího období, nezůstane nezodpovězen.

Tehdy její hlavní témata, jak podpořit koncept aktivního stárnutí, byla dvě – občanská společnost a vzdělávání: "Občanská společnost – bariérou je nedostatek podpory rozvoje občanské společnosti z hlediska státu, podnikatelů, EU..., neboť zde není dostatečný počet velkorysých, bohatých donátorů pro tuto oblast. Občanská společnost je v ČR přehlížena. Projekty a psaní projektů a žádání o granty je příliš zprofesionalizováno, nově začínající "nedosáhnou" na poskytované peníze. EU a její granty nutí k tzv. síťování a tato schopnost překračuje možnosti a schopnosti stárnoucích lidí tyto kontakty navazovat a takto formálně náročné projekty formulovat. Proto řada lokálních iniciativ starých lidí není realizována – nevytváří se subkultura starých lidí, neboť formálně je to pro ně náročné. Obdobně toto platí i pro svépomocné skupiny starých. Důchodový systém – bariérou je interpretace důchodu jako "daru, výsledku

¹ Šiklová, J. 2003. *Deník staré paní*. Praha: Kalich.

péče státu, společnosti o staré lidi, tedy oblast předsudků, hodnocení a sebehodnocení starých a jejich sebepodceňování, případně chápání sebe jako "přitěžujících". Reprodukce tohoto pohledu na staré u mladších věkových skupin. Naučená bezmocnost na podkladě desítek let existujícího státního systému, tzv. socialistického, a tím pádem přenášení odpovědnosti ze sebe na druhé, a hlavně na společnost, která se "má" postarat. Bariérou na pracovním trhu je zdůrazňování "mladého" kolektivu, týmu apod. a z toho vyplývající sebepodceňování starých lidí a averze vůči nim. Rychle se měnící technologie postupů v práci a NEEXISTENCE základů specifické výuky starých lidí, tedy neexistence "pedagogických postupů, metodologie zvyšování kvalifikace pro stárnoucí věkové skupiny" (osobní korespondence z 1. 5. 2005). Pojem "gerontoandragogika" je přitom další, který na mne křiklavě růžově září na straně 104 Deníku staré paní a jehož absence ve veřejném diskursu a politických prioritách stále zoufale přetrvává. Bohužel ani "mladý a dynamický" kolektiv v náborových inzerátech není žádnou minulostí.

Do symbolického sousedství nás později kolem roku 2011–2012 svedl Jiří Hrabě, šéfredaktor časopisu *Vital Plus*, vydávaného pražskou organizací Elpida. Jiří nás vyzval k mezigeneračnímu sociologickému duelu na stránkách rubriky Pohledy. Tam vedle sebe na jedné straně ve dvou sloupcích sršela naše výměna názorů na témata jako prarodičovství nebo význam prostoru a prostředí ve stáří. Nevím, nakolik jsme splnily představu editora, že půjdeme generačně "na nože", protože já jsem ve svém mladickém nerozumu "házela" sociologickými koncepty, zatímco ona totéž vyjádřila srozumitelně ve své vlastní zkušenosti.

Postupem času jsem se snažila vybudovat tradici každoročního krátkého e-mailu jako přání k svátku. Byla jedinou Jiřinou, kterou jsem až donedávna znala, a to pro mne byla záminka se vždy alespoň krátce "připomenout" a poptat se, jak se má. "Díky, mám se dobře, ale honím se snad ještě více než v době, kdy jsem nebyla ještě v penzi. Asi proto, že vím, že čas se člověku krátí a přátelé odcházejí. Podnikáte něco k tomu roku aktivního stáří? Nějaké výzkumy? Jste teď zde, nebo s manželem někde ve Slovinsku? (nepletu si to?) Na čem pracujete? Já vedle těch rozhovorů teď něco dodělávám k více jak 40 let starému rukopisu (svému rukopisu, který nemohl být již vydán) o nové levici a hledám paralely. Jsou velké, až na to, že tehdy si mohli promítat své ideály do Číny, třetího světa, ... atd. Dnes? Snad do Grónska či Antarktidy, až jednou roztaje. Tak díky za gratulaci – Jiřina Šiklová" (osobní korespondence z 15. 2. 2012).

Když se světem, a nakonec i Českou republikou, začala šířit pandemie covid-19, věděli jsme, že je zle. Ani ne tak ze zdravotního nebo ekonomického hlediska, tato rizika hlubokých dopadů na společnost neznámého trvání jsme si na jaře 2020 ještě nikdo neuměli představit, ale už tehdy začínalo být jasné, že se "cosi" stane se "seniory", tedy nejen s jejich těly, s jejich zdravotním stavem a úmrtností, ale vůbec s tím, kdo a kým jsou ve společnosti, jak je budována jejich skupinová i osobní identita a do

jakých struktur budou rámováni. Moje poslední zahraniční cesta tehdy na jaře byla na závěrečnou konferenci evropské akce COST nazvané "ROSEnet – Reducing Old-Age Social Exclusion: Collaborations in Research and Policy", které předsedal Kieran Walsh z irského města Galway. Většina z téměř dvou set účastníků tehdy do Bruselu sice ještě přiletěla, ale ze dne na den jsme museli najít nové místo pro konání konference, protože budovy Evropské komise se už z epidemiologických důvodů uzavíraly pro veřejnost. Vnímali jsme, že se děje něco historického i pro náš obor a naše téma. Stárnutí si těžko mohlo předplatit lepší reklamu, ale zároveň nás výsledky projektu varovaly, že multidimenzionální sociální exkluze teď nabíjí novou munici. Profesor Walsh proto záhy definoval čtyři klíčové body o důstojnosti starších dospělých, které bychom měli mít při boji s pandemií na paměti tak, abychom "s vaničkou nevylili i dítě". Ze čtyř bodů² se stala tzv. galwayská výzva "Zastavme ageismus v době koronaviru", kterou postupně podepsalo přes 500 signatářů z řad osobností, profesionálů i "běžných" seniorů a seniorek. Jiřina Šiklová ji podepsala jako první z oslovených. Symbolicky pro náš vztah to byl zase duben, tentokrát 14. 4. 2020: "ano, chci se připojit, připište tam moje jméno – tj. Jiřina Šiklová."

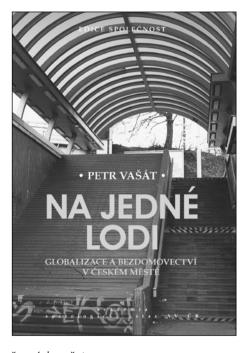
Naposledy jsem Jiřinu viděla o deset dní později, bez týdne přesně po patnácti letech od jejího prvního e-mailu. To setkání si pamatuji zcela živě. Bylo to při příležitosti pohřbu socioložky Markéty Sedláčkové, na němž promlouvala ke shromážděným smutečním hostům. Vzhledem k truchlivé příležitosti mi připadalo vhodné se v konverzaci zaměřit na něco optimistického, a tak jsem se Jiřiny zeptala, co nového píše. "Nic. Až Vám bude tolik co mě, už vám to taky nebude připadat tak důležité se za něčím honit," odpověděla pevným hlasem, aby mi zavdala na dlouhé dny přemýšlení o konečnosti, pravých významech života a nesmyslnosti běhu připomínajícího křečka v kulatém bubínku. Měla odpracováno. Vše podstatné už bylo řečeno a je nyní na nás jako pokračující generaci nést tyto odkazy dál, a dá-li Bůh, také je přetavit v lepší společnost. Nechť duše Jiřiny Šiklové odpočívá v pokoji, ale její ideje burcují dál!

² Podrobněji: http://rosenetcost.com/combatting-exclusions-and-ageism-for-older-people-during-the-covid-19-pandemic/. Čtyři teze tzv. galwayské výzvy: 1) Reakce státu a společnosti na covid-19 si musí být vědoma přímých vyloučení postihujících starší občany jako výslednice politik a strategií, jež byly zavedeny v rámci boje proti viru, a tam, kde je to možné, kompenzovat tyto negativní okolnosti podporou a aktivitou. 2) Neustále musíme dbát na to, aby ošetření pacientů nakažených covidem-19 i další formy alokace zdrojů v souvislosti s krizí byly prováděny na základě potřebnosti, a nikoliv na základě prosté věkové hranice. 3) Při zavádění politik a strategií k ochraně starších lidí během pandemie covidu-19 nesmíme ignorovat heterogenitu starší populace ani chápat starší občany jako vysoce zranitelné a pasivní jedince a ignorovat tak jejich příspěvek k úsilí postavit se pandemii. 4) Politiky a strategie zaměřené na boj proti covidu-19 nesmí být postavené na problematizaci stárnutí a starších lidí v kontextu krize, ani sloužit k destabilizaci výrazné solidarity mezi generacemi, jíž jsme v současné době svědky. Celá kampaň je přístupná česky na: https://www.ageismus.cz/.

Na jedné lodi. Globalizace a bezdomovectví v českém městě

Petr Vašát

Kniha je interdisciplinární a multimetodologickou studií bezdomovectví v Česku. Autor v ní čtenáři ukazuje, jak se bezdomovectví zhmotňuje na průsečíku politickoekonomických faktorů, jako isou demokratizace společnosti nebo integrace do globální ekonomiky, a specifických doprovodných logik vznikajících na pomezí kultury ulice a určitých podmínek charakteristických pro českou společnost. Na pozadí případové studie Plzně a srovnání s některými prvky bezdomovectví ve Spojených státech amerických a slumů v Latinské Americe tvrdí, že bezdomovectví není vyloučením ze společnosti, jak je obecně laickou i velkou částí odborné veřejnosti přijímáno,



ale naopak systémovým komponentem současných měst.

Nakladatelství Academia / Sociologický ústav AV ČR 2021.

Petr Vašát je antropolog, výzkumník Sociologického ústavu AV ČR. Od podzimu 2021 působí jako Marie-Curie výzkumník na Georg-Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, a in residence pobývá na Weatherhead Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University. Ve svém výzkumu se zabývá komparativním studiem architektury/designu a chudoby, neformality a města a soustředí se mimo jiné i na různé sféry "kultury ulice". Svůj výzkum realizuje v českých a kolumbijských městech. Více informací: https://www.petrvasat.com.

Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research is a peer-reviewed transdisciplinary journal of gender studies and feminist theory. The journal publishes articles with gender or feminist perspective in the fields of sociology, philosophy, political science, history, cultural studies, and other fields of the social sciences and humanities. The journal was founded in 2000; it is published biannually by the Gender & Sociology Department of the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Until 2016, the journal was published under the name Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum / Gender and Research. The editorial board supports work that represents a contribution to the development of transdisciplinary gender studies and it takes into account the analytical contribution of manuscripts.

The journal is listed in the SCOPUS, ERIH PLUS, CEJSH, DOAJ and other databases.

Časopis *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research* je recenzovaný vědecký transdisciplinární časopis v oblasti genderových studií a feministické teorie. V časopise jsou publikovány stati, které uplatňují genderovou či feministickou perspektivu v oboru sociologie, filosofie, politologie, historie, kulturních studií anebo v dalších sociálních a humanitních vědách. Časopis vydává od roku 2000 Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i., do roku 2016 vycházel pod názvem *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum.* Redakční rada časopisu podporuje publikace, které přispívají k rozvoji transdisciplinárních genderových studií s přihlédnutím k autorskému analytickému přínosu textů.

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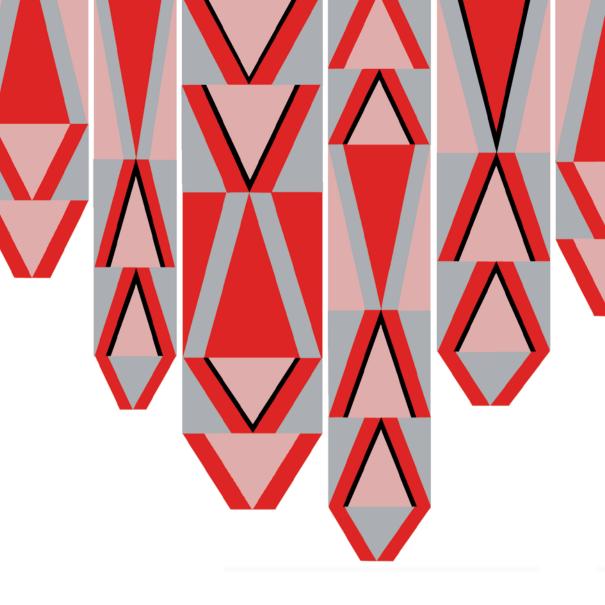
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