

TRACING THE DOMESTICATION OF WOMEN : What Has Set It Off And What It Generates

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Abstract : Tempat perempuan di ranah domestik telah dianggap suratan takdir oleh kebanyakan umat manusia, termasuk perempuan sendiri, seolah konstruk tersebut sudah harga mati dan tidak bisa ditawar-tawar lagi. Teori 'natural difference' yang menyatakan bahwa faktor biologis menentukan pola tingkah laku manusia ternyata tidak pernah terbukti secara ilmiah, meski pun masih terus dianggap benar. Peningkatan partisipasi perempuan dalam wilayah publik pun tidak merubah konstruk domestikasi mereka, toh nyatanya tidak banyak laki-laki yang terlibat dalam pekerjaan-pekerjaan domestik. Akibatnya, perempuan masih menghadapi kesulitan dalam setiap upaya untuk menyeimbangkan ranah publik dan privat; ke'ibu'an dan ambisi karir nampaknya juga dilihat sebagai dua hal yang saling berlawanan bagi perempuan. Satu hal yang perlu diingat adalah bahwa peran gender itu bukan harga mati, sangat mungkin untuk dirubah, walaupun bukan tanpa hambatan.

Key word : Gender, 'Natural Difference', Patriarchal Culture, Gendered Religious Interpretation, Public-Private Balance, Emotional Labour.

Introduction

It is not surprising when we heard a career woman gets difficulties in balancing her career and family, which results in slow move of her career path. It is something almost doubtlessly and ubiquitously happening to most married-women with paid job. Many research focusing on women academics prove that women's academic ranks move up more slowly than men's.¹ Some other women, even, have never had the opportunity of having

¹ Crowley, Cathleen F., (2007), RPI seeks ways to help its female faculty thrive:

career or other forms of self actualization just because of being domesticated systematically or arbitrarily. Moreover, sometimes they themselves do not realize that they have been domesticated and blocked from any chance for self actualization and potential development. They might be made extremely fraught with their domestic routine activities, so they have never had any chance to think of something other than their domestic stuff. Some women probably do not know and never think that they have their right to take a part in social, political, or any other part of public sphere, because they have been conditioned to believe that woman's main and only responsibility is handling a bulk of things in domestic sphere and caring for baby, children, the disabled and/or the old family members. In addition, it seems to be widely believed that, naturally, women's domain is domestic, since women are perceived and expected to be naturally nurturing, caring, and loving.

Indeed, with the help of social agency people internalize the social norms and expectations corresponding to their sex, male or female.² They always actively collaborate in the construction and cultural maintenance of meanings.³ In turn, the cultural meanings are very often internalised and taken for granted as something unchallengeable, undebatable, and fixed which inform their actions. Unfortunately, religious leaders, who interpret the divine religious teachings, seem to be not immune from the widespread mainstream patriarchal culture which frequently, if not always, confines women in peripheral position and, in turn, affects women in deficit ways. This article tries to present the trace of the domestication of women and its potential effects.

New initiative includes providing grants and mentors that will assist women in becoming full professors, *Times Union (Albany, NY)*, (New York: Times Union, March, 28, 2007). Also see: Leahey, Erin; Jason Lee Crockett & Laura Ann Hunter, (2008). *Gendered Academic Careers: Specializing for Success? Social Forces*, (Caroline: University of North Carolina Press, March 2008), 37.

² Giddens, A, *Sociology*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 459-460.

³ Goldbart, Juliet and David Hustler, *Ethnography*, in Bridget Somekh and Cathy Lewin, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, (London: Sage Publication, 2005).

Is 'Sex Roles'⁴ Natural or Socially Constructed?

Firstly, it is better to take a closer look at the terms 'sex' and 'gender' before discussing whether 'sex roles' natural or socially constructed, because what some people consider 'sex roles' is actually 'gender roles' for the others, especially for sociologists and the adherents. Sex and gender are two different terms. Sex refers to biological anatomy (male and female), while gender is related to the terms of masculine and feminine (not male and female), which are psychological, social and cultural rather than biological.⁵ Thus, gender can be defined as the way society is organized around the roles, responsibilities, activities and contributions of women and men.⁶ In short, it is gender order; what is expected, allowed and encouraged in relation to what women and men do in different contexts. In line with this⁷, defines gender order as the social and cultural constructions of gender identities as well as institutionalized relations of power and privilege organized around gender difference. It includes, but is not restricted to, first, that the public domain is men's world and the domestic one is women's, because women are ill-equipped to function in the public sphere and in civic life generally; second, that the presence of married women in the workforce was inimical to the institution of marriage; third, that it is the woman's lot to marry and share the home with the breadwinner.⁸

Despite the difference between sex and gender, it is evident that today, in this information era, many people from a variety of social and intellectual classes still think that the differences of roles between women and men are natural and instinctual. That is why they call it 'sex roles', not

⁴ It is put between apostrophs because, to me, the term 'sex roles' is not appropriate, as if it refers to natural 'given', which is, I am of the conviction, not. In addition, current sociologists consider it gender roles rather than sex roles.

⁵ Mulia, S. M., Pengantar editor, in S. M. Mulia (Ed.), *Keadilan Dan Kesetaraan Gender Perspektif Islam*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Jender, 2003). Also see: Anthony Giddens. *Sociology* (5th ed.), (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 458. And: Stone, A., *An Introduction to Feminist Philosophy*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

⁶ Hannan, C., *Challenging the Gender Order*, (2006), Paper presented in the opening keynote speech at the fourth world conference on women and sport, Kumamoto, Japan. Retrieved April, 12, 2007, from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/news/speech2006>.

⁷ Brenner, J., *Feminism in the New Gender Order*, (2002), Retrieved June, 17, 2007, from: <http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1036>.

⁸ Pocock, B., *Work/Life Collision*, (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2003).

gender roles. In line with this, Naturalistic account contends 'woman should be at home to raise her children because this satisfies her maternal instinct and the children's need for a mother'⁹. In addition, the advocates of the theory of 'natural difference'-that biological factors determine behavioural patterns- contend that 'aspects of human biology are responsible for innate differences in behaviour between women and men'.¹⁰ This reminds to the sociological literature on the famous classic scholars; Marx, Weber, and Durkheim who are not noted for their ideas about sex inequality (the word gender was not known at their age) and were likely 'consider women's subordinate social role as natural 'given'.¹¹ Durkheim asserts that as society became more complex, women and men had more distinct differences in mind and body, which means they specialized in their roles, and this made the division of labour more efficient and society stronger. In compliance with this, Weber affirms that women's dependent social position is fundamentally determined by 'the normal superiority of the physical and energies of male'.¹² It sounds strange that these scholars avow 'sex roles' as natural or given, when at the same time they argue strongly that everything is affected by social forces.

Things are what they seem in the account of Naturalistic theory, however, sociologist 'insists on a willingness to reject what is 'obvious', 'common sense', natural', and to go beneath the surface of such understanding of the world'.¹³ Thus, unlike the Naturalistic account, sociologists believe that 'sex roles' are constructed socially by major social institutions such as families, the education system, work, and politics¹⁴. Those social forces help and encourage people to internalise the social norms, including sex roles so as to seem natural. In other words, the

⁹ Tony Bilton, et al., *Introductory Sociology* (2nd ed.), (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1978), 8.

¹⁰ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* (5th ed.). (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 459.

¹¹ Mary Holmes, *What is Gender: Sociological approaches*, (London: Sage Publication, Ltd., 2007), 3.

¹² R.A. Sydie, *Natural Women/Cultural Men: A Feminist Perspective on Sociological Theory*. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987), 59.

¹³ Tony Bilton, et al., *Introductory Sociology* (2nd ed.), (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1987), 5.

¹⁴ Holmes, Mary., *What is Gender: Sociological Approache*, (London: Sage Publication, Ltd, 2007), 43.

differences between women and men are socially constructed, not merely biological, natural, nor instinctual. As noted by Giddens¹⁵ and Subhan¹⁶ the differences are not necessarily a result of biological sex. Then what people believe to be 'sex roles' is actually 'gender roles', it is not natural, but socially constructed.

The old patriarchal system with its assumptions about natural gender differences in intellect, character, or capacities, is disappearing, despite the attempts of a socially conservative right-wing movement to restore it¹⁷. The assumptions have been, if not eliminated, fundamentally revised. In their place has emerged a new gender order that is less unitary and stable, and less reliant on fixed gender identities, in which there is much more social and cultural approval for diverse household arrangements and gender relations; working mothers, and 'stay-home fathers.'

In contemporary Indonesia, there have been inconsistencies and contradictions on ideas about gender roles, especially amongst Muslims regarding the acceptable behaviour for men and women according to religious teachings. However, it seems that the legacy of patriarchal culture is still influential in that women are considered as *konco wingking* (complementary and domestic role players). This has been accommodated and strengthened by the Act of Marriage No. 1/1974 (*Undang-Undang Perkawinan No.1 th. 1074*) in which husband should be the breadwinner and wife should be responsible for the household. This seems to be derived from religious interpretations which have been gendered as well so that they strengthen the gendered division of labour.

The Gendered Religious Interpretations

One of the most influential and widespread religious interpretations is that woman was created from man's rib and as complementary to man. Consequently, this has made a construction of how the believers, men and women, perceive the existence of woman, that woman deserves for being inferior, subordinated, discriminated and marginalised in their relation with man. Accordingly, the institution of marriage is affected in terms of the way

¹⁵ *Op.Cit.*, Gidden, 458.

¹⁶ Subhan, Z., *Rekonstruksi Pemahaman Jender dalam Islam: Agenda Sosio Kultural dan Politik Peran Perempuan*, (Jakarta, Indonesia: El Kahfi, 2002).

¹⁷ J. Brenner, *Feminism in the New Gender Order*, (2002), Retrieved June, 17, 2007, from: <http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1036>.

husband-wife relationship should be, in which woman (wife) is seen as an instrument to support man's (husband) mission as the superior party. It is believed that the patriarchal culture has invested much in the interpretation of religious teachings.¹⁸

In Indonesia, especially in Java, Muslims' perception on husband (man)-wife (woman) relationships have been mainly and strongly influenced by a famous text on husband-wife relationships, *Uqud al-Lujjāyn* (or Couples' Contract), which has been taught in traditional *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding schools) for more than a century. The book was first published in 1876 and was written by Kyai Nawawi Al Jawi, a famous Javanese male Muslim scholar whose reputation is internationally recognised. In the book, wives are positioned in a very subordinated, inferior, and powerless position. As a result, the subordination and inferiority of women have been deeply entrenched. I once joined a class in some Islamic boarding schools where this particular text was being taught and the audience were all female. None of them dared to say a word in protest. They even seemed to take it for granted, which was expressed in the conversations among the audience after the sessions. Indeed, many people consider the texts equal to religion which is sacred and eternal. They positioned the teacher extremely high and tended to treat what he taught as if they were divine words.

Since the deep and wide influence of the old text on Muslims have been really real, it is absolutely difficult to reconstruct. Actually, a re-assessment of the old text of *Uqud al-Lujjāyn* has been written by Sinta Nuriyah, the 4th first lady of Indonesia, who is also a Muslim scholar, and some other prominent Muslim scholars organized in Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning (FK3). The book entitled '*Wajah Baru Relasi Suami Istri: Telaah Kitab 'Uqud Al-Lujjāyn'*'¹⁹ (New Face of Husband-Wife Relationships) offers a

¹⁸ Barlas, A., *Believing Woman in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretation of the Qur'an*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), Also see: Subhan (2002), Umar, N., Paradigma Baru Teologi Perempuan, in Yazid (Ed.), *Pemberdayaan Perempuan Melalui Pemahaman Ajaran Agama: Upaya Rekonstruksi Teks Agama*, (Surabaya: PSG IAIN Sunan Ampel, 2003), Murniati, A. N. P., *Getar Jender*, (Magelang: Indonesia Tera, Ikapi, & The Ford Foundation, 2004), and Wadud, A., *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning (FK3), *Wajah Baru Relasi Suami Istri: Telaah Kitab Uqud Al-Lujjāyn*, (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: LKIS, 2001).

reinterpretation of Qur'anic verses and Hadiths related to husband-wife relationships (on which the old text was based) in order to prescribe a gender-friendly husband-wife relationship. Feeling unhappy with the book, a group of Muslim scholars from East Java, *Forum Kajian Islam Tradisional* (FKIT), countered FK3 by composing a book entitled *Menguak Kebatilan dan Kebohongan Sekte FK3 dalam Buku Wajah Baru Relasi Suami Istri, Telaah Kitab 'Uqud al-Lujjain* (Uncovering the Evil and Lies of FK3). This represents the anger of the many Muslims who considered FK3 mis-guided.

Regardless of the pros and cons, actually, the spirit of Islam is not detrimental to women; many Qur'anic verses mention, support and imply the equal position between men and women. The verse on the first creation of humankind, Qur'an 4: 1, mentions that woman was created from the same materials as man, not from part of man as widely perceived by many believers.²⁰ Some other verses (30: 21, 42: 11) describe that wives are created from the same kind of materials as husbands, thus, none of them is created from a better substance than the other. The equality between men and women is also explained in the Qur'an, especially 49: 13 and 4: 124, which mention that there is no distinction between humankind, but their *taqwa*.²¹ Nevertheless, this ideal spirit seems to be different from the practice of the believers who tend to comply with the social construction of gender which, unfortunately, puts women/wives in the subordinate position. Indeed, the subordination often refers to religious legitimation. The patriarchal culture has influenced religious leaders to interpret the religious teaching in a patriarchal framework.²² I am of the conviction that it is the religious interpretations, not religious teachings, which have socialized, legitimized, and reinforced the subordinate position of women and the male-biased division of labour. In turn, this causes double burden on women, especially those who have paid-job outside their home.

²⁰ Wadud, *Op.cit.*, Also see: Mas'udi, M. F., *Islam dan Hak-hak Reproduksi Perempuan: Dialog Fiqh Pemberdayaan*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2001).

²¹ *Taqwa* is a concept in Islamic teaching regarding the essence of moral personality in reference towards Allah (see: *Ibid.*, Wadud, 1999; Barlas, 2002; Mulia, 2003).

²² Look for: Wadud, (1999); Barlas, (2002); Subhan, (2002); Umar, (2003); and Mumiati, (2004).

Double Burden

The social construction on gender is partly reflected in the division of tasks, roles, and responsibilities between men and women. Men are conceptualised as productive creatures, whereas women are considered reproductive creatures, which makes women's life confined around their reproductive functions.²³ In Indonesia, especially Java, the term *konco wingking* (complementary and domestic role players) is used to describe the position of women/wives in relation to men/husbands.²⁴ It explains and strengthens the pattern of husband-wife relationships in Indonesia which very potentially makes career women suffer double burden.

The social change in which more women increasingly enter the public sphere is not followed by significant change in division of labour, in which labour is polarised into domestic and public, unpaid and paid, for women and men respectively. "The ideology of domesticity did not die, it mutated". One of the important reasons of which has been that society says women should be naturally suited to nurturing; mothering and caring.²⁵ Thus, despite the increasing inclusion of women in the public sphere, women are still burdened with care and domestic chores and take the responsibility for the primary care of children, the sick, the elderly, and the disabled.²⁶ Often, instead of expressing disenchantment, many women favour complying with the 'demand' to tackle home chores and caring even though they have to cope with their career outside their home. It is the way they take for the sake of preserving the harmony of the family; to avoid conflict (with the husband who mostly subscribes to patriarchal culture). It seems that it is woman who almost always has to sacrifice her ideal, feelings, her ambitions, her interests, et cetera ... to maintain the 'normal' conditions of the family. It is sure if husband-wife relationship breaks or at least experiences conflict, the children will get affected in deficit ways. This is what many women do not want to happen. Does it mean, then, that there

²³ Tavis, C., *Mismeasure of Women*, (New York: Touchstone, 1992).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Subhan, (2002); Also see: Mulia, (2003); and Murniati, (2004).

²⁵ Crowley, H., Women And the Domestic Sphere. In S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert, & K. Thompson (Eds.), *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (Hong Kong: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 343-362.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Crowley, H. (1996). Also see: Dzuhayatin, S. R., Fiqh dan Permasalahan Perempuan Kontemporer, in M. H. Dewantoro & Asmawi (Eds.), *Rekonstruksi Fiqh Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Modern*, (Yogyakarta: Ababail, 1996).

will be no problem when they have servant to do the home chores and caring? When a family employs servant/s to do the domestic chores and/or caring, the responsibility to manage the servant/s is almost always on women/wives. In case the servant is immediately not able to do the chores, based on my experiences and my observations for years, it is very likely women who replace her. As a result, women with paid-job suffer a double burden. In turn, they often get serious difficulties in balancing their career and family, public and private.

Difficulties in Balancing Public and Private Spheres

Again, as a result of the patriarchal culture which is embodied in the gendered religious interpretations, career choices for women are, most of the times, influenced by household considerations. Similarly, when women make decisions as to whether they will accept an offer to be promoted in higher position, re-enter higher education, or take a prestigious scholarship, household considerations are also at the centre. Many women would think that it is a sin to prioritise something other than their 'main responsibility' of household jobs. Even though family concerns are not limited to women, when the male-biased religious interpretations tend to restrict them to women, women might have to think a thousand times about taking a paid job outside the home, or to pursue higher education, or to take a scholarship even though it is a prestigious one. If women are making employment gains, it is at the cost of shouldering double or triple burdens.²⁷ "Women academics experience their work lives and the work/family balance differently from men".²⁸ It is not easy for women to balance their family and career, which makes women's career paths harder than men's. Compared to men, women have less time to focus on their career, to read, to write articles, to do research, to take part in other academic activities, and to offer longer working hours. It is also not a simple thing to decide whether women faculty re-enter higher education because of the domestic demand as

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Dzuhayatin. Also see: Bradley, H., Review essay: A New Gender(ed) Order? Researching and rethinking women's work. *Sociology*, 32(4), 869-873. Retrieved June, 11, 2007, from: <http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file>.

²⁸ Miller, J. E. & Hollenshead, C., Gender, Family, and Flexibility – why they're important in the academic workplace, *Change*, 37(6), 58-62. Retrieved September 15, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=935361291&Fmt=3&clientId=20831&RQ>.

mentioned in the above paragraph. This potentially made woman move up slowly in their academic rank, considered not an ideal worker, and in turn, they are perceived to be not appropriate for promotion. It is easy to find evidences that women are not well represented in high rank positions in all kinds of career. Let us see the closest one, in our campus, STAIN Jember, how many women sit in management positions, how many women are senate members, and how many of them reach the highest academic rank, professor. The answer is that there is only a small percentage of women in management positions, no women on senate board, and none is professor.

The structure and culture of many workplaces and the day-to-day realities of caring for children make it difficult for people to avoid work-family conflict²⁹; the difficulties of balancing the responsibilities of work and family. A stressful situation occurs when individuals perceive that the demands of the environment exceed their resources. Thus, perceptions of work-family fit and balance derive from assessing the relative demands and resources associated with work and family roles. The term work-family conflict is most frequently defined as a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are reciprocally mismatched in some ways.³⁰ In one way, participation in the work role is made more difficult by virtue of the participation in the family role. On the other way, there is the bidirectional nature of the work-family conflict, when aspects of work life are perceived to be deleterious to family life, but there is also family-work conflict, in which aspects of family life are perceived to be deleterious to work life.

In many discussions of work-life conflict, gender has been in a central position, and women are most likely the bigger bearer of the conflicts than men. A study by Reynolds (2005) found that work-life conflict makes women want to decrease the number of hours they work whether the conflict originates at home or at work, whereas men want to decrease their

²⁹ Wharton, A. S., (2005), The Time Divide: Work, Family, and Gender Inequality. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(3), 786-787. Retrieved May 25, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=876900711&Fmt=3&clientId=20831&RQ>.

³⁰ Voydanoff, P., (2005), Toward a Conceptualization of Perceived Work-Family Fit and Balance: A Demands and Resources Approach, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(4), 822-836. Retrieved May 25, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=913885281&Fmt=4&clientId=20831&RQT=309&VName=PQD>.

hours only when work-life conflict originates at work. Cinamon's³¹ findings indicated that women anticipated higher levels of work-life conflict than men. "Even when open discrimination against women faculty members eased, many women found the structure of academic careers too restrictive in a society that still expected them to bear the largest share of family care-giving and household work".³²

All in all, balancing family and work or study seems to be more difficult for women as a result of the ubiquitous strong social construction of gender roles. Despite the increasing acceptability of women entering the public sphere, motherhood and career ambition seem to be seen as opposing forces. A sacrificial willingness to set personal ambition aside is still the most obvious sign of good mothering. For many women, motherhood versus personal ambition might represent the heart of the feminine dilemma. Balancing public and private, then, potentially results in some problems, one of which is emotional labour.

Emotional Labour

Scholars of public organizations have begun to emphasize emotional labour in studies of gender in the workplace, finding that the skills women bring to organizations are often overlooked and under-compensated even though they play a vital role in the organization.³³ Emotional labour, a construct first introduced and defined by Hochschild³⁴ as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" serves as a

³¹ Cinamon, R. G., (2006), Anticipated Work-Family Conflict: Effects of Gender, Self-Efficacy, And Family Background, *The Career Development Quarterly*, 54(3), 202-215. Retrieved September, 15, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1004647191&Fmt=4&clientId=20831&R>

³² Curtis, J. W., (2004: 2), Balancing Work and Family for Faculty: Why It's Important. *Academe*, 90(6), 21-23. Retrieved from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=751657751&Fmt=3&clientId=20831&RQT=309&VName=PQD>.

³³ Meier, K. J., Mastracci, S. H., & Wilson, K., (2006), Gender and Emotional Labor in Public Organizations: An Empirical Examination of The Link to Performance, *Public Administration Review*, 66(6), 899-909. Retrieved November 11, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1174435441&Fmt=4&clientId=20831&RQT=309&VName=PQD>.

³⁴ Hochschild, A. R., *The Managed Heart: Commercialization Of Human Feeling*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 7.

covert resource. It has been defined mostly in the context of a paid job.³⁵ Whatever the context, emotional labour deals with all the feelings that naturally arise from the clash between a treasured ideal and an incompatible reality. This mismatch between ideal and reality often requires the need to hide negative emotions and engage in surface acting.³⁶

In the context of the workplace in which the ideal worker norms are ubiquitously celebrated, women of maternal status often experience this emotional labour. For example, they try to conceal their breast feeding or childcare commitments to avoid the charge that a carer label creates for them at work. They are 'covering for situations and attempting to resolve the gap between who they are and who or what they should be to make everything *fine*'.³⁷ The ideal worker norms (which are care-less and full time) do not idealise workers with commitments to care and family, nor part-timers. In fact, social constructions have mostly demanded women to have the main responsibility for care and household chores. Sometimes the targets of emotional labour are not clients but other members of the

³⁵ Ashforth, B., & Humphrey R., (1993), Emotional Labor in Service Roles: The Influence of Identity, *Academy of Management Review*, 18(1), 88-115. Also see: Morris, J. A. & Feldman, D. C., (1996), The Dimensions, Antecedents, and Consequences of Emotional Labor, *Academy of Management Review*, 21(4), 986-1010. See also: Domagalski, T. A., (1999), Emotion in Organizations: Main Currents. *Human Relations*, 52(6), 833-52., Steinberg, R. J., & Figart, D. M. (1999), Emotional Labor Since the Managed Heart, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 561(1), 8-26., Humphrey, R. H., (2000), The Importance of Job Characteristics to Emotional Displays, in N. M. Ashkanasy, C. E. J. Hartel, and W. J. Zerbe (Eds.), *Emotions in the Workplace: Research, Theory, and Practice* (236-249), (Westport, CT: Quorum Books. Karabanow, J., 2000). The Organizational Culture of A Street Kid Agency: Understanding Employee Reactions to Pressures to Feel, in N. M. Ashkanasy, C. E. J. Hartel, & W. J. Zerbe (Eds.), *Emotions in The Workplace: Research, Theory, and Practice* (165-176) (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, and Karabanow, J., 2000), The Organizational Culture of A Street Kid Agency: Understanding Employee Reactions to Pressures to Feel, in N. M. Ashkanasy, C. E. J. Hartel, & W. J. Zerbe (Eds.), *Emotions in the workplace: Research, theory, and practice* (165-176), (Westport, CT: Quorum Books).

³⁶ Montgomery, A. J., Peeters, M. C. W., Schaufeli, W. B., & Den Ouden, M., (2003), Work-home Interference Among Newspaper Managers: Its Relationship With Burnout and Engagement. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping*, 16, 195-211. Retrieved November 5, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1024161831&Fmt=4&clientId=20831&RQT=309&VName=PQD>.

³⁷ Pocock, B., *Work/Life Collision*, (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2003), 90.

organisation.³⁸ This is true, even in the context of a household, when a wife and/or mother is demanded to display a performance that enables her husband and children as other members of the organisation of family to feel comfortable.

Married women faculty members are subject to emotional labour, since they also have to manage their feelings to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display. The word 'publicly' in this case especially refers, but is not limited, to the audience of the work-place and the family members. To make everything fine, both related to their work and their family, in accordance with the demands of work and the social constructions of responsibility of care, women need to be able to manage their feelings. Although emotional labour is not necessarily gender specific, the vast majority of studies show that women provide more emotional labour and, at the same time, are subject to expectations that they will do so.³⁹ Moreover, emotional labour is especially difficult for women who are committed to gender equality. The emotional labour they experience might be bigger because they have more ideal concepts, and more dreams of equality, which are mostly in contrast to the daily practice in the household.

Conclusion

Despite the deficiency of Naturalistic account that biology determines the patterns of human behaviour, that aspects of human biology are responsible for innate differences in behaviour between women and men', the theory is still continually perceived to be true. As a result, women suffer a range of 'sex roles' which is actually gender roles. It means it is constructed, not given. Gender roles is constructed and has been internalised deeply and ubiquitously by human being almost without exception. Moreover, the state and religious teaching interpretations have

³⁸ Meier, K. J., Mastracci, S. H., & Wilson, K., (2006), Gender and Emotional Labor in Public Organizations: An Empirical Examination of The Link to Performance, *Public Administration Review*, 66(6), 899-909, Retrieved November 11, 2007, from: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1174435441&Fmt=4&clientId=20831&RQT=309&VName=PQD>.

³⁹ James, N., (1989), Emotional Labour: Skill and Work in the Social Regulation of Feelings, *Sociological Review*, 37(1), 15-42. Also see: Webb, J., (2001), Gender, Work, and Transitions In the Local State, *Work, Employment, and Society*, 15, 825-44, and see: Hochschild, 1983; Pocock, 2003; Meier, Mastracci & Wilson, 2006).

taken a significant part in socialising and legitimizing the gender values which, unfortunately, put women in confinement and marginal position. This construction, actually, should be challengable. Unfortunately, the legacy of patriarchal culture is still very much influential, which makes the efforts of reconstructing gender values difficult. As a result, woman is expected to be the first one and very often the only one who has to be responsible for domestic spheres. Indeed, women with paid job or any other public sphere activities suffers a range of deficiency some of which are double burden, difficulties in balancing public and private, and often emotional labour. However, an important starting point is the fact that the 'gender order' is not set in stone – it is possible to challenge and change.

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