

Tatjana Djurić Kuzmanović

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN SERBIA

From directed non-development to transition



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Publisher

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The roots of this book go back to my days as a participant at my first Feminist Economist Conference organized 1993 by Economic Faculty in Amsterdam, The Netherlands and at the European Left Feminist Conference (EFLF) organized 1995 in the same town. The first encouragement from Dubravka Zarkov, who helps me to come to my first feminist conference, and consequent encouragement from Helma Lutz and Ann Phoenix, who carefully rediged the paper which made the first chapter of this book, allowed me to delved further into the question of women and economy.

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Introduction

The topic of this book are gender inequalities in Serbia, and more specifically, relative position of women (in relation to men) in social development. I analyze characteristics of gender inequalities in the nineties and the women's development perspectives.

Gender is a term which normally covers all the differences between men and women which supercede their biological (sex) characteristics and differences. Those are the characteristics which are, in the widest sense of the word, conditioned by society and therefore changeable. Male and female roles in every society mirror the conditions of production and reproduction, cultural, religious and ideological systems dominating that particular society. Thus gender relations take on a different form under different social conditions. In other words it means that the greater part of the division of labour, of the rights and the obligations of men and women is dictated by the society and, therefore, changeable. What is a constant in a patriarchal society is that the differences between a man and a woman are in favour of men and discriminate against women.

Traditional developmental theory (for example neo-classical), which served as ideological basis or as developmental ideology¹ for the process of globalisation, usually neglects gender as a category. However, in the last three decades, developmental economy, development studies and alternative developmental theories have, due to persistent feminist criticism, started to consider the importance of gender for the realistic analysis of developmental processes. Feminist development concepts such as women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD), have provided developmental economy and development studies with new perspectives. These concepts introduced gender as a new category into the analysis of developmental processes.

¹ Developmental ideology usually covers developmental theory or a group of developmental theories or a group of elements from various developmental theories and, at the same time, a group of strategic economic and political rules used in their development and application in a particular society. For example,

Whichever point of view we choose, we must adequately connect all the variables of different analytical levels and include gender analysis in each of them: micro, mezzo and macro. If one of the central question asked by the contemporary developmental theory today is how to formulate new research agenda (Schuurman, F.J., 1993), then gender must become an issues of the research agenda. In other words, analytical framework of the new research must analyze relations between various participants, various levels of power and their structure at different analytical levels. Theoretical perspectives of gender would encourages more critical view of the social processes in development, add to the visibility of the position of women in developmental theory and practice, and contribute to understanding of systemic inequalities in gender relations.

Economists are prone to reductionist treatment of inequalities. Actually, economists are prone to reductionist treatment of reality in general, and with it of social inequalities (Leijonhufvud, 1973, Hendersen, H, 1988). Economists reduce all the wealth and diversity characterising human society to the clearly visible and measurable inequalities present in the public sphere, and in particular, the market. If they ever pay attention to gender inequalities, those would be inequalities predominantly connected to the economic inequalities between men and women in the area of work and employment, and, eventually, some political and social inequalities. However, inequalities existing within the family and in the household, in the so called private sphere, most often remain outside the scope of traditional researchers.

Recognising the immense importance of these hidden inequalities for public and market relations, feminist economists were among the first attempting to analyze them, make them visible and collect empirical data on them. (Waring, M., 1989). That is the reason for their concentrated effort in gathering both quantitative and qualitative documentation (even when their efforts by the traditional economists, researchers and most of the public were ignored). Feminist research results and their recommendations for action, or rather measures for positive discrimination are accepted by the national governments and the international agencies (including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) only if and when they can be used as justification for investment attempts conducted for the interests of these institutions.

The developmental agendas of the most powerful international institutions (such as the World Bank) have been, for long, concerned with economic growth of the national economies and reduction of poverty. Today, growth and poverty are not an either-or dilemma any longer, but rather a both-and perspective.

Feminist criticism of development contributed not only to the redefinition of the developmental goals and inclusion of gender equality into key developmental goals but also to the transformation of the existing developmental paradigms. Today, many scholars of development are stressing the need of reconciling an ecologically acceptable development with a humanely orientated development. Development, in the sense of social advancement, exists only if so called outer and inner limits of development are not threatened. Outer limits of development are peace and survival of the planet itself while inner limits of development are determined by the ability of the society to satisfy basic (existential) needs of its members. There is no development if peace and survival of the planet are threatened as well as the ability of people to satisfy their existential needs. Furthermore, in accordance to the alternative thought of human development and the concept of Alternative Development (What Now, 1975), development realised within such set limits can be evaluated as more or less healthy development.

Today those development policies which do not take into account gender have limited scope. Even the latest report issued by the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development (King, E, Mason, A., 2001) claimed that the costs of gender inequalities are very high and that societies where there is high gender discrimination pay a higher price in poverty, slow economic growth, and lower standard of living. Also, the report stresses that gender inequalities are greatest in the poorest countries and in the poorest classes within the societies.

Specific Characteristics and Circumstances of Gender Inequalities in Serbia

Despite all the due criticism of the traditional developmental theory, especially neoclassical, I still rely on dual systemic and neo-institutional theory in my analysis of gender inequalities in Serbia. Dual systemic theory points out the importance of the internal and, even greater importance, of international structures and relations and barriers to development of peripheral societies, but also to the development of the deprived social groups within one society. According to the dual system theories subordination of women has double basis: in the economic system of capital and in the patriarchal society (Hartmann, H.,1981, Morel, I.A.,1999).

This can be applied on Serbia, where I analyse subordination of women in the context of directed nondevelopment and patriarchal society. Directed nondevelopment I define as a state induced system that during the 1990s prevented Serbia (and Montenegro, i.e. Federal Yugoslavia) from following processes of economic, political and social transformation happening in the former socialist block of Eastern Europe (usually referred to as 'transition'; see Kuzmanovic 1997). In other words, the state took institutional measures to prevent transition. For example, the government centralised the existing resources (albeit mainly obsolete and amortized). It re-nationalized already privatized industrial capital and took over many public companies. Ironically the same government encouraged the transfer of public capital into the hands of privileged individuals, while at the same time it conducted a powerful campaign in the media against privatisation, stressing the problems facing the countries in transition.

Neoinstitutional theory teaches us that in understanding of barriers to the development it is not sufficient only to single out the importance of the state influence. Of course, it is dangerous to neglect the influence of the state and other institutional factors since the state is often the institution with the strongest political influence, and the influence of the political factors, relations and structures is crucial for development of any country. However, it is necessary to study the influences of other, non-state institutions and formal and informal groups, to view realistically the

development of society, to explain it and advance it. Neoinstitutionalists believe that many problems that appeared during the process of social transformation in Eastern Europe are primarily problems of vision and concept.²

Finally, researchers today know very well that economic development does not consist only of economic growth and that structural changes also produce poverty, inequality and unemployment. In this book I also approach social development as multidimensional process of continuous attempts to resolve numerous, complicated social problems. It is clear that solutions to the social problems at the same time open new and even more complex problems and dilemmas (Hettne 1990). In that respect, my study of development in Serbia and Vojvodina includes important changes in social, political and cultural realities of our country as well as in its economic development.

As already mentioned, unlike other East European countries, Serbia spent the 1990s in isolation, and far from transition. Thus, the development concepts applied in Eastern and Central Europe (so called Big Bang and Shock Therapy) and the concept of graduality applied in the Eastern Asia, can hardly be of any use in studying changes in Serbia.

Breakup of the socialist system and the former Yugoslavia itself went hand in hand with the strengthening of the new collectivist ideologies – nationalism and ethno-democracy (Sekelj, L., 1990). Serbian government refused reforms which could lead to market economy and to parliamentary democracy. It prevented development and thus induced many negative, even devastating, consequences: economic chaos (Lazić, 2000:10) politics of war and nationalism and international isolation.

In such closed society nominally pluralistic system was reproduced, having totalitarian characteristics and being quasi democratic. Such a system had certain similarities with the old, socialist system in Yugoslavia. It had monopolistic structure of government and ruling mechanisms (a leader runs a party which runs the state which runs the economy). Collectivism was an ideological basis of power and it was distinctly hostile towards civil and individual political and economic initiatives. Finally, it had authoritarian ruling structure, preventing political and economic changes.

² Neoinstitutionalism introduces a wide concept of institutions, which claims that the state and the market are institutional groups like many others, and that they are just a part of complex relations characteristic of a social system (Paul, A., 1999:121-128). About neoinstitutional view of discrimination against women see (Krug, B., 1997: 55-72)

On the other hand, such social and political system was both similar and different from the social systems of the countries in transition. Similarity was in the pluralism of political parties. Differences were most obvious in economic sphere. Serbia preserved considerable administrative control of prices as well as of export and import. Also, practically did not have job or capital market – it was formed only in 2001, after the new Law on Labour Relations.

On the whole, throughout the 1990s Serbian regime had unlimited political and economic power and used it to ensure its continuity and later to hold onto that power. This specific state economic policy and strategy of nondevelopment not only prevented transition into market economy and parliamentary democracy but was also accompanied by paralysis of functioning social institutions. They were getting dominated by false state structures, corruption and crime. Under such circumstances former socialist government was privileged while wide sections of population were getting poorer and social inequalities were rapidly growing.³

Directed nondevelopment and the subsequent war caused the absence of normal conditions for the realisation of the human security and development for all, but it created some particularly complex consequences for women in Serbia. Some of these can be traced directly to the absence of peace as a social value and an absence of culture of nonviolence. Women were victims of double violence: that by the state and that by men. Arrogant nationalistic state policy, supported in the past decade by the state (and by a large section of population) and strengthened by the international isolation caused general pauperisation on the scale possibly remembered only by the oldest living generations and returned women to the kitchen. The state ideology supported this surge in masculinism and the nationalistic reduction of women to a role of mothers, and at the same time, state economic policies threatened the position of women in labour market, forcing them into unemployment or work on black, and reduced their standard of living as well as social security such as health and pension, or maternity benefits.

³ The trend of increasing social inequalities in Serbian society dominated until 1996. Between 1996 and 2000 lowest guaranteed salaries show mild increase while the salaries in the other segments of distribution show decrease (Krstić, G., Stojanović, B., 2001)

Basic Trends in Expected Gender Inequalities in Job Market in Serbia during Transition

Democratic changes in Serbia that started after October 2000 indicate first steps from directed nondevelopment and isolation towards parliamentary democracy and international cooperation. After passing the new laws on privatisation and labour relations (2001), which have vital importance for the transition of the economy and the society, there came radical reforms of the existing economic system in the direction of the market economy.

However, experience of the other countries in transition (Beyond Transition, 2000) show that these changes do not necessarily bring improve the position of women in the society, politics and economy and especially in the job market. Empirical research on influence of transition on women in East European countries shows that women are threatened once again in many ways. Although the patterns and the contents of reforms in East European countries vary from country to country, similarities in the position of women have been noted (UNESCO, 2000). Both studies confirm that the reforms worsened economic and social position of women.

Today the official socialist ideology of gender equality and women's emancipation in the countries in transition is considered a part and parcel of the old repressive socialist system and is therefore rejected. On the other hand, discourse of the market economy introduced in these countries is still growing stronger and thus the paid maternity leave and child care are perceived as unnecessary costs that need not be guaranteed any longer by the state or by the companies. At the same time, poverty forces women to remain in the job market regardless the conditions, in order to provide their families with the means of survival and in order to preserve their own economic position. In other words, it is not realistic to expect decrease in female presence in the job markets.

These experiences from the former socialist countries allow us to foresee, to an extent, what will be the effect of the current social, political and economic changes on the position of women in the job market in Serbia. Socialist ideology and its labour principles and mechanisms will be rejected and with it, the full employment will not be guaranteed

any longer. Equally, it is to be expected that the officially proclaimed socialist gender equality, and its protective measures and benefits will go through further erosion.

Transitional changes will influence in various ways the change of the relative position of men and women in the job market. For example, it can be expected that the transition will lead to further rise in unemployment as a result of two opposing trends: reduced demand for female workforce and the increased supply of female workforce. Supply of female workforce in general is affected by a number of factors: level of (family) income, level of (female) employment, number of children and state policy with regards to family and children; standard of living and, last but not least, social norms and view on women's paid work. New ideologies (anti-communism and nationalist) will certainly influence the later, while the economic changes will influence the former. However, not all of the mentioned factors will change immediately, or at least not in the first phase of transition, or the change will not be so dramatic. The greatest change will be at the ideological level – discourse of the market economy and privatisation and insisting on efficiency as key social criterion, will certainly threaten position of women.

One way to following what is happening with female labour in Serbia would be to apply gender perspective on sector analysis and demographic analysis. Sector analysis indicates women's perspectives in specific economic sectors where women make up majority or minority of the employees, or the unemployed, as well as their possible employment in other sectors. It is well known that perspectives for female employment in heavy industry are very bad. Production in this area is capitally intensive and is not competitive or marketable from the point of view of the possible export to the developed countries. Women cannot expect chances of employment in this sector and even those employed - mainly as administrative workers - can expect to be the first fired when the restructuring hits.

On the other hand, in the sector of light industry, especially in the production of consumer goods, it is women who are the main workforce. Their perspective in these work-intensive sectors of industry depend mostly on the new investments (foreign capital interest) and on the ability of developing new markets and export.

In shops, banks, tourism, communications and similar service sectors, where expansion and restructuring is expected, women, who are majority of the employees, could be potential winners.

It is true that experiences of transitional economies show that women are the first to go under the circumstances of high unemployment, especially in well paid jobs. Such situations generally happen more often in industry than in other sectors. Also, it has been confirmed that women are more numerous in badly paid sectors. That fact not only adds to female unemployment but also affects poverty of women.

Demographic analysis explains individual situation of women, or the chance for a woman to get and hold on to a job in direct competition with a man. Women are considered less reliable and more expensive workforce compared to men. It is a known fact that almost 100% of women (compared to men) in Serbia take advantage of the year long maternity leave and that they take sick leave more often than men in order to tend to sick children. Also, it can be expected that the gender gap in the level of income will deepen thus adding to further deterioration of the general economic position of women and their possible participation in the job market. It is well known that women in the Western countries earn about 30% less compared to their male colleagues with the same education, experience and quality of job, and that the gap is deeper in the private sector than in the public one. Since the growth in the transitional economies is fastest in the private sector it can be expected that the income gender gap will deepen further.

Positive effects of changes can be expected but they will not come quickly and will not benefit everybody. Structural changes will create the need for greater flexibility and mobility of workforce but in short term unemployment will remain high and salaries low or at least insufficient for a secure existence. Finally, when the unemployment rate is high, as it is in Serbia, it is possible to expect structural changes in employment itself, with greater availability of temporary, part-time and seasonal, badly paid, jobs. Unfortunately chances are women will be pushed out even from such jobs by the unemployed men. However, highly educated women, with specialist training, can expect employment in sectors undergoing expansion. That will be however, few female winners compared to the many losers.

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PART ONE

1.

From National Economies to Nationalist Hysteria - Consequences for women*

During the last decade the former Yugoslavia has experience political and economic fragmentation and civil war as destructive effects of nationalism and ethnic mobilization. In these dramatic political processes, women had been increasingly marginalized as political subjects, and at the same time had become ever more numerous consumers' of the devastating effects of these processes. My intention in this chapter is to discuss nationalism in former and contemporary Yugoslavia from the perspective of the relationship between socialist state ideology of the so-called 'national economies' and nationalist hysteria. In debates on the war in Yugoslavia and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, these economic aspects of nationalism and their profound consequences for women were often neglected⁴. They are, however, central to the chapter.

My discussion of the disintegration of Yugoslavia is largely based on the analysis of internal processes of Yugoslav socialism, and their consequences. It is important to note, however, that in the light of changes throughout Eastern Europe and the fall of communist regimes, it is also necessary to consider other elements. Comparisons with other countries are necessary to the understanding of some aspects of these processes of

* Chapter was published in: Helma Lutz, Ann Phoenix and Nira Yuval-Davis, 1995., *Crossfires, Nationalism, Racism and Gender in Europe*, London: Pluto Press, p. 121-141.

⁴ There are some exceptions, nevertheless, in debates on economy and nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. See, for instance, Schierup (1991). Among Yugoslav authors, see Horvat (1989), Korosic (1988), Kuzmanovic (1992), Madzar (1990).

transition and transformation, not least because the Yugoslavian example seems to be the only one within Eastern Europe where internal violence has been a key feature. These questions are, however, beyond the scope of this chapter.

This chapter argues that the economic and political processes of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia are, largely, the products of the internal contradictions of the system. These internal contradictions were created by illegitimate socialist rule, the acute identity crisis of Yugoslav society, the lack of democratic traditions, the prevalence of illiteracy and the authoritarian attitudes of the majority of the population.⁵ The political use of nationalism by the ruling oligarchies of former Yugoslav republics has induced the process of economic and political disintegration of the country (Kresic, 1993). A significant consequence of those politics is the deterioration of the social position of women in the former Yugoslavia. The socialist system did proclaim women's rights to employment, political participation, abortion and so on, but at the same time it reproduced the patriarchal system. In socialism, patriarchal and sexist ideology was a foundation on which nationalist hysteria built chauvinism and militancy. Women became symbols of nationalist politics and at the same time ever more numerous victims of war and every other violence.

In the first part of the chapter, I deal with the concept of 'national economies'. I argue that the concept was created as an answer to the problems of social modernization, in the late 1960s, in socialist Yugoslavia. I relate this to the effects of the economic and political use of nationalism and the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The second part of the chapter considers the gap between the officially declared equality between the sexes and the 'on-the-ground' situation of women in socialist Yugoslavia.

The final part of the chapter identifies the contradictions between the almost total marginalisation of women's political activities in the newly formed socialist Yugoslavia on the one hand and discusses the importance of women, in their traditional roles, in nationalist parlance. On the other hand, I also give some attention to the general

⁵ Ivic and Perazic (1994) note that 1991 data show that one-third of all the population of SR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and 40 per cent of women have not completed primary education, and 60 per cent of the total population has no professional qualifications. For discussion of identity crisis and other factors associated with disintegration, see Golubovic (1988, 1992).

economic and political situation during the 1990s, when ethnic mobilization and the civil war add to the overall deterioration in women's circumstances.

National Economies or Socialist State-Promoted Nationalism?

The economy was always considered one of the important elements that differentiated Yugoslavia from other socialist East European countries.⁶ This was especially true in the 1950s and 1960s, with the introduction of self-management and the Great Economic Reform of 1965.⁷ The Reform was supposed to be an answer to the ever more obvious modernization crisis of the socioeconomic development of the country. The term 'modernization crisis' indicates that the crisis was a result of the development strategy characteristic of modernization processes. The basic orientation of this strategy was achieving a speedy, high and extensive rate of industrial development based mainly on the increased use of labor power. This kind of strategy resulted in the structural disproportion of the economy: industry got primary over agriculture, and heavy industry over light industry.

Two economic principles formed the basis of the Yugoslav economic reform philosophy of the 1960s. The first was a tolerance of the market economy (the so-called 'socialist market economy'). The second was a loosening of state control and the decentralization of economic decision-making processes (through the 'self-managing units'). These were supposed to rid the economy of structural imbalance and make it more effective. There was, however, no adequate change in the political system to accompany the economic reform and this created a risky discrepancy between the economic and political systems that, until then, were both strictly controlled by the state and Communist Party.

⁶ Lendvai (1991), for instance, talks of the specificity of the Yugoslav economic project as a point of differentiation, and for that reason, as a point of interest for foreign scholars who researched the so-called original Yugoslav path to socialism'.

⁷ The 'Great' because the Yugoslav state started the reform with a frontal opening towards the market, wide liberalization of prices and mass redundancy of employed workers), and with the withdrawal of some macroeconomics instruments (export subsidies, taxes on income etc.).

It took only a couple of years for the economic effects of the Reform - such as price liberalization and a high rate of redundancy - to increase social unrest. Too many social groups were hard-hit by these particular effects, and were not provided with any compensatory alternatives. The Reform, furthermore, had a significant, although unintended, political effect. Namely, that self-management was perceived as possibly taking away economic power from the ruling elite, and thus weakening their political power. The political instability of the regime, and the fear of losing political monopoly, made the ruling elite give up the Reform, using the difficult social situation and the threat of major social unrest as an excuse.⁸

For these reasons, the idea of the free market and an efficient economy were swiftly abandoned. The idea of decentralization, however, was preserved. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s the new process of redefinition of the economic system began. Anti-market orientation was strengthened and at the same time federal, economic and financial institutions such as the National bank of Yugoslavia were decentralized.

Significantly, the same period was marked by the rise of political opposition to the communist one-party rule. Democratization, decentralization and political pluralism were political ideals of the opposition forces. As in Western Europe, these ideals were put forward by the so-called new Left - young intellectuals and students. They demonstrated on the streets of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, just as they did on the streets of Paris. Of all these ideals, the one appropriated and reinterpreted by the political elite of the former Yugoslavia was those of decentralization, turning it into pluralisation of the power centers. This, however, had very specific features. It was not characterized by differentiation of society, nor by creating autonomous social and political structures. Instead, it followed territorial and national prerogatives (Sekelj, 1991).

The process of transferring the economic functions of the federal state to the constitutive republics began after 1968. With the Constitution of 1974, republics were declared responsible for their own economic development and for the economic

⁸Throughout the last few decades the socialist regime of the Former Yugoslavia had cyclic attitude shifts with regard to market economy: due to the pressure of economic difficulties the market option would be adopted, only to be abandoned (and replaced with a state-planned economy) with the threat of losing political monopoly (Kovac, 1986).

development of the Federal state. In practice, this meant that the federal state was stripped of not only responsibility but also any opportunity to influence the economic development of its constitutive republics. It also meant that no republic had a say in any other's economic affairs (Goati, 1987). The ruling bureaucracies and elites of each republic held all the economic power over their territories. This exclusive economic power of the republics on their own territory was further backed by the processes of transferring the political functions of the Federation onto the republics. By the same Constitution of 1974, the republics were granted nation state status within the federal Yugoslav state.

The concept of an agreement economy' was constructed, to operate at all levels of the economy. Its sole purpose soon became to create the space for negotiations among the republics, and between the republics and still-existing federal institutions. In other words, its purpose was to regulate the distribution of political and economic power. Even this, distributive' function of the federal state, however, was hardly realized. The republics had veto power, which was effectively used to undermine the execution of the economic decisions seen as ,unfavorable' for the particular republic. The prerogatives of the Federal state, though minimal, were thus often paralyzed (Goati, 1987).

At the level of a single enterprise, the idea of the 'economy without force' was created. The concept was built on the assumption that the enterprises would conduct their business by mutual agreement and negotiations about price, quality and quantity of products etc., without the 'force' of the market or the federal state. In practice, business and development policy of the enterprises were taken over, controlled and directed by the republic on whose territory those enter prices happened to be. The giving of unlimited economic power over their own territories to the republics played a large part in the creation of closed national economies. In 1976 only about 3 per cent of all enterprises extended beyond the borders of a single republic, and in 1985 only about 2 per cent were still there. Inter-republic trade throughout the 1970s was not more than between 20-25 per cent (OECD Report, 1986: 116), and 99 per cent of all investments came from within the republics (SZS, 1986: 43). At the same time, a multiplication of industrial capacity began in each republic. Decrease in inter-republic economic cooperation and dependence was substituted for, and followed by, an external dependence on foreign indebtedness

(Ocic, 1983). The most dynamic economic process throughout the 1970s and 1980s was thus the process of closing up.

The failures of national economies, however, were for a long time obscured by the high input of foreign financial aid and loans.⁹ The price which political elites, both federal and republic, decided to pay in order to maintain their power was the foreign debt of US 20 billion, when the economy was in ruins and unable to repay it.

At the beginning of the 1980s the most significant economic problems were thus high and rapidly increasing rates of inflation, increases in unemployment, especially among the young, educated female workforce, the rapid increase in numbers living in poverty, followed by increasing socioeconomic stratification and a widening 'rich-poor' gap.¹⁰ In the mid-1980s it became obvious that the consequences were not only economic.¹¹ Economic and political processes of decentralization in the former Yugoslavia went hand in hand and tuned into a process of disintegration. The socialist regime was unable to resolve the modernization crisis of the 1960s and this led to the structural crisis of the 1970s and finally to the political state crises of the 1980s and 1990s (Sekelj, 1991).¹² The transfer of economic and political power from the federal institutions to the republic created a sovereignty on the nation-based territory of the republics and the increasingly

⁹ Foreign accumulation in Yugoslav GNP increased From f, per cent in the 1965-70 period to 8 per cent in the 1971-81 period. Foreign investment increased from 19 per cent to 25 per cent respectively (Madzar,1990: 188).

¹⁰ The number of unemployed doubled between 1965 and 1975 (starting From 230,000 in 1965). In 1980 it tripled, and in 1985 it was already four times higher. The number of unemployed women increased from 53 per cent in 1965 to 56 per cent in 1985, while the number of educated/highly educated unemployed persons Leapt from 16 per cent to 56 per cent respectively (SZS,1986: 61). After 1982, inflation ran out of control. The increase in prices in that year was 30 per cent, while in 1985 it reached 76 per cent (SZS, 1986 239). The poverty rate changed from 17 per cent to 25 per cent in the 1978-87 period, thus one-quarter of the Yugoslav population was below the 'poverty line'. During the same period, poverty spread from rural areas into the cities, reaching 'white collar' workers (Milanovic, 1991: 187-200).

¹¹ In 1979 the International Monetary Fund stopped granting financial aid to the former Yugoslavia, when it became obvious that it would not be repaid. The Yugoslav political elite admitted for the first time that the country was faced with 'difficulties'. The words 'economic crisis' were first used only in the mid1980s, while the words 'political crisis' were publicly introduce and used by politicians only in the late 1980s.

¹² The crises were obscured at first by the charismatic personality of the leader, and, after the death of Josip Broz Tito, by the bureaucratization of his charisma. After Tito's death, the leading political slogan put forward by his successors was: 'After Tito Tito', the idea being that there would be no change in the political course of the country. This slogan was quickly countered by popular skeptical wisdom, aid turned into a mocking slogan: 'After Tito - Titanic'. The germ of tragic truth carried in it was soon to be learned.

populist regimes which supported them (Popov, 1993), Different projects for the future of the former Yugoslavia were discussed and suggested by both the political elite and their opposition throughout the mid and late 1980s: Unitarian versus asymmetric federalism federalism versus confederalism, a multi-party, system versus reform of the Communist Party etc. In order to further the process the weak union of the national Communist parties (i.e. the Federal League of Communists) was broken apart. The conflicts within the Leagues of Communists of Serbia and Slovenia, and conflict between the two, in the late 1980s, marked the end of the Federal League of Communists of SFR Yugoslavia. The Leagues of Communist of the Republics did not survive much longer. Defeated in the elections in Croatia and Slovenia, and forced to change the hate name of communist in other republics, in the late 1980s they faced the emergence of other political parties. The socialist legacy, however, largely determined the nature of the rising political opposition. Insufficient articulation of anti-totalitarian democratic alternative in the context of closed nation-state republics facilitated the success; of nationalist ideologies. Thus, the idea of the political pluralism of 'post-Yugoslav, post-socialism' turned into the reality of ethnopluralism, not so different in its authoritarian nature from the Yugoslav socialism it claimed to replace (Golubovic, 1991; Kresic, 1993; Sekelj, 1990,1991). It is too simplistic to reduce these processes of disintegration to a conflict between the developed, liberal North and the despotic, Communist South. The repressive social system of the former Yugoslavia manipulated, for its own purposes, the democratic social forces throughout the country with much success. The same is now true for the nationalist elites in power in all frontier Yugoslav republics. This does not mean that there are no non-nationalist forces, only that their power seems to be too weak to resist manipulation and/or marginalisation.

The only remaining federal institution at the beginning of the 1990s - the self proclaimed guardian of the federal state and of the ideal of 'Yugoslav-ness' (jugoslovenstva) - was thus, tragically and ironically, the army, still called the Yugoslav National Army. The war, then, should not have been a surprise, but, despite the fact that the political and economic processes described above portended the danger of disintegration, it was a surprise for the vast majority of the population in the former Yugoslavia. Many political moves made by national leaders - Milosevic and Tudjman in

particular - and by the political oligarchies of the former Yugoslav republics were leading the direction of war. Until their responsibility is socially evaluated (particularly the responsibility of the regime in Serbia) peace will be impossible. The trade war between Serbia and Slovenia, the war of propaganda on national TV programs and other media, the build-up of arms in the federal Army and national and ethnic militia in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia are all part of this responsibility. The politics of republican leaders were based on threats and blackmail, on nationalist indoctrination and provocation. Yet, despite all that was happening, nobody believed that war would start. It was perhaps because of this that the war actually started: not believing that war was possible simply hindered any action to prevent it.

Changing Images and Persistent Realities: Socialist Women Between Emancipation and Tradition

Gender relations are mostly neglected in debates on nationalist processes in general, and in analyses of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia in particular. The same goes for analyses of the relationships between socialism, nationalism and gender, although the complexities of the relationship between socialism and women have been minutely studied.¹³ In the case of Yugoslavia, there are a few feminist authors who have written on these issues (Drakulic, 1987; Meznaric and Zlatkovic, 1991; Milic, 1993; Papic, 1993). The argument in this section of the chapter is firstly that the actual position of women in socialist Yugoslavia was much worse than publicly represented, especially with regard to their economic position and participation. Secondly, the increase of nationalism brought about an even worse situation. On the one hand, deterioration occurred because of the overall worsening social and economic situation in the country. On the other hand, assumptions about the proper' role of women (which were part and

¹³ From a large body of literature I will mention only a few well-known authors, and their work on Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia: Molyneux (1981, 1985), Jancar (1978, 1981), Morokvasic, (1984), Denich (1974, 1977), Meznaric (1985), Rosenblum-Cale (1979), Sklevicky (1978, 1989), Wolchick and Meyer (1985). More recent works, and particularly those on changes in Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia are mentioned elsewhere in the text.

parcel of nationalist ideologies) contributed to the faster deterioration of women's position and to the exclusion of women from the public sphere, particularly after 1989.

The concept of women's emancipation was part official socialist theory. It referred to the realization of equal rights and opportunities for women in a socialist society (i.e. equality between the sexes), and to the entry of women into the sphere of social production. The purpose of the women's emancipation project was not, however, the liberation of women. The concept of liberation would mean the destruction of the very patriarchal nature of society, and transformation at all levels, including sexuality, the family, household and personal as well as the freeing of women from all forms of oppression. The socialist women's emancipation project never went beyond the 'women's question' into the transformation of gender relations. Consequently, both images of women and women's position at various levels of society were highly ambiguous (Zarkov, 1991).

Women shared equal legal rights with men in the spheres of education, employment and political participation, and they had the right to divorce and abortion. But the socialist state granted women legal equality while maintaining traditional gender relations, and their related structures both in family and in society. The de jure equality, moreover, could not lead to de facto equality, because the gendered social structures were either precluding women from assuming; the rights they had been granted, or were marginalising and ghettoizing them when they did.¹⁴

In the 1981 census, women comprised 51 per cent of the total population of the former Yugoslavia (From 48 per cent in Kosovo to 52 per cent in Croatia (SGJ, 1991:

¹⁴ The social position of women in East European socialist states has already been well documented, theoretical (see note 10). Thus, my intention to provide some statistical data on women's situation in the former Yugoslavia is not motivated by the wish to substantiate the truth. My intention is to follow the argument that the already bad situation of women has worsened with the increase of nationalist politics and adherent ideas about women and their 'proper' place and role in society. Therefore, in this and the following section, I will provide statistical data only as an illustration of that argument.

I will mainly use data from the Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia (SGJ), from 1991 and 1993. Some are cited in their original form, some I have had to create, for many of the necessary indicators are not used due to the gender assumptions made in current statistical methodology. Furthermore, some of the data are not available, although they do exist. For instance, the 1991 Census was conducted over the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia, but was never processed, due to the disintegration of the country. It is therefore difficult to make direct comparisons between the indicators from 1981 and 1991 in order to give a more substantial statistical analysis.

Some of the data are for the whole former Yugoslav territory (SFRJ), others are for the country created after the breakdown, i.e. the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro (SRJ).

441-2)). If the position of those defined as dependents are examined, however, women have continued to be over-represented since the Second World War. In 1948, 67 per cent of women were classified as dependents. This decreased at a snail's pace to 63 per cent in 1980 (SGJ, 1991:131). The proportion of women classified as dependent varied considerably in different republics: 90 per cent of women were classified as dependents in Kosovo; 69 per cent in Bosnia-Herzegovina; 69 per cent in Montenegro; 63 per cent in Macedonia; 58 per cent in Serbia (with Provinces); 58 per cent in Vojvodina; 52 per cent in Croatia, and 50 per cent in Slovenia (SGJ, 1991: 442, 448). The high rates of female dependency indicate that women's position in these patriarchal societies is primarily as mothers, wives and unpaid workers in the home. Interestingly, the 1991 census of SFRJ (the former Yugoslavia) notes that data on female dependency were not compiled, not even as projections (SGJ, 1993: 53).

The data presented above indicate the unequal partnership between women and men in participation in the social life of the former Yugoslavia. The same picture emerges from analyses of data on education, employment/unemployment, and political participation, which were all regarded as pillars of women's emancipation in socialism.

Rates of illiteracy, for instance, which from 1948 were steadily falling, show an interesting dynamic. Rates of female illiteracy in 1948 were two and a half times higher than those of male illiteracy: 15 per cent of the male and 38 per cent of the female population. In 1981, however, it was almost four times higher: 5 per cent of males and 17 per cent of females were still illiterate. Although illiteracy rates decreased with increases in economic development in Particular republics, illiterate women outnumbered men in all the former Yugoslav republics. In the educational structure of the SFRJ population, 68 per cent never completed their school education, only completing primary, education (equal percentages of men and women at 69 per cent). Differences open up from the secondary level onwards. Some 26 per cent of the population completed secondary education: 33 per cent of all men and only 19 per cent of women. Only 6 per cent have higher educational qualifications (BA and higher): 7 per cent of men and 4 per cent of women. However, the participation of women has improved from 37 per cent of the student body in 1945/46 to 52 per cent in 1990/91. In 1945 there was not a single woman with a Ph.D., while in 1990 women comprised 28 per cent of all those with a Ph.D. (SGJ,

1991: 375-8). Nevertheless, in comparison with men, discrimination against women increased, even as their level of education increased. This is particularly true at the university level, where the number of female students is highest at the BA level and lowest at doctoral level (SZS, 1986: 115). There is a similar situation in the teaching profession. In 1990/91 women comprised 64 per cent of teachers in primary schools 51 per cent in secondary schools and 30 per cent at higher levels (high schools and universities) (SGJ, 1991: 339-43).

The structure of unemployment has not changed since the 1950s, with women comprising just over half of those unemployed: 53 per cent in 1952 for SFRJ, 53 per cent in 1991 for the same territory, and 54 per cent in 1992 for SRJ. The unemployment rates for women with out qualifications decreased from 68 per cent in 1952 to 53 per cent in 1990, indicating that, on the one hand, women without qualifications were more easily employed, and on the other hand, that women's level of education had improved. In the same period, women's overall rates of employment increased from 29 per cent to 40 per cent (SGJ, 1991: 100). Nevertheless, the real picture of female employment requires the analysis of their representation within various sectors of the economy. Viewed this way, there has been a steady segregation of women into 'female' jobs, which are, more often than not, labor intensive and low paid. Thus, improvement in women's education did not help women to get better paid or more interesting jobs (Kavcic, 1990). The new job areas that slowly panned to women soon became stereotyped as female' and low status, affecting women's pay and employment benefits. Although there was less of a gap between female' and male' jobs in the more developed republics of the former Yugoslavia (Kavcic, 1990), the problems that women faced did show basic similarities across republics. Marina Blagojevic (1991) showed in her research that in all republics of the former Yugoslavia it was gender, far more than ethnicity, that determined women's disadvantaged position in the labor market and their low wages. Data on women's political participation in national and region parliaments and in the local political bodies confirms this. In 1990, women held 5 per cent of all seats in the Federal Assembly of SFR Yugoslavia (SGJ, 1991: 438). In the Parliaments of the republics of the former Yugoslavia the figure varies from 2 per cent in Serbia to 11 per cent in Slovenia and only in the municipal structures are women more visible. Thus, although socialism proclaimed

equality; there has been no change in the gender power structure, either in the Family or in society. The patriarchal system, where maternity is the prevailing cultural pattern of female existence, still prevails. Women as mothers still do most of the household work, unpaid and unrecognized, and often with their only job satisfaction being the success of their children.¹⁵

Those women who are socially successful often adopt male models of behavior and 'put on men's shoes'. They are seldom successful in using the position they have attained for creating new opportunities for other women. Women who have escaped some of these patriarchal pressures were, and still are, a minority, despite their enormous efforts to work for change. Among these women are the few feminist groups which were first to criticize and dismiss socialist concepts of emancipation as false and utilitarian. However, they did not have much success among the majority of women in the former Yugoslavia. 'Feminist' is still a pejorative word, and it is a personally and politically degrading term in Yugoslav political and public life.

Nationalist Hysteria is Here, But Where are the Women?

The discussion in the previous two sections of this chapter points to some processes that led to war in the former Yugoslavia in terms of the convergence of economic and nationalist developments. It also indicates the position that women had in these economic and political developments. In this section I will focus on the Federal Republic (SR) of Yugoslavia, its economic and political situation, and women's role in it. Most of the data on women used in this section is from research done by women, which, perhaps, indicates that only women are interested in researching women.

As the biggest marginal group in society, women take part in these processes in specific ways. Their general social situation deteriorated rapidly during the dramatic changes that have been happening in the former Yugoslavia. Neither the new state-status nor the recently created political systems gave women what they promised to the population as a whole. As many feminists have argued, it is not only because of the

¹⁵ For example, mothers are custodians of 84 per cent of children in divorce cases.

generally poor economic situation, but also because of the patriarchal cultural patterns common to both the former Yugoslav socialist elite and the current nationalist politics and policies of the new states. Furthermore, in the newly created states, women are among those who produce and defend patriarchal values in the family and in society, as much as they were in the socialist state. They have become symbols of nationalist policies and, willingly or unwillingly, are the 'mothers of the nations'. They are also among the most numerous victims of the devastating consequences of nationalist hysteria.

This condition, of nationalist hysteria, is the basic condition of SR Yugoslavia during the 1990s (Bibo, 1991). The social integration of citizens is based on consensus about two main assumptions: firstly, that Serbs as a nation are threatened by extinction, and secondly, that there is an international conspiracy against Serbs. All the hardship and misery that the citizens of Serbia are enduring due to international sanctions are interpreted within these two basic assumptions, and no space is left for different interpretations. Nation is accorded the highest value, and national, primordial, voluntaristic political criteria are the only criteria of belong to society (Kuzmanovic, 1992). In this situation, the expression of a plurality of values and interests, either through political institutions and parties, or actions resulting from public opinion, is almost impossible. Currently many opposition parties are as nationalist as the ruling parties in all former Yugoslav territories. This was indicated by research done during and after the first multi-party elections (Sekelj, 1991). The individuals and groups whose opinions differ from those presently ruling are treated as traitors and enemies.

The problems that the present states of SR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) face, through being unrecognized and boycotted by the international community, are falsely presented with unreasonable and unrealistic solutions being suggested. Questions such as the involvement of Serbia in the current war and Serb's responsibility for it, are seldom posed, even by the political opposition. Economic problems are put forward and discussed, but no effort is made to relate them to political causes, of to the war. They are, instead, used to justify mutual accusations of different political parties and party leaders, or related to the United Nations sanctions, reinforcing the discourse of international conspiracy against the Serbs', The truth is that the economic devastation is total: inflation

risers 1 per cent per hour, unemployment is over 30 per cent and there is a lack of basic foods and medicines. Faced with this reality, economic indicators seem completely unsatisfactory to describe the situation. The large majority of the population is faced with the problem of mere survival. For the nationalist state with a populist regime and either weak or even more nationalistic opposition, these conditions of collective deprivation make it easy for apathy, fatalism and pathological fear to flourish. The Program of Monetary Reconstruction that was introduced on 24 January 1994 has, officially, stopped inflation. However, during the 1990s inflation was still a latent danger because, in SR. Yugoslavia, it was not only an indicator of monetary and structural problems in the economy, it was also the price paid for the political choices and decisions made by the political oligarchy. The picture of economic recovery offered by the Program was unrealistic, for it encourages the illusion that recovery is possible within the closed system, i.e. within the economic blockade.

Within these economic and political conditions, women find themselves more and more excluded even from the spheres which they previously occupied in the socialist state. Their overall social position has worsened, and they are losing many previously unquestioned rights, the right to abortion being one of the most significant. Ironically, it was not lost thanks to Serbian ex-President Milosevic. In May 1994, the Serbian Parliament adopted new legislation on abortion which largely limited the abortion rights of women. Feminists addressed the Serbian President, demanding that he should refuse to sign the legislation, in which case it could not be applied. He agreed, and returned the legislation to the Parliament for further debate, noting that it encroached on the basic rights of women. This, ironically, one of the basic rights for women was, temporarily, preserved by the same Force against which many feminists struggle. There are other incredible examples. For example, the Police Academy in Belgrade refused the opportunity to enroll women.¹⁶

In a situation of total economic and political deprivation, women constitute the majority in different social strata and groups that are faced with important limitations: increasing unemployment, impoverished retired people, and high percentages of workers

¹⁶ Information is from personal contact. Newspapers in which the conditions of enrollment are published are not available.

in 'female' jobs (health and education). Negative trends in education, employment and political participation that were already established in the socialist state continue to be part of the new Yugoslavia. For instance, in the 1992 election in SR Yugoslavia, women won less, then 3 per cent of the seats (SGJ, 1993: 36). Their position within university hierarchies worsened. Women comprised 1 per cent of members of the Academy of Science of SR Yugoslavia and women (until 2001) had never held the post of Rector at the University of Belgrade (Milivojevic, 1994). In employment, gender inequalities prevail. Research done by Slobodanka Markov and Fuada Stankovic (1991) showed that women were seldom at the top of management hierarchies. Only 2 per cent were directors, and then mainly in small enterprises. Feminists from the newly recognized states of Slovenia and Croatia warn that the employment situation for women has considerably worsened since the independence gained in 1990. This paradox of 'democracy' - women losing the few rights they previously adjust when the general population of the respective state is supposed to gain more rights - is not exclusive to former Yugoslav republics. The Eastern European situation in general, since the 'velvet' and other 'revolutions', shows the same characteristics in almost all areas of public life (SIGNS Forum, 1991; Feminist Review, 1991; Helsinki Watch, 1992; Funk and Mueller, 1993; Kuzmanovic and Zarkov, 1993).

The continuity of patriarchal patterns of gender inequalities in children's socialization is maintained in the current system of education. A group of feminist authors has done an analysis of the latest primary school textbooks in SR Yugoslavia (Plut, Rosandic et al., 1994). They conclude that sex discrimination prevails from the very first textbook for the youngest pupils. The sex roles presented for family and professional relationships give men and women specific, segregated places in both. Individual characters are the mainly male and the family represented is the nuclear, heterosexual, modal family of mother, father and son.

In nationalist parlance, on the other hand, women are given a special place. They are 'mothers of the nation' and 'protectors of offspring. There are, however, dreadful consequences of the constructions since women have been specifically targeted victims of the current war, both in its propaganda and its effects on the ground. Patriarchal and sexist ideology intersect with the increased militarism of everyday life to portray men as

the defenders and to be defended. So, when women adopt nationalist politics, they often do it in manner which is consonant with their place within a system of patriarchal domination - as mothers of the heroes and victims. However, Papic (1993) found that significant numbers of women adopt nationalism as an expression of equality with men. Nevertheless, few women are actually involved in the creation of nationalist policies or practices. Women are seldom politicians, part of the military, journalists, or in other professions closely associated with the current war.

It does seem that although women share economic and political deprivation with men, they are less likely to share men's extremism. Women, for example, were slow to adopt the nationalist politics of the former republics' oligarchies. In 1990, women were significant supporters of the Reform Group of ex-Prime Minister Ante Markovic, and his liberal, pro-Yugoslav, democratic orientation. Compared with men, women voted for green parties more often, and their support of nationalist parties was half that of men (Puzigaca, 1990). Since 1990, women are the majority of the activists in anti-war and anti nationalist campaigns. Feminist and autonomous women's groups who are actively opposed to nationalism, sexism and war are numerous, including: the Women's Parliament, Women's Lobby, Women's Parliament, Woman and Society, Women in Black, SOS line for Women and Children Victims of Violence, Group for Women Raped in War, Center for Rape Victims, Women's Studies, etc. Their activity, however, is often limited to the big urban centers, Belgrade being the most significant, and their influence, if not on women then on society in general and nationalist politics in particular, is limited.

Thus, despite the activism of many, it seems that women remain loyal prisoners of families and their patriarchal 'fate'. During the 1990s, they fought an increasingly difficult fight to feed their families. Like their grandmothers used to, they baked bread and, as a novelty, 'embargo cookies', as well as trading 'sanction recipes' designed to make something out of nothing.

Citizens of SR Yugoslavia, and Serbian people in particular, carry a heavy responsibility for the situation in their own country. They have opportunity to redefine their national project as a cultural project for civil society. They will have to address the question of the type of state in which they wish to live, democratic or authoritarian. During the 1990s, sadly, the majority is concerned with the question of size: they ask how

big the state is, or should be (Popovic, 1993). Only when questions of the type of state are posed can new answers be given. The answer has to be in the direction of peace and reacceptance of SR Yugoslavia into the world community.

Relations between economic development and the political systems also have to be redefined in order to enable more democratic development for both economic and political processes. However, the problem of nationalism cannot be solved by locking it into the context of social and economic development and the democratic state. For such development does not exclude nationalism, even in the so-called democratic societies of the West. However, an undeveloped and undemocratic society can contribute to the rapid rise of nationalism, as the example of the former Yugoslavia shows.

The experiences of SFR and SR Yugoslavia show how economic and political processes can serve the purpose of obscuring each other, when tightly intertwined with nationalist processes. Their relationship is different in the 1990s from what it was from the 1960s to the end of the unified Yugoslav state. Nevertheless, economic and political processes have constantly reinforced each other, creating a vicious circle with devastating consequences for the people who lived, and still live, in that territory.

Some of these consequences affect women differently from men, but a significant difficulty is that women's problems are often invisible, even to women themselves. While they continue to be reproducers of patriarchal values in society women reproduce their own deprivation as economically and politically marginalised and rendered socially passive. In order to resolve their situation, they have first to make it visible - to men, but also to women. Women's solidarity and networking is crucial to the project of women getting an effective hold on politics and society. The effort to make women's situation visible has to contribute to the visibility of gender relations within society, and the power hierarchy in which women are deprived. It also has to take into account other social processes, such as nationalism. If attempts to improve gender equality do not do this, they are, in effect, contributing to the strengthening of the very social system they aim to subvert.

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2.

Towards the Theoretical Frame for the Research of Gender Inequalities in Serbia*

In this text I am drawing a link between economic non-development and gender inequalities. I am interested in defining a theoretical framework that would allow for a research on specific situation of women in Serbia. For that reason I take as my starting point theoretical concerns addressed within the frameworks of Women and Development and Gender and Development. My intention in this text is to propose a gender model for research into inequalities in development that will be able to show not only differences between men and women and their place in development, but also among women. Such a model would also have to take into account specific situation of women in Serbia, where non-development is state induced and state directed, and where different forms of

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gendered violence pose severe limitations on women's access to, and participation in, social and economic development.

In this paper I give some elements for gender analysis of the processes which are going on in Serbia at macro level. On the contrary to the globalisation process, regime in Serbia is leading country to isolation, rejecting transition and producing absence of development. Bombing and now leaving Serbia in ruins and isolation, Western democracies also share responsibility for further political development in Serbia. In this social and political context, I draw a link between economic underdevelopment and gender inequalities. I am interested in defining a theoretical framework that would allow a research on specific situation of women in Serbia. For that reason I take as my starting point theoretical concerns addressed within the frameworks of Women and Development and Gender and Development. My intention is to propose a gender model for the research of inequalities in development that will be able to show not only differences between men and women and their place in development, but also among women. Such a model would also have to take into account specific situation of women in Serbia, where non-development is state induced and state directed, and where different forms of gendered violence pose severe limitations on women's access and participation in social and economic development. In last part of paper I give only the basic features of gender model as an illustration of my previous theoretical approach.

Development economics widely studied the problem of economic inequality as well as the gender aspect of inequality. Therefore, the poverty of women was a very frequent theme in that context.¹ Economic theories of socialist development and studies of economic post-socialism insufficiently pay attention to labour relations. Thus, their achievements are limited in both, theoretical and practical approach.

Realisation of the traditional development paradigm polarise development and underdevelopment, Center and Peripheries, wealth and poverty. In today's global world economy traditional paradigm is dominant and the influence of modernization theory is prevail. In this conditions ex-socialist economies of Eastern and Central Europe are being restructured through the IMF and World Bank.

Also, I realise the need to use the knowledge from development studies in analysing ex-socialist societies. It could help us that the mistakes made in the Third world are not going

to be repeated in forging development in Eastern Europe. At the same time, I see the need to re-think of the 'transition' concept and transformation theory, not only in sense its correction, but also its radical critique from an alternative point of view.

Namely, development economics, with its various theories, as well as the theories of socialist development belong to the traditional development paradigm. From alternative point of view, comparative analysis of modernisation and developmental theories shows their conceptual similarities and semantic differences (Dube, S.C., 1990.)

Key features of the traditional paradigm are:

- social values - economic wealth or social justice ...
- development aims - economic growth...
- development criteria - economic rationality and efficiency...
- development variables - economic and non-economic resources and potentials...
- regulative mechanisms - market or plan...
- development indicators - economic, structural and social...

In the phase of realisation of the traditional development strategies there are some typical dilemmas of the development policy (H.Myint1980.) like the choice between:

- economic equality and economic growth,
- more contemporary consumption and more income in the future, and
- more income, economic safety and independence.

Until these dilemmas are illustrative for developing countries, developed countries think about desirability of the economic growth, its price and quality and its relation with environment.

A careful analysis of gender aspect of labour processes and other economic processes gives a new and more announced insight into the overall economic trends in countries of transition. Gender perspective as challenges this dominant capitalist model, as seeks and calls for alternative form of development. Women in Development (WID), Women & Development (W&D) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches help us to conceptualize and understand the post socialist phenomena. Their focus is as women per se, as their relations with men in a variety of settings. Although women do

not always have perfect knowledge about their social situation, they pretend to have more active role in development seen as complex social, political and cultural process.

Theoretical frames such as “Women and Development” and “Gender and Development” greatly broaden out the field of economic inequalities on gender inequalities and thus they present new models for economic analysis. The gender and development approach accepts that the welfare and anti-poverty approaches are preconditions for equity (Young K., 1997: 52). Opening new theoretical possibilities, they simultaneously pose new methodological problems and the new critical considerations.

By using their achievements I pose the following question: How adequate models of gender inequalities analysis can be developed in post-socialist societies and, specifically, in Serbia and Vojvodina?

Having on mind the broad and very differentiated field of gender inequalities, in this work I am trying to define appropriate ways of formulating an adequate theoretical approach to gender inequalities on the real position of women in Serbia.

Precisely, I am trying to explain how in the gender model conditions and women’s status can be operationalized regarding a few main (not only methodological-statistical) aggravating circumstances.

Firstly, I will regard theoretical frames of development theory that enable us to analyse gender inequalities in social and economic development. Furthermore, I will regard some elements of gender model that are important for the analysis of inequalities in development. In the end, I will give some specific characteristics of the women’s position in Serbia. In the text I will not search out the empirical study and applying of this model at real position of women in Serbia.

Position of Women in Development - Gender and Inequality

During the last decades development economics noticed that women are non-proportionally more numerous among the poor. In every poor country there is a larger number of women who have the lowest salary. Women represent the poorest group in society. The number of poor households led by women is constantly increasing. Regarded

on the world level, it is estimated that there are between 17-28% such households (Todaro, 1990:163).

I will regard some elements of gender model that are important for the analysis of inequalities in development:

- Many researches proved that the greatest inequality exists in the family. Women are particularly poor because of the dual role they play in the economy. Usually they work in the house and outside of it. Because of that role, women, generally speaking, work more and harder than men and have less share in the family income. When the family income decreases, women intend to earn additional income working more outside the household. If the household work would be admitted as an economic value and added to the total household budget, one could see that the contribution of poor women is larger than the one of poor men.
- Poverty of women is a direct consequence of their social status. Frequently, they are less educated, they have less chances for employment and their salaries are lower than men's. Generally speaking, the pattern of industrialization broadens the gap between men and women, since employment and education give more advantages to men than to women. Therefore, the different patterns of industrialization that are realized during the last decades have similar, for women negative, consequences. In the case of dominantly undeveloped countries, poverty and inequalities in distribution of income remained in spite of the economy growth. In the majority of ex-socialist economies, which accepted the redistributive strategy, economy growth significantly decreased. In Serbia the decreasing economic growth rate is followed by the increasing economic inequalities and massive growth of poverty of the total number of inhabitants. Regarding the previous studies, it is logical that women are more numerous among the poor than men.

Development economics noticed the necessity of including the gender relationships in development thinking before more than two decades. That is when the empiricists of development, who were involved in international development agencies, started to realize how unreal are the expectations that the underdeveloped countries (where the half of women inhabitants is unqualified to participate in development) would develop as

modern countries. As a result, the movement “Women in Development” was formed. It concentrated on the identification of women’s position in underdeveloped countries and its aim was to qualify women for a more complete participation in the development process. Besides that, the aim was to formulate theoretical perspectives where gender and gender inequality would become significant elements of development. Nevertheless, the mentioned approach left numerous hesitations. For example, answer on the question about the desirable role of women in development depends from culture to culture. Every nation, every culture and subculture has its own answer on the mentioned question. The common point for all cultures is that women give birth to children and that division of labour and responsibilities between men and women frequently follows the sexual division of labour. The common element for many countries is that in the division of labour and responsibilities women are socially, economically and politically inferior.

The movement “Gender and Development” which was based on the “Women in Development” movement, noticed that the roles that men and women have in society were not biologically determined. Instead of that, they reflect conditions of production, reproduction, cultural, religious and ideological systems that prevail in a certain society. Thus, the gender relationships gain different forms in different circumstances. That lead us to the conclusion that the greater part of division of labour, rights and obligations of men and women are socially determined and, therefore, variable.

Introduction of gender concept in development economics is related to the question of social construction of male and female productive and reproductive role and their social relationships. According to advocates of Gender and Development concept, gender, together with class, age and race, represents the basis for understanding of human processes. That way of thinking was a great challenge for the mainstream opinion. The first answers of international and national agencies for development were ignorant. The advocates of equality between sexes tried to explain why the agencies and government should include the gender concept in developmental plans: investment in women would simultaneously lead to economic growth and disappearance of poverty.

Besides that, feminist critique of development model redefined the aims of development: not only sex equality, but transformation of the existing paradigm of development as

well. In another words, the female movement emphasised the significance of social conditions for development and the need for realization of non-exploitative development.

The idea of investment in women was accepted by international agencies only when it was possible to demonstrate fast economic effects (in income, employment) or when it was connected with the realization of other development goals (such as control of increasing of population). Otherwise, it was less successful when women rights were in question. For many governments and international agencies the improvement of women's status meant abolition of men's power and privileges. The basis of these problems is the distribution of social power and resources. Investment in women comprised reallocation of existing resources or finding additional sources of income. National and international bureaucracies were not pressured to chose either of the options because of the lack of female political force (Jahan, 1995).

Even when realized, the development differently influences men and women. In certain circumstances men seize the chances offered by the process of development to women's disadvantage or exploiting them. Introduction of women in the development process, which is based on sex equality, does not mean excluding of special women's demands. The equality of women does not comprise their homogeneity. Also, differences among women doesnot automatically include their inequality (Dube, Leacock and Ardener, 1986).

In the newer literature about women and development, the tendency of a stronger emphasis on complexity, varieties and differences of female lives can be noticed. In that way, the stereotype that the women are only mothers, wives, daughters and accompanist of men is partly compensated. This can also be said for the position of women in Serbia.

In this text, I will pay less attention to the differences because of two reasons: Firstly, establishing of the differences would require more empirical material than it is at my disposal.

The second reason is that certain similarities exist in spite of the differences.

Therefore, traditional economic theory predicts favorable results of the politics of liberalization and privatization in the post-socialist European countries. The past empirical analysis of effects of these changes on women shows that women are struck by post-socialist transition in a specific way (Funk and Muller, 1993; *Feminisms and*

Europe, 1991; *Forum on Women in Eastern Europe*, 1991; Milanovic, 1991; Milanovic, 1996). Simultaneously, the newly elected post-socialist governments do not prevent the marginalization of women. Such governments start from the hypothesis that economic reforms are gender neutral or they directly demand from women to yield to men positions they had in national economies some time ago.

Although the forms and contexts of reforms in Eastern European countries differ from country to country, the similarities of women's position are noticed:

Firstly, almost all researches confirm that the reforms contributed to deterioration of women's social status. Although the participation of female labour force varies in post-socialist countries, their chances for employment outside of low-paid sectors are very limited.

Also, there is a larger number of women among the unemployed. Traditionally, women do not have so free approach to the money capital, either in the sense of accumulated capital or possibility to get bank credit. Such approach to financial resources is connected with the inferior position of women in the house.

The quantity of women's household work depends on cultural norms. All Eastern European countries have tradition of men's domination and discrimination of women. One of the consequences is that all household work is done by women regardless the fact that she does not work only at home.

Finally, in all post-socialist countries women are less involved in politics.

Theoretical Assumptions of the Gender Model Analysis

The lesson I have learned is that gender agenda-setting approach is more productive than the attempt to set the gender problems in every field of analysis. Interrelation between gender relations and effects of social non-development as mutually encouraging phenomena can be examined by this approach.

This model is induced by theories of "dual system", "new institutional" approach, as well as by various feminist approaches. Regarding the specific characteristics of ex-socialist and post-socialist system, I can notice that internationally discussed gender

model cannot be easily applied in Serbian practice. Theoretical assumptions of gender model proceeds from the analysis of gender model in Vojvodina.

The distinction between the gender model, gender system and gender economic system has to be made.

The gender system represents institutionally defined rights and obligations that form the basis for gender distinction of citizens. Gender system reveals the ways in which political and law solutions influence the real possibilities that men and women have in realization of employment and unpaid household work, as well as how much both of these kinds of work are opened to realization of social rights (Cuba and Boje, 1997). Essentially, systematic rules are gendered: they assume that workers are free of reproductive responsibilities. On the other hand, reproductive rights are integrated in the system on the gender base.

The dominating economic and social system is treated as a gender system of domination. Gendered economic system refers to the gender specific division of labour. Economic system is gendered in various forms of social organisation, such as: households, state, informal system of exchange and market.

The logic of gender system is that it systematically differentiates male and female sphere and hierarchically ranges them. The gender system becomes patriarchal when these differences between male and female sphere lead to systematic benefits of men, to subordination and exploitation of women (women's work, sexuality, etc.).

The gender model, defined in a more general way, comprises the gender system that follows male and female spheres in a hierarchical way. This model enables us to understand how changes in economic reality are reflected on gender relations and how the prevailing interrelations between men and women induce and create patterns of economic changes.

My thesis is that women are subordinated in the public sphere (firms and institutions) as well as in the private one (in the family). That subordinated position of women I interpret as a consequence of articulation of two systems of hegemony – patriarchal and economic system of domination.

In fact, socialist state proclaimed its aim of development of humane society. Humanization should be achieved through participation of workers in the process of

social reproduction and simultaneous withering away of the state, firstly in economy, and then in other spheres of social life. Both principles were present in the state socialist project of emancipation of women. Thus, women should equally participate in the development of socialist economy and society as a whole and bring up the future generations at the same time.

Since the employment of women and men developed under the same institutional conditions, women's reproductive rights were more regarded as women rights. Therefore, women were integrated in economy as a 'deviant' labour force (Morell, 1999).

Some Elements of the Gender Model and Research of Inequalities

The clear information about where and how a woman is situated in the social and institutional conditions is an assumption of her more prestigious participation in the development. Therefore, the subject of the further analysis is the following – in which way the subordination of women is expressed in unpaid household work and on the labour market.¹ Examining the essential life conditions of women presumes the combination of quantitative and qualitative studies of development. In that case, development is understood as a process which comprises cultural, social and economic aspect (Ostergaard, 1992: 1-10), and the choice of an adequate model as well, i.e. gender model.

One of the characteristics of the gender model is its possibility to organize the quantitative and qualitative information about men and women in the way that the differences between men and women and these groups can be seen. Social division differentiates women into various classes, races or ethnic and social groups. Very often their options, choices and their social status are more defined by their belonging to one of the mentioned categories than their gender. For example, according to their rights and securities, women could have the united attitude, but the problem of poverty is more complicated (Jahan, 1995). The procedure which classifies data about labour force not only on the basis of sexes, but according to social-economic groups gives a more complete analysis of social-economic position of women.

The gender model would interpret statistical information in relation to the social, economic and political context. For example, data about female participation in economic activities have limited meaning without data about the level of their incomes, education and their participation in reproductive activities. Therefore, besides the reorganization of statistical data, the gender model supports the comparison of series of data in order to give holistic survey of economic and social phenomena.

By gathering such data it is possible to interpret an absolute and relative status of women (related to men's position) in economy. Nevertheless, this model is faced with serious deficiency of statistical data about women. Statistics does not always give complete, precise and in time data. The general objection to technical and conceptual problems in gathering of data refers to different definitions and methods of their gathering. The data are gathered on different levels, in different ways and for various purposes. Therefore, besides the attempt of the United Nations to standardize the definitions and methods of gathering of information on the global level, the concepts and methods differ from country to country. There are differences on the level of scope and contemporarily of data.

Also, statistical data refer to market economy, i.e. to the paid work. The analysis of synthetically data does not exist and many other deficiencies make difficulties in giving the real picture of female situation in a given country.

Today the knowledge about women mostly comes from case studies and specific, qualitative documentation.¹ Collecting of such documentation and its analysis enables us to give more objective and more complete answer on the question about the place that females take (absolutely and relatively – compared to men) and how various strategies of development (but female strategies as well) influence women.

In such circumstances the value of social-economic indicators is expressed. By measuring various economic conditions and trends the indicators could show the relationship between the variables. For example, such social-economic indicator could show the connection between the level of female education and number of children, the level of nutrition of household and its income. The indicators could then be used in defining the aims of economic politics, as well as in measuring of effects in the realization of these aims (Safilios-Rothschild 1986). For example, the indicators, that

proved useful in examining the relationships between male and female status and the development process (Massiah, 1981:38), show the relationship among various social-economic indicators of women's position, the indicators of economic and social development and the indicators of women's status in the same period. Furthermore, the indicators reveal the differences between male-female position in the frame of economic and social development.

Generally speaking, social-economic indicators measure inequalities between men and women on relatively conventional and conceptual fields such as education, health and employment. Of course, when the conventional fields of inequalities (such as income inequalities) are in question, the existing income statistic can not be very helpful. Since the data are not analysed according to sex, woman's income can hardly be measured when separated from man's or separated from the total income. Only money expenses are measured (meal ticket, transport tickets, syndicate aid, etc.). Therefore, the greatest knowledge about women's income is gained from the case studies and specific qualitative material.

The researches show that women greatly contribute to the household by their activities in the house and in the market. That income is neither always paid in money nor is necessarily controlled by the woman who earned it. The women who are poor (rather than men) and who are able to control their income spend the money on their children's needs. Of course, the control over the income does not have to mean that woman decides about the way it is going to be spent. In order to realize the real female economic contribution, it is necessary to broaden the concept of income from paid on unpaid work, but on other (not only money) transfers.

The problem of gender inequalities refers to the approach to resources of power and authority.¹ The specific forms of inequalities usually have different meanings for women who belong to different social categories. Indicators would announce correct messages if they are differentiated and analysed on different groups of women and if they are compared with each other and with men.

Serbia in 1990s – Underdevelopment, Inequality, Violence

It is very hard to analyse extend and deep route of the social crisis in FR Yugoslavia and its constitutive members: Serbia and Montenegro. Yugoslavia poses all crucial manifestation of the crisis of the three contemporary worlds: West, East and South (Hettne, B., 1990.) Wars which taken place in ex-Yugoslavia, economic sanctions and isolation, deterioration of the economy and the society as a whole, political instability, social disintegrate and poverty are crucial dimensions of the Serbian crisis of identity, survival and subsistence.

In Serbia there are some elements of the market, before all in the sector of services, but in the prevailing context of the informal economy. Mainly state management in the economy is present, followed by paralyse and absence in the function of the social institution, or penetrated by so-called 'Para states' structures, corruption and criminal.

The processes which are ongoing in the Serbian reality draw our attention to numerous dubious and problems. Poverty of the population and social inequalities are dramatically forced.

During the last decade the women in Vojvodina and Serbia were more marginalized as political subjects. At the same time, they became numerous victims of nationalistic processes in politics as well as victims of the process of economic and general social collapse. The existing gap between the publicly proclaimed equality between sexes and the real status of women in ex-socialist Yugoslavia and new post-socialist practice in Serbia turns into glorifying of traditional role of women with simultaneous marginalization of women as social subjects. In socialism, the position of women (especially in economic sphere) was worse than it was publicly presented. During 1990s it became even more worse. Women were exalted in their roles of wives and mothers and were pushed out of the economic and politic sphere (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1995).

On the other hand, women themselves contribute to the further existence of patriarchal cultural pattern of their living, carrying and defending the patriarchal values of family and society. Thus, Blagojevic in her research of women's everyday activities concludes that women in Serbia runs away from the public sphere in their privacy.¹ The patriarch ate on macro level responds to sacrificial micro-matriarchy whose base is

parenthood as a meaning of life. Self-sacrifice and escape into privacy became the main strategy of women in Serbia during 1990s. Blagojevic emphasises that women are accomplices in their own social marginalization, since they accept the social role, which is in accordance with “the husband’s state”, and they react on such referential frame by escape in privacy and noticeable self-sacrifice for the family.

In such social conditions – when it can be said that poverty, unemployment and social inequalities permeate all citizens (Posarac 1996) – the loss that women experience is different from the one that is experienced by men. During 1990s in Serbia, the female loss is manifested in various ways. The loss of job and more difficult way of finding a new one, usually results in the worsening of women’s position at home (they become inferior). Although women work longer and harder than men, they do not have additional income neither for themselves nor their family. Women’s very pale political voice also became quiet, so the public politics became a male arena. Female political actions are marginalized.

All these manifestations of social-political collapse I define as circumstances which produce violence over women. Gender violence in feminism was mostly studied as violence in family or as an organized physical state violence. Unlike the violence in family, which was widely studied by feminists, not much is known about the organized form of violence over women. Of course, both forms of gender violence are connected – state construction of relations in the private sphere of marriage and family determines the female social status (Yuval-Davis, 1991). In my opinion, circumstances for violence in Serbia are not limited only to the physical violence, but to the absence of non-violence as a social value and the absence of social and cultural conditions where woman can express her potential. The absence of normal social, economic and politic development and women’s participation in it, I define as gender violence. That violence is induced by the state, because the underdevelopment itself is induced and conducted by the state.¹ Therefore, gender model for the analysis of women’s status in the social development of Serbia would include qualitative aspect of underdevelopment as violence. Preliminary analysis of distribution of unemployment, social inequalities and poverty in Serbia already shows that women suffer consequences of underdevelopment much more than men.

Researchers have shown that the physical violence over women brings into question woman's psychic and emotional life, limits her participation in development processes and her possibilities to benefit from it. Development does not take place where violence enables woman to participate in social and political life. Development could be one of the reasons for gender violence. Gender violence is a consequence of development if such development is understood one dimensionally – as a Western model of modernization or as an ideology which decreases women's political influence. Formally legalized equality does not compensate erosion of that influence. When a woman searches her freedom, man uses violence as a form of social control. Even the development politics, whose aim is women's emancipation, can increase gender violence; especially, family violence even if it is shortly regarded. The traditional role of women in society and in family very often increases the suffering on their way to emancipation (Annemiek Richters, 1994).

Tensions, frustrations and the sense of inadequacy in economic processes which increase poverty frequently turn into violence over women, who are within everybody's reach. Thus, not all of us were in the same way injured by the destructive effects of nationalism and ethnic mobilisation of citizens, during the process of economic and political collapse of ex- Yugoslavia.

In these dramatic changes losers and winners can be distinguished. In my work, I pay attention to gender distribution of (insignificant) gains and (great) losses in post-socialist transformation of the society in Serbia. Also, I define the gender distribution of losses as the basic social frame where women could maybe gain something. Social circumstances of the collapse of ex-Yugoslavia and general deterioration in Serbia during 1990s have its gender aspect. Gender violence is defined as one of the most significant factors of social circumstances. Therefore, the direct physical violence of men over women in the family, the violence (induced by the state and society) over female potentials and women's possibilities to work and live peacefully contribute to the social and economic development, influence the distribution and enjoy the fruits of gains.

In the previous parts of this work I defined the subject and the basic fields of gender inequality analysis in the context of underdevelopment economic Yugoslav

politics. Thanks to the previous analysis, the following step would be to formulate the gender model that can be applied at the status of women in Serbia. The understanding of basic inequality concepts is of less significance if they are not or could not be connected with the real problems of women in Yugoslavia. But, that step exceeds the frame of my work. Here I gave only the basic elements of gender model as an illustration of the my analysis.

The research problem I pose is the following: how changes of economic reality and economic system influence the gender system of social hierarchy? What is the reciprocal influence of existing gender system of social hierarchy on management and development of a concrete firm in a specific economic branch – textile industry?

The production in textile industry I regard as a production gendered system, which is dependent on both internal and external factors. Internal mechanisms are related to the production process and to distribution in the firm of textile industry as an economic system. External conditions are related to the key changes of the dominant economic and social system (criteria are the following: attitude of the state towards the market and property; and the role of the state in economy). My analysis is focused on the external mechanisms, while internal ones are analysed to the extent they are influenced by the external conditions.

The dominant economic and social system I treat as a gendered system of domination. Systematic rules is gendered in its essence: it assumes that the workers are free from reproductive responsibilities. On the other hand, reproductive rights are integrated in the system on the gendered base...

In this research I comprise the period from 1945 to 2000, where three crucial periods can be identified. They show the different phases of evolution of the Yugoslav strategy of industrialisation: forced, medial and absence. Through these periods the key institutional economic conditions (attitude of the socialist state towards the market, the role of the state in economic life and property) as well as some crucial characteristics of rules of reproductive rights (which represent an important part of state socialist women politics) have been changed.

Firm of Textile Industry: Its Main Characteristics and Role in Economy

1. I explain the main characteristics of the chosen firm of textile in Vojvodina;
2. I describe gender specific characteristics of the law which regulates the management of the firm (in textile industry);
3. I explain the specific characteristics of Yugoslav strategy of industrialisation (phases, developmental priorities and shift of priorities);
4. I place the textile firm in the context of Yugoslav (i.e. Serbian and Vojvodina) economy;
5. Finally, I give an example of organization and function of this firm – how the changes of external political and economic conditions influenced the variable frame of management and development of the textile firm through:
 - market reforms;
 - reformation of property;
 - work and self-management;
 - political reforms (role of the state in economy).

Socio-economic Interpretation of Reforms (industrial, economic, social) in 90's

In this part, I will make a critical estimate and perspective of the processes in Yugoslavia. I will use the theories that question ideological postulates of the socialist ideology. The economically and gender based processes that take place in the chosen firm of textile I interpret in the context of economic and social changes in Serbia during the last decade.

Critique of Socialism As a an Economic Project

1. limitations of formal economy – economic inefficiency proceeds from private property, state intervention in economy, minimising of the risk for business decisions, soft budget limitation and high inclination towards investment;

2. paradox of informal, 'second' economy;
3. limitations of reform and critique of socialism as a humanistic project.

Living in the circumstances of organised violence – what choice women and not only women do really have? How could we recognise this reality and how could we formulate the strategy of our survival and human development? The human development is desirable future, but is it feasible?

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3.

Gender Inequalities in a Nationalist, Non-transitional Context in Serbia, Emphasizing Vojvodina, during the 1990s*

Some previous analyses of development in Serbia have focused on one dimension, the economy. In contrast, my approach is that development in any country has to be treated as a multidimensional process of continuously solving numerous, complicated social problems, understanding that these solutions, at the same time, produce new and more complicated questions (Hettne, 1990). In this paper, I research the process of development in Serbia, emphasizing Vojvodina, during the 1990s, as a multidimensional process which includes important changes of social, political and cultural structure and economic development as well.

One of the biggest universal trends during the last thirty years has been the increasing equality between women and men; however, there is still a long way to go. Feminist critique redefined the existing paradigm of development, not only to consider gender equality, but to include basic human needs and ecological issues as well. The significance of social conditions for development and the need for non-exploitative development add to the need for a multidimensional feminist analysis of development.

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Contrary to the globalization process¹⁷, during the 1990s the ex-socialist regime in Serbia was leading the country into isolation, rejecting transition and producing an absence of development, which I call "state-directed non-development." In this paper, the word "transition" is used to mean a process of transforming the existing economic and social system into a parliamentary democracy and a market economy based on private ownership. In Eastern Europe, economic transition has generally meant the liberalization of bureaucratic management of the economy, wide-scale privatization and economic restructuring (Djuric-Kuzmanovic & Zarkov, 1998). Serbia failed to meet even these limited traditional conditions of transition. Namely, economic reform introduced by the last Federal Government of socialist Yugoslavia failed at the end of 1990; and the three most developed Yugoslav republics, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, were already acting as economically independent states (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1995).

Unlike the concepts of transition in the Big Bang (Shock Therapy) and Gradualism, the concept of transition in Serbia was unique. The Serbian socialist government refused the reforms which could have led to a market economy and to parliamentary democracy and created a context of state-directed non-development (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1997). This had destructive economic consequences, i.e. economic chaos (Lazic, 2000, p. 10) and the political conditions of war and nationalism internally and isolation from the external world. In this context it was difficult for anybody to realize her/his potential, and women also suffered systematic gender oppression.

With the victory of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia in October, 2000, FR Yugoslavia took a wobbly first step away from state-directed non-development and isolation towards parliamentary democracy and integration with the world. From the point of view of most citizens, the expected radical economic reforms in Serbia have

¹⁷ Globalization is a social, political and cultural process as much as it is an economic one. It consists of two dependent flows: integration and localization. Integration means that the flows of goods, services and technology become closer between national economies. On the other hand, localization means decentralization of the national economy, which also facilitates political decentralization, i.e. democratization (International Monetary Fund, 1997).

Globalization includes positive aspects like introduction of an integrated electronic economy; the arrival of the "weightless economy"; growing equality between women and men; removing political, economic and social borders; the declining role of sovereignty states. Also, globalization includes negative aspects like the spread of crime, drugs and the like (Hutton & Giddens, 2000).

been realized slowly¹⁸. As in other countries in transition (Kandiyoti, 2000), significant changes in women's social status and position in society, politics and the economy, especially in the labor market, have begun and are expected to continue. In this text, I will identify general trends seen during the 1990s in Vojvodina and the rest of Serbia and will discuss the significance of gender equality and political and social conditions for the economic and social development of Serbia. In this paper I refer to Serbia as the region including Vojvodina, central Serbia, and Kosovo when data are available for this region. Unless specified, Montenegro is excluded because its economic and political systems were different during the 1990s.¹⁹

A Gendered Approach to Theories of Development and Transition

As opposed to neo-liberal economic theory (Myint, 1987), development economics often explores the problem of economic inequality and the gendered aspects of this inequality. Referring to development economics helps one to refrain from making the same assumptions and mistakes in Serbia that were made by some ruling regimes and international agencies in the Third World. At the same time, I see the need to re-think the concept of transition and associated transformation theories and to consider alternative points of view that extend current development theories (Dube, S.C., 1988). Development theories, strategies and politics have limited their effectiveness and produced some undesirable results in reality because they have inadequately incorporated the perspectives of vulnerable groups. Specifically, this paper highlights the way in which gender perspectives can be incorporated to strengthen both theory and practice during transition.

¹⁸ As reform towards a market economy began, many laws were needed to create a new institutional environment in the economy and society. Some of them are still in preparation today, while some of them, such as the "Law on Taxes" and "Law on Work," already have been accepted by the new democratic government.

¹⁹ Socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated in civil war, which began in 1991 in Slovenia. Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia separated later. The country that emerged, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, includes Montenegro, with 14% of the area and 6% of the population, and Serbia. Serbia produces about 95% of GNP (gross national product) and Montenegro produces about 5%. Montenegro has its own sovereignty, except for some elements of Federal state, like Federal Army.

Serbia is divided into three parts: Autonomous Province of Kosovo (in the South, under NATO and UN protection since 1999); Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (in the North) and the central Serbian area.

The introduction of gender as an analytical variable in development economics involves addressing the issues of the social construction of male and female productive and reproductive roles and their social relationships. The gender perspective challenges dominant models and seeks better solutions. Current models of economic development include not only the traditional goals of economic growth and structural changes, but also assume decreasing poverty, inequality and unemployment. However, the emphasis in using those models tends to treat these issues simplistically or in the aggregate. In addition to the traditional goals, a gendered approach to development and transition adds levels of complexity by considering changing rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment for both genders and by evaluating the effects those changes have on gender relationships. In this paper, I will use the alternative perspective of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach to discuss the significance of gender equality as a political and social requirement for the successful economic and social development of Serbia.

Previous approaches²⁰ to incorporating women into development theories focused on the need to integrate women into the economic and social system through legal and institutional changes or on the relationship between women and development processes. Advocates of the Gender and Development concept emphasize the importance of using gender as the foundation for understanding the processes of societal development; however, they also stress the important influences of class, age and race. The Gender and Development concept:

- uses a holistic perspective, looking at all aspects of women's lives,
- questions the basis of assigning specific roles by gender,
- advocates the visibility of women's issues in development theory and practice,
- encourages women to accept themselves as important actors in their societies,
- welcomes men's positive contributions to social development and
- does not emphasize exclusive female solidarity (Rathgeb, 1990).

²⁰ In the subfield of development economics, called women in development, three distinct theoretical paths can be identified: Women in Development (WID), Woman and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). The WID perspective emerged in the early 1970s and was linked with the modernization theory of the 1950s to 1970s. WAD emerged in the second half of the 1970s from the dependency theory and as a critique of the modernization theory and the WID approach. The GAD perspective developed in the 1980s, as an alternative to both WID and WAD, and was influenced by socialist feminist thinking (Visvanathan, 1997, pp. 17-32).

Having in mind the broad and very diverse field of gender inequalities, in this paper, I am trying to define an appropriate, adequate approach to analyzing gender inequalities in Serbia. Since the problem of gender inequalities refers to the distribution of the resources of power and authority, I apply some elements of dual system theory and neo-institutional theory²¹ to the study of gender relations under state-directed non-development.

Morell (1999) found the subordinated position of women to be the consequence of two types of hegemony: patriarchy and an economic system of domination. Applying dual system theory to researching gender relationships in post-socialist Serbia, I conclude that Serbian women had subordinate positions in public and in private spheres as a result of these two systems of hegemony. Considering the case of Serbia, I interpret women's subordination in the context of the interactions between the interests of patriarchy and those of state-directed non-development.

Also, by using the body of knowledge developed in the Gender and Development (GAD) approach, I conclude that the dominant economic and social system in Serbia was a gendered system of domination. A gendered economic system refers to the gender specific division of labor in various forms of social organization, such as households, government organizations, informal systems of exchange and markets. The logic of a gendered system is that it systematically differentiates male and female spheres and ranks them hierarchically. The gendered system becomes patriarchal when these differences between male and female spheres lead to systematic benefits for men and to subordination and exploitation of women (women's work, sexuality, etc.).²²

The Gender and Development way of thinking presented a great challenge to traditional opinion. For many governments and international agencies the improvement of women's status meant the abolition of men's power and privileges. Investment in

²¹ Neo-institutionalism emphasizes the key role of institutions and the complexity of social change, so it offered an improvement over traditional conceptual frameworks that were unable to address the complexity and dynamics of social transformation in Eastern Europe. It also introduced a broader concept of institutions in which the state and the market are sets of institutions among others as part of a complex set of relationships that characterize a social system (Paul, 1999, pp. 121-128). For the neo-institutional perspective on discrimination against women, see (Krug, 1997, pp. 55-72).

²² Namely, every organized system of gender inequality is not at the same time patriarchal one. System of gender inequality becomes patriarchal in the cases when gender inequalities are based on traditional i.e. patriarchal values and assumptions.

women required reallocating existing resources or finding additional resources. In many situations, national and international bureaucracies had never been pressured to choose either of these options due to the lack of female political forces (Jahan, 1995).

Development policies that do not take gender relations into account have limited effectiveness. In support of this view, the World Bank Report, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*, (King & Mason, 2001) argues that:

- The costs of gender inequality are far-reaching, affecting both men and women. Societies that discriminate on a gender basis pay a significant price in greater poverty, slower economic growth, weaker governance and an inferior quality of life;
- Gender disparities are closely associated with poverty. Gender inequalities, particularly in human development, tend to be greatest among low-income countries and, within countries, among the poor;
- Accounting for gender differences and disparities in policy and program design can enhance the effectiveness of government interventions, both from efficiency and equality perspectives.

In order to promote gender equality, the report argues for a long-term strategy that focuses on reforming institutions (establishing equal rights and opportunities for women and men) and fostering economic development (providing stronger initiatives for more equal resources and participation).

Finally, to enable the formulation of gender-oriented economic policy, we need accurate, realistic, complex measures upon which to base our analytical framework. To reflect the correct messages, these indicators should be sensitive to gender differences and should result from research comparing different groups of women among each other and comparing groups of women with men. There are some attempts to develop such a system of indicators, including quantitative and qualitative measures that show differences in female and male participation in society as well as differences in perceptions of their individual and their group's positions in society (Evans, 1992, pp. 11-40). However, in reality, conclusions about gender inequalities and the position of women in society are usually supported with insufficient empirical data. In explaining the

relationship between economic development and gender inequalities, feminist economists very often inappropriately have limited their definition of gender inequality to female labor participation, only because labor statistics are often the easiest to find (Goldin, 1994).

General Economic and Social Conditions in Serbia during the 1990s

Compared to other countries, both successful and unsuccessful in transition, Serbia's experience was unique. The state rejected transition and instituted the strategy of directed non-development.²³ When socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated, in Serbia the breakdown of the old system was associated with the strengthening of a new collective ideology, nationalism and ethno-democracy (Sekelj, 1991). Democratic changes that were introduced existed only for members of the groups favored by the politicians in power. Other people were largely excluded in one way or another; their citizenship rights, as well as their rights to live in any specific territory, were denied (Hayden 1996; *Informacija iz Hrtkovca*, 2001).

While other East and Central European countries struggled to introduce economic and political transition, the Serbian ex-socialist government instituted measures to prevent it. The government led a media campaign against political and economic transition, emphasizing problems of other countries in transition, constructing advantages for the existing system, and praising "the wisdom of the regime to resist such temptations" (Posarac, 1996). The economic response of the Serbian government was a swift centralization of existing, albeit already exhausted, resources. Privatized companies experienced re-nationalization through a system of revaluation of industrial capital under rules designed to diminish the value of privately owned portions, while over-valuing the state-owned parts of firms. In addition to owning the capital, the state exercised power

²³ Due to the complex factors that produced the specifics of transition in Serbia, authors, like M. Lazic, use the term "transformation" rather than "transition" (Lazic, 2000, pp. 5-19). Fabris (1998) based her *synthetic index of transition* on several indicators: re-structuring of economy, privatization, liberalization of prices, liberalization of export-import mechanisms as well as putting in order the financial and monetary system of the country. According to Fabris, only countries with a synthetic index over 2.0 are considered to be in transition, while her index for Serbia was only 1.6.

over firm's business decisions and elections of general managers. Another important fact was that members of the government actually were, at the same time, owners or general managers of the largest firms in Serbia.

With no significant change in the ruling elite or in its political and economic system, the ability of the old system to preserve itself throughout the 1990s was enormous. Consequently, Serbia functioned as a closed society, which had a nominally pluralistic political system, but with totalitarian characteristics. In 1992, after imposition of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, this closed economy was created, with no reference to the mainstream world economy and with absolute control of the flow of goods and money in the hands of very few people. Almost the entire official economy was administratively regulated, while the grey economy and black market operated according to their own laws.²⁴ Administrative control over the market of goods and the prices of products was prominent, and the labor market and money market did not exist. Exports and imports were also under state control. One of the meanest moves of the government was to abuse monetary power in order to provoke hyperinflation in 1993 (Dinkic, 1995), also giving the political oligarchy access to enormous rates of interest. Arbitrary decisions were protected by the lack of any independent, external economic regulations. Thus, in the 1990s, Yugoslavia disintegrated through wars, economic sanctions and the consequent externally induced and self-perpetuated isolation, all of which led to deterioration of the economy and to social and political instability.

The systematic and complex mechanism that operated during the last decade prohibited not only transition to a market economy but also prevented any economic or political development that might have undermined the benefits of the ruling oligarchy. State management of the economy determined policy. That policy was often followed by the paralysis or absence of functioning social institutions due to the infiltration of

²⁴ After the attempts at market reforms failed in the 1960s, the size of the grey economy in socialist Yugoslavia grew steadily, but never exceeded 25% of GNP. In 1992, however, it reached 42% (Bozovic, 1993). By 1993, almost every second household in Serbia participated in the grey economy, obtaining through these activities about one-third of their regular income (Mrksic, 1994, p. 66). Skilled and unskilled workers and the unemployed were among the most active, while pensioners and employed intellectuals were among the least engaged in the grey economy (Mrksic, 1994, p. 52).

criminals and corrupt organizations and activities.²⁵ Some elements of a market economy did develop in the service sector, which was mainly private, and, ironically, also within the underground economy, which provided services and responded to some forces of supply and demand.²⁶

The Serbian State deliberately discredited the most important categories of the market economy and impoverished the citizens, finding an apt justification in the self-proclaimed higher causes, the fate of the nation. Namely, most of the economic problems in Serbia during the 1990s were regularly justified and officially excused by the simple argument that the international community had imposed sanctions on Serbia. The government under Milosevic never admitted its responsibility for the wars or even its direct participation in the wars that occurred in the area of former Yugoslavia. It always presented itself and the Serbian people only as victims, and the sanctions provided the most frequent explanation for all social ills. The government obviously benefited from its economic power, while poverty and social destruction stood as the essential characteristics of Serbia's social crisis.²⁷ The state used and/or transformed those segments of the economy that could provide money and power. Large groups of people became vulnerable in this process and the composition of vulnerable groups also changed.

From 1991 through 2000, economic and social regression and deterioration in Serbia were mainly the consequences of the ruling regime's politics. The infrastructure deteriorated significantly under Milosevic's rule and then was destroyed further during the 1999 NATO bombing. Decreasing or stagnant old-fashioned production was oriented towards the domestic market. Furthermore, many pre-war business relationships were severed when republics separated from the Yugoslavian federation, and Serbia's portion of the pre-1991 foreign debt grew with interest to a level higher than the annual gross national product.

²⁵ The FR Yugoslavia had a corruption perception index (CPI) of 2.0 in 1999 making it the country with the highest level of corruption in Europe. It ranked near the most corrupt, together with Kenya and Paraguay as 90th-92nd in the list (Transparency International, 1999).

²⁶ It was estimated that the informal economy in Serbia in 2000 still made up one-half of the gross domestic product (GDP) (Dragas, 2000).

²⁷ Some Yugoslavian sociologists defined the situation in Serbia as "destruction of the society," "breakdown," "organized chaos" (Lazic, 1994; Bolcic 1994).

The economic situation in Serbia is still unstable, and it specifically presents an example of non-development. From 1990 to 1999, the average annual growth rate of the gross national product of Serbia was negative: -7% (Group 17, 2000). Per capita GNP took an obvious step backward by 1999, when it was only half what it had been in 1990 (\$1650 vs. \$3250 excluding Kosovo and \$800 vs. \$400 within Kosovo). The following data further describe the decline of Serbian social and economic conditions:

- In 2000 industrial production was only 45% of the 1991 level. At the same time, the quality of this industrial production significantly decreased. Specifically, industrial production decreased in high technology sectors (electrical and optical machines, radio and communication equipment), while it started to increase in the traditional light industrial sector, with greatest strength in the textile, shoe, and furniture industries (Dumezic, 2001);
- In 2000 foreign trade was only 30% of the 1990 volume. Furthermore, exports covered less than 50% of imports. Regarding structural changes, the highest exports were of textiles²⁸, aluminum and shoes (Dumezic, 2001);
- From 1990 to 2000 employment diminished by about 800,000 people (from 2.7 to 1.9 million). For perspective, by May, 2000, the number unemployed was 803,333 (<http://www.g17.org.yu>, June 30, 2000);
- Poverty and social inequalities are also dramatic. An average monthly salary decreased from about \$300 in 1990 to about \$30 in 1999 and about \$500 in 2000 (<http://www.g17.org.yu>, June 30, 2000). Thus, in 2000 about 60% of the total population lived below the poverty line. The middle class made up about 20% of the Yugoslavian population; 15 % was between the middle and the rich stratum; 5% were considered rich, with 1% or about 100,000 people in the extremely rich category, mostly due to profiting from the wars and corruption (Sukovic, 2000). In January 2001 the average monthly salary was \$127 and 46% of the population lived below the poverty line (Nikolic, 2001);

²⁸ However, most textile exports resulted from foreign companies sending materials into Serbia only for processing with Serbian labor, then exporting them as finished goods.

- In 1991 adult illiteracy in central Serbia was 7.1%, in Vojvodina 4.1% and in Kosovo 11.9%. But, female illiteracy in 1991 in Serbia was 11.3%, in Vojvodina 6.2% and in Kosovo 18.2% (*Opstine u Republici Srbiji*, Communities in the Republic of Serbia, 1997, p. 68);
- Some other important indicators of the changes in social conditions are the population and marriage statistics in the following table:

Table 1. Population Indicators in Serbia¹ in 1996

	Serbia ¹	Vojvodina	Kosovo
Live births per 1000	12.9	10.7	21.4
Crude death rate per 1000	10.7	14.4	3.9
Population growth per 1000	2.2	-3.7	17.5
Infant mortality per 1000	15.1	12.8	15.9
Marriages (thousands)			
Married	53	11	12
Divorced	7	2	1

¹Serbia including Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Source: *Opstine u Republici Srbiji* (Communities in the Republic of Serbia), 1997, pp. 92, 93.

Gender Oppression in Serbia: From Socialism to Non-Development

Socialist women shared equal legal rights with men in the spheres of education, employment and political participation, and they had the right to divorce and abortion. But the socialist state granted women legal equality while maintaining traditional gender relations, and their related structures both in family and in society. The de jure equality, moreover, could not lead to de facto equality, because the gendered social structures were either precluding women from assuming the rights they had been granted, or were marginalizing and ghettoizing them when they did. This subordinated position of women occurred despite the fact that the socialist state publicly proclaimed the development of

an equal society as one of its main goals. According to the socialist state, humanization should have been achieved through the participation of all workers in the process of social reproduction and the simultaneous withering away of the state, first from the economy, and then from other spheres of social life. Thus, women should have operated as equal participants in the development of the socialist economy and society as a whole, as well as protectors and nurturers of young and future generations. However, as recent feminist literature on women's emancipation in socialism demonstrates, women were not equal partners, either in the public or private realm. Patriarchal regimes dominated women's lives at home, and their positions in the economy and in politics was far from ideal.

While female political actions were marginalized, women also were marginalized as social subjects. During socialism, the position of women, especially in the economic sphere, was worse than was publicly presented. While socialism proclaimed women's rights to employment, political participation and education, it reproduced, at the same time, a patriarchal system of values as well as patriarchal social relations.²⁹ Socialist feminists were the first to criticize and dismiss socialist concepts of emancipation as false and utilitarian. However, they did not have much success in spreading their ideas among most Yugoslavian women.

Women in Serbia have been subordinated in the public sphere of firms and institutions, as well as in the private sphere of the family³⁰. For example, according to the

²⁹Namely, part of official socialist theory was the concept of women's emancipation. It referred to the realization of equal rights and opportunities for women in a socialist society (i.e. equality between the genders), and to the entry of women into the sphere of social production. The purpose of the women's emancipation project was not, however, the liberation of women. The concept of liberation would have meant the destruction of the very patriarchal nature of society, and transformation at all levels, including sexuality, the family, household and personal as well as the freeing of women from all forms of oppression. The socialist women's emancipation project never went beyond the "women's question" into the transformation of gender relations. Consequently, both images of women and women's position at various levels of society were highly ambiguous (Zarkov, 1991).

³⁰ Unfortunately, there is not enough data regarding subordination of women in the private sphere. Researchers in Serbia face a serious deficiency of data about women. Most knowledge about women comes from case studies and specific, qualitative documentation. Collection and analysis of such documentation enables us to give more objective, complete answers to questions about the absolute and relative position of women and about how feminist and other strategies of development influence women. Some rare, but very useful newer resources about women's economic and social status and gender inequalities in Serbia and about comparative gender resources are: Report on Human Development in Yugoslavia, 1996; Women in Transition, UNDP, 1997; Women 2000: An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States, IHFHR <http://www.ihf-hr.org/publicat.htm>; <http://www.undp.org/yl>; <http://www.genie>.

1991 census data, in the teaching profession, women comprised 64% of teachers in primary schools, 51% in secondary schools and 30% in high schools and universities (SGJ, 1991, pp. 339-43). Women comprised 1% of members of the Serbian Academy of Science, and no woman ever held the post of Rector at the University of Belgrade until 2001 (Milivojevic, 1994). Furthermore, women have seldom been senior managers. At the beginning of the 1990s, only 2% of them were directors, mainly in small enterprises (Markov & Stankovic, 1991). In the mid-1990s, an average women in Serbia spent 4.2 hours at work and more than 6 hours doing household work, caring for children, etc. (UNICEF, 1997).

State-directed non-development also contributed to gender oppression. Despite all difficulties with data gathering, there is enough evidence to believe that "feminization" of poverty³¹ was a Serbian reality. For instance, the rate of unemployment in Serbia is high, but it is much higher among women than among men. Registered unemployment in Serbia in 1998 was 780,436 people and 56.1% of them were women (*Opstine u Republici Srbiji, Communities in the Republic of Serbia, 1997, p.124*). Characteristics of Serbian unemployment are that it is structural and has been consistently high since 1965. It particularly affects young people without work experience, those with low education and women, especially skilled and highly educated ones. The isolation and economic breakdown of the 1990s increased unemployment, affecting highly educated women most. In Vojvodina in 1999, for example, women made up 55% of all unemployed, 56% among qualified unemployed and 67% of unemployed with higher education. It is also worth mentioning that in 1999, 61.3% of unemployed women were looking for their first job, i.e. had never been employed before. That was an increase of 6.1% from 1998. For comparison, the same report indicated that, for Vojvodina in 1999, female employment was only 42.1% of total employment. This included about 220,000 women working in the public sector, representing a decrease of about 3.2% from 1998, and about 40,000 women working in the private sector, or an increase of 0.7% over 1998 (Zaposljavanje, 2000).³²

³¹ Feminization of poverty means that female poverty increases as a percentage of total poverty.

³² Compared to the West, the rate of women's participation in the labor market of socialist economies, including Serbia's, was significantly higher. The high participation of women in the labor force throughout socialism was a direct outcome of the ideology of women's emancipation that promoted

Women in Vojvodina and Serbia were continually marginalized as political subjects, also. In 1990, women held 5% of all seats in the Federal Assembly of SFR Yugoslavia (SGJ, 1991, p. 438). At the same time, they became the victims of nationalistic processes in politics as well as victims of economic and social collapse. They became symbols of nationalist policies and, willingly or unwillingly, the "mothers of the nation."³³ In 1994, an abortion law was introduced that restricted abortion rights and contributed to the worsening of women's health, economic and social status.³⁴

Women in Vojvodina and Serbia were also among the most numerous victims of the devastating consequences of "nationalist hysteria" (Bibo, 1991) As the biggest marginalized group in society, women were influenced by nationalist processes in particular ways. Their social situation deteriorated rapidly, not only because of the generally poor economic situation, but also because of the patriarchal cultural patterns common to both the former Yugoslav socialist elite and the current nationalist politics and policies of the regime. Women were also among those who produced and defended patriarchal values in the family and in society in Serbia during the 1990s, as much as they were in the socialist state. The existing gap between the publicly proclaimed equality between genders and the real status of women in socialist Yugoslavia and the new post-socialist practice in Serbia have turned to glorifying the traditional role of women. Women were simultaneously mythologized as the "nation's deepest essence" and instrumentalized as the "nation's life/birth saver/producer"; otherwise, they were unimportant and invisible (Papic, 1994). Women's very pale political voice also became quiet, so public politics became even more of a male arena.

equality between genders in the public sphere and of the proclaimed, but never fully accomplished, development objective of full and guaranteed employment for all.

³³ In 1969, abortions in Serbia were legalized by the state and their number grew steadily. Thus, the number of abortions per 1000 births in 1989 was 214.2 in Central Serbia, 158.9 in Vojvodina and only 20.5 in Kosovo (Rasevic & Petrovic, 1995). Over 95% of all abortions were legal abortions made in first ten weeks of pregnancy (Rasevic & Petrovic, 1995, p. 14). There are no data about the number of abortions during the 1990s, but it is realistic to assume that as economic and social conditions worsened, the number of abortions increased.

³⁴ Ultimately, the right to abortion was regained thanks to Milosevic. In May 1994, the Serbian Parliament adopted new legislation on abortion, which largely limited abortion rights. Feminists addressed the President, demanding that he refuse to sign the legislation. He agreed and returned the legislation to the Parliament for further debate, noting that it encroached on the basic rights of women. Thus, ironically, one of the basic rights favoring women was temporarily preserved by the same force against which many feminists struggled.

Furthermore, the only political subjects that refused nationalistic, war and violence politics during the 1990s were small civil parties, some pacifist and feminist groups. The rise of violence against women in war zones, as well as in areas of relative peace, was seldom addressed in public discourse. Only women's groups dealt with these issues and try to attract public attention. The most world famous of these women's groups from Serbia were Women in Black, Autonomous Women's Center against Sexual Violence and Women's Studies Centers. They were mainly fighting against war and nationalist politics, including their effects on women, but they didn't attract significant public attention within Serbia. Women in Black against War made a document "I Confess"³⁵ in October 1998, on the occasion of the 7th year of their anti-war activity. They confess that they took care of all people from other ethnicities, nationalities, faiths, races and sexual orientations, while the "patriots" only took care of themselves (Women in Black, 1988).

The patriarchal system, where maternity is the prevailing cultural pattern of female existence, continued into the 1990s, with women doing most of the household work, unpaid and unrecognized, often with their only job satisfaction being the success of their children. Furthermore, the continuity of patriarchal patterns of gender inequalities presented for children's socialization was maintained by the system of education. A group of feminist authors, who analyzed primary school textbooks in FR Yugoslavia, concluded that gender discrimination prevailed from the very first textbook for the youngest pupils (Plut et al., 1994). The gender roles presented gave men and women specific, segregated places in both the family and professional relationships. Individual characters were mainly male and the family was presented as a nuclear, heterosexual, modal family of mother, father and a son. Women who have escaped from such patriarchal pressures were, and still are, a minority.

Although socialism proclaimed equality, there has been no change in the gender power structure, either in the family or in society. The patriarchal system, together with sexism, was a base upon which nationalism was constructed women into a symbol of its

³⁵ They "confessed" as if they were guilty of some criminal act by having and showing respect for all men and women, irrespective of their religion and ethnicity, because it was not too popular to admit this in public. The official ideology proclaimed that the Serbs were only victims in the wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, in these circumstances, Women in Black were also very brave.

politics. In nationalist parlance, women are given a special place as "mothers of the nation." In patriarchal and sexist ideology women are often seen as the means of renewing Serbianhood.³⁶ In this strong patriarchal culture, a "proper" women was expected to talk only about issues related to her role of "bearing children for the Nation" (Papic, 2000).

However, Papic (1993) found that significant numbers of women adopted nationalism as an expression of equality with men. Women were slow to adopt the nationalist politics of the former republics' oligarchies. In 1990, they were significant supporters of the Reform Group of Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his liberal pro-Yugoslav, democratic orientation. Women's support of nationalist parties was half that of men's (Puzigaca, 1990). Since 1990, women have been the majority of the activists in anti-war and anti-nationalist campaigns. Finally, women and young voters displaced Mr. Milosevic in the elections in September 2000 (Cveticanin, 2001).

When women adopt nationalist politics, they often do it in a manner that is consonant with their place within a system of patriarchal domination, as mothers of the heroes and victims. Nevertheless, few women were actually involved in the creation of nationalist policies or practices. Women were seldom politicians, part of the military, journalists, or in other professions closely associated with recent wars.

During the 1990s the situation became worse. For women, the loss of jobs and the difficulty of finding new ones usually resulted in the worsening of women's positions at home (Blagojevi, 1995; Papic, 2000). They accepted the most patriarchal expectation of women, their self-sacrifice (Blagojevic, 1997). They tried to "save the nation" by making their own family survive. Women were exalted in their roles as wives and mothers and were pushed out of the economic and political sphere (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1995).³⁷

All these manifestations of social-political collapse I define as acts of systematic

³⁶ In 1995, even the Christmas message of Patriarch Pavle, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, told the Serbs: "many mothers who did not want more than one child, today bitterly weep and pull their hair in despair over the loss of their only son in the war ... why did they not give birth to more children and now have them as consolation."

³⁷ Women's unemployment has been increasing faster than general unemployment. Thus, in 1998 the rates for female and male unemployment were 33.6% and 18.9% respectively. The overall unemployment rate (registered by the Employment Agency and hidden) was about 53% in 1997, which made the realization of economic and social rights difficult for both men and women (The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 2001, p. 523). It is estimated that in Serbia are about 700 thousand refugees who are mainly women (UNDP Human Development Report, 1996)

marginalization of women. The absence of peace, as the highest social value, and of non-violence politics resulted in, and also reproduced, social, economic and politic non-development. Development is not possible in the case when inner (basic needs) and outer (peace) limits of development are jeopardized, as was the case in Serbia. These circumstances were produced mostly by the Milosevic regime during the last decade. Women experienced the painful consequences of the nationalism of the 1990s. They were double victims of violence from Men and from the State.

The Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) owes a large part of its victory in the federal elections in September 2000, to young and women voters, but less than 5% of active politicians are women (Peric-Zimonic, 2000). Only 8 female candidates became members of the Federal (Yugoslav) Parliament.³⁸ During the parliamentary republic elections in Serbia in December 2000, women's organizations demanded that 30% of the candidates be women. In reality, only 21 female candidates became members of Republic (Serbian) Parliament.³⁹ Now, in all political structures, from the local to the federal level, only 6-7% of politicians are women (Rajacic-Capakovic, 2000). Women were and still are rare in Serbia's political life and even less common as heads of political parties. There are no legal grounds that prevent women from taking part in politics. On the contrary, after World War II, women enjoyed many of the same rights as men; they were equally paid and had equal education or job opportunities. But in the past 10 years, with the re-introduction of a patriarchal society, women were pushed aside. Previous research (UNICEF, 1997) confirmed that women were aware of how invisible they were. Recent public opinion research⁴⁰ shows that the largest problems of women in Serbia are violence, sexual exploitation, bad health care, and low quality of life and the least

³⁸ One of the few is, Mira Markovic, Milosevic's wife, who heads the neo-Marxist Yugoslav Left party (JUL).

³⁹ Recently, Vuk Obradovic, the head of Socialdemocratia (one of eighteen parties which makes up DOS) offered his place in the Republic Serbian Parliament to the female candidate O. Kircanski in order to fulfill the demands of women's organizations (B92 Vesti, 01.16.2001). My personal wonder and surprise with this act did not last long. Really, shortly after his promise, he became one of the vice-presidents of the Serbian government. Recently, a group of women (among them a journalist and the highest ranking woman in Socialdemocratia) accused Mr. Obradovic of sexual violence. The way of dealing with this "sexual scandal" as well as its epilogue, certainly will be a significant test for the first Serbian democratic government and will send a strong message to ordinary women (and not only to them) in Serbia.

⁴⁰ This public opinion study was initiated by the organization "Veza i akcija" (Connection and Action) in 33 Local Communities in Serbia, excluding Kosovo, in a sample of 900 women to give a basic picture of the social status of women in Serbia in order to improve their position. This research was finished in October 2001 by Medijum Index Agency and Galup International.

important for them is the improvement of women's participation in politics (Milosavljevic, 2001). Including all types of work, women in Serbia work an average of 75 hours per week, 15 hours more than the average in the West, and female life expectancy at birth is 7 years less than in Western Europe (Milosavljevic, 2001).

Current Developments and Future Trends in the Labor Market for Women during Transition

Empirical research on the effects of transition in Eastern European countries demonstrates that women have been imperiled by post-socialist transition in many different ways. Although the forms and contexts of reforms in Eastern European countries differ from country to country, the similarities of women's positions have been noted (Funk & Mueller, 1993; Aslanbeigui, Pressman & Summerfield, 1994; Holzner, Truong & Krahl, 1997). Most research confirms that reforms introduced by transition contributed to the deterioration of women's social positions and, especially, of their employment status.⁴¹ Some effects of transition on poverty and social issues between 1989 and 1994 are found in the following table for East European countries:

Table 2. Effects of Transition on East European Countries, 1989-94 (percentage change)

indicator (rate)/ country	poverty	Crude marriage	remarriage	crude divorce	abortion rate
Bulgaria	49.7 ^c	-36.9	-48.3	-39.3 ^a	5.5
Serbia	35.6 ^d	---	---	---	21.4 ^c

⁴¹ During transition, women have become more vulnerable to unemployment than men in all of Eastern Europe. By 1993, female unemployment rates ranged between 5 and 17 percent in most Central and Eastern European countries, except Hungary (International Labor Organisation, 1995). With transition reform the proportion of the employed who are women is growing steadily in Poland, former GDR, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Albania, except in Hungary, where women's willingness to work for very low wages has created a preference for female workers in some sectors (Watson, 1993). In all of these countries except Hungary and Slovenia there is a higher level of female than of male unemployment (UNDP/RBEC Policy Workshop, 1995, p. 17). For instance, in Romania in September 1990, 85-90 percent were women. Between mid -1989 and mid -1991, in the former GDR women's unemployment rates rose by 500 percent, compared to 300 percent for men (Fong & Gillian, 1992).

Romania	31.7 ^a	-12.8	-5.2	-5.6	439.9
Slovakia	27.2 ^a	-23.4	-38.2 ^a	1.7	-14.2
Czech Republic	22.5 ^b	-27.3	-9.9 ^c	0.0	-26.1 ^a
Hungary	12.4 ^a	-16.3	-28.3	-11.0	-11.9
Poland	12.2	-19.8	-32.6	-35.6	-84.5 ^b
Slovenia	---	-14.1	-2.2	-9.1	-9.3
Albania	---	-4.5 ^a	-46.6 ^a	-14.0 ^a	-5.1 ^b

Source for a, b, c: TRANSMONEE Database (1995), UNICEF.

a. 1989-93 b. 1989-92 c. 1990-94

d. 1994 (Posarac, 1996, p. 187) e. 1989 (Rasevic & Petrovic, 1995).

Recent developments in Yugoslavia toward democracy add an interesting perspective on a new form of transition from dictatorship and isolation toward a yet undefined future. Economic and political transition of the country in the future will probably reconstruct gender relations as well. However, the experience of post-socialist economies of Central and East Europe that have been in transition since 1989 warns us of the painfulness of social transformation.

Returning to gendered aspects of this process, it is possible to estimate how these changes probably will affect women's positions in the labor market in Serbia. For most East and Central European countries, the experience shows that the rate of female unemployment in the last ten years varies from 5% to 17%. Still, the rate of female unemployment in transition economies remains high and growing. Authors researching transition processes in Central and Eastern European countries already have confirmed that women have experienced huge losses in the fields of employment, social welfare and participation in political processes. From what I know about countries in transition the ideology of gender equality and women's emancipation has already lost ground, and women will continue to pay a higher price than men will during the transition process (Kandiyoti, 2000, p. 124).

During the socialist period, the participation of women in the labor market in socialist economies, including Serbia, was significantly higher than the levels achieved in the West. The high participation of women in the labor market in socialist countries came

from the socialist emancipation project which promoted equality between genders in the public sphere and from the proclaimed, but never completely fulfilled, development objective of full and guaranteed employment for all. Although women in socialism never really gained the intended equality in the workplace,⁴² with post-socialism women in many countries have lost even the insufficient gains in labor rights that were achieved before 1989. Namely, the official socialist ideology of gender equality and women's emancipation is currently regarded as a part of the repressive socialist system. Thus, it is expected to be replaced during the transition reform. For instance, attack on paid maternity leaves and childcare provisions will lead to re-feminization of bearing and nurturing children. Re-feminization of nurturing pushes women back into the private domain and potentially into oppression. But, women are also pulled in the opposite direction by the forces of economic poverty, which have reached alarming levels in FR Yugoslavia (Djuric-Kuzmanovic & Zarkov, 1999). Under these circumstances women struggle to remain employed primarily to secure survival of the family and their own economic position. They try not to lose their jobs or do their best to get other ones. Thus, a decrease of female labor supply generally should not be expected.

It is necessary to stress a few features of the socialist emancipation project relevant for the current and future labor situation of women in Serbia. Comparing urban and rural women, the emancipation project had different ideological assumptions and policy implications. Urban women were defined as modern, and thus were offered the means to realize this modernity in public life through employment, education and political participation. Rural women, on the other hand, shared the general fate of rural life under socialism. In socialist ideology, rural was a synonym for backward and symbolized ideological enemies of the state.⁴³

In the transformation process full employment will not be guaranteed any more. It could be expected that transition would lead to the increase of unemployment resulting from decreasing labor demand on the one hand and increasing of its supply on the other

⁴² Research on women's status in the public sphere confirmed that, in both capitalist and socialist states, there is a strong dependence between the status of women in the labor market and the gender division of roles in households (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

⁴³ The whole "peasant question" in Yugoslavia, like in other socialist countries, was a question of bringing peasantry into socialist modernity (Zarkov, 1991). As employees, mainly in industries in neighboring towns, they gained job security and the right to retirement and health insurance, something they did not have as "pure" peasants.

hand (Dijkstra, 1997). The shift of the economy toward the market and competition will demand an increase in average labor productivity (through a decrease in working hours or number of employees). It is expected that small private companies will increase their demand for labor, but that will not necessarily be enough to influence the amount of unemployment. Some positive effects of all these changes may be expected, but they will not benefit everybody. Besides, all these changes have their time lags. In a short time period, the unemployment will remain high and the salaries of workers low.

All the data from other post-socialist countries, as well as my analysis of the situation in Serbia, show a paradox of "democracy." Namely, women lost the few rights they previously had, even though the general populations of the respective states were supposed to have gained more rights (Funk and Mueller, 1993). Transition sharpens economic inequalities between women and men, as well as among women, especially regarding job opportunities (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, Drezgic & Zarkov, 2001).

Towards Affirmative Action

Generally speaking, different patterns of industrialization that were realized during the last decades favored men and therefore broadened the gap between men and women. So, I find development theories and policies very limited if they do not take gender into account. The gender perspective presented in the Gender and Development (GAD) approach offers alternative and reliable solutions for understanding human processes and could facilitate the successful economic and social development of Serbia. Gendered studies of economic development focus not only on economic growth and structural changes. The gender and development approach also assumes decreasing rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment for both genders as desirable goals. It questions the basis of assigning specific roles to different genders and offers a holistic perspective of men's and women's lives. But, at the same time, that way of thinking challenges mainstream opinion and asks for abolition of men's power and privileges and for reallocation of existing resources. Although many bureaucracies were never pressured enough to take the gender roles into account, gender relations are beginning to gain more recognition from institutions like World Bank. In my understanding, the main reason for

this increased acceptance is that World Bank concluded that the process of fostering human and social development goes hand in hand with improvement of gender equality.

In this paper, I combined the Gender and Development approach with neo-institutionalist and dual theory to explain some general trends and to discuss the significance of gender equality and economic, political and social conditions for the economic and social development of Serbia. My analysis confirmed that women in Serbia are subordinated in the public sphere in firms and institutions, as well as in the private sphere of the family. This subordinated status of women is the consequence of two types of hegemony: patriarchy and an economic system of domination. Despite publicly proclaimed humanization of the relationship between the genders, women were not equal. Patriarchal regimes, with maternity as the prevailing cultural pattern of female existence, dominated women's lives. At the same time, the Serbian ex-socialist government led the state in a strategy of directed non-development. This means that it undertook different measures to take over private and mixed capital in order to prevent transition and to insure their rule and enormous benefits for very small group of people in power. Large groups of people, especially women became vulnerable in that process.

The consequences of state-directed non-development are still clearly visible, painful and illustrated with numerous different indicators. Despite all difficulties with data gathering, there is enough evidence to believe that state directed non-development affected gender relations and produced systematic gender oppression. For example, the rate of unemployment in Serbia is much higher among women than among men. High and long-term unemployment in Serbia particularly affects young people without work experience, with low education and skilled and highly educated women. Women were continually marginalized as political and social subjects and were victims of nationalist policies. So, they were victims of violence from Men and from the State. The patriarchal system still prevails. Serbian women were the most important among those who produced and defended patriarchal values in the family and in society. Thus, when they adopted nationalist politics, they often did it as mothers of the heroes and victims. But, as recent research on women showed (Milosavljevic, 2000), Serbian women also felt invisible and expressed concern about violence, sexual exploitation, inadequate social security and low quality of life.

During the 1990s the ex-socialist regime in Serbia rejected transition to parliamentary democracy and to a market economy and led the country into isolation. This state directed non-development produced strong negative economic and social consequences and systematic gender oppression. The victory of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia in the election in October 2000, announced the population's demand for radical reforms in the whole society as well as in men's and women's positions in society, politics and the economy.

Besides the previously mentioned expected changes in female employment, some changes in women's political position also could be expected. Female voters in Serbia make 52 percent of total voters, but they voted less than men did. Thus, Working Group for Gender Equality of Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and Serbian feminist groups initiated the campaign "Women Can Do It - I" devoted to increasing number of women voters, and they achieved this goal. The aim of the new Program "Women Can Do It - II" is to increase the participation of women to 30 percent in all political parties and politics at all levels.

Finally, the position of women in the Serbian economy and society in the future will primarily depend on how successful Serbia will be in its European orientation and transition. The success of transitional reforms depends less on speed than on discontinuity with the previous economic and social system (Gligorov, 2001). In that sense, the society is still faced with a dilemma.

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4.

From State-Directed Non-Development and Organized Gender Violence to Transition in Vojvodina and Serbia*

In this paper, I am applying gender approach to analyze economic inequalities between men and women in Vojvodina and Serbia. My analysis refers to the period of the last decade till now. This is the period from state-directed non-development and organized gender violence, to recent social transformation towards political democracy and market economy. In this analysis, I combine my knowledge of development theories and development economics with my knowledge of socialist economies and economies in transition, and specifically, Serbian economic, social and political situation. My main objective is to develop specific, gender analytical tools that will help me grasp the growing economic inequalities in Serbia. I situate inequalities of women in Serbia in a general context of state directed non-development and its economic consequence in general, and political conditions of war and nationalism (inside) and isolation (outside). That context produces specific consequences for women:

- general conditions of state supported gender violence as a lack of specific culture of non-violence and

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- absence of democratic social structures and disintegration of society as a consequence of all above, which of course is absence of normal conditions of 'realizing one's potentials' for everybody.

In the text, I will show how these conditions produced economic inequalities for women in Serbia during 1990s and what can we expect in the future.

The introduction of gender as an analytical tool in development economics is often related to questions about the social construction of male and female productive and reproductive roles and their social relationships. Gendered studies of economic development focus not only on economic growth and structural changes; it also supposes decreasing rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment for both sexes as desirable goals. However, social development, in any country, also has to be treated as a multidimensional and continuous process of solving numerous and complicated social problems, with an understanding that these solutions, at the same time, produce new and more complicated questions (Hettne, 1990). In this paper, I will use a Gender and Development (GAD) approach to discuss the significance of gender equality as a political and social condition for the successful economic and social development of Serbia.

General Conditions of Non-Development in Vojvodina and Serbia during the 1990s

In the 1990s socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated through wars, and the economic sanctions and consequent isolation that were introduced thereafter brought about a deterioration of the economy social and political instability. Social destruction and poverty were the essential dimensions of social crisis in Serbia.¹ The ex-socialist Serbian regime actively rejects economic transition towards a market economy and maintains, in my opinion, a generally stagnant economic policy (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1997, Duric-Kuzmanovic, Zarkov, 1999). The government's refusal to accept the

¹ Some Yugoslav sociologists defined the situation in Serbia as 'destruction of the society', 'breakdown', 'organized chaos' (Lazic, 1994, Bolcic1994).

transition to a market economy is illustrated in part by the fact that those enterprises that had previously been privatized by enterprise law in the late 80s have been renationalized in the 1990s. Furthermore, the state has become the de facto owner of the majority of firms, exercising power over their business decisions, the elections of their general managers and encouraging government members to remain general managers of the largest firms in Serbia while in office. Administrative control over the market of goods and prices of products are prominent, and the labor market and money market are practically nonexistent. Exports and imports are also under state control. I refer to this specific form of state economy policy as 'state-directed non-development'. In other words, this is a systematic and complex mechanism operating to prevent not only a transition to a market economy, but any economic and political development that will undermine the existing benefits of the struggling oligarchy. It deliberately discredits the most important categories of the market economy and impoverishes the citizens, finding an apt justification in a self-proclaimed higher cause - the "fate" of the nation.

During the 1990s the economic situation in Serbia was dramatic, and it specifically represents an example of what I call non-development. In Serbia, some elements of a market economy have been embraced by the service sector and within the informal economy in the sector of services and in the prevailing context of the informal economy. As a matter of fact, it is estimated that the informal economy in Serbia makes up one half of the gross domestic product - GDP (Dragas, 2000). However, it is mainly state management in the economy that determines policy, and this policy is often followed by the paralysis or absence of functioning social institutions because they are penetrated by so called 'para-state' structures, corruption and criminals. Socialist Yugoslavia is, with a corruption perception index (CPI) of 2,0 determined in 1999, the country with the highest level of corruption in Europe and, with a range of 90-92, considered to be in the same extreme category as countries such as Kenya and Paraguay (Transparency International, 1999). This has had a serious economic impact. From 1990 to 1999, the average growth rate of gross national product of Serbia was negative: -7% (Bilten G17, 2000), and the per capita gross national product of Serbia in 1990 (without Kosovo) was nearly twice as high than it was in 1999 (from 3250\$ to 1650\$ -- an obvious step backward). About sixty percent of the total population now lives bellow the poverty

line (Sukovic, D., 2000). While an average month salary in December 1990 was 376 USA\$, in December 1999 it was only 43.5 USA\$ (G17 Org., 2000).

The Impact of Transition on Serbian Women

Although the forms and contexts of reforms in Eastern European countries differ from country to country, the similarities of women's positions in these countries have been noted (Funk, N., and Mueller, M., 1993, Aslanbeigui, N., Pressman S., Summerfield G., 1994, Holzner, M.B.,1997). Almost all research confirms that reforms introduced by transitional governments have contributed to the deterioration of women's social status.

Women in Vojvodina and Serbia are specifically subordinated in the public sphere (in firms and institutions) as well as in the private sphere of the family. Their labor contribution in the public sphere is substantial, but they are rarely recognized publicly for it. For example, in the teaching profession, women comprise 64% of teachers in primary schools, 51% in secondary schools and 30% at higher levels (high schools and universities) (SGJ, 1991: 339-43). However, women comprise only 1% of the members of the Academy of Science of FR Yugoslavia and no woman has ever held the post of Rector at the University of Belgrade (Milivojevic, 1994). According to Markov and Stankovic (1991), women are seldom at the top of management hierarchies either. Only 2 per cent of women are directors, and then only mainly in small enterprises.

In Serbian politics, women were, and still are, rare and even rarer still as heads of political parties. For example, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) owes a large part of its victory in the federal elections last September to young women voters, but less than 5 percent of active politicians in the party are women (Peric-Zimonic, V., 2000), and only 8 female candidates became members of Federal (Yugoslav) Parliament.² During the parliamentary republic elections in Serbia last December women's organizations demanded that 30 percent of the candidates be women. But, only 21 female candidates

² One of the few is Mira Markovic, Milosevic's wife, who heads the neo-Marxist Yugoslav left party (JUL).

became members of Republic (Serbian) Parliament.³ Now, in all political structures, from the local to the federal level, only 6-7% of politicians are women (J.Rajacic-Capakovic, 2000).

There are no legal grounds that prevent women from taking part in the economy or in politics in Serbia. The subordinated position of women is the articulation of what I believe are two more subtle registers of hegemony – a) a culture of patriarchy; and b) an economic system of domination. This is despite the fact that the Socialist state publicly proclaimed the development of a humane equal society as one of its main goals. According to the State under Socialism, humanization should have been achieved through the simultaneous participation of workers in the process of social reproduction and the withering away of the state, first from the economy, and then from other spheres of social life. Both principles were especially present in the state socialist project of the emancipation of women. Thus, women *should* have operated as equal participants in the development of the socialist economy and society as a whole as well as being the protectors and nurturers of the young and future generations. However, as recent feminist literature on women's emancipation in socialism demonstrates, women were not equal partners, either in the public or private realm. In a patriarchal system, where maternity is the prevailing cultural pattern of female existence, women conducted unrecognized dual roles, working within and outside the home, responsible for ensuring the moral and economic security of the family, but they were only recognized for their role in the private sphere.

Today, just over half (or about 500,000 members) of the unemployed population are women. In Vojvodina, for example, women make up 55% of all unemployed, 56% among qualified unemployed and 67% of unemployed with high education (Zaposljavanje u APV, June 2000). During last decade, women have become the numerous victims of nationalistic processes in politics as well as victims of the process of economic and general social collapse. If they have power, it lies in their importance as symbols of nationalist policies and, willingly or unwillingly, the 'mothers of the nations'. They are also among the most numerous victims of the devastating consequences of a

³ Recently, Vuk Obradovic, head of Socialdemocratia (one of the eighteen parties which makes DOS) gives his place of member of republic Serbian Parliament to female candidate O.Kircanski in order to fulfill the demands of women organizations (Dragas, 2000).

'nationalist hysteria' (Bibo, I., 1991). The existing gap between the publicly proclaimed equality between sexes and the real status of women in socialist Yugoslavia and new (post)socialist practices in Serbia have turned towards the absolute glorification of women's more traditional roles. They are simultaneously mythologized as possessing the 'nation's deepest' essence and instrumentalized as the 'nation's life/birth saver/productor, but otherwise they are invisible (Pacic, Z., 1994). In that situation, women's already pale political voice becomes absolutely quiet, so public politics were primarily a male arena. The only political subjects who refuse atrocities perpetuated in the name of nationalism, war and violence politics, were members of small parties as well as some pacifist and feminist groups. In general, these gendered political actions remain ineffective. This fact becomes especially painful in the realm of war. The rise of violence against women in war zones, as well as in areas of relative peace, is seldom addressed in public discourse. Only small women's groups deal with these issues.⁴ One of these groups, Women in Black Against War, made a document "I Confess"⁵ in October 1998, on the occasion of the 7th year of their anti-war activity in which they confess that they it is actually they who took care of all other ethnicities and nationalities, faiths, race and sexual orientation, while the 'patriots' take care only of themselves (Women in Black, leaflet, 1988).

During the late 1990s the situation has become worse. For women, the loss of jobs and the difficulty of finding new ones are generally resulting in the worsening of women's position at home (Blagojevic, M., 1955, Pacic, Z., 2000). Many women accept the most patriarchal expectations themselves – to sacrifice themselves for their country. They equate the survival of their own family with 'saving the nation.' Although women work longer and harder than men at home, they aren't compensated for their labor and this has become the expectation of women. Women are exalted in their roles as wives and mothers and have been pushed out of the economic and political sphere (Djuric-

⁴ The most famous women's group in Serbia is Women in Black, Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence and Women's Studies Centers. They were mainly fighting against war, nationalist policies and its effects on women, but they did not attract massive public attention.

⁵ They "confess", like they did some criminal act by having and showing respect for all men and women, because it was not too much popular to admit in public. Official ideology proclaimed that the Serbs are only victims in wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, in these circumstances, Women in Black were also very brave.

Kuzmanovic, 1995). All these manifestations of social-political collapse, I understand as state-organized acts of violence against women.

Women and Transition in Vojvodina and Serbia: Current Developments and Future Trends

However, recent developments in Serbia towards democracy create a new space for discussing more hopeful and possibly egalitarian forms of transition from dictatorship and isolation towards a yet undefined future. The recent victory of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) at the Yugoslav federal elections in September 2000 implies the beginning of democratic reforms in FR Yugoslavia and the end of international isolation. The anti-Milosevic plebiscite at the federal elections, the protests and democratic revolution in October, and finally, the recently completed Serbian republic elections in December confirm that the last authoritarian regime in Europe may be over. But, the consequences of their rules are clearly visible and painful and it will be very hard to cure them. The experiences of other ex-socialist transition economies in Central and East Europe warn of many potential difficulties and some socially painful consequences of the process. In Eastern Europe, transition, in an economic sense, has generally meant the liberalization of bureaucratic management of the economy, wide-scale re-privatization and economic restructuring. In the case of Serbia, a radical reform of the existing mixed economic system towards a more market oriented one will necessarily integrate market factors such as labor, capital and goods, but these will be difficult concepts to introduce to the society at large.

To some extent it is possible to estimate how transition towards a market economy in Serbia will effect women's positions in the labor market.⁶ Unfortunately, if development strategies do not include sensitivity to gender, this estimation is not good. Research on Central and Eastern European countries has already confirmed that economic transformation impacts women especially negatively, contributing to their

⁶ There are more factors influencing the female labor supply, such as: the level of salaries, the level of unemployment, the contribution of male in household work, the number of children, the state policy towards family and childcare, the availability of household appliances, etc.

losses in the fields of employment, social welfare and participation in political processes (D. Kandiyoti, 2000: 124). In a country like Serbia, where women are struggling to remain employed primarily to secure not only survival for the family, but also to maintain their own economic position and self-worth, any decrease of female labor supply during transition is unlikely.

I anticipate that the increases in pay associated with a market economy will also fail to ultimately benefit Serbian women. In developed capitalist countries women still earn 30% less than men with same education, experience and position. Furthermore, the difference in pay is generally higher in the private sector than in the public sector. In transitioning countries, the fastest expanding sector is private and largely dominated by men. Thus, it makes sense to expect that the gap between women's and men's wages will increase further. In situation of generally high unemployment, it is to be expected that the structure of employment changes will integrate more and more temporary, seasonal and low-paid jobs, and that women will be first to be pushed out even from such marginal employment opportunities by unemployed men. Highly educated and skilled women may still get new job opportunities in the newly expanding sectors, but these will be a few female winners among many female losers.

Thus, I think the general question for Serbia now is not so much: Will development become the priority of the Serbian government? But rather: will development be constructed merely in the sense of economic growth and structural change, or will it also be constructed as a form of social justice? The most recent data from other former socialist countries demonstrates that in general, development strategies used in transitioning countries have sharpened economic inequalities between women and men, as well as between women, and that this has delayed the successful transition of these countries. In this paper, I have attempted to show you a Serbia on the brink of transition, a country with wish to move forward but perhaps resistant to learn from the knowledge of other's and of her own past mistakes. We have an opportunity to transform the nation now, but our development strategies must include sensitivity to gender, and specifically recognize the large contribution of women to Serbian society. To exclude the needs of women in a time of such great potential is ultimately to reduce the chances of Serbia's successful move towards stability.

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PART TWO

5.

Attempts at and Beginnings of Privatisation and Transition – Effects on Gender Inequalities*

In this chapter I treat the effects of the transition and the privatisation in Voivodina and Serbia on gender inequalities. The first thing is to define the terms ‘gender’, ‘transition’ and ‘privatisation’ in their most common usage. What I am interested most of all in showing in this paper are the relations of inequality suffered by women in the patriarchal atmosphere of our society, mostly in the public sphere and in the various phases of the social development from socialism and so called state directed nondevelopment to transition and privatisation. Finally, in this text I examine the character of gender inequalities, predominantly in the job market, which can be expected during the process of transition.

Socially Constructed Gender Inequalities in Patriarchal Society

Gender is a term which, as opposed to sex and sexuality, covers all the differences between men and women which supercede their biological (gender) characteristics and differences. These differences between men and women, constructed by society, spring from different circumstances in which men and women live in a certain society or a social group. Therefore gender differences are not a given in a society but are variable. Set patterns of male/female relationship are different in Finland, for example, than in Serbia

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or the USA. If gender differences permanently turn in favour of men, which is usually the case, and not only in our country, then we are talking about a patriarchal society where the woman is the victim and suffers subordination by men, family and society. In a patriarchal society women and their problems are invisible. When there is discussion about women in traditional, patriarchal and authoritarian societies (Kuzmanović, B., 1995, Golubović, Z., 1995), such as ours is, then it is always in the context of the one role women are often reduced to – that of a mother.

Most scientists, practitioners and so called ordinary people in a patriarchal society, no matter if it is socialism or transitional period, treat social phenomena and changes as gender neutral. However, even traditional economic science today includes gender variable in its analysis of the economic and social reality or its segments (<http://www.uni-kiel.de/zif/>, 2002-05-13). Still, even then, to the economists who accept to see gender inequalities those inequalities in the public sphere are the most visible of all. Economists reduce the inequalities characterising human society only to those inequalities which are clearly visible and measurable, which means to the economic inequalities between men and women in the public sphere. These are gender inequalities in the job market: in employment and unemployment. Economists see reality through one eye only, male one, which means that all the categories they study are treated as gender neutral, or rather as male (Waring, M., 1989). Therefore feminist criticism tells them to open both eyes when they study economic reality so that they can see women in it.

As opposed to the traditional economic theory, the alternative one noticed the importance of gender in determining the character and the pace of social development. Feminists who study development stress that social development and advancement can be achieved only if so called outer and inner limits of development are not threatened.⁴⁵ On the other side, in today's globalisation, it has become generally accepted that the developmental policies which do not take into account gender can not be successful from

⁴⁵Outer limits of development are peace and survival of the planet itself while inner limits of development are determined by the ability of the society to satisfy basic (existential) needs of its members. There is no development if peace and survival of the planet are threatened as well as the ability of people to satisfy their existential needs. Furthermore, in accordance to the alternative thought of human development and the concept of Alternative Development (What Now, 1975), development realised within such set limits can be evaluated as more or less healthy development.

the wider social point. For their own reasons even the International Monetary fund and the World bank insist on the criteria of gender equality. It has been noticed that social development runs more easily in the countries which also insist on reduction of gender inequalities in their development strategies, and that the poorest are the countries with high level of gender inequalities (<http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/wp.htm>, 2002-05-3).

Gender Inequalities in Society with State Directed Nondevelopment – from Socialism to Transition

Feminist theoreticians have already explained that there existed in socialism gender inequality despite publicly proclaimed equality of genders. Women were expected to accept equal role to men's when work and building of socialist selfgovernment social and economic relations are concerned but at the same time the traditional patriarchal structure of family and social relations was expected to remain the same (Zarkov,). Under such circumstances women saw the rights acquired in socialism mainly as additional obligation. They were also disillusioned about equal pay for equal work so frequently mentioned in socialism (Puzigaća. M., 200). They did, as opposed to their counterparts in the West, get the same salary for the same quantity and quality of work (the others were paid about 30% less than men), but they were more frequently than men given work requiring less qualification than they had. Also, so called feminisation of poverty was noticed in certain spheres and services of economy. Women were or are getting relatively more employed in those industries (textile) and services (health and education) which are not well paid. New professions that women are getting into more and more are becoming less paid as well (Đurić Kuzmanović, 1995).

It is a well known fact today that transitional changes lead to the worsening of the social status of women and to the spreading of gender inequalities⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Since the fall of the Berlin wall term transition has meant a process of changes of the complete social and economic system and the atmosphere experienced by all the countries of the so called ex-socialism, that is countries of the Eastern and Central Europe. Since 5 oktobra 2000 our country, too, has finally joined that process. I am not going to debate here whether our country delayed, started or refused transition in the past decade. I tend to think that third option, refusal, is closest to the truth. Previous socialist government led active campaign in the media against the transition, **glorifying its** 'success' in rejecting transition and overstating the price paid by the countries in transition.

Transition covers complex political and economic changes. Thus:

1. Transition in the political sense means switching from the party state and the authoritarian political system to a democratic system, most frequently parliamentary democracy.
2. Transition in the economic sense means changing from the centralised and planned economy to market economy.

In case of Serbia the transition is from:

- partly abandoned socialist selfmanagement system of economy, legalized by 1974 Constitution and
- postsocialist, guided nondevelopment type which lasted 1990-2000 into
- market economy

Decade between 1990 and 2000 I call the period of **state directed nondevelopment of society**. It includes different economic, but not only economic, measures taken by state over the last decade to prevent and reject transition. Such social context resulted in the absence of normal conditions for realisation of people's potentials and also created complex and partly special consequences for women. It is the context of gender inequality and male domination which the state supported and favoured in the 1990s through the dominant lack of the culture of non violence; lack of normal social structures in favour of so called 'outward institutions' and through disintegration of society as the result of the above mentioned.

Such predominant economic and social system in Serbia was present in both households and the market and society. In that way patriarchal social relations, patriarchal values and sexism, represented the basis on which women were put as symbols of politics by the nationalist in the last decade.

Women experienced painful consequences of that process and lasted as double victims of violence: from Men and from the Government. The government supported this advent of masculism and the nationalistic treatment of women as mothers through the mass media and through the previous Serbian Parliament which prevented women from expressing their total potential.

Attempt at Privatisation and Effects on Gender Inequalities

Regardless of the various models and pace of the privatisation in different countries in transition it is the process which is marked by abandoning government monopoly (public property here) and embracing private property and other various forms of mixed property. Both Serbian and the previous, Yugoslav, experiences in privatisation are specific. Some pedantic theorists of the economic system (Horvat, B., 1984) calculated that the Yugoslav economic system was transformed as many as 17 times during the socialist period. Reforms of the economic or social system were done so many times that the manner of reforms became status quo. However, when property is concerned, there have been far fewer changes:

1. In 1945 through various measures of nationalisation private property was abolished and government property over the means of production was introduced,
2. In 1950 through the Law on Surrendering Companies and Economic Associations to selfgovernment by workers, government property was transformed to public property. Promoters of the socialist selfgovernment expected affirmation and extended reproduction of the public property in agreement with the desired constant strengthening of the socialist selfgoverning social economic relations. Numerous reforms of the Yugoslav economy and society, undertaken over the following decades, left right to a job, total employment and public property untouched,
3. According to the Constitution from 1974 **public property was defined as nonproperty** – it was owned by the entire society, but the price for its use was not defined,
4. With the Longterm Programme for Economic Stabilisation, 1983, for the first time **public property got treatment as public capital**, which meant that clear establishment of the price for the use of the capital was required. However, even this compromise document, which neither called for the

abolishing of public property nor for the introduction of private property, was abandoned quietly as soon as 1986

5. Only Markovic's reform from 1988 and the Law on Business, which was passed then, marked the **process of abandoning public property**. This law was the first one to insist on the equal treatment of all forms of property and promoted the market as arbiter of the order of importance of different forms of property. As is well known that reform of property, too, was soon abandoned, and the wars, first in Slovenia and then in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, substituted the talks on what belongs to whom.
6. Process of the property transformation in SR Yugoslavia, or Serbia, was started by passing the Law on Enterprise in 1988, and its amendments in 1989 and 1990. **Federal regulations stimulated the process of privatisation and favoured the role of employees as subjects of the process. However, regulations in the republic discouraged the process of property transformation and strengthened the role of the state as subject in the process.** Serbian state, especially in 1992, transformed with intensity public property in public enterprises into government property. From such a model of economic management mostly the ruling elite benefited.

At the same time, since 1989, processes of transition and privatisation have been well under way in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as evaluation of their high social costs and other, less expected effects. Serbia in the nineties resisted transition but at the same time went through tumultuous, dramatic and radical social changes. They find their synthetic expression in the drastic rise in poverty of the population, higher than the social price which, as human cost of the transition, is paid by the afore mentioned socialist countries of Europe. From the position of a European country with medium development, especially in the 1950s when our growth rate was very high, SR Yugoslavia fell to the bottom of the development ladder in the 1990s (Madžar, Lj., 1990).

Transition Experiences and Expected Gender Effects

Transitional reforms in these countries so far have mainly gone in two directions or rather they rested on two complementary programmes: stabilisation and structural reforms.

Policy of stabilisation is mainly directed on demand with the view of reducing the inflation and the foreign deficit. It is supposed to provide stable macroeconomic foundations for the economy which is on its way to structural reforms.

Policy of structural reforms is directed towards supply and the efficient use of the resources, as well as towards the reforms in individual sectors such as trade, industry, financial sector.

Experience so far in different (not only transitional) countries, which have attempted reforms, shows that the surest way towards development is improvement of the politics in many aspects but also accepting several general principles and experiences (World Development Report, 1991)::

1. Providing stable macroeconomic basis
2. Consistent and complete package of measures
3. Restricting and optimizing pace of the reform
4. Simultaneous and efficient sequencing of the reform
5. Social consensus and programme
6. Coordination with the institutional capacities of society
7. Role of state and extent of its involvement in economic trends
8. Extent of democracy of the regime
9. Reduction of corruption

Some of these conditions are less and some are more important and some are of critical importance for the success of the reform. For example, when we are evaluating the importance of Government democracy for the success of reform projects it has not been confirmed with certainty that democratic countries are more successful in carrying

out reforms than authoritarian countries. However their development success is, without a doubt, more complex and longterm. Authoritarian countries can achieve economic growth, even a faster one than democratic countries, but they can not be as successful in social development as democratic countries (World Development Report, 1991).

Law on Labour relations and Law on Privatisation made official the beginning of transition of the existing economic system into the economy with the integral market made up of: factors (work and capital) and ready made goods. Although the form and content of reforms in Eastern European countries differ from country to country there is noticeable similarity in the position of women (Funk, N. and Mueller, M., 1993., Aslanbeigui, N., Pressman S., Summerfield G., 1994.). Every research confirms that the reforms have contributed to worsening of the social position of women. During transition official socialist ideology of gender equality and women's emancipation is rejected because it is seen as a part of the repressive socialist system. On the other hand, the discourse of the market economy which has been introduced in these countries is gaining strength, paid maternity leave and children's social programme as well as other privileges which women enjoyed during socialism, are now felt by the government and the private employers not to be market categories and thus superfluous, the ones which state need no longer guarantee. This refeminisation of raising the future generations pushes the woman again into privacy and potential submission.

Turning to the market economy means high demand for the increase in work productivity (which means consistent following of principles for the same value of production and turnover in goods and services to be done with as little invested work as possible, expressed either in the number of employees or in the number of realised work hours). It is true that small, private companies have increased demand for the workforce but, for various reasons, this cannot greatly affect the number of unemployed. Transitional changes and privatisation will lead to further increase in unemployment of women, mainly as a consequence of two opposing trends: decrease in demand for female workforce and at the same time increase in offer of the same. On top of that, demand for workforce in small private businesses will increase but it will not greatly affect the level of unemployment. All in all, some positive effects of these changes can be expected but they will not benefit everybody. Besides, all these changes have their time-lag. Over short

period unemployment will remain high and salaries low. When there is high rate of unemployment we can expect structural changes in employment. Such changes will probably lead to greater availability of temporary, seasonal jobs, which are also badly paid. It seems that women will be losing even those employment possibilities to unemployed men. Highly educated women, with specialist training⁴⁷ still have chances of employment in sectors undergoing expansion. However, we can only expect very few winners among many women losers during the expected economic changes (Djurić Kuzmanović, 2002).

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6.

Investigating Gender Inequalities in the Clothing Industry in Vojvodina: Case of *Novitet*

In today globalized world economy, traditional development paradigm which polarize development and underdevelopment, Centre and Peripheries, wealth and poverty is still dominant, and the influence of neo-liberalism and modernization theory, despite all the criticism, still prevails. Powerful international institutions such as IMF and the World Bank argue that such approach to the world economy will have positive effects: growing productivity, international trade and transfer of financial stocks and, therefore, better living standard for majority of the world population. In reality, however, economic inequalities between social strata within national economies as growing, and so are the inequalities between underdeveloped, developing and developed countries. The critics of globalization argue that inequality and power imbalances are steadily growing.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Globalisation is a social, political and cultural process as much as it is an economic one. It supposes to consist of two dependent flows: integration and localisation (World Economic Outlook, 1997). The most important changes which describe the global spread of the term globalisation are: introduction of the new global electronic economy; the arrival of the 'weightless economy'; growing equality between women and men; removing of political, economic and social borders; declining of national sovereignty (even though states remain actors on the global stage), etc. Also, globalisation means the globalisation of crime, drugs and the like. (Hutton, W., Giddens, A., 2000).

One aspect of globalization is the changing position of women. The change here counts both pluses and minuses. On the one hand, we see the most powerful international agencies and organizations putting women on their agenda, and we see women gaining powerful position in formal politics, nationally and internationally. On the other hand, we see unprecedented abuses of women's human rights, from Bosnia to Rwanda to Afghanistan, and persistence of poverty in the world, with women being majority among the poor.

In such global conditions, ex-socialist economies of Eastern and Central Europe are being restructured after the 1989, through the guidance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank. The path these countries were supposed to travel in the decade of the 1990s - from centralized, state controlled socialist plan-economies to the capitalist market economy - was named 'transition', and their economies were widely referred to as 'transition/al economies'.

As the other chapters in this book show, for women in Eastern Europe, these changes brought about mixed results. The newly elected post-socialist governments did not hesitate to curtail women of the rights they still had in socialism. Such governments started from the hypothesis that economic reforms are gender neutral, or they directly demanded from women to yield to men positions they had in national economies some time ago.

Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had a rather different path in the same decade. It disintegrated through the war during 1991 - 1995. In 1992 UN economic sanctions were imposed on what was left of it under the same name: Serbia and Montenegro. During the same decade the government of (then renamed) Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was actively engaged in preventing and undermining economic development - a process I have called elsewhere a 'directed non-development'⁴⁹ - in order to preserve its power. This process, which actually started already in the 1980s - had devastating consequences in every respect - economic, social and political.

⁴⁹ Since the 1980, Serbia was facing the state directed non-development (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1997). In other words, a systematic and complex mechanism has been operating, preventing not only introduction of the market economy, but any economic and political development that would undermine exiting power position of the ruling oligarchy. Former Serbian government also never admitted its responsibility for the war through which Yugoslavia disintegrated, and always presented itself only as a victim. State-directed non-development also contributed to gender oppression in significant and specific way (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 2002).

In 1999 NATO bombing of the FR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has finished off whatever economic infrastructure was still in place.

Thus, Serbia - and I will focus on Serbia, and its northern province, Vojvodina - had gotten a chance to taste the 'transition' pattern other East European countries have already been following for a decade, only after October 2000, after the government of President Milosevic was replaced.

In this chapter I will investigate some of the gender aspects of the economic changes in Serbia and Vojvodina during these last few decades of turmoil, using as a case study one clothing and textile company - *Novitet*. I will look at some of gender inequalities that women in the company have been facing in the period before the breakup of SFR of Yugoslavia (since 1980s), during the disintegration (1990-2000) and (as much as data allow) in the last couple of years, after the new government was installed.

My main point is to show that the new situation in labour transformations cannot be easily explained either by the old socialist criteria and concepts or by the newly developed 'transition' measurements. Furthermore, economic, political and social changes in Serbia have not gone neatly along each other, or parallel with each other, but have been rather conflicting and contradictory. Thus the gender inequalities, - in employment or wage earnings for example - even when seemingly recognizable, have a bit different meanings than previously, simply because the social conditions within which they occur are different.

Thus, the position of women in economy of the region, and the gender inequalities therein, has to be regarded in the context of all the economic and social changes that occurred in Vojvodina and Serbia during the last decades. For that reason, I will start with a short introduction on conditions within which textile industry developed (especially, conditions of capital market and ownership), and then move on to look at the labour market. In the second part of the chapter, I will introduce the company *Novitet* and indicate some gender aspect of labour conditions there.

Textile Industry in SFR Yugoslavia: Notes on History of Market and Ownership

Yugoslav textile industry showed, from the very beginning, the signs of imbalance and peripheral development due to the different historical, social and economic conditions of the region. Before the World War II (after which socialism was introduced) almost whole textile industry was concentrated in more developed parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, i.e. in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia. Also there was a great imbalance between the production of cotton and wool as raw materials, and their final products (Pavlovic, 1957:106). Between the two World Wars, there were few clothing firms, mostly small, or medium sized and placed nearby the larger market (Kon, R., 1953: 500). At the same time, textile industry, regarded as a whole, was one of the most developed branches of industry in the region.

After the WW II (after 1945), socialist Yugoslavia, like many other socialist countries, placed all its hopes for speedy development in heavy industry. Socialist state had crucial role in defining the market and the property conditions, as well as in designing the key institutional economic conditions of the country. Since 1945 the attitude of the socialist state in relation to the market, the role of the state in economic life and the property, have been changing, and different periods could be distinguished with regard to each of the mentioned elements.

After the Second World War, the situation in textile industry turned to the worse, as a consequence of the development strategies of so-called 'forced' industrialisation and its development priority: the development of heavy industry. Thus the textile industry was left 'to wait for' the development of the heavy industry and energy supply in order to help their faster development. Generally, the socialist development strategy from 1945 to 1965 was based on the 'forced' industrialisation, resistance of market and self-reliance.

In 1965, the socialist state made the most significant turn towards the market, but did not question social property.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the state made changes in development

⁵⁰ Only after three years this reform failed because of the contradictions between conditions of social property (capital ownership) and market. Namely, the radical changes towards the market undermined the state ownership of major industrial capital. In the conditions of liberalisation some social

priority from heavy industry to so-called 'light' industry. This structural reform, i.e., shift to industry that produces final goods, introduced textile industry into a new period of development. Textile industry became dynamic, fast growing branch. In 1965, in total textile industry, clothing industry (among which is *Novitet*) participated in the total production with 10.3 per cent (Srebric, B., 1955:107).

Textile industry is the branch of industry known for traditionally lower wages per worker (Korosic, 1983: 61). It is typically labour-intensive industry, employing growing number of female workforce. The economy and development of the textile industry is directly influenced by the trends presented in the world economy: its capacity is export-oriented and more than two third of that capacity are dependent on the raw materials from import.

In terms of property relations, the most important points in time are 1945, the nationalisation of private property, and in 1950 introduction of the so-called 'social property' (*drustveno vlasnistvo*), next to the 'state property' (*drzavno vlasnistvo*). State property means that the owner of the firm was directly the state, while in the case of social property the owner of the firm was the whole society and at the first place working collective. The types of property were not seriously questioned till 1988 when the new Law on Firms was introduced by then Prime Minister of SFR Yugoslavia, Markovic. That legislation was based on an assumption of equal treatment (by the state) of different types of property. However, Serbian government was among the first republics of socialist Yugoslavia that refused to adopt the Law (as the republics had the power to refuse to accept federal laws).

During the 1990s, privatization was 'one step forward, two steps back' struggle. In 1994/95 already privatized firms became 'social property' again.⁵¹ Since the privatization was not a legal obligation, but was voluntary, only few firms were privatized. Till November 2000, less than 10 per cent of the 'social capital' was privatized, i.e. only 18 of

strata were becoming more successful and richer, acquiring economic power and demanding in turn larger portion of political power. The ruling elite saw these facts as dangerous and decided to stop every radical attempt of liberalisation towards market. The ruling socialist regime initiated the economic reforms every time when it was faced with numerous economic problems, but it also stopped reform whenever their power was endangered. I suggest that this lies behind the failure of more than seventeen, smaller or larger, economic reforms which were undertaken during the whole socialist period (Djuric-Kuzmanovic, 1997).

⁵¹ *Novitet*, previously privatized, was re-collectivized .

428 firms in Serbia finished the process of privatization⁵² Furthermore, almost all firms which started the process of privatization, excluding few medium sized firms, were small. Furthermore, the applied model of privatization favored employees and pensioners from social and public sectors.

In 2001 a new Law on Privatization was adopted in context of democratic transition of the country. According to this Law, it is expected that process of privatization in Serbian economy will be completed in next four years. Unlike the previous attempts of privatization, new Law firstly sought for investors ready to buy and restructure the firms.

The privatization of *Novitetis* in process. Due to the new legislative (Law on Privatization, 2001), technical assistance privatization of small and middle size firm, such as Novitet, is in hand of one consulting Agency, named MEINLCAPITAL ADVISORS AG & InterExport , Ltd. – who was chosen by the state Serbia and financed by The World Bank. The deadline for privatization of Novitet is December 2002. In the case of unsuccessful tender the state will decide whether the tender will be repeated. Also, in the case of unsuccessful tender sale state could organize auction or wait some extra time to improve better conditions for next sale.

Transformations of Labor Market in Serbia - Neither Socialist nor 'Transitional'

The socialist concept of full employment is very different from neo-classical concept of flexibility of labour force and the concept of imperfect competition⁵³. The socialist state guaranteed full employment thus introduced and supported the non-flexibility of labour force. In reality of socialist Serbia, the labour market - as a market

⁵² The Report on Directorate for Estimation of Capital Value, 2000 (Izvestaj Direkcije za procenu vrednosti kapitala).

⁵³ Neo-classical concept of flexibility of the labour force (Friedman, M., 1968: 1-17, Chhaschhi, A. 1999: 15) assumes that the markets of labour force and goods are perfectly competitive. Due to this fact the prices and wages depend on flows of supply and demand. The concept of imperfect competition (Layard, R and Nickell, S., 1985) accepts that workers are well organised at the labour market, as well as their employers and the state. Because of their negotiation, the wages are higher than so called balanced level, which assumed neo-classical concept.

where the labour price is formed under the influence of supply and demand of labour - did not exist. In the regime of 'social ownership', the socialist state proclaimed the 'right to work' and permanent 'safety of job'. Once employed meant employment until the end of one's working life. The consequences of non-flexibility of labour force were the large surplus of employed workers and nearly complete absence of flexible employment.⁵⁴

During the socialist period from 1945 to 2000, neither the socialist Yugoslav federal state, nor Serbian government made serious attempts to change legal regulations, customs and practices that govern the labour market in order to make it easier for management to hire and fire workers. Workers, while badly paid, were still pretty safe about their jobs. While in the market economy unemployed pressure the wages at the formal labour market, the case in Serbia shows a reverse trend. About one million of the employed with ensured health and social benefits, who are latently unemployed, make pressure on the wages at the informal market.⁵⁵

During the last decade, adjustment of employment to the decreasing level of economic activity was not realized by dismissing the surplus of workers, but by sharp decrease of real wages, increased number of the employed on paid or unpaid leaves, increasing retirement, and increased employment at informal labour market. Due to these measures, the standard of living was preserved from totally collapsing, but the result was large decrease of the labour productivity in formal sector, large increase of latent unemployment and expansion of informal labour market.

In 1992, after Security Council of United Nations imposed economic sanctions⁵⁶ against FR Yugoslavia, the redundancy of employed work force was impossible to hide, with one after another firm collapsing. But again, instead of firing the workers, a new law was introduced in Serbia, about so 'called paid or unpaid leaves' for the workers who

⁵⁴ The surplus of employed, created during the 1950s, constantly has had proportion of about 30 per cent of the total number of employed. The various forms of flexible employment such as: reduced working time, part-time job, temporary job, work at home and similar non-standard forms of employment are present in Serbian economy with only 1-2 per cent of total employment (Marsenic, D., 1999: 288). Employment with reduced working time is mostly unwilling employment, because it is mainly consequence of illness or disability.

⁵⁵ Basic characteristic of the labour market in Serbia is its division on formal and informal (meaning the illegal) labour market. Functioning and expanding of informal labour market were supported by the following factors: un-development of formal labour market, non-flexibility of labour force, low wages and high taxes.

⁵⁶ The sanctions were imposed in 1992 by the Resolution 757 of Security Council. They meant that FR Yugoslavia was nearly completely excluded from international market and legal economic relations.

became surplus. The law meant that workers were *de facto* dismissed, although *de jure* their labour contract was not broken. This strategy of maintaining fictive employment was motivated by an intention to avoid organised social protest in the country, that would certainly broke out in case of massive redundancy. It is estimated that there were between 600.000 and 800.000 fictively employed workers in Serbia (Marsenic, 1999: 298).

Participation of women in the labor market in socialist economies – including Serbian economy – has been significantly higher than what women achieved in the West. The high participation of women in labor market in socialist countries comes from the socialist emancipation project which promoted equality between sexes in the public sphere and from the proclaimed (but never really fulfilled) development objective of full and guaranteed employment for all.

It is expected that, in the process of transition, the former officially proclaimed socialist gender equality will lose its significance. Also, full employment will not be guaranteed any more. Structural and other changes in economy will probably change relative positions of men and women at labor market in several ways.

To some extent it is possible to estimate some effect of changes described above for women's position on the labor market in Serbia. The experience of the most East and Central European countries (excluding Hungary) and the available data show that the rate of female unemployment in the last ten years varies from 5-17%. Still, unemployment rates remain high in transition economies, with a tendency to grow further.

In Serbia the level of female unemployment was high to begin with. The decade of isolation and complete economic breakdown (1989 to 2000) led to increased unemployment, especially among highly educated women. In Vojvodina, for example, women make 55% of all unemployed, 56% among qualified unemployed and 67% of unemployed with high education. It is also worth mentioning that in 1999 61,3% of unemployed women were looking for their first job or had never been employed before!! That was an increase of 6, 1% from 1998 (Zaposljavanje u APV, June 2000). Characteristics of unemployment in Serbia are that it is structural, consistently high, it lasts for decades, and it specifically affects young people without work experience, those with low education and (skilled and highly educated) women.

The turmoil of the labour market had significant effect on wages. In normal labour conditions, monthly wage is commonly regarded as a function of the following variables: sex, age, marital status, education, working experience, occupation, economic branch, firm's property status and working hours⁵⁷. Education level in the market economies is one of significant variables in the wage formation. In these economies every additional year of education increases the wages over 11%. In former socialist countries, this increase is between 4 and 5% (Rutkowski, J., 1996). Compared to these percentages, the valuation of highly educated profiles according to their wages in Serbia is relatively high. Compared to secondary education, wages of highly educated workers were increased for 46.2% in 1996 and for 42.8% in 2000. Also, compared to secondary education, wages of those who completed college level (extra two year after the secondary education) increased for 10% per cent in 1996 and for 13.6% in 2000 (Newell, A. and Reilly, B. 1999).

Also, in the case of monthly wages in Serbia, larger number of the variables, mentioned above, is statistically significant. However, their relatively low determination ratio indicates the significance of non-economic and institutional factors in the formation of wages. For example, the total effect of economic branches on wages in Serbia is highly statistically significant. Empirical analysis from 1996 to 2000 (Krstic, G., Stojanovic, B. 2001: 24-28) showed that labour market in Serbia does not have the same characteristics as labour market in transition countries during the first years of reforms. Basic features of formal labour market in Serbia are large wage disparities among workers with the same or similar qualifications in different economic branches. The wages of the employed in Serbia depend more on the economic branches where workers are employed than on their work performance and experience. In 1996, agriculture and trade realized lower wages in relation to the industry. In 2000, catering, tourism, education, culture, as well as health and social care were added to these two branches. Also, compared to the wages in public and social sector of property, the wages in private sector were higher for 30.9 per cent in 1996, and for nearly 50 per cent in 2000.

Sex is another factor in determining the level of wages. Empirical analysis of the wages in Serbian economy showed that comparing to 1996, wage differences between

⁵⁷ I use here Mincer's equations (Mincer, J., 1985).

men and women increased in 2000. While in 1996, employed women earned 15 % less than men, this gender wage gap increased for another 2.6 % in 2000 (Krstic and Reilly, 2000). This gap can partly be explained by the variables such as: education, working experience, etc. However, a part of the gap is ascribed to different valuation of these very variables. Gender gap is broader at the informal than at the formal market.

Women in Serbia in 2000 realized different wages per hour at formal and informal labor market. At formal labor market these wages were lower for 28.1% in relation to men's; at informal labour market women's wages were lower for 39.5% (Krstic, G. Stojanovic, B., 2001:34). Part of this difference may be due to worse education structure of women at informal in relation to formal sector. But basic and the biggest wage difference is the result of the total effect of the economic branches. Those industry branches that are in discriminating position, like textile industry, have lower wages in relation to the wages in privileged industries.

Textile industry in Serbia, according to the data in periodic account I-VI 2002, numbers 1092 businesses, with 73182 employees (Serbian Chamber of Economy, 2002: 2). Businesses in Textile, Leather and Shoe Industry make up 12.2% of the total number of businesses in Serbian economy, and 13.8% of the total number of employees. It is estimated that 80% of those are women.⁵⁸

The new Law on Work, introduced in December 2001, finally abandoned the ideal of full employment and introduced flexibility of labor force. Employer gained the right to declare technological and organizational surplus of the workers, and to dismiss them.⁵⁹

Serbian transformation process would most probably lead to the increase of unemployment, resulting from increasing labour supply on the one hand and decreased labour demand on the other hand. Under the circumstances of generally high unemployment rates, structural changes in employment could also be expected. These changes will probably lead to greater availability of temporary, seasonal and low-paid jobs. Women are likely to be pushed out even from such employment opportunities by

⁵⁸ According to the oral statement of Branislav Atanackovic, general manager of Beko, at the meeting of the Textile Board, attached to the Serbian Chamber of Economy, may 2002.

⁵⁹ If a company director uses this Law to dismiss the worker, he does not have right to employ another worker on the emptied place within three months. But, if director changes the description of the work place, he can immediately employ a new worker. The Law also abolished previous additions and compensations on earnings such as: right of holiday benefit, past labour benefit, paid lunch break etc....

unemployed men. Highly educated and skilled women may still get new job opportunities in the newly expanding sectors of information technologies or banking.

***Novitet* - Short Business History**

Novitet was founded in 1947, when the socialist state nationalised a private factory. During its first days it produced uniforms for Yugoslav army. In that period, from 1947 to 1950, presence and influence of the market was officially 'forbidden'. The uniforms were produced because the state asked for them. Also, the state distributed them to the soldiers and some workers. The workers who produced them didn't even get wages in cash. They were paid in goods or coupons for which they could get goods (also proposed by the state). Furthermore, the communist ideology proclaimed that men and women have equal rights and equal responsibility in building a new society and that there are no differences between them, even when uniforms are in the question. Thus, the male and female workers were wearing even the same model of the uniforms.

But after a short period of time *Novitet* started producing underwear and male ready-made clothes for civilians. At the beginning of the 1950s it had about 200 employed, mostly women. In 1955, the firm radically changed its production program towards the production of exclusively female clothes. In 1964, it took over another firm producing uniforms and civil clothes with about 400 workers. In 1978, it took over a company of another 100 workers producing clothes only for foreign market. Until 1986 *Novitet* extended its existing factory by building two more plants.

Until the 1990s, *Novitet* produced more than 300.000 of ready-made clothes per year. About 75% of this production was for foreign markets of FR Germany, The Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Denmark, Great Britain, USSR, USA, Australia, and for Slovenia. Co-operation with foreign partners was mainly based on loan business.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Loan business is a specific form of partnership in international trade, where goods are imported and/or exported for its further refining (Rakita, B., 1998). Such refining jobs represent specific form of export of productive services. For example, such kind of productive services is sewing of clothes in the case when owner of goods lives in foreign countries and gives precisely defined conditions and orders of commission in advance. Orderer of loan business can also be domestic firm if its production is for foreign trade. But, in the case of *Novitet*, orderer is foreign firm and *Novitet* only gives the productive service of sewing raw material, which is not its property. It is so called "active loan business" where *Novitet* realized some export earnings for the productive service which it made (the usual price of sewing in this case was

During the 1980s, the existence of loan business in socialist Yugoslav economy was extremely high, especially in textile industry. One third of total export of Yugoslav ready-made clothes belonged to active loan business (Damjanovic, M., 1985: 237-242). This kind of business orientation of textile firms did nothing to promote their competitiveness, but rather followed general world trend of re/industrialisation between developed and underdeveloped countries. However, loan business has its positive effects, especially in the case of firms such as *Novitet* which are economically inferior at international market. It enabled *Novitet* to use its capacity more effectively, to employ additional labour force, achieve higher level of production quality and increase the level of existing technology.⁶¹

Market disarrangement caused by disintegration of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1990s and introduction of economic sanctions by the UN Security Council had many effects on *Novitet*. Production decreased 35 - 40% and co-operation with foreign firms faded away. During the last decade, *Novitet* kept international business co-operation based on loan business only with one firm from Germany. Recently, after the beginning of the democratic transition of the country, such form of business started anew with some textile firms from Slovenia.

Disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia radically decreased the supply of ready-made clothes. Yugoslav market of ready-made clothes lost legal assortments from Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These losses were not replaced by new producers from wider international market. At the same time, consumers from Vojvodina and Serbia were stimulated (by significantly lower price) to buy the ready-made clothes, as well as lot of other things, on the black or informal market.⁶² During socialism, several

from 5 to 7 DM per hour). Simultaneously, foreign partner who exports its raw material for refining, makes passive loan business, because the import of productive services create outflow of foreign capital. Active loan business is usually result of insufficient use of productive capacity, lack of firm's original ideas and attractive productive programs, as well as firm's shortage of convertible currency. Loan business in *Novitet* was also part of domestic business (with one textile firm from Belgrade).

⁶¹ On the other hand, if a firm relies on loan business too much, the consequences are: decrease of own creativity, passivisation of workers and every danger which proceeds from the situation when firm has only one or one important business partner (Rakita, B, 1998: 224).

⁶² Besides the mass appearance of the second hand clothes, there was a glut in that kind of market with ready-made clothes made in Turkey, China, etc. While being usually of lower quality, it is also much cheaper and often of newer fashion than *Novitet's*. In the circumstances of increasing pauperization of population in Vojvodina and Serbia, for the majority of people this was the only way to buy any new ready-made clothes for themselves or (most often), for the younger members of the family.

Novitet's production plants were specialised. But, during the 1990s specialisation was not possible to maintain. The production in all plants adjusted to the immediate economic conditions. In the other words, to decreasing demand. *Novitet's* basic production program, the production of half-heavy ready-made clothes (coats, raincoats, suits, short coats, jackets, dresses, skirts, and trousers) could not secure the normal level of the firm business. During these years, working conditions changed significantly. A significant number of workers left the firm, and still even the low volume of production could not employ all the remaining workers. Furthermore, the existing equipment was already technologically old-fashioned, specially in the process of the technological preparation (sewing units and ironing units) and financial effects of lowered production created financial resources which were not sufficient either for maintaining, or for modernisation of equipment. Finally, trade decreased significantly in the company's shops, since the additional assortment was dramatically lowered (the shops also used to sell clothing from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). Thus, consumers were less stimulated to buy in *Novitet's* stores, although *Novitet* gave customer concessions: delayed payment and payment on installments.

Through the 1990s, production and trade of this firm consisted of:

1. Production in its own program of ready-made clothes - 30% of their total production (80 per cent of this was sold in their own stores and 20 per cent by others);
2. Ready-made clothes produced in co-operation with other firms - about 35% of total production, sold in its own stores as well as in other ones;
3. Production for foreign partners - 20% of total production. This entire production was based on loan business (services of sewing), while there is almost no export of ready-made clothes;
4. Production for the Army and Customs - 15% of total production;
5. Trade for other producers in *Novitet's* shops - 60% of total trade of ready-made clothes.

Thus, the generally instable political and economic situation in Vojvodina and Serbia affected the company rather badly. In addition, socialist regime produced very frequent and very quick changes in the institutional regulation of the property and the business

conditions. *Novitet* changed its status three times in only few years.

Furthermore, the strategy of directed non-development produced devastating effects on the market of labour and goods, and on consumers. Business in this firm, like in the most others, was a result of the general climate and circumstances in the country, which were ruling in Serbian economy during the 1990s. If the firms wanted to make any significant production and trade on such state directed market their main managers had to follow the special rules, proposed by ruling political oligarchy. Very often, these special rules were not even proposed by law, but by directives from formal and informal political oligarchy through their contacts with the principles in the firms. This often meant that - in order to obtain export license, for example - directory of the companies had to be influence personage of Milosevic's Socialist Party.

Recently, for example, the Federal Bureau of Budget Inspection (Savezni budzetski inspektorat) confirmed that during the NATO bombing on Yugoslavia, from 28th April to 13th May 1999, the Federal Bureau of Customs (Savezna uprava carina) paid no tax income on sold cars to the Federal Budget.⁶³ This financial source was illegally distributed to the numerous private and a few 'social firms' including *Novitet* (FreeB92, 2001).⁶⁴

Despite all the turmoil of the last decade, *Novitet* is today still a production and trade firm of female fashion products. Basically, production program consists of female clothing like: coats, raincoats, suits, short coats, jackets, dresses, skirts, trousers, etc. The firm consists of 6 production units and 36 stores (5 of which in Novi Sad and rest located in larger towns throughout Serbia). According to its size, *Novitet* belongs to the class of medium/large firms in Serbian economy. The number of workers is from 700 to 800, depending on the cycle character of production and utilized capacity.

After the democratic transition in October 2000, the production and trade orientation of *Novitet*, slightly changed. The production for the Army, i.e. Customs, practically ceased to exist. That production was the result of agreement between the ex-directors general of *Novitet* and the Customs, and reflected the status of this firm in the post-socialist conditions of directed non-development.

⁶³ The largest recipient of the Federal Budget's financial resources is the Federal Army.

⁶⁴ In the numerous financial affairs being discovered in the last months there are many examples of criminal operations closely connected with the top of the ex-ruling hierarchy.

Also, in 2001, the proportion of other producers in *Novitet's* shops decreased, while the production in its own program slightly increased to 55-60%. Namely, after the democratic transition in the country, UN sanctions were removed, enabling *Novitet* to find and buy Italian raw materials of higher quality and lower price. Finally, changes on the market had influenced the decrease in quantity of the *Novitet's* ready-made clothes sold through other trade firms.

Throughout the 1990s, quality of the company business was lower than officially presented: in 1997, for example this firm was 316 days in financial blockade from the state. It means that state made registration about firm's impossibility to pay its own obligations and after 60 days it had right to start bankruptcy procedure of such firm. Usually, the firm once or twice a month earned some money to pay the bills, obligations to the third persons and wages to the workers in a day or two, and then blockade started again. In that sense, the business efficiency and liquidity slightly increased after democratic transition of the country. After the democratic transition in 2000, *Novitet* sold most of its stocks of ready-made clothes by sales, discounts and payment in installments. That capital as well as the capital of the foreign partners in loan business was invested in Italian raw material. Thus, in September 2001, *Novitet* produced new fashion collection of ready-made clothes. The financial effect of that fashion collection enabled the company to decrease its own obligations towards suppliers and the state. Namely, the Board of Managers of *Novitet* achieved an extension of term of payment towards the supplier. Also, they continued with incomplete payment to the state. That saving enabled the firm to pay some of its previous obligations, to invest in new collection of ready-made clothes and to give the salaries to the workers.

Some Aspects of Gender Inequalities in the Labour Force in *Novitet*

Novitet belongs to the low accumulative and low income economic branch, and this reflects in the average wage per capita: about 150 DM in 2001. The average salary in

the given period in the cities of Novi Sad and Belgrade was 464 DM and 428 DM respectively.⁶⁵

The total number of workers in this firm is 759, and 85% of whom are women. Women work mainly in the sectors of production and trade (so called Technical and Commercial Sector). In this feminized branch of industry, employed women are mostly with low education, from poor workers or peasant family background. They accept to do such a low paid job and in very poor working conditions because they do not have much choice: they must work in order to support their families. Thus, the qualification structure in *Novitet* is not satisfactory, because there is a lack of highly qualified workers, while the proportion of qualified workers is higher than needed. Such structure is above average qualification structure of both the employed and the unemployed in Serbia.⁶⁶ During the 1990s, *Novitet* experienced the largest drain of employed, over 200 workers (especially of workers with the highest qualifications; or to be more precise the ablest within each qualification went on to better paid jobs) 805 of them were women. According to the age structure we can see that about 70% of them are between 27 and 45, i.e. with working experience between 10 and 30 years.

Slow pace of mechanisation did not affect women's position and forms of labour control in the production section. Due to the fact that women continuously present the majority of labour force there (about 90%), they are also mostly present only at the first level of control - as direct supervisors at almost all production lines. Traditionally, women are chiefs of at least 4 of 6 production lines in the firm.

Upper in the job management hierarchy, one woman is a principal of the whole Production sectors and she is the only one in the company's Board of Managers. The situation in job management hierarchy in the shops is following: of 36 shops there are 17 male chiefs and 15 female chiefs, while the shop assistants are mostly women. As I have previously mentioned, the total portion of women in *Novitet* (both production and trade) is 85% and it decreases with increased level of management hierarchy. *Novitet*, besides General Director also have the Board of Directors. In such an Board, out of nine

⁶⁵ The average month salary in November 2001 in Vojvodina 428 DM, and in Central Serbia 349 DM (Sluzbeni glasnik Republike Srbije, 2001: 3/4).

⁶⁶ Generally, the structure of work force shows that over 40% of unemployed and over 30% of employed are unskilled and semi-skilled workers (Marsenic, D., 1999: 286).

employees four are women; that is, 44.44 of members are women. For example, while a woman is mostly chief in the sewing units, i.e. production lines, it is not the case with the Board of Directors.

Gender inequalities are more visible when we look at the educational structure and qualification of employed in relation to their work place. The following table presents sex structure of higher and high qualified workers in *Novitet*:

Table 1. The sex structure of higher and high qualified workers.

	male	femal	total
high qualifications	6	5	11
higher qualifications	6	18	24
Total	12	23	35

Source: Platni spisak Noviteta (Pay Roll of Novitet, December, 2001)

Obviously, there are significantly more women with higher (secondary and college) education than men. However, this does not show in their paychecks. For example, out of 6 men with higher qualification, 3 were evaluated as they had high (university) qualification. Until 2001 among five women with high qualifications, 4 had wage ratio under 2.8, although all other working places with the same qualification were evaluated with ratio above 2.8 (Pay Roll, Accounting Department, systematisation of working places). Therefore, it seems to be the rule that women are more frequently placed on the working places with lower ratio and places where lower qualification is requested. Four out of 5 women experience such situation. None such case appeared with men. One male worker with lower qualification was even working on the place where higher qualification was requested.

During 2001, since new director general was placed, new trend is evident. In three of four previously mentioned cases, new director general corrected the discrepancies

between working place, education and wage. His main criterion is economic efficiency. Equally significant, unlike the previous director the new one doesn't express sexist ideas and behaviour in public (from personal communication with female workers).

Still, gender inequality is visible when maternity leave is in question. Some of the women on maternity did not use their holiday and holiday benefits while on leave. During 2001 there were 35 workers in *Novitet*, who didn't realise their right to use holiday and among them were 15 women on maternity leave. Only 4 women on maternity leave used this right, because the whole production unit, where they worked, was sent, as surplus, on compulsory holiday.

In 1994, when Yugoslav Federal government accepted Program of Economic Recovery of FR Yugoslavia, the status of these redundant workers, became the subject of responsibility of Serbian Bureau of Employment.⁶⁷ Official data present significant success of that Bureau in additional education and self-employment of surplus worker. However, example of *Novitet* places serious doubts on the official data. Namely, in 1994, *Novitet* signed contract with Serbian Bureau of Employment for the purpose of financial benefits for financing employment of technological surplus of 251 workers and new employment of 110 permanent workers. Also, in 1995 *Novitet* signed new contract about additional investment in program of education of 176 workers. The Bureau and *Novitet* prepared joint program of six months training of these workers. Therefore, *Novitet* undertook obligation to keep all those workers who successfully finished training, or to find them new jobs. *Novitet's* new fashion program, called "New Youth Fashion Program" should have employed 176 such workers.

Their sex structure of this labour force shows that only 18 of them were men (tailors, locksmiths, drivers, shop-assistents). Thus, this seemed as a good news for women workers. Unfortunately, in reality this kind of so-called education program was completely fictitious. Primarily, the purpose of this joint program with Serbian Bureau of Employment was to ensure the legal form of the financial present given by the state to some privileged firms. Such firms were privileged by the status of their social capital, or

⁶⁷ According to previous Republic regulations, this Bureau undertook so called active and passive measures. Active were to participate in financing of investment programs of additional education and self-employment of 30.000 of surplus workers from Serbia. Passive ones were to pay one-time relief for 180.000 of redundant workers. Official data show that in 1994 the results of the active measures are higher than it was proposed, while the passive ones were not applied at all (Marsenic, 1999: 293).

by the close contact with some influenced persons, not necessarily politicians.

Finally, working conditions, as well as discipline of the workers are far from being satisfactory. Working conditions, especially in Production sector, were, till recently, very poor. All female workers, except few of them with special operations (such as making prototype models), are in only one large room. Temperature and poor ventilation is the greatest problem in this large room. All male workers, whose job is to repair the machines, are placed in two small rooms. Worker's toilets are in extremely bad condition and they are used as smoking places, because smoking is prohibited in the plants. Recently, in 2002 working condition in Production sector are improved due to cooperation with company "Labod" from Slovenia which invested some financial resources in air-condition there. Also, toilets were generally repaired.

Comparing to foreign textile firms, the production time per ready-made clothes is still too long, indicating low productivity. Furthermore, effective time during working hours is still only about 5 of 8 hours working day. Since the norm-based work is hard and the wages of production workers are low, women are generally interested to get job in non-production sectors, or to get better job position in the production ones (in the prototype unit). They sometimes use some subversive tactics like gossips and spending long time in toilet or smoking area, even sometimes offering sexual services to superiors for certain privileges.

My impression was that two of many different women's strategies are in some way successful. One of them is when women 'use' men to realize their rights. The other one is when they become more loud-voiced and forceful than others in the demands for realisation of their rights.

In Search of a New Framework

In this paper, I explored socio-economic transformation in one firm in clothing industry in the decades of dramatic changes, and looked at the resulting gender inequalities. My main point was that the changes in Serbia cannot be easily explained by either 'socialist' or 'post-socialist'/^transitional' conceptual frameworks. Rather, concepts from gender and development studies seem to be more useful. I do not claim that my

analysis is sufficient to provide reliable conclusion about the processes which I followed, either in relation to the clothing company I analyzed, or to other firms in textile industry, or economy of Serbia itself. My analysis is only an illustration of those trends, which are clearly visible in this particular firm. Still, I find it realistic to suppose that they would be present - albeit partially - in other firms and institutions. My intention was also to inquire how the changes of political and economic conditions, i.e. 'transition' and privatisation, influenced position of women and gender relations in the clothing industry in Serbia during the last decade. Obviously, my empirical data show that women suffered systematic gender inequality in the process of economic transformations in Serbia. Compared to men, women were more unemployed and less employed, they occupied more subordinated segments of the labour force, regardless of their qualifications or position in the management hierarchy, and they were often denied some work benefits guaranteed by law.

In this paper I presented the production in clothing industry as a gendered system, dependent on both internal and external factors. Internal mechanisms I related to the production process and to distribution in the firm of clothing industry as an economic system. External conditions I related to the key changes of the dominant political, economic and social system of Serbia, including the attitude of the state towards the capital and labour market, ownership, and the role of the state in directing economy. My analysis of external mechanisms was rather more extensive, while the internal conditions of the company were seen as the outcome of the general (external) situation of the country in the 1980s and 1990s. The dominant economic and social systems assume that the workers are free from reproductive responsibilities. At the same time, reproductive rights are integrated in the system on the gendered base. One can easily relate nationalist politics in the 1990s, which drove women out of the market into the homes, to labour market gender aspect which delegated women to specific, low income, economic branches. Both of them have left consequences on the situation of women workers in *Novitet*.

Further research should explore changes in status of women workers more deeply. I plan to compare more extensively socialist and post-socialist period in Serbia as well as the most recent trends in response to the liberalisation and globalisation of the Serbian

economy since the democratic change in 2000. I plan to focus on gender inequalities in this same company and relate them to the labour market and the structures of state and capital, as well as patriarchies. Future research should also discuss in detail specific gender inequalities and discrimination that are only indicated here, and their continuities and ruptures through socialism, post-socialism and recent democratic transformation of the country.

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7.

Transition, Privatization and Gender in Serbia - Impact on Labour Market*

In this paper, I explore the impact of privatisation and structural adjustment on gender inequalities in Serbia. Primarily, I research relative economic welfare of women in Serbia during the transition process and reform of labour market. All the data from other post-socialist countries, as well as my analysis of the situation in Serbia, show a paradox of democracy. Transition sharpens economic inequalities between women and men, as well as among women, especially regarding job opportunities.

In the transformation process in Serbia full employment will not be guaranteed any more. It could be expected that transition in Serbia would lead to the increase of unemployment resulting from decreasing of labour demand on the one hand and increasing of its supply on the other hand. Under the circumstances of generally high unemployment rates, structural changes in employment could also be expected. These changes will probably lead to greater availability of temporary, seasonal and low-paid jobs. Women are likely to be pushed out even from such employment opportunities by unemployed men. Some positive effects of all these changes may be expected, but they will not benefit everybody. Besides, all these changes have their time lags. In a short time period, the unemployment will remain high and the salaries of workers low. Highly educated and skilled women may still get new job opportunities in the newly expanding

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sectors. However, we can hope only for a few female winners among many female losers amidst expected economic changes.

In this paper, I use theoretical perspective Gender and Development (GAD) and combine it with neo-institutional theory. Beside analysis of relationship between Women and Development, and confirmation of subordinated position of Women in Development, in Gender and Development I recognise the significance of male contribution in this process. I consider men's role in development from their role as obstacles to female development and gender oppression to their strategic gender partnership.

Refusal of Transition in Serbia during 1990 and Absence of Labour Market

Unlike the most countries in transition, Serbia is just starting the process of radical change in economy and society. During the 1990s the basic characteristic of development experience in Serbia was state's refusal of transition⁶⁸ and state led non-development of economy and society (Djuric Kuzmanovic, 1997). During the 1990s, the Serbian government refused the reforms which could lead to the market economy and to the parliamentary democracy and created the context of state directed non-development with its hardly negative, even destroying economic consequences, i.e. economic chaos (Lazic, 2000: 10) and political conditions of war and nationalism (inside) and isolation (outside). This context which produced and supported absence of normal conditions of 'realizing one's potentials' for everybody, also created complex and partly specific consequences for women. It was a context of state supported gender oppression⁶⁹, as

⁶⁸ I use the meaning of the word 'transition' widely accepted when Eastern and Central Europe is concerned: as a process of transforming the existing economic and social system into a market economy based on private ownership and parliamentary democracy. Therefore, transition includes liberalisation of bureaucratic management of economy, wide reprivatization and economic restructuring. Even within such a traditional and limited approach, during the 1990s, Serbia drops out.

⁶⁹ The subordinated position of women is a consequence of the articulation of two registers of hegemony: patriarchy and an economic system of domination (Morell, A., I., 1999). This subordinated position of women occurred despite the fact that the ex-socialist state publicly proclaimed the development of a human equal society as one of its main goals. According to the ex-socialist state, humanization should have been achieved through the participation of workers in the process of social reproduction and the simultaneous withering away of the state, first from the economy, and then from other spheres of social life. Both principles were especially present in the state socialist project of the emancipation of women. Thus, women should have operated as equal participants in the development of the socialist economy and

'lack of specific culture of non-violence' and absence of normal social structures and destroying of society as a consequence of all above.

Absence of economic transition in Serbia can be regarded on the basis of:

- Unchanged structure of economic activity,
- Low portion of private sector in total economy and employment,
- Very slight decrease of employment in relation to significant decrease of GNP⁷⁰.

For more than five decades the labour and capital market in Serbia have distortedly functioned. Throughout all that period the socialist state didn't abandon the ideal of full employment and principle of distribution according to work, although it was widely confirmed in reality that they were not realised. On the other hand, in reality extremely low wages and high long-term unemployment prevailed. The socialist economic policy led to inadequate allocation of available resources with consequences in surplus of labor, capacity and demand for certain goods as well. For example, the prices of production factors presented completely different relationship of production factors in relation to their availability. Namely, labour, as a relatively abundant production factor, was made more expensive by high taxes, while the capital, as a very rare production factor was made cheaper by negative interest rate (Djuric Kuzmanovic, 1986).

During the era of socialism women did make many gains such as large increases in participation in the paid labour market and access to education. The participation of women at the labour market in socialist economies, as well as in Serbian economy, was significantly higher than the one achieved in the West capitalist countries. Such high participation of women at socialist labour market was a product of socialist development ideology, which promoted gender equality, and of development aim of full employment. Nowadays it is well known that interpretation of gender equality in socialism was largely simplified. Researches of relative women position in public sphere, i.e. at labour market, in socialism confirmed gender inequality and women oppression during socialism as well (Funk, N., and Mueller, M., 1993., Aslanbeigui, N., Pressman S., Summerfield G., 1994,

society as a whole as well as protectors and nurturers of the young and future generations. However, as recent feminist literature on women's emancipation in socialism demonstrates, women were not equal partners, either in the public or private realm. Patriarchal gender regimes dominated women's lives at home, and their position in the economy or in politics was far from ideal.

⁷⁰ During the last decade, decrease of GNP was 45.6 per cent, while employment decreased only for 14.6 per cent (Krstic, G, Stojanovic, B., 2001: 48).

Holzner, M.B., and Krahl, A. 1997). Thus, strong mutual dependency between women position in public sphere, i.e. at labour market and sex division of labour in private domain, was noticed. It confirmed that patriarchal ideology in socialism remained largely unquestionable.

Gender inequalities in public sphere in socialism primarily referred to:

- Bigger concentration of female labour force in lower-paid economic sectors (Djuric Kuzmanovic, T., 1995, 2001),
- Slower hierarchical promotion of women (Markov, S., Stankovic, F., 1991), and
- Gender pay discrepancy (Krstic G., Stojanovic B., 2001).

Directed non-development in Serbia during 1990 and main characteristic the labour market

During the 1990s, economic system in Serbia was quasi-market and structurally deformed. That economic system, i.e., the state led non-development, ensured neither economic growth, nor economic efficiency (Djuric Kuzmanovic, 1997). Instead, it maintained crime, corruption and rent seeking (Vukotic, V., et al., 2000, Antonic, D. et al., 2001). These conditions influenced labour market as well. Moreover, it led to:

- Absence of formal and strengthening of informal labour market,
- Low utilization and mobility of labour;
- Mass open and latent unemployment⁷¹ and high level of long-time unemployment;
- High participation of youth and women in total unemployment;
- Low wages and high wage disparity of the employed with the same or similar qualifications;
- Mass poverty and
- Brain drain⁷².

⁷¹ Latent unemployment refers to the people who have job in formal economy, but they do not have what to do. Latent unemployment in state and social sector of economy in Serbia is estimated at 30 per cent of employed, i.e. over 700 thousand people (Posarac, A., 1998). At the same time, latent unemployment went over the proportion of open, i.e. officially registered unemployment.

⁷² Different estimations about the number of people who left the country during the last decade vary from 100 thousand to 450 thousand (Djuric Kuzmanovic, 2001).

During the last decade, adjusting of employment to the decreasing level of economic activity was not done by firing surplus of the employed. Instead, that adjusting was done by:

- Sharp decrease of real wages,
- Increasing number of the employed on paid or unpaid leaves,
- Increased number of retired people, as well as
- Increasing participation of the employed on informal labour market.

The basic characteristic of labour market in Serbia is its division on formal and informal labour market. In this way, decrease of living standard was mitigated and social tension was avoided. However, social peace was ensured by large decrease of work productivity in formal sector, great increase of latent unemployment and by expansion of informal labour market. For example, during the 1990s, between 2.1 million and 2.2 million people was employed in formal Serbian economy (SGS, 2000). In the same period the number of employed in formal private sector increased from 160 to 501 thousand people. Finally, there is estimation that about one million of people are employed in informal economy, mostly in trade, handicraft and agriculture (Reintegracija sive ekonomije i razvoj privatnog sektora, 2001). Even 60.5 per cent of employed in informal economy already have regular job in formal economy, while 20 per cent of them are really unemployed. One of the reasons why employed in formal sector accept to work illegally is because they have health care due to their work in formal sector (ibid.).

At the same time, different forms of flexible employment like: reduced working time, part-time job, temporary job, work at home, self-employment and similar non-standard forms of employment were present in Serbian economy with only 1-2 per cent of total employment (Marsenic, D., 1999: 288). Although, in 2000, reduced working time and part-time job increased their portion in total employment to 5 and 1 per cent respectively, they still have marginal significance in total employment. Employment with reduced working time is mostly unwilling employment, because it is mainly consequence of illness or disability.

Empirical analysis of wages⁷³ in Serbia from 1996 to 2000 (Krstic, G., Stojanovic, B. 2001: 24-28) showed that labour market in Serbia do not have the same characteristics as labour market in transition countries during the first years of reforms. Namely, in the transition countries process of transition led to large decrease of real wages and to the increase of their dispersion. Furthermore, this process led to increase of the wages of high level educated employed in relation to the profile at lower level of education. On the contrary, in the period from 1996-2000, in the case of Serbia, the slight decrease of real monthly wages was noticed. In fact, the lowest wages realised slight increase, while all others really decreased. Also, calculated indicators of inequality in distribution of all wages: standard deviation and Gini coefficient confirmed decrease in total dispersion of all wages (ibid: 24).

Basic features of formal labour market in Serbia are large wage disparities among workers with the same or similar qualifications in different economic branches. The wages of the employed in Serbia, more depend on the economic branches where workers are employed than on their working effect. Thus, in 1996, agriculture and trade realised lower wages in relation to the industry. In 2000, catering, tourism, education, culture, as well as health and social care were added to these two branches. Also, compared to the wages in public and social sector of property, the wages in private sector were higher for 30.9 per cent in 1996, and for nearly 50 per cent in 2000 (Krstic, G. and Stojanovic, B., 2001). Finally, empirical analysis of the wages in Serbian economy showed that comparing to 1996, gender wage differences increased in 2000. While in 1996, employed women earned 15 per cent less than men, this gender wage gap increased for 2.6 percent in 2000 (Krstic, G. and Reilly, 2000).⁷⁴ Gender gap is broader at the informal than at the formal market. Women in Serbia in 2000, realised different wages per hour at formal and

⁷³ Monthly wage is commonly regarded as a function of the following variables: sex, age, marital status, education, working experience, occupation, economic branch, firm's property status and working hours. Qualifications are multi-linear with education level and therefore they are excluded.

In the case of monthly wages in Serbia, larger number of the above mentioned variables is statistically significant. However, their relatively low determination ratio indicates the significance of non-economic and institutional factors in the formation of wages. For example, the total effect of economic branches on wages in Serbia is highly statistically significant.

⁷⁴ This gap can partly be explained by the variables such as: education, working experience, etc. However, the other part of the gap is ascribed to different valuation of these variables.

informal labour market. At formal labour market these wages were lower for 28.1 per cent in relation to men's; at informal labour market these wages were lower for 39.5 per cent (Krstic, G. Stojanovic, B., 2001:34). Part of these differences is due to worse education structure of women at informal in relation to formal sector. Of course, basic and the biggest wage difference is the result of the total effect of the economic branches.

During the 1990s unemployment rate⁷⁵ in Serbia was from 19.7 per cent in 1990 to 26.8 in 1998. Compared to other countries in transition, it was one of the highest rates (UNICEF, 1997). Unemployment in Serbia is long-time phenomena, because about 80 per cent of unemployed wait for their job more than a year. Participation of women in number of total unemployment is continuously being higher than men's. For instance, in 2000, participation of women in total unemployment was 54.1 per cent, while men's participation was 45.1 per cent (Anketa o radnoj snazi, 2000). Also, the educational structure of unemployed women is higher than men's.

Challenges of transformation at the labour market in Serbia and expected gender consequences

The experience of ex-socialist economies of East and Central Europe, which were in transition since 1989, warns us on painfulness of this social transformation. During this process, significant changes in women status on labour market are expected. Previous researches about transition in these countries (Funk and Mueller, 1993) already confirmed that women experienced the most significant losses in the fields such as: employment, social welfare and participation in politics. In this paper, I especially pay my attention to the challenges of transformation at the labour market in Serbia and expected consequences on relative position of women.

Reform of the labour market should be harmonized with the dynamism of global economic reform, especially with privatisation and market liberalisation. In fact, the reform of the labour market in the case of Serbia means its establishing. First of all, it includes abolishment of the monopoly on the working place and integration of existing

⁷⁵ Unemployment ratio is relation between the number of unemployed who are actively seeking for their job and active population (employed plus unemployed). Active farmers are not included.

informal market into formal market. It is expected that the new institutional conditions, created by the Law on Privatisation (Sluzbeni glasnik, 2001) and the Law on Work (Sluzbeni glasnik, 2001) should encourage increase of the average productivity of work through decrease of working hours or/and number of workers and structural changes as well. Expected structural changes will demand higher mobility and flexibility of workers, competitiveness and selection among the employed, their personal responsibility and initiative. In longer period of time, the changes in the volume and education structure, as well as in regional allocation of employment are predicted.

It is also expected that during the transition reforms the officially proclaimed socialist gender equality will lose its significance. It is not so easy to give precise answer about the changes in relative economic welfare of women, i.e. gender inequalities during the transition process. Yet, some of the previous experience of Poland and other Central European countries warns us on the persistence of the gender pay differential and gender discrimination in a transition economy (Bedi, S. A., 2001, Pailhe, A., 2000). It could be expected that transition in Serbia would lead to the increase of unemployment resulting from decreasing labour demand on the one hand and increasing of its supply on the other hand. In addition, the demand for labour force by small private firms will increase, but without any serious impact on the level of unemployment. All in all, some positive effects of all these changes may be expected, but they will not benefit everybody. Besides, all these changes have their time lags. In a short time period, the unemployment will remain high and the salaries of workers low.

There are several factors influencing the female labour supply in general: the income level, the unemployment level, the male contribution to household work, the number of children, the State's family and childcare policies, the availability of household appliances, the social norms and values related to female work and labour market participation (Dijkstra, A.G., 1997). All of these factors are relevant for countries in transition as well as for Serbia. Some of them are not expected to change significantly, at least in the initial stages of transition. For example, the number of children is not expected to change dramatically any time soon. Some other factors, like, male contribution in household work, as well as the gender ratio of unpaid work, are also likely to remain unchanged.

However, some other factors that influence female labour supply are expected to change. The biggest change in this respect has already occurred at the level of ideology throughout the former socialist countries. The experiences of transition economies warn us that the socialist development ideology, which promoted gender equality in the public sphere, is near its end. In post-socialist countries socialist gender ideology is currently regarded as a part of the repressive socialist system. These ideological changes have influenced new legislation and deprived women from the incentives granted by the socialist state. Therefore, most newly elected democratic governments have supported the right of women to stay at home. Thus, the patriarchal gender ideology has even been encouraged by transition.

The above named factors will influence decrease of women participation at labour market. On the other hand, women will do their best to stay at the labour market, primarily because they want to ensure their and their families' economic position. Hence, during these changes, decrease of women labour force is not expected.

What can be expected in terms of demand for female labour in Serbia? In order to estimate future trends in terms of the demand for female labour in Serbia we should follow two lines of analysis:

The first line of analysing is by gender and sector. I point out a perspective of women in specific sectors of the economy where women are under-represented or over-represented among employed or unemployed, and their possibilities for employment in other sectors. Thus, the employment perspectives of women in heavy industry are very bad. Production in this sector is capital-intensive and non-competitive for export to developed countries. When restructuring hits, the first to lose their jobs in heavy industry will be administrative workers, mostly women. At the same time, women are over-represented in light industry, especially in the production of consumer goods. The prospects for new employment in these labour-intensive sectors depend on new investments and possibilities for developing new markets, including exports. In the commercial sector (trade, tourism, banking, communications, etc.), where most growth is to be expected, women are well represented among employees. The prospects for new employment in these labour-intensive sectors depend on new investments and possibilities. Thus, they could be potential beneficiaries of expansion. Still, under the

circumstances of high unemployment, women are first to lose jobs, particularly higher level and better-paid ones, more in industry than in other sectors. It is also observed that women are more and more situated within low-paid sectors. This certainly contributes not only to unemployment of women but also to the feminisation of poverty.

Second line of analysis is gender and individual. It deals with individual situations, meaning the chance that a woman, compared to a man or another woman, actually keeps or loses her job. Generally, in Serbia, unemployed women have higher education than men. Due to high family responsibilities, women are considered as more expensive and less reliable, a less mobile and less flexible work force, than men. Since in the countries with transitional economies the fastest growing sector is private, it is safe to argue that the gender income gap will grow large quickly contributing to deterioration of the overall economic status of women and possibly influencing their participation in the labour market.

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8. Institutional Framework of Gender Inequalities in Serbia during Transition*

In all patriarchal societies there are numerous examples of gender discrimination and of female subordination – both in individual and in organised form. Thus, in Serbian patriarchal society too, in the past decades, gender inequalities have been orientated in favour of men. Women and women’s problems have remained largely unnoticed. When there has been talk of women then it has been mainly in the context most frequently associated with women – that of a mother.

This paper is, on the whole, dedicated to revealing institutional roots of the gender inequalities in Serbia, with the aim of defining possible measures and actions to be taken in order to reduce them. Gender inequalities have, among others, an institutional base. In addition to that, I can not ignore the fact that another source of gender inequalities is the failure to realise institutionally given gender equalities. However, predominant subject of my attention in this text are the institutional strongholds of gender inequalities contained in the Law on Privatisation (2001) and the Law on Labour Relations (2001), which are the key laws, passed so far, to provide the institutional basis for the processes of transition and privatisation in Serbian economy and society. What I am, most of all, concerned with in

* This paper is an integral part of the Project for Financing businesses run by women, which was organised in collaboration by the following organisations: The Association of Businesswomen – PAŽ, Vojvodjanka – Regional Women’s Initiative, The STAR Network World Learning, Booz/Allen/Hamilton USAID Commercial Law Project, Gender Equality Group within Pact for Stability

this paper is to research the key relations of inequalities to which women are submitted in the patriarchal atmosphere of our society; inequalities in the so called public domain and in the phase of the transition and privatisation of the Serbian society; inequalities which are caused by the existing institutional solutions.

Reducing gender inequalities and promoting the ideal of the gender strategic partnership has for its basis determination of the desired role of the state in the process. Such role played by the state, promoting gender equality in the process of the transition and privatisation, includes various measures of positive discrimination towards women. Therefore, in the final part of this paper I put forward several key measures which would promote fair competition on the market.

Gender Equality as Basic Human Right and Development Ideal

As far back as 1948 United Nations General Assembly passed the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (Resolution 217III) which stresses that all the rights and freedom belong to everybody, irrespective of the race, GENDER, religious orientation, political and other views, nationality, social status, property, birth or other circumstances (Basic Documents on Human Rights, 1998). In the eighties and the nineties of the last century, in addition to the present variety of forms of gender inequality⁷⁶ it is gender equality that became an unquestionable developmental ideal of the globalized world (Giddens, A., Hutton, W., 2000). Although developmental ideal of the strategic gender partnership is still long way off, numerous international documents⁷⁷ outline and guide the steps along that way. The

⁷⁶ Gender inequality in this text, as is the general definition, refers to all the inequalities between the man and the woman which are not biologically given but are the product of the specific social factors and the circumstances in a society. Therefore gender inequalities between men and women differ from society to society and also vary within each society.

⁷⁷ For example the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976) guarantees men and women equal economic, social and cultural rights; The Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination towards Women (1979) supports equal recognition of and respect for the basic rights of

existing Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (article 13) also states that citizens are equal in their rights and obligations and that they are entitled to equal protection by the state and other bodies irrespective of their race, GENDER, birth, mother tongue, nationality, religion, political and other views, education, social status, property etc.

In contrast there are in all patriarchal societies numerous instances of gender discrimination and subordination of women extending to gender violence both in individual and in organized form. Thus, in Serbian patriarchal society too, gender inequalities have been orientated in favour of men. Women and problems of women remain largely unnoticed. When there is talk of women in such traditional, patriarchal and authoritarian societies then it is mainly in the context most frequently associated with women – that of a mother.

For economists, and others, who admit they see gender inequalities, those in the public sphere are the most visible of all. Economists reduce inequalities characterising human society to those which are clearly noticeable and can be measured in quantitative terms, which covers only economic inequalities between men and women in public sphere. These are gender inequalities on the job market: in employment and unemployment.⁷⁸ Therefore feminist criticism, directed at the economic theoreticians and practitioners, is to open both eyes when studying economic reality so that in that reality they can spot women. (Warning, M., 1989)⁷⁹.

women in all walks of social life; Beijing Declaration and the Acting Platform (1995) both stress that human rights and basic freedom are the rights gained by birth, and that their protection and advancement are the task of the governments and also that the rights of women and girls inalienable, integral and indivisible part of the universal rights (Copic, S. i dr., 2001:5-6).

⁷⁸ Economists observe reality through one prism only, the male one, which means that they treat all the categories they study as gender neutral, that is mostly male. However, not only economists, but most scientists, practitioners, and so called ordinary people in a patriarchal society, notwithstanding socialism or transitional period, treat social phenomena as gender neutral.

⁷⁹ Feminists who study development believe that social development and advancement can be achieved only if so called outer and inner limits are not threatened. Outer limits of development are peace and the survival of the planet itself. Inner limits of development are determined by the ability of a society to satisfy basic (existential) needs of its members. There is no development if peace is threatened, or the survival of the planet and the people, or the ability of people to satisfy their needs. Furthermore, according to the alternative thought of development, or the concept of the other, humane development, the

However, today, due to globalisation process, it has become widely accepted that those developmental policies which do not consider gender can not be successful from the wider social point of view. From the specific reasons today both the International Monetary Fond and the World Bank insist on criteria of gender equality. It has been noticed that social development is realised with more success in those countries which insist on reducing the gender inequalities and that the poorest countries are those where gender inequalities remain high. (<http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/wp.htm>).

Gender Inequalities in Serbia Over Past Decades

Feminist theoreticians have clearly demonstrated that despite publicly announced equality of genders there was in socialism gender inequality. Women were expected to play an equal role to men's in the field of work and developing socialist selfgovernment social and economic relations. At the same time traditional and patriarchal structure of the family and social relations was expected to remain more or less intact. Under those circumstances women mostly felt that the new rights, acquired in socialism, were an additional burden.

When the question of equal pay for equal work in socialism is reviewed women were left with no illusions that they were receiving equal pay (Puzigaca, M., 2002). For example, they were paid 15% less than men for the same work in 1996, while in 2000 that difference was increased by 2.6 percentile points (Krstic, G., Stojanovic, B., 2001). They are also allocated to jobs requiring lower qualifications than they actually possess (Djuric Kuzmanovic, 2002), or to so called 'female' sectors of economy and work which is traditionally paid less per worker (SGS, 1999).

Social context in which women in Serbia found themselves in the 1990s was **nondevelopment of economy and society directed by the government** (Djuric Kuzmanovic, T., 1997). It covers various, both economic and non economic, measures

development realised within such limits can be evaluated as more or less sick or rather healthy development (What Now, 1975).

taken by the government over the past decade and designed to prevent or refuse transition. Non development of economy and society directed by the government resulted in the absence of normal conditions for realisation of the potentials of all people and also created complex and partly special consequences for women. It is the **context of gender inequality and male domination**, which government supported and favoured through various acts:

- Dominant lack of the culture of non violence;
- Lack of normal social structures in favour of so called ‘ outward institutions’
- Disintegration of society as the result of the above mentioned.

Such predominant economic and social system in Serbia was present in both households and the market and society. In that way patriarchal social relations, patriarchal values and sexism, represented the basis on which women were put as symbols of politics by the nationalist in the last decade.

Women experienced painful consequences of that proces and lasted as double victims of violence: from Men and from the Government. The government supported this advent of maschulism and the nationalistic treatment of women as mothers through the mass media and through the previous Serbian Parliament which prevented women from expressing their total potential.

Institutional strongholds of gender inequalities in Serbia

Since October 5th 2000, Serbia, too, has finally officially joined the process of transition. Transition in case of Serbia marks the transition from the partly abandoned economic system of socialist selfgovernment and the post-socialist, directed nondevelopmental type of society, which lasted from 1990 to 2000, to the market economy.

Passing of the Law on Enterprise (2001) and the Law on Privatisation (2001) made official the start of the transition of the existing economic system towards the economy with the integral market comprised of: factors (work and capital) and ready goods. On the whole, in the above mentioned laws it is still not clear if ,in the market economy towards which we gravitate, market is sufficient, objective and gender neutral mechanism. The national project of the Serbian society itself is not sufficiently defined: what kind of

society are we striving for? Is that a democratic society of the liberal-capitalist type or the social-democratic type? Value ideals of the Serbian society, even with some already adopted institutional solutions, are still its value dilemmas: both regarding the attitude towards the market and towards the role of the state in the economy and the society. Until present day a chance to define the national project of the Serbian society has been missed.

Deep value dilemmas make formulating institutional solutions difficult, make their passing complex and complicated and further blur gender vision contained within. Thus in the Law on Privatisation, on the whole, neoliberal view is predominant and it suggests that the role of the state should be only to create institutional environment for the market activities and provide basis for the macroeconomic stability (World Development Report, 1991, 1996). Simplified understanding of the market overlooks the fact that the society does not consist of insignificant individuals and economic subjects but of people belonging to certain social groups – class, race, nation.⁸⁰ Power relations between and within these groups are different and belonging to each of them by an individual has either limitations or advantages. Therefore, a condition for a realistic fair market competition is existence of equal opportunity,⁸¹ taking into account group inequalities (Bujišić, B., 2001). Principle of equal opportunity, therefore, assumes preserving of women's earned social rights and requires the state to implement measures of positive discrimination for women who provide fair market competition between the two genders.

Law on Privatisation

Through the Law on Privatisation (2001: VIII) clear ownership structure over the companies will be established. It will clearly reveal the fact that serbian economy is in the hands of men. Although the position of all the workers will become inferior, because they will formally lose ownership over public property, the position of women workers will be

⁸⁰ To these social macrovariables feminist theory added mezzo variables of gender and age group (Harding, S., 1987, Pearson, R., Jackson, C., 1998).

⁸¹ That is why the International Work Organisation (MOR) passed the Convention C156 on Equal Opportunities which was signed by Yugoslavia and which refers to workers with family obligations. This convention promotes development of public children's and other institutions which serve the family as well as understanding of the principle of equal opportunities and treatment of employed men and women and the problems with family obligations (<http://awin.org.yu>).

even more difficult. Women workers for the most part do not have any property in their name. Also, it is frequent that even when the property is in the woman's name the decisions about it are made by a man. These facts dramatically narrow down possibility of running own business for women. On the other hand, banks and other financial organisations very frequently ask for the ownership of real estates as a condition and a guarantee before extending credit for starting a small business. Under such conditions selfemployment for women will be made additionally difficult. For this reason in further text we submit suggestions of possible measures of positive discrimination towards women, all of which refer to the Law on Business and which promote fair competition in the market:

- When choosing the best strategic partner to the company key points of control are: Agency, Ministry, Government and Parliament – it is necessary to provide organised control in each point by women – which means make sure there is organised participation and control by women in the Agency for Privatisation, Shares and Stocks Fund, the Central register for Stocks and Bonds and in Privatisation register (XI)

- In all the companies and institutions which relise the right to free acquisition of stocks it is necessary to provide participation of minimum 30% women (IX). Alternatively: value of free stocks for women needs to be up to 30% higher than for men (X).

- Women must participate in an organised way and control the preparation process for the auction of the company carried out within the company (IX), as well as in the tender commission (XIII)

- The right to participate in distribution of capital from the Privatisation Register without payment belongs to all citizens of age, except for those who have exercised that right based on the transfer of the capital to the employees without payment (XIV) – women need to be favoured through more stimulating criteria...

- Review the possibility of starting the special credit lines for businesswomen in commercial banks

Law on Agency for Privatisation

- In the Agency boards (Executive and Control board, Manager General) make sure women are represented with 30% and there is organised control of making fair competition and gender equality in the process of privatisation
- It is necessary to form a legal help department at the Agency for Privatisation for all the workers, men and women, whose rights have been injured in the process of privatisation

Law on Shares and Stocks Fund

Resources of the Shares and Stocks Fund, as a specific state organisation which represents the state in privatisation process, need to be used to realise measures for providing fair competition and positive gender discrimination in three ways: by stimulating women buyers who will improve control in the subjects of privatisation, restructure business dealings and provide new investments.

To form an investment fund which will incorporate individual and institutional investors for the development of enterprises run by women or for the crediting and investment programmes as well as for the support to programmes of public initiative for business project run for women or for businesswomen associations etc.

Law on Labour Relations

General objections to the Law on enterprise refer to favouring of motherhood to parenthood and to discrimination of men in their right to take care of children (justification for suggestions of changes in the draft of the Law on Labour Relations, 2001, Amendments of the draft of the Law on Labour Relations, 2001).

- Provide extra education for women for new jobs in all the cases when the need for the jobs they performed ceased during the pregnancy or maternity leave, and introduce priority in placing them in new jobs.
- Through adequate mechanism guarantee equal pay for equal work in relation to men.

- Provide adequate protection before the institutions of law in cases that the woman suffers gender discrimination and make it easier to prove such discrimination, that is strengthen the inspection and increase the penalty measures with the view of reducing the breach of the rights of women in the process of privatisation.

Suggestions for Action: Gender – from Cost to Advantage

Transitional changes and privatisation will lead to further increase in unemployment of women, mainly as a consequence of two opposing trends crossing paths: decrease in demand for female work and increase in offer of female work force. The greatest changes will take place at the ideology level in the form of encouraging patriarchal ideology. Discourse of the market economy and of the privatisation and insisting on the efficiency as the key social criterion, will threaten position of the woman. During the transition official socialist ideology of the gender equality and female emancipation is rejected in the countries undergoing transition because it is seen as a part of the repressive socialist system... On the other hand, the discourse of the market economy which has been introduced in these countries is gaining strength, paid maternity leave and children's social programme as well as other privileges which women enjoyed during socialism, are now felt by the government and the private employers not to be market categories and thus superfluous, the ones which state need no longer guarantee. This refeminisation of raising the future generations pushes the woman again into privacy and potential submission. The most vulnerable groups on the job market, in this sense, are women coming back from maternity leave and women over 50 years of age. We can even expect disloyal competition between these two social groups of women. The older, already retired work force, mainly due to poverty, enters the job market again and accepts lower wages than average.⁸²

Above mentioned arguments speak for the need to redefine state policy in regards gender, that is, to focus the position of the state primarily on the economic aspect of

⁸² Naturally, although legal regulations can forbid or limit the possibility of employment for the retired workers on the formal job market, as is already done by the existing Law on Business, the fact that in transitional conditions there is an informal job market and that the society is poor, makes it widely possible for the disloyal competition between the women of different age groups.

gendering with the aim of surveying the costs and the benefits which the category of gender has

(<http://www.uni-kiel.de/zif>). In order to promote gender equalities during the process of transition and privatisation of the Serbian economy the state must give adequate answer to at least following key questions, which are carefully considered in developed market economies:

- How much does it cost when the woman truly earns as much as the man?
- What use is gender specific favouring of profession distribution?
- How expensive is it not to take into account leading and other potentials of women?

In other words, respecting the experience of other countries undergoing transition, as well as the first results in our own privatisation process, special attention need to be paid to the following areas:

- gender and job market (that is, salaries, access to different occupations, qualifications and balanced work span...),
- gender in globalised economy (that is, money and resources, businesswomen, especially in less developed areas),
- gender in leadership (gender in organisations),
- social costs of gender (health, safety, violence).

A few Yugoslav and international women conferences⁸³ adopted resolutions which refer both to different measures of empowering women and to recommendations to governments, non government organisations and unions on the national and regional level. Taking into account their suggestions I wish to specially stress the importance of the following activities:

⁸³ Only during this and previous year following international conferences have been held:

1) CEBWA - Central European Business Woman's Academy, 3rd Annual Workshop «Financing Women's Businesses», October 5-7, 2001, Belgrade,

2) Conference "Regional Women's Economic Networks", 27-29.10.00. Belgrade and Backa Topola

3) International conference «Influence of Privatisation and Structural Adaptation of Economy in Countries in Transition to Economic and Social Position of Women »

- Introduction of the European social model and the dialogue of all the partners on key development issues in our society.
- Forming the basis of gender indicators(besides the National Plan ..., 2000) indispensable for following and analysing the availability and the use of women's potentials in the widest sense. For example, for such an analysis today we miss data on:
 1. how many businesswomen there are in the total number of business people,
 2. which are the greatest barriers when starting the business (financing),
 3. which areas women choose most frequently for investment (area of services).
- Forming a businesswomen's network, with the view of offering financial assistance and information support to businesswomen in all the phases of development, starting with setting up of the business and its connecting to the business people's associations for the joint influence on the operation of Chamber of Economy. Also, within the existing organisations, like The Development Agency, it is necessary to form a women's division.
- Forming the women's association which would control the position of women in the job market, organise discussions on problems in that area and promote equal opportunities for women among the employed and the unemployed in the job market and in the society, but also forming women's sections in the unions (where they are not already present) which would cooperate in an organised way with other women's organisations.
- Organising the availability of advisory services and legal help to women in order to make them stronger, to increase their selfconfidence and to make them aware of their rights in the job market and make them participate in eliminating discrimination in the job market and teach them how to make use of their rights.
- Founding a publishing series 'to help women' like the example in Check Republic (Hajna, Z., 2002) where it would be possible to publish titles such as 'How to defend Yourself against Discrimination " or "Having Personal Opinion and Making Personal Decisions" together with the basic information on the laws. Some of the questions which would thus be answered are: what is legal counseling, when is it useful and what can be solved by it;. There would also be information on the institutions which can help, on the aims of the Job Centre, which forms of counseling are available (which ones are free and what you get in return), basic information for the business people, assistance for women

returning from the maternity leave, working at home, using information technology advantages and disadvantages, what is so called on-line business (where do you need to be careful, what to demand from the employer), looking for work – how to go about it, interviews, questions that need to be asked, what a woman needs to know about the employer, what are women’s legal rights and legal demands, how to answer questions of a personal nature, what to include in the job contract, how to apply for a job, what should a CV contain.

- Coordinating economic measures which are typical for the transition with the measures aiming to protect the family and the individual; including specific needs of women and the most underprivileged groups (such as women in the country, old age pensioners, handicapped women, single mothers, housewives, young women etc.) into the social policy and the social programmes.
- Taking inclusive measures to eliminate poverty, from the concrete mechanisms for eradicating corruption to the programme of the economic education of women.

From Gender Oppression to strategic gender partnership

Would working with men have a positive effect on the status of women? Would knowing more about how women and men are marginalised contribute significantly to gender equity? Focus on women is insufficient and inadequate. If we want to study gender as social relationship, we also have to understand males position and perception. Perspective Gender and Development includes man and, thus, contribute to change the idea of man roles and mainstream concept of masculinity. This approach put individual activities and believes of man and woman in the broader frame of social, economic and politic changes. Gender accept the ideal of equality and social justice, because it supposes that gender sensitive politics contribute both more effeicient and more humane development. Gender understand strategic gender partnership through the idea that change towards gender equality is possible if we could realize it in the family and local community, it means that we need man as partner and allians. Of course that future will bring new and complicate challenges for their gender role. However, this issue is for some other time

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Gender and Transition In Serbia

Women were ignored in development theory and practice alike for far too long. However, feminist criticism of development studies has brought about the concept of gender into the theory, and the relevance of gender into the practice of development. Gender analysis made women's position in development visible, and exposed systemic gender inequalities and exclusion of women from development. At the same time, inclusion of other social categories into gender analysis (class, ethnicity, race...) has shifted the stress on women's natural solidarity and sisterhood to a more sophisticated understanding of differences among women and thus allowed more realistic strategies for change (Rathgeb, E.,M., 1990).

It is clear (or at least, it should be) that politics and policies that ignore gender fail to understand and reach large sections of societies. In Serbia, like in many other places, few state institutions currently pay attention to women, or consider what will be consequences of their economic and other policies on women. It is mainly women who work with women's issues in Serbia. Their research has proven that situation of the female half of Serbia's population has been rapidly deteriorating in the last decade. Milosavljević (2000), for example, shows that social and economic hardship and their effects on everyday life are such that women in Serbia live 7 years shorter and work 15 hours longer (per week) than their Western counterparts. That they have bad health and very low standard of living (including nutrition). For that reason, most of women mention quality of life, health security and violence as their major problem, and political participation is a rather secondary concern. They do not bother with number of women in political parties.

Thus, what is needed in Serbia is that gender - or at least: women - are taken into consideration, once again, and that the previously existing measures of legal and social protection are not thrown out with the proverbial bath waters of failed socialist state and the regime of Milosevic. Experience of other countries in transition shows that this will be a difficult task to achieve.