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Women's education and employment in Yugoslavia and California

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WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN
YUGOSLAVIA AND CALIFORNIA

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Social Science

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Milina Jovanovic

May 1998

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN

YUGOSLAVIA AND CALIFORNIA

by Milina Jovanovic

This thesis addresses gendered educational and occupational patterns in Yugoslavia and California between 1985 and 1995. These two very different societies have many similar and many different ways to preserve patriarchal divisions between male and female social domains. Examination of educational and occupational structures reveals the Yugoslavian socialist concept and practice as more progressive than Californian, but also the maintenance of patriarchal social divisions in both societies.

The body of the thesis begins with background information on Yugoslavia and California and analysis of these two socioeconomic and political systems. Then I focus on each society in turn examining gendered patterns in families, formal education and occupational structures. Special attention is paid to women's participation in the main political bodies and the discrepancies between de jure and de facto status of women in both societies. An integrative chapter presents comparative data and analysis of educational and occupational gender segregation in Yugoslavia and California. Identification of similarities and explanation of differences make the core of this discussion and shape the study's conclusions. Overall, similarities between these two occupational and educational structures and women's opportunities are more significant than differences.

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Michael Pogodzinski provided not only practical and technical help for the data collection and analysis, but stimulated me to rethink my topic and methodology. I am very grateful for his interest in the “Yugoslavian case” and in my work which is very different from his major field.

Lois Helmbold was not a member of my thesis committee, but she helped me a lot. Her classes were extremely challenging for the development of my ideas. She was

ready to discuss theoretical and methodological questions related to my thesis, showing real interest, and providing practical help and support. I do not have enough words to express my gratitude to Lois.

My former colleague and boss, my former and present friend, Milos Nemanjic proved again his altruism and friendship. He did a lot of work in Belgrade in order to help me. Sometimes, he needed his rich research experience and skills, and very often he needed his social networks to collect the publications and unpublished written materials--sources of my data. I cry whenever I think about the collective spirit and collective work we did in Belgrade in the Institute for Sociological and Criminological Research. In fact, I am afraid that I will not have many chances to experience similar collective spirit and to have such a chief-friend in my future.

I would have never been the same person and a scholar if I haven't had my Yugoslavian professors devoted to me, my personal and professional development. Mirjana Todorovic, Vladimir Milic, Jugoslav Stankovic, Andjelka Milic and Mila Radovanovic influenced my thinking and they made a sociologist of me. I am extremely grateful to Vladimir Milic and Mirjana Todorovic for my self-confidence. I will be their debtor for the rest of my life. They are now proud of me as much as I am proud of being their former student and, always, their friend. I am determined to show to them an additional evidence that the Yugoslavian sociology is not inferior at all, in world terms.

I am deeply thankful to my colleagues and friends Carla Collins, Jennifer Wahlstrand-Kara and Julie Maia. All three of them worked with me, edited three chapters of my thesis, gave me invaluable suggestions, asked the best possible questions and made

my writing more clear. I do not think that I will ever have enough words to thank them for their interest, their friendship and their significant contributions to my thesis. Each of them had less time and energy for her own work, and Jennifer for her little Samuel, because they decided to help me. I will remember days they shared with me.

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I would like to write that my family is my oasis, but it could sound very American. Still, I am happy to live with Sonja and Tomislav. It is extraordinary for a seven-year-old daughter to be able to understand her mother's need to work, without interruptions. She doesn't blame me for being often absent-minded. Sonja already started asking questions about different cultures, Yugoslavian-American relations, her mixed identity and gender roles. Tomislav and I devote our energies to socialize Sonja according to Yugoslavian cultural values, and to preserve the unconventional and nonconservative atmosphere of our home. I was able to think and write, continue my education and research because Tomislav provided necessary conditions and support for my work.

I cannot forget that my friend Jasmina Naleid cared for Sonja as if she were a daughter of her own. Jasmina shared with me my personal and professional excitement and dilemmas. Also, I am very thankful to our cousin Sara Perkovic for being always available, for her help and support.

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Feminist Study Group for their encouragement, patience and the interest they have had for my research, as well as for my endless polemics and critiques of this society.

Milina Jovanovic

May, 1998

“Where are you from?”

“Yugoslavia.”

“Is there any such country?”

“No, but it’s still where I come from.”

Children of Atlantis: Voices from the Former Yugoslavia, (Lesic 1995, 22)

Is there such country?

No and yes. And she was reborn several times if we consult history.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Coming to California in 1994, I already knew that I was interested in making all sorts of comparisons between my native country, Yugoslavia, and my new social spaces. I was curious about what difference it makes if we live under capitalism or under socialism. At the beginning I had only theoretical knowledge, but I knew that it was very different if we *experienced* different social systems. I also had a strong interest in gender issues. In Yugoslavia, especially after experiencing gender discrimination, I was aware that my gender was influencing my academic interests and my way of thinking. Thus, when I arrived in California, it was almost natural for me to start comparing women's positions here and there, even before I was affiliated with any academic institution and had a clear idea that such a comparison could be my master's thesis. I was especially interested in comparisons concerning education and employment.

My interest in education and employment stems from my belief that they not only are channels of social mobility and means of social integration, but that they also contribute to gender division and gender hierarchy. Women in socialist countries made progress in the spheres of education and paid work and it is interesting and important to compare their achievements with those of women in the capitalist world.

However, the whole Yugoslavian experience is neglected in American sociological theory, and serious analysis of Yugoslavia's specific form of socialism is

completely missing. The literature on Yugoslavia by Western authors is more politically colored than scientific. These authors tend to see the Yugoslavian system of self-management and social ownership as very abstract, hardly understandable (Sirc 1979, xvi), and almost exclusively an ideological phenomenon (Dyker 1990; Hoffman and Warner 1962; Farkas 1975; Rubinstein 1970; Rusinow 1977; Curtis 1992). The American public and social scientists need more of the sociological than political perspective on "the Yugoslavian experiment." I also want to turn intellectual attention to the Yugoslavian experience because I still believe in its revolutionary potential. Western authors very often do not think dialectically, and besides their political persuasions, this is the main factor that prevents them from understanding the Yugoslavian social system. The basic institutions of the former Yugoslavian socialist system--social ownership and self management--could not be understood without thinking dialectically.

American general arrogance about her power and position in the world is reflected in social sciences. Thus, I am not surprised to find both ignorance and oversimplification of the Yugoslavian socialist experience in social theory. Still, whenever social scientists attempt to observe and explain the real world, the more critical and the less apologetic attitude is needed. Hence, I see no reason for critically oriented minds to neglect or oversimplify the experience of Yugoslavia, "one of the biggest laboratories in the world" (Madzar 1992, 92).

Undoubtedly, there was a gap between the Yugoslavian socialist ideals, legal regulative and the actual social reality. However, up to the present moment, Yugoslavia has been the only country which tried to introduce self-management together with social

ownership of the means of production. At the very beginning of the Yugoslavian "road to socialism," these ideals were shared more by the general public than when, over time, the people in power succeeded in deforming the ideals and making them more ideological constructions and less social reality. Still, this ideal socialist development could not be imagined without having in mind gender equality and putting this value on the pedestal of important values. There were many attempts to enlarge women's social horizons. One of many proofs that the Yugoslavian concept was applied to a certain degree is the fact that women's opportunities became more limited today than during the period of visible socialist orientation. Until the recent war and various retrograde processes present in the spaces of the former country, Yugoslavian women were not very aware of their gains, of the multiple social roles they had developed. Because of the changes in Yugoslavia, I directed my research to the period 1985-1995, in order to examine both socialist years and the new capitalist orientation that developed along with the social crisis and war.

Although the former Yugoslavia was a multinational (con)federation and a bigger country than the present Yugoslavia, it would be hard to find a rationale to compare even the former Yugoslavia with a huge and diverse country like the United States. Thus, I decided to compare the Yugoslavian and Californian societies and women's positions in the spheres of education and employment.

Comparing Yugoslavia's unique sociopolitical system with the private-property form of capitalism, and looking at gender differences in education and employment, will enrich the existing literature. Filling the present gap and adding new information about women's situations in these types of societies, my study could be one more document of

how mostly unchanged private patriarchy can perpetuate gender division of the society as a whole, even when there is an abolition of private property and transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In the present moment, when most social scientists have become highly aware that the existence of the world system frames social destinies of all smaller social units, comparative studies gain even more importance.

Having in mind all considerations mentioned above, I had to develop a relatively broad approach. My desire to focus on the spheres of education and employment and women made my task very complex. I was usually criticized by my professors and colleagues that my topic was too broad and that the literature I was reviewing did not always directly address my topic. With all respect to the professors and other people who wanted to help me, I adopted these criticisms only partly. First, there is no study that compares women's education or employment in Yugoslavia and California (or the United States). There are no studies that compare any aspect of the social status of these women. Thus, I needed to look at a broader set of studies that compared women's social status and gender relations under capitalism and socialism or that just compared women's status in different countries. Second, I considered it necessary to discuss socialization in the family (and society as a whole), because I see educational and employment choices and opportunities interconnected with ways of socialization. In fact, formal education is a way of socialization. Thus, although I mainly address education and employment, I also analyze the main characteristics of the Yugoslavian and Californian/American families. In my view, private patriarchy in the family is a very influential factor for educational and

occupational choice, and the division of household labor is an indivisible part of the social division of labor as a whole.

My study also focuses on the changes in Yugoslavian society produced by the recent war and disintegration. I do not analyze these social changes only because I am fascinated by the Yugoslavian fiasco, but even more because these changes coincide with the reorientation toward capitalism, a stronger market economy, and a shift toward conservatism in the political leadership. Going this way, present Yugoslavian society is closer to the capitalist world, and I wanted to learn about how and to what degree this turn negatively affected women's general status and their achievements in the spheres of education and paid work. My hypothesis was that, after this war and the retreat from ideas of further socialist development, Yugoslavian and Californian women became more similar in educational and employment patterns than they had been in the late 1980s.

Structure of the Study

There are no studies that compare education and employment of women in these two societies. My literature review, in chapter two is oriented to present a broad discussion of theories and findings that influenced my thinking and my research. Theoretical and empirical works are divided into four groups: a) literature about patriarchy, the gendered division of labor and women's social status under capitalism and socialism, b) literature about employment and occupational gender segregation, c)

literature about socialization and education. d) literature about gender, politics and social power.

My theoretical framework influenced the organization of the body of the thesis. In the third chapter, I compare Yugoslavian and Californian societies mostly by comparing the differences in socioeconomic and political systems and basic indicators of economic development. In this chapter I also present brief background information about geographic characteristics, population, culture(s), war and peace, and the position of both societies in the world system.

Chapter IV is the analysis of the Yugoslavian case, or how a sociopolitical and economic system that transformed to a certain degree ownership of the means of production and introduced self-management treated the woman question and with what consequences in the spheres of education and employment. Looking at the changes 1985-1995, the main questions I attempted to answer were: What were the degrees of educational and occupational gender segregation and did they change over time? Was it possible to investigate a gender gap in earnings which was masked under the ideological cover of general equality among working people? Were Yugoslavian women more “protected” in the sphere of paid work than treated as equal? What was the real meaning of the feminization of some educational profiles, occupations, and industries? To what high-prestige occupations and professions did Yugoslavian women have access and why? Have the recent social changes affected participation of Yugoslavian women in the political sphere? Many authors (Yugoslavian and others) argue that the Yugoslavian form of socialism was completely an ideological construction, and that it existed

exclusively in the official ideological documents and in the legal sphere, and thus I analyze some of the indicators of a possible discrepancy between women's status de jure and de facto.

Chapter V is my analysis of the Californian/American patterns of socialization in families and schools, formal education and gender differences, occupational gender segregation, gender gap in earnings, women's political participation and women's access to high-prestige professions. I also analyze legal documents, relevant court cases, and public discourses on women's employment and gender roles.

Chapter VI is the core of my study. Although I give some elements for comparison through chapters IV and V, this is the place where I present my comparative analysis. Drawing on statistical data and legal and ideological documents, and having in mind the results of some previous studies, I compare women's education and employment in these two societies. The main questions I am preoccupied with are: Is educational gender segregation present in both societies? Is occupational gender segregation evident, and could we say that men and women in Yugoslavia and California have strictly divided male and female occupations and industries? Could we say that there are almost the same occupations and industries characterized with a female majority in total numbers of employees, in both societies? Does this majority in numbers produce women's real dominance in these industries? Is a gender gap in earnings visible in both societies and in the majority of occupations and professions? Are there differences between the two societies in women's participation in high prestige professions, managerial positions and political structures?

In Chapter VII, I summarize my findings and return to the questions of the importance of the study for sociological circles and the general public. This study should be only the beginning of serious sociological orientation to research so-called former socialist societies and compare women's positions. My concluding remarks also contain recommendations for future research.

The tables of statistical data that I constructed and utilized for this study are presented in the Appendix. Only the most important tables are included in the main text, in Chapter VI.

Methodology

Oriented to examine two societies as a whole, my choices of methodological techniques were limited. At the beginning of the research process, I was thinking that I could focus on the education and employment patterns of women scientists, lawyers or medical doctors in Yugoslavia and California. This would give me a chance to combine more methodological techniques and collect information about women's experiences from them directly. However, I decided not to pursue that focus for two reasons: a) first, since I had interviewed in Yugoslavia only students, I would have had to go back to Yugoslavia and do new research; b) second, I consider all methodological techniques potentially equal, characterized with both disadvantages and advantages. Having been trained as a sociologist, I adopted the view that generalizations are not only possible, but also needed. The fact that I am interested in the highest levels of generalization and that I

compare two societies as a whole, and Californian women with Yugoslavian as unified categories, doesn't mean that I am not aware of all the differences within the countries or among the women. However, these differences have to be beyond the scope of this study and a challenging topic for future research. The factors that shape women's different experiences and destinies within Yugoslavia are connected mostly with regional differences and with women's nationality, class, and refugee/migrant status. In California, women of color, lesbians, recent immigrants and materially poor women have additional sources of discrimination. They have fewer opportunities to be educated, to be hired, to work in prestigious occupations and professions, or to participate in managerial structures and high-level political decision making. They are paid less than white or American-born women. Still, I could not compare Yugoslavian and Californian women regarding race hierarchies, and to compare indicators of class inequality would be extremely difficult. Thus, I decided to leave these important elements beyond the scope of my study.

I am aware that my work could be criticized from many sides. Feminist scholars might object to my orientation to use official statistics and legal and ideological documents as my main sources of information. On the other hand, my analysis based on the statistical data could be seen as too simple by proponents of traditional social science. Practically, I am looking at the existence of a gender gap in earnings and the existence and degree of educational and occupational segregation, and for these purposes, basic comparisons are enough and I do not need complex statistical formulas. In addition I utilize content analysis of legal and political documents and other relevant written

materials. I am convinced that my methodological approach is the most useful given my topic.

Although I am operating with numbers, my real interests are phenomena of educational and occupational gender segregation in two different societies, and I draw on additional sources of information besides statistics. These sources include the data from two interview studies I conducted in Yugoslavia between 1990 and 1993. In the first study, I interviewed 101 Belgrade University students about their perceptions of gender equality and of differences between the legal concept of gender relations and actual social practices. According to numerous studies, for the whole period between 1945 and 1990 Yugoslavian university students were the most progressive part of the society, so I wanted to learn more about their consistency in progressive orientation. My sample included students who studied humanities and natural or technical sciences. I selected five university centers in Belgrade and from each of these centers twenty volunteers were interviewed. Assistant professors who were preparing these students for exams were my contact, and their help made my research possible. I constructed a questionnaire, but let students talk about all their observations related to the topic. In the second study, I conducted telephone interviews with executives of four garment firms with predominantly female workers about their managerial structures and gender representation.

Although I use statistical data, I am aware that official statistics have many limitations. Occupational structure is classified in large groups such as services, where even legal services are put together with other service occupations, or administrative,

executive and managerial occupations are classified in one combined category. These practices make it hard to have, for example, a clear picture of gender representation in managerial structures. In socialist Yugoslavia, for ideological reasons, official statistics never included the data on male versus female personal incomes. However, by crossing the data on median income in particular industries and occupations with women's representation in them, we have evidence that women work in industries and occupations that are paid less. There is another problem associated with using Yugoslavian official statistics. Although present Yugoslavia was formed (from Serbia and Montenegro) in 1992, in all new statistical yearbooks it is presented that only Serbia and Montenegro were Yugoslavia in 1985 or 1988. Knowing this, I am extremely cautious when using materials published by official Yugoslavian sources.

Like many authors, I use the terms: male and female occupations, industries and professions. In order to make my task easier, in this thesis I see some occupation as a female domain if there is a majority of female employees in this particular occupation. This approach allows me to think about specific occupations in Yugoslavia where women make up just the slight majority of employees. However, I also address the questions about occupations and professions where women make 80% or more in the total number of employees. I almost do not use the term--female dominant occupations and professions--because of the awareness that the dominance in numbers doesn't guarantee the real dominance and power. My analysis of women's real social status within legal and medical professions in Yugoslavia explains that although these professions became

female fields, there are some additional social mechanisms to channel women to less prestigious specialties within these professions.

American readers also could have some resistance to my orientation to see the Yugoslavian socialist vision mostly in a positive light, in spite of all the deformations, the discrepancies between the ideal and the reality, and the supposed failure of socialism. Perhaps surprisingly to Americans, not a small number of my Yugoslavian colleagues would share their resistance, because they also changed their ideas and orientations over time. Now, they are more likely to accept a negative interpretation of “the Yugoslavian experiment” and Western suggestions that the system did not work well because it was badly constructed and based on utopian or false visions. American intellectuals could see my attempts to present the Yugoslavian case in general, and women’s status in particular in a positive light, mostly as reflecting my own political orientation. At the same time, I think that we have enough examples in both Yugoslavia and the U.S. that political persuasions color social sciences more than it is going to be reflected in my work. I found numerous examples of confusion: the ideal-normative system with its deformations in social reality; the actions of political leaders and power structures with the social actions of all (Yugoslavian) people; Communist Party rule with communist or socialist society; original Marxist ideas with their vulgarization. These are illustrations of how many people, including social scientists, oversimplified the reality and followed anti-socialist political persuasions. Both American and Yugoslavian critics of “the Yugoslavian experiment” forget that Yugoslavia has always been a part of the world system which affected the possibilities for its further socialist development.

Purpose of the Study

I see the purpose of my work not only as a contribution to existing knowledge by adding new information, but also as a possible contribution to our theoretical visions of a more human world, which is necessarily progress toward women's emancipation (Marx 1967, 303).

Comparing women's situations in the spheres of education and employment, we could have indicators of their general social status. Focusing on California, the seventh largest economy in the world, and economically disadvantaged Yugoslavia, we can learn that neither capitalist economic development nor socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production guarantees *per se* women's emancipation.

My study is part of the effort in women's studies to emphasize the importance of private patriarchy and its interconnection with the organization of society as a whole. Although my topic directly addresses the public spheres of education and employment, observations about Yugoslavian and Californian family organization and public discourses about women's roles document that private patriarchy is not essentially questioned. Even in socialist Yugoslavia, where women developed multiple social roles, it was visible that without overcoming private patriarchy simultaneously with changing the basic type of the ownership, patriarchy was permanently renewed.

I also try to direct attention to the worsening of many aspects of women's social status in Yugoslavia. Although this phenomenon could be interpreted only as a

consequence of the civil war, it coincides with an explicit turn to a capitalist market economy and the world's politics toward Yugoslavia. The UN's economic sanctions affected the present Yugoslavia and produced two-year relative world isolation. International financial institutions and their politics related to the Yugoslavian debt certainly conditioned the future of the country. Furthermore, Yugoslavia and socialism are pictured in extremely negative light all over the world.

I do not deny that my work is to a certain degree political. I needed to go far away from my native society to understand better the differences in socioeconomic and political systems and political struggles between the capitalist and socialist blocs. In Yugoslavia I developed from being relatively convinced that overcoming capitalism and patriarchy simultaneously was the "right" way to construct a more human and less gender divided society, to becoming resigned. It looked that all such attempts could be somehow deformed and turned into their opposites. Now, I see more clearly that the disintegration of numerous socialist societies and their turn to more or less visible capitalist alternatives are not only the consequences of internal weaknesses of socialism, but also a product of the strength of the most powerful capitalist countries. The case of Yugoslavia could be used in American public and intellectual circles as a proof that capitalism and patriarchy, with eventual reforms, should be our indefinite future. On the contrary, I argue that socialism never had a real chance to be developed because of the powerful capitalist world environment associated with patriarchal social organization. If we adopt the previous conclusion, we are very close to giving up any orientation toward radical social change and to exchanging revolution for resistance.

The following chapters are the result of my attempts to present and compare Yugoslavian and Californian women's educational and occupational achievements.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature directly or indirectly connected with my topic is very rich and it is impossible to include all relevant books and articles in my review. My selection presents the most important ideas and findings grounded in Yugoslavian and American social theory. The lack of similar studies made my task difficult. On the one hand, there is no study that directly compared Yugoslavian and Californian or American women regarding any aspect of their social status. On the other hand, the literature on women's education and employment is extremely rich. Even studies conducted by international teams that compared women in various countries are numerous. Thus, my selection could be seen as at the same time too broad and too narrow. However, I am convinced that my review lays necessary ground work for my comparative study and that my conclusion explains my standing in relation to the variety of ideas and concepts. I will consider four independent, but not unconnected, bodies of theory and research: 1) on patriarchy, the gendered division of labor and women's social position; 2) on women's employment and occupational gender segregation; 3) on gender pattern's in education and socialization; and 4) on women's political participation and social power.

1. Patriarchy, the Gender Division of Labor and Women's Social Position

Original Marxism and post-Marx Marxism did not neglect the questions related to women's social position, gender relations, the division of labor in the public and private spheres, and women's and general human emancipation. If we consult the original Marxist theory, we can find a general theoretical framework and a method--historical, materialist and dialectical--for addressing gender issues. Raya Dunayevskaya (1996) suggested persuasively that Marx's and Engels's view's of human development and the "woman question" are relatively different. She argued that many of the post-Marx Marxists adopted Engels's unilinear view of human development. Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1844) and the *Ethnological Notebooks* are the most important if we are interested in his perception of the man/woman relationship and the dialectic of women's liberation and social development. Marx adopted Fourier's idea that from the character of the man/woman relationship, one can judge the entire level of mankind's development and that the degree of women's emancipation is the natural measure of general human emancipation, so that the change in a historical epoch is determined by the progress of women towards freedom. (Marx 1967, 303; Marx and Engels 1972, 259) The man/woman relationship is the "direct, natural, necessary relation of human creatures." In that situation only, "human essence could become nature for man" (Marx 1967, 303). So, women's emancipation is connected with the emancipation of all of mankind, or humankind. Like Dunayevskaya, I do not think that Marx ever changed his view of

humanity--for him, only when man and woman have equal social position can humanity be fully achieved.

Although Marx saw socialist revolution as the way to overcome class-divided society and private property, he never said that in socialism or communism women would be emancipated automatically. He also wrote about "crude" and "vulgar communism," and I believe that we only have had these forms of societies so far. Marx's perception of human development and human history was dialectical and multilinear, and he talked about the "revolution in permanence." He emphasized that the revolution is an ongoing process, not something that is achieved in a short space of time. Even when he distinguished between the earlier socioeconomic formations of slavery, feudalism, capitalism and the "Asiatic mode of production," he didn't think that those periods of human development were strictly separated and fixed stages. We can see a dialectic duality of elements of the old and new orders within each formation. Marx, in some ways, considered the earliest socioeconomic system, "primitive communism," a higher form of human life than class society, but he showed that, in embryo, class relations started right there.

Marx was aware that in capitalism women are superexploited in comparison with men. For him, women have a very important role in reproducing the labor power--human capital. Also, he emphasized that it is not accidental that a dual labor market exists for women and men. It is used by capital to divide the working class (which includes men and women) and weaken its power. In a society based on purchase and sale of labor power, dividing the workers lowers labor costs and increases profits for the capitalists and

management control over the labor force. So, women are used in certain ways in the labor market. In *Capital*, Marx pointed out women's specific market position as a reserve army of cheap labor (1975, 95-96, 101-125). With the falling rate of profit and wages under capitalism, it becomes necessary for two workers to be employed in each family. Marx and Engels thought that employment would be the source of improvement of women's position in the family and society. Women's entrance into the paid labor force would be the first step to bringing women back into the public sphere. In addition, it would be necessary to change private domestic labor into a public industry.

Engels's view of social development was different from Marx's and less dialectical. It is visible in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, that he saw the development of the family and society as unilinear. He emphasized less than Marx the tensions and conflicts present in each stage of socioeconomic development and the possibility for regression. He tended to idealize the stage of "primitive communism" as gender equality. Contemporary Marxists who follow Engels' lead tend to write more simplistically about socialist revolution as the final act of achieving gender equality. However, Engels did make important contributions to the historical analysis of gender and the division of labor. He was aware that the gender division of labor was the first division (Engels 1942, 145) and that women's oppression in the family and society originated prior to capitalism. From his concept of sexual property, we could see that men's rights over women are comparable with the rights to use economic property, so that different systems of gendered stratification are related to the economic system of a given society. Both Engels and Marx emphasized women's subordinated position in

bourgeois marriage and family and remarked that the bourgeois husband sees in his wife primarily an instrument of production (Marx and Engels 1972, 54). Together with Marx, Engels wrote that under capitalism the woman is oppressed directly by the man in the family and through the structural lack of power of the family in relation to capital. If women work outside of the home, there is one more source for exploitation and subordination.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1996) developed original Marxist ideas about women's emancipation further. It is very interesting that she attempted to explain the contemporary global economic crisis using original Marxist categories. She and her followers used the Hungarian and Russian examples to illustrate how the state-capitalist rulers called themselves Communists but made Marxism into a dogma, and then when their distorted version of Marxism did not work, they rejected Marxism as flawed and unworkable. In such societies the single-party state remained the all-dominant power and became totalitarian, using the "democratic centralism" principle or "the interest of the working class" as an excuse. Dunayevskaya was convinced that Marx definitely preferred the communal form of social organization (whether in ancient society, in the Paris Commune, or in the future), because of the fact that individual self-development does not separate itself from universal self-development. But, she is also positive that Marx did not think women's alienation ended with the overthrow of private property (Dunayevskaya 1996, 104). Marx's view of "revolution in permanence" is usually neglected by the rulers in socialist countries in order to preserve the dominant ideology and the status quo. Dunayevskaya's followers saw the recent Bosnian war as a test for our future. Bosnian

struggles for the continuance of a multiethnic society were seen as a serious challenge to the world system colored with racism, ethnic hatred and misogyny. Also, these positive efforts represented attempts to continue the revolution and the multiethnic mode of existence. These struggles opposed the world dominant trends toward disintegration of socialist societies and forming nation-states.

Another thinker who has built her theory on Marx's ideas about gender equality is Michele Barrett. Barrett (1980) was aware of the trans-historical character of women's oppression, but she emphasized the historical changes and the necessity to analyze the mechanisms by which women's oppression is secured in different contexts. Barrett thought that the concept of patriarchy needed to be more precise and should not cover all expressions of male dominance. However, her view of patriarchy is not narrow. She included the power of the father over women and over younger men in her view of patriarchy (Barrett 1980, 250).

In Barrett's opinion, the role of ideology is very important, and questions about how or why a dominant meaning of femininity and masculinity have been constructed, how we reproduce that ideology, and how people develop false consciousness, still need answers. She adopted the original Marxist view of ideology as not completely independent of, nor completely dependent on, the material relations of production. Also, she pointed out that gender ideology has varied historically.

Thinking about the division of labor, Barrett was aware of the existence of women's oppression in pre-capitalist as well as in socialist societies. Still, she argued that women's subordination also has a material basis in the relations of production and

reproduction of capitalism. Barrett analyzed the characteristics of women's wage labor in contemporary capitalism, the explanations offered for them, the role of gender ideology, and the division by which domestic labor is assigned to women. In Barrett's view we should understand the division of labor in contemporary capitalism in terms of the labor theory of value, but also include other elements: the differentiation of the labor force by skill, the distinction between mental and manual labor, and the relationship between wages and costs of subsistence. Barrett is positive that capitalism did not create the division between domestic and paid labor, but she argued that it did create a set of social relations and mechanisms by which pre-existing divisions were not only reproduced but solidified in the wage-labor system (Barrett 1980, 183).

Especially interesting are Barrett's observations about job segregation in socialist countries. She explained that the phenomenon of occupational gender segregation was characteristic not only for western capitalism. The fact that in socialist countries women undertake work that was previously defined as "masculine" (e.g. heavy manual labor) does not mean automatically that the general pattern of gendered division of labor is being disturbed. Similarly, the fact that in some periods, in some of the socialist societies, collective child-care was well organized does not mean that men did their share. Barrett is right that in socialist societies the family was protected as the essential unit of political and ideological cohesion, and that oppressive constructions of masculinity and femininity persisted. The organization of households, the ideology of familism and the construction of gendered individuals are closely related to the organization of social production, and these phenomena are not only present in modern capitalism.

Among the other authors who developed theories on patriarchy, I will analyze mainly the work of Walby, Lerner and Sokoloff and add some elements of other authors' views on modern forms of capitalist and socialist patriarchy.

Sylvia Walby (1986, 1990) wrote two books about patriarchy and constructed a theoretical and analytical model. For her patriarchy is a system of interrelated social structures through which men exploit women. In her view, the generational component (older people controlling younger) should not be included, in order to have a more effective definition. From my point of view, we cannot understand the whole social structure of dominance and subordination, which is also the social milieu within which gender relations operate, if we exclude the generational element. Walby is right that patriarchy is never the only mode in a society, but exists in articulation with another, such as capitalism. For Walby, there is the whole *patriarchal mode of production*--the relation between the producing class composed of housewives or domestic laborers and the non-producing and exploiting class composed of husbands. This definition could be seen as too narrow. However, Walby also included sets of patriarchal relations in the workplace, the state, sexuality and other practices in civil society, and in that way made her concept much broader.

Most important for this thesis is Walby's analysis of patriarchal relations in paid work. She emphasized that the control of women's access to paid work was maintained primarily by patriarchal relations in the workplace and in the state, as well as by those in the household. There are two main mechanisms or strategies to preserve a patriarchal mode of production: first, exclusion of women from paid work, and second, occupational

segregation--confining women to jobs which are graded lower than those of man. Walby analyzed various examples of state activities, union activities and legislative attempts to restrict women's access to paid work. It is very interesting that Walby stressed that during the twentieth century, education was the least patriarchal institution, formally open to women at all levels. However, we can see high levels of segregation by subject studied. Patriarchal ideology has also changed; there has been a shift from open exclusion of women as "naturally different" to denial that women's "slight underachievement" is a result of discrimination (Walby 1990, 108).

We have today mostly public patriarchy instead of private patriarchy, according to Walby. She analyzed the differences between public patriarchy in Britain and in Eastern Europe. If we think about the Yugoslavian society in relation to Walby's description of patriarchy, it has all the elements of public patriarchy that characterize her Eastern European model--the combination of powerful state, weak market economy (in spite of the economic reorientation), and traditional family in the process of change.

Gerda Lerner (1986) also developed theory about patriarchy. For her, patriarchy is a historic creation formed by men and women. She described the origins: intertribal "exchange of women," then slavery, and archaic states organized in such way that the dependence of male family heads on the king or the state bureaucracy was compensated for by their dominance over their families. In this way, class hierarchy is constantly reconstituted in the family. Lerner has emphasized that wherever the patriarchal family exists, there is patriarchy constantly being reborn. Furthermore, patriarchal ideology can

help patriarchal relations be re-established, even when legal changes have occurred to outlaw them (Lerner 1986, 216-7).

Writing about patriarchy, Natalie Sokoloff (1980) emphasized that patriarchy is a set of social relations of power that enables men to control women. At the same time, patriarchy is grounded in the hierarchical relations between men. Sokoloff wrote: "This definition includes the idea that patriarchy is a system of hierarchy, order and control both among men and of men over women" (Sokoloff 1980, 154). She also highlighted both economic and cultural components of patriarchal relationships, because of the necessity to understand such hierarchy and control in the family, the polity, the economy and all other social domains. Although patriarchy varies over time in the same society, and in different types of societies, male gender interest maintains itself through the socially institutionalized systems.

The book *Women, the Family and Policy: A Global Perspective* (1994) deals with the problem of patriarchy, too. The editors Ngan-Ling Chow and Berheide concluded that there were a variety of ways in which private patriarchy (in families), combined with public patriarchy (in economies and states), created a system of dominance which subordinated women. In every society gender is constructed under specific political, economic and cultural circumstances, but there are some common elements. The contributors to this book argued that the roots of woman's oppression are in the family because the patriarchal structure of the family controls not only the allocation of domestic labor but also women's access to the labor market.

Victoria S. Lockwood (1997) called modern societies “modernized patriarchy,” stressing that patriarchy has maintained its essential characteristics through history (*Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, 1997). Women’s activities are still classified as nonproductive (giving birth, caring for children, doing domestic work) and men are placed in the productive sphere. She emphasized that women do not have access to the control of the means of production, and saw this fact as the cornerstone of their secondary status in society.

Some authors have thought intensively about the relation between patriarchy and socialism, and the possibilities for women’s emancipation. I will present mostly Yugoslavian authors and their interesting attempts to develop further the theory of socialism and women’s role in “modernized patriarchy.” The ideas of some other non-Yugoslavian authors also have their place in this group.

Thinking about patriarchy and gender roles, primarily from a psychological perspective. Maja Kandido-Jaksic (1994) concluded that although we have socio-economic and cultural conditions for gender equality almost everywhere, patriarchal division exists all over the world (234). Men are often treated as potential soldiers and women as potential objects for sex and reproduction. Among the reasons to proclaim “feminine” characteristics inferior in every society is to prevent men from accepting or developing them easily and to prevent society as a whole from moving in a more humanistic direction, which is incompatible with prioritizing profits.

The contributors to the book *Gender Politics and Post-Communism*, (Funk, 1993) wrote about gender politics in Eastern Europe and called women’s situation in these

countries under socialism “patriarchal emancipation” (7). The conditions of life created women’s “double or triple burden,” and that was called emancipation. Women received extensive benefits from the state, but at the same time were threatened through authoritarian structures that denied the worth of the individual. The editor summarized contributors’ ideas about recent antifeminist processes in these countries and emphasized the totalitarian nature of the (past) regimes with a notion of “state enforced feminism” (12). Women were treated equally in regard to employment, but after that, or even before, gender differentiation was put in place.

Blazenka Despot (1987) examined Yugoslavian self-management from a Marxist-feminist view. She emphasized correctly that socialist Yugoslavia seemed to present the so-called woman question as a general question of emancipation of “working people.” Private patriarchy in the family was evident and Yugoslavian official ideology could not deny it, so the problem was presented as a fight against “traditionalism in the family and society” through legal regulation and through agitation of “the progressive forces.” At the same time, legislators rarely talked about “social protection” of working men and working fathers, and in that way demonstrated a patriarchal orientation. What is also characteristic for Yugoslavian theory and practice is the official orientation that patriarchal relations are only a remnant in human consciousness; according to the ideology creators, patriarchal relations did not have any real basis in the “new relations of social production” (109). Despot noted that even some social scientists tended to think that the emancipation of the working class was going to “bring” women’s emancipation, and that social ownership in Yugoslavia combined with self-management and great

numbers of women in the sphere of paid work guaranteed women's emancipation. The Stalinist and dogmatic type of Marxism, which vulgarized the original ideas, disqualified all attempts to point out the importance of women's specific position. Official Yugoslavian ideologists used extensively Marxist ideas about the abolition of private property, without any attempt to see that Marx was talking about "private property *and* labor division." since for Marx private property *is* the division of labor (91). The state is not based on "the prudence of an idea" (in Marx's and Hegel's words) but on real social relations, and Despot emphasized that the Yugoslavian form of "the proletarian dictatorship" simply enabled the patriarchal divisions from the family to be transferred to the state and other parts of the society.

Nada Ler-Sofronic (1986) argued that women's emancipation is a special revolutionary praxis of self-emancipation distinct from the usual meaning of socialist revolution. Like Despot and other Marxist-feminists, she emphasized that women do not fight for rights that are not human rights, since there is no humanism achieved if women's rights are denied. Ler-Sofronic viewed socialism as a process that had only started (149-150).

For Judith Lorber (1994) gender is a universal social institution rooted in conflict over scarce resources and in social relationships of power. Socialization into gender roles reproduces the gendered social structure and the gendered systems of dominance and power. Lorber stressed that anyone who takes even a cursory look around any place of work in modern industrialized countries could see that workers doing the same or similar

jobs tend to be of the same gender. When women and men work in non-traditional occupations, gender typing is often maintained symbolically.

Robert W. Connell (1985, 1987) constructed a systematic theory of gender. In his theory, there are historical, economic, political, sexual and psychological elements (Connell, 1987). He wrote about gender processes of thinking in everyday life, organized in relation to the reproductive arena. According to Connell, gender is a set of interrelated social structures that define men and women in terms of their reproductive roles and organizes social life around sex and sexuality. But gender is far more than an attribute of an individual or a characteristic of a social collectivity. His analysis is very complex, and especially interesting is his description of how gender is transferred on a global scale, using global markets as an example.

Connell wrote on masculinities and how the dimensions of masculinity transformed over time in America. Anthony Rotundo (1993) also described these transformations and emphasized that the male culture of the workplace and the larger society created individual constraints not only for women, but also for men (194-205).

According to Joan Scott's (1986) definition, gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes. It is a way of signifying relationships of power. In her view, gender involves four interrelated elements: a) culturally available symbols, b) normative concepts, c) reference to social institutions and organizations, and d) subjective identity (Scott-Walach 1988, 44). All these social constructions are in interplay and produce relations of dominance and subordination.

Cecilia Ridgeway and other contributors to the book *Gender, Interaction and Inequality* (1992) saw work as a major social arena in which decisions are made in society about the distribution of material resources and through which individuals gain access to positions of authority and power. It is especially important to understand inequalities in men's and women's status and power in society (ix). Also, according to this study, gender affects patterns of interaction in task-oriented situations in ways that produce inequalities between men and women and perpetuate women's structural disadvantages in larger organizations and in society as a whole. Social structural factors, such as the power attached to the positions held by men and women and the lower status value of being female in society, account for a great majority of gender differences in interactional behavior.

The concept of "androgyny" (Vetterling-Bruggin 1982) was developed as a solution for overcoming gender-role stereotyping, at both individual and social levels. This concept is a vision of a more human world where individuals can develop more complex personalities.

Numerous theories about paid work, domestic work and the whole gender division of labor have attempted to explain the phenomenon of women's subordinated position in the labor market and in society as a whole. Ann Oakley (1974) developed the sociology of housework, with awareness that men's and women's participation in the labor force and in household labor are the components of the same phenomenon--the gendered division of labor.

One study conducted in Switzerland by Charles and Hopflinger (1992) documented that relative levels of economic resources had very little effect on the allocation of domestic labor between Swiss husband and wives. Wives' labor market participation was found to play an insignificant role in determining the domestic behavior of Swiss husbands.

Natalie Sokoloff (1980) thought about women's work dialectically, stressing the interconnection of three levels of analysis: a) the relation between patriarchy and capital, b) the relationship between the home and market, c) the reality that patriarchy and capital organize both the home and the market. The fact that the home and the market exist is essential to the continuation of both patriarchy and capital (203). She insisted that only by applying this model do we have the whole picture. This model includes the possibility to see not only how patriarchy is functional to capital and how capital is functional for patriarchy, but also how internal contradictions and tensions operate. Analyzing the labor market situation in the United States, Sokoloff describes two main models: a) relations between ruling class owners and laborers which are patriarchally organized, based on the premise that if subordinate men perform in the interest of dominant men they will be rewarded economically and emotionally--both will be dominant over women; b) the hierarchically organized executive/management ranks and management/workers relations (237). Capitalism of the monopoly era is characterized by patriarchal relations in large-scale bureaucratic organizations. Sokoloff was convinced that management became the representative of the capitalist and the only one knowledgeable about the totality of the

production process. Women's low participation in management structures is not accidental.

Contributors to the study *Double Shift* (Silverman, Vogt and Yanowitch 1993) analyzed and conceptualized transformations in the nature of work produced by the reorientation toward market economies in, as they call them, postsocialist societies. We can recognize elements of the Yugoslavian case in these descriptions.

All of these authors presented concepts of patriarchy and saw both capitalism and socialism as intertwined with patriarchy, gender roles and the gender division of labor.

2. Employment And Occupational

Gender Segregation

Many researchers provided evidence about occupational gender segregation. Some of them observed patterns of women's entrance into the labor market and women's concentration in some economic sectors, industries and occupations. The low social evaluation of work performed by women is also the focus of many studies. In this section, I present theoretical considerations and findings about occupational gender segregation, the gender gap in earnings and women's participation in managerial structures.

According to *Dual Labor Market Theory* women and men are recruited into different labor markets--primary and secondary--and labor markets are structurally organized to be disadvantageous to women. This theory has suggested that the

reorganization of labor markets could improve women's position (Sokoloff 1980, 187-202).

Status Attainment Theory has started with the thesis that what women bring with them to the labor market is the major determinant of their position. From this perspective, to the degree that women's qualifications do not match those of men, women will be occupationally disadvantaged. This approach doesn't emphasize the causes of the differences in women's qualifications but mainly the consequences.

Shirley Dex (1985, 1987) argued for taking women's work, whether paid or unpaid, seriously and for focusing on work rather than on the workplace. At the same time, according to Dex, it is necessary to consider sex as one of the explanatory variables (Dex 1985, 9). In her book *Women's occupational mobility* (1987), she analyzed the interconnections between occupational segregation, patriarchy and capitalism. In Britain, she found some patterns of women's occupational mobility during life-cycle stages. Like many other authors she wrote about part-time work and its connection with the division of labor in the home and in the labor market. From her findings we learn that childbirth in Britain is the biggest cause of downward mobility, although many childless women also lose their occupational status at some point during their working lives. Very interesting her finding that if women are protected from the effects of recession by being in a growing sector, they gain that measure of employment security at the expense of their occupational status (Dex 1987).

In 1978 researchers found persistent trends in the United States of occupational gender segregation and a gender gap in earnings, over the previous twenty years

(Stromberg and Harkess 1978). Other researchers provided evidence that occupational gender segregation is a cross-cultural phenomenon (Roos 1985; *Women: A World Report* 1985; Adler and Izraeli 1988; Farley 1985; Olerup, Schneider and Monod 1985; Elson and Pearson 1989; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983). In industrialized societies, the same occupations tend to be held mainly by women or mainly by men. *A Comparative Analysis of Industrial Societies: Gender and Work*, (Roos 1985) proved that in twelve countries--Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany (FR), Great Britain, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Sweden and the United States--the same occupations tend to be held primarily by women or by men. "Women's" occupations were low-paying occupations, and women in traditionally "female" professions were underpaid given to their educational achievement.

Research on *Men in Nontraditional Occupations* (Williams 1993) also confirmed that occupational gender segregation is indeed a cross-cultural phenomenon, although the specific occupations labeled male or female can and do vary. Contributors to this study Kauppinen-Toropainen and Lammi examined Nordic countries. Female-dominated jobs tend to be lower-paying, of lower status and less autonomous than jobs that are traditionally held by men. This study demonstrated that the difference in pay is due to the cultural devaluation of women. Men who work in predominantly female occupations receive better pay and benefits than their female colleagues. Also, jobs are transformed when the gender of the worker changes--occupations are not gender-neutral. Both men and women have economic penalties for working in jobs that employ mostly women. Men who work in predominantly female occupations and professions are in an

ambivalent position between their male bosses and female colleagues. The authors in this anthology criticized the practice of looking at occupational gender segregation as a process that affects only women.

Angela Coyle (Coyle and Skinner, 1988) wrote about employment patterns of job segregation, low pay and low work status as common features of women's employment in European and North American markets. She emphasized that the specific forms of female economic activity can vary according to cultural, social and economic conditions, but gendered job segregation is ever-present.

In *Paradoxes of Gender* (Lorber 1994) it is shown how governments, owners and managers, as well as organized groups of workers, create and support patterns of occupational gender segregation.

Steinberg and Haignere (1991) wrote about equal pay and comparable worth. They focused not only on methodological problems of comparing different types of work, but also on how the U. S. system works to avoid the application of norms of gender equality as well as to channel systematically women and minorities into jobs that require less skill and effort than jobs occupied predominantly by white males.

Barbara Reskin and Patricia Roos (1990) constructed a "queueing model" to explain occupational gender segregation. Their perspective includes labor queues (employers' ranking of possible workers) and job queues (workers' ranking of jobs) and a matching process in labor markets. They have argued that this model improves on traditional economic approaches by emphasizing the collective nature of gender segregation. At the same time, it takes seriously non-economic factors affecting workers'

ranking of occupations and employers' ranking of workers. The authors saw segregation as a result of socially structured rankings by groups in conflict.

Much research deals with women's paid work. Some studies compare data from different countries in order to examine women's employment patterns. Contributors to the book *Women and Working Lives: Divisions and Change* (Arber and Gilbert 1992) wrote about five main characteristic or patterns of women's labor market participation and occupational achievement. Women's labor market participation has increased in all Western countries. In Britain the increase has been primarily in part-time work by married women. Horizontal gender segregation (division into typically women's and men's jobs) has been, according to the authors, prevalent through history. The earnings gap is still present, as well as vertical gender segregation (one gender is more likely to be restricted to the lower ranks of an occupational group than the other). There is interesting data in this book that even in the USSR, where women made up three-fourths of the medical doctors, less than half of the top leadership positions in the profession were held by women. This book contains a good comparative analysis of women's employment patterns in the United States, Britain and France.

A 1985 United Nation's World Report about women documented that the same traditional values about women's work are predominant, and similar trends exist in all industrialized countries (from the Soviet Union to Iran, from India to the United States). The contributors to this report published the impressive data that while women represent 50% of the world population, they perform nearly 2/3 of all working hours and receive only 10% of the world income and own less than 1% of the world property (*Women: A*

World Report 1985, 82). With the growing gap on the global level between rich and poor, powerful and powerless, there is little room for optimism that women's position can be improved.

Research on women workers in fifteen economically developed countries discovered the hidden discrimination based on employers' attitudes about earnings differentials between the sexes. (Farley 1985). A study on women's employment in international companies in Europe documented that although multinational companies tend to offer women better pay than all other companies, gendered occupational segregation was predominant (Elson and Pearson, 1989).

The current international economy and international division of labor with global integration of production has sharpened inequalities between women and men and between majority and minority ethnic groups all over the world according to contributors to *Women, Men and The International Division of Labor*, (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983). Researchers studying the electronics industry in California's Santa Clara Valley demonstrated that the distinction between mental and manual work coincides with ethnicity and gender. Reading about women in "the global factory," (Fuentes and Ehenreich 1983) it becomes visible that multinationals contribute even to division among women; they would rather train a fresh group of teenagers than give experienced women higher pay. There is also super exploitation of disadvantaged groups, especially women immigrants from developing countries. In Silicon Valley, women constitute even 75% of the assembly line workers and majority of them are immigrants.

Virginia Novarra (1980) argued for a nonsexist approach to how we organize and reward work. She analyzed how organized paid work is a male-oriented system. It demands attendance at the work place, continuity of work, and long service for the same company in order to receive rewards and benefits. Work is organized hierarchically, largely in authoritarian modes. Women tend to have broken career patterns, which does not fit in with such a system.

Marilyn Rueschemeyer (1981) did research on professional work of men and women in the United States and Eastern Europe. She found that these societies differed in cultural heritage, standard of living, ways of profit maximization, forms of ownership of the means of production, levels of job security, and extent of other social supports. In Eastern Europe women's labor was "socially needed" and ideologically rationalized. Interestingly, she found that in socialist countries the alienation of professionals at work was reduced, as a consequence of an absence of competition and more job security and cooperation at work. Also, in Eastern European socialist societies people generally experienced less disparity in salary (176). The more cooperative and secure work conditions under socialism favored and encouraged friendship at work. Eastern European families had to face different types of constraints unrelated to work and related to politics. The main pressures and constraints for professionals in the United States resulted from family and work (177). However, Rueschemeyer correctly observed that it cannot be taken for granted that socialist societies necessarily favored the advancement of women in equal work participation. Whenever women were no longer needed in the work force, or if

it was intended to take drastic measures to increase the birth rate, there were incentives to keep women at home for a long period of time (175).

Rita Mae Kelly (1991) wrote about the American “competitive game of success.” She argued that sex-role ideology and traditional sex-role development patterns hang heavy on the lives of both males and females as they compete for occupational success (74). Kelly did research on women’s careers in Arizona comparing them to women in other states. She found that Arizona women have a slight advantage in rising to high-level political office and gaining entrepreneurial success. Women in Arizona have some legal advantages, too. Thus, there are indicators that California is not the most progressive state in the country.

The maintenance of sex segregation depends on a lifelong system of social control (Jacobs 1989). American data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women and Young Men (1968-1980) revealed that during that period there was an increase in the proportion of women in male-dominated occupations and a decrease in the proportion of men in female-dominated occupations. Jacobs argued that the future trends in occupational patterns would reflect in part the political environment in which the country finds itself. His data supported the conclusion that gender-role socialization is important in early stages of a person’s occupational development, but over time individuals may change their orientations. According to this research, early socialization, school socialization and discriminatory processes on the job are barriers that are stronger for young women and weaker for older women.

Bernard Rosen (1989) criticized feminists for being unable to recognize how far women have advanced towards their goals. In his opinion, a radical change occurred when women entered the labor force in large numbers.

Some authors addressed the relation between the development of computers and occupational gender segregation. Researchers found that computerization, like many other processes, presents both problems and opportunities for women (Olerup et. al. 1985) The main question was: will new technology rescue women from low-skill and low-wage jobs or will it trap them all the more permanently at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy? American and European researchers had different opinions. American scientists stressed more negative effects of the new technologies than their colleagues from Europe. Another anthology (Drygulsky-Wright and Marx-Feree 1987) documented that, on the one hand the low-skill clerical and routine technical jobs are eliminated by the new technologies and, on the other hand, new clerical jobs emerged and the most highly skilled clerical positions have been feminized. The researchers noticed the dialectical nature of the relationship between new technology, workplace control and workers' autonomy. They observed that the mechanisms of patriarchal control in direct interpersonal relations were interwoven with the mechanisms of structural control in the bureaucratic rules and technical conditions of work. In their opinion, new opportunities for changing the gender dynamic so that women will not become the "techno-peasants" of the twenty-first century exist in the possibility for positive transformation of technology, technical education, and organizational management.

A considerable amount of research has focused on the gender gap in earnings and its connection to occupational gender segregation and social devaluation of women's work. Explaining the gender gap in earnings, Claudia Goldin (1990) observed a period of thirty years, 1955-1985, in the United States. She found that the ratio of female to male full-time weekly earnings has been around 0.62. Although the ratio of female to male earnings increases after 1981, the increase is only a slow creep (59). Goldin emphasized that normative influences defined certain industries as male only and deterred women from requesting entry. She analyzed various discriminatory labor policies, reinforced by a long history of gender segregation and social consensus concerning gender differentiation (118). However, in her opinion, women have been able to alter the rules of the labor market because of their increased power in the labor market, and because of the relative rise of the public sector unions who desire to attract a significant fraction of the work force (210).

Within the growing computer industry, close examination of earnings of computer specialists ages 25-64 in California in 1980 documented the gender differences. In general, women in computer specialties would apparently enhance their earnings relative to men's if they increased the hours they worked and completed more schooling. At the same time, it was well known that they worked shorter days because of their greater participation in child care. In addition, they were slightly younger than their male coworkers and greater seniority is associated with higher earnings. If they have their own businesses women were more equitably paid, in the computer field as well as other fields (Drygulski-Wright and Marx-Ferree 1987).

The Yugoslavian social theory and research on women's employment patterns, occupational gender segregation, and the gender gap in earnings is not as rich as in the United States. However, some research does document what women encounter. Jasna Petrovic (1986, 1990) found that women had more difficulties in finding jobs than men and that they were more often unemployed than men. She outlined the social situations that could prevent women from entering the sphere of paid work in greater numbers. Sava Arsenov (1988) interviewed Yugoslavian women about work and their social milieu. Women stressed primarily material reasons for working outside the home. Katarina Prpic (1977) analyzed the characteristics of the Yugoslavian female labor force: education, reproductive history, women's status in the family, and motivations for being in the paid labor force. Prpic found that inadequate education and the family obligations prescribed to women had some impact on the process she calls "negative selection" when women enter the sphere of paid work. Maja Korac (1991) observed in one typical Yugoslavian village that women were encouraged to work outside of the home, but not as much as men were. According to the interviews, fathers encouraged their daughters to seek jobs, but at the same time discouraged their wives from doing so.

Andjelka Milic (1994) explained women's low participation in the professions connected with high technology as a social control mechanism limiting women's access to the spheres of power. Milic viewed women's concentration in the tertiary economic sector as in harmony with the primary role of women in a patriarchal reality.

Marina Blagojevic (1991) observed that Yugoslavian women intellectuals had very useful professional and personal life strategies that reduced conflicts between their

professional and personal responsibilities and aspirations. They had to plan their lives in stages and the dominant pattern included concentrating first on work and education, giving birth after receiving a master's degree, concentrating again on work and education, and giving birth after receiving a doctoral degree.

Olivera Buric (1985) found that although the rate of the increase in women's labor force participation between 1952 and 1985 was higher than men's, discrimination did occur in hiring--Yugoslavian men's chances of being hired were better than women's. Buric also pointed to the official state ideology as a very powerful barrier preventing research on the differences in earnings based on the sex of the worker. She emphasized that even social scientists assumed either that in Yugoslavia there was no significant gender difference in earnings, or that differences could be explained by focusing on the different preferences and motivations of women and men. Despite the official ideology, statistical data documented some of the gender differences in earnings.

Women's participation in managerial structures was not an area of interest to many Yugoslavian researchers. In fact, it was a highly unpopular topic because the findings could undermine assumptions about self-management. It was perceived that this question was more appropriate to ask in capitalist countries. Research I conducted in four companies in Belgrade (Jovanovic 1993) provided evidence that, even in firms where female labor force was predominant the top positions were occupied by men. In all four of these companies, women were about 70% of the work force, but only in one was the executive director a woman. Women's participation in the managerial structures varied, but the average was 44% (79). One other study in Yugoslavia demonstrated that women

managers adopted the patterns of behavior similar to those displayed by male managers (Stanulovic-Kapor 1992).

If we look at women's representation in managerial structures, the situation is similar in many countries. Adler and Izraeli (1988) documented that in no country in the world do women constitute even close to half of corporate managers. Explanations are found in the dominant cultural patterns, the economic conditions, the educational systems, the legal sphere, historical factors, and psychological factors. All over the world, training in management skills for women is neglected in formal education. There is evidence that women are better represented in management in the public sector than in the private sector. At the same time, public sphere is more exposed to social control. According to Adler and Izraeli, American women are in a better position because of the existence of schools for managers. European women have to overcome two obstacles: first to be hired by a company, and then to be selected for the training programs, after regular working hours. Berthoin, Antal and Izraeli (Fagenson 1993) suggested the necessity to generate a more systematic and comparable data base on the position of women in management in various countries. The samples available within many countries are still relatively small (91). The research on the life-styles of women managers showed that women did not represent a homogeneous group in terms of their life-styles. Women usually had to structure their life-styles around family responsibilities to a much greater extent than men (206). This book argued for a new feminist or feminine management style which values relationships, coordination, and the well being of the collective. Still, many concrete goals and new practices have to be defined and more research on

alternative management models needs to be conducted.

Even in Sweden, which is usually regarded as a progressive country, very few women are managers (Asplund 1988). Asplund noted that international surveys show that women in Europe and the United States hold about 2% of all senior executive positions. She found that in Sweden women were less supported by their bosses than their male colleagues, and that women perceived salaries as more important than status and power (27). The male managers operated in hierarchical structures which produced norms of elitism and competition (49). At the same time, male cliques with a strong sense of community were evident. Asplund also pointed out that in Europe, further training is usually not provided for people over 35, and that is a very important limit for women managers and their eventual promotion.

Occupational gender segregation has its origin in educational gender segregation and in the socialization processes. Consequently, it is necessary to continue this literature review with theory and research on education and gender socialization and their links with employment and women's work.

3. Socialization and Education

Many authors share the belief that women's position in the work sphere is tightly connected with educational practices. Many seek the origin of gender inequalities in the arenas of education and family life. In the process of gender socialization, individuals internalize social values, including a gender-divided world view. Education is very

influential in shaping our personalities. Accordingly, it is not irrelevant what values are being promoted in textbooks and in educators' concrete actions.

Theorists interested in family life provided many ideas about gender socialization and preparation for formal education and work performance. Research on family, socialization and education also demonstrated how mechanisms of social control work to maintain gendered orientations in the choosing of educational paths and occupations.

There is a correlation between the predominant values in a society and the predominant types of the family. In modern industrialized countries, in urban settings, the nuclear family is predominant. Writing about American families many authors (Rossi et. al. 1978) presented the state's perspective that it was more economical if socialization and nurturing was the responsibility of the family (33). It is interesting that in the United States, in 1991, about one in every three single adults between the ages of 25 and 29 was living with parents. The high cost of living and difficulties in finding jobs are seen as the main reasons (Bornemann-Spies 1993).

Parents and schools contribute to transferring gender stereotypes and reinforcing gendered behaviors and attitudes (Deem 1980). Researchers found that girls are more likely to attribute their failures to a simple lack of ability, whereas boys often attribute their failures to lack of training and feel that just more effort is needed to be successful. It is also found that boys have more extensive out-of-school familiarity and experience with science. It is not surprising that 79% of the scientific demonstrations were carried out by boys in science classrooms, as one study demonstrated (*How Schools Shortchange Girls*, 1995).

In every modern society, education is very important for social mobility and an important predictor of occupational position. Although Roos (1985, 12) presented evidence that occupational position for both women and men still depended to a significant extent on the father's occupation, for each sex, within each country she examined (twelve industrial countries) education was the most important predictor of occupational position. This study also documented that women employed in traditionally female occupations are relatively underpaid considering their educational achievement.

An "educational boom" in many countries has helped improve women's lives. However, often the increase in the numbers of women in schools did not necessarily make many differences in peoples' opinions about women's role before and after school (*Women: A World Report* 1985)

Another study on women's education in developing countries stressed the deeply rooted structural inequalities in the ways societies allocate resources, power and rewards. Women's increasing opportunities for schooling could redress only part of the imbalance. Even university level training didn't eliminate sex differences in educational returns or access to power, status and economic rewards in the developing countries studied (Chapman-Smock 1981). Highly educated women often still subscribed to some of the most traditional and restrictive elements of family norms. Although greater exposure of women to education had definite positive results--increased authority in the family, greater participation in social and political activities, and lower fertility--it did not eliminate gender inequality in educational and employment opportunities.

In both developing and developed countries, gender stereotyping is present in the curriculum and in textbooks. Evidence that the processes and organization of formal education tend to reinforce gender-typing is presented in studies by Deem (1980) and Hanmer (1996).

Traditional education is conceptualized as a linear process, with students expected to progress steadily (Drygulski-Wright and Marx-Ferree 1987). However, researchers' general observations are that girls and boys enter school roughly equal in measured ability, but later on, girls fall behind their male classmates in key areas including mathematics and science and in measures of self-esteem. During their schooling, girls do not receive an equal amount of teachers' attention, are less apt than boys to see themselves reflected in the materials they study, and are not expected or encouraged to pursue higher-level science courses. There are many similar findings that after primary school girls underachieve in physical sciences, engineering and technology related subjects. Also, girls interviewed in fourteen developed countries expressed their opinion that the masculine image of science presented in schools made science a difficult choice for them (Acker et. al. 1984).

It is rare to find studies to document that adolescent girls and boys have similar competencies, values, perceptions, educational and occupational expectations, and levels of self-esteem. However, Bernard Carl Rosen (1989) presented the data from Brazil, Britain, Italy and the United States about similarities between girls and boys even in adolescent age. A recent study (Hanmer 1996) repeated the finding that younger girls are more likely to be self-confident, outspoken and clear about their opinions than older girls.

This study also found that women and girls put a greater emphasis and much higher value on relationships than did boys.

Many of the authors who wrote on education suggested how to change the traditional system to put the values of equal opportunity and gender equality into practice. Thus, Bell Hooks (1994) has argued for teaching to transgress against racial, sexual and class boundaries; she argues for engaged pedagogy and liberatory practice. However, teachers still reflect in their practices how the world is currently organized; in preparing students for the job market they perpetuate productive-reproductive and mental-manual dichotomies (Gaskell 1992).

In Yugoslavia, researchers were not preoccupied much with the questions of gender inequality in schooling. But some relatively recent findings and statistical data support the conclusion that gender inequality is the Yugoslavian reality.

Marina Blagojevic (1991) discovered that educational achievement was more important for women than for men. Women and men participate in similar numbers in all educational levels in Yugoslavia, except doctoral programs. However, to reach a higher position in the social hierarchy of work or politics, women always had to have a more advance degree than men who occupied the same positions. Blagojevic has argued that the whole Yugoslavian educational system is perpetuating women's marginality. Women are concentrated in the tertiary economic sector and educated mostly for typical women's occupations, with a low participation in technical and scientific profiles (Blagojevic 1989). She also investigated the social status of women intellectuals and found their conflicted situation and society's ambivalent attitude toward them. In 1981, 25.6 % of all

Yugoslavian college/university-educated women did not have children. So, their main strategy to reduce conflict between professional and personal demands, motherhood and career, was to reduce the number of children and the amount of work in the home.

4. Women, Politics and Social Power

It is a notorious fact that women are still almost absent from politics, almost everywhere in the world, especially at the highest levels of decision making. The political sphere is very important for directing every society and contains the highest concentration of social power. Although we almost cannot find normative barriers in any country today, women's real presence in political life is very symbolic. Ideology, and not only political ideology in a narrow sense, is very powerful barrier.

American and international studies on women and political participation concentrate on numbers, trends and special characteristics of women's political activity. A United Nations study *Women in Politics and Decision Making* (1992) focused on the late twentieth century and presented the remarkable data that in 1987, in the 124 countries with parliaments, an average of 9.7% of the members were women. Eastern European countries were the exception with the average percentage of 26.6%. But in 1988, the Yugoslavian average was 17.7% and that was the smallest average for all Eastern European countries. This phenomenon is probably associated with the powerful ideology which presented social ownership and self-management as finished processes and gender

equality as already achieved. In Yugoslavia, the ideal--that everybody would rule in the general interest--was often presented by the party-state ruling groups as fully realized.

The number of women at the ministerial level continues to be small all over the world. In world history, up to 1991, there have been only 18 women who have been elected as head of state or government of independent countries. Milka Planinc was one of these women--the head of Yugoslavia's federal government in 1980s. Women are more represented in social ministries. Research in a number of countries (*Women in Politics and Decision-Making* 1992) suggested that men and women differ in their opinions and attitudes toward political issues. But when they enter the political sphere, women as a minority have to adopt typically male values that dominate the political culture and system. According to this study (1992) only when minority representation increases to about 30-35% can we expect a significant minority influence on the whole. We do not have that level of women's representation anywhere in the world. However, researchers predicted more progress with increasing levels of economic development, slowing of population growth, and improving of women's educational opportunities and labor market position.

Baxter and Lansing (1983) were convinced that research on women and their political participation is just approaching the explanatory stage. Many of the studies on women, their work, and their participation in the political sphere produced more description than explanation. We still need the explanations regarding women's voting behavior, patterns of women's entry into the political sphere, and the links between patriarchal ideology the distribution of social power and women's low interest and

participation in politics.

A study about American women's political behavior (Tilly and Gurin 1990) documented that women and men in the same political party had more similar than different political views. Even though female-male differences existed within the parties, they were not radical differences. Political party ideology was more important than gender differences in determining concrete political views and actions (567).

Research on American women and men public administrators at the state level, showed that there were differences between the sexes (Guy 1992). Women hold only a small fraction of decision making posts (206). Career paths of women and men public administrators are different because women are expected to interrupt their careers for pregnancy and child care. When they re-enter the work force they find their promotion opportunities limited. Women managers receive lower pay than men in each state surveyed. and at the federal level, women government managerial workers' median salary was about 60% of the median salary for males (210). Researchers who contributed to this study observed the pattern that if women do not have family obligations they are more likely to advance in management. They did not find visible differences in management style between men and women managers. However, women managers tend to have less independence in decision-making. The gap in earnings between men and women who were in administrative positions in state and local government around the United States was even bigger in the 1990s than in the 1980s (220).

In the former Yugoslavia, two researchers were very interested in doing research on women's political participation: Tanja Renner and Smiljana Leinert-Novosel. Renner

(1988, 1990) found that real barriers to women's entry into the Yugoslavian politics were: first, institutional--a complicated electoral system; second, organizational--difficulties in organizing women's political activities; and third, cultural--beliefs in proper gender role. Even when women follow political news and processes, they cannot see their place in the political sphere. These findings suggest that cultural factors are even more important than others.

Smiljana Leinert-Novosel (1989) interviewed Yugoslavian women and concluded that they were apt to participate just in the lower level of the political hierarchy because of either low self-esteem or their awareness of how inhuman high politics can be. Without understanding and support in the family, women's political activity was almost impossible for the women interviewed. Leinert-Novosel also examined public opinion about female political participation, and found 40% of all examinees--women as well as men--responded that they would rather vote for a male than for a female candidate with the same qualities.

Marina Blagojevic (1991) also wrote on women's leadership roles, interests in political processes, and real political participation. She pointed out that women's low participation in management structures and in the sphere of politics could be seen only as an indicator of their social inequality. Doing research in a small rural area in Yugoslavia, Maja Korac (1991) found that Yugoslavian rural women were not only on the margins of public, political and cultural happenings, but also almost powerless to decide about their own lives.

* * *

All the presented theoretical and empirical materials demonstrate the growing interest in women's status in the spheres of education, paid work and politics. The nature of patriarchal culture and the characteristics of patriarchy in the modern era are also preoccupations of many social scientists. There are theoretical and empirical interests in differences between capitalism and socialism in terms of the possibilities for women's emancipation. The role paid work and education play in making progress toward women's emancipation is a major area of exploration too.

The literature sheds some new light on gender differences, the gendered division of labor, and occupational gender segregation. Varieties of private and public patriarchy in different countries are examined together with the role of education in preparing and maintaining gender segregation.

The theories about patriarchy demonstrate how societies operate in patriarchal structures from family to all other social layers. The literature also shows that patriarchy is in interplay with both capitalism and socialism. Conflicts between capitalism and patriarchy exist, but are in a dialectical unity of oppositions. Changes in patriarchal ideologies are very functional to specific cultural milieus and to given social environments. It has become evident that modernized patriarchal structures use modernized, more subtle ways to preserve the status quo. More research is needed in order to explain the origins of the gender division of labor and the varieties in patriarchal structures, mechanisms and ideologies.

Theory and research on women's labor market participation, on their career patterns, and on their position in work organizations and managerial structures should be connected with the larger social picture. However, many of the specific studies on paid and domestic work, occupational gender segregation and occupational mobility, the gender gap in earnings, computerization and gender relations, and educational gender segregation provided the links between the larger society and smaller social units.

Original and post Marx-Marxism are very rich sources and powerful theoretical and methodological tools in understanding the gendered division of labor, women's work in the capitalist economy, and the relation between theory and praxis, subject and object, general human and women's emancipation. Original Marxist ideas on "revolution in permanence" suggest that the first stage of socialist development has many conflicting elements of different socioeconomic formations and is only the beginning of building a new society. Therefore, to test women's progress in socialist societies and distinguish between the ideological and legal orientations, the ideals and the actual social life seems a real challenge.

The fact that Yugoslavia had a transformation from the self-management/social ownership form of socialism to a capitalist market economy and stronger patriarchal social organization (supported with war and nationalism) illustrates that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be easily reversed. All the former socialist societies are proofs that many improvements in women's status could be neutralized by patriarchal social and family organization. The Marxist concept of "revolution in permanence" has its own practical realization, showing that the fine line between progress and regress is

constantly moving from one side to another, depending a lot on how much patriarchal relations are empowered.

Researchers already have found differences in the spheres of education and paid work in capitalist versus socialist countries. It is observed that in socialist societies the tendencies toward solidarity, cooperation, job and benefits security, and smaller disparity in salaries are predominant. On the contrary, in the private-property form of capitalism, the tendencies toward individualism, competition, job and benefits insecurity, and greater disparity in salaries are predominant. I will examine how this general frame affects women's opportunities and especially educational and work opportunities. Comparing women's achievements and limits in a private-property form of capitalism and the Yugoslavian unique socialist system, I will focus mostly on the existence of educational and occupational gender segregation.

Comparative studies across the world emphasize the increasing importance of the international world order, the international economy and the international division of labor. All-present globalization transfers the dominant world tendencies to international subjects and societies. These realities, together with more or less modernized patriarchy, frame women's opportunities and make women's status more similar than different in modern industrialized countries. How similar and different women's status is in Yugoslavia and California I will present in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

YUGOSLAVIA AND CALIFORNIA

1. Background information

Background information about Yugoslavia and California--their geographic characteristics and the differences between their cultures, populations and positions in the world--provides a general frame of the Yugoslavian and Californian social contexts. For this study, the most important differences between Yugoslavia and California are their socioeconomic and political systems and their levels of economic and social development. I focus on these differences in the following sections.

a) Geographic Characteristics

Although the former Yugoslavia's geographic area was comparable to California's, the present Yugoslavia, formed of Serbia and Montenegro, is just 39,279 square miles. California's area is 155,973 square miles, and the former Yugoslavia's area was around 98,386 square miles (table 1). If we consider climate, the main characteristic of Yugoslavia's is the strict division of four yearly seasons, while California's seems more mild overall. Only Montenegro's coast, in today's Yugoslavia, has a sea climate. Yugoslavia's average annual air temperature is around 50° F, and in California it is around 60° F. Former and present Yugoslavian territory is located in the Balkan peninsula, and is a part of Europe. California is situated on the west, coast area of the

United States.

b) Population

The population of the former Yugoslavia, 23,529,000 in 1990, is comparable with the total population living in California in 1990, 29,944,000. The new Yugoslavia, much smaller, in 1993 had a population of 10,481,954. In 1993, California's population was 31,517,000. California is the state with the most intensive migration in the United States. From 1990-1995, international migration to California alone was 1,380,000 or about 34% of the entire U.S. migration from abroad of 3,966,000. During the same time (1990-1995), U.S. citizens moved to California in about 17% of all domestic moves. In Yugoslavia, there are also intensive migrations, but domestic only. For example, due to the recent civil war, in 1993, 50,322 people moved from parts of the former Yugoslavia to the present Yugoslavia. At the same time, 24,120 persons left the present Yugoslavia's territory and mostly went abroad.

When the former Yugoslavia existed, it was a multinational conglomerate. In the former Yugoslavia Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Moslems, Romanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks, Slovaks, Romanies, Valachians, and a small number of people declared Yugoslavs all lived together. The present Yugoslavia consists of almost the same diversity of nationalities, but the proportions are different with many more people declared Serbs now. Despite the great diversity, most nationalities are of European descent.

California is also a conglomerate of ethnicities, but the diversity in California has different characteristics. According to the 1990 census, California's population is classified into five main groups: White (57.2 %), Black (7.0 %), Asian and Pacific Islander (9.1 %), American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut and Other (0.8%) and Hispanic 25%. It is evident that between the two censuses (1980 and 1990) the largest increase occurred in the Asian population and then in the Hispanic group. These trends are certainly connected with the functioning of the global economy and world politics. More detailed analysis, shows that California's population is constituted of many different nationalities coming from all around the world, and that is, certainly, a special characteristic of America and California.

c) Culture and Peace

To compare different cultures is not an easy task, especially in such multinational societies as California and Yugoslavia. Even present Yugoslavia hardly could be characterized as a monolithic culture. Yugoslavian culture is a part of European and Balkan culture. On the other hand, California is a part of American culture. In Yugoslavia (especially the former Yugoslavia) Yugoslavian ethnic groups and European nations lived together and mixed their cultures. In California and the U. S. people have come not only from Europe, but from all over the world and each mixed their cultures with the native American culture. A closer look will reveal special characteristics of each culture.

Yugoslavian nations can trace their cultural heritage to the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule or earlier periods. During the period of independent Balkan kingdoms, Croats and Slovenes became Roman Catholic while Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians became mostly Eastern Orthodox. Many Bosnians became Muslims during the Ottoman rule. All these groups coexisted together in the “three Yugoslavias” (1918-1941, 1945-1991, 1992-present) with Albanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Turks, Romanians and other nationalities. According to the 1974 Constitution they all were equal, but the term “national minorities” was widespread and used in legal terminology, as well as in everyday life. “National minorities” had their specific rights, and it was emphasized very often that they were minorities in number only. There is no doubt that there was a strong ethnic and cultural blending in the former Yugoslavian spaces. Ethnic diversity was a source of wealth and valuable contributions to the whole culture, while each group also developed a subculture at the same time (Nemanjic 1996, 366).

However, all Balkan nations shared a national mentality characterized by patriarchy, localism and regional affections (Nemanjic 1993, 178). Social scientists have uncovered the historical roots of the Balkan mentality that identifies with power and authoritarian leaders. They postulate that the history of Ottoman slavery (up to middle ages) may explain why for fifty years Yugoslavians tolerated a dictator as a leader. In explaining characteristics of Yugoslavian social psychology that may have contributed to the recent social disintegration and war, social scientists note a persistent preindustrial mentality and a cognitive authoritarianism related historically to a heroic ethos (Bakic-Golubovic 1992).

Although the former Yugoslavia's Constitution and official ideology called for a "unified Yugoslavian cultural space" often in reality it did not exist. Some "cultural workers" and artists made "unified Yugoslav cultural space" occasionally real and rich in diversities. However, the (state-controlled) mass media had a selective approach to the circulation of cultural and artistic expression and promoted only what conformed safely to the status quo the state's interests. Especially during the recent war years, dominant media did not support or emphasize the most progressive, creative, experimental expressions of a genuine blending of cultures.

The social and cultural milieu in the present Yugoslavia is characterized by many elements of a "destroyed society" (Bolcic 1992) and the transition from a one-party to multiple-party system has been realized without changing much of the ruling political philosophy. The new Yugoslavian culture is a result of the war, and the UN sanctions that made international social and cultural communications hardly possible. Following a global trend, Yugoslavia is changing from a multinational federation to separate nation states (Stojkovic 1995, 441).

There is also a newly composed "war culture": "trash patriotism." Retrograde changes are present in everyday life and they have to be reflected in cultural expression (Vujadinovic-Milinkovic 1995, 320). Research findings document that none of the segments of culture were immune from the destructive influence of "war-kitsch culture." The newly created cultural model of mass-culture or "war-subculture" sometimes contains and celebrates violence (Atanackovic 1991). The "war-subculture" is characterized further by a chaos of values, a persecution complex, xenophobia, national

"mythomaniac kitsch," and the belief by some Serbian and some Croatians that their nationalities have a special historic missions (Dragicevic-Sesic 1992, 107; Vukotic 1992, 78). At the same time, further Balkanization is still an option for the Yugoslavian people (Janjic 1992). All of these characteristics make Yugoslavia's culture very special, and very different from any other in the present moment.

During the period 1991-1996 in the former Yugoslavian space we had a real war, war atmosphere and intensive social and economic crisis. That fact makes the Yugoslavian society relatively unique and somewhat hard to compare with any peaceful society. After Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia declared independence in 1991, Serbia and Montenegro formed "the Third Yugoslavia." Five new states emerged from the ruins of the former Yugoslavia. In the space of present Yugoslavia, the UN economic and cultural sanctions affected the whole social life and the society lived mostly isolated from the outside world. Some economists predicted that this fact would have such serious effects on the Yugoslavian economy as to set it back at least ten to fifteen years. International isolation also helped the spread of the nationalist/chauvinist ideology. About the causes and manifestations of "Yugoslavia's bloody collapse" or the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, I write more in the next chapter.

California is the part of the United States with the most intensive migrations. Circulation of peoples and ideas, in general has a positive effect for every social environment and California is no exception. But, to what extent cultural politics of difference, diversity, multiplicity and heterogeneity is a powerful trend is a serious question. There are many authors who still tend to see "American democracy" as a guise

for Western cultural hegemony and multiculturalism as a mask for dominance. David Sacks and Peter Thiel (1995) document that “multiculturalism” at Stanford University has recreated many of the taboos, myths and social practices of intolerance. Statistical data and many studies indicate that ruling structures in California are still predominantly constituted of white males, and for Marxists it would be logical to conclude that the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling group.

California is usually perceived by Californians and other Americans and even by the world as one of the most modern American states. It is also emphasized that California provides a more tolerant atmosphere for queer people and their subcultures.

California is also considered a center of modern technologies (Silicon Valley) which makes this state very attractive to many people all over the world. Coming to California, even if they stay temporarily, they further mix their cultures and enrich the already existing diversity.

There are some indicators that California’s political system does not support communication and coalitions of nonprivileged groups and they remain isolated from each other and committed only to their own particular needs (Greenberg 1989, 222). However, cultural diversity and cultural blending are evident and to some degree an objective consequence of living together.

d) Position in the World System

It is clear that the present Yugoslavia’s position and reputation in the world society is not as good as it was in the period of the Titoist regime (1945-1980). As a founder of

the Nonaligned League and a propagator of peaceful world politics, Yugoslavia had a noticeable role in the world. After all the processes of disintegration, and especially after the cruel and senseless war, the world sees Yugoslavia differently. All the “ethnic cleansing,” genocide, and undemocratic processes ruined Yugoslavia’s good reputation and discredited all parts of the former country. The world’s shift toward making socialist ideas highly unpopular also affected the image of Yugoslavia. Powerful mass media (such as CNN) seen in every part of the globe, pictured Yugoslavs as crude, uncivilized, undemocratic and intolerant. Global calls for democratization of Yugoslavia’s political and social life remain more a kind of demagoguery than an indication of meaningful support for that goal. Even though, officially, the Yugoslavian president Milosevic is seen as most responsible for Yugoslavia’s violent disintegration, he nonetheless later was praised for efforts towards peace, by the international community (Silber and Little, 1997, 20).

Especially influential in shaping the world’s perception of Yugoslavia is the American attitude toward Yugoslavia’s crisis and war. Soon after his inauguration President Clinton identified Yugoslavia and Bosnia as the most pressing foreign policy issue facing his new administration (Glenny 1996, 228). In political science, America’s aversion towards socialism and communism is well known (Greenberg 1989, 357). Western policy makers quickly identified former socialist countries which could be integrated rapidly into the market structures of the European Community and the United States. This policy means *a priori* highly unequal economic exchange and the economic dependence of the former socialist countries on international financial organizations and private corporations of the most powerful countries (Glenny 1996, 236). Moreover,

dismembered Yugoslavia and the divided Balkans, pose little economic and political threat to the rest of the world.

The United States plays a very well known powerful role in world politics and the international order. None of the concrete actions and failures of American foreign policy changed her position and the role as a world leader (Kraft 1991, 145). American corporations “operate freely and profitably in as many countries as possible, to construct and to maintain an open door around the globe for business enterprise. Such a task, of course, requires a vigorous, assertive, and interventionist foreign policy as well as substantial military capacity” (Greenberg 1989, 317). The United States tends to be seen as a very important part of the international organizations that represent the best defenses against the international anarchy and certainly as one of the most important conductors of high world politics.

Whenever California operates in the world system, it is very likely that California represents the whole country. Also, being the seventh largest economy in the world, California wields economic and political power. Together with other states, California shapes the world’s association of the United States with power, wealth, democracy and modernity.

2. Socioeconomic and Political Systems

It is well known that the Yugoslavian socioeconomic system was unique. No other country in the world has tried to combine the institutions of self-management and social ownership and to base the social system on them. Shortly after the Second World War,

Yugoslavia was declared to be a Socialist Federative Republic, constituted of six Republics and two Autonomous Provinces. In the Yugoslavian legal documents and main political discourses the institutions of social ownership and self-management were introduced. The last Constitution applied in the former Yugoslavia, the 1974 Constitution, contained all the principles about socialism, social ownership, self-management and equality of all nations and peoples living together, and the concept of a unified Yugoslavian market and cultural space. In practice, socialism, social ownership and self-management were often deformed into a “vulgar socialism” or a version of state capitalism with party-state ownership and the dominance of party-state structures over the whole social life. Still, the collective values were visible either by reading legal documents or by observing social reality. The whole organization of education and work spheres supported collective actions; self-management and social ownership are *per se* collective institutions.

The Yugoslavian socioeconomic and political crisis, together with similar crises in the rest of the former socialist bloc and the world's attitude toward these countries, certainly influenced Yugoslavian legislatures. The word socialism simply disappeared from the new Constitution in 1992. Yugoslavia became the unity of two nations--Serbs and Montenegrins. It is still called a federative republic. All the new state symbols are very similar to the old ones. Many Yugoslavian citizens even today have the old passports with the old symbols and with the name of Socialist, Federative Republic of Yugoslavia on the cover. Something new in Yugoslavia's 1992 Constitution is the statement in article 13 that the socioeconomic system should be based on the market economy. The word

capitalism is not explicitly mentioned. The Declaration of the Rights of All Citizens is almost unchanged from the Constitution of 1974 and very similar to the norms found in all modern constitutions.

California's Constitution is the concretization of the U.S. Constitution, and it is written in California's Constitution that the American Constitution is the supreme law of the land (Article 3, Sec.1). Accordingly, general characteristics of the whole system--social, economic and political--we could find in the U. S. Constitution and federal laws. There are many interpretations of the basic institutions in the U.S. Constitution. Because of its long history and its flexibility many people including social scientists developed some kind of mystique regarding the interpretation of the general principles incorporated in the American Constitution (Greenberg 1989). As a result, the Constitutional protection of private property became less obvious to many people. It is a reasonable interpretation that to the framers of the Constitution, liberty was linked to property, not to democracy (Greenberg 1989, 59). Class interpretation of the Constitution is rational, and it is obvious that the system is based on a capitalist market economy in which a particular conception of social justice prevails. There is no doubt that capitalism has changed, but the basic features--the division between ownership and nonownership of property, and a system of market-oriented production for profit--remain the same. The fact that the Constitution is still unchanged and applied after more than two centuries is evidence that the basics of the system are maintained.

California's Constitution, Article 1, Declaration of Rights, in Section 19 contains the private property protection, too. There are several specific cases when private property

can be taken or damaged for public use (general interest), and those cases and the ways of compensation are listed.

The American political system is presidential, and the ruling power is supposed to be shared between the President and the Congress. If we only look at the legal documents, the situation is the same in Yugoslavia (President and Parliament). However, the specific characteristic of the Yugoslavian political system was the dominance of the League of Communists until 1991. What was also unique by world standards was Yugoslavian self-management law. Like in most countries, in Yugoslavia, the constitution makes the basic frame of the legal system and single laws concretize these principles and regulate specific institutions of property, labor rights, family organization, the educational system and so on. During Yugoslavia's socialist development there was a third category of law: self-management law. This type of legal norm was supposed to be *created* and at the same time *applied* by all "working people." Self-management courts were created and considered competent to judge less important cases, connected with social ownership and self-management disputes. In these cases, collective arbitration panels were composed of ordinary people and experts (in equal numbers). As a lawyer educated in Yugoslavia, I find it necessary to use the term "legal norms." The term "law" had a more narrow meaning and did not make clear that the legal norms created in the self-management system were included.

In general, the Yugoslavian legal system is based on the Roman system of law. The American type is Common-law and is British in heritage. Common law corresponds essentially with individualism and private property as main values, and gives more power

to the courts and individual judges as creators of the law. These two systems are very different; in the Roman-law system, courts and judges only enforce the law; by no means can they be creators. The most important values Yugoslavian law protected were: socialism, self-management, social ownership, the country's independence and the Communist Party. The most dangerous crimes were crimes committed against socialism, the state, social ownership (or ownership of the ruling groups) and the country's independence. Although the 1974 Yugoslavian Constitution presented Yugoslavia as a federation, many confederative elements were present. During the period from 1945-1980, the President was the main figure, and the system could be called totalitarian. Even new Yugoslavia is still characterized with the presidential mystique and negative charisma. Between 1992 and 1997 the Serbian president Milosevic was the main figure and the president of the Federative Republic did not have the real power. Subsequently, Milosevic became the Yugoslavian president, and the situation changed, again to his interest.

I would argue that the Yugoslavian socioeconomic system, after all deformations, was not pure socialism but some specific mixture of many elements, which Raya Dunayevskaya would call "vulgar socialism." Still, especially in the initial revolutionary phase, many socialist elements and values were predominant. With this in mind, it is visible that there are crucial differences (normative and real) between the Californian and Yugoslavian socioeconomic and political systems.

3. Economic Well-Being and Quality of Life

It is not easy to measure a country's standard of living and the quality of life ensured for its people. Also, there is a lack of common statistical standards for measurement and comparisons of the quantity and quality of some goods and services. However, there are some generally acceptable social indicators and some comparisons can be made.

The level of the Yugoslavian economic development and the volume of material production are hardly comparable with the American and Californian. In 1990, the Yugoslavian Gross State Product was \$50 billion and the California Gross State Product was \$752 billion, which is about 15 times bigger (tables 4 and 5). For the same year, statistical data showed that the total per capita personal income in California was \$21,287 and in Yugoslavia it was \$4,750.

In 1993, per capita energy consumption in California was 229,600,000 BTU, and in 1992, in Yugoslavia it was 2,561 BTU. If we consider total electrical energy production, in 1995 California's total electrical energy production was 256,367 million kilowatt per hour and in 1991, Yugoslavia's total electrical energy production was 39,453 million kilowatt per hour (see tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11). In 1994, there were 472 automobiles per 1,000 people in California. In 1990, there were 135 registered automobiles per 1,000 people in Yugoslavia.

In California the general unemployment rate for 1995 was 7.8%. We have available the data for Yugoslavia for 1994, and the general unemployment rate was 23.1%. Later in this study I address the question of unemployment rates and gender representation.

If we consider the total enrollment in all institutions of higher education, in 1994, in California it was 1,836,000. At the same time (1994/1995) in Yugoslavia the total enrollment was 143,377. This means that 6.1% of the total California's population and 1.4% of the total Yugoslavia population is enrolled in the institutions of higher education.

If we look at the number of physicians per 100,000 people, Yugoslavia and California have a similar rate. In 1994 the rate was 241 in California, and in 1991 it was 212 in Yugoslavia (table 11). However, there are differences in the medical technology and California is more advanced in modern scientific and medical achievements.

For the people's economic well-being and the quality of life, the structure of personal consumption is a very good indicator. During the period of 1990-1994 Yugoslavian people spent the largest portion of their income on food: from 36-54.3% of their resources (table 12). Then, the next items in the structure of personal consumption were clothing and footwear, fuel and light, transportation and beverages. Expenses for rent and housing constituted just 1.1% of the Yugoslavian people's expenses. In California, in 1995, expenses for housing, rent or mortgage payments make the main expense. Californian people spent more on medical care, other goods and services and transportation than Yugoslavians. All these elements are indicators of the existing differences in the levels of economic development and standard of living.

* * *

Using the most general indicators, I pointed to some obvious differences between the two societies, their population and cultures, and their levels of economic and social development. The preceding analysis also presented differences between the Yugoslavian and Californian socioeconomic and political systems. Overall, these differences are more significant than similarities. All the presented information can help us to frame the social milieus within which we are going to examine concrete aspects of women's status.

CHAPTER IV

YUGOSLAVIA

In this chapter I present briefly some of the social changes in the Yugoslavian society in the decade 1985-1995 related to disintegration, war, nationalism and chauvinism, as well as to the strengthening of patriarchal values. These changes affected negatively women's general social status, educational opportunities, professional aspirations and achievements. Women's political engagement also has been weakened by these stormy social changes. In the second section I focus on the Yugoslavian family and private patriarchy, and how it shapes attitudes toward family and professional possibilities of men and women. My attempt to detect the essence of the Yugoslavian educational system and gender divisions within the sphere of education, is presented in the third section, accompanied with the results other researchers already have published. The analysis of the available statistical data on graduated students from the institutions of higher education is the main source of information used in this section. In the fourth section, women's employment and unemployment patterns, the occupational structure and the earnings in male and female industries are presented--the core analysis in this whole chapter. Women lawyers, medical doctors and scientists--their social status and the sub-divisions within these occupations--are also the subjects of my concern here. Women's participation in the political scene in the former and present Yugoslavia, especially at the highest levels, is described in the fifth section. The sixth section

examines the discrepancy between the normative concept of gender equality and real social life.

1. Social Changes 1985-1995

It is not easy to present a social portrait of one country, to be concise, and to include all important changes in a period of ten years. This task is even more difficult if we observe a disintegrating society and military conflicts. However, for my analysis it is important to have the most general picture, and then focus on the most important changes in women's status. These confusing times of social transformations negatively affected all of women's opportunities and much future research would be needed to illuminate these effects.

Yugoslavian sociologists still think about how to explain the dominant social processes and tendencies in the 1980s and 1990s. They acted more like laymen than like professionals when they were expected to comment on and explain the Yugoslavian fiasco. At the end of 1989 more than 30 famous social scientists were interviewed and they expected either a continuation of the status quo or strong democratic trend in the former Yugoslavian spaces (Letica 1989). Despite that fact, some Yugoslavian sociologists were able not only to predict the internal war, but also to observe many social factors that led to the crisis, conflicts and war. It was obvious in 1989 that all socialist orders were in some kind of "genetic" crisis (Radivojevic 1994, 264). Furthermore, in Yugoslavia, ethnic and religious antagonisms were becoming more visible, like in many

other multinational societies. The long lasting one-party system and the manipulative charisma of some political leaders made it difficult for Yugoslavians to see alternative solutions (Bolcic 1992, 17; Lazic 1994, 166). Also, political expression of the intensive social crisis was visible in 1989 in discussions about amendments to the new Yugoslavian Constitution.

Many travelers observed that the former Yugoslavia had a higher standard of living than any other socialist country during President Tito's rule. Tito cleverly used international credits to keep the standard of living high, and people lived comfortably. Also, the reputation of Tito and Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned League and all over the world was good.

After Tito's death (1980) it became obvious that international credits had to be returned and Yugoslavian republics started fighting over their responsibilities and their representation in the national leadership. These processes contributed to strengthening of nationalist ideologies. Also, nationalism and chauvinism in Yugoslavia was supported by growing nationalism and fundamentalism in global terms (Moghadam 1994). In addition, the world politics did not favor socialist ideologies by this time (if it ever did). The vacuum created after the disappearance of the League of Communists in the Yugoslavian political scene was filled by the nationalist and chauvinist philosophies, although the progressive forces in Yugoslavia never stopped calling for the common wisdom, human and women's rights, or anti-war actions.

Radovan Marjanovic (1992, 48) pictured growing nationalism as the industry of death in the hands of a tribal mind. For him, economic and social underdevelopment

and the tendency to think in dogmatic ways are the factors that produced “surplus of cruelty” demonstrated in the Yugoslavian civil war. His arguments, unfortunately, could be used by western authors and the American public as additional evidence that the whole explanation of the Yugoslavian situation is that violent and conservative people (living in the Balkans) kill each other for nationalist and religious reasons. This oversimplifies the Yugoslavian situation and neglects the above-mentioned social factors.

There are people who still wonder “how such contrasting territories ever formed one country” and see Yugoslavism as no more than a form of “the communist ideology” and the result of an indoctrination to love one another (Bennett 1995, 64; Sekelj 1993). However, the Yugoslavian people, and “even the political leaders who led people to war, could not in the same moment conceal national similarities” (Bennett 1995, 64).

The war atmosphere or war reality and the disintegration of all sorts of normative regulation, some sociologists see as leading to *anomie* in the Yugoslavian society (Popovic 1992, 50). Authoritarian elements were not invisible in the former and present Yugoslavian society; the discrepancy between the rulers’ stated goals and real social life was often expressed, and consequently, the appearance of the *anomie* could be explained (Todorovic 1996, 6). In the Yugoslavian social scene, the leaders of “working people” became very fast the leaders and protectors of the “principal national interests” and supported the transition to the capitalist market economy. The new ideology of state nationalism was efficiently spread by the mass media and controlled by the new-old ruling class. The past was mobilized to give the meaning to the present, like in all

nationalist/chauvinist or fundamentalist views. It was not hard to encourage enormous politicization of the masses because the Yugoslavian peoples never really had an apolitical attitude. At the same time, Yugoslavs developed an ambivalent attitude toward the political system. The study by Srecko Mihajlovic about Serbian public opinion, for example, documented that although public opinion was not satisfied by the functioning of the system and by the work of the government, yet the majority of them voted for the party that established these political institutions (Mihajlovic 1994, 130).

This type of nationalist ideology, accompanied with chauvinism, gives only one sphere of action to women--to reproduce the nation. Research documented that Yugoslavian public opinion was not completely formed and that the public was divided about the war and war-national politics; the population that was more in danger had the higher degree of resistance toward the war. Women reacted to the nationalism in different ways, but the dominant reaction was resistance and suspicion. They did not want to join political parties and 70% of all researched women and protested against the war and mobilization (Funk 1993). However, the media created the symbol of a woman holding a gun in one hand and a child in the other hand. Before the dangerous rise of the state nationalism we could say that Yugoslavian women had multidimensional social roles. Analyzing Yugoslavian legal and ideological (League of Communists, mostly) documents, I found elements of protective legislation characteristic of all socialist countries and their treatment of women (such as protection from hard manual and night work, protection of pregnant women, and so on). Still, the Yugoslavian legal and complete socioeconomic and political system had many special and progressive elements

(Jovanovic 1993). Yugoslavia was the first country in the world to include in its (1974 Federal) Constitution the right (primarily women's right) to decide freely about giving birth to a child. As we could expect, the right had disappeared from the new Yugoslavian Constitution in 1992. It could not fit well with "war order" and women's task to renew the nation (Papic 1992). The new laws on Serbian population policy and on social care for children contain social actions to stimulate population growth and punish childless couples. Yugoslavian labor legislation has not been officially changed, but, with help provided by this new demographic politics and nationalist ideology, rising numbers of refugees, and slight but permanent growth of the unemployment rates, women's actual status in the work sphere is very likely to be changed.

Even with relatively modern legislation and in the "normal social state" before the war, occupational gender segregation was visible. Olivera Buric found that discrimination did occur in hiring--the chances of being hired were better for men than for women (Buric 1985). University students I interviewed in 1991 thought that men still had better chances to be hired for all jobs, and university students were the most progressive and critically oriented part of the Yugoslavian society in the forty five-year period from 1945-1990 (Janicijevic 1966; Pantic 1980, 1991; Milic 1987). The special problem today in Yugoslavia is the case of women refugees who lost everything that characterized their normal lives, and they are very likely to form the new "minority group," facing new and specific discriminatory practices connected with their nationality, in their new social environments. The spectrum of their problems is something that the current Yugoslavian government does not treat as a priority (Nikolic-Ristanovic et.al. 1995; 1996, 67).

A good illustration of how nationalism became the dominant social phenomenon in all parts of society and very institutionalized is the fact that the Federal (present Yugoslavia's) Statistical Bureau is publishing the data in the *Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia* for a country that did not exist in 1980 or 1990. About this phenomenon I noted in the Introduction and Chapter III. Thus, we could think that Yugoslavia had 10,000,000 population in 1990, although it was well known that the former Yugoslavia's population was over 20,000,000. Giving the data just for Serbia and Montenegro and assuming that it was always the only Yugoslavia, we contribute to the confusion the world has about what country we are talking about. But, in this way, we could present to the world that in 1990 and before, we had only 2% of Croats in the former Yugoslavia, too! The farce becomes even more expressed if we know that the same Federal Bureau did publish different data, in different *Statistical Yearbooks*, for the whole former Yugoslavia until 1991-92. The same institution is located in Belgrade, at the same place, and most probably the majority of the employees are the same people.

In the following sections, and especially in the section about women's political participation, the rise of nationalism/chauvinism and strengthening of patriarchal values are analyzed in mutual connection.

2. Family, Patriarchal Values, Nationalism and Sexism

Transformation of the Yugoslavian family started during the period between the World Wars and is a process still present in social reality. Urbanization and

industrialization, the “educational boom” and other changes, did not imperil the primacy of the family as a living arrangement.

Since 1970s the Yugoslavian family has had a peaceful development. We could say today that in the typical family, both men and women marry late, they are both employed, the nuclear family form is predominant (3.6 persons per family, average for 1991), parents have no more than two children, and parents focus on the children’s future (Milic 1994, 104). Further characteristics of the Yugoslavian family today are connected with relatively low fertility rates, divorce rates and “illegitimate births.” There is a constant low presence of single persons with or without children in the former and present Yugoslavian space (Avramov 1993).

In 1993, the present Yugoslavia had 62,045 marriages and 7,394 divorces. In the present Yugoslavia, in 1995, we still had 863,514 housewives, and they are, of course, classified as dependents. They even formed 50% of all dependents, and pupils and students made up 34.3% of all dependents. Data for 1991 indicated that women formed even 61.8% of all dependents.

Being a parent is still a very desirable “sense of life” for Yugoslavian people (Blagojevic 1991; Petrovic 1990). The majority of the Belgrade University students I interviewed (Jovanovic, 1993) preferred to live in the marriage and family organization, and almost did not think about other kinds of living arrangements or about living alone. Constitutional (and legal in general) equality of marriage with other forms of living, and equality of children of married and unmarried parents did not influence Yugoslavian youth to consider other living arrangements more often, although they adopted many

other progressive ideas and values. The center of gravity in the Yugoslavian family becomes the relationship between parents and children, and the patriarchal-authoritarian model is modified to paternalist and protective. The young generations in Yugoslavia had their own constraints growing up with overly protective parents. The lack of affordable housing, general social impoverishment and uncertain future of Yugoslavia, made their situation even harder (Milic 1994, 105, 6).

The fact that Courts regularly give custody to mothers after a divorce is an indicator of how modern patriarchal ideology is institutionalized. For the whole period from 1975-1993 children of all ages were given to their mothers in more than 70 % of the cases.

During the period former Yugoslavia existed, we can characterize the Yugoslavian family as a stable entity, a mixture of many elements, but predominantly a modernized patriarchal construction. It was obvious that the Yugoslavian society counted on the family as the basic cell of the society and although overall legislation had a modern orientation, there were some examples in the Family and Criminal law that supported completely "classical patriarchal ideology" (about marriage and rape: Jovanovic 1994, 273; Simovic-Hiber 1993, 33). So-called socialization of the family and its functions never really took place. Social services constructed to help families or to take over its functions were not a serious alternative to unpaid household labor. Although child care centers provided cheap services, many Yugoslavians did not send their children to these centers and preferred *baka* (grandmother) services. Also, during the war years, many

people were forced to take months of (paid and unpaid) vacations, and they preferred to take care themselves of their children.

Although women were more at home than at work, they were not passive observers of the war, economic crisis, and growing nationalism. I agree with Andjelka Milic that women's politics is not the result of some superior political organization and ideology; women's territory of action is everyday life, and mostly not in official and institutionalized public spheres (although they initiated anti-war actions and established the Center for Anti-War Actions; see: Milinkovic 1994). Still, women's political action is not less political than men's. Women's politics included authentic women's strategy of activating kinship networks to solve the problems and tensions between the family and work, child care and career, while coping with the decrease in living standards and the daily politics of survival. Both the men's and the women's kinship networks have their place in helping working women (Milic 1991). There is no doubt that women's active role in organizing their own lives, increases their self-respect as well as social respect.

Still, there could be a negative side to this phenomenon. There is also a possibility that reestablishing extended family relations will strengthen patriarchal solidarity and social control over women's lives. Helping more, relatives usually think that they have the right to control a working woman's life and take over her authority as a parent. Besides family, the larger society also increased control over women's lives, emphasizing the importance of women's role of procreation. Adding fear of AIDS and its reinforcement of patriarchal monogamy, we could even expect a reconstruction of classical patriarchal family relationships. In the period of general social confusion, there

are some social measures (legislation) to increase the birth rate, to favor women and families with three or more children. Yugoslavian society awarded a certain number of "working years" to women, just for giving birth to three or more children, so they could retire early.

Combined private and public patriarchy, nationalism and calls for a return to pre-socialist traditions, of men who defend the nation and women who reproduce for the homogenizing patriarchal ideology are the elements of the Yugoslavian present social atmosphere. Interconnections between the family, socialization and education, domestic and paid work, and political institutions are constructing the new models for gender relations. At the same time, gender relations have a great influence on the character of all social institutions. During the war years, the whole Yugoslavian social life is colored with nationalism and the Yugoslavian family seems to be the oasis not only for refugees but also for the lost individual without social identification. When the state, socioeconomic and political system and social values are destroyed, an individual tends to see the family and family solidarity as almost the only solution.

According to some authors, wherever the patriarchal family exists, there is a basis for patriarchy to be constantly reborn. Although Yugoslavian socialism proclaimed an absolute equality of the sexes--male and female were "comrades", and legal guarantees were made to ensure equality in public life--the real social and familial relations were nevertheless sexist. With the new development of a fundamentalist world view, revival of tradition and religion, social chaos and general pauperization, patriarchal elements in the

Yugoslavian family have a chance to become stronger. Legal interventions, although few, support the trend.

In the next section I analyze the character of the Yugoslavian educational system and gender segregation in the educational sphere, focusing on inequalities and segregation mostly expressed on the highest levels of educational ladders.

3. Yugoslavian Educational System and Gender Inequality

In all modern societies education becomes the most important institutional mechanism for social mobility and promotion of an individual and his (her) integration in a social system. The Yugoslavian “educational boom” had a potential to support women’s equality, but at the same time was a boomerang which, through feminization of some educational profiles, formed new types of segregation and discrimination in the work sphere and other parts of the society.

Andjelka Milic’s analysis (1994) documented that the main trends during the period between 1938 and 1980 were: a) girls were oriented toward vocational and mostly secondary-level education, b) vocational education was predominantly for the tertiary economic sector (administrative, clerical, sales, trade and service occupations), nonmanual work and nonmaterial production, c) by the decade 1970-1980 at least 10% of girls and women were observed in all educational profiles, d) some educational profiles became totally feminized. With regard to the last trend, before World War II there were 50% women in schools for teachers and currently, 80% of the students are

women. Education for the textile and leather industries, chemical technology, pharmacy and some specialties within the medical profession became female fields. Nobody has tried to deny that women's entrance to all educational levels and most of the educational profiles is a positive phenomenon. The negative effect is related to women's concentration mostly at the secondary educational level and in some certain number of profiles. Also, one pattern can be observed: as soon as a profession becomes "female" that profession is more or less socially marginalized, the average salaries decrease, the technological innovations decrease, social influence and social respect of the profession decrease, and the chances for being hired decrease for the members of the particular occupation or profession. At the same time a high concentration of women in one educational profile or profession contains a tendency toward deprofessionalization of the profession (e.g. doctors without specialty, Milic 1994, 51). Milic's research documented that a predominantly hierarchical and authoritarian social division of labor, as well as gender patterns of socialization, are the origins of male and female educational orientation and occupational gender segregation.

If we take a look at the statistical data for the present Yugoslavia, in 1991 the number of people without educational attainment (i.e. they did not complete elementary education) is 666,819; among women 14.2% are without elementary education and among men, 4.5%. This number is not small. For the same year, 7.0% of the total population is illiterate--just 2.8% of men but 11.1% of women. The number of illiterate women in Yugoslavia has decreased dramatically, from 37.5% in 1948 to 16.8% in 1981 and 11.1% in 1991 (tables 57, 62). Still, the number of over 500,000 illiterate women is

not to be ignored. The fact that men are about four times more likely than women to go to a school for adults also indicates that the patriarchal social division of labor allows men more time and energy to devote to all sorts of educational opportunities than it allows to women, especially if they have families.

When women do go to school, very often they face educational programs which do not reflect women's experiences and achievements. In 1986, research on primary school history textbooks in Croatia demonstrated that the names that appeared were female only from 2.2%-10.4% of the time, and all other attention was paid to the men. In secondary school textbooks researchers found even less mention of females--less than 2% of the names (Sklevicky 1989, 69,70). Women's important role in the Yugoslavian revolution was quickly forgotten.

For the whole ten year period from 1985-1995, girls made up about 50% or more of all students in secondary education. But in the 1994/95 school year, girls were just 3,678 of the 35,976 pupils in the secondary education for electrical technicians. On the other hand, they were 12,315 of the 14,353 students who were admitted in secondary schools for the textile and leather industries (table 63). The number of girls who were in secondary schools for machinery and metal processing is even more striking--just 7,268 out of 61,165 students (1993/94), which means that they represent 11% of the total number of students preparing for this type of occupation. At the secondary level, girls are educated for public health and social welfare so often that in 1993/94 they made up 17,240 of the total of 20,724 students. Similar proportions and feminization of secondary level schooling is present in economics, certain law and administration profiles, culture,

arts, public information and personal services. Secondary schooling for transport, geodesy and civil engineering, machinery and metal processing, and electrical technology are male-dominated fields. It is interesting that from the secondary to the university level, Yugoslavia had equal gender participation, or even a higher percentage of women than men, in schooling for pure mathematics, in the last decade (table 63). However, it is well known in the Yugoslavian context that real chances to be hired after graduating from these schools were poor.

Trends are similar if we look at the university schooling. From 1991-1995 we could see the same kinds of patterns in the present Yugoslavian space. Women's presence in schools for all technical sciences is about 30%. Civil engineering, machinery and metal processing and electrical engineering are male fields. In 1994/95 school year, there were 1,499 male and 1,099 female students who studied civil engineering; 7,492 male and 1,465 female machinery students; 3,838 male and 1,073 female electrical engineering students. University schooling for transport, forestry and agriculture is characterized with predominantly male students. In 1992/93 females were 36.5% of all agricultural and forestry students, and in 1994/95 they were 30% of all students who studied transport. Universities for work organization and management in 1994/95 had about 43% of female students. University preparation for sports and physical culture had only 27% of female students, and the Police Academy in Yugoslavia in 1994/95 had 211 students--210 male and 1 female! Despite all the ideology about "armed people" who all together could protect their country and the important role women played in the Yugoslavian revolution

during World War II and right after, the University for National Defense had only 15% female students (1994/95).

At the same time, university schooling for arts, economy, social sciences philosophy and dentistry attracted more than 60% female students. For some people it could still be a surprise that university students who study medicine and law are in 63%-65% of cases female. In the next section I will analyze how often female medical doctors and lawyers are unemployed and when they work, in which specialties within the medical and legal system they find their jobs. These facts are of decisive importance for a full explanation. As Andjelka Milic (1994) already found university schooling for teachers is more and more a female educational choice. In 1994/95, 90% of the students were female. Pharmacy has been completely a women's field in Yugoslavia for the whole period since the Second World War period. In 1994/95 the total number of pharmacy students was 1,680 with only 205 male students.

Looking at data on students who graduate from all universities, some patterns are also visible. From 1990-1994 women made up 52-57% of all university students who graduated. They graduated more often than men in pure sciences-mathematics; 59-70% of the total number of graduates were female (table 67). Although women started their university training for legal matters more often than men (about 65% of all students were female), they stagnated during their studies and graduated just a little more often than their male colleagues--54-57% of the total number of graduates from law schools were female.

In Yugoslavia women are as likely as men to become "specialists" (do post baccalaureate specialized training) and to receive a master's degree. During the period from 1990-1994, they constituted 50-54% of the total number of specialists. In 1993 women in present Yugoslavia received 39.8% of all master's and 34.4% of all doctorate degrees (table 63a). However in the former Yugoslavia, in 1990, women received just 27.6% of all Ph.D. degrees. As women move from bachelor's to doctoral degrees, they show the tendency to decrease in numbers. It is interesting that in 1993, women were less than 1/3 of the total number of people who received master's degrees in social sciences, although they are more often than men educated for social sciences in lower levels. The percentage of women is even smaller for Ph.D. recipients in social sciences: 24%. Women in technical-technological sciences are more likely to succeed in obtaining their doctorate. Although they are disadvantaged in numbers from the beginning of the university schooling in these fields of sciences, they receive about 24% of all Ph.D. degrees.

Women's educational and professional patterns in Yugoslavia are different from men's (tables 62, 63, 63a, 67). Their relatively high concentration in some nontraditional educational profiles such as medicine, law or some of the natural sciences can be explained with some specific Yugoslavian trends. Yugoslavian scientists and general public observed that the society intentionally channeled great numbers of women students to study economics or law, counting on at least two factors: 1) enormous numbers of students who graduate are not going to be able to find any jobs; and 2) with the large number of Self-Management Courts and small economic associations it was always

possible to direct women to less valued jobs on the periphery of economic and legal happenings. Science, especially social science, as a cultural activity was relatively marginalized. The centers of decision-making in Yugoslavia often did not take into account scientific research findings. Also, social scientists tended to do more theoretical than empirical research and accepted to be relatively isolated from the social reality, in the "safe environment of academy" (Milic 1994, 80).

The tolerance toward women's entry to all educational levels into the social sciences and some of the natural sciences was based on the fact that women made up the majority of unemployed people, and that women could be directed toward less socially valued educational sub-profiles, or toward direct less socially valued positions. In the next section I analyze women's employment and show how women's high concentration in medical, legal and scientific professions didn't guarantee their radically better position in these professions and in the society as a whole.

This analysis supports the observations presented by other researchers about feminization of some educational profiles. Women and men still tend to have separate domains in the sphere of education up to the present day. Women's entry to all schools and educational levels did not disturb their social inequality. Girls and boys are educated for women's or men's social domains. If the situation looks different in the cases of schooling for medical, legal, mathematical and some other professions, it only means that we need to take into account some other elements and to try to look under the surface. Women are still the most often socially channeled to be teachers (especially teachers for younger children--table 64) nurses and doctors without a specialty, pharmacists,

administrative workers, “defectologists” (professionals who work with disabled children), and artists. Men are still educated to be engineers, “organizers”(similar to business managers), military officers, detectives, police officers and sportsmen. The educational system prepares them to work in mining, geology and metallurgy, agriculture, forestry and transport. The social construction of masculinity connected with the “martial cult” and physical strength as well as with social leadership seems still to be at work. On the other hand, the picture of femininity still tends to be characterized by care for children and other people and assistance to those (men) who occupy the higher positions.

4. Employment, Earnings and Unemployment; Occupational Gender Segregation

This section focuses on women’s employment and unemployment patterns as well as on the Yugoslavian occupational structure. I also pay attention to some difficulties that obscure the gender gap in earnings and ways in which it becomes possible to uncover it. Special discussion is presented on women’s situation in the legal, medical and scientific occupations and professions. I participated in the legal profession, and therefore I can present participant observations as well as statistical data.

The dominant ideology relatively often prevented social scientists from focusing on the existing differences between men’s and women’s labor market positions and earnings and on occupational gender segregation. For a long period of time even statistical data about women’s unemployment were not commented on. Official

ideological documents tended to mix the normative concept with actual social reality or to interpret all inequalities as “remains of the traditional and conservative consciousness and practices.” That interpretation seemed to put the whole responsibility for change on the individual; an individual was supposed to overcome conservative consciousness and practices, even when social institutions represented the same types of conservative consciousness and practices.

In Yugoslavia in the 1980s and 1990s, women made up about 40% of the labor force which is a little less than the Eastern European average (table 59). Yugoslavian women have been concentrated mainly in the non-material production sector (table 59). According to the analysis by Andjelka Milic (1994), women employed in Yugoslavian industries are distributed in a way that exactly shows that there are traditionally male and female industries. She comments on pure male and female industries, as well as on some industries that are not obviously “gender colored.” Following her analysis, we could conclude that women make up 62-81% of the labor force in the textile and leather industries, which are clearly examples of female fields. Women participate with 45-47% in the chemical, food, tobacco, and printing industries, and these are more gender balanced industries. Women’s participation is lower in industries involving metal processing, production of electrical machines and processing of wood and paper, rubber and beverages: between 31 and 39%. Pure male industries are: generation, transmission and distribution of electricity; extraction and processing of coal, petroleum and iron ores; and iron and steel basic industries. Women’s participation in these industries is between 8 and 21%. In 1993 and 1995 these proportions were more or less the same (table 59).

Typical “women’s industries” hide one specific form of women’s exploitation. Although Yugoslavia did sign and ratify different international conventions and resolutions against the exploitation of women’s work, women frequently work in night shifts and for more than 8-12 hours per day in some female industries. The data from 1993 show that these conditions for women in the Yugoslavian industries are still very present (*Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia*, 1995, 99). If women work in male industries they are more likely to work part time, and to be laid off (Milic 1994, 70).

Women worked more often in the social than in the private sector in Yugoslavia. The private sector has been always weak and included the smallest craft and trade firms. Only recently, with reorientation toward strengthening the market economy, has the private sector become more important. During the decade 1985-1995 women made up 30-40% of all employees in the private sector (table 58).

Women dominate in numbers in the tertiary economic sector and overall this sector is characterized with lower personal income and lower social respect than other economic sectors (table 59). Also, this sector includes services, and by providing personal services, women preserve the dominant images about gender roles.

In the structure of unemployed people women were the majority from 1986-1995 (tables 60, 61). The numbers of unemployed people are based on the data provided by the bureaus for employment, and all other people not registered as unemployed on these lists are not counted. Still, it has been evident that even women with advanced degrees (master’s and higher) are not unlikely to be unemployed. Continuous hyperproduction of economists, lawyers and medical doctors made especially women the basis of “the

reserve army of highly educated labor power.” In addition to this fact, the general rates of unemployment were growing in the whole period 1985-1995. According to the Yugoslavian government, during the war years women were even more likely to be unemployed than before (*Report of the Yugoslavian Government*, 1995).

It is evident that we can observe occupational gender segregation in Yugoslavia. The female labor force is mostly concentrated outside of material production. Women and men have “their industries.” Data for 1993 document that in total number of employees women constitute about 25% of the workers in agriculture and fishing, 12% in forestry, 12% in water works and supply, 11% in construction, and 17% in transport and communications. On the other hand, in trade, catering trades and tourism, personal services, commercial services, education and culture, public health and social work, they participate with 48-77%. Non-traditional occupations for women are also occupations in coal, petroleum and machinery production, ship-building, maritime transportation and highway transportation. Women are rarely bus drivers, mail carriers, repairers of vehicles and electric equipment, chimney sweepers, engineers and even film producers. At the same time, they work often as garment and leather workers, personal services providers, laundry and dry cleaning services providers, teachers in primary and secondary education, librarians, pharmacists, and social workers (see tables 59 and 59a). The Data for 1995 are almost unchanged.

The data for the average earnings by branches of economic activities document that in 1992, 1993, and 1994, average net earnings were much better in “male industries” and other economic activities that employed the majority of men (table 50). Comparing

male and female industries and average net earnings we can see that the textile and clothing, leather, fur and footwear industries have about 1/2 of the average net earnings, of other industries including: the iron and steel industries; non-ferrous ores and metal industries; crude petroleum industries; coal extraction and processing; generation and distribution of electricity; and transport and communications (table 50). Researchers observed that when the percentage of women employed in an economic sector or group of economic activities increases, the average net earnings decrease (Sporer 1985). Yugoslavian researchers also found that if the educational level is higher, the difference between average net earnings of men and women increases. In 1992, Andjeka Milic proved that among engineers who work with high technology, women's net earnings were always lower than men's for the similar work they performed and for the same educational level and professional preparation they had (Milic 1994, 89).

In some other socialist countries it was also observed that women became predominant in numbers in legal, medical, and some scientific professions. Yugoslavia is no exception. There is evidence that women make up more than 50% of all medical doctors. Still, women mostly work in general medicine (without specialty) and represent 57% of these doctors. In pediatrics they are 69%, in work medicine 53%, in physical medicine and rehabilitation 60%, anesthesiology 57.6%, and ophthalmology 56%. At the same time, in general surgery there are 6.2% female surgeons; in otorhinolaryngology women are less than 1/3 of all doctors; in nuclear medicine they participate with 44%; in legal and forensic medicine just 18% are women; and even gynecology and obstetrics is a male field with 40% females (tables 40 and 41). From this angle, women's presence in

the medical profession looks different. Surgeons are better paid than pediatricians or doctors without specialization and they also have a special social reputation. Legal and forensic medicine entails special social responsibility and power. Looking from this perspective, the Yugoslavian "medical situation" doesn't seem much different from the Californian.

The situation is very similar if we look at the structure of dentists. Women make up 54% of the total number of dentists, but just 29% of those who work in surgical periodontics and oral surgery (table 41). They work in preventive and pediatric dentistry very often, comprising 72% of the total in these fields. In pharmacy, women participate with 89%-92% of all pharmacists in the present Yugoslavia in 1993 and 1995. In the total number of nurses women participate with 78%. In the Serbo-Croatian language, for medical technician there is just a word that represents a female person.

Although it is hard to deny women's progress and better representation in the legal profession, gender segregation is visible. During the period of self-management women were more likely to judge self-management (small) cases, or to be the arbiters. They participate with 30-60% in the total number of judges in all communal courts¹. At the same time, they represent 12.9% of judges in the Republic Courts, and the Yugoslavian Supreme Court has 55 male and 6 female judges. The same situation is in the structure of public prosecutors--women made up 29.5% of prosecutors at the communal level, and 8.3% at the Serbian Republic level (*Report*, 1995, 29). The Survey on Yugoslavian Judges, in 1995, also documented that women were more likely to work

¹ In Yugoslavia, all courts were communal, provincial, republic or federal; communal courts were subordinated to republic (or provincial) and federal

in subordinate courts. In regional courts women represent 33.2% of judges, and in communal courts 55.3% of all judges (more details in table 37). At the same time female judges had average grades better than their male colleagues, when their work in regional courts was evaluated (see table 38). Still, they do not have a chance to judge many criminal trials, and they are underrepresented in all supreme courts. Female attorneys are specialized for civil law in 65% of cases, and only 15% of them work on criminal matters (*Report 1995*, 29; and table 37). During the period of Yugoslavian socialist development, private property and civil law did not have a great importance. Thus, women were channeled to work in this legal field.

Women's entry to the Yugoslavian administration of justice system usually makes cloudy their real level of influence and the power relations they experience. The female majority from the Yugoslavian law schools are directed to work as legal assistants, to serve as attorneys for peripheral trials, or to find their places in arbitration, divorce and family trials, or to work for subordinate courts. Thus, they are close to being "legal provincials" (table 37). They also are very likely to be unemployed lawyers.

Women predominate in the social sciences. In Yugoslavia women are not underrepresented in scientific institutions. In 1993, the present Yugoslavia had 47% women in the total number of employees in scientific and research and developing institutions. However, in research institutes for technical and technological sciences, women make up only 38% of all employees. Universities are also research institutions. Although women participate with 49.7% in the total number of employees in all Yugoslavian universities, when we look at numbers of teaching staff and their academic

positions, the picture is very different. For the 1994/95 school year there is evidence that only 20% of tenured professors were women. For example, all Yugoslavian universities for civil engineering had just 9 female tenured professors, all universities for mechanical engineering 19 women with the highest scientific and teaching positions, and for electrical engineering just 4. Even in universities for pharmacy, where female employees make up 77% of all employees, four times more women occupy untenured positions than the highest academic ranks. For the 1995/96 school year, data show that women are mostly concentrated in the groups of senior lecturers, lecturers and assistant professors (table 75).

It is important to stress that the overall social reputation of science declined in the post-World War II period. Statistical data document that in 1992, 1993 and 1994 the average net earnings in science and education were relatively low, and employees in external trade, some types of transport and public services, and production of electricity, coal, petroleum, chemicals, and tobacco all had higher average net earnings than people employed in science and education (see table 50). At the same time, in the former and present Yugoslavia, when politicians needed scientific workers and university professors as apologists of the system or their political activity, they used researchers and their scientific results as some kind of "social decor or social cover." Yugoslavian politicians also established countless "Marxist Centers", with a dogmatic Marxist approach, as bridges between science and politics. Theory and research in these Centers mainly had a goal to glorify the dominant politics. Social scientists employed in these Centers had a privileged position in the society as a whole, became famous and/or continued their

careers as professional politicians. There were high-quality studies produced in these Centers, but rarely. Even very critical minds were not unlikely to be attracted by the privileges offered to them. Those critical minds were the special target of powerful politicians because of their scientific achievements and good reputation in scientific circles. In this way, politicians made these scientists dependent and less dangerous. They gradually indoctrinated or limited many people who worked in social sciences. For a long period of time almost nobody questioned the devalued status of science and scientists.

In the case of Yugoslavia, it is very hard to identify professions and occupations as high prestige. In the present situation when all sorts of war profiteers overnight became richer than many American wealthy people, when there was/is a deficiency of medical and hygienic basic supplies, when the legal system is destroyed and science is discredited, only some of the politicians still have a great social power and influence because they control everything. At the same time, these politicians also lost social respect among many intellectuals and ordinary people. Among politicians and the newly composed war bourgeoisie, as well as among the owners in the new and rising private sector, women do not have many representatives.

High technology was not a popular research topic in Yugoslavia. The society as a whole did not have a clear attitude about the importance technical and technological innovations could have for the Yugoslavian development. However, recently Yugoslavia showed greater interest in applying high technology in all social sectors. Researchers became more interested in problems connected with application of advanced technologies. In 1990, Andjeka Milic conducted research in two Yugoslavian computer

firms and found that working and behavioral patterns of male and female professionals were different. Her interviewees defined hardware as a male field and software as a female domain. She concluded that the dominant attitudes of Yugoslavian experts toward gender roles and new technologies were of decisive importance for adopting, applying and projecting, these technologies, as well as for organizing and reorganizing the labor force, including on the global social level (Milic 1994, 98-99)

In the present and former Yugoslavia researchers have not been very interested in doing research on women in management. It was assumed that there was equality between men and women in chances to become managers and that their behavior as managers was similar. At the same time, it was assumed that being preoccupied with this question is an indicator of “the capitalist consciousness,” and is not appropriate for a socialist, self-management society. Used to organize schools, working places, and communities, self-management did work but rarely in a fruitful way. Relatively often, the best self-management decisions had to be subordinated to the “best Party decisions.” Still, the fact that self-management did not work effectively in the Yugoslavian reality, does not mean that it was theoretically unworkable, as some authors concluded (Sirc 1979, 247). The official statistical data never showed much about women’s participation in the business management. So, research on women managers is relatively new in Yugoslavia, as my review in Chapter Two demonstrated.

Research on gender differences in the new technologies (Milic 1994) shows that in computer firms women are very likely to work with male managers. In the two

computer firms women Andjelka Milic studied in 90% of the cases had men managers. Women interviewees occupied just 11.8% of all managerial positions (Milic 1994, 88).

Analyzing occupational structure, data on unemployed persons by sex, and the general rise of unemployment rates, I noted the main factors that are affecting women's situation in the sphere of paid work. These factors are the economic crisis, the war and the rise of nationalism. All these factors reinforced traditional gender roles. Focusing on female and still non-traditional industries and occupations for women, I described the detailed pattern of occupational gender segregation in order to compare them with Californian women's occupations. The specific position of women scientific workers, lawyers, medical doctors and engineers was analyzed in detail in order to illuminate different social situations and mechanisms that preserve patriarchal structure within the occupations, or that devalue some occupations and specialties. There is not much available statistical evidence about the gender gap in earnings and managerial structures, but some of the statistical and other research data provide enough material for some general conclusions. In Yugoslavia, women work in occupations and industries that are less well-paid than men's. Also, Yugoslavian women were almost absent from managerial structures. In Chapter VI, I compare Yugoslavian and Californian women and show how similar occupational structures in these two societies are.

5. Women and Politics

This section is devoted to detecting the main characteristics of women's political participation in the decade between 1985 and 1995. The most recent years are crucial because of the evidence that stormy social happenings affected women's political participation negatively.

Women's political activity and their participation in the highest levels of the Yugoslavian political life is not very hard to observe and analyze. From 1985 when we had 17.5% women in the total number of delegates in the Federal Parliament, and 1986 when we had 12.3%, we came to have 2.8% women among delegates in 1992 (present Yugoslavia; table 96). In the Republic Parliaments women made up 18.5% of the representatives in 1985, and about 5.5% in two Parliaments of the present Yugoslavia (Serbian and Montenegrin, 1992-1993, table 96). In all communal parliaments² during the period 1980-1985, women's representation was between 17.8 and 23%, but in 1993 women participated with just 4.8% of seats in local (communal) parliaments in Serbia, and 4.5% in Montenegro. In 1995, the Yugoslavian Federal Government has 14 members, and only one is female: the Minister for Human Rights. The female did not get to be Minister for International Affairs or something similar. Being a Minister for Human Rights corresponds with traditional assumptions about women's role and ties them with care for other people and compassion. On the other hand, the function of the Minister for

² Communal parliaments were the basis of the Yugoslavian delegate system; in every commune, its inhabitants propose and choose among themselves who is going to represent them in communal parliaments and further--in republic (or provincial) parliaments and Federal parliament; it was meant that these delegates "come back" to their delegate basis and be responsible for their decisions.

International Relations is usually connected with high politics and world-wide prestige. Women are represented with about 2.9% in the Federal Ministry for International Relations, and in 1994 they constituted about 16% of the Yugoslavian diplomatic corps (*Report*, 1995).

The assumption that it was not important who was in the managerial structures of Yugoslavian firms or in delegate structures from community to federal levels was widely shared. The dominant ideology directed people to think that this was an irrelevant question. If self-management and social ownership were realized in their ideal form these assumptions would be relatively reasonable. Still, social reality was often different from these ideals. In fact, party-state groups did own the most important social resources and the means of production. They did often rule instead of “working people.” The political sphere is a sphere of primary importance for every society, and political institutions are the environment where the most important social decisions are made. Women’s representation of 2-15% in the Yugoslavian political life could be seen more as a “social decor.” This small percentage of women cannot make real changes. Although it is dangerous to make comparisons with very small numbers (of women present in the Yugoslavian “high politics”), it is obvious that we have a decrease in women’s participation in the present Yugoslavia’s ruling institutions. Many people tend to see these changes as retrograde trends. The overall supremacy of nationalist/chauvinist ideology and fundamentalist/religious views certainly has some impact on real social relations, women’s status and their political activity. Even the former Yugoslavia, according to a UN study, had the smallest average of female representation in parliaments

in Eastern Europe (*Women in Politics and Decision Making*, 1992).

With further decline in women's participation in the most important political institutions, the general status of women in Yugoslavia is more likely to be worsened, and they are more likely to move even further away from the main sources of social power. Their resistance to war and nationalist/chauvinist alternatives is understandable and they have been discouraged about the possibilities for bringing about progressive change. Still, their withdrawal from the most important political institutions is significant and hardly could have any positive effect for women's general social status.

6. Discrepancy Between the Normative Concept of Gender Equality and Real Social Life

This section discusses the legal concept of general human and gender equality, difficulties in enforcing legal norms, and the discrepancy between de jure gender equality and de facto gender inequality in the Yugoslavian social reality. I consider legal and ideological concepts as the important elements of the general public discourse, and even if they are unlikely to be applied, the ideas and ideals are present in the social reality.

The Yugoslavian legal system was, in general, very progressive. In some cases, we could even have the impression that Yugoslavian legislatures were more concerned with making a system that was going to be classified internationally as modern or progressive, than with the real chances for concrete legal norms to be enforced. We could find many examples of how proud Yugoslavian legislatures were, in some ideological documents

(League of Communists, Socialist Association of Working People) and materials from the scientific conferences. Yugoslavia ratified all important international documents that were supposed to guarantee social equality and gender equality. Real social life was and still is rather different, especially after the initial revolutionary phase, and we can talk about the discrepancy between the normative concept and its social realization.

The former (Socialist) Yugoslavian Constitution, from 1974, guaranteed social equality to all people and gender equality. This Constitution made children born from married and unmarried parents equal, and marriage and other life arrangements equal. The Constitutional principle of the right to decide freely about giving birth to a child was promoted. Social protection at work was guaranteed to the youth, women and disabled persons. The Constitution proclaimed that special social protection was given to a mother and a child.

The Yugoslavian 1992 Constitution repeated all norms except the principle about free decision to give birth to a child. Normatively, it is guaranteed that pregnant women and old people have special medical protection, funded from the public income.

The 1981 Yugoslavian Family Law started with the principles of gender equality, equality of children born from married and unmarried parents, and equality of all types of living arrangements. Man and woman are equal in their rights, obligations and responsibilities towards each other and their children. They have equal property rights and rights to have separate and communal belongings, as well as the right to be supported by the other spouse (partner).

In the 1977 Yugoslavian Labor Law there were some elements of social attempts to protect women, instead to making them equal. It was regulated that youth (under 18) and women had special social protection, so that they could not work in extremely hard working conditions, do hard manual labor, or work at night. A woman could not work more than eight hours or at night if she was pregnant, or had a child younger than three. Changes of the Labor Law in 1988 included the right of a father to take paternity leave if the mother was not able to use that right or if it was better for the family. The Yugoslavian legal system had, and still has, one of the longest paid maternity leaves in the world.³ Twelve months paid maternity leave is guaranteed, and in some cases it could be even up to three years. At the same time, it is guaranteed that a woman would have the same or similar position and benefits and job a with similar characteristics when she returns to work.

The 1977 Yugoslavian Criminal Law incriminated all attempts to prevent a person (woman) from deciding freely about giving birth to a child and giving privileged or disadvantaged position to a person because of gender.

The Law on Secondary Education (1990) stressed the role of schools in developing solidarity and humanity, including human gender relations. In this, and some other ways, *solidarity* in the sphere of education and other social spheres is emphasized and legally recommended as a crucial value. It is very hard to find such proclamations in capitalist countries' laws.

³ Data shown in: *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*. 1995. UN study, p. 137, table 10

The University Law (1990) protected the rights of a female student during pregnancy and up to one year after giving birth to her child. She can also keep her status as a full-time student without having to register and take courses. In addition, she can continue to receive scholarship during this period.

Yugoslavia ratified the International Declaration on Gender Equality, and the Convention on Equal Opportunities and Treatment for Male and Female Workers, as well as the UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

After the breakdown of the League of Communists, in 1991 hundreds of political parties were formed. The majority of them, including the currently ruling Socialist Party, in their programs proclaim gender equality. In that way (and some other ways) they continued the politics of the League of Communists, at least in their rhetoric. Every discrepancy between the proclamations and real social life is very likely to be seen as the remains of traditional and conservative consciousness, which individuals have to overcome by themselves. With the general politics of the major nationalist parties, gender equality hardly could be combined.

The *Report of the Yugoslavian Government* (1995) continues the same political attitudes. There is not much about what the Yugoslavian government is going to do to improve women's situation, but there is a lot about how the international economic and cultural sanctions made women's position worse and prevented women from using their rights. The Yugoslavian Government had to confess that in the present moment, women have more family obligations, and that they are not as likely as they were in the past to change jobs, to continue their education, or even to be employed. There is also a

realization that women more often now, than in the past, decide to retire early, and the law gives them the opportunity to retire, especially if they have two or more children. According to the Yugoslavian Government *Report*, UN sanctions caused restrictions in using some legal rights (like maternity leave) or in using some basic medical services (hospitalization of women when giving birth, the lack of contraceptive and hygienic supplies, etc.). Although the Yugoslavian Government had to see that in 1993, the unemployment rate for men was 11.4%, and for women 20.7%, there is a tendency to interpret that fact as a result of an increase in numbers of women who had to register themselves at placement services because of the decrease in living standards. These excuses should be seriously criticized. There is hardly any doubt about the involvement of the international community in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Still, the total absence of a self-critical approach of the Yugoslavian government cannot be accepted. Even the Government realized that although women are legally equal in their credit abilities, in practice, we have much more men as titulars of credit rights and obligations. Furthermore, using their property rights is very difficult for women, especially in rural environments. This *Report* gives us information about women's disadvantaged position in education, employment and working conditions, as well as in keeping their existing jobs. There is no analysis of gender segregation in the sphere of education and employment. When the Yugoslavian government admitted that women's position in many social spheres, including education and employment, has worsened, this is a very important indicator. Statistical data cannot show much of these changes because we need to wait for

a year or two for some data to become available. For the Yugoslavian current situation, two years could seem like an infinity.

The economic crisis, war and extreme nationalism could hardly be invisible. Nonetheless, the Yugoslavian government continues with old strategies of making other subjects--world system, unnamed conservative forces and Yugoslavian people's false consciousness--responsible for their own failures.

* * *

The preceding analysis demonstrated that Yugoslavian men and women were and still are educated for men's and women's educational profiles. Gender inequality and men's advantages are especially visible on the highest levels of educational ladders. Male and female industries, occupations and professions are strictly divided, and in some cases feminization of a particular profession is more evident in the present moment than in the past. Occupational gender segregation is visible. By crossing the data on "women's and men's" occupations and industries with the data on income in these occupations and industries, it was visible that all women's industries were paid less. Women's presence in high technology professions is small. However, more research is needed on female representation in these occupations and professions and on the impact war and nationalism have had on women's employment, their unemployment and occupational gender segregation. My analysis demonstrated that unemployment rates are higher during the war period, and that the government policies encouraged women to quit their jobs or

retire early, devote their lives to their families and have more children. Also, it is clear from the preceding analysis that women's political participation and employment in political institutions is permanently decreasing, and is much lower in the present than in the former Yugoslavia. More research is needed on women's participation in managerial structures and in high prestige occupations.

It is important to be cautious about using official statistical data and to have in mind that besides the usual limitations, the Yugoslavian statistical data could be influenced by dominant nationalist/chauvinist tendencies. However, I referred in concrete situations to data from the present or former Yugoslavian, Serbian or Montenegrin institutions. Educational and occupational gender segregation was visible no matter what the observed area. Furthermore, I used the data from other research, and from the Yugoslavian government, as well as ideological and legal documents to support my analysis. The discrepancy between the legal concept of gender equality and the real social situation in education, employment, distribution of earnings, and political life is visible to every careful analyst.

CHAPTER V

CALIFORNIA

In this chapter I analyze some of the main characteristics of the Californian/American families and patterns of socialization. In my view, Californian families reflect many patterns that are typical of American families as a whole. My analysis of educational and occupational gender segregation in California, as well as women's participation in the sphere of politics is the core of this chapter. In these sections, the data for the United States as a whole are presented mainly in footnotes, for the purpose of illustration of the broader patterns. At the end of the chapter I analyze legal documents and relevant court cases to detect the main elements of the legal, ideological and general public discourses related to women's education and employment. The whole chapter, and especially the concluding part, provides the basis for comparison between Californian and Yugoslavian women and their educational and occupational situations. This comparison is presented in the next chapter.

1. Family, Socialization and Gender Roles

In this section I analyze characteristics of Californian and American families in order to detect patterns of gendered socialization. I also focus on so-called work/family conflicts and studies conducted on this topic.

Although some people argue that there is no "typical American family," others emphasize "typical American family values." Most of the researchers of family transformations agree that the family is in transition. However, some emphasize that there are some common values "that make the American family strong" (Quayle and Medved 1996). In California, as in all modern industrialized societies, especially in urban settings, the nuclear family is predominant, a large proportion of women of child-bearing age remain unmarried, and married women are as likely as unmarried women to be employed.

Statistical data for 1990 demonstrate that 58% of all American women were in the labor force. Over 60% of American children under the age of 18 had working mothers in 1988. In 1995, 42% of all American families were two-person families, and the average size of family was 3.19 persons. The average number of persons per household in California in 1994 was 2.83, which suggests that birth rates are very low. The American families with female heads of the household made up 85.3% of all single-person households and 26.5% of the total number of households, in 1995 (see table 52). In 1990, one out of every four American children was likely to live with one parent-usually with the mother.

Divorce rates are high and people living alone are numerous. In 1994, the American divorce rate per 1,000 persons was 4.4% and the marriage rate was 9.1% (table 52). This means that almost every second marriage is likely end in divorce. Data for California, for 1985 show that the divorce rate is even higher: 5.2%.¹ Women are more

¹ In 1990, the divorce rate in Yugoslavia was 0.81%.

likely to live alone than men. According to statistical data in 1996, 59% of those living alone were women and 41% were men.

Destabilization of marriage and family is a well known phenomenon in almost all modern societies. Anti-feminists and other conservative forces tend to see women's employment as a main reason for this destabilization. Thus, they picture negatively women's participation in the sphere of paid work.

Research interest in the relationship between family and work is growing. Although women's employment is used as a major variable in relation to the quality of family life, division of household labor, and career and lifestyle orientations, women's occupational status is more often examined in relation to husbands' class, occupation and success than studied in its own right (Voydanoff 1988). Research on the meanings and effects of so-called family-friendly policies is still needed.² Even the top 10 corporations in the Bay Area classified as family-friendly companies have only some elements of family-friendly policy.

Arlie Hochschild (1997) studied one company with family-friendly policies. She found that the women employees want to work more and longer hours, even in comparison to the men. They use their work to relieve the stress from their homes and family responsibilities. Both men and women are likely to waste some time at work. They feel more relaxed at work and more pressured at home. These employees apply principles of efficiency to their family life. In this emotionally cold family atmosphere children are

² companies which have developed programs to support employees and their families providing benefits, family leave, child care and so on are characterized as family-friendly: Bay Area Parent, July, 1997, section: Family-friendly

the main victims. From my point of view, children who are likely to spend most of the day at schools and day care centers are being systematically prepared for the time when they should be, like adults, ready to work most of the day and consider work to be the absolute center of their lives.

There is one interesting phenomenon that impresses me about American families and children's socialization. Many parents and children, especially in urban settings, cannot relax because children could be lost or kidnapped at any moment. This produces the demand for extra parental time and energy and makes the everyday life atmosphere full of anxiety. Working parents may have additional concerns if they cannot completely trust their children's day care providers. Statistical data on lost or kidnapped children on the national level is not available. I did not find a single scientific study written on this topic. From my point of view, both girls and boys growing up in this atmosphere cannot easily find their ways to independence and freedom.

Employed mothers are very likely to feel guilty and to wish for "more quality time" with their children but also to look for any excuse to work longer hours. They often bring work home from the office. In Hochschild's sample, women are more likely than men to have most of their friends at work. Hochschild (1997) sees the main reason for both men's and women's wanting to work longer hours as the fear Americans have of losing their jobs. To this, I would add the Protestant work ethic.

Back in 1985 the Bureau of Labor Statistics did a survey of working people and found that 3/4 of the interviewees wanted longer working hours and less than 10% of

them wanted a cut in hours. More women wanted a longer workweek than wanted a shorter one (Hochschild 1997, 34).

Statistical data show that the average working day is becoming longer and longer. In 1993, in California, women who worked full-time schedules, averaged 45.4 hours per week or 9.08 hours per day. About 17% of all women worked 49 hours and more, and 11.5% worked 41-48 hours per week. This means that 28.5% of them worked more than 8 hours per day (see table 30). Data for 1993 show that men in California (working full-time) worked on the average of 47.3 hours per week or 9.5 hours per day. There are some states where men and women work even longer hours. Data for the same year indicated that men in North Dakota worked an average of 10.6 hours per day, and the data were similar for South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and Nebraska, and Minnesota. Women worked the longest hours in Montana (9.5 hours per day) and Washington. Data from 1985 and 1986 show that in those years, both American men and women worked much shorter hours (see table 30). Some economists think Americans have become overworked people (Schor 1991).

A 1988 study documented that career-directed women (although the smallest part of the non-random sample) spent on their careers a weekly average of 55.75 hours, on housework 11.38 hours, and on child care 12.50 hours (Goldsmith 1989).

The fact that there are more and more employed women certainly means that children see a variety of models of working mothers, and to some extent see some changes of traditional gender stereotyping. However, there are also studies on the gender

division of household labor that indicate the continuation of many elements of the traditional patriarchal division.

William Beer's (1983) research on men doing housework did show that although men mostly did not like doing domestic work, the very fact that they participated in housework made them feel better about themselves and value their spouses and housework more. Still, even his research proved that men who participated significantly in housework constituted the minority of his sample.

Statistical data showed that in 1986 in the United States women did 64% of the housework and men's share was 36%. American men reported that they did 40% of the shopping, 39% of other housework, 28% of childcare, and just 22% of preparing meals (*The World's Women* 1995, 133; see table 54).

One anthology on working men and family (Hood 1993) aimed to contribute to the deconstruction of monolithic images of hegemonic masculinity and to question the feminist habit of confusing the social construct of masculinity with social reality. So, this group of researchers show different life, work and family experiences of men, especially minority and working-class men. Some of the studies from this macro-project demonstrate that when fathers do housework (or when they become single fathers) they have strategies different from women's and they encourage children to help more than women do (211). All the micro-studies presented in this book (Hood 1993) and in other research the U.S. Bureau of the Census conducted in 1990 show the evidence that since 1981 fathers' average level of child care involvement has risen and that fathers express personal interest in paternity leave to care for children (Hood 1993, 223). Moreover, these

studies demonstrate that men's work-family stress was more visible in the 1980 s than women's. These are indicators of changing gender attitudes and behaviors, but more research is needed to illuminate how radical and predominant these changes are.

There are many other indicators that traditional gender role attitudes and the separation between male and female social domains persist. Research on boys' and girls' work and family orientations demonstrates that although boys had fewer plans and aspirations about their careers they had a stronger sense of self-sufficiency than girls. Boys also placed less importance on marriage and family in their future lives than did girls (Hood 1993, 101-2).

Many other surveys find the continuation of traditional gender roles. One survey of 1,000 mothers shows that a satisfying marriage is the most important factor in making them happy, while a successful career, confidence in child-raising skills and financial security are less important (*Working Mother*, Nov. 1995, 30). Still, 44% of happy mothers said that work gave them a sense of control they did not feel at home. Women are more likely than men to want both the public and the private sector to address the problems facing families, and to support the government's helping families even if it means an increase in taxes (*The American Woman*, 185). In another survey, over 1,000 American men and women have different perceptions of on which weekday they feel the most stressed. Friday is the worst day for women. Although they finish their work week, they still face coordinating weekend activities at home (*Working Mother*, May 1995, 12). A survey about how men and women react when they lose their jobs found gender differences (*Working Mother*, Feb. 1995, 14). Another large survey of 19,000 American

men and women showed that they perceive differently how their bosses treat them (*Working Mother*, Sept. 1995, 10).

It is hard to make generalizations, but it seems that traditional patriarchal ways of socialization, attitudes toward gender roles, and work/family relations change very slowly. Rather than producing radical social changes, women's employment and greater career orientation produced their double burden. If they follow the stereotypes about how to achieve career success, they are more likely to adopt dominant male values and patterns of behavior. Research on the division of household labor provides indications that in spite of some changes in men's roles, private patriarchy based on unequal shares of the household labor is still maintained. Private patriarchy in families is the basis for all other patriarchal divisions, and is at the same time supported and reproduced by patriarchal organization of the public sphere.

2. Gender and Education

The socialization process is continued at schools. A growing body of literature on the American educational system indicates the existence of gender segregation, as presented in Chapter Two. For the purpose of this section I analyze women's situation in California schools and comment on the American educational system from 1985-1995, based on available statistical data.

If we focus our attention on school enrollment, it is visible that in the California public elementary and secondary schools, the numbers of male and female students are

almost equal (tables 56, 72). In 1995, in all elementary and secondary schools there were 51.3% male students and 48.7% female students. The percentage of females enrolled in college is even higher than the percentage of males enrollment (tables 72, 81). However, enrollment of girls and boys looks different if we focus our attention on places outside urbanized areas. In 1990 in California, 36.1% of females between 18-24 years enrolled in colleges. However, according to statistical classifications, in places outside urbanized areas only 23.4% of females at the same age enrolled in colleges.

There are more males than females enrolled in private institutions of higher education in California (table 80). The meaning of this phenomenon is not easy to explain. Many private institutions are relatively elitist, cost more than public colleges, and are probably more concerned to keep the male/female ratio high.

Also, women are less likely than men to enroll at the public University of California institutions as doctoral students, although their enrollment in master's programs is almost equal to men's (table 81a).

There is a significant difference between male and female enrollment patterns related to science and mathematics courses. Relevant statistical data, available only for the national level, reflect these gender difference. There is evidence that American girls begin to drop out of science and mathematics courses and activities during elementary and secondary schooling. Even when they have similar exposure to these courses and their achievement levels are similar to boys', girls are less confident of their abilities. In addition, schools, families and the larger society influence young people in their decisions about their future careers. In 1990, 16% more boys than girls reported that they talked

with their parents about science and technology issues (*Women, Minorities and Persons with Disabilities* 1994, 22, 24). There is no reason to think that Californian girls are exception to these gender patterns.

If we move from school enrollment to degree attainment the picture is somewhat less favorable for females. The 1990 Census data show that Californian women were less than 1/2 of all persons with bachelor's degrees (47.4 %). Their share in the total number of persons with master's degrees was 42.6%, and only 25.2% of doctoral degrees were awarded to women. The data for the United States as a whole show similar patterns. There is no available data for the state level related to field of study and students' gender³.

³ If we look at the data for the national level, although the majority of degrees except doctorates were awarded to women in 1989, the structure of educational profiles revealed the existence of gender segregation. Women earned only 1/3 of all medical degrees and two-fifths of all law degrees in 1989. (*American Women* 1993, 274)

Even if we look at bachelor's degrees, women earned only 15% of degrees in engineering. Data for the school year 1988/89 showed that women earned 30.7% of all undergraduate degrees in computer sciences compared to men's 69.3%; the situation was the opposite in psychology (70.8% female and 29.2% male).

Data for 1990/91 and 1991/92 also documented that, looking at the total number of bachelor's degrees, women had a slight advantage in comparison to men, earning 54% of all degrees. However, they earned only 14.4% of the degrees in engineering, 28.1% in computer and information sciences, 34% in architecture, 32.6% in physical sciences, and 31.1% in philosophy. Computer science was the only science field in which the percentage of the bachelor's degrees earned by women declined in the 1980s, from 33% in 1981 to 30% in 1991. Women were most likely to earn degrees in social science, psychology and biological science (table 83).

At the graduate level, only 14% of graduate students in physics in 1992 were women. Among engineering fields the highest percentage of female graduate students was in biomedical engineering. In electrical engineering they were represented with 12%, and with fewer than 10% of all graduate students in mechanical engineering, petroleum and aerospace engineering. (*Women, Minorities and Persons with Disabilities in Science and Engineering*, 26). Even in all social sciences women did not make up more than 45.8% of all graduate students. The only exception was psychology (table 83).

Gender segregation was very present at the doctoral level. In 1991/92 women earned only 23.3% of all doctorates in business management, only 9.6% of all doctorates in engineering, 0 degrees in engineering-related technologies, 26.4% in law and legal studies, 21.9% in physical sciences and 21.3% in mathematics. Although women earned 46% of all undergraduate degrees in mathematics, they were underrepresented among recipients of doctoral degrees in this field. However, they earned 60% of all doctoral degrees in psychology, and 68% of all highest degrees in library sciences. As expected, women earned 72-89% of all doctoral degrees in home economics (table 83).

Observing educational enrollment and attainment patterns by field and by educational level it becomes evident that the social system allows women to enter untypical educational profiles to some extent. Still, even if the system does not channel them aggressively away from “male” profiles, women are somehow stopped or slowed down on their ways to achieving the highest degrees. Gender segregation is visible if we look either at educational profiles or at the highest educational levels by field of study. Even among American high school seniors it is rare for girls to take, for example, physics (Hamner 1996, 9). This fact suggests that educational gender orientation is formed systematically and relatively early. Girls and boys also rarely see female professors of engineering and computer sciences, chemistry and physics, and they do not have enough alternative role models. They may not receive any encouragement to choose unconventional educational profiles.

3. Occupational Gender Segregation and Gender Gap in Earnings

My analysis of women’s participation in the work force, the occupational structure and the gender gap in earnings is the core of this section. The following analysis depicts Californian women’s occupational patterns and forms the basis for comparison with

Although women earned 47.2% of all bachelor's degrees in business and management in 1993, they earned just 28% of all doctoral degrees within the field. They earned only 7.4% of all master's degrees in military technologies, and 9.6% of all doctoral degrees in engineering in 1993 (table 83).

Yugoslavian women and their occupational characteristics. I then compare specific elements of occupational gender segregation in both societies.

General rates of American women's employment are around 60%. In 1995, 58.9% of all American women were in the labor force. The female employment rate was lower in California, and is around 56% for the whole period 1985-1995. During this period, most of the Californian women who were employed, worked full time. In 1989, 71% of Californian working women worked 35 or more hours per week (table 21). Most of the Californian families were two-worker families in 1990. Still, 4,857,671 females were not in the labor force in 1990. Female unemployment rates in California are somewhat lower than male unemployment rates, although it is evident that unemployment rates generally increased, especially in 1993-1995 (table 20).

In order to explain the relatively lower female unemployment rates in comparison to male rates, it is certainly necessary to point out that the data include only women who are registered as unemployed. A full explanation would include many of the economic and social factors that keep women from applying for employment. A full explanation is beyond the scope of this thesis and demands separate research. In Chapter VI, in order to compare Yugoslavian unemployment rates with Californian, I will discuss the differences and note some factors that produce these differences. It would be useful also to analyze the educational and occupational structure of unemployed women and men⁴.

⁴ Data for the national level, for 1990 indicated that there were 64% women and 36% men among persons who were not looking for jobs. It is obvious that the percentages of men and women who did not look for jobs because of "home responsibilities" were substantially different. The small number of men who pointed to this reason were put together with men who had all other reasons for accepting unemployment. For both men and women the main reason for unemployment was the fact that they lost their previous jobs. and this was the case for the whole ten-year period. However, among women, there were always more who

If we focus our attention on occupational structures, it is evident that occupational gender segregation exists, whether we look at the national or Californian level. Some occupations are still nontraditional for women.

Occupational gender segregation is very visible in the Californian labor force, even with the limitations of the occupational categories used in official statistics. Around 25% of all working women were employed in the service sector for the whole observed period (1985-1995) with a slight tendency of increase in the second half of the decade. At the same time, less than 2% of women workers found their jobs in construction. They are hardly present in farming, forestry and fishing. Women's participation in administrative, managerial and executive professions is around 13.6% for the whole period. About 5% of Californian women work as machine operators, assemblers and inspectors, and they are hardly present in transportation (tables 26, 33). Occupational patterns at the national level are similar⁵.

More detailed analysis based on the 1990 Census data, shows additional proofs of occupational gender segregation. The majority of Californian women work in the tertiary economic sector (table 23). Californian women are represented in extremely small

chose to leave jobs than among men. It is necessary to conduct research to examine women's reasons for leaving jobs.

⁵ American women make up just 8.5% of all engineers, 7.4% of all construction inspectors, 6.1% of machinists, 4.1% of mechanics and repairers, 3.5% of all forestry and logging occupations, 2.5% of persons working in construction trades, and 1.4% of airplane pilots and navigators. Being a butcher or meat cutter is still a male job, and only 22.3% women perform this work. Women constitute about 20% of women among metal and plastic processing machine operators, farm workers and chemical technicians. They are 16.7% of all architects, 15.8% of sheriffs and other law enforcement officers, and just 13.7% of dentists. About 13% of police detectives and 12.7% of electrical and electronic technicians are women. On the other hand, 99% of all secretaries, 89.2% of all textile sewing machine operators, 84.8% of all health aides and 80.8% of all waiters/waitresses are female (data for 1996, table 24).

numbers in typically male fields: 1% in mining, 7% in forestry, 1.2% in primary metal industries, 7.6% among automotive dealers and 4.9% in legal, engineering and other professional services. The list of non-traditional occupations for women is much longer. Women find their work opportunities rarely as mechanics and repairers (5%), vehicle repairers (2.2), heating, air conditioning and refrigerator mechanics (1%), supervisors in construction trades (3%), persons working in extractive occupations (5%), material moving equipment operators (4.6%) and persons working in water transportation occupations (4.9%). California women's participation remains relatively low among natural scientists (28%), mathematical and computer scientists (31%), supervisors and proprietors (34%), postal clerks and mail carriers (37%), guards (19%) and police officers and detectives (17.5%). On the other hand, some occupations are largely female. Californian women predominate among librarians, archivists and curators (75%), health technicians (74.9%) and office/clerical workers (76%). Californian secretaries and stenographers and providers of private household services are almost exclusively women (96.4% and 93.6% of these workers). Women are, traditionally, the great majority of nurses. The textile industry also depends on female workers (see table 59b).

Most of California's female teachers work in elementary or secondary schools (table 77). In 1996/97 only 28.3% of California public school teachers were male. Observing the structure of teachers in Californian public schools it becomes visible that the participation of male teachers increases with the grade levels. In 1995, 4.2% of kindergarten teachers were male and 47.8% of eight grade teachers. The pattern is completely opposite with female teachers. Their participation is highest in kindergarten

classes (95.8%) and much lower in eight grade classes (52.2%). If male teachers teach in elementary schools, they are considered to be suited to teaching older children. At the elementary school level, gender segregation between teachers is not very visible in terms of the courses they teach, but it is still evident. Women are more likely to teach English, foreign languages and special education courses. In general, female teachers are most likely to teach in elementary schools, and their participation steadily decreases up to college level. Thus, Californian women make up 71% of all teachers in public schools grade K-12, 42.7% at community colleges, 30.2% at California state universities and 29% at the University of California (table 78a)⁶.

The gender gap in earnings is noticeable at both the Californian and national levels. Californian full time, year-round workers earn very different wages, according to their gender. In 1989, men's average salary was \$31,980 and women's was \$23,123. The gender gap is even more evident when salaries of part-time workers are taken into account. If men lived alone, their median income was \$ 25,729, and median income of women living alone was \$16, 376 (see tables 47 and 47a). Women working full-time earned 70% or less of the income of men with the same education. The gap widened with higher levels of education (see table 47 b).

It would be very useful to have more recent data for California. Still, there is no indication that any radical change could be expected. On the contrary, at the national

⁶ At the national level there are similar patterns of male/female teachers' distribution (see tables 77a and 78a). Also, female college faculty are concentrated at the bottom of academic rank ladders (table 73).

level, there is evidence that the gender gap in earnings is persistent⁷. Californian families with female heads of households are the families most likely to fall below the poverty level (table 47).

Looking at personal incomes by industry in California it is not easy to see the differences between “male and female” industries. The occupational classifications make these comparisons relatively complicated. Still, there are indicators that female industries are devalued. For example, in December 1994 and December 1995, petroleum and coal production, mining and construction had the highest average weekly earnings, and Californian women’s representation in these industries is 1-2%. On the other hand, the industries with the lowest average weekly earnings were the canned food production, textile and leather industries, and women’s participation in these industries is 60-70% (see table 59c).

Looking at women’s representation in all administrative, managerial and executive structures, it is clear that men are better represented than women in California from 1985-1993. According to the 1990 Census, women in California made up 33% in administrative, managerial and executive structures (table 59b). What would be the percentage of women who had only executive positions? Why are they always put together with administrative occupations? There is serious reason to suspect that

⁷ At the national level, the ratio of women’s to men’s earnings in 1989 uncovers that in 58 of 59 selected occupations women were underpaid. Whether they work as engineers, inspectors, computer scientists, teachers, social workers, computer programmers, cashiers, police detectives, cooks, waitresses or bus drivers their earnings are between 80- 96% of men’s earnings (table 48). In 1994, median weekly earnings for American men were \$522, and for American women, \$399. The data for median earnings of community college graduates in 1993, for the national level, showed that the gap was widened with higher levels of educational attainment (table 47 b).

governmental statistics use these categories to mask the small numbers of women executives. Statistical and other data for the national level support the conclusion that women's participation in executive structures is much lower⁸.

Californian women are more likely to own firms than other American women (table 94). Still, it is the most likely for Californian women to own firms that offer services, retail firms, or finance and insurance firms (table 94). Women are more likely to have no employees and to have no initial capital when they start their businesses.

There are many studies that demonstrate that lawyers, medical doctors and engineers work in high prestige professions (Harrington 1994; Couric 1984; *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, 1996). To examine how this factor affects women who work in these professions, we must pay attention to their specialties and professional ranks as well as to their salaries. Comparing women and their male colleagues with regard to their specialties, professional ranks and salaries, we uncover a more complex picture⁹.

⁸ A 1989 survey of 264 companies showed that only one in eight of their board members was female (*The American Woman* 1994, 307). Official statistics documented that the representation of women managers in America's 1,000 largest companies in 1990 was 3%. Although in 1988, there were 47% of the "Fortune 1,000" companies on their board, there were just 2 women who were chief executives.

⁹ Available data show that American female doctors' representation is lower than men's in all medical specialties. In comparison to men, they are best represented in Pediatrics and Internal Medicine. But even in these two fields the proportion are 1:1.72 and 1:4.55. In general, American physicians work in the best paid profession, and women's participation is 11-15% in the total number of physicians. Dentists are the professional group with the second highest earnings, and women's representation is around 5% (table 40). According to the American Medical Association, Radiology, Surgery and Anesthesiology are the best paid medical specialties. Doctors who work in Radiology are paid 2.4 times more than doctors who work in General/Family practices (*Occupational Outlook Handbook*; also, see table 40). In 1988 American women medical doctors worked most often in Internal Medicine, Pediatrics, Psychiatry, Family Practice and Obstetrics/Gynecology. They made up just 5.7% of all doctors who worked in General Surgery, 1.2% of doctors who worked in Urological Surgery and 8.5% of doctors who worked in Radiology. There was not even 1 woman doctor working in the Cardiovascular Diseases specialty for every 14 male colleagues, or for every 7 male colleagues working in Otorhinolaryngology.

Californian women are slightly better represented in legal professions than the American average. In 1990, there were 27% women among Californian lawyers and judges. Still, when we consult "*Who's Who in American Law*," it becomes clear that female lawyers in California are best represented in the family and matrimonial legal field, with 28.3% (of all lawyers). Female lawyers also find their specialties in the administrative and regulatory field (18.6% of all lawyers), in banking (14.7%), in bankruptcy (12.2%), in the civil rights field (19.2%), in computer related cases (14.8%) and in the field of criminal law (11%). Their participation in admiralty law is 0%. Even in education and health related legal cases female lawyer's participation is relatively low in California (table 37). Criminal law has a special importance for every society and women's general participation in this legal sphere is low. Also, in 1987-88 Californian female lawyers participated in civil litigation on the federal level with only 5.6%, and on the state level with only 6.8% (table 36)¹⁰.

In a national survey in 1990 of male and female lawyers that addressed their career satisfaction and the benefits of being mentored, researchers found important patterns. According to this study, female lawyers tend to exit from multi-lawyer, hierarchical job settings and to become solo practitioners faster, with less experience, preparation and contacts, than do male lawyers. These factors produce a discriminatory environment for female lawyers (Lentz and Laband 1995, 211). Also, according to this

¹⁰ Women lawyers were represented with 13% in the total number of all American lawyers in 1985. In 1991, there were 646,495 male and 159,377 female lawyers; their representation was better--24.6%. Lawyers in private practice are on the average better paid than federal district court judges or associate justices of states' highest courts, and women are not very well represented among lawyers in private practice (table 39). If they teach law courses, women law professors rarely occupy tenure track positions (Epstein 1993, 219, 243).

research, factors that most often produce gender discrimination are the influence of different professional experiences and legal education, the type of organizational setting (private, corporate or public), the size of the city lawyers work in, and the level of support from employers. Female lawyers are less likely than otherwise identical male lawyers to have achieved partnership. Married female lawyers perceive their career opportunities to be worse than do single female lawyers, or male lawyers regardless of marital status (Lentz and Laband 1995; Chester 1985, 118-9). Female lawyers are more likely than male lawyers to experience discrimination from their employers (regarding mentorship, assignments and promotion), from their clients, and from bankers and other lenders when they start or attempt to maintain law offices and practices (Lentz and Laband 1995, 44, 73, 88, 211; Couric 1984, 258).

During the period from 1977-1987, only one woman was nominated to the Federal Supreme Court, 18 to the circuit courts, and 52 to the district courts. During the same period, there were 71 female and 554 male judicial nominees to all federal courts, a proportion of 1:8.

Focusing on 1990 Census data, it is visible that women are concentrated more often than men in low-paying, less prestigious occupations within medical and legal fields. For example, Californian women are much more likely to be health technicians than medical doctors (21.6% of all persons in health diagnosing and 74% of all health technicians were women in 1990).

One more profession is considered very prestigious. Engineers are in a very advantaged position regarding their salaries and the new technologies they use.

California, and especially Silicon Valley, are among the best areas in terms of the number of jobs for engineers. Californian women participated with 11% in the whole number of people working as engineers, architects and surveyors, according to the 1990 Census (table 59b)¹¹.

* * *

Although the official statistical job classifications have many limits, it is visible that Californian women experience occupational gender segregation. The gender gap in earnings is also visible. Women's participation in the legal, medical and engineering professions is not only low, but perpetuates gender stereotypes regarding specialties appropriate for women within these occupations. The data on women teachers demonstrate that women are also more often channeled to teach courses that match with traditional women's roles. Their concentration at the bottom of academic rank ladders is an additional indicator of occupational gender segregation and the limits of women's opportunities.

In the next section I continue my analysis, focusing on women's employment and participation in political institutions. The political sphere is the social space with the

¹¹ At the national level, researchers noted a 144% increase in women in the science and engineering labor force between 1980 and 1990. In 1990, female scientists and engineers constituted 19% of the doctoral science and engineering labor force (table 42). Still, women ranged from 38% of those in the labor force with psychology doctorates to 3.5% with doctorates in engineering. Even in Physical Sciences women earned only 21.2% of all doctoral degrees in 1993. Women doctoral scientists (including both natural and social scientists) and engineers teaching at universities and colleges constituted 20% of all doctoral scientists and engineers; however, 36% of them had doctoral degrees in psychology and 4% in engineering. They are less likely than men to be full professors (20%:48%), less likely to have a tenured position (48%:73%), and more likely to be assistant professors (34%:19%).

highest concentration of power and with the very participation of women, not only in California and Yugoslavia, but globally.

4. Women and Politics

Data have shown and political sociologists have demonstrated that political life, especially high politics, is still a male domain. In my discussion, I focus mostly on the highest levels of political structures.

In California, in 1993 and 1995, there were just 2 women in institutions officially called state-wide executive offices. In 1993 California had 28 women state legislators and 25 in 1995. Women made up about 23% of the total number of legislators. In 1985 there were 465 women holding state and local public offices--mayors and municipal council members. Many other American states had better women's representation (see tables 87, 91). In 1988 California had 56 women on county governing boards, and ranked seventh place among all American states (table 88). Although women are employed in government offices in California more often than men, the crucial analysis would necessarily include the particular jobs they occupy.

In the United States, in 1991, only four women were governors, six were lieutenant governors, and four were attorneys general. No Californian women occupied these positions (table 90)¹².

¹² In 1992, women made up 1/3 (or a little less than 1/3) of all American local elected officials. The proportion is the same for county, municipal or town officials; even in school districts they do not participate in greater numbers (table 86). Women participated with 20.5% of all local government positions in 1987. Women's representation in the U.S. Congress is even more symbolic. In 1993 when they had the

The Center for the American Woman and Politics conducts surveys about women's political participation and attitudes. According to the 1988 survey, women and men legislators differed in their political attitudes. Women were more likely than men to favor the Equal Rights Amendment, less likely to favor banning abortion, and more likely to oppose requiring parental consent for a minor's abortion (*The American Woman*, 156). There are good reasons to believe that women officeholders might make government more sensitive to the special concerns of women. However, some other research findings demonstrated that women's political behavior was not radically different from men's, and that differences existed more between the political parties than between the sexes (Tilly and Gurin 1990, 567). Future research should focus on the relevant characteristics of the political parties and compare women's political views before and after they enter the political scene.

Women's absence from high-level politics is visible in California. Although the most important task is to find the explanations of this phenomenon and identify mechanisms that channel women away from high-level politics, these questions are mostly beyond the scope of this study. I attempt to show that "women's place" is still far away from the center of the political sphere. Connecting this fact with the fact that women still are greatly underrepresented in the best paid and most respected industries, occupations, professions and specialties completes the picture about women's share of power and wealth.

best representation in numbers (during the observed period) they made up 10.8% of all members of the Congress (table 90). Women represented 2% of all members of the Senate in 1991 (table 92). Statistical data for the same year showed that in the 100 largest cities in the United States there were just 19 women mayors. Among all state legislators in 1991 there were 18% women (tables 89, 91).

5. Legal Concept of Gender Equality and Real Social Life

Every legal system is a very important indicator of the main social orientation and dominant social values. In the present moment, the ideal of gender equality is more or less present in almost all parts of the world. Still, the social reality is often very different from ideological and legal concepts. At the same time, general concepts of legal gender equality may be in conflict with particular legal norms or legal precedents that serve as a basis for gender inequality.

The arguments of anti-feminists that gender equality has been either completely achieved or that it is impossible because of the biological differences between the sexes can be easily countered. All over the world and on the international level, we have legislation against gender discrimination. If gender discrimination does not exist in real social life, why do we need these legal norms? Which state (or international community) is so irrational as to produce legal regulations against a phenomenon that does not exist? Hence, the normative sphere is an indicator of existing social phenomena. There are differences between *de jure* and *de facto* spheres, between something that ought to be and that really is. Still, these two spheres are complementary. Official statistical and other research data are also indicators of existing gender inequality.

The American (Californian) legal system is relatively similar to the British and are the two systems even draw on legal precedents from each other. All the legal norms related to gender equality plus various court decisions give us a picture of contradictions

and discrepancy between the de jure and de facto status of women. For the purpose of my analysis it is not necessary to present a long history of legal norms and precedents which regulate gender discrimination. I will concentrate on basic analysis of the legal norms and most relevant court cases connected with banning of gender discrimination in the spheres of work and education.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the American Constitution, and especially the third clause, the so-called Equal Protection Clause, are directly related to women's rights. The clause says that no state shall make or enforce any laws which deny to any person the equal protection of the laws. Although the language is gender neutral, there are examples of the U.S. Supreme Court's reinforcing traditional gender roles in the way it has applied the clause. Gender discrimination was observed and justified by the flexibility of the language and interpretations (Stetson 1990, 18-20).

The California Constitution, Article 1, Declaration of Rights, Section 8, states: "A person may not be disqualified from entering or pursuing a business, profession, vocation or employment because of *sex*, race and color or national or ethnic origin." This norm declares the orientation against gender discrimination in the sphere of paid work.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 stated that no employer could discriminate against employees on the basis of sex. Wages should be equal for equal work, based on job performances that require equal skill, effort and responsibility. These are also jobs performed under similar working conditions. The clause about similar working conditions made comparison between work performed in the past and present time very complicated. Feminists observed that men and women almost never perform work under similar

working conditions. Section 206 of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 regulated that women and men could be paid differently if the difference was based on a) a seniority system b) a merit system, c) a system that measures earnings by quantity and quality of production, or d) a factor other than sex. Every general clause--like a differential based on a factor other than sex--could be a basis for very conflicting interpretations and the legalization of questionable practices.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, prohibited discrimination on the grounds of *sex*, color, race, religion and national origin, and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). This Commission was directed against discriminatory practices by employers, employment agencies and labor organizations. Still, exceptions were allowed if sex could be shown to be a *bona fide* occupational qualification (BFOQ) (Meehan 1985, 69). This legal norm is evidence of a more traditional orientation; public morality demanded some exceptions. Later in this section I analyze some court cases involving this clause.

Legal attempts to ensure non-discriminatory gender treatment continued with the adoption of some state-level Equal Rights Amendments. However, only 17 states had ERA as of 1990. Even among feminists there are still debates and disagreement concerning how to balance between equality and gender differences (Stetson 1990, 38, 39).

The U.S. Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 prohibited employers' practices that discriminate against women on the basis of pregnancy. The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, guaranteed up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave during any twelve

month period due to birth, adoption or care for a child, spouse, or parent. The employee has the right upon return to be restored to the same or equivalent position with the equivalent employment benefits, pay and working conditions. California and a few other states enacted maternity-leave statutes. The Californian statute used the language of disability and required extra disability leave for pregnancy. California law requires that a female employee must be allowed to take up to four months of unpaid leave for pregnancy or childbirth (Kelly 1991, 12).

The Policy on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces (1993) was a directive to assure that the military services open up more specialties and assignments to women and to regulate exceptions to this general policy.

Within the educational sphere discrimination on the basis of sex was regulated by Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 and the Amendments on Vocational Education Act of 1976. Title IX prohibited exclusion or denying benefits on the basis of sex under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. The Amendments to the Vocational Education Act required states that receive federal funds to promote vocational-education programs and reduce barriers caused by sex stereotyping and sex bias. Connected to this was The Public Health Services Act of 1975 which prohibited sex discrimination in medical schools and hospitals.

The California School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 in Title VIII, Section 3 recommended activities to increase opportunities for minorities, women and individuals with disabilities to prepare for careers that are not traditional for their race, gender, or disability. Reading these clauses, it becomes clear that the legislature admits that there are

non-traditional occupations for women. At the same time, these norms are more recommendations than norms with sanctions.

It is very significant that the United States signed but did not ratify The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (United Nations 1979). Most of the United Nation members ratified this Convention. The American policy of keeping the Convention before its Senate Judiciary Committee for years illustrates the resistance toward elimination of all forms of discrimination.

Court cases also illustrate some resistance toward enforcing the norms which protect gender equality as well as illustrating the conflicting interpretations of legal norms. I will first address court decisions that favored gender equality and then present the opposite side of the picture. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Hishon v. King and Spaulding* (1984, 467 U.S., 69) ruled that if partnership was a privilege of employment, then firms may not discriminate on grounds of sex in hiring partners. Similarly, in 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Meritor v. Vinson* that sexual harassment in the workplace is a violation of Title VII of The Civil Rights Act. Furthermore, the U.S. Supreme Court proclaimed in *Johnson v. Transportation Agency* (1987, 107 U.S. 1442) that Title VII allowed an employer to adopt an Affirmative Action Plan to increase representation of women in sex-segregated jobs (Kelly 1991, 11-12).

Many of the cases brought before the Supreme Court indicate the discrepancy between de jure and de facto. The clause on bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) permitted judgments that supported gender stereotyping and discrimination. In *Harriss v. Pan American World Airways* in 1980 (649 F 2d 670), in order to protect fetus from the

potential danger, forcing a pregnant airline hostess to take maternity leave immediately was justified. In *EEOC v. Mercy Health Center*, in 1982 (29 FEP Cases 159), in order to protect the privacy rights of the female patients or sensitive and intimate duties performed by nurses, sex discrimination was justified. The case of *Frontiero v. Richardson* challenged a federal statute that permitted a male in the armed forces to claim his wife as a dependent regardless of whether she was in fact materially dependent on him, while permitting a female to claim her husband as a dependent only if he was dependent on her for over one-half his support (411 US 677, 685-6, 1973).

The Court of Appeal of California in *Long v. California State Personnel Board* stated that being a man was a BFOQ for the post of chaplain at a residential training center for the rehabilitation of delinquent males aged eighteen to twenty-three. The judgment and explanation were based on gender stereotypes which rationalized the denial of equal employment opportunity for women (Cal. Rptr. 562, 1974). U.S. courts held, on occasions, that being a man is a BFOQ for a job in a prison because of privacy concerns and the need for the employees to carry out intimate body searches of prisoners (Pannick 1985, 248).

In 1973 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) began an investigation of Sears' employment practices and in 1979 filed suit in federal court in Chicago charging Sears with a pattern of gender discrimination in hiring practices. The main question was whether or not Sears had discriminated against women by not hiring them for certain kind of jobs, primarily commission sales positions, or whether women chose not to apply for those jobs. In 1986, the Supreme Court acquitted Sears. The main

position of EEOC was that companies should use more aggressive politics in seeking the best candidates. This attitude influenced the main public discourses only slightly.

* * *

The discrepancy between the dominant legal orientation and real social life is visible. Women and men continue to be paid differently for the same or equivalent work. In most jobs pay is based partly on subjective evaluations of the worker by the supervisor (Sapiro 1990, 378). Even many feminist scholars do not consider in their analysis that the basic constitutionally protected value of American society is private property. Private property is not only physical possession of some things. In the very nature of private property is that the owner/s have control over the objects of property and dispose of them in the way they want. Consequently, capitalism in its openly private-property form is even more hypocritical than other types of societies when it declares a non-discriminatory orientation and yet puts private property on a pedestal in its value system. It is hard to imagine how a society can protect private property as the main value and at the same time, for example, force the owners not to use their guaranteed right to dispose of material and human capital in any way they prefer. Even feminist scholars do not seriously analyze, for example, the reasons why the whole private sector--the major part of the American economy--is not covered by the norms of equal pay for comparable worth. Is it really only because it would be very complicated to apply these norms?

In 1996, representatives of over 150 California women's organizations came together to create The California Women's Agenda, a Platform for Action for the Women and Girls of California, based on the Beijing Platform for Action. For the purpose of this study the most interesting parts are sections about poverty and economic justice, education, and power sharing. These agendas have very concrete plans for actions and address many social spheres.

The Poverty Task Force Report recommended actions for the passage and implementation of federal legislation H.R. 1050, The Living Wage, Jobs for All Act, for monitoring the practices of corporations. There is a long list of tasks for non-governmental organizations, including formation of statewide and national "Up and Out of Poverty Networks" fighting for women's and poor people's rights.

The Education Task Force Report proposed concrete actions and measures to ensure equal access to education, the education of school communities on gender-sensitive issues, the eradication of illiteracy among women and the broadening the definition of literacy, and the improvement of women's access to vocational training, science, technology and continuing education. Also, they proposed the formation of ad hoc committees to monitor the implementation of educational reforms. This task force proposed specific actions to be taken by national, state and local legislative bodies.

The Economic Justice Task Force has an exhaustive agenda, too. The tasks proposed for government organizations are numerous and include the publication of the texts from the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the human rights commitment in the UN (articles 55, 56), and the International Labor Organization relevant

conventions. At the same time this task force proposed that the State of California should take leadership in obtaining ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. There are numerous tasks for business/industry and unions, as well as for non-governmental organizations. Many actions are listed in order to ensure job protection and the right to strike, to help women's start-up businesses and to provide pensions and retirement benefits.

The Power Sharing Task Force focused on sharing power in families, in communities, and in the political sphere. One relevant idea from the Economic Justice Task Force was that women's organizations should develop talent banks to promote the appointment of women to decision making bodies.

Theoretically and practically it is very important that these grassroots Californian activist women reached consensus and produced this comprehensive agenda. It is hard to predict the effects this California Women's Agenda is going to produce.

In the earlier discussion of American court cases we saw that decisions reflected many controversies existing in the larger society. Courts were inconsistent in their rulings. They balanced between the views of "family wage," which assumed women were "secondary earners" and views of equal pay. They also constructed strange terms such as "pregnant persons" (Stetson, 1990, 178) in order to present a gender-neutral approach. It was evident that courts displayed ambivalent views and tried to balance between "traditional and modern" perceptions of when just one sex could perform (or perform better) some job. In their decisions we could see reflected Puritan ethics and orientations toward (and sometimes against) occupational gender segregation. The

ambivalence between giving women equal rights and/or protecting or “favoring” them was reflected in public debates as well as court decisions.

American courts (and the larger society) still do not have a clear attitude toward the constitutionality of single-sex schools, and even some opponents of gender discrimination support the existence of single-sex schools.

If we consult the *Gale State Rankings Reporter* (1994), regarding general gender equality California was in eighteenth place of all American states. In terms of female employment opportunities, California was ranked twenty-eighth, and that suggests that the real possibilities for women are limited, in spite of some progressive trends in the state and its progressive reputation.

* * *

The preceding analysis demonstrated that patriarchal values were present in California’s real social life, and even in some normative actions and legislation. Educational gender segregation was visible, especially in higher education. Occupational gender segregation was also visible, whether we focused on the pattern of distribution across occupations or the pattern of specialization within occupations. Women’s work and participation in political institutions are the most obvious indicators of the divisions between the male and female social domains. The fight to achieve equal pay and eliminate gender discrimination must be continued, not only in terms of getting enforcement of existing legal norms, but also in terms of passing new legislation. The

fact that the United States is influential enough in the international community not to be called because of waiting so long to ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women makes application of norms against gender discrimination very complicated and sometimes impossible. The lack of a state ERA in most states, and the application of comparable worth norms only in the public sphere further make situation difficult.

The discrepancy between the dominant legal concept of gender equality and other legal discourses, as well as between the legal concept and social reality is evident. Implementation of The California Women's Agenda could improve working women's (and all other women's) lives, from the sphere of education to the sphere of politics. It is very hard to predict the social conditions and the degree to which the relevant social actors are determined to implement this Agenda.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON

Chapters IV and V provided all the necessary elements for comparison between Californian and Yugoslavian women, their education and employment. In this chapter I discuss in detail their enrollment in all school levels, their educational attainment and their educational profiles. Then, I focus on comparison between the occupational patterns by gender in the two societies. I also describe patterns of employment and unemployment, noting similarities and explaining differences. My special interest lies in possibilities to compare the male/female ratio in various industries and occupations in the two societies. Much of the discussion is devoted to the comparison between Californian and Yugoslavian lawyers, medical doctors, scientists and engineers. Teachers and their subjects of teaching, as well as their position on the ladders of academic ranks, demanded separate space, too. Although it was not possible to find rich data on the gender gap in earnings and managerial structures for the Yugoslavian and Californian levels I make comparisons and address these questions, expanding on the discussion in earlier chapters. Women's low participation in the most important political institutions in both societies is comparable and interesting.

In the last section of this chapter Yugoslavian retrograde processes, visible in general public discourses, legal regulations and political institutions are discussed and

linked with women's general opportunities and opportunities for education and employment.

1. Women's Education in California and Yugoslavia

I begin with a comparison of women's enrollment in different educational institutions and their educational attainment in Yugoslavia and California. Comparing the educational profiles and educational levels it is presented not only how similar and different these profiles are, but also how occupational gender segregation is prepared in the process of formal education.

Looking at the general enrollment in all schools and educational levels, it is apparent that there is relative gender equality in both California and Yugoslavia. There is evidence that this is a global phenomenon, that almost all modern industrialized societies stimulated or allowed girls' and women's enrollment in all levels of education, in numbers that are equal to the numbers of boys and men who enrolled in the same schools. Looking only at total numbers of enrolled students by sex, in both California and Yugoslavia, female students are often slightly better represented (see tables 65, 79, 80 and 81). Still, enrollment must be seen in connection with educational profiles and subjects of study. Only when we consult the data for educational profiles and subjects of study for secondary and higher education do enrollment patterns make more sense. Yugoslavian women construct their gendered educational orientation as early as in high school. Data for the United States demonstrate the same phenomenon (see tables 63, 67, 83).

ENROLLMENT BY GENDER, HIGH SCHOOL, YUGOSLAVIA**TABLE 63**

1993/94	FEMALE %	MALE %
	50.7	49.3

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995

TEACHERS IN PRIMARY AND SECOND.SCHOOLS BY SEX, YUGOSLAV. TABLE 64

	TOTAL	FEMALE	SEC.SCH. FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
1991/92	51110	33106		13025	13025
1992/93	51457	33492		13467	13467
1993/94	51575	34115		14069	14069

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995 BELGRADE

**ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUT. OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY GENDER
YUGOSLAVIA****TABLE 65**

1994-95	% OF MEN AND WOMEN	ALL LEVELS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
MEN	45.80%	
WOMEN	54.20%	

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995

GRADUATED STUDENTS BY GENDER,HIGHER EDUCATION,YUGOSLAV. TABLE 66

1994-95	MALE	FEMALE
	47.30%	52.70%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995 BELGRADE

GRADUATE ENROLLMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BY GENDER
TABLE 65 A
FALL 1995 % OF MEN AND WOMEN BY LEVEL

MASTERS STUDENTS		DOCTORAL STUDENTS	
MEN	50.70%	MEN	59.30%
WOMEN	49.30%	WOMEN	40.70%

SOURCE CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1996

CALIFORNIA PUB. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES BY GENDER, 1995-96, TABLE 66 A

TOTAL	259,071
MEN	124,536
WOMEN	134,535

CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION
1997

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY SEX CALIFORNIA, 1995,PUBLIC SCHOOLS **TABLE 79**
TOTAL IN PUB.SCH.

	MALE	FEMALE
	2805249	2661975
KINDERGARTEN	243,176	229,158
UNGR.ELEMENT.	43,697	22,220
UNGR.SECONDARY	20,994	12,387
8 GRADE	203,650	195,389
12 GRADE	143,925	143,503

CALIF EDD RESEARCH,EVALUAT.AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION
1996

TOTAL FALL ENROLLMENT IN PUB.& PRIVATE INSTIT.OF HIGHER ED. **TABLE 80**
CALIFORNIA

	FULL-TIME STUDEN.		
1992 PUBLIC	1747895	339,204	362,742
PRIVATE	229,354	80,199	80,277
1991 ALL		MALE	FEMALE
PUBLIC	1804654	346,341	369,828
PRIVATE	219,620	77,186	76,818
1987 PUBLIC	1,580,532	312,487	318,683
PRIVATE	207,638	74,640	67,852
1988 PUBLIC	1,541,305	302,847	317,762
PRIVATE	212,259	78,339	72,027

US DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,EDUCATIONAL DIGEST, 1990,1994

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT BY SEX, CALIFORNIA **1990,94** **TABLE 81**
1990

% ENROLED IN COLLEGE	18-24 YEARS	MALE	FEMALE
	33.3	30.9	36.1
OUTSIDE URBAN.AREA	21	18.9	23.4
US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, (CALIF.SOC.AND ECON.CHARACTERIST.			
1994	ALL AGES	834,000	1,002,000 thous.

US NATION.CENTER FOR EDUC.STATSTICS,DIGEST OF EDUC.STATISTICS

EDUCAT.ATTAINMENT BY SEX,CALIFORNIA, 1990 **TABLE 82**

25 YEARS AND OVER	% MALE	%	FEMALE
LESS THAN 5 GRADE	4.7		
HIGH SCH.HIGHER	76.2	76.9	75.5
COLLEGE,HIGHER	53.9		
BACHEL.D.HIGHER	23.4	26.8	20.1
MASTER'S DEGREE thous.	545,652	thous.	405,292
DOCTORATE DEG.	131,598		44,324

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, CALIF.SOC.AND ECONOM.CHARACTERIST.,1990

WOMEN M.A. AND PhD RECIPIENTS **YUGOSLAVIA,** **1993 TABLE 63A**

YUGOSLAVIA	TOTAL	M.A.	WOMEN	% FEMALE
M.A.	769		306	39.80%
	TOTAL		WOMEN	
Ph.D.	409		141	34.50%
SPECIALIST DEGR.	236		128	54.20%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE, 1994
BULETTIN 2041, GRADUATED STUDENTS IN 1993

YUGOSLA V.FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE 1994

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX, YUGOSLAVIA **1993, TABLE 63B**

ATTAIN.LEVEL	MALE %	FEM.%
B.A. DEGREE	47.70%	52.30%
SPECIALIST DEG.	49.60%	50.40%
MASTERS	63.20%	36.80%
DOCTORATE	72.40%	27.60%

YUGOSLA V.FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE 1994

Even when we concentrate on the total numbers of students enrolled in higher education in California, it is evident that, although women enroll in colleges more often than men, their representation in private institutions is lower than men's (see tables 79, 80)¹. How to interpret this fact it is not clear, and more research is needed. Since all schools in Yugoslavia had the same status, this kind of comparison (enrollment in public versus private institutions) is not possible. In both societies women outside metropolitan or urbanized areas are less likely to attend college than other women. At the same time, comparing doctorate programs and women's enrollment in both societies, it is visible that they are disadvantaged in comparison to men.

Californian official statistics has not presented data on illiteracy and male/female ratio. Yugoslavian women's participation in total number of illiterate population was as high as 11.1%. Californian statistics focused on the number of persons who completed less than 5 years of schooling and there is no breakdown by sex.

In terms of females attaining degrees, the data for 1990 for California and Yugoslavia showed many similarities. Among persons 25 years and older, and high (or equivalent) school graduates there were 55.8% Californian women in 1990. Data for 1995/6 for California public school graduates showed that women made up 51.9%. In 1993/4, in Yugoslavia 50.7% students who graduated from high school were female. All other data is related completely to 1990. Californian women earned 47.4% of all bachelor's or higher degrees, and Yugoslavian women earned 52.3%. Californian women were in better situation regarding their participation in total number of persons who

¹Data on gender representation by subjects of study were not available on the state level

earned master's degrees, in comparison to Yugoslavian women. The proportion is 42.6% (CA) : 36.8% (YU). However, Yugoslavian women were a little better represented in the structure of persons who earned doctorate degrees in 1990. Their percentage was 27.6% and Californian women's participation was 25.2%. Yugoslavian women earned 50.4% of specialist degrees, and Californian earned 53% of associate degrees. Overall, their educational attainment looks very similar (see tables 63b, and 82; for an illustration see table 63a).

* * *

Women's educational profiles and the existence of the "glass ceiling" at the highest levels of educational ladders look very similar in Yugoslavia and California. In both societies educational processes prepare the territory for occupational gender segregation and limit women's opportunities for employment and career development.

2. Occupational Gender Segregation and Gender Gap in Earnings

The patterns of gender participation in occupational structures in Yugoslavia and California are very similar. In this section I will present detailed analysis and comment on the differences as well. Although based on limited statistical data, the gender gap in earnings is visible in both societies. There are some industries and occupations we could call female and the similarities between California and Yugoslavia are more than evident.

The general rates of women's employment are comparable. In 1990, Yugoslavian women made up 38.6% of the total number of employed persons, and Californian women were slightly better represented, with 43.4%. In 1993, Yugoslavian women represented 40.6% of all employed persons and Californian 43.9%. Still, the representation is very similar (see tables 21, 32, 58, 59).

The general unemployment rates in Yugoslavia and California are very different as well as women's unemployment rates. Yugoslavian women made up more than 50% of the unemployed persons for the whole period 1985-1995. Californian women are even less often registered as unemployed, in comparison to Californian men. From 1988-1996, female unemployment rates were 5.4-7.7%, and male 5.5-8.7% (tables 20 and 61). This disparity could be mostly connected with the levels of economic development, structures and specific elements of the two economies. The Yugoslavian economy, especially with the recent collapse visible in every social domain is hardly comparable with the Californian. Economic crisis resulted in, among other things, in high rates of unemployment. Under these conditions, special pressure is put on women and they are predominant in the structure of unemployed persons. According to the *Report of the Yugoslavian government* (1995, 18), women were more likely to be laid off, although statistical data don't reveal these trends.

Yugoslavian and Californian women work predominantly in tertiary economic sectors (administrative support, clerical, sale, trade and service occupations) and their representation is similar (see tables 23, 33, 59).

Comparing Yugoslavia and California and female participation in different occupations, it is visible that in more than 90% of cases the same industries and occupations are considered female (tables 59a and 59b). Textile and garment production workers are 62-79% female in both societies. Percents of Yugoslavian and Californian female librarians are almost identical: 74 and 75%. Women's representation among workers who perform personal services is almost identical in both societies: 79.7% (CA) and 78.2% (YU). The great majority of health technicians are female and then percentages of their representation are also very similar: 74% (CA) and 78% (YU).

Other comparable data document that almost the same industries and occupations are male, or non-traditional for women. In extractive industries Californian women work so rarely that they represent only 5% of all workers in these industries. In Yugoslavia, women represent 5.5% of all workers in the petroleum industry, and 12.2% of all workers involved in coal production. Although the statistical classifications are not identical, the information is usable. In Yugoslavia only 12.5% of workers in forestry are females. In California, forestry is grouped with farming and fishing and women's participation is 18.9%. Yugoslavian women are represented in agricultural and fishery production with 26.2%. In water production women represent 19.1% of all workers in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavian statistics operate with one category for both water production and distribution. Thus, their representation is better than Californian women's representation in water transportation--4.9%. There is no doubt that construction is a male field. In California, women workers are represented only with 12% in construction trades.

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY EC. ACTIVITIES AND SEX, YUGOSLAVIA TABLE 59
1993

	TOTAL	WOMEN	% OF W	W.EMPL.	PART-TIM	ALL	WOMEN
TOTAL	2190301	888187	40.6	22310	22310	42248	22310
ECONOM	1758959	617049	35.1	10193	10193	25152	10193
NON-EC.	431342	271138	62.9	12117	12117	17096	12117
INDUSTRY	893519	323582	32.6	4933	4933	10711	4933
AGRICUL	105080	27560	26.2	1413	1413	4066	1413
WATER	12506	1567	12.5	59	59	180	59
CONSTR.	4866	738	15.2	5	5	65	5
TRANSP.	150922	19882	13.2	234	234	1460	234
TRADE	148257	28540	19.3	518	518	2122	518
CAT.TRAC	216716	113748	52.5	938	938	1931	938
ART.CRAF	54780	32943	60.1	490	490	788	490
PUB.UTIL	38203	10805	28.3	269	269	651	269
COM.SER	48901	10174	20.8	328	328	1748	328
EDUCAT	85434	47622	55.7	956	956	1432	956
CULTURE	175543	98072	55.9	5197	5197	9095	5197
PUB.HEA.	166053	124870	75.2	4858	4858	5810	4858
SERVICE	89521	48084	53.7	1342	1342	2191	1342
1991							
HOTELS&TOURISM	% female		61				
TRADE			50.6				
EDUCAT.&CULTURE			52.9				
HEALTH&SOC.PROTECTION			73.4				

1993 YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU,BELGRADE, BULL.2113

YUGOSLAVIA,OCCUPAT.GROUPS AND WOMEN'S PARTIC.% **BELGR.**

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	% of women	1993, TABLE 59 A
OCCUP.IN ELECTROINDUSTRY	16.4	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
COAL PRODUCTION	12.2	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
PETROLEUM PRODUCTION	5.5	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
MACHINERY PRODUCTION	18	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
SHIP-BUILDERS	11.7	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
PRODUCERS IN CHEMICAL IND.	27.1	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
TEXTIL PRODUCTION	61.5	FEMALE
GARMENT WORKERS	79.3	FEMALE
LEATHER INDUSTRY WORKERS	76	FEMALE
AGRICULTURAL, FISHERY WORKERS	26.2	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
WORKERS IN FORESTRY	12.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN WATER PRODUCTION	15.2	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN CONSTRUCTION BUILD.	13.3	NON-TRADITIONAL
MARITIME TRANSPORTATION	7.8	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN AIR-TRANSPORTATION	40.9	NON-TRAI EXC.STEWARDESS
WORKERS IN HIGHWAY TRANSPORTAT	15	NON-TRADITIONAL
BUS DRIVERS,PUBLIC TRANSPORT.	17.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
MAIL-SERVICES	34.4	NON-TRADITIONAL
REPARERS OF BUSES AND OTH.EQUIP.	14.3	NON-TRADITIONAL
REPARER OF ELEC.EQUIPMENT	11.6	NON-TRADITIONAL

TEXTIL PRODUCTS PRODUCERS	81 FEMALE
PERSONAL SERVICES	78.2 FEMALE
LAUNDRY AND DRY-CLEANING	80.1 FEMALE
WATER PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION	19.1 NON-TRADITIONAL
CHIMINEY-SWEEP SERVICES	15.7 NON-TRADITIONAL
LEGAL SERVICES	49.7
WORKERS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION	66 FEMALE
WORKERS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION	57 FEMALE
WORKERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION	45.2 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH WORKERS	43.5 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTISTS IN TECHNICAL SCIENCE	37.1 NON-TRADITIONAL
ENGINEERS	24.4 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTISTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE	48.1
LIBRARIANS	74.4 FEMALE
ARTISTS	46
CINEMATOGRAPHY	40.2 NON-TRADITIONAL
PROFESSIONAL SPORT	40 NON-TRADITIONAL
MEDICAL DOCTORS	59 FEMALE
AMBULATORY HEALTH SERVICES	74.3 FEMALE
PHARMACISTS	92 FEMALE
SOCIAL WORK	71.4 FEMALE
SOCIAL WORK WITH CHILDREN	89.2 FEMALE
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION	42.5 NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN REGULAR COURTS	65 FEMALE
NURSES	78 FEMALE

YUOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BULLETIN 2113, BELGRADE 1993

CALIFORNIA, OCCUPAT.GROUPS AND WOMEN'S PARTIC.% 1990, TABLE 59 B

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	% OF WOMEN	
EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE	33	NON-TRADITIONAL
ENGINEERS,ARCHITECTS,SURVEYORS	11	NON-TRADITIONAL
MATHEM.AND COMP.SCIENTISTS	31	NON-TRADITIONAL
NATURAL SCIENTISTS	28	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH DIAGNOSING	21.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
TEACHERS-POST SECONDARY	41	NON-TRADITIONAL
LIBRARIANS, ARCHIVISTS,CURATORS	75	FEMALE
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND URBAN PLAN.	52.9	
LAWYERS AND JUDGES	27	NON-TRADITIONAL
TECHNICIANS AND RELATED SUPPORT	41	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH TECHNICIANS	74	FEMALE
SUPERVISORS AND PROPRIET.SALES	34	NON-TRADITIONAL
SALES WORKERS	59.4	FEMALE
ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT	74.9	FEMALE
OFFICE/CLERICAL WORKERS	76	FEMALE
COMPUTER OPERATORS	57	FEMALE
SECRETARIES,STENOGRAPHERS	96.4	FEMALE
INFORMATION CLERKS	84.3	FEMALE
RECORDS PROCESSING	74.4	FEMALE

POSTAL CLERKS AND MAIL CARRIERS	37	NON-TRADITIONAL
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD SERVICES	93.6	FEMALE
FIREFIGHTING AND PREVENTION	5.8	NON-TRADITIONAL
POLICE AND DETECTIVES	17.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
GUARDS AND PROTECTIVE SERVICES	19	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH SERVICES	83.6	FEMALE
FARMING,FORESTRY,FISHING	18.9	NON-TRADITIONAL
FORESTRY AND LOGGING	7	NON-TRADITIONAL
MECHANICS AND REPAIRERS	5	NON-TRADITIONAL
VEHICLE REPAIRERS	2.2	NON-TRADITIONAL
INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY REPAIRERS	4.4	NON-TRADITIONAL
MACHINERY MAINTENANCE	4.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
ELECTRICAL,ELECTRON.EQU.REPAIRER	18.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEATING,AIR CON.REFRIG.MECHANICS	1	NON-TRADITIONAL
CONSTRUCTION TRADES OCCUP.	12	NON-TRADITIONAL
SUPERVISORS OF CONSTR.TRADES	3	NON-TRADITIONAL
EXTRACTIVE OCCUPATIONS	5	NON-TRADITIONAL
PRECISION PRODUCTION	25	NON-TRADITIONAL
MET.AND PLAST.PROC.MACH.OPERAT.	10	NON-TRADITIONAL
TEXTILE MACH.OPERATORS	66	FEMALE
TRANSPORT.AND MATERIAL MOVING	9	NON-TRADITIONAL
MOTOR VEHICLE OPERATORS	10.7	NON-TRADITIONAL
WATER TRANSPORTATION OCCUPAT.	4.9	NON-TRADITIONAL
MATERIAL MOVING EQUIP.OPERATORS	4.6	NON-TRADITIONAL

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, 1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

**CALIFORNIA INCOME AND POVERTY DATA,
1989**

TABLE 47

MARRIED COUPLE FAMILIES	INCOME	FEMALE HOUSEH.FAMILIES	INCOME
NUMBER 766,518	25-34,999	NUMBER 237,618	15-24,999
1,128,505	35-49,999	358,029	25-49,999
ALL FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL		9.30%	
FEMALE HOUSEH.FAMIL.BELOW P.LEV.		26.20%	

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF WORKERS BY SEX, 1989

CALIFORNIA,

TABLE 47A

FULL TIME YEAR-ROUND WORKERS	\$
MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	31,980
FEMALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	23,123
ALL WORKERS, MEDIAN INCOME	
MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	21,889
FEMALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	12,082
ALL FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD	34,716
MARRIED COUPLE FAMILY INCOME	46,052
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT	21,348
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD	10,016
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, MALE HOUSEHOLDER	30,448
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	19,351
MEN LIVING ALONE	25,729
WOMEN LIVING ALONE	16,376

SOURCE CALIFORNIA, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS,
US BUREAU OF CENSUS

1990

AVERAGE EARNINGS BY SEX AND GENDER, CALIFORNIA

TABLE 47B

1989	MEN-ANN. INCOME	WOMEN-ANNUAL INCOME	% OF MEN
LESS THAN HIGH S.	\$22,999	\$16,208	70.50%
HIGH SCHOOL	\$31,002	\$21,423	69.10%
SOME COLLEGE	\$37,352	\$25,384	68%
B.A. DEGREE	\$51,141	\$32,648	63.90%
MASTERS	\$61,675	\$39,476	64%
DOCTORATE	\$70,126	\$48,025	68.50%
PROFESSIONAL	\$99,789	\$52,823	53%

SOURCE: CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1995

MEDIAN EARNINGS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, US, 1993

ATTAINMENT	MALE	FEMALE
LESS THAN HIGH S.	\$14,934	\$9,311
HIGH SCHOOL GR.	\$22,978	\$14,128
COLLEGE/ASSOC.D	\$25,660	\$16,023
BACHELOR'S DEG.	\$40,039	\$23,991
ADVANCED DEG.	\$58,324	\$33,814

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES,

FACTS

1997

**AVERAGE WEEK.EARNINGS BY INDUST.AND GENDER,CALIFORNIA, TABLE 59 C
DECEMBER 1994, DECEMBER 1995**

INDUSTRY	DEC.1995	DEC.1994	% FEMALE
MINING	\$800.23	\$748.22	1%
PETROL.COAL PR.	\$891.81	\$911.09	1%
CONSTRUCTION	\$721.40	\$738.57	1.80%
PRIM.METAL INDUS	\$562.33	\$562.99	1%
FARM AND GARDEN	\$471.99	\$506.57	1.10%
WHOLES.TRADE	\$559.63	\$546.45	18.70%
LEATHER PRODUC.	\$313.60	\$311.63	60.00%
TEXTIL AND APPAR.	\$294.59	\$291.37	66%
CANN.FOOD PROD.	\$244.73	\$268.83	70%

SOURCE: US DEPARTM. OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS
GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

**INDUSTR.WITH HIGHEST AVER.MONTHLY EARNINGS,YUGOSLAVIA, TABLE 59 D
1994**

	WOMEN'S REPRESENTAT.%
ELECTROINDUSTRY	16.05
EXTR.OF CRUDE PETROLEUM	11.82
PROCESS.OF CHEMICALS	25.62
TOBACCO INDUSTRY	48.92
WATER SUPPLY	14.46
TRANSPORTATION	19.42
BANKING	50.3

STATISTICAL YEARBOOK OF YUGOSLAVIA, 1995,6
FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU, BELGRADE

Yugoslavian data for the whole industry document that women's representation is 15.2%, but in construction building 13.3% of all workers are female.

In both societies women are rarely bus drivers and mail carriers. In these male fields women are represented in Yugoslavia with 17.5% and 34.4%, respectively, and in California with 10.7% and 37%. These levels of representation are fairly similar. In both California and Yugoslavia, men predominate as mechanics and repairers. Still, Yugoslavian women choose these occupations more often than Californian women. Yugoslavian women work as repairers of electrical equipment and represent 11.6% of all workers and 14.3% of vehicle repairers. Californian women represent only 5% of all repairers and 2.2% of vehicle repairers. These differences are statistically significant, but I am convinced that they are not significant enough to endanger the Yugoslavian and Californian patriarchal structure or to challenge the general similarity between the male and female occupations in these societies. In both societies women are equally unlikely to work as police officers or detectives, and the Yugoslavian government reported that even when women work in the police services, they work almost exclusively in administrative jobs (*Report*, 1995, 30).

The male fields are also similar in these two societies. Technical and mathematical sciences have similar female representation in California and Yugoslavia. The percent of Yugoslavian women who work in these fields is 37% and percent of Californian women is 31%. Still, Yugoslavian women are more often employed as engineers--24% of all engineers are female. Californian engineers are classified together with architects and surveyors and their percent of representation is 11%. This difference

could be explained with the Yugoslavian society's more ambivalent attitude toward modern technologies and technical sciences. As it was discussed in Chapter IV, Yugoslavia was not technically and technological advanced country. Therefore, even people in power did not have a clear vision of how important technical and technological innovations could be for the society as a whole. Until recently, Yugoslavian engineers have not been able to use the latest trends in modern technologies, so patriarchal social control of the field as a whole was not that much needed (see tables 59, 59a, 59b).

However, there are occupations that have really different female participation in these two societies. The legal and medical professions are female in Yugoslavia. The analysis presented in Chapter IV provided evidence that although these occupations as a whole became female fields, there were factors specific to the Yugoslavian reality that fostered this seemingly nontraditional situation. First, within the occupations patriarchal division was maintained. Second, in Yugoslavia legal and medical professions in general have a certain social respect, but are much less prestigious than they are in the American reality. Third, Yugoslavian society used some additional mechanisms to devalue some sub-groups within the occupations and to direct women to these sub-occupations. Thus, women worked mostly as medical doctors without a specialty or in pediatrics. They worked very often for self-management and other marginal courts or in legal spheres like family and civil law (since private property was not the most important institution in the Yugoslavian socioeconomic and political system). Fourth, there was a hyperproduction of medical doctors and lawyers, and it was very likely that many of them could not find any jobs or have to wait for years. In these circumstances it was relatively acceptable for these

occupations to have an equal or predominant number of women (see tables 36, 37, 38, 41).

Women's participation in scientific and research occupations, and especially in social science, is very close to be equal with men's. In both societies, women's representation is very similar (in California, social scientists and urban planners are in the same statistical category). I see this phenomenon as an effect of degradation of social sciences in both societies. Also, within the social sciences, psychology became female field and female general representation was improved. In both societies isolation of social science from the main social domains was visible: scientific results were more used for the academic debates than for the improvements of social reality.

Teachers, their subjects of teaching, and their academic ranks are additional evidence of how occupational gender segregation operates. The social destiny of Californian and Yugoslavian teachers is very similar. Looking at tables 75, 76, 77 and 78 we can see that female representation among teachers in primary and secondary education is similar, and around 70%. Californian data on subject areas indicate male and female divisions and women's low representation among teachers teaching science courses, very early. Data for the United States and Yugoslavia indicate that women's representation in the structure of full professors is similar (13.4% YU, and 16.2% CA), and their representation in the category of assistant professors is almost identical (35% YU and 35.8% CA). There is no doubt that in both societies, women are predominantly located at the bottom of the academic rank ladders when they teach in higher education. Female

teachers in primary and secondary education are more likely to teach classes other than natural and technical sciences.

Although California ranks first or second among the 50 U.S. states, in considering the number of women-owned firms (*Gale State Ranking* 1994), the majority of owned firms are in trade and service sectors (see table 94), not in construction, mining or other male industries. According to the Report of the Yugoslavian Government, the pattern is the same with Yugoslavian women and fields in which they own firms (*Report*, 1995, 8).

If we look the overall Yugoslavian and Californian occupational structures, it is visible that, although some of the data is not directly comparable, each of the occupational structures represents the typical patriarchal division to male and female domains. The Yugoslavian occupational structure looks at first more modern, but as I discussed earlier, the Yugoslavian society used some other mechanisms to maintain patriarchal divisions within legal, medical, scientific and other usually male dominated professions. In both societies women are mostly located in tertiary economic sectors, and non-material production (see tables 23 and 59).

Data on women's participation in managerial structures are limited. Still, it is visible that in both Yugoslavia and California, women's participation in managerial structures is low. My research in the garment industry managerial structure in Yugoslavia is a good illustration that even in firms where female workers are predominant the executive positions are mostly "reserved" for men. A. Milic's research on men and women working in companies using high technology in Yugoslavia documented that 90% of her female research subjects had male managers to work with, and that in these

companies only 11.8% of women had some positions in managerial structures (Milic 1994, 88, 91). Yugoslavian official ideology prevented any statistical presentation of managerial structures by gender. American and Californian governmental statistics show managerial structures, but the usual practice is to put all administrative, managerial and executive occupations in one category, so there is, again, no clear picture of who the managers, and especially the most important people in the decision-making process, really are. Still, looking at the data presented in the *Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment*, we can conclude that women's participation in Californian managerial structures is not higher than 10-13% (see table 33).

Data on personal income and the gender gap in earnings is hardly available in the Yugoslavian case. Still, crossing the data on personal income by industries and women's participation in these industries, we have some of the necessary information. Yugoslavian industries with the highest personal incomes employ no more than 25% women. The only exceptions are the tobacco and banking industries. Still, the data for 1994 (for the present Yugoslavia) have to be taken with caution, because the general level of impoverishment was very high, given the high inflation rates, and the differences in personal incomes in reality did not make much of a difference (see table 50). However, Andjelka Milic's research among women and men working in high technology professions is an additional indicator about the gender gap in earnings. According to her findings, in two Yugoslavian companies using high technology, women were 85% of the group of persons with lowest incomes, and men were 75% of the group of persons with highest incomes (Milic 1994, 89). These were men and women who received the same degrees and had similar work

experience. Such distribution of income was predominantly connected with men's managerial functions.

Looking at Californian industries and female participation in these industries, we find a very similar picture. Among the industries with the highest average weekly earnings, women's participation was 1-19% (1994-1995). Women were the majority of workers in female industries with low average earnings (see table 59c). Californian women who are heads of households are the majority of people with low income, and their families were three times more likely to be under the poverty level than other families. Even when men and women lived alone, women's income was around 64% of men's income (see tables 47 and 47a). Californian women made up to 70% of men's annual earnings in 1989, although they earned the same degrees. The gap even had a tendency to increase with achieving of higher degrees (see table 47b). Data for the United States as a whole, for earnings of men and women with the same degrees, and for engineers and their earnings by sex and years of experience are another illustration that higher degrees or experience, or even managerial positions, do not eliminate the gender gap in earnings (see tables 47b and 45). More detailed comparison between California and Yugoslavia concerning the extent of the gender gap in earnings, even with richer data, would have to take into account the differences in income levels and standards of living between these two societies. Since it would be very difficult task and this analysis would demand separate space, I decided to leave it beyond the scope of the study.

Still, according to the Report of the Yugoslavian government, female-headed families (21.76% or more than 1/5 of all Yugoslavian families) were in the worst material

position in the war years. Comparing this data with Californian data, we come to the same conclusion about the feminization of poverty in both societies.

* * *

We can conclude that, although the statistical data are not always exactly comparable, there is enough material to see that the gender patterns in the occupational structures in these two societies are much more similar than different. In some cases when it looked as if Yugoslavian society more often challenged patriarchal divisions, additional analysis of divisions within the occupations provided understanding of how, although different mechanisms are used, the patriarchal structure is maintained.

3. Californian and Yugoslavian Women and Political Participation

In Chapters IV and V, I discussed the specific patterns of women's political participation in these two societies. The analysis in this section is focusing on parallels and differences between the two societies and female representation in central political institutions.

My hypothesis that dramatic changes in the spaces of the former and present Yugoslavia affected women's general status negatively, found confirmation in the political sphere. As discussed in Chapter IV, recent civil war, economic and social

isolation, reorientation toward a capitalist market economy, as well as world politics toward the former and present Yugoslavia, created a negative social milieu for the realization of human and women's rights. Statistical data do not document all the negative effects of the Yugoslavian fiasco. Still, even focusing on the basic statistical information it is possible to see that Yugoslavian women showed their resistance toward the dominant political orientation. Although some of the political parties in the present Yugoslavia proclaimed gender equality as their goal, it was clear that these goals were hard to combine with nationalist/chauvinist and war-supporting politics. Thus, Yugoslavian women decided not to participate in encouraging national and ethnic hatred and justifying the war. They became less present in the political sphere and especially in the main political institutions.

In both California and Yugoslavia women are on the periphery of the political life. In terms of their representation in the main political bodies, it is not possible to make direct comparisons, because of the differences in the political structures. Still, their low participation is more than visible and comparable.

Data for 1991 showed that only 3 Californian women found their place in the House of Representatives (although they were not underrepresented in comparison to women from other American states). In the same year there were no women governors in California and only 2 American women were in the U.S. Senate (2% representation). In 1993 Californian women made up 23.3% of the state legislators, and in 1995 their representation dropped to 21.6%. Using official statistical language, only 2 Californian women were holding state-wide offices in both 1993 and 1995 (tables 85-93).

In Yugoslavia in 1990, only 4 women were elected to the republic (Montenegrin) Parliament (130 members). In 1993, Californian women were represented with 23.3% of the state legislators, and back in 1986 Yugoslavian women made up 19.3% of the members of the republic parliaments, which had the leading roles in legislative activities. In 1992, Yugoslavian women's representation in republic parliaments dropped to only 6.6%.

In 1986, in Yugoslavia, there were 12.3% women in the federal Parliament, 19.3% in the republic parliaments, and 15.5% in the communal parliaments. In 1993, the percents of their representation dropped to 2.7% in the federal and 6.6% in the republic parliaments. Comparing Yugoslavian women's representation in the federal and republic parliaments in different years with Californian women's representation in the state and federal institutions, their numbers are more similar after 1991 than back in 1986. In 1986, 48 women were elected to the federal (socialist) Parliament (308 members), 100 for republican parliaments (518 members) and 106 for the autonomous provinces' parliaments (434 members). In 1992, only 5 Yugoslavian women (and 178 men) had their seats in the Yugoslavian Federal Parliament, and in 1990 only 4 women were delegates in the republic (Montenegrin) Parliament (see tables 92 and 96).

Women's participation in the Yugoslavian political life was never high if we consider the main political bodies. Still, having only 2.7% of women in the main political institution (the Federal Parliament) is a phenomenon that was never observed during the Yugoslavian socialist development (1945-1992). Consulting the data about women's

participation in the main political bodies in the rest of the former socialist bloc, it is evident that such low participation was not characteristic for the bloc as a whole.

* * *

Looking at the available data, it is visible that in both California and Yugoslavia, high-level politics and the main political institutions are characterized with the presence of so few women, that they are easy to count. Their very presence in the main political institutions doesn't guarantee their real influence. At the same time, women's presence is a precondition for coming closer to the main sources of social power. Unfortunately, women's low participation in the main political bodies is not a phenomenon shared only by these two societies.

4. Discrepancy Between *de jure* and *de facto* Status of Women

In both California and Yugoslavia, the main legal orientation is gender equality in all social spheres. Still, there are some legal exceptions, and also in the main public discourses about gender equality we find many contradictory attitudes. In this section, I examine the legal spheres and the exceptions in the law to the general orientation toward gender equality, as well as relevant elements of the public discourses.

In Chapters IV and V, I presented separately many contradictions that complicated real gender relations and prevented the application of legal norms about gender equality.

Public opinion had negative effects on the enforcement of already existing laws or prevented legislators from passing new laws.

As it was indicated in Chapters IV and V in the sections about the discrepancy between *de jure* and *de facto* in the Yugoslavian and Californian contexts, the Yugoslavian (socialist) legal system was more favorable for women. However, in Yugoslavia there were some norms in conflict--for example some norms that more protected women as mothers rather than as persons with multiple roles. Chapter IV described already some typical protective legal norms that protected women from hard manual labor and night or overtime work, especially if they were mothers of young children or pregnant women. I also commented on some laws that gave women rights to retire early (socially paid retirement) if they had two or more children. During the war years, the economic and social crisis was manifested also in the legal sphere. The legal crisis was characterized by the lack of necessary social conditions for enforcing the laws (norms about guaranteed right to work and to get adequate jobs, about rights not to be laid off except under strict legally defined conditions, about using legal rights for paid maternity/paternity leave, or even about getting paid on time one's guaranteed--or any--salary).

Still, Yugoslavia's general legal and dominant ideological orientation toward gender equality did not have many exceptions. In the late 1980s this orientation was more likely to be applied in the real social life than during the war years, and especially 1992-1995.

We can say that California's general legal orientation is for gender equality, too. However, the American/Californian legal system has more missing legal norms that could ensure concrete aspects of gender equality. The lack of a state-level ERA, the application of comparable worth only in the public sector, and the U.S. failure to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women are the most obvious examples. So, there are not ensured even the legal conditions for the gender equality in California (pay equity is the most obvious missing piece for equality in employment). The California Women's Agenda initiatives could be the solution for passing the laws necessary for ensuring women's legal equality in all spheres.

In both California and Yugoslavia there are public discourses that conflict with the legal ideal of gender equality. Public discourses in socialist Yugoslavia contained debates about women's protection (and protection of patriarchal stereotypes about womanhood by giving some "privileges" to women) versus gender equality. Present Yugoslavian public discourses confront elements of extreme nationalist/chauvinist views (with or without religious elements) in contrast with views of gender equality. Similarly, Californian public discourses oppose conservative views (most often with religious elements) views of strict patriarchal division of social spheres with feminist views. The Californian situation is even more complicated by the characteristics of the common law system and conflicting court decisions and legal recommendations (as discussed in Chapter V). In Yugoslavian reality, courts cannot create the laws but only apply them.

All these conflicting discourses, contradictory or missing legal norms, and lack of necessary social conditions for realization of all aspects of gender equality, make up the

social environment that affects women's general, educational and work opportunities. I am convinced that in the 1990s these social conditions are worsened in both societies. In the Californian context women should work more not only to enforce the laws, but also to pass new ones. In the Yugoslavian context, women should direct their energy to protect and/or enforce the existing legal norms and to prevent the passing of regressive laws proposed by nationalist/chauvinist elements. In both contexts women should work for the improvement of real social conditions and consequent enforcement of all progressive (i.e., favorable to gender equality) legal norms.

* * *

This analysis made visible many similarities and some differences between Yugoslavian and Californian women's educational and professional situations. Similarities are evident in educational and occupational structures, educational attainment, political participation, and public discourses that shape women's educational and employment opportunities, their careers, their political interests and their whole lives. Dissimilarities are seen and explained as conditioned by different social contexts which framed the experiences of Yugoslavian and Californian women.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of the previous chapter was on comparative analysis. Yugoslavian and Californian women's educational, occupational and overall social situations were compared. My analysis documented that educational and occupational gender segregation in these two social contexts were not only visible, but also were manifested in similar forms.

Comparison of male and female educational profiles and educational attainments and male and female occupations and industries made evident the similarities of the Yugoslavian and Californian educational and occupational structures. Despite the all limits of the official statistical data, it was visible that women participated in small numbers in high technology professions and managerial structures in both societies. The gender gap in earnings could not be hidden, although statistical data for California and Yugoslavia were not rich.

The Yugoslavian economic, political and social crisis affected women's employment. General and female rates of unemployment have been growing higher under these conditions. California's general and female unemployment rates are considerably lower, but there is the same tendency; in the decade 1985-1995, general and female unemployment rates were increasing.

Comparing Yugoslavian and Californian women's participation in the main political institutions, it is evident that high politics is out of their social galaxy. Yugoslavian women showed their resistance to the dominant nationalist/chauvinist political orientations and it resulted in their withdrawal from the main political institutions. At the same time, nationalist/chauvinist official politics made little space for women's appearance in the main political spheres. Women's presence in these spheres in former Yugoslavia was to a certain degree a form of social cosmetics. However, their very presence in Yugoslavia's main political institutions made these political domains part of their social universe. The recent Yugoslavian crisis and war promoted the stereotype of woman whose primary function is to renew the nation. Reducing the numbers of women in the parliaments to five or fewer, Yugoslavia came closer to American and Californian women's representation in the main political bodies.

In both societies women are concentrated predominately in tertiary economic sectors and female occupations and professions. Despite the limits produced by different statistical classifications, it was possible to make visible that women's representation in these sectors, industries and occupations was similar. Some differences in family and work organization produced the need for different social mechanisms to preserve patriarchal structures. In both societies education and employment at the same time shape and are shaped by the division of social worlds into male and female domains. Thus, I see similarities between Yugoslavian and Californian women's educational and occupational patterns as more significant than the differences.

Important differences in the occupational structures in the Californian and Yugoslavian contexts are observed. Nevertheless, feminization of the legal, medical and some scientific profiles in Yugoslavia did not change women's general social position radically. The greater presence of women did not change essentially even their status within these professions. Yugoslavian women ended up in general medicine, pediatrics or child and preventive dentistry. They worked predominantly for marginal courts, in less important legal fields, and/or as legal assistants. Yugoslavian women medical doctors, dentists or lawyers were concentrated in the less prestigious specializations within these professions just as Californian women are. Yugoslavian society did not channel women aggressively away from these occupations because in the Yugoslavian context legal and medical professions did not have as high status and high salaries as they had in the American context.

Recent social changes in the Yugoslavian spaces--war, disintegration and anomie--made the atmosphere conducive to the empowerment of various conservative forces. When even the Yugoslavian government admitted that women's general social status has worsened this is a serious indicator of the social reality. The changes in women's status are ongoing processes and more research is needed to illuminate the effects of Yugoslavia's dramatic transformation.

Analyzing the content of American and Californian public discourses, it was evident that conservative forces and their voices gained new strength, too. Although Californian women's organizations proposed their Agenda, there are indicators that the real social atmosphere is not favorable for essential changes. The lack of legal and real

social guarantees for pay equity is the most evident disadvantage. New or transformed ways of super-exploitation of some groups of women (women of color or immigrants working in the computer and garment industries and in domestic services) have appeared.

With the reappearance and strengthening of all sorts of religious and other fundamentalisms in global terms, it is difficult to be optimistic about great strides forward for women. The disappearance of many of the socialist alternatives, the neutralizing of initial revolutionary enthusiasm by totalitarian versions of social organization, the transformation of multinational societies into nation-states, the resort to military solutions and the appearance of new forms of human exploitation make optimism even less based in social reality. In order to find some base for optimism I had to look back, not only at Yugoslavian utopian ideals, but also at some real human and women's achievements under socialism.

Yugoslavian men and women used to be very sensitive whenever their experiences were equated with those of people in capitalist contexts. They tended for a long time to see Yugoslavia's projected and partly realized system as advanced. In recent years the dominant orientation of society has gone in the opposite direction; developed capitalist economies and principles of western political democracy are glorified. The former dominant Communist Party ideology prevented people from seeing clearly, among other phenomena, many characteristics of the Yugoslavian patriarchal social organization and the importance of the preserved private patriarchy. Only a few people observed how fast all revolutionary potentials were neutralized by keeping patriarchal divisions essentially unchanged. Recently developed ideologies are going to the other extreme;

forgetting all socialist ideals, opening the doors for all kinds of international *a priori* unequal economic exchange and creating a version of western political democracy are seen as perfect solutions for future development.

Are western-style political democracy, highly developed capitalist economies, and various forms of neo-colonial global relations really positive social environments and guarantees for women's and human emancipation? Isn't there a necessity to deconstruct a world view which is quantitative and subordinates human needs to market values? Will our worlds become even more gender divided? Will such trends become more visible in the spheres of education and paid work in our near future? These are some of the serious questions for future research.

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A P P E N D I X

YUGOSLAVIA- AREA AND POPULATION **TABLE 1**

EX- YUGOSLAVIA AS A WHOLE	AREA
POPULAT MIL.	SQKM
23529000	255804

PRESENT YUGOSLAVIA

AREA	SQKM
	102173

POPULAT	1991 MIL.
MALE	5157120
FEMALE	5236906
TOTAL	10394026

STATIST. YEARBOOK OF YUGOSLAVIA 1995,6

CALIFORNIA- POPULATION AND AREA **TABLE 2**

CALIFORNIA STATISTICAL ABSTRACT,	1996
STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE U.S.	1996
POPULATI	1993
POPULATI	1994 31587000
POPULATI	1995 31873000
AREA	SQMIL
	155,973

YUGOSLAVIA- GROSS DOMES.PRODUCT TRENDS **TABLE 3**

1989	107.1	1993	49
1990	100	1994	52
1991	92		
1992	67.8	AT 1990	PRICES

YUGOSL. GROSS PRODUCT **1990 BILL.US \$** **TABLE 4**
50

YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995

US GROSS STATE PRODUCT **1990 BILL.US \$** **TABLE 5**
6124.8

CA GROSS PRODUCT 13.5 % OF US
826.8

ENERGY CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA **1992 TABLE 6**

YUGOSL.	2561	IN KILOG. HARD	COAL
US	8422		

YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU 1995

INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION **1993 TABLE 7**

YUGOSLAVIA	44	1980=100
US	133	

YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU 1995

HYDROENERGY PRODUCTION MIL.KWH **1992 TABLE 8**

YUGOSL.	11405	US	248912
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IMPORTS AND EXPORTS IN BILL.US \$ **1992 TABLE 9**

YUGOSL. EXP.	US EXP.
2539	448164

BOOKS PUBLISHED **1992** **1993 TABLE 10**

YUGOSL.	1993	1573
US	1992	49276

DOCTORS PER 100000 INHABITANTS **1991 TABLE 11**

YUGOSL.	212	US	222
---------	-----	----	-----

PERSONAL CONSUMPTION **YUGOSL.** **1994 TABLE 12**

FOOD	50.6	HOUSING	3.6		
FUEL&LIG	6.4	BEVERAG	4.1		
CLOTH.	6.2	RENT	1.1		
TRANSP.	5.8	SAVINGS	7.3		
HYG.HEAL	4.8				
	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990
TOTAL	103	222.1	9026	222	680
GOODS	106	247.6	9769	208	652
SERVIC.	93	57.3	4235	298	903
PREVIOUS YEAR=		100			

YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU, 1995

CALIFORNIA- POVERTY STATUS **TABLE 14**

1992 15.80% PERSON BELOW POVERTY LINE
US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

POPULATION BY ACTIVITY AND SEX, YUGOSLAV. AND CALIFORNIA

TABLE 15

CENSUS 1991 YUGOSL.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

ALL 4,409,187
MALE 2,625,730
FEMALE 1,783,457

DEPENDANTS

ALL 4,454,240
MALE 1,700,512
FEMALE 2,753,728

1990 CENSUS CALIFORNIA

TOTAL % 67
MALE 8640866
% MALE 76.4
FEMALE 6662034
%FEMALE 57.7
TOTAL 15302900

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
YUGOSLAV. STATISTICAL BUREAU

1995, 1996
1995

AGRICULTURAL POPULATION BY ACTIVITY AND SEX, CALIF. AND YU.

TABLE 16

YUGOSL. CENSUS 1991

SHARE IN TOTAL POPULATION %

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE ALL 61.1
DEPENDANTS ALL : 38.9
MALE EC. ACTIVE ; 70.5
FEMALE EC. ACTIVE 52.8
MALE DEPENDANTS 29.5
FEMALE DEPEND. 47.2

CALIFOR. 1990

TOTAL 416202
FEMALE 87412
%FEMALE 21
%MALE 78.9

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

TOTAL 15262900
MALE RATE 74.20%
FEMALE RATE 57.50%
GENERAL RATE 67.00%

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
YUGOSLAV. STATIS. BUREAU

CIVILIAN NO-INSTITUT.POPULAT.AND LABOR FORCE,CA MIL 1993 TABLE 17

TOTAL	23,288	IN LABOR FORCE % OF POPULATION
MEN	11,326	TOTAL 65.5
WOMEN	11,962	MEN 75.8
		WOMEN 55.8

CALIF.STATIST.ABSTRACT 1996

PERSONS AT WORK, CALIFORNIA 1994 TABLE 18

TOTAL	13,315	%
MEN	7,618	57.2
WOMEN	5,898	44.2

CALIFORNIA, CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, 1995 TABLE 19

TOTAL	15,415	EMPLOY.	14,206	UNEM.RATE,TOTAL	7.8
MALE	8,623		7948	MALE	7.8
FEMALE	6,792		6,258	FEMALE	7.9

CALIF.STATIST.ABSTRACT 1996

LABOR FORCE STATUS BY SEX, 1990 CENSUS CALIFOR. TABLE 21

TOTAL LABOR FORCE, MIL.	15262900	
L.FORCE PARTICIP. RATE	67.00%	
CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, MIL.	14992811	
MALE LABOR FORCE, MIL.	8640866	
MALE CIVIL L.FORCE, MIL.	8393989	
MALE CIVIL L.FORCE RATE	74.20%	
FEMALE LABOR FORCE, MIL.	6622034	
FEMALE CIVIL L.FORCE, MIL.	6598822	
FEMALE CIVIL L.FORCE RATE	57.50%	
NOT IN L.FORCE MALES, MIL.	2665710	
NOT IN L.FORCE, FEMALES	4857671	
MALES AT WORK PART-TIME	1100320	
FEMALES WORK. PART-TIME	1731519	
% OF WOMEN IN TOTAL CIV.LAB.FORCE	44%	

US BUREAU OF THE
CENSUS 1990

INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX CALIFOR. 1990 TABLE 22

FEMALES MINING	1%	AUTOMOTIVE DEAL.	7.60%
PRIM.METAL INDUS.	1.20%	LEGAL, ENGIN. SERV	4.90%
CONSTRUCTION	1.80%	TRANSPRTATION	4.81%
FORESTR FISHERIE	0.07%	SOCIAL AND EC.CHARACTERISTICS	
% OF EMPLOYED FEMALES		CALIFORNIA, BUREAU OF CENSUS,	

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX CALIFOR. 1990 TABLE 23

		% OF EMPLOYED FEMALES
EXECUT.ADMIN.AND MANAGER.PROF.	FEMALE	13.75%
PROFESS.SPECIALTY OCCUPAT.	FEMALE	16.40%
TECHNIC.SALES AND ADMINIST.SUPPORT	FEMAL.	44.40%
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	FEMALES PARTIC.	14.90%
MACHINE OPERATORS	FEMALES PARTIC.	5.01%
ENGINEERS	FEMALES PARTIC.	0.50%
POLICE AND FIREFIGHTERS	FEMALES PARTIC.	0.14%

CALIFORN.BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY SEX CALIFOR. THOUS. 1988 TABLE 25

TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	% TOTAL	%MALE	%FEMALE
14,036	7,953	6,082	67.3	78.3	57
EMPLOYMENT					
TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	%TOTAL	%MALE	%FEMALE
13,392	7,520	5,773	63.8	74	54.1
UNEMPLOYMENT		RATE	MALE	5.4	FEMALE 5.1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED CIVILIANS BY SEX AND OCC. CALIFORNIA MEN WOMEN

EXECUT ADMINIIST.MANAGE.	15.2	13.9
PROFESS.SPECIALTY	13.5	14.6
TECHNIC.AND SUPPORT	3.2	3.2
SALES	11.5	12.3
ADMIN.SUPPORT & CLERIC.	6.1	29.6
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	10.5	15.8
PRECIS.PRODUCTION,CRAFT	18.2	2.3
MACH.OPER.ASSEM.INSPEC.	6.6	5.3
TRANSPOR TATION,MOVING	5.1	0.8
EQUIP.CLEAN.HELP.LABORER	5.3	1.3
FARMING,FORESTRY,FISHING	4.8	1

SOURCE: GEOGRAPH.PROFILE
OF EMPL.&UNEMPLOYMENT

1988

NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS FOR WOMEN

1996 US,

TABLE 24

FEMALE REPRESENTATION	%	FEM.REPRESENTATION, %	
POLICE OFF.,DETECTIVE	13.6	BUTCHERS,MEAT	22.3
MOTOR VEHIC.OPERATORS	11.2	CHEMIC.TECHNIC.	21.5
ENGINEERS	8.5	MET.PLAST.MACH.	20.8
MACHINISTS	6.1	FARM WORKERS	18.8
MECHANIC.AND REPAIRERS	4.1	ARCHITECTS	16.7
FORESTRY,LOGG.	3.5	SHERIFS,LAW ENF.	15.8
CONSTRUCT.TRADE	2.5	DENTISTS	13.7
FIREFIGHTING	2.1		
AIRPLANE PILOTS	1.4	WOMEN'S BUREAU,	1997

PERCENT DISTRIB.OF EMPLOYED CIVILIANS BY SEX AND INDUSTRY

TABLE 26

CALIFORNIA	MALE	FEMALE
NON-AGRICULTURAL	95.3	96.5
AGRICULTURE	4.4	1.2
CONSTRUCTION	7.5	1.2
MANUFACTURING	22.1	13.3
TRANSPORT.COMMUN.&PUBL.UTILITIES	5.4	3.6
TRADE	17.3	18.7
FINANCE,INSURANCE&REAL ESTATE	4.6	9.3
SERVICES	15.7	25.8
GOVERNMENT	11.9	16.9

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOY.

1988

EMPLOYED CIVILIANS BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

CALIFOR

1985 TABLE 27

OCCUPAT	%	MEN	%	WOMEN
EXECUT.,ADMIN.&MANAGER.	14.30%			12.5
PROFESS.SPECIALTY	15.5			13.5
TECHNICIANS&RELAT.SUPP.	3.5			3.1
SALES	11.2			12.8
ADMIN.SUPPORT,CLERICAL	5.9			31.1
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	9.7			16.3
PRECIS.PRODUCT.,CRAFT	19.3			2.8
MACHINE OPERAT., ASSEMBL	6.9			5.1
TRANS.AND MAT.MOVING	5.5			0.9
HANDL.,EQUIP.CLEAN.LABOR	5.2			1.2
FARMING,FORESTRY,FISHING	4.2			0.8

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT& UNEMPLOYMENT

1985

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX AND INDUSTRY, 1985				CALIFOR. TABLE 28
INDUSTRY	%	MALE	%	FEMALE
NON-AGRICULTURAL		96		96.5
AGRICULTURAL		3.7		1
CONSTRUCTION		7.3		1.3
MANUFACTURING		22.6		13.4
TRANSPORT., COMMUN., PUB. UTILIT.		6.2		4.3
TRADE		17		18.9
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE		4.2		9.3
SERVICES		15.2		24.9
GOVERNMENT		12.5		16.9
PROFESS. SPECIALTY		15.5		13.5
TECHNICIANS & RELAT. SUPP.		3.5		3.1
SALES		11.2		12.8
ADMIN. SUPPORT, CLERICAL		5.9		31.1
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS		9.7		16.3
PRECIS. PRODUCT., CRAFT		19.3		2.8
MACHINE OPERAT., ASSEMBL		6.9		5.1
TRANSPORT. AND MAT. MOVING		5.5		0.9
HANDL., EQUIP. CLEAN. LABOR		5.2		1.2
FARMING, FORESTRY, FISHING		4.2		0.8

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT & UNEMPLOYMENT 1985

EMPLOYED CIVILIANS BY SEX AND INDUSTRY - %, CALIFORNIA 1988				TABLE 29
INDUSTRY	MALE		FEMALE	
NON-AGRICULTURAL	95.3		96.5	
AGRICULTURE	4.4		1.2	
CONSTRUCTION	7.5		1.2	
MANUFACTURING	22.1		13.3	
TRANSP., COMMUNIC. PUB. UTI	5.4		3.6	
TRADE	17.3		18.7	
FINANCE, INSUR. REAL ESTATE	4.6		9.3	
SERVICES	15.7		25.8	
GOVERNMENT	11.9		16.9	

GEOGRAPH. PROFILE OF EMPLOY. AND UNEMPLOYMENT 1988

CIVILIANS BY SEX AND HOURS, CALIFORNIA, 1985, 88, 1990, 92, 93					TABLE 30
YEAR	MALE AVER. HOURS	FEMALE AVER. HOURS,		MALE	FEMALE
1985	41.3	35.6	FULL-TIME	45.3	42.5
1988	41.8	36		45.7	42.9
1990	41.6	36.3		46.9	45.3
1992	40.8	35.7		48.1	46.7
1993	41.2	35.9		47.3	45.4
71% OF ALL FEMALES WORKED MORE THAN 35 HOURS				1989	

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT BY SEX,REASON AND DURAT.CALIFORNIA 1985-1993 TABLE 31

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	JOB LOSERS%		JOB LEAV. %	
1985	526,000	404,000	M- 64.5	F- 42.3	M- 8.9	F- 12.2
1988	433,000	310,000	M- 59.7	F- 37.8	M-11.8	F- 14.2
1990	474,000	350,000	M- 56.8	F- 36.4	M- 13.4	F- 16.4
1992	821,000	562,000	M- 68.1	F- 48.1	M- 6.8	F- 11.1
1993	829,000	577,000	M- 66.5	F- 48.3	M- 6.8	F- 9.7

LESS 5 WIEEKS, %

M- 42.7	F- 50.8
M- 45.1	F- 56.6
M- 45.3	F- 53.8
M- 32.2	F- 37.8
M- 29.7	F- 42.2

27 WEEKS, %

M-14.2	F- 8.2
M-11.1	F- 7.9
M-9.6	F- 5.5
M-12.0	F- 9.5
M-16.0	F- 5.9

1985

1988

1990

1992

1993

GEOG.PROFILES

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY SEX, 1990, 92, 93,					CALIFORNIA		TABLE 32
YEAR	% MALE	%FEMALE	EMPL.M.	EMPL.F.	UNEMPL.	MALE R.	FEM.R
1990	78	56.7	73.10%	53.60%		5.7	5.5
1992	77	56	69.50%	51.20%		9.4	8.6
1993	76	55.8	68.50%	50.90%		9.7	8.7

% OF WOMEN IN TOTAL N.OF EMPL.PERSONS	1993	43.90%
% OF MEN IN TOTAL N.OF EMPLOY.PERSONS	1993	56.10%

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYED CIVILIANS BY SEX AND OCCUP.%; 1990,92,93; CALIFORNIA							TABLE 33
OCCUPATION	1990 F	1990 M	1992 M	1992 F	1993 M	1993 F	
EXEC.ADM.MANAG	14.1	14.4	14.4	13.9	14.8	13.7	
PROFESS.SPECIAL	14.9	13	13.4	15.5	13.4	15.9	
TECHNIC.REL.SUPP	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.4	3	3.3	
SALES	13	11.8	12.1	12.8	11.9	12.8	
ADMIN.SUPP.CLER	28.7	6.2	6.8	29	6.8	29	
SERVICE OCCUPAT	15.7	10.5	10.8	15.7	10.9	15.9	
PREC.PROD.CRAFT	2.4	18.1	17.5	2.3	17.8	2.1	
MACHINE OPERAT.	5.1	6.6	6.1	4.5	5.6	4.2	
TRANSP.MAT.MOV	0.6	5.9	5.9	0.7	6.1	0.7	
HANDLER.CLEAN.	1.3	5.6	4.6	1.1	5	1.4	
FARM.FORES.FISH.	1	4.7	4.9	1.1	4.9	1.1	

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

% OF EMPLOYED CIVIL. BY SEX AND INDUST.,CALIF.,1990,92,93						TABLE 34
INDUSTRY	1990 M	1990 F	1992 M	1992 F	1993 M	1993 F
NON-AGRICULTUR.	95.4	96.5	95	96.3	95	96.1
AGRICULTURE	4.4	1.4	4.7	1.4	4.6	1.3
CONSTRUCTION	19.2	1.2	6.4	0.9	6.4	0.9
MANUFACTURING	5.8	12.7	18.6	12	17.3	10.8
TRANSP.COMMUN	18.6	3.4	5.9	4	6	4
TRADE	4.5	18	18.9	18.1	18.7	18.1
FINAN.INSUR.R.EST.	16.1	9.2	4.2	8.7	4.2	8.7
SERVICE	11.5	26.7	16.7	26.6	16.5	27.1
GOVERNMENT	11.5	17.1	12.1	17.1	12.6	17.6

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX IN CALIFORNIA			TABLE 20
YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	
1988	5.5	5.4	
1992	8.7	7.7	
1996	7.7	7.6	SOURCE- US DEP.OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

YUGOSLAVIA UNEMPLOYMENT RATES		
YEAR	GENERAL RATES	% OF FEMALE IN TOTAL N.OF UNEMPLOYED
1985	16.8	54.2
1990	19.7	52.3
1995	25.2	55.4 YUG.FEDER.STAT.BUREAU

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX, CALIFORNIA, 1990, 1993**TABLE 35**

	1990 TOTAL	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	IN THOUS.
1990	823	350	474		
1993	1,407	577	829		

SOURCE US BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

CALIFORNIAN LAWYERS BY SEX AND AREA OF SPECIALTY 1987/88 TABLE 36

CALIFORNIA LAWYERS AND JUDGES, % FEMALE-	27.00%
LEGAL SPECIALTY	% MALE
ADMIN.AND REGULAT.LAW	81.4
BANKING	85.3
BANKRUPTCY	87.8
CIVIL LITIGATION,FEDERAL	94.4
CIVIL LITIGATION,STATE	93.2
CIVIL RIGHTS	80.8
CRIMINAL LAW	89
EDUCATION	91.7
ENVIRONMENTAL	86.4
FAMILY & MATRIMONIAL	71.7
GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS	77
HEALTH	94.1
LIBRARIANSHIP	62.5
PUBLIC UTILITIES	82.4
	%FEMALE
	18.6
	14.7
	12.2
	5.6
	6.8
	19.2
	11
	8.3
	13.6
	28.3
	23
	5.9
	37.5
	17.6

ACCORDING WHO IS WHO IN AMERICAN LAW 1987/1988

WOMEN LAWYERS BY AREA OF SPECIALTY,YUGOSLAVIA, 1994 TABLE 37

% OF WOMEN IN LEGAL SERVICES	49.70%
SPECIALTY	% DISTRIBUTION
CIVIL LAW	65
CRIMINAL LAW	15
LABOR LAW	5
WITHOUT SPECIALTY	15
% OF WOMEN IN LEGAL SERVICES	49.70%
	OF WOMEN LAWYERS

SOURCE NATIONAL REPORT OF YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT, 1995
BELGRADE

WOMEN AND % DISTRIBUTION, YUGOSLAV COURTS, 1995
TABLE 38

COURT	% MALE	%FEMALE
COMMUNAL	44.7	55.3
DISTRICT	66.8	33.2
ECONOMIC	50	50
WOMEN PUBLIC PROSECUTORS, %		
TOTAL	29.5	DISTRICT PROSECUTION-0 WOMEN
REPUBLICAN LEVEL	8.3	
SOURCE SURVEY OF YUGOSLAV JUDGES, BELGRADE, 1995		

US LAWYERS BY SEX
1985
TABLE 39

ALL LAWYERS	655,191	ALL LEGAL SERVICES	1995
FEMALE	85,542	ALL THOUS.	FEMALE FEMALE
% FEMALE	13	922.5	655.4
LAWYERS 1991	MALE 646,495		
	FEMALE 159,377		

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE EMPL.HOURS AND EARNINGS

PHYSICIANS BY SPECIALTY AND SEX, US, 1988
US, 1988
TABLE 40

SPECIALTY	MALE	FEMALE
RADIOLOGY	7,665	710
EMERGENCY MEDICINE	11,180	1,745
FAMILY PRACTICE	37,882	7,062
INTERNAL MEDICINE	77,634	17,040
OB/GYNECOLOGY	25,644	6,634
GENERAL SURGERY	35,642	2,150
UROLOGICAL SURGERY	9,037	118
OTORINOLARINGOLOGY	7,451	361
PEDIATRICS	24,199	14,032

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

PHISICIANS BY SPECIALTY AND SEX, 1995, YUGOSLAVIA
TABLE 41

SPECIALTY	MALE	FEMALE
GENERAL MEDICINE	1,789	2,366
INTERNAL MEDICINE	942	693
PEDIATRICS	565	1,277
GENERAL SURGERY	647	43
ANESTESIOLOGY	266	362
OB/GYNECOLOGY	683	445
PHYSICAL AND REHABILITAT.MEDICINE	218	328
NUCLEAR MEDICINE	24	19
LABOR MEDICINE	399	456
HYGIENE	50	67

DENTISTS BY SPECIALTY AND SEX

SPECIALTY	MALE	FEMALE
PREVENT & PEDIAT	170	437
ORAL SURGERY	96	25
COSMETIC DENTIST RY.	36	3
GENERAL DENTIST.	91	94
PHARMACISTS	216	1,800

SOURCE FEDERAL INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC HEALTH, 1995, BELGRADE

**ENGINEERS BY DEGREE AND SEX, US
1991**

TABLE 42

WOMEN, BACHELOR'S DEGREES, %	16	
WOMEN SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERING DOCTORAL DEGREE-	19%	
WOMEN, DOCTORAL DEGREE IN PSYCHOLOGY	38.00%	
WOMEN, DOCTORAL DEGREE ENGINEERING	3.50%	
ENGINEERING SERVICES	1995 THOUS.	
TOTAL EMPL.-632.9 FEMALE	157.1	
COMPUT. AND DATA PROCES. TOTAL	1,080 FEMALE	456
COMPUT. PROGRAMMING TOTAL	244 FEMALE	86
CALIFORNIA- ENGINEERS, ARCHITECTES, SURVEYORS	WOMEN-	11%

SOURCE WOMEN AND MINORITIES IN SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

ENGINEERS BY SEX AND DEGREE, YUGOSLAVIA 1,993 TABLE 43

YUGOSL. ENGINEERS- WOMEN	24.40%
WOMEN, BACHELOR'S DEGR.	27.03%
WOMEN, MASTER'S DEGREES	22.38%
WOMEN, DOCTORAL DEGREES	23.80%

GRADUATED STUDENTS 1993, FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE 1994
BULLETIN 2041

EARNINGS,US, SELECTED PROFESSIONS,1988

TABLE 44

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS \$	MALE	FEMALE
ENGINEERS,ARCHITECTS	727	624
MAT.AND COMP.SCIENTISTS	733	575
NATURAL SCIENTISTS	677	540
LAWYERS AND JUDGES	930	765
MANAG.,MED.ANNUAL SALARY 1987	36,155	21,874

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE,

1991

MEDIAN EARNINGS,1993,94, US, BY SEX, SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

TABLE 45

M.WEEKLY, 1994	MALE	FEMALE	OCCUPAT.	MALE	FEMALE
	522	399	EXEC.ADM.MANAG.	40,335	25,865
MEDIAN ANNUAL 93	22,443	13,896	PROF.SPECIALTY	40,505	25,865
			TECH.RELAT.SUPP.	31,081	21,583

ENGINEERS' EARNINGS AND EXPERIENCE

YEARS OF EXPER.	M.SALAR.	F.SALAR.
3-4 YEARS	34,500	33,000
8-10 YEARS	45,800	42,300
11-15 YEARS	50,600	46,900

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

OCCUP. WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST EARNINGS AND % OF WOMEN US, 1,980

TABLE 46

OCCUPAT HIGH EARNINGS	FEMALE%	OCCUP.LOW EARN.	% FEM.
PHYSICIANS	11	CHILD CARE WORK	98
DENTISTS	5	HOUSEKEEP.BUTLE	95
LAWYERS	10	CLEANERS,PRIVATE	92

WOMEN'S EARNINGS AS A PERCENT OF MEN'S, TOTAL ANNUAL 1990
71.6

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

**CALIFORNIA INCOME AND POVERTY DATA,
1989**

TABLE 47

MARRIED COUPLE FAMILIES		INCOME	FEMALE HOUSEH.FAMILIES		INCOME
NUMBER			NUMBER		
766,518		25-34,999	237,618		15-24,999
1,128,505		35-49,999	358,029		25-49,999
ALL FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL			9.30%		
FEMALE HOUSEH.FAMIL.BELOW P.LEV.			26.20%		

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF WORKERS BY SEX, 1989 CALIFORNIA, TABLE 47A

	\$
FULL TIME YEAR-ROUND WORKERS	
MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	31,980
FEMALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	23,123
ALL WORKERS, MEDIAN INCOME	
MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	21,889
FEMALES 15 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME	12,082
ALL FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD	34,716
MARRIED COUPLE FAMILY INCOME	46,052
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER,NO HUSBAND PRESENT	21,348
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER,CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD	10,016
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, MALE HOUSEHOLDER	30,448
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	19,351
MEN LIVING ALONE	25,729
WOMEN LIVING ALONE	16,376

SOURCE CALIFORNIA,SOCIAL & ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, 1990
US BUREAU OF CENSUS

AVERAGE EARNINGS BY SEX AND GENDER, CALIFORNIA TABLE 47B

1989	MEN-ANN.INCOME	WOMEN-ANNUAL INCOME	
LESS THAN HIGH S.	\$22,999	\$16,208	%OFMEN 70.50%
HIGH SCHOOL	\$31,002	\$21,423	69.10%
SOME COLLEGE	\$37,352	\$25,384	68%
B.A. DEGREE	\$51,141	\$32,648	63.90%
MASTERS	\$61,675	\$39,476	64%
DOCTORATE	\$70,126	\$48,025	68.50%
PROFESSIONAL	\$99,789	\$52,823	53%

SOURCE: CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1995

MEDIAN EARNINGS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, US, 1993

ATTAINMENT	MALE	FEMALE
LESS THAN HIGH S.	\$14,934	\$9,311
HIGH SCHOOL GR.	\$22,978	\$14,128
COLLEGE/ASSOC.D	\$25,660	\$16,023
BACHELOR'S DEG.	\$40,039	\$23,991
ADVANCED DEG.	\$58,324	\$33,814

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES, FACTS 1997

MALE/FEMALE EARNINGS RATIO, 1989,90, US**TABLE 48**

MANAGERIAL AND PROFESS.SPEC.	70
TECHN.,SALES,ADMIN.SUPPORT	67
SERVICE	72
ENGINEERING	81
COMPUT.PROGRAM.	83
GENERAL OFFICE CLERKS	92
FOOD PREPARATION	85
TEXTILE/SEWING MACH.OPERAT.	82
BUS DRIVERS	83

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

INDUSTRIES WITH HIGHEST AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS, US, 1995**TABLE 49**

MINING	684
CONSTRUCTION	585
TRANSPORTATION	562
MANUFATURING	514

CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S PARTIC. %	1993
CONSTRUCTION	1
MANUFAC TURING	11
TRANSPORTATION	4

HANDBOOK OF US LABOR STATISTICS 1,997

INDUSTRIES WITH HIGHEST AVER.MONTHLY EARN.AND YUG.WOMEN**TABLE 50**

ELECTROINDUSTRY	WOMEN'S REPRESENTAT.%	16.05
EXTR.OF CRUDE PETROLEUM		11.82
PROCESS.OF CHEMICALS		25.62
TOBACCO INDUSTRY		48.92
WATER SUPPLY		14.46
TRANSPORTATION		19.42
BANKING		50.3
YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU, BELGRADE 1995,1996		

MALE/FEMALE RATIO EARNINGS BY DEGREE, US**1,991 TABLE 51**

TOTAL RATIO	70	
DOCTORAL DEGREE	WOMEN'S ANNUAL AVER.SALARY \$	37,242
MASTER'S DEGREE		29,747
	MALE \$	51,845
		43,125

THE OFFICIAL GUIDE TO AMERICAN INCOMES

FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS,MARRIAGE DIVORCE,US, CALIF 1995 TABLE 52

US	ONE-PARENT FAMILY GROUPS	26.50%	MAINTAINED BY MOTHER
	TWO PERSONS FAMILY	42%	85.30%
	THREE PERSONS	23%	
	FOUR PERSONS	21%	
US	PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,AVERAGE,	3.19	
	MARRIAGE RATE PER 1,000	9.1	
	1994 DIVORCE RATE	4.4	

CALIFORNIA AVERAGE PER HOUSEHOLD	DIVORCE RATE PER 1,000
1994	2.83
	4.6 1994
	5.2 1985
US	US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS AND NATION.CENTER FOR HEALTH ST.

CALIFORNIA ,SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS,
US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

DIVORCE RATE, YUGOSLAVIA AND US, 1990 TABLE 53

YU- 0.81
US DIVORCE RATE
4.7
AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD
1991 YUGOSLAVIA
3.62

STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS YUGOSLAVIA, US

UNPAID HOUSEWORK AND SHARE OF MEN AND WOMEN 1986 TABLE 54

US	PREP.MEALS	CHILD CARE	SHOPPIN.	OTHER
MEN	22%	28%	40.00%	39%
WOMEN	78%	73%	60.00%	61%
1986				

THE WORLD'S WOMEN 1995,TRENDS AND STATISTICS, UN, 1995

POPULATION 25,OVER AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CENSUS TABLE 55

ATTAINMENT	MALE	FEMALE	CALIFORNIA
LESS THAN 5 GRAD	418411	453032	
PRIMARY EDUCAT.	574673	639789	
HIGH SCHOOL	1309790	2326253	
BACHELOR'S DEGR.	1503855	1354252	
MASTER'S DEGREE	950944	405292	
DOCTORATE	131597	44324	
	MALE	FEMALE	
HIGH SCH.OR HIGHER % MALE AND FEMALE	76.9	75.5	
BACHELOR'S DEGREE,HIGHER	26.8	20.1	
OUTSIDE URBANIZED AREA			
HIGH SCHOOL AND HIGHER % MALE,FEMALE	69.2	42.2	
BACHELOR'S DEGREE,HIGHER	15.01	10.9	

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY GENDER 1990 CENSUS, CALIFORN. TABLE 56

MALE 51.30%

FEMALE 48.70%

4.7% OF PEOPLE WITH LESS THAN 5 GRADE

US BUREAU OF CENSUS

ILLITERATE POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OLDER, YUGOSL. 1981,91 TABLE 57

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1981	890003	187667	702336
1991	622369	121899	500470
1981	TOTAL 890,003	M	4.6
1991	TOTAL 622,369	M	2.8
1981	%IN TOTAL POPULATION	MALE 4,6	FEMALE 16,8
1991	% IN TOTAL POPULATION	MALE 2,8	FEMALE 11,1

YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATISTIC.BUREAU,BELGRADE, 1995

1990

US	15-24YEA	YUGOSL.	ILLITERACY %	MORE THAN 25 Y
MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	US-MALE US FEM. YU MALE YU FEM.
0.70%	0.60%	0.80%	1.30%	3.40% 3.10% 2.70% 12.60%

THE WORLD'S WOMEN, 1995, UN,PP.100

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX AND SECTOR YUGOSAV.1985-94 TABLE 58

	ALL SECTORS				SOCIAL SECTOR			
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	% FEM.	MALE	WOMEN	FEM. %	
1985	2615	1685	930	35.6	1658	915	35.70%	
1986	2693	1717	976	36.2	1689	959	37.70%	
1987	2762	1744	1018	36.9	1713	1001	37.50%	
1988	2784	1741	1043	37.5	1709	1023	38.50%	
1989	2790	1735	1055	37.8	1701	1032	37.90%	
1990	2707	1662	1045	38.6	1622	1019	39.40%	
1991	2625				1388	960		
1992	2536	1572	991	39.1	1399	929	29.90%	
1993	2464	1496	968	39.3	1341	902	29.80%	
1994	2413	1455	958	39.7	1293	885	31.30%	

STATISTICAL YEARBOOK OF YUGOSLAVIA, 1995
FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU,BELGRADE

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY EC. ACTIVITIES AND SEX, YUGOSLAVIA TABLE 59
1993

	TOTAL	WOMEN	% OF W	W.EMPL.	PART-TIM	ALL	WOMEN
TOTAL	2190301	888187	40.6	22310	22310	42248	22310
ECONOM	1758959	617049	35.1	10193	10193	25152	10193
NON-EC.	431342	271138	62.9	12117	12117	17096	12117
INDUSTRY	893519	323582	32.6	4933	4933	10711	4933
AGRICUL	105080	27560	26.2	1413	1413	4066	1413
WATER	12506	1567	12.5	59	59	180	59
CONSTR.	4866	738	15.2	5	5	65	5
TRANSP.	150922	19882	13.2	234	234	1460	234
TRADE	148257	28540	19.3	518	518	2122	518
CAT.TRAC	216716	113748	52.5	938	938	1931	938
ART.CRAF	54780	32943	60.1	490	490	788	490
PUB.UTIL	38203	10805	28.3	269	269	651	269
COM.SER	48901	10174	20.8	328	328	1748	328
EDUCAT	85434	47622	55.7	956	956	1432	956
CULTURE	175543	98072	55.9	5197	5197	9095	5197
PUB.HEA.	166053	124870	75.2	4858	4858	5810	4858
SERVICE	89521	48084	53.7	1342	1342	2191	1342
1991							
HOTELS&TOURISM	% female		61				
TRADE			50.6				
EDUCAT.&CULTURE			52.9				
HEALTH&SOC.PROTECTION			73.4				

1993 YUGOSLAV.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU,BELGRADE, BULL.2113

YUGOSLAVIA,OCCUPAT.GROUPS AND WOMEN'S PARTIC.% **BELGR.**

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	% of women	1993, TABLE 59 A
OCCUP.IN ELECTROINDUSTRY	16.4	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
COAL PRODUCTION	12.2	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
PETROLEUM PRODUCTION	5.5	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
MACHINERY PRODUCTION	18	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
SHIP-BUILDERS	11.7	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
PRODUCERS IN CHEMICAL IND.	27.1	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
TEXTIL PRODUCTION	61.5	FEMALE
GARMENT WORKERS	79.3	FEMALE
LEATHER INDUSTRY WORKERS	76	FEMALE
AGRICULTURAL, FISHERY WORKERS	26.2	NON-TRADIT.FOR WOMEN
WORKERS IN FORESTRY	12.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN WATER PRODUCTION	15.2	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN CONSTRUCTION BUILD.	13.3	NON-TRADITIONAL
MARITIME TRANSPORTATION	7.8	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN AIR-TRANSPORTATION	40.9	NON-TRADIT EXC.STEWARDESS
WORKERS IN HIGHWAY TRANSPORTAT	15	NON-TRADITIONAL
BUS DRIVERS,PUBLIC TRANSPORT.	17.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
MAIL-SERVICES	34.4	NON-TRADITIONAL
REPARERS OF BUSES AND OTH.EQUIP.	14.3	NON-TRADITIONAL
REPARER OF ELEC.EQUIPMENT	11.6	NON-TRADITIONAL

TEXTIL PRODUCTS PRODUCERS	81 FEMALE
PERSONAL SERVICES	78.2 FEMALE
LAUNDRY AND DRY-CLEANING	80.1 FEMALE
WATER PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION	19.1 NON-TRADITIONAL
CHIMINEY-SWEEP SERVICES	15.7 NON-TRADITIONAL
LEGAL SERVICES	49.7
WORKERS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION	66 FEMALE
WORKERS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION	57 FEMALE
WORKERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION	45.2 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH WORKERS	43.5 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTISTS IN TECHNICAL SCIENCE	37.1 NON-TRADITIONAL
ENGINEERS	24.4 NON-TRADITIONAL
SCIENTISTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE	48.1
LIBRARIANS	74.4 FEMALE
ARTISTS	46
CINEMATOGRAPHY	40.2 NON-TRADITIONAL
PROFESSIONAL SPORT	40 NON-TRADITIONAL
MEDICAL DOCTORS	59 FEMALE
AMBULATORY HEALTH SERVICES	74.3 FEMALE
PHARMACISTS	92 FEMALE
SOCIAL WORK	71.4 FEMALE
SOCIAL WORK WITH CHILDREN	89.2 FEMALE
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION	42.5 NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKERS IN REGULAR COURTS	65 FEMALE
NURSES	78 FEMALE

YUOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BULLETIN 2113, BELGRADE 1993

CALIFORNIA, OCCUPAT.GROUPS AND WOMEN'S PARTIC.% 1990, TABLE 59 B

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	% OF WOMEN	
EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE	33	NON-TRADITIONAL
ENGINEERS,ARCHITECTS,SURVEYORS	11	NON-TRADITIONAL
MATHEM.AND COMP.SCIENTISTS	31	NON-TRADITIONAL
NATURAL SCIENTISTS	28	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH DIAGNOSING	21.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
TEACHERS-POST SECONDARY	41	NON-TRADITIONAL
LIBRARIANS, ARCHIVISTS,CURATORS	75	FEMALE
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND URBAN PLAN.	52.9	
LAWYERS AND JUDGES	27	NON-TRADITIONAL
TECHNICIANS AND RELATED SUPPORT	41	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH TECHNICIANS	74	FEMALE
SUPERVISORS AND PROPRIET.SALES	34	NON-TRADITIONAL
SALES WORKERS	59.4	FEMALE
ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT	74.9	FEMALE
OFFICE/CLERICAL WORKERS	76	FEMALE
COMPUTER OPERATORS	57	FEMALE
SECRETARIES,STENOGRAPHERS	96.4	FEMALE
INFORMATION CLERKS	84.3	FEMALE
RECORDS PROCESSING	74.4	FEMALE

POSTAL CLERKS AND MAIL CARRIERS	37	NON-TRADITIONAL
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD SERVICES	93.6	FEMALE
FIREFIGHTING AND PREVENTION	5.8	NON-TRADITIONAL
POLICE AND DETECTIVES	17.5	NON-TRADITIONAL
GUARDS AND PROTECTIVE SERVICES	19	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEALTH SERVICES	83.6	FEMALE
FARMING,FORESTRY,FISHING	18.9	NON-TRADITIONAL
FORESTRY AND LOGGING	7	NON-TRADITIONAL
MECHANICS AND REPAIRERS	5	NON-TRADITIONAL
VEHICLE REPAIRERS	2.2	NON-TRADITIONAL
INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY REPAIRERS	4.4	NON-TRADITIONAL
MACHINERY MAINTENANCE	4.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
ELECTRICAL,ELECTRON.EQU.REPAIRER	18.6	NON-TRADITIONAL
HEATING,AIR CON.REFRIG.MECHANICS	1	NON-TRADITIONAL
CONSTRUCTION TRADES OCCUP.	12	NON-TRADITIONAL
SUPERVISORS OF CONSTR.TRADES	3	NON-TRADITIONAL
EXTRACTIVE OCCUPATIONS	5	NON-TRADITIONAL
PRECISION PRODUCTION	25	NON-TRADITIONAL
MET.AND PLAST.PROC.MACH.OPERAT.	10	NON-TRADITIONAL
TEXTILE MACH.OPERATORS	66	FEMALE
TRANSPORT.AND MATERIAL MOVING	9	NON-TRADITIONAL
MOTOR VEHICLE OPERATORS	10.7	NON-TRADITIONAL
WATER TRANSPORTATION OCCUPAT.	4.9	NON-TRADITIONAL
MATERIAL MOVING EQUIP.OPERATORS	4.6	NON-TRADITIONAL

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, 1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

**AVERAGE WEEK.EARNINGS BY INDUST.AND GENDER,CALIFORNIA, TABLE 59 C
DECEMBER 1994, DECEMBER 1995**

INDUSTRY	DEC.1995	DEC.1994	% FEMALE
MINING	\$800.23	\$748.22	1%
PETROL.COAL PR.	\$891.81	\$911.09	1%
CONSTRUCTION	\$721.40	\$738.57	1.80%
PRIM.METAL INDUS	\$562.33	\$562.99	1%
FARM AND GARDEN	\$471.99	\$506.57	1.10%
WHOLES.TRADE	\$559.63	\$546.45	18.70%
LEATHER PRODUC.	\$313.60	\$311.63	60.00%
TEXTIL AND APPAR.	\$294.59	\$291.37	66%
CANN.FOOD PROD.	\$244.73	\$268.83	70%

SOURCE: US DEPARTM. OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS
GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

**INDUSTR.WITH HIGHEST AVER.MONTHLY EARNINGS,YUGOSLAVIA, TABLE 59 D
1994**

	WOMEN'S REPRESENTAT.%
ELECTROINDUSTRY	16.05
EXTR.OF CRUDE PETROLEUM	11.82
PROCESS.OF CHEMICALS	25.62
TOBACCO INDUSTRY	48.92
WATER SUPPLY	14.46
TRANSPORTATION	19.42
BANKING	50.3

STATISTICAL YEARBOOK OF YUGOSLAVIA, 1995,6
FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU, BELGRADE

PERSONS REGISTERED FOR EMPLOYMENT YUGOSLAVIA

TABLE 60

	TOTAL	WOMEN	UNSKILL.	TOTAL	WOMEN
1985	27392	13422		11931	6038
1986	25853	12961		11498	5998
1987	25215	12423		10677	5392
1988	23307	11517		9556	4709
1989	19978	9720		8280	3986
1990	18674	9280		7188	3663
1991	19960	10053		7581	3807
1992	15755	7774		5933	2894
1993	9340	4937		3575	1946
1994	11448	5853		3418	1839
ANUAL AVERAGE					

PERSONS SEEKING WORK AND RATE OF UNEMPLOYM. YUGOSLAVIA

TABLE 61

	TOTAL	WOMEN	MEN	%
1985	527830	285237	242593	16.8
1986	557913	300386	257527	17.2
1987	558005	300684	257321	16.8
1988	578344	308424	269920	17.2
1989	607312	320092	287220	17.9
1990	663474	347013	316461	19.7
1991	714224	374013	340211	21.4
1992	747542	410560	336982	22.8
1993	738650	407162	331488	23.1
1994	726019	404957	321072	23.1
1995	775462	429902	345560	25.2

POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER BY SEX AND EDUC.ATTAIN.YUGOSL. TABLE 62

SHARE IN TOTAL	POPULAT %		
	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
WITHOUT ATTAINM.	9.5	4.5	14.2
1-3 GR. PRIMARY SCHOOL	2.9	2.1	3.8
4-7 GR. PRIMARY SCHOOL	20.5	19.1	21.9
PRIMARY EDUCAT.	25	24.9	25.1
SECOND. EDUCAT.	32.2	37.7	26.9
HIGH EDUCAT.	3.8	4.5	8.2
HIGHER EDUCAT.	5.5	6.2	4
UNKNOWN	0.9	1	0.9

YUGOSL.FEDERAL STATIST.BUREAU, BELGRADE

1995

WOMEN M.A. AND PhD RECIPIENTS **YUGOSLAVIA,** **1993 TABLE 63A**

YUGOSLAVIA	TOTAL	M.A.	WOMEN	% FEMALE
M.A.	769		306	39.80%
	TOTAL		WOMEN	
Ph.D.	409		141	34.50%
SPECIALIST DEGR.	236		128	54.20%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE, 1994
BULETTIN 2041, GRADUATED STUDENTS IN 1993

YUGOSLA V.FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE 1994

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX, YUGOSLAVIA **1993, TABLE 63B**

ATTAIN.LEVEL	MALE %	FEM.%
B.A. DEGREE	47.70%	52.30%
SPECIALIST DEG.	49.60%	50.40%
MASTERS	63.20%	36.80%
DOCTORATE	72.40%	27.60%

YUGOSLA V.FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BELGRADE 1994

ENROLLMENT BY GENDER, HIGH SCHOOL, YUGOSLAVIA**TABLE 63**

1993/94	FEMALE %	MALE %
	50.7	49.3

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995

TEACHERS IN PRIMARY AND SECOND.SCHOOLS BY SEX, YUGOSLAV. TABLE 64

	TOTAL	FEMALE	SEC.SCH. FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
1991/92	51110	33106		13025	13025
1992/93	51457	33492		13467	13467
1993/94	51575	34115		14069	14069

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995 BELGRADE

**ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUT. OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY GENDER
YUGOSLAVIA****TABLE 65**

1994-95	% OF MEN AND WOMEN	ALL LEVELS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
MEN	45.80%	
WOMEN	54.20%	

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995

GRADUATED STUDENTS BY GENDER,HIGHER EDUCATION,YUGOSLAV. TABLE 66

1994-95	MALE	FEMALE
	47.30%	52.70%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1995 BELGRADE

GRADUATE ENROLLMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BY GENDER
TABLE 65 A
 FALL 1995 % OF MEN AND WOMEN BY LEVEL

MASTERS STUDENTS		DOCTORAL STUDENTS	
MEN	50.70%	MEN	59.30%
WOMEN	49.30%	WOMEN	40.70%

SOURCE CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1996

CALIFORNIA PUB. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES BY GENDER, 1995-96, TABLE 66 A

TOTAL	259,071
MEN	124,536
WOMEN	134,535

CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION
 1997

GRADUATED STUDENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCAT., YUGOSLAVIA **TABLE 67**

	TOTAL	FEMALE
1991	11218	5478
NATURAL SCIENCES	831	493
ARCHITECTURE	172	75
CIVIL ENGINEERING	539	187
MECHAN.ENGINEER.	670	139
TRANSPORT	86	23
ELECT.ENGINEER.	820	218
MINNING,GEOL.&METAL.	376	84
CHEMIC.TECHNOLOGY	340	154
SAFETY AT WORK	51	15
PEDAGOGY	45	15
MEDICINE	1107	652
DENTISTRY	321	180
PHARMACY	165	152
AGRICULTURE	800	343
FORESTRY	139	63
VETERINARY	173	55
ECONOMICS	1223	658
LAW	1189	648
POLITICAL SCIENCES	123	75
ORGANIZ.SCIENCES	146	39
PHILOS., SOCIOLOGY	1332	975
DEFECTOLOGY	179	129
PHIYSICAL CULTURE	280	69
NATIONAL DEFENCE	111	41
ART ACADEMIES	320	206

1993	9507	6039
NATURAL SCIENCES	636	440
ARCHITECTURE	168	108
CIVIL ENGINEERING	444	157
MECHANIC. ENGINEER.	624	128
TRANSPORT	95	26
ELECTRIC. ENGINEER.	693	191
MINING, GEOL. & METAL.	218	86
CHEMIC. TECHNOLOGY	323	208
SAFETY AT WORK	38	9
PEDAGOGY	81	36
MEDICINE	915	556
DENTISTRY	245	128
PHARMACY	173	152
AGRICULTURE	760	331
FORESTRY	97	33
VETERINARY	202	73
ECONOMICS	967	635
LAW	1017	586
POLITICAL SCIENCES	122	67
ORGANIZ. SCIENCES	72	25
PHILOS., SOCIOLOGY	1049	853
DEFECTOLOGY	143	106
PHYSICAL CULTURE	323	73
NATIONAL DEFENCE	107	45
ART ACADEMIES	324	211

FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU

BELGRADE

1995

EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY SEX, CALIFORNIA 1990

TABLE 68

		TOTAL	342465	FEMALE	87685	MALE	254780
EMPL. PERSONS		PRIVATE NON-PROFIT WAGE & SALARY WORKERS					
TOTAL	13996309	TOTAL	734520	FEMALE	449922	MALE	284598
FEMALE	6163408	LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS					
MALE	7832901	TOTAL	1078146	FEMALE	610049	MALE	468097
		STATE GOVERNMENT WORKERS					
NOT IN LAB. FORCE		TOTAL	499399	FEMALE	272592	MALE	226807
MALES	2665710	FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS					
FEMALES	4857671	TOTAL	449373	FEMALE	175659	MALE	273714
		SELF-EMPLOYED WORKERS					
		TOTAL	1173375	FEMALE	415470	MALE	757905
		UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS					

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

ENGINEERS WEST PACIFIC OF US, BY SEX 1988, 1991, 1992, 93 TABLE 69

YEAR	%	MALE	FEMALE
1988		3.4	0.3
1991		3.1	0.4
1992		3.1	0.4
1993		3	0.4

SOURCE GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

**WOMEN AS % OF ALL CIVIL EMPLOYEES IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS TABLE 70
1990 US**

SECRETARIES	99%	PHYSICIANS	19.30%
TEXTILE SEWING	89.20%	POLICE DETECTIV.	13.90%
BUS DRIVERS	50.50%	ELECTR. REPAIRER	8.70%
COMP. PROGRAMM.	36.00%	ENGINEERS	8.00%
FARM WORKERS	21.00%	CONSTRUCT. TRAD.	1.90%

US BUREAU OF LABOR
STATISTICS, 1990

**MULTIPLE JOB HOLDERS BY SEX AND REASONS FOR HOLDING, 1989 TABLE 71
US**

REASON	WOMEN	%	MEN	%
TO MEET REG. HOUS. EXPENS	40.5		31.7	
TO SAVE FOR THE FUTURE	14		17.9	
TO GET EXPERIE. OR BUSIN.	13.1		15.9	
TOTAL NUMBER	3,109		4,115	

US BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1990

COLLEGES, ENROLLMENT, CALIFORNIA, 1994. TABLE 72 TABLE 72

TOTAL- 1,836 MALE- 834 FEMALE- 1,002

WOMEN DOCTOR.SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS, TENURE STATUS,US TABLE 73

8 YEARS,MORE EX.	WOMEN	MEN
TENURED	69%	86%
NOT TENURED	31%	14%
FULL PROFESSORS	20%	48%
ASSISTANT PROF.	34%	19%

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION,1994

WOMEN DOCTORAL SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS, BY FIELD,YUGOSL. TABLE 74
1993

PURE SCIENCE,MATH.	49.70%
COMP.SCIENCE	16.20%
ELECTRO ENGINEERING	25%
MECHANIC.ENGINEERING	30.50%
LAW	36%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, BULLETIN 2051 1994

TEACHING STUFF,HIGHER EDUCATION,ACADEM.RANK,YUGOSLAVIA, TABLE 75

1995/96	% WOMEN				
FULL PROF.		ASSOC.PROF.	ASSIST.PROF.	LECTUR.	OTHER
13.40%		21.20%	35%	50.20%	44.10%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU, 1996 BELGRADE
AND HIGHER SCHOOLS, TEACHING STUFF, BULLETIN 2060, 1995

YUGOSLAVIA,TEACHERS IN PRIMARY&SECONDARY SCHOOLS,1994/95 TABLE 76

1994/95	PRIMARY		SECONDARY	
ALL	51,685		26513	
WOMEN	34,453	66.70%	14545	54.90%

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL STATISTICAL BUREAU,1996, BELGRADE
STATISTICAL YEARBOOK

TEACHERS IN CALIF.PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY SUBJECT AREA **TABLE 77**

	1984		1995	
GRADE LEVEL	% MALE	%FEMALE	%MALE	%FEMAL.
KINDERG. ARTEN	3.5	96.5	4.2	95.8
GRADE 4	22.4	77.2	19.2	74.3
GRADE 8	56.6	43.4	47.8	52.2
ENGLISH	34	66	28.5	71.5
SCIENCE	69.2	30.8	58.4	41.6
SOCIAL SCIENCE	64.5	35.5	61	39
P.E./HEALTH	66.4	33.6	57.2	42.4
FOREIGN LANGUAGE	38.4	61.6	30.7	69.3
SPECIAL ED.	20.6	79.4	18.8	81.2

1997

CALIFORNIA EDD, EDUCATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS I RESEARCH EVAL.&TECHNOL.

CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS BY SEX,1993/94, 1995/96 **TABLE 78**

1993/94	% MALE	%FEMALE
	27.7	72.3
1995/96	28.8	70.8
PRINCIPALS	51.3 1993/94	48.7
AV.SALARY OF PRINCIPALS		AV.SALARY OF TEACHERS
62,499	1993/94	39,649

SCHOOLS AND STAFF, US DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, OFFICE OF EDUCAT.
NAD RESEARCH, 1996

FEMALE COLLEGE FACULTY BY SELECTED FIELD, US **1990** **TABLE 77A**

PHYSICS	3.20% LAW	19.00% CHEMIS.	25.50% F.LANGU	59.60%
NATUR.SC	6.40% THEOLOG	22.80% MATH.SC	30.50% HEALTH	70.40%
ENGINEE.	6.60% COMP.SC	25.00% SOCIOL.	37.60% SOC.WO	73.10%
POLIT.SC	18.00% MEDIC.SC	25.30% ENGLISH	52.80% H.ECON.	99.90%

US BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1990

COLLEGE FACULTY BY SEX AND ACADEMIC RANK,4-YEAR INSTIT. **TABLE 77B**

ACADEMIC RANK	% MALE	% FEMALE
FULL PROFESSOR	45.3	16.2
ASSOC.PROFESSOR	27.3	23.9
ASSISTANT PROF.	19.7	35.8
INSTRUCTOR	4.8	16
LECTURER	2.1	5.2

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, 1989

FULL-TIME INSTRUCTION.FACULTY BY GENDER;CALIF.PUBLI SCH. **TABLE 78A**

1993, 1994	MALE %	FEM.%
GRADE K-12	29	71
CA COMM.COLLEG.	57.3	42.7
CA STATE UNIVERS	69.8	30.2
UNIVERS.OF CALIF.	71	29

SOURCE: CALIFORNIA POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1996

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY SEX CALIFORNIA, 1995, PUBLIC SCHOOLS **TABLE 79**
TOTAL IN PUB.SCH.

	MALE	FEMALE
	2805249	2661975
KINDERGARTEN	243,176	229,158
UNGR.ELEMENT.	43,697	22,220
UNGR.SECONDARY	20,994	12,387
8 GRADE	203,650	195,389
12 GRADE	143,925	143,503

CALIF EDD
 1996
 RESEARCH,EVALUAT.AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION

TOTAL FALL ENROLLMENT IN PUB.& PRIVATE INSTIT.OF HIGHER ED. **TABLE 80**
CALIFORNIA

	FULL-TIME STUDEN.		
1992 PUBLIC	1747895	339,204	362,742
PRIVATE	229,354	80,199	80,277
1991 ALL		MALE	FEMALE
PUBLIC	1804654	346,341	369,828
PRIVATE	219,620	77,186	76,818
1987 PUBLIC	1,580,532	312,487	318,683
PRIVATE	207,638	74,640	67,852
1988 PUBLIC	1,541,305	302,847	317,762
PRIVATE	212,259	78,339	72,027

US DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,EDUCATIONAL DIGEST, 1990,1994

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT BY SEX, CALIFORNIA **1990,94** **TABLE 81**
1990

% ENROLED IN COLLEGE	18-24 YEARS	MALE	FEMALE
	33.3	30.9	36.1
OUTSIDE URBAN.AREA	21	18.9	23.4
US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, (CALIF.SOC.AND ECON.CHARACTERIST.			
1994	ALL AGES	834,000	1,002,000 thous.

US NATION.CENTER FOR EDUC.STATSTICS,DIGEST OF EDUC.STATISTICS

EDUCAT.ATTAINMENT BY SEX,CALIFORNIA, 1990 **TABLE 82**

25 YEARS AND OVER	% MALE	%	FEMALE
LESS THAN 5 GR.	4.7		
HIGH SCH.HIGHER	76.2	76.9	75.5
COLLEGE,HIGHER	53.9		
BACHEL.D.HIGHER	23.4	26.8	20.1
MASTER'S DEGREE thous.	545,652	thous.	405,292
DOCTORATE DEG.	131,598		44,324

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, CALIF.SOC.AND ECONOM.CHARACTERIST.,1990

**BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S AND DOCTORAL DEGREES BY FIELD, % OF WOMEN, US,
US, 1993**

TABLE 83

FIELD OF STUDY	% OF DEG.EARN.BY WOM.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.
AGRICULTURE AND NAT.RESOURCES		34	37.5	25.1
ARCHITECTURE AND ENVIR.DESIGN		35	37.6	29.1
BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES		51	51.9	49.4
BUSINESS&MANAGEMENT		47.2	35.7	39.9
COMPUTER SCIENCE		28.1	27.1	14.4
EDUCATION		78.4	76.9	59.2
ENGINEERING		14.4	14.9	9.6
ENGLISH		65.7	65.8	59
HOME ECONOMICS		89.2	83	71.9
LAW		67.6	32.6	24.4
LIBRARY SCIENCE		89.2	80.3	66.2
MATHEMATICS		47.2	39.6	23.8
MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES			7.4	
PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, RELIGION		31.1	38	17.3
PHYSICAL SCIENCES		32.6	29	21.9
PSYCHOLOGY		73.2	72.4	61.2
SOCIAL SCIENCES		45.8	43.1	36.3
VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS		61	56.6	45.8

US NATION.CENTER FOR EDUCAT.STATIST.,DIGEST OF EDUCAT.STATIST.1995

DEGREES EARNED 1991, 1992 BY SEX, US

TABLE 84

TOTAL DEGREES	PERCENT MEN	PERCENT WOMEN	
2054668	45.8	54.2	1991
2108427	45.6	54.4	1992

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE, 1991
DIGEST FOR EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS 1995

WOMEN HOLDING STATE PUBLIC OFFICES, 1995, C CALIFORNIA**TABLE 85**

STATE - WIDE ELECTIVE EXECUTIVE OFFICE- 2
STATE LEGISLATURE- 25

SOURCE: CENTER FOR AMERI OMEN

LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS BY SEX AND TYPE OF GOVERNMENT 1992 TABLE 86

US	TOTAL	COUNTY	MUNICIP.	TOWNSH.	SCHOOL	DISTR.	SPEC.DIS
MALE	324,255	43,563	94,808	76,213	54,443		55,228
FEMALE	100,531	12,525	26,825	27,702	24,730		8,749

SOURCE US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, 1992

CALIFORNIA MAYORS AND MUNICIPAL COUNCIL MEMBERS, WOMEN, 1985 TABLE 87

465

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

WOMEN HOLDING STATE AND LOCAL PUBLIC OFFICE, 1993 CALIFOR. TABLE 88

STATE-WIDE EXECUTIVE OFFICE	2 WOMEN
COUNTY GOVERNING BOARDS, 1988	56 WOMEN

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

WOMEN LEGISLATORS AS A PERCENT OF ALL LEGISLATORS, CALIFOR. TABLE 89

1992 23.30%

SOURCE USA TODAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1993

WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS, 1993 28

US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

WOMEN GOVERNORS IN 1991, U.S.
4 WOMEN GOVERNORS, 50 STATES
0 WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA

TABLE 90

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE, 1991

% OF WOMEN IN ELECTIVE OFFICES, US, 1991

TABLE 91

US CONGRESS	6%
STATEWIDE ELECT.	18%
STATE LEGISLATUR.	18%
CALIFORNIA STATEWIDE ELECT.EXECUTIVE OFFICES, 1989	
STATEWIDE EXECUT.OFFICE	1 WOMAN
STATE LEGISLATURE	18 WOMEN
COUNTY GOVERN.BOARDS	56 WOMEN, 1988
MAYORS AND MUNIC.COUNC.	465 WOM. 1985
CALIF.STATEW.EXEC.OFFIC.1993	2 WOMEN
CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLAT	1993 27 WOMEN
% OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS	1993 23.30%

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1991

TABLE 92

US- 28 WOMEN	6.40%	WOMEN IN THE US SENATE	1991
CALIF.- 3 WOMEN		TOTAL MEMBERS-100	
		WOMEN	2 % OF WOMEN- 2%
% OF WOMEN MEMB.OF CONGRESS		1993	10.80% US

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTAT.

TABLE 93

1990 US SENATE		US HOUSE	
CANDID.	WINNERS	CANDID.	WINNERS
8	1	70	29
CANDID.FOR GVERNORS		8	3
JUDICAL NOMINEES	1977-1987	US	
MEN		WOMEN	
SUPREME COURT	4	1	
CURCUIT COURTS	123	18	
DISTRICT COURTS	427	52	
% OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS 1987		20.50%	

STATISTICAL RECORD OF WOMEN WORLDWIDE

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