

WOMEN IN THE SELF-MANAGED ECONOMY OF YUGOSLAVIA

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INTRODUCTION

The 1960's and 1970's have witnessed two extremely important international movements. First there has been a world wide resurgence of feminism, as women in many and different countries have expressed not only increasing dissatisfaction with their customary roles and statuses, but also increasing awareness of a socioeconomic subordination that amounts to a systemic oppression. Women have sought to analyse their oppression, to see it *systematically*, for without such insight an effective challenge to its perpetration and the promotion of social policies directed to its elimination were recognized as impossible.

Significantly diverse theories of women's oppression, almost invariably treat as a key factor women's subordinate position within material production, emphasizing their related economic dependence, whether it be on men, or on insecure and unrewarding jobs, or on patriarchal family arrangements, or on state provided welfare payments.

The location of women's oppression in the organization of economic life has been an important achievement of Marxist scholarship in recent years. While the emphasis of many writers has been on the identification of women's oppression in the advanced industrial countries within the very heart of the capitalist dynamic, others have illustrated the disabling effects of standard modes of development on women in relatively underdeveloped countries. It is especially significant that the Marxist perspective is frequently supported by argument and evidence emanating from feminist but not explicitly Marxist frameworks. Ester Boserup's pioneering work on the effects of economic development on women is a powerful example of this kind of reinforcement (Boserup, 1970).

The second social movement has been the expression of disillusionment with the quantitatively and qualitatively inadequate results produced by the application of development plans and programs derived

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from orthodox neoclassical economics. Disappointment has promoted a search for innovative methods of dealing with economic problems and interest in paths to economic wellbeing other than those of capitalism and administrative socialism. An important emphasis in this new approach to development has been a more conscious awareness that economic development is after all for the people and not vice versa.

Thus the emphasis on *economic* oppression in feminist theory demands attention to the work and roles of women in various traditional and modern societies, and the amassing of case studies of the specific situations women face in different countries. Simultaneously it is clear that without this kind of understanding women cannot be equitably integrated into the economic life of their communities, and, in turn, without such an assimilation, development in its broader sense must fail, and even in its narrow economic sense must be retarded by the waste of the valuable national resource that women's labor represents.

Yugoslavia occupies a special place in comparative economic systems. It is pursuing an independent development path, organized by neither capitalism nor administrative socialism, but self-management, a system with a rich philosophical heritage, and many attractions for those seeking a more humanist approach to material progress (Horvat, Marković and Supek, 1957). It is appropriate, therefore, to provide a study of women's experience in postwar Yugoslavia to see how women have fared in different form of economic organization, in a struggle not only for development, but also self managed socialism.

This description of, and commentary on, women's experience in postwar Yugoslavia does not purport to be comprehensive. Most specifically it is limited in perspective to women's experience in social production. The reason for this is simple; we accept the Marxist premise that women's full participation in paid production is the key to their social emancipation. We do not mean that women's social emancipation can be *reduced* to their participation in paid production. This is far from the case — as will be evident in the discussion below: nevertheless it is taken as a necessary if not a sufficient condition for full equality between the sexes. It is in this sense that women's part in paid production must constitute the entry point into an ultimately, more comprehensive analysis.

The paper is organized as follows: Section I deals in greater detail with women's postwar experience, tracing the trends in various indicators of women's labor force participation. Section II examines women's experience from a regional perspective. The final section attempts to introduce a qualitative dimension by discussing other aspects of women's economic integration, such as occupational and industrial segregation, unemployment and income differentials, and participation in the selfmanagement institutions. Throughout the analysis deals only with the years up to 1971 which is, unfortunately, the last year for which census data is currently available. The paper concludes with a brief summary of the difficulties women seeking economic autonomy still face in modern Yugoslavia, and offers some suggestions as to the pursuit of full equality.

I. POSTWAR EXPERIENCE: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PAID PRODUCTION

Before the war the position of Yugoslav women in society was not different than the position of women in any other underdeveloped capitalist country of that time. Constitutional rights limited women to the traditional role of women in society, to the traditional family. In a way woman was to be the inferior being that had to be protected so that her ultimate goal in life, as the center of the family headed by a patriarch, would not be jeopardized. (Beneria, 1976).

After the war important changes occurred regarding women role in the society embodied in the first postwar constitution which reflected the socialist government's commitment to the liberation of women. Legal disabilities which had kept women subordinate in pre-war Yugoslavia were swept away. Women received the right to vote. Civil marriage was recognized, and within the family both husband and wife were afforded equal rights with respect to raising children, disposing of the family's wealth, and terminating the marriage itself by divorce. Working women were promised equality with men, but there was care to protect them from potentially hazardous working conditions. In short the constitution reflected the Marxist belief in equal rights for women in economic, political and social life.

(The 24th Article of the Constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1946) says:

"Women are equal with men in all areas of state, economic and socio-political life.

For equal work women have the right to equal pay as men and they receive a special protection in work relations.

The state specially protects the interest of mother and child by organizing maternity centers, child care centers and by the right of paid maternity leave before and after the birth.")

The constitutional changes enumerated above were undoubtedly expected to stimulate the female participation in paid production, which Marx and Engels believed essential to women's social emancipation. However, the data in Table 1 suggest that there has been little change in women's participation in paid production in the postwar period. Both the standard indices of women's economic activity, the share of women workers in the total active labor force and the gross female labour force participation rate, are little different in the postwar period as compared with the 1920's and 30's. The high percentage of female workers in the total active population in 1948 is a statistical illusion, the result of a different method of counting the active labor in rural area as compared with censuses in other years. In 1948 the principle was that women over the age of 14 were considered active, while after this year the principle was to count as active only those women who were working outside their home for a major part of the working day.

Table 1. Population and Active Labor by Sex in Yugoslavia, 1921—1971

Years	Population Men	Population Women	Active Labor Men	Active Labor Women	Total Active Labor	Proportion of Female to Total	Gross Labor Force Participation Rate: Male	Gross Labor Force Participation Rate: Female
1921	5729.3	5955.5	3772.3	2260.7	6033.0	37.6	65.8	37.9
1931	6891.6	7042.4	4445.7	2236.9	6682.6	33.5	64.5	31.7
1948	7582.5	8189.6	4994.8	4788.8	9783.6	48.9	66.0	58.4
1953	8241.6	8759.1	5168.6	2680.3	7848.9	34.2	62.7	30.6
1961	9043.4	9505.8	5387.2	2953.2	8340.4	35.4	59.6	31.1
1971	10445.6	10077.3	5686.3	3203.5	8889.8	36.0	54.4	31.8

Source: Opšta državna statistika, Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931 godine knjiga IV, Sarajevo, Džavna štamparija, 1940; Savezni zavod za statistiku i evidenciju, Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1948 godine knjiga III, Beograd, Savezni zavod za statistiku i evidenciju, 1954, and Savezni zavod za statistiku, Statistički bilten no. 788, 588, and 133, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1973, 1969 and 1959.

*Total Active Labor = 1921, 1931, 1953, 1961, 1971: refers to the total of employed persons (including employers, persons working on their own account, salaried employees and wage earners, and so far) and of unemployed persons at the time of the census survey.

1948: refers to the total as in the years specified above plus women occupied solely in domestic duties. (Total active labor in 1948 is overestimated for this part of women population).

Comparison of the 1953-71 female gross participation rates with those of the period 1921—31 shows that only in 1971 was the 1931 rate reached, while the level of 1921 has not yet been attained! This is more than astonishing. It suggests that despite the drastic socio-economic changes, and the fundamental commitment to equality between the sexes manifest in legal, political and social reforms, women's participation in social production, as reflected in these standard indices, is below that of prerevolutionary Yugoslavia at a time when the economy had not yet recovered from the world wide capitalist crisis of 1929.

However a clearer picture is revealed by the female labor force participation data broken down by age groups. As we do not have the figures for the prewar census year, 1931, we assume that the data for 1953 represents this situation, a reasonable assumption as eight years of the new regime would hardly be a sufficiently long period to effect drastic changes in women's participation by age groups. The data in Table 2 demonstrate that the percentage of active women in the age group 20—49 is substantially higher in 1971 as compared with 1953.

Table 2 — Female Labor Participation Rates by Age Groups, 1953, 1971.

Year	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-40	20-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	35-49
1971	38.2	56.0	55.0	52.0	54.6	51.0	63.0	48.7	60.2
1953	65.9				50.8				34.9
	50-54	55-59	60-64	50-64					
1971	45.7	45.1	44.3	53.4					
1953				13.2					

Source: Zvezni zavod za statistiku, Popis prebivalstva in stanovanj v letu 1971. Prebivalstvo. Ekonomske značilnosti, I. del. Zvezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1974, and Savezni zavod za statistiku, Popis Stanovništva 1953; knjiga I., Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1960.

Table 2 reveals other important changes. While in 1953 in the 15-19 age group 65.9% of women were active, in 1971 this percentage had dropped to 38.2%. This fall can clearly be explained by the rise in the percentage of women students. On the other hand, activity in the 35—49 group increased considerably as did that in the 50—64 group. The rise for those women 20—34 was less marked but also significant.

Thus it appears that in Yugoslavia women in the childbearing age groups, are increasingly active in paid production. In addition, older women whose families have grown up are returning to paid work in greater numbers. We can conclude that the increase in the incidence of women combining paid labor with their traditional roles of wife and mother must gradually break down their stereotypic limitation to the latter jobs, and in fact, constitute an attack on the sexual division of labor that is buttressed by the increasing tendency of older women to be economically active.

Turning to the more limited concept of employment, the data suggests that there was no significant difference in the share of women's employment before and after the war. From 1921 to 1973 the share

increased by 3.2% from 30.2 to 33.4 per cent and from 1931 to 1973 by 5.6% from 27.8 to 33.4 per cent. In the period from 1931 to 1973 up to 1957, with the exception of 1949, the share of female employment in total employment was declining, while after 1957 the share of female employment was increasing constantly. (Employment is defined as persons employed by the socialist working organizations or by private employers (*individualni delodajalci*)).

How can this pattern be explained? The substantial increase in the share of women in employment in 1949 reflects the gathering momentum of the reconstruction drive. Postwar rebuilding required massive injections of labor especially as large amounts of physical capital had been destroyed in the fighting. The rising demand for labor involved the mass recruitment of women including married women and mothers. At the same time the difficult living conditions of this period ensured that any family member able to work would make use of the new employment opportunities to augment family income. Similar situations prevailed in many other Eastern European countries in the postwar reconstruction period (Piotrowski, 1971, p. 67; Dodge, 1966; Lobodzinska, 1978), and contrast with the expulsion of women from the labor force in many of the advanced capitalist countries (Tobias and Anderson, 1975). In the latter countries while women had been encouraged to participate in the wartime economy, the postwar concern was to re-employ the returning soldiers. As the devastation in these countries was relatively small, (especially in the U.S.), wartime recovery did not involve large amounts of construction and associated employment boom. In these circumstances it is not surprising that women's share in employment fell as women workers were fired, demoted, returned to their prewar employment, and simply went back to being housewives, under the pressure of the postwar anti-feminist backlash, the ideological counterpart of the new economic conditions (Humphries, 1976).

In addition in Yugoslavia the recognition that there were no longer legal barriers to women attaining positions for which they were qualified undoubtedly played a part in the postwar increase in women's employment. The structural counterpart of the rise in women's employment was a significant transfer of female labor from agriculture to industry (Hadžiomerović, 1959, p. 333).

The period after 1953 can be considered a new stage in women's employment coinciding with the transition from the administrative socialism of 1945-52 to the self management system (Hadžiomerović, 1959, p. 334). During these years women's employment fell from 23.3% of total employment in 1951 to 20.1% in 1953, and stagnated up to 1955. Hadžiomerović relates this stagnation to a number of factors (1959, p. 334). First there were several structural problems which affected women's employment opportunities. This period saw a slowing down of economic activity in certain sectors because of shortages of raw materials. Particularly affected were the textile, food and graphics industries, all of which were big employers of women. In addition the principle of profitability accepted by the enterprises in the framework of the new economic system led to labor saving innovations, which mainly displaced less skilled workers who were predominantly female.

It is known that more than 80% of the women who lost their jobs were without skills.

Nor should we forget that postwar Yugoslavia was still predominantly an agricultural country and that it was much harder for rural women to break out of their traditional roles and take advantage of their new equality (First-Dilic, 1974).

New social welfare programs also contributed to the stagnation in female employment, for example protective legislation which prohibited women's employment in industries involving hard physical labor. The introduction of family income allowances for children also reduced the financial motive for married women's labor force participation, which we have suggested was critical in these difficult postwar years. (See Lobodzinska, 1978, p. 690, for a similar suggestion with respect to Poland). These supplements were a significant source of income. For example, in a four member family of an unskilled or semiskilled worker the child allowances represented 40% to 60% of total earnings. With respect to the provision of child care facilities the relative failure of the state had similar disincentive effects for women. From 1951-53 there was a significant decrease in the availability of day care centres. Clearly the latter services are a necessary precondition for mothers to engage in economic activities outside their homes.

Another possible factor was the persistence of old outdated managerial thinking in some enterprises where all women were automatically assumed less productive and less trainable. The employment of women, it was feared, would lock the enterprise into an unfortunate competitive position vis a vis those firms employing male labor.

Growth of female employment was also inhibited by the poor educational and skill structure of women in the working age groups. As elsewhere in the world, (Miller and Mendelsohn, 1975), women were more likely than men to be illiterate, for example, in 1953 35.8% of women were illiterate as compared with 13.5% of men. This altogether after the war a great number of literacy seminars were held in a relatively successful national campaign to spread basic skills, the education of women lagged behind that of men. A historic dimension is provided to the figures quoted above if we remember that in 1931 56.4% of women could not read or write as opposed to 32.3% of men. The relatively high illiteracy rate for women reflects low educational attainment. In turn these characteristics of female labor sent women to low skilled, poorly paid, low status jobs in the occupational hierarchy. In 1956 the percentage of skilled women workers was 8%, that of semiskilled workers was 28%, and that of unskilled workers 23%. In this same postwar period women were also underrepresented in higher education, 42% of high school students and 31% of university students were women in the years 1945-55.

Turning to the more recent period, 1957-71, slow but steady gains in female employment have to be explained. Again changes in the level and structure of economic activity played a key role in the derived demand for women's labor. The first period of self management, from 1954 until the economic reforms in 1965, was characterized by rapid growth. Output grew on average at 9.7% per annum until 1965 when the annual average growth rate slowed to 6.3%. Sustained growth

of output is important not only because it generates new jobs, some of which will be taken up by women, but also because the increased demand for labour pushes up wage rates and so influences women's decisions to seek paid employment. A rise in the female wage rate will be an incentive for women to move into social production because the opportunity cost of remaining at home has increased (Beneria, 1976).

These years of rapid economic growth also saw structural changes in the Yugoslav economy associated with the process of development. The weights of the industrial and tertiary sectors in total output increased while that of agriculture declined from 34% in 1954 to 22% in 1965 and 19% in 1973. Particularly important from our perspective was the development of light industry and the service sector as both employ large numbers of women. Clearly these structural changes were important insofar as they led to a relative expansion of occupations which have been traditionally female employers. But it is important to note that women did make broad gains in relatively new fields. Thus although women's progress in non-material production was substantial, the share of female labor in the total rising from 45.5% in 1931 to 56.0% in 1973, the proportion of women in material production also rose in these years from 23.6% to 28.6%. Nevertheless women's employment clearly remains concentrated in areas which can be viewed as natural extensions of their domestic roles (food processing, clothing, textiles); mothering and nurturant roles (teachers, especially for younger children, nurses, midwives); or supportive roles (secretaries, assistants, typists).

This is reflected in the distribution of female employment in total employment by sector for both material and non-material production (1973): industry and mining 32.8%, agriculture and fishing 20.3%, forestry 7.6%, construction 9.0%, transportation and communications 14.0%, trade and catering 46.3%, crafts 25.3%, residential construction 18.9%, cultural and social activity 59.0% and social activities and state organs 47.7%. Distribution shows that the only sector in material production in which they come close to an equal share in the labor force is trade and catering. Significantly too the industries which employ the greatest share of female labor are textiles (68.7%), leather (58.2%), graphics (45.3%), and tobacco (48.5%). In short, women in Yugoslavia, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe (Berent, 1974), predominate in traditionally female domains such as textiles, clothing, food processing and other consumer industries. We will return to this point later.

II. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PAID PRODUCTION

The participation of women in paid production varies considerably across the republics of Yugoslavia due partly to regional differences in economic structure and the level of economic development.

As Table 3 illustrates women's participation rates in the years 1953-71 are highest in Slovenia and lowest in Montenegro. If we also consider the autonomous regions of Serbia, then Kosovo has the lowest participation rates. The ranking of the republics by women's labor force

participation rates corresponds to their ordering by level of development measured by the per capita income. In 1972 the least developed regions in Yugoslavia were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo. The per capita incomes in these regions were below the Yugoslav national average: in Bosnia and Herzegovina amounting to only 65% of the Yugoslav per capita income of 6767 din, in Montenegro 73%, in Macedonia 71% and in Kosovo 72%. On the other hand Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina had per capita incomes much above the national average, Slovenia even 86% higher.

TABLE 3 — Labor Participation Rates by Republics, 1953-71

	1953	1961	1971
Bosnia and Herzegovina	26.8	24.4	22.6
Montenegro	20.1	20.1	19.8
Croatia	31.7	33.7	33.9
Macedonia	22.8	23.7	23.4
Slovenia	34.5	37.7	40.8
Serbia	32.5	32.9	32.4
Serbia Proper	38.5	38.7	40.1
Vojvodina	26.8	25.6	26.5
Kosovo	10.7	17.6	8.3

Source: Savezni zavod za statistiku, *Popis stanovništva 1953 knjiga I, Popis stanovništva 1961 knjiga III, and Popis prebivalstva in stanovanj v letu 1971 I del.*, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1959, 1969, and 1974.

By and large the same pattern is found if we look at the rates of growth of output across republics. From 1947 to 1972 when GNP grew at 5.3% per annum on average, the regional growth rate for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro was 4.4% and 4.8%, for Macedonia 5.3%, and in Kosovo only 3.6%. The low level of development and relatively low growth of the regions partly explains their low female involvement in paid production. The low growth rates mean that employment expands only slowly and so job opportunities remain limited. Thus in 1972 while Slovenia had 341 employed people per 1000 inhabitants, Croatia 235 and Vojvodina 223, this number was only 90 in Kosovo, 169 in Montenegro, 174 in Macedonia, and 150 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Low employment opportunities mean that there is little upward pressure on wage rates and so incentives to move into paid production remain static.

Variation across republics in the weight of the agricultural sector also reflects the different levels of development. The poorer republics tend to have a larger percentage of their active population in agriculture. The share of active population in agriculture by regions in 1971 was the following: Bosnia and Herzegovina 40.0%, Montenegro 35.0%, Croatia 32.3%, Macedonia 39.0%, Slovenia 20.4%, Serbia 44.0%, Serbia Proper 44.1%, Vojvodina 39.0% and Kosovo 51.5%.

The uneven distribution of agricultural activities might be thought to explain the variation in women's participation rates if either women's employment in agriculture is not adequately recorded in the statistics since it passes as household work, or if agriculture is thought not to afford many employment opportunities for women. Unfortunately things are not so simple. In Table 4 we see that there is substantial variation in the share of active female labor in total active labor in agriculture by republic, and that in several republics approximately half the agricultural labor is female. On a national level it seems that job opportunities for women in agriculture are excellent, in that among the agricultural population only 18% of women able to work were housewives, whereas among the monagricultural population the comparable figure was 34%.

TABLE 4 — *The Share of Active Female Labor in Total Active Labor by Republics and by Sectors, 1971*

Republic	Agriculture and Fishing %	Industry and Mining %	Trade and Catering %
Bosnia and Herzegovina	42.5	20.7	39.1
Montenegro	38.1	23.7	44.7
Croatia	46.5	35.4	50.5
Macedonia	38.1	28.6	31.3
Slovenia	52.0	40.0	61.4
Serbia	42.3	27.6	39.6
Serbia Proper	48.1	26.7	41.4
Vojvodina	31.4	32.6	40.1
Kosovo	16.7	17.3	23.9

Source: Zvezni zavod za statistiko, *Popis prebivalstva in stanovanj v letu 1971. Prebivalstvo, Ekonomske značilnosti I. del*, Zvezni zavod za statistiko, Beograd 1974, pp. 23-7.

A comparison of the first column of Table 4 with the third column of Table 3 shows that an ordering of republics by the proportion of women in the active population in agriculture to be closely related to their ranking by female labor force participation rates. As agriculture is still an important sector in all the republics the relative proportion of women in the agricultural labor force would be a good predictor of the relative female participation rates. But the pattern is even more interesting. It seems that those republics which have a relatively small agricultural sector also have a high share of female labor in that sector. These, remember, are the more developed republics where industrialization is intense but not yet completed. Therefore, the explanation appears to lie in the alternative employment opportunities

which pull male labor into the cities and leave agricultural jobs open to women.

Thus in Slovenia a process of feminization of labor on private farms has been observed as the men have taken jobs in the cities while the women have substituted on the farms receiving occasional assistance from their commuting menfolk. It has already been anticipated that when industrialization reaches a higher level women might leave the countryside for clerical jobs in the cities while more educated men return to operate mechanized farms (First-Dilic, 1974).

At the other end of the disparities in development, Kosovo, while it has the largest share of agricultural population also has the lowest share of female labor in agriculture, and coincidentally the lowest female participation rate. The low growth of this region has meant that nonagricultural jobs were not created at a rate sufficient to stimulate male migration, and thereby promote a feminization of agriculture. (Kosovo shows the highest unemployment rate among the republics throughout the period. Malačić, 1977).

The uneven allocation of light and heavy industry among the republics also contributes to disparities in female participation rates. Most of Yugoslavia's heavy industry, which primarily employs men, is located in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bešter, 1966). On the other hand, the so-called "feminized" industries, big employers of women, (for example, textiles, electronics, leather, etc.), are heavily concentrated in Slovenia and Croatia. In these republics the service sector is also much more developed than in the poorer areas.

In addition to these economic elements, social factors also influence women's participation rates. Important here is the effect of Moslem religion, which has traditionally isolated women in the home, in Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. However the availability of education and employment opportunities has been shown to free Islamic women from their traditional economic confinement in other countries (Heer and Youseff, 1975). It is a tribute to the commitment in Yugoslavia, not only to equality between the sexes, but also to the integration of women into a developing economy, that already the participation rates in these areas far exceed those observed in many other Islamic regions (Mernissi, 1976).

The final comment in this section of the paper must relate to the regional disparities in the trends of the female participation rates. Table 3 shows that while the already developed regions have rising female participation, the less developed areas, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Kosovo have faced a declining trend. This is probably a result of declining investment in these republics. Thus the issue of women's employment here becomes an essential part of a broader question of regional development and policy.

III. PROBLEMS RELATING TO WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

In this section of the paper we try to add a qualitative dimension to the aggregate and regional data on the level and the structure of women's employment, for an understanding of the impact of the new

system requires more than information on what proportion of women work and in what industries they are concentrated. We also need information on the distribution of occupations and qualifications, on wages, working conditions and the availability of support services for working women.

Before moving on to look at some of these issues, we should, however, emphasize the connection between the "qualitative" dimensions and the level and structure of women's employment. It is well known that one of the main reasons for the low average pay and status of women workers is their concentration into so-called "feminized" industries. These ghettos of female employment are characterized by low productivity, low status, low skill and relatively poor pay (Bergmann, 1973; Blaxall and Reagan, 1976). The description of the structure of women's employment in Yugoslavia has revealed a classic compartmentalization of the labor market, with women concentrated in textiles, tobacco, etc. The "crowding," as Bergmann calls it, into these fields not only holds down the wage, as women compete among themselves for employment, but also *obscures* the wage discrimination between the sexes. It appears that textile workers receive relatively low pay, not that women's wages are systematically lower than men's. In other words, it seems that women receive low pay because they work in the wrong industries, not that wages in these industries are reduced by their overcrowding by women workers. Whereas if women were distributed randomly across the industrial spectrum, and employed in male preserves, it would be easy to compare their wages directly with those of men doing the same or similar work and demonstrate wage discrimination. With these connections in mind let us turn to some of the other aspects of women's employment.

1. Qualifications

Table 5 shows the percentage of female workers in each skill category.

TABLE 5 — The Distribution of Women Workers by Qualification Category, 1938, 1961, and 1971.

Qualification Category	Percentage of Female Workers in Category		
	1938	1961	1971
All employed		26.4	31.2
High Skilled Workers		3.2	4.0
Skilled Workers	12.8	10.5	16.9
Unskilled Workers	36.8	30.8	34.4

Source: V. Pilić, *Karakteristike i problemi ženske radne snage u Jugoslaviji*, p. 89 and Savezni zavod za statistiku, *Statistički bilten* no. 788.

Women still, in 1971, were overrepresented at the unskilled level relative to their share in the labor force as a whole. In this context it is important to notice the disabling effects of discrimination in training

programs at the enterprise level. According to a survey taken in 1950—58, only 1.2% of women participated in vocational programs paid for by the enterprises. The other side of this picture is the relatively high proportion of women students who are simultaneously employed, a percentage which rose between 1955 and 1958 from 13.9% to 16.4%.

2. Education

The relative weights of women at different levels of the educational system provide a more optimistic picture. Already in ten years, from 1961 to 1971, women have made substantial progress in gaining access to the educational system.

Thus by 1971 women students comprised nearly one-half of elementary school students (46.1) and although they do less well as we move up the educational hierarchy, at the university level they still manage to make up more than a third of all students (36.3). This suggests that by international standards the Yugoslav educational system is relatively open to women applicants.

But again the aggregate data hides a concentration of women into certain fields that is rather ominous when we remember the unfortunate effects of "crowding" in the labor market. The highest percentage of female students is in medical school and philosophy, and the lowest is in technical schools. This pattern is surprising in that there are no institutional obstacles to stop girls from obtaining vocational educational and training in present day Yugoslavia. Public schools of all levels are equally open to boys and girls, and the latter do, in fact, take advantage of their educational opportunities, as shown by the data. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable tendency among the girl students to major in liberal arts rather than in such disciplines as engineering, law and political science. Given the greater likelihood that the latter majors provide job related skills, women's educational specializations may be viewed as unfortunate from the narrow perspective of their success in the labor market.

The same situation is revealed by consideration of the qualifical and higher qualifical, examinations, which can be regarded as passports into semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Women passing these exams made up only 15.9% and 3.7% of the successful students in the years 1958—1971. The occupational groups with the highest percentage of female passers in the qualifical exam were sales and service workers, where women represented 52.5% and 58.9% of those passing the exam respectively. But even here women seem to be stuck at a relatively low skill level, for in the same fields, higher qualifical examination women comprised only 18% and 20% of successful candidates.

3. Occupational Structure

We have already seen that women workers in Yugoslavia, as elsewhere, are concentrated into certain industries which appear as "natural" extensions of their traditional roles. Women are heavily over-

represented in, for example, teaching (52.7%) garment and textile workers 69.9% cleaning workers (79.7%) and service workers (68.8%). Many of these traditionally female jobs are given a comparatively low ranking in surveys of the social standing of different occupations. Evidence from other studies suggests that it is not the job itself, in abstract, that people evaluate, but their interpretations takes place in a particular social context. Thus the presence of increasing numbers of women practitioners in a particular occupation can be associated with a deterioration in its status (Lapidus, 1976). In addition a number of highly paid and prestigious production and engineering jobs in Yugoslavia, for example, managers, engineers and technicians are virtually monopolized by men. Such occupational structure of female labor in Yugoslavia raises the question of equal pay for equal work. Restricting of female workers to certain industries and to certain occupations leads to the possibility for disguised pay discrimination. (Bešter, 1966, p. 423).

The explanation of this occupational structure lies not only in traditional stereotypes of masculine and feminine personalities and derived socioeconomic roles, but also in the effects of this social conditioning on the women themselves (Weitzman, 1975; Bardwick and Douvan, 1972). Objective conditions may militate against women's pursuit of higher education if the stereotypes are so entrenched in hiring practices that there is little prospect of obtaining employment appropriate to that educational level. Simultaneously women subconsciously internalize the images of themselves that are projected and make educational and occupational choices congruent with these stereotypes.

As a footnote to this discussion it should be noted that the rising proportion of skilled women seeking employment in Yugoslavia can only partly be explained by the rise in skill levels among women workers in general. It must also relate to the dissatisfaction of these women with the available employment and their inability to secure work congruent with their expectations. [Petrin, 1978].

4. Incomes

Unfortunately information on average monthly wages by sex is not available. However we can draw some inferences relevant to male-female wage differentials from the skill distribution of women workers. As was shown above, in 1971, women made up 34% of unskilled workers, but only 4% of skilled workers. The monthly income of unskilled workers in the economy was in the same year 755 din on average, while that of highly skilled workers was 1314 din. The skill differential in conjunction with the concentration of women into the unskilled category implies a substantial gap between the average income of the working man and that of the working woman.

Notice that the existence of this differential does not require the assignment of different, sex-related, pay scales to workers doing the same work. Rather the discrimination is effected, (and obscured), by the non-competing nature of men's and women's work, and the over-representation of women in industries/employments which are unskilled and relatively poorly paid. Thus the average monthly incomes for

workers in textiles and leather, where women are concentrated, were 857 din and 942 din, both of which are lower than the Yugoslav average for 1971 of 1173 din. In contrast average monthly incomes in industries where the proportion of women workers is relatively low, such as forestry, construction, transport and communications, were very close to or above this national average. (The existence of income discrimination in favour of men in Yugoslavia was also found by F. Kuzmin by regression analysis which was statistically significant. F. Kuzmin, 1977, p. 90—91).

Stepping outside the productive sector, a somewhat better situation is implied by income data. For example, in trade, cultural and social activities and administrative work, areas where many women are employed the average monthly incomes in 1971 were 1250, 1324, and 1473 din respectively. This suggests that women's restriction to unskilled work is less operative in the nonproductive sector. Their situation is worse in the productive sector, which is the crucial sector as far as the creation of income and therefore social wealth is concerned.

5. Unemployment

Unemployment statistics broken down by sex provide another important qualitative dimension of women's experience in Yugoslavia. The rising unemployment since 1965 has not disproportionately burdened working women. Before 1956 women made up more than one-half of all unemployed workers; their share fell below 50% in the 1965—1973 period. Why were women relatively protected from the rising unemployment?

There are several explanations. First, the share of skilled women workers in total female labor has been constantly increasing. Unemployment tends to be disproportionately concentrated among unskilled workers both because they are more likely to be displaced by technological innovations and because they tend to be employed at repetitive and boring work so that during economic slowdowns, when the demand for labor falls, they are more inclined to quit. The latter problem is exacerbated for women workers by the social respectability of their removal from the labor force into full-time housework. Thus the improving skill level of women workers has afforded some protection from rising unemployment (Malađić, 1977). In addition, the tendency of women, when they lose their jobs or quit, to drop of the labor force altogether by returning to privatized domestic work means that perhaps their unemployment is less likely to be captured in the statistics. It may also be that the compartmentalization of the labor market provides some protection in periods of rising unemployment, as it makes it harder for men to compete with and substitute for women workers. This is especially true if the feminized sectors of the economy are insulated from the rest of the system by for example, their relation to government spending. It seems that all of these to varying degrees have characterized the Yugoslav case.

6. Participation in Self-Management

A final indication of women's importance and visibility in the Yugoslav economy is given by their participation in the critical institutions of the new system, the self-management councils at federal, republic and communal levels. Despite the lack of institutional obstacles to women's participation in the self-management process, we find their representation in these governing bodies to be below their weight in the labor force as a whole. It is ominous too that the percentage of women representatives has, in fact, been decreasing from the mid-sixties as suggested in Table 6.

TABLE 6 — *The Share of Women Representatives in the Self-Managed Bodies on the Federal, Republic and Communal Level in Yugoslavia from 1963 to 1969.*

	Federal Assembly, Republican	Communal Assembly
1963	19.6	16.4
1967	13.3	9.4
1969	8.1	6.9

Source: Savezni zavod za statistiku, *Statistički bilten* no. 788.

If we look more closely at those women who are elected to self-management bodies it emerges that their educational and skill level is, on average, much higher than that of the male representatives. For example, in 1969, 72% of women in the federal assembly had a two or four year university education, while only 66% of all members had the same education. Furthermore there is only one female assembly member from the group of industrial workers while most of the others come from leading positions in professional jobs.

At the communal level the situation is no different. Again, women's involvement seems to be decreasing and those women who do serve have relatively high educational or skill status. It is astonishing that there are no female peasant representatives in the communal bodies even in the predominantly rural areas. Female representation in workers' councils at the enterprise level is somewhat higher (Table 7).

TABLE 7 — *The Share of Women Representatives in the Self-Managed Bodies in Enterprises from 1957 to 1972.*

	Workers Councils	Executive Council	Directors
1957	19.9		
1962	16.6	11.6	1.2
1972	16.8	11.7	0.9

Source: Savezni zavod za statistiku *Statistički bilten* no. 788.

But again it seems to have been decreasing from the late 1950's to 1962, and since then has stagnated. The proportion of women presidents of workers councils and directors of enterprises is extremely small.

In the self-management institutions relating to social services women's representation is much higher, and corresponds to their share in the labor force as a whole in that sector. This is true for the 1960's and 1970's.

CONCLUSIONS

This study is narrowly bounded. Emphasis is on the involvement of women in paid production and specific qualitative dimensions of that involvement. Although we have argued above that this focus is justified (p. 3), it does mean that many aspects of women's relative deprivation are neglected. Moreover not all the factors which affect women's ability to participate in the Yugoslav economy on equal terms with men have been discussed. For example, an important omission concerns the dissemination of birth control information and services, including the availability of abortion, both of which clearly affect the ability of the married woman to schedule her family so as to minimize interference with her labor force involvement. Suffice it to say that many of the qualitative dimensions of women's disability in the labor force deserve separate attention.

The data itself has imposed certain limitations. Not only is it extremely difficult to capture in statistics many aspects of women's work, especially their traditional labor in the home, but it is even hard to fully document labor force involvement when this frequently entails part time work, intra-family child care facilitating another family member's involvement in paid production, agricultural work, and so on (Papanek, 1976). In addition the aggregate data taken alone can often be misleading as we saw when we qualified the impression left by the overall indices of women's economic activity with the figures broken down by age groups. Here the disaggregated data not only provided greater insight into the nature of women's economic involvement, but also remedied a too pessimistic view. Similarly, the regional breakdown provided a vital disaggregated perspective.

Data difficulties impose other limitations. The truncation of the study at 1971, the last year for which census data is currently available, leaves unexplored, the most recent years, during which we anticipate further changes.

Another caveat obtains in using this study to assess Yugoslavia's, and therefore self-managed socialism's "performance" in the integration of women into economic life. It is correct that the paper is implicitly comparative in this sense, and some explicitly comparative data and commentary has occasionally been offered. But it must always be remembered that different countries not only represent different economic systems but different historical, cultural and geographic circumstances, and we cannot isolate the socioeconomic from this background. This is especially important here as there is solid evidence that the

level of development exercises a strong effect on the standard indices of women's labor force participation independently of the socioeconomic system. Thus to compare contemporary Yugoslavia with more developed capitalist economies would not illustrate the potential of democratic socialism to promote economic equality between the sexes. A detailed study, devoted to international comparison, and which tries to isolate some of these issues, is clearly needed.

Let us now attempt to summarize our findings. Foremost, important progress has been made. Women in childbearing and older age groups are increasingly likely to work outside the home. The progress within education has been very good and the skill and educational levels of women workers have been rising. But even according to the quantitative indices of women's economic involvement there is no room for complacency, for we would expect considerable improvement in a post-revolutionary and equality-oriented society.

In addition there are certain dark clouds on the picture of progress, as implied by our discussion of income differentials, unemployment, involvement in labor management institutions, and most important of all, in the revelation of women's concentration into certain branches of the economy and into certain jobs. We have suggested that this latter is a powerful support of other aspects of economic inequality such as differential incomes, differential skills, differential incidence of unemployment, etc. The concentration of women into certain jobs, "feminized" industries and occupations seems to be common to many European and North American economies, regardless of their form of organization, and their constitutional stance on sex discrimination.

This suggests a deep seated problem. The social process which concentrates women in jobs which resemble their traditional nurturing, mothering and domestic tasks is clearly one aspect of the sex-role stereotyping which, to the extent that home and family are deemed women's primary responsibility, inhibits women's involvement in paid production at all. So long as the burdens of family maintenance are not equitably shared between men and women, women's participation in paid production must of necessity be constrained by their family responsibilities, and it will be extremely difficult for women not only to break out of the feminized sectors of the economy which link with their socially approved roles, but to pursue outside work at all.

Clearly this is where social policy is important. Many equality-oriented societies, Yugoslavia included, have emphasized policies which relieve wives and mothers of some family responsibilities, correctly seeing this as a necessary condition for women's employment outside the home. But attention to these objective conditions for women's employment outside work is only permissive. True equality requires that families, (women included), seize the opportunities available and move away from traditional sex-linked roles both within the home and the occupational structure (See Denich, 1974, and Meznarić, 1974 for similar conclusions). This may require that the authorities pursue more aggressive social policies not immediately related to their higher priority goals. As elsewhere it seems that in Yugoslavia the emancipation of women's roles has been regarded as a serious objective to

the extent that it supports attempts to effect progressive changes throughout the society, but aspects which have not been seen as immediately related to higher priority goals have been deemphasized (See Purcell, 1973, for a similar comment on the Cuban situation).

The subjective changes, (which we and other authors have concluded are essential), are clearly not autonomous, but linked to the objective possibilities for women's work, education, and so on. But when we realize precisely what is involved here it becomes clear why the integration of women into economic life, even in a post-revolutionary society committed to sexual equality, is so laborious a task. We have to learn that we cannot simultaneously emphasize the different functions of mothers and fathers in family structure and child development and fully integrate women into self-managed socialism. Nevertheless given the importance in this area of education, example and discussion, Yugoslavia, with its commitment to democracy built into its economic life may have an advantage over more centralized and hierarchical societies, whether state socialist or capitalist.

Received: 23. 5. 1979.

Revised: 14. 11. 1979.

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ZENE U JUGOSLOVENSKOJ SAMOUPRAVNOJ PRIVREDI

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Rezime

U članku se razmatra uključenost žena u ekonomsku aktivnost kao i specifične kvalitativne dimenzije te uključenosti u Jugoslaviji. Članak ima sledeću strukturu. U prvom delu obrađeno je posleratno iskustvo i analizirane promene raznih indikatora participacije ženske radne snage. U drugom delu analizirana je participacija po pojedinim regionima. U završnom delu autori su nastojali da uvedu jednu kvalitativnu dimenziju na taj način što su obradili i druge aspekte ekonomske integracije ženske radne snage, kao što je profesionalna i industrijska segregacija (segregacija po pojedinim zanimanjima i industrijskim granama), nedovoljna zaposlenost i razlike u visinama ličnih dohodaka, kao i zastupljenost u samoupravnim institucijama. U zaključku su sumirane poteškoće sa kojima su još suočene žene u savremenoj Jugoslaviji u traženju svoje ekonomske samostalnosti i date neke sugestije u pogledu dostizanja pune jednakosti. U celini ova analiza obuhvata vremenski period od 1971. godine koja predstavlja poslednju godinu za koju su postojali raspoloživi podaci iz popisa stanovništva.

Autori su došli do sledećih rezultata: i pored toga što stope bruto učešća ženske radne snage u periodu 1953-71 nisu dostigle nivo iz 1921. godine, učinjen je značajan napredak u pogledu angažovanosti žena u društvenom sektoru. Podaci o participaciji ženske radne snage, raščlanjeni po starosnim grupama, pokazuju da žene u uzrastu fertile sposobnosti pokazuju u velikoj meri sklonost za rad van kuće. Pored toga, žene čija su deca odrasla, u velikom broju se vraćaju ekonomskoj aktivnosti. Nadalje, sve više se povećava kvalifikacioni i obrazovni nivo ženske radne snage.

Međutim, ova slika progressa delimično je zatamnjena, nagoveštavaju autori razmatrajući regionalne razlike učešća žena u ekonomskoj aktivnosti, razlike u visini ličnih dohodaka, zastupljenost u samoupravnim institucijama, kao i koncentraciju ženske radne snage u pojedinim zanimanjima. Podaci pokazuju da su se u periodu 1953-71. povećale razlike u učestvovanju žena u ekonomskoj aktivnosti s obzirom na nivo razvijenosti. Stopa učešća ženske radne snage u nedovolj-

no razvijenim regionima je opala, dok se stopa u razvijenim područjima povećala. Prosečni mesečni dohoci radnika u industrijskim granama u kojima je koncentrisana ženska radna snaga bili su ispod jugoslovenskog proseka. Nasuprot tome, prosečni mesečni dohoci u granama u kojima je udeo ženske radne snage relativno nizak, bili su na nivou ili nešto iznad jugoslovenskog proseka. Važnost ženske radne snage i njen uticaj u jugoslovenskoj privredi preko njene zastupljenosti u presudnim institucijama novog sistema, tj. u samoupravnim organima na nivou federacije, republika i komuna, pokazuje da je i uprkos nepostojanja institucionalnih prepreka za učešće žena u procesu samoupravljanja, njihova zastupljenost u navedenim samoupravnim telima bila ispod nivoa njihovog značaja u celokupnoj radnoj snazi. Pored toga, počev od sredine šezdesetih godina, smanjuje se procenat žena predstavnika, dok su one čiji je mandat u toku imale u proseku relativno viši obrazovni i kvalifikacioni nivo u odnosu na muške predstavnike. Situacija se nije razlikovala ni na nivou opštine. Zastupljenost žena u radničkim savetima na nivou preduzeća bila je nešto veća. Ali i ta zastupljenost je u periodu 1950-62. bila u opadanju, a onda stagnira. Odnos žena predsednika radničkih saveta i direktora preduzeća bio je izuzetno mali. U pogledu profesionalne strukture i kvalifikacije, podaci pokazuju da su u 1971. godini žene još uvek bile preterano zastupljene na nivou nekvalifikovane radne snage, s obzirom na njihov udeo u celokupnoj radnoj snazi, kao i to da je ženska radna snaga u Jugoslaviji, kao i drugde, koncentrisana u određenim industrijskim granama koje izgleda predstavljaju »prirodno« produženje njihove tradicionalne uloge. Podaci pokazuju da su žene prekomerno zastupljene, na primer, u nastavnoj delatnosti, industriji konfekcije i tekstila, u uslužnim servisima, dok je veliki broj visoko plaćenih i uglednih zanimanja u proizvodnji i tehnici, kao što su direktori, inženjeri, tehničari, bukvalno monopolizovan od strane muškaraca.

Kako koncentrisanost ženske radne snage u određenim granama privrede i u izvesnim zanimanjima pruža snažnu podršku drugim aspektima ekonomske nejednakosti, kao što je razlika u visini ličnih dohodaka, razlike u kvalifikacijama, razlike u nezaposlenosti, itd., takva koncentracija u Jugoslaviji ukazuje na jedan duboko ukorenjeni problem u odnosu na ulogu žene u ekonomskoj aktivnosti. To isto tako sugeriše da je neadekvatna društvena politika koja stvara uslove za zapošljavanje ženske radne snage izvan kuće i njeno potpuno integriranje u samoupravni socijalizam. Prava ravnopravnost zahteva da porodice (uključujući i žene) iskoriste sve raspoložive mogućnosti i da se krene od tradicionalnih uloga, uslovljenih polnom pripadnošću, kako u kući tako i u profesionalnoj strukturi.