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Gender regimes and the challenges of macroeconomic paradigm in Serbia in the light of the global economic crisis

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The paper is focused on the causes and gender effects of the current global economic crisis, its particular effects in the Republic of Serbia and on the possibilities of overcoming the crisis. Using feminist development economics perspective this paper offers criticism of neo-liberalism with respect to the crisis. The strong imbalance in the relationships between work and capital is explained as a result of neoliberal deregulation and separation of the market economy from social and natural reproduction, as well as ignorance of the hierarchical relation established between paid work and care as unpaid work performed mainly by women.

With regard to Serbia, when foreign capital is lacking, privatization funds are empty and the structure deficit is significant, the economy has faced decrease in income, rise in unemployment, fall in aggregate demand and women and children suffer the most. A new gender sensitive development strategy should re-address the current unequal power relationship, so that all people can exercise choices that would lead them to a fulfilled life.

Key words: *global economic crisis, traditional and alternative thinking, gender regimes, Serbia.*

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Introduction

The debate on the current global economic and financial crisis focuses heavily on its financial aspect and impact on real industries. There is an artificial and simplified separation of financial market from the real economy and a constant repetition of key assumptions of neoclassical theories of economics on the separation of market economy from social and natural reproduction. While debating the causes and effects of the global crisis, a strong imbalance in the relationships established between work and capital due to neoliberal deregulation can be detected. Meanwhile, the hierarchical relation established between paid work and unpaid care as unpaid work performed mainly by women is ignored.

In this paper¹, the issue of the influence of gender, i.e. gender regimes, in the global crisis in our region is placed within the wider context of time and participants. Gender regimes are considered as systematic, relatively structured relations established between men and women and masculinity and femininity, in the institutions and at the level of everyday life (in practice and in discussions). Gender regimes, seen as organizational principles of social life, include the general practice which is present in various levels of society (Žarkov, 2004). The stability of gender regimes are influenced by economic situations. In this paper, our attention is turned to the key problems occurring in gender regimes in Serbia during the global economic crisis. We explain the ways that various interest groups and participants in the world and in Serbia observe the crisis and react to it. Our analysis will be based on the gender dimension of causes and effects of the global crisis as well as on the potential reaction to the crisis in Serbia which would have positive implications on the decrease of gender inequality and the development of Serbia.

This paper consists of three parts:

In the first part of the paper, the crisis and its key participants are defined – we explain traditional and alternative views on the crisis from ordinary people, researchers and politicians. In the second part of the paper we discuss the gender-sensitive reaction to the global crisis, and we explain key challenges in the case of Serbia. In the third part of the paper we consider a

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gender-sensitive reaction to the global crisis and explain the main challenges in applying it in Serbia.

Different interpretations and participants of the crises and development

The crisis has always been defined and interpreted in different ways². The various opinions about the crises of economic and social systems are grouped in this paper into two key, confronted views, which are called traditional and alternative views³. Our theoretical position and value attitudes are considered a criticism of neoliberal ideology and promoting an alternative, human and feminist approach to development (Đurić-Kuzmanović, 2007: 103-123). Thus, social development is seen as a complex, multidimensional process⁴ of everyday contact of society with new and more complex problems by whose solving more complex problems emerge (Hettne, 1995: 245, 16-28).

Furthermore, the human development approach puts people at the centre of development. It recognizes the importance of economic concerns but also goes beyond them to raise issues of enlarging human capabilities and expanding people's choices⁵. The development, in its broadest sense, includes three key values that the government and the people should realize: life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom from servitude. In the above-mentioned internal meanings of development, there are three key social values and aims

² The word 'crisis' originated from the Greek word 'krisis' (decision) and it denotes a moment of serious threat, difficulty or uncertainty.

³ Therefore, the prevailing traditional opinion about the crisis can be recognized among numerous authors and institutions, such as: Habermas, Marx, Schumpeter, Kuznets, Keynes, Friedman, Stiglitz, then the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. The alternative opinion about the crisis can be recognized in the reports, institutions and participants, such as: the UN What Now, the United Nations Global Compact, the Caux Round Table, the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, various social movements and networks, economists-feminists and so on.

⁴ The development, as a multidimensional process, relates to the overall social system and it encompasses the following changes: economic and social structures, social institutions and general opinion of population. Additionally, the development includes the increase of economic growth, decrease of inequality and poverty and the rise in employment.

⁵ A selected list and more info of reading on human development and gender is at Human Development, UNDP Regional Centre, Colombo (http://hdru.aprc.undp.org/about_us/faq.php / under "Gender" (http://hdru.aprc.undp.org/areas_of_work/gender.php).

of development. First, life-sustenance shows direction of development to meeting basic human needs. The basic function of all economic activities is to provide people with more possibilities and means for overcoming bad luck and poverty caused by lack of food, clothes, health and necessary protection. Therefore, economic development is important for improving the quality of people's lives. Second, encouraging self-esteem relates to human authenticity, identity, respect and recognition. All these things mean variety among people. Third, there is a concept of liberty. Liberty can be considered in a political, or an ideological sense, and in its basic sense of emancipation from material living conditions⁶. Such development (global, national, regional, of sectors, companies etc.) makes sense, provided that it does not jeopardize both human rights for meeting basic needs and fair development (internal limit of development).

Finally, fair development means that people's development must be based on their mutual equality and absence of discrimination regarding their key structural characteristics: sex, marital and family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and community of nomads (Equal Status Act, 2004). However, certain groups of men and women, girls and boys, are intentionally excluded from development and they get discriminated both in the private and in the public sphere of their lives, whenever they do not have equal access to resources, their control and use (results) of development. Of course, discrimination is not fair, it is irrational and illogical. However, due to unequal power, social inertia and prejudice, discrimination is used and it is necessary for maintaining the privileges.

Economic and social development can be seen as a crisis process (Hettne, 1995: 16-28). Therefore, many dilemmas remain linked to the nature and key characteristics of the contemporary global crisis. Namely, the key areas of economic and theoretical debate throughout the previous decades were the following: economic growth or equality; absolute or relative poverty; closed or open economy; economic growth or stability; economic growth or limitation of growth (Đurić-Kuzmanović, 2007: 125-138). The result of the previous debate⁷ is the redefinition of the meaning of development and

⁶ W.A. Lewis, for example, emphasizes the significance between economic growth and liberty in the following way: 'The advantage of economic growth does not lie in the fact that the welfare increases the happiness but it increases the range of human choice' (Lewis, 1963: 420)

⁷ Although it can be criticized as too simplified, the previous dichotomy describes, in broader sense, the basic areas of long-term debate among economists about the main economic and developing problems. The focus thus transfers from the early economic school of

the redirection of the categorical instruments of developing economy and development studies (Berik, van der Meulen Rodgers, 2009: 7).

In this paper the central topic is the dilemma between growth and equality⁸. Economic growth and social equality are two aims that can be confronted, and this fact is intentionally hidden by conservative governments. Neoliberal ideology argues that the market will allocate and select the participants of development who are the most effective and who achieve the best results compared to the least time spent, measured by the achieved profit of the companies and economic growth of national economies. As a result, the neoliberal format of development considers a white, well-educated man as the favourite participant of development. The disadvantages of this model regarding less successful participants in the process of development and their massive pauperization⁹ in neoliberal ideology are seen as necessary and temporary phases of stabilization and structural adaptation policies. By contrast, alternative theorists of various theoretical and ideological directions (Berik, van der Meulen Rodgers, 2009: 8) argue that fairer distribution of income stimulates poor people to participate in development efforts and productivity, strengthens social cohesion and stability and thus contributes to an increase in economic growth. Social consumption is a specific form of investment. Rapid economic growth and more balanced distribution of income are not necessarily confrontational goals (Papanek, Kyn, 1986: 55-65). The character of economic growth is significant in analyzing the effects of development because it denotes how the growth was achieved, who participated and which sectors were prioritized.

A dominant answer to the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the overall break from socialism in 1989 was provided by neoliberal ideology. In short, general opinion was that the market was going to successfully allocate and select the participants of development who were the most efficient, and who gave the best results with the least time spent measured by the achieved profit of the companies and economic growth of national economies. Thus,

development which was dominant during the 1950s and 1960s towards strongly renewed influence and stronger criticism of today's neoclassical school of thought. Besides, heterodox theories, among which is feminist economy and development economy, expand the current area of discipline.

⁸ One of important areas of debate is the question of relations between economic growth and distribution of income and range of poverty. See more: Kuznets, 1955: 1-28 and 1963: 1-80.

⁹ In this model of development, unprivileged layers of population are those who are different from desirable model: women, children, the old, non-white, uneducated and so on.

in the traditionally defined process of development under the conditions of globalization, international trade, competition and technological progress became the basic sources of economic growth and structural change within national economies. Assuming the process of encouraging adequate and continual changes among different sectors of the economic system, employment structure and income distribution, it is expected that society as a whole would benefit from the process of economic growth although the distribution of income would not be distributed evenly to all segments of society. Globalization brings above average benefit to some social groups, while some social groups have only partial benefits and others suffer.

In development, experience warns that it is not wise to confront every instance of inequality and attempt to remove it. Some inequalities co-exist, and provided there is equality of opportunity, they encourage motivation and entrepreneurship. Therefore, there is the dilemma as to which type of economic growth is favored¹⁰. The dilemma is in fact what question we are going to ask – more fair development, more efficient development, or development that is both fair and efficient. The ongoing current global crisis has again encouraged the question of the desirability of aid to financial companies in precarious positions, the preferable source of such aid, and the usefulness of the moralization of capitalism¹¹. The question of the role of participants in the crisis (that is to say development) relies on the interpretation of the cause of the crisis and the reaction to it. Who are and who should be the participants of development? In terms of developing potential, must all or just some segments of the population be incorporated in the process of development? What are the relations of power among the various participants of development and who has the greatest power? Which participants can ask the appropriate questions about the crisis: novice or

¹⁰ For example, Joseph Stiglitz in his special appendix to the Human Development Report dedicated to poverty, globalization and economic growth (UNDP, 2003) concluded that the topic of debate should not be whether globalization and economic growth are good or bad, because sometimes they help the poor and sometimes not. The objective of debate should be: what policies will lead to such type of economic growth that will improve the welfare of poor people (Stiglitz, 2003). Today he asks whether a new crisis means the return of state regulation (Keynes), or it is about the temporary crisis of market (Friedman) (Stiglitz, 2008).

¹¹ Thus Steven Young, the executive of the organization The Caux Round Table asks several questions, such as: What is the role of the state to help the financial institutions in the precarious position? Approaching socialism? Should the government monitor the companies?

master, loser or winner, politician or scientist, the old or the young, men or women, the rich or the poor, the brave and creative or just the desperate?

Generally speaking, the participants of the crisis tend to be ordinary people, scientists and politicians. The ordinary people observe economic and social reality and events and the consequences of their choices as well as their lack of current choices. They can, under certain conditions and circumstances, become the significant participants in social changes. Meanwhile, the scientists observe and attempt to understand and explain the reality. Finally, the politicians in contrast with the previous ones, have more opportunity to influence social movements. Thus it is important to follow how they manage the situation of the global crisis¹². Generally there tend to be three key methodologies of global and domestic politicians (Oberg, 2009). Firstly, there is a fundamental absence of innovative and creative opinion, and a lack of new theories and holistic views which would enable them to observe the overall crisis as a set of individual and interconnected crises happening all around the world. Additionally, there is a constant desire of global leaders to leave an impression that they 'keep the ball rolling' and that the citizens do not have to worry about the seriousness of the crisis. Finally, the elitist style of typical meetings (for example, at the level of the luxurious G8: palaces, hotels, limousines) indicates that the leadership does not intend to play a game of new models on the way to more balanced world but rather show the ordinary people that they are lower than their level.

However, in contrast to the generally optimistic predictions of traditional monetary economists and politicians¹³, Oberg warns that five great and complex crises (Crisis 5 – C 5) will occur simultaneously (Oberg, 2009): economic (system) breakdown; environmental crisis (i.e. global warming); cultural crisis (e.g. intolerance, confrontation of religions and the cultural dominance of the West); political crisis (e.g. overall deficit of democracy, lack

¹² For example, Jan Oberg, director of Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, notices that apart from encouraging and eloquent performance that the US President Obama exercises in his speeches, there are not many or not enough changes in politicians' speeches (Oberg, 2009). In case of Obama, his invitation for financial reform is annoying because it can lead to hiding current difficulties. If Obama tells the truth what led to the crisis of financial sector, he will cause big political problems, but quasi-reform cannot confront the real cause of crisis in the long-term period. The essence of what is missing in Obama's plan is a set of thought rules and understanding of real causes of the crisis (Greider, 2009).

¹³ The recent predictions of the International Monetary Fund say that the recovery of market will take place in one year's time (The recovery of market in one year, 2009).

of hope and political interest in media and among the youth); and security crisis (e.g. illegal drugs; immense military expenses satisfying the Military-Industrial-Media-Academic Complex MIMAC, and the idea that people's safety has never been so threatened). Jan Oberg finds that the causes of the global economic crisis (C5) can be defined in a more complex way as the result of militarization and war as the orientation of the wealthiest countries – Group 20 (G20). Politicians pursue this with the following: the confusion and/or manipulation of 'politically correct' expressions (sustainability, market, human needs, needs of future generations, urgency, readiness to take necessary actions etc); the use of language in speeches that convey that the rich will not make any concessions; an intellectual poverty that says that in order to solve the crisis, the things that caused it should continue to be made; the lack of criticism and focus on performances of key world leaders and their fashion style as demonstrated by media and reality shows. The most obvious example of the politicians' actions is that the total crisis (C5) has aggravated.

Gender effects of the global economic crisis in Serbia

The gender influence of crisis in one sector, for example the financial sector, can be seen to be much wider when the effects of the crisis on women are observed. When there is a decrease of global demand, loan access and foreign support, both poor and rich national economies suffer from decline of economic growth, exports and income. Furthermore, there is a strong pressure on public consumption in the area of health and education and on the overall social network. Women and children are generally the first to suffer when such restrictions occur. Although women are mostly engaged in caring for their families and households, they have the least available funds (ILO, 2009). In addition, women are more present in the category of lower paid work than men are, or they are mostly hired for part-time work or are unemployed. The global unemployment rate for women likely may reach 7.4 percent in 2009, compared to 7 percent for men; the global vulnerable employment rate likely would range from 50.5 to 54.7 percent for women, compared to a range of 47.2 to 51.8 percent for men (ILO, 2009). The deterioration of working conditions is a direct consequence of the crisis – employers are more likely to evade legal requirements, and the governments are less likely to react to such factors as late payments, lack of compensation, shortening of hours, and

reduction of work breaks and transport, etc. (Apparel-industry Labour Rights Movement (ALaRM)). Women have lower wages while simultaneously the price of food increases (Bethan, 2009). The position of wives of immigrants is even more difficult because they may not have specified rights or defined legal status and are therefore less willing to confront the problems. Female immigrants suffer more from limited social protection and have more restricted access and control over economic and financial resources. The crisis has created more pronounced impoverishment and has resulted in the deaths of thousands of children. Instead of reducing the support to the poor during the crisis, the donors who offer support have to do more in order to protect the poorest people from the crisis of production that has occurred due to the mistakes of regulation in more developed countries.

The effects of the global economic crisis are more and more present in Serbia. Serbia based its economy during the last decade on a great inflow of foreign investment and the Serbian currency (dinar) was strengthened by a considerable amount of foreign currency. When there is absence of foreign capital and when privatizations funds are emptied, the economy of Serbia with its structural deficit faces a decrease of income, rise of unemployment and fall of aggregate demand. There are numerous basic macroeconomic risks that the Serbian economy faces including inflation and a current high trade deficit that are usually covered by foreign investments and loans. Additional difficulties exist in terms of maintenance of macroeconomic stability and the existing level of the economy, fostering of production intended for export and encouragement of new investments. Finally, the introduction of new financial obligations for companies and entrepreneurs when there is already a high existing tax burden directly increased participation in the black economy, which means a lower budget inflow and considerable non-liquidity¹⁴.

The crisis of the developed countries affects the high consumption of gender resources in Serbia as well. The signs of the feminization of poverty are demonstrated by the following: (i) the rate of long-term unemployment in April 2008 accounted for 14.0%, and in April 2009 it was 15.6% (14.3% for men and 17.3% for women) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2009:

¹⁴ Non-liquidity can be best seen from the data that for obtaining receivables according to commercial contracts is needed 635 days and 36 procedures on which 28.4 % of the value of the debt is spent in 2009 (The World Bank).

5); (ii) the gender wage gap¹⁵ is 10-30%, research by the Independent Trade Union (Social Watch, 2008: 14); (iii) the rate of non-active population above the age of 15 in April 2009 was 50.7% of the total population, whereas men accounted for 42.0% and women 58.6% (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 5); (iv) the illiterate population above the age of 10 in April 2009 accounted for 6% of the total population in Serbia, where 2.3% of the total illiterate population were men, and 8.3% were women (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 16). Meanwhile, violence towards women is increasing, as well as hidden and overt discrimination at work and at times; this hidden discrimination often turn to mobbing.

The expansion of the global economic crisis has devastating effects on the most threatened and marginalized layers of the Serbian society – mainly among women and children. The aggravation of the economic and social position of women in Serbia is the result of their less effective influence on the decisions that form their lives in comparison with men's influence.

Challenges of engendering development in overcoming political, legal and economic inequality in Serbia

In terms of ideology and practice, policy makers of Serbia do not make divert from the tenets of neo-liberalism. Neoliberal ideology has marked the world, especially during the last two decades, and it is the key cause of today's crisis. Blind faith in the free market and deregulation and reduction of state expenses made a gap between and within national economies and brought about the deep recession. The size of the crisis prompted world leaders to begin a discussion of the 'redirection of values', about so-called 'humanization of capitalism' although this extract from neoliberal ideology is more rhetorical. However, the Government in Serbia, even at the level of rhetoric, do not make any step away from neoliberal concepts. Their only reaction to the economic crisis is to obtain another loan from the International Monetary Fund. Nothing is done to prevent redundancies and bad concepts of privatization based on the sale of state, public and community property. Corruption is the factor that diverts us away from the EU (European Commission Report on Serbia's

¹⁵ The gender gap in salaries is obtained as difference between gross income of men and of women per hour as a percentage in the gross income of men per hour.

progress, 2010: 11). The absence of awareness about the depth of the ongoing economic crisis is characteristic not only of the Government but also to the wider political and social public.

The recent measures of economic policy (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2008) aimed to ease the recession can be classified into three periods (Arsić, 2008). The first period (during the second half of 2008) is characterized by the underestimation of the influence of the global economic crisis in Serbia by state institutions. During the second period (the first two months of 2009) a set of economic measures of anti-recession economic policy was adopted. In the third period (from the middle of March 2009) the Government started to insist firmly on the restrictions of fiscal policy (Arsić, 2009: 14). From the macroeconomic standpoint, the creators of economic policy in Serbia should provide every dinar of tax reduction or consumption increase, and raise the output to the maximum and in the short-term period. From the household standpoint, the Serbian Government should enable the most impoverished and vulnerable households to obtain funds. In addition, these two aims are compatible because the families that need money most are actually those who spend it fast and thus stimulate the economy.

The package of fiscal stimuli and encouragement of the aggregate demand at the national level are necessary macroeconomic guidelines for overcoming economic crisis. Thus, automatic macroeconomic stabilization and systems of social security should be formed so that the unpaid work of women would not act as a stabilizer and increase the burden for women. In the situation of a shortage of these stabilizers, the female workforce acts as a stabilizer by adjusting to the changes in income and changes in legal work status. The link between paid and unpaid work is still ignored and the increase of living expenses as well as unpaid salaries from all sectors bring an increased burden on women. Building and strengthening the system of social protection and network of social protection are necessary. Consumption in the network of social security must be intended for the users of programmes such as micro-financing for women who lost their jobs due to the crisis. Government programmes of loans must be accessible to poor women who do not have property, especially to the women in villages. Additionally, there should be a prioritization of the programme to implement engendering budgeting by sets of fiscal stimuli as well as the programme of investing into

the education of women and girls, giving them possibilities and rights to realize their own visions of economic success¹⁶.

One might ask why women's jobs should be stimulated. Women are strong economic participants and have the potential for stimulating and managing economic growth and bringing income, producing food, and investing, especially during the crisis. Female work is central in the household, local community and national economy. Therefore, gender regime should be taken into account in defining national programmes of social protection. Investing in women and girls as a form of economy of wisdom and knowledge should be productive strategy for themselves, as well for their partners, their families and national economy at all. Reviving the crucial social elements of the welfare state and the engendering of development would improve the human use of resource, decreases discrimination and poverty, promotes human rights, contributes to the quality of development and accomplishment of strategic aims, reduces inequalities and increases social inclusion. Development policies should coincide with the vote of women – in terms of the increase in mobility of women, organization of 'time banks', and incorporation of women into the development of the local community.

The impossibility of the application of a gender-sensitive model of development and human development in Serbia is the consequence of the simultaneous impact of several influential factors. First of all, there has been a dominance of the patriarchal hierarchical model of heterosexual masculinity in the social context of aggression and violence towards women in Serbia. This involves a very complex relation of confrontation between men and women and majority and minority groups, where the subordinated accept the dominance (i.e. woman as a bearer of patriarchal relations). The resistance that occurs is present because of the loss of privileges. Therefore, the weak (women) invite the powerful (government) to be responsible and to take normative, procedural and cultural reforms through organized pressures demanding new regulation (affirmative actions and sanctions) and their use and change of the social context.

The Neoliberal policy of deregulation fostered discriminating results and it led to the global crisis. The feminist criticism of neoliberalism has explained the main myths Neoliberalism is based on. First of all, it is about

¹⁶ *As Economies Falter, How Do We Move Forward?* <http://www.worldpulse.com/magazine/columns/visionary-leaders/as-economies-falter-how-do-we-move-forward>
Accessed 21/04/2009.

neoliberal belief that: (1) the low price of work is necessary in the model of successful development of the national economy; (2) women working in the export industry have a privileged status; (3) globalization and development of information and communication technologies improve access to information and make international links easier; (4) privatization leads to the increase in efficiency of social services and improves the reaction of the public sector to the needs of the poor; (5) macroeconomic policy must be assessed by market-based criteria. The myth is a neoclassical idea that we must choose between equality and efficiency. This idea is simply a justification to those who do not want to provide equal access to resources and human development and who do not want to decrease life uncertainty. The policies that have emerged from these myths have had devastating effects on the living conditions for women all around the world (FENN Seminar Report, 2002: 35–62).

The crisis of family and gender, that is, blindness to gender, is a way to negate the idea that gender is an important principle for structuring family and society. The information and illustrations convey that important decisions are made by the male elite and the result of these is an increase in the gender gap. So there is an urgent need to follow the gender effects of the crisis and to make governments meet women's needs both in the job market and in the household. The struggle for greater gender equality involves addressing unequal power and unequal voice so all people can exercise choices that lead them to a fulfilled life.

Conclusion

Among theorists and empiricists of development, there is a more and more obvious attitude that evolutionist approaches and western-oriented traditional beliefs of development should be replaced by non-determined and universal approaches to development. The worsening of the development crisis at the national, regional and global level is challenged by scepticism towards conventional solutions of the crisis and the critical approach to alternative solutions is encouraged. The central issue that developing and gender theory impose is the formulation of a new research agenda. Thus, in this paper, we emphasize the need for a new paradigm of development and for a stronger presence of alternative views as well as for breaking old (Marxist) taboos.

The analytical framework of new research must examine relationships among different participants, various forms of power and their structure at various analytical levels. Historically speaking, comparative access is inevitable in a research scheme set in such a way. The key variables which satisfy the given criteria are variety and inequality regarding emancipation. Emancipation is defined as dynamic, as a process where social participants tend to rid themselves of structurally defined hierarchical relationships. Meanwhile, discriminating relationships enable unequal access to material (land, property, services) and non-material resources (ideology, political power) of which some participants from these relations have more use than the others.

The current global crisis, in our opinion, requires a set of simultaneous measures used for carrying out the deep structural reform of global financial architecture directed to the realization of a socially justified and gender-equal vision of the world. First of all, it is about the reform of global financial architecture as fostering socially-balanced and globally-balanced development; secondly, the formation or strengthening of national regulative measures in banking and financial markets; macroeconomic issues for solving the crisis, and thirdly, the reform of multilateral institutions for the supervision of the financial sector, in order that the social, gender and ecological costs of financial products are considered.

The financial architecture must be within the policy of development based on human resources, and development must be intended for the welfare of all of us. We are committed to the following long-term measures: (1) link the aims of macroeconomic policy with the aims of gender equality – responsibility for services and care must be divided among state, market and household, and between women and men; (2) eliminate the gender gap with regard to salaries and lead the strategy of reasonable salaries – recognize the contribution of formal and informal workers to the rise of productivity and services necessary for the functioning of the society, including the care for all generations and gender implications of these phenomena; (3) develop and use the indices for paid and unpaid work in national financial reports and statistics of the workforce so the value of social reproduction will be institutionalized; (4) increase public investments for social services and sectors and stop their privatization because this privatization unduly places the burden on women and undermines their ability to gain or maintain economic and social rights, (5) make efficient, effective, transparent and responsible systems and practices of managing public institutions by participating

mechanisms, including but not limiting gender budgeting. As a first step, global fiscal stimulus measures are crucial in order to stimulate national economies in a sustainable manner. While creating a set of fiscal stimuli, the investments in social infrastructure must be prioritized, and there should not only be investments into physical infrastructure and one-way subsidies. It is important to create the jobs and positions that will respect gender equality and to provide the efficient social protection.

The question of who is responsible for women in development is more important than the lack of funds. Who must explain to women their issues and how can they make procedural decisions if those who are responsible have failed to promote women's rights? In that regard, some of the questions that could be addressed are the following: What are the factors beyond the persistence of gender inequalities in Serbia? What steps can reduce gender-based inequalities? What challenges should be tackled in order to create and sustain an enabling environment? What examples exist of changes in government policies which, together with alliances developed with civil society, have translated into promotion of gender equality in practice? Has political will not only introduced the gender equality dimension, acknowledging its centrality, but also made further commitments by mainstreaming gender in various dimensions of planning? These questions, as significant as they are, are beyond the framework of this paper, but certainly should be addressed.

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MARIJA VUKOVIĆ

Rodni režimi i izazovi makroekonomske paradigme u Srbiji u svetlu svetske ekonomske krize

U radu se objašnjavaju uzroci i rodni efekti savremene globalne ekonomske krize, njeni specifični efekti u Republici Srbiji i sagledavaju se mogućnosti njenog prevazilaženja. Koristeći feminističku razvojnu ekonomsku perspektivu u radu se kritikuje neoliberalni pristup krizi. Snažna neravnoteža u odnosima između rada i kapitala objašnjava se kao posledica neoliberalne deregulacije i odvajanja tržišne ekonomije od prirodne i društvene reprodukcije, kao i ignorisanja hijerarhijskih odnosa koji se uspostavljaju između plaćenog rada i staranja kao neplaćenog rada koji prevlađujuće obavljaju žene.

Što se tiče Srbije, u situaciji kada strani kapital nedostaje, kada su privatizacioni fondovi prazni a strukturni deficiti značajni, zemlja se suočava sa padom dohotka, i agregatne tražnje, porastom nezaposlenosti, pri čemu najviše pate žene i deca. Nova rodno osetljiva razvojna strategija bi morala da ponovo uzme u obzir odnose moći tako, da svi ljudi mogu koristiti šanse koje bi ih vodile ka boljem životu.

Ključne reči: globalna ekonomska kriza, tradicionalno i alternativno mišljenje, rodni režimi, Srbija.