



GENDER AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES: TRENDS IN FEMINIST ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY AT THE CENTRE AND SEMI- PERIPHERY OF THE GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION SYSTEM

Rod i ekonomske nejednakosti: tendencije u feminističkoj ekonomiji i sociologiji u centru i na poluperiferiji globalne proizvodnje znanja

ABSTRACT Main objective of this article is to provide an overview of the state of art in the feminist perspectives in the study of gender economic inequalities. The feminist perspectives in sociology and then economics (late 1960s and 1970s), brought radical change in the study of intersection between economic and gender inequalities (in case of economy) and gender, economic inequalities and class (in case of sociology). During this stage instigated by the rise of Second Wave Feminism, fundamental critics of capitalist societies, that generate and reproduce gender inequalities through economic sphere was developed, with simultaneous critics of key social disciplines that were omitting to see the role of gender inequalities for the reproduction of the system and existing power relations. The aim of this article is to provide overview of contemporary state of art in the feminist economics and feminist sociology in regard to gender economic inequalities. The analysis is focused on thematic and geographical scope of articles published in two international journals with high impact: “Feminist Economics” and “Gender and Society”. The aim is to obtain insights in significance ascribed to economic inequalities within the broader studies of gender, economy and society. This is initial stage of broader research focused on differences in knowledge production on gender economic inequalities among the scholars from center, semi-periphery and periphery of the global system, which is more focused on substantive aspects – interpretation of causes, forms and consequences of gender economic inequalities in societies with different position in the world capitalist system and at the same time in the global system of knowledge production. The second line of the analysis includes insights in the state of art in Serbia, based on two leading sociological journals: “Sociology” and “Sociological

1 bmarija63@gmail.com

Review”, and two leading economic journals: “*Economic Annals*” and “*Economic Ideas and Practice*”. The analysis is conducted on the journal volumes published during 2013–2017.

KEY WORDS: feminist sociology, feminist economics, gender economic inequalities, knowledge production

APSTRAKT Osnovni cilj ovog članka je da ponudi pregled stanja u feminističkim pristupima proučavanju rodni ekonomskih nejednakosti. Feministička stanovišta u sociologiji a potom i ekonomiji (poznih 1960ih i ranih 1970ih godina), donela su radikalno drugačije pristupe u proučavanju ekonomskih nejednakosti, ukazujući na njihovu povezanost sa rodnim nejednakostima (u ekonomiji), kao i na međupovezanost ekonomskih, rodni i klasni nejednakosti (u sociologiji). Tokom ovog perioda obeleženog usponom feminizma drugog talasa, razvijeni su pristupi koji su ponudili kritiku kapitalističkih društava koja generišu i reprodukuju rodne nejednakosti kroz sferu ekonomije, uz istovremenu kritiku društvenih disciplina koje su propuštale da vide ulogu rodni nejednakosti u reprodukovanju sistema i posojećih odnosa moći. Cilj ovog članka je da ponudi pregled savremenog stanja u feminističkoj ekonomiji i feminističkoj sociologiju u oblasti rodni ekonomskih nejednakosti. Analiza je usmerena na tematska i geografska područja savremenih istraživanja koja su objavljena u časopisima sa visokim impakt faktorom: „*Feminist Economics*“ i „*Gender and Society*“. Cilj je da se ponude uvidi u značaj koji se pridaje ekonomskim nejednakostima u okviru širih studija roda, ekonomije i društva. Reč je o početnoj fazi istraživanja usmerenog na ispitivanje razlika u proizvodnji znanja o rodnim ekonomskim nejednakostima među istraživačima/cama iz centra, poluperiferije i periferije globalnog sistema proizvodnje znanja, koje je usmereno na supstantivnije aspekte – shvatanje uzroka, oblika i posledica rodni ekonomskih nejednakosti u društvima različitog položaja u svetskom kapitalističkom sistemu, koji je reflektovan i u globalnom sistemu proizvodnje znanja. Drugi pravac analize usmeren je na stanje u Srbiji i oslanja se na sadržaj četiri vodeća nacionalna časopisa u polju sociologije i ekonomije: „*Ekonomске anale*“ i „*Ekonomске ideje i praksu*“, kao i „*Sociologiju*“ i „*Sociološki pregled*“. Analiza je sprovedena na izdanjima publikovanim tokom perioda 2013–2017. godine.

KLJUČNE REČI: feministička sociologija, feministička ekonomija, rodne ekonomske nejednakosti, proizvodnja znanja

Introduction

Economic inequalities are important topic in sociology and economy, although there are significant differences between two disciplines in history of research of this topic and its framing. In sociology, economic inequality was important category of sociological research since its early stages. It was crucial for explanations of social inequalities and different social processes, such as differentiation, stratification, conflicts, social changes, and integration. In economics, after early interest of founders of classical political economy (Smith,

Ricardo), with advent of the marginalist school, the interest for economic inequalities disappeared and it remained marginal, fragmented, until recently (more in Guidetti, Rehbein, 2014).

Until the rise of Second Wave Feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, both, sociological and economic approaches to inequality were lacking gender perspective (see more in Babovic, 2010). However, once that gender was incorporated in the study of class, structure, conflicts, or economic production, not only that understanding of inequalities became more comprehensive and grounded, but the views on society and economy were transformed. New paradigms revealed previously hidden parts of social life and economy, and moreover, have questioned very basic postulates of dominant approaches in both disciplines.

This article attempts to provide answers to five main questions: (1) how central are economic inequalities in contemporary feminist research, and (2) which aspects of economic inequalities are in the focus of contemporary research, (3) what is geographical focus of international feminist research on gender economic inequalities, (4) who are 'knowledge producers', how they are positioned in the global knowledge production system and (5) how is the state of the art in same areas in Serbia as semi-peripheral country? In answering these questions, research also attempts to provide insights in legacy of feminist research from the phase of Second Wave Feminism, which raised the importance of gender economic inequalities and set the foundations of study in this area.

The answers to these questions are of at least twofold importance: epistemological, and from the perspective of politics of knowledge. As feminist standpoint epistemologists indicated, the knowledge that is based on partial reality, is biased knowledge, and taking into research 'women's experiences, informed by feminist theory, provide a potential grounding for more complete and less distorted knowledge claims' (Harding, 1987, Hartsock, 1983, 1985, quoted from Doucet, Mauthner, 2005: 37). From the perspective of politics of knowledge, as Weiler pointed, knowledge and power are connected by a relationship of reciprocal legitimation, as political decisions are justified by reference to a particular body of knowledge, and power influences what will be acceptable knowledge taught at schools, universities, what sort of knowledge will enjoy public funding, etc. (Weiler, 2009). Therefore, social power influences hierarchies within the system of knowledge production, and this is important to know when analysing hierarchies within disciplines or scholarly circles and position of feminist approaches within these hierarchies. There is another important aspect of relation of power and knowledge. The international knowledge system reflects global economic inequalities manifested in disparities in access to production and consumption of knowledge. According to Weiler, the most salient feature of international knowledge system is specific division of labour 'in which key intellectual tasks, such as setting theoretical agendas and methodological standards, are the prerogative of a relatively small number of societies and institutions that play a disproportionately important role in this system – societies and institutions which are, almost without exception located in the economically privileged regions of the world' (Weiler, 2009: 4). Thus, international hierarchies in knowledge production reflect essentially the hierarchies of economic influence and political power.

In this article, term 'global knowledge production system' is grounded in Wallenstein's world system theory (Wallerstein, 1974) and it is used to refer to the system of science, research and education where knowledge is produced, transferred, validated and legitimated. This system is closely interrelated to the systems of economic production and political power, and as Weiler (2009) indicated, shaped in interaction to these two systems.

Feminism was in many ways developed as critics of hegemonic hierarchies (particularly hierarchies in knowledge production) whether they are the consequence of patriarchy, capitalism, colonialism. This is particularly evident in some traditions of Marxist, critical, black, post-colonial feminism and feminist approaches to economic inequalities developed within feminist economics (see more in Tong, Abott, Wallace, Tyler, 1990). Therefore, one of the questions this article attempts to answer is whether the contemporary feminist research on economic inequalities by thematic and geographical scope opposes to these international hierarchies enabling theories of gender economic inequalities to be developed authentically by scholars from periphery and semi-periphery of global knowledge production system.

This article presents findings of initial stage of the broader research on theories and discourses that are developed around gender economic inequalities at the center, periphery and semi-periphery and it is more focused on formal than substantive aspects (thematic and geographical landscape of published research). The focus on gender economic inequalities comes from the view that economic inequalities are at the core of social inequalities as they occur in the arena of social struggle over basic conditions of social reproduction. They are also issue of social justice, and this research is based on conviction that critical sociology is also tasked to explore and explain social determinants and consequences of social injustice. Economic inequalities and gender inequalities mutually intersect and reinforce each other, as well as with other characteristics of social actors such as race, ethnicity, and class.

The article is structured as follows: in the next section research methodology is presented; after brief overview of key contributions of feminist economics and sociology in study of gender economic inequalities, key findings are presented for the international level (based on the analysis of two influential international journals) and then results for Serbia (based on national influential journals in economy and sociology). In concluding discussion in addition to summing up main findings, some new questions for future research are raised.

Research method

Gender economic inequalities are operationalized as unequal participation in economic activities (market and non-market), in access to economic or economically relevant resources (i.e. capital, means of production, but also skills, information, etc.), in exchange and distribution of economic resources between men and women (income, wage, pensions, living standard).

The research questions will be explored using content analysis of influential journals. For the *international level of research, analysis will be conducted on volumes of Feminist Economics and Gender and Society*, during 2013–2017. The selection of two journals was based on twofold criteria: to be relevant for the feminist sociology and economics at international level, and to have high impact factor². Disciplinary relevance criterion was not easy to achieve due to the strong inclination of feminist research to be interdisciplinary. There are many international feminist or gender study journals but they are prevalently interdisciplinary. While choice was easy for *Feminist Economics*, it was much harder to find the journal that would be focused on feminist or gender studies within sociology. After the analysis of possible options among feminist or gender study journals³ with impact factor, it was clear that only *Gender and Society* match both criteria.

The criterion of impact factor was chosen as a measure of influence journal has on scientific, professional communities and individual scholars' careers. Although the impact factor was criticized for many reasons –methodological limitations, misuse, inadequacy to measure impact of scholarly work in particular disciplines, or in developing regions, etc. (Fleck, 2013, Larivière, Lozano, Gingras, 2014, Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2017, Alperin, 2014, Nederhof, 2006) its influence on scientific communities and knowledge production is undisputed (to the contrary, it is the reason for criticism).

Feminist Economics is a peer-reviewed journal presented by publisher as 'journal that provides an open forum for dialogue and debate about feminist economic perspectives.' The goal stated is 'not just to develop more illuminating theories, but to improve the conditions of living for all children, women and men'⁴. The journal is published by Routledge and International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFE) with around 600 members from 43 countries, mainly economists but also scholars from other disciplines. Mission of this professional association (amongst other things) is to 'foster dialogue and resource sharing among economists and others from all over the world who take feminist viewpoint; to advance feminist inquiry into economic issues; to educate economists, policy makers, and the general public on feminist points of view on economic issues'. Associate editors and editorial board include large number of scholars, and many of key researchers in contemporary feminist economic research. Journal is published quarterly and in 2016 journal had high impact factor: 1.476.

Gender and Society is published by Sage and professional association *Sociologists for Women and Society*,⁵ which is dedicated to 'encouraging the development of sociological feminist theory and scholarship; transforming the

2 The impact factor is a measure of the frequency of citations of 'average article' in a journal for a defined period of time. The annual JCR impact factor is a ration between citations and recent citable items published. (Source: <https://clarivate.com/essays/impact-factor/> accessed on 22 January 2017).

3 List of journal rankings on gender studies was taken from SCImago web portal <http://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?category=3318>

4 <http://www.feministeconomics.org/>

5 The association was founded in 1971 by group of feminist sociologists who departed from American Sociological Association (see more at <http://socwomen.org/sws-activism/>).

academy through feminist leadership, career development and institutional diversity; promoting social justice through local, national and international activism and supporting the publication and dissemination of cutting edge feminist social science.⁶ Editorial board is made mainly of USA scholars, with few exemptions. Journal is published bimonthly and in 2016 had very high impact factor: 2.765 and it was first in ranking among 41 journals of women studies journals and 8 out of 143 journals for Sociology.

The analysis included all issues published during 2013–2017 and it is focused on four aspects: (1) overall significance given to topic of gender economic inequalities; (2) main themes within research focused on gender economic inequalities; (3) geographical focus of research on gender economic inequalities and (4) geographical distribution of authors (geographical location in global knowledge production system).

The analysis is conducted in two steps. During first step, based on the analysis of abstracts and articles that are focused on gender economic inequalities (specific aspect or as comprehensive phenomenon) were identified and their share in total published articles is calculated and compared to frequency of other topics in published articles. During second step, within the category of articles focused on gender economic inequalities thematic focus was analysed based on the frequency of key words, as well as geographical focus (measured by the frequency of published research conducted in the different countries/regions) and geographical distribution of authors.

In case of Serbia, four journals are selected for the analysis. Since there are no journals specialised for feminist economics or sociology, main journals published by two sociological associations⁷: *Sociologija (Sociology)* and *Sociološki pregled (Sociological Review)*, were selected, and two journals published by the Faculty of Economics in Belgrade: *Ekonomski anali (Economic Annals)* and *Ekonomske ideje i praksa (Economic Ideas and Practice)*⁸. The same research procedure was applied as in the case of international journals.

Key contributions of feminism to study of economic inequalities

Feminist sociology as well as feminist economy cannot be considered as homogenous perspectives. They encompass diverse theories and approaches which differ in numerous aspects, including those that are in the focus of this study – origins, manifestations and consequences of gender economic inequalities. There are many feminist approaches in sociology that do not pay

6 <http://socwomen.org/about-us/>

7 Sociologija is published by Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro and the Institute for Sociological Research of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (<http://www.sociologija.org/books/>), while Sociološki pregled is published by Serbian Sociological Association (<http://www.socioloskipregled.org.rs/brojevi/>).

8 Professional association of economists in Serbia (Naucno drustvo ekonomista Srbije) does not publish its own journal, but it is strongly linked to Faculty of Economics and its publishing.

attention to economic inequalities, and although economic inequalities are one of the central themes in feminist economics, there are again varieties of approaches which define the problem in various ways and develop different theories in explanation of economic inequalities (for overview, see Babović, 2010: 45–67). Common characteristics of feminist approaches to study of economic inequalities during their rise with Second Wave Feminism is the resistance they faced in their respective scholarly communities, and some shared area of interest which brought closer disciplines of economics and sociology (such as relation of norms and values with economic activity, relation between economic activity and social structures, family, etc.). Understanding gender inequalities, including those in economic sphere, required interdisciplinary approach, and disciplinary borders were made more porous due to the feminist research of economic inequalities. It is not surprising that today influential sociological authors in this area are members of community developed around IAFFE and *Feminist Economics*. Another reason can be also found in the fact that sociological research of gender inequalities moved from the area of economic inequalities, as it will be evidenced also by this research.

Key contributions of feminist approaches in sociology can be identified in the areas of study of employment, division of labour, expanding sphere of work outside of labour market and paid work to household work and ‘reproductive economy’, diverse forms of segregation, discrimination on the labour market and in organization. Important branch of thought in Marxist feminism was focused on unpaid domestic work. While this is usually labelled as work in ‘reproductive economy’ that should be recognized, valued and taken into account when women’s economic participation is at stake, there were authors claiming that this work also generates economic value and should be also considered as part of ‘productive’ economy and paid (more on these approaches in Tong, 2009: 109). Marxist, dual system and interactive-system oriented authors made important contribution pointing to intersectionality between gender and class and revealing the role of capitalism in generating and reproducing gender inequalities in economic participation and wages. While Marxist feminist primary source of women’s oppression found in essentially exploitive nature of capitalism (Reed, 1970), for dual system authors oppression is generated simultaneously by patriarchy and capitalism (Mitchell, Jaggard, quoted from Tong, 2009: 113–115). Interactive system approaches gave equal importance to patriarchy and capitalism in generating gender inequalities, and moreover, they understood inequalities as consequence of the complex interaction of two systems (Walby, 1990, Hartman, 1979, Young, 1990).

Despite this early contribution to the intersection of gender and class, this remained one of the least developed areas in contemporary sociology (Abbot, Wallace, Tyler, 1990). Black and post-colonial feminism brought perspective of intersectionality between gender, race and ethnicity. Similarly to Marxist authors who claimed that women are not homogenous category but divided by class and stratification, black and post-colonial authors emphasized diversity of experiences of being women and oppressed, based on the race, ethnicity, class and geography (Hil, Collins, 1990, Brewer, 1993). Feminist critical theory

(Benhabib, 1987, Hartsock, 1983, Harding, 2006), developed on the diverse traditions (Marxist feminism, poststructuralist critique of modernism, Frankfurt Critical School) retained focus on appropriation of women's labour (both paid and domestic), but also brought in explanation the role of culture in maintaining oppressive social relations (see more in Abott, Wallace, Tyler, 1990: 44–47).

Diverse forms of segregation (horizontal and vertical), discrimination and gaps in employment and wages, as well as links between household work and family responsibilities on one hand and employment on the other was in the focus of liberal feminism. These approaches were often criticized for lack of critical perspective, attempting only to achieve equality of chances, assuming that broader system of social relations does not require transformation in order to be more gender equitable. It reduces the emancipation of women to getting equal access to resources or labour market participation as men (Beasley, 1999: 52).

Although impetus for the development of feminist economics was similar to feminist sociology, it was needed twenty more years to establish 'self-conscious' feminist community within the economics (Barker, Feiner, 2004). Main feminist contributions in the economics came from three traditions: neoclassical, institutional economics and Marxist political economy. Development of feminist approaches in the economics, lead to the deconstruction of 'conventional economics' and evolved from research on employment and wage inequalities, towards more complex research on gender aspects of macro economy, theories on gender and development, welfare state, etc.

Feminist economics questions basic paradigm of neoclassical economy in which central category is individual rational economic actor. They oppose to the idea of universal individual and universal economic actor. The postulate of universal economic actor erases the differences 'between higher class housewife in Egypt, homeless woman in urban centre of USA, women accommodated in refugee camps and girls sexual workers in South Asia' (Barker, Feiner, 2004: 6). Feminist approaches in economics, similarly to those in sociology, claim that gender, race, ethnicity and nation represent important analytical categories which are not only descriptive attributes of 'economic rational actors', but key variables that define chances and experiences of different groups of women and men. The focus on collectivities, groups of men and women, social relations, is important contribution of feminists in the development of economics. In this point, feminist economics approaches feminist sociology.

Moreover, feminist authors claim that central problem of the economics should not be the rational choice of individuals, but provision of individual and collective wellbeing. Their research shed light on women's role in provision of wellbeing, raising the questions of caring labour and developing important research in the area of caring economy. Feminist economists revealed nature and functions of unpaid labour, raised question of underestimations of women's work in national labour statistics and national account systems, pointing to the significance of unpaid work for social reproduction and performance of economic system (Beneria, 2003: 43).

Numerous researches on employment and gender inequalities on the labour market contributed to the understanding of factors and forms of gender inequalities. One line of the study was focused on the analysis of participation of women in the labour force and factors influencing level of participation in paid work, such as employment policies, family policies (Strober, 1984; Power, Rosenberg, 1995; Trzcinski, 2000; Rubery et al, 2001). This corpus of research was developed around working regimes, differences based on race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, labour market hierarchies related to discrimination and segregation (Ammott, Matthaei, 1991; Power, Rosenberg, 1995; Rubery et al, 1998). Feminist authors connected the theory of labour market segmentation with gender segregation theory and emphasized their relation to the processes of socialization (Strober, 1984).

Very important contribution of feminist economics can be found in the area of development and globalization. Breaking point was the work of Ester Boserup published in 1970, which demonstrated that modernization and development are not gender neutral. During processes of modernization women are prevented to access education, property (particularly land), training, and technology. The obstacles to access these resources are the result of colonial and post-colonial rule, which neglected the fact that women in Africa and South-East Asia, traditionally had the autonomous role in agricultural production (Boserup, 1970: 214). This pioneering work launched series of researches dedicated to women's position in developmental processes. Beneria and Sen claimed that key concept is subordination (and not exclusion or marginalization) which takes different forms during capitalist modernization processes, such in large plantations, small commercial farms, labour or capital-intensive technologies and export-oriented industries (Beneria, Sen, 1981). Feminist critics of structural adjustment programmes indicated that female labour is used as substitute for the labour lacking in the sectors that remained out of international trade channels while simultaneously should provide household reproduction and informal safety nets in local communities (Peterson, Lewis, 1999). In the focus of the studies were issues such as women's labour in rural areas, position of women in international and local labour markets, later (since 1990s) in global value chains, and issue of the feminization of poverty (Babovic, 2010). Feminist critics of mainstream macroeconomic models emphasized that economy is much broader than sum of private and public enterprises and goods and services valued in monetary terms during specific time frame. The economy includes also time spent in domestic work, investments in human capital through child care and education, costs of exhaustion of natural resources and degradation of environment (Folbre, 1994: 253).

This brief and consequently incomplete presentation of key contributions of feminist sociology and economics to the study of gender economic inequalities has pointed to key areas of study against which contemporary works published in selected periodicals can be compared. The objective is to see what are the recent tendencies in regard to the thematic focus? Is this legacy still influencing contemporary research and what are new tendencies advancing further research or departing from presented lines of study?

Gender economic inequalities within knowledge published by Feminist Economics and Gender & Society

Feminist Economics

The analysis of *Feminist Economics* is based on 20 issues published during five years (2013–2017), and 164 articles⁹. Gender economic inequalities are in some ways present in majority of articles (130 or 79.2%), whether as an issue which is in the main focus of the analysis or as a relevant phenomenon that is related to the issue which is in focus of the analysis. There is generally strong focus on various aspects and forms of gender economic inequalities. This is not surprising having in mind the disciplinary background of the published research, but also previously presented legacy of feminist research in relation to the gender economic inequalities.

Insights in thematic focus of the articles related to gender economic inequalities were based on the key words (which are often syntagms consisting of two or more words). Due to the fact that key words are proposed by authors without any predefined categories, and due to the big number of key words (often above 5 key words per article), it was needed to process the content and prepare for the analysis. Key words are classified in 29 categories. In case when two key words from same article were referring to the same thing with different wording (i.e. women managers, executives), the key word would be counted only once. Key words that appeared only once and could not be included in any category (i.e. 18th century) were omitted from classification. Applying this procedure, in total 390 key words were classified in 29 categories, coded and processed in SPSS.

The number of categories indicates impressive diversity of topics in relation to which gender economic inequalities are studied: from labour market participation, through different forms of segregation, discrimination, unpaid work and family care, economic conditions, wellbeing, to theories, policies and role of international organizations (table 1). Within this diversity, there is clear focus on labour market participation, but also on phenomena that are not economic, such as social norms, values, family, social structures. This indicates continuity in tendencies of feminist economics to understand economic aspects of gender inequalities as part of broader social relations and structures. It is important to note that one quarter of articles contains explicitly reference to 'gender inequality' or 'gender differences', indicating relational approach instead of studying only women. Future critical discourse analysis could reveal what theories and concepts are behind these syntagms, and how they are linked to the particular theory of gender inequality or social justice. There is also focus on development and particularly rural development, which is related to the geographical focus of studies. Wellbeing and poverty are also important topics and broader economic and social conditions, particularly recent economic crisis.

9 Book reviews are excluded.

Table 1: Frequency of different categories of key words, *Feminist Economics*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017

Topics, issues	N key words	% of responses	% of cases
Labour market participation, employment, labour supply, demand	47	12.1	36.2
'Gender inequalities', 'gender differences'	33	8.5	25.4
Social norms, values, attitudes	28	7.2	21.5
Policies, laws, measures	27	6.9	20.8
Theories	26	6.7	20.0
Occupational mobility, segregation	21	5.4	16.2
Economic conditions, wellbeing	18	4.6	13.8
Marital status, family relations	16	4.1	12.3
Wage, income, pay gaps	15	3.8	11.5
Financial crisis, recession	13	3.3	10.0
Discrimination against women	13	3.3	10.0
Education and training	12	3.1	9.2
Economic development	12	3.1	9.2
Poverty	12	3.1	9.2
Property (house, land tenure)	12	3.1	9.2
Rural development, agriculture	12	3.1	9.2
Women in business (entrepreneurship, managers, executives)	9	2.3	6.9
Women minorities, ethnic, religious groups, indigenous women	9	2.3	6.9
Welfare state provisions (pensions, family support services)	7	1.8	5.4
Macro economy, economic conditions	7	1.8	5.4
Social structures, stratification	6	1.5	4.6
Violence against women	6	1.5	4.6
Migration, women migrants	5	1.3	3.8
Work-life balance	5	1.3	3.8
International organizations, programmes	5	1.3	3.8
Patriarchy	4	1.0	3.1
Fiscal policy, public spending	4	1.0	3.1
Care economy (nursing, residential care)	4	1.0	3.1
Access to finance	2	0.5	1.5
Total	390	100	

During the observed period, six special, thematic issues were published: *Critical and Feminist Perspectives on Financial and Economic Crises* (3/2013), *Land Gender and Food Security* (1/2014), *Gender and Economics in Muslim Communities* (4/2014), *Engendering Economic Policy in Africa* (3/2015), *Voice and Agency* (1/2016), *Sex Work and Trafficking* (3/2017). Thematic issues reflect the editorial policy to provide knowledge on core economic issues from feminist

perspective (such as in case of Financial and Economic crisis), but also to issues that are outside of main stream economics (i.e. sex work and trafficking). At the same time, diversity in terms of geography and communities is evident also from thematic focus of special issues.

The articles related to gender economic inequalities are analysed along two dimensions: geographical focus and position of authors in the global knowledge production system. Geographical focus was further divided in two dimensions. One is related to the geography, region to which research refers, but the other classifies country or region according to the development. Since there is no available classification of countries according to the concept of center, semi-periphery and periphery, as proxy is used World Bank classification on High, middle and low income economics. This is far from optimal solution, but any other attempt to classify countries more consistently in line with world system theory would require big efforts and face the lack of data. Classification of geographical regions is modified classification of regions used also by World Bank.¹⁰

Table 2: Geographical area of thematic focus, *Feminist Economics*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017

Area	N	%
Europe	32	24.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	29	22.3
North America	13	10.0
South Asia	11	8.5
East Asia	8	6.2
'Developing countries'	6	4.6
Latin America	5	3.8
Middle East and North Africa	5	3.8
Pacific	5	3.8
'Muslim countries'	3	2.3
Cross-country, large comparative studies	3	2.3
Other, not relevant	10	7.8
Total	130	100

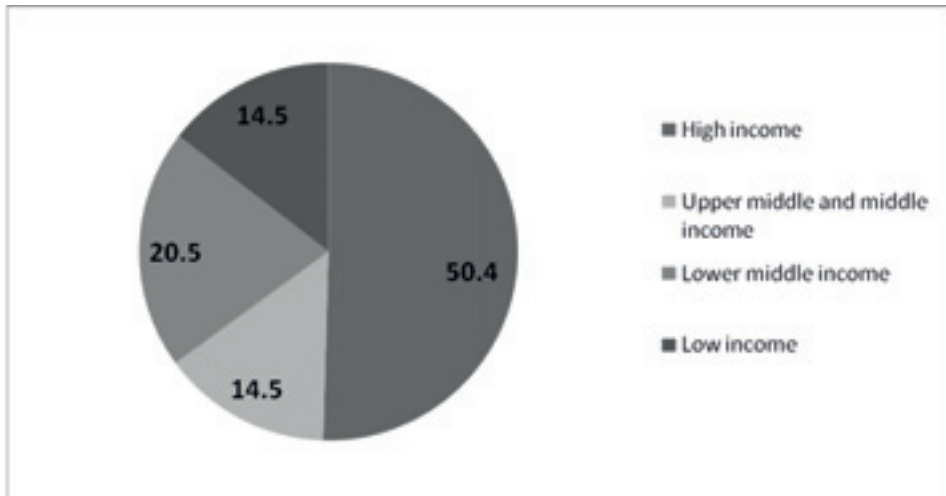
Data presented in the table 2 indicate diversity in geographical focus of studies related to gender economic inequalities. One quarter of studies is related to European countries, while next most frequent region is Sub-Saharan Africa. Research on North America is present in 10% of articles. Although classification

10 World Bank classification includes 7 regions: (1) East Asia and Pacific, (2) Europe and Central Asia, (3) Latin America and the Caribbean, (4) Middle East and North Africa, (5) North America, (6) South Asia and (7) Sub-Saharan Africa. Recognizing important differences between regions that are grouped together, for the purpose of this analysis, Europe was separated from Central Asia (which as it appears is not at all present in the published articles, though some countries that could be classified as Central Asia, such as Afghanistan, are classified by World Bank in South Asia), Pacific is separated from East Asia, while new categories were added, such as 'Developing countries', or 'Muslim countries', which is not geographical definition.

does not allow for differentiation between regions inside presented categories, from the perspective of South-East Europe, it was very indicative that there is no research published on Central-East and South-East Europe, nor Russia and Central Asia. Basically, these are the biggest regional gaps in the research published in *Feminist Economics* during last five years.

In Terms of development level of countries to which research is related, half belong to the high income countries (figure 1).

Figure 1: Countries in focus of research according to World Bank income groups, *Feminist Economics*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017 (N=117)¹¹



Finally, the analysis was focused on the geographical background or position of authors. The question was if the geographical diversity is related more to the research conducted and published by the authors from the diverse regions or authors from central countries (developed countries) have research focus diversified around different parts of the world. From data presented in table 3 and figure 3 it is obvious that diversity of countries under study do not reflect geographical diversity of scientific community. Majority of scholars are positioned in the universities and research institutions in Europe and North America. Authors from some regions that are often in focus of research, such as Sub-Saharan Africa are more often present as co-authors with colleagues from Europe and North America than as single authors.

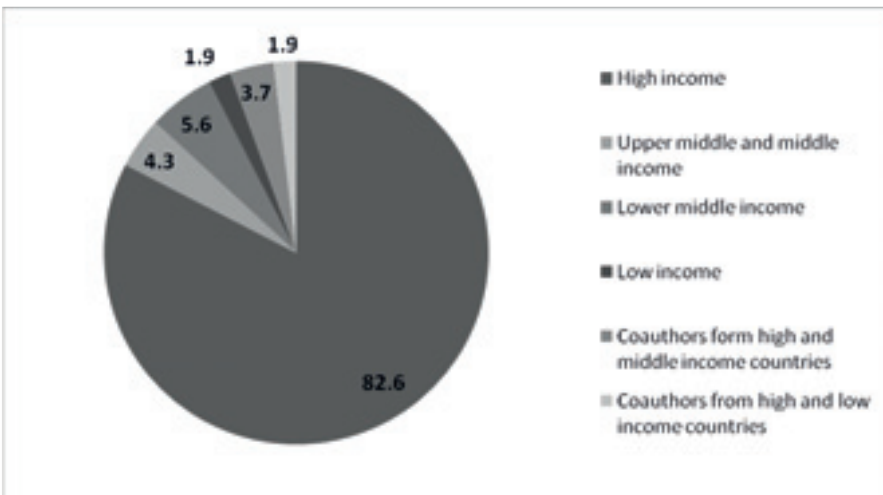
11 Articles that are related to several countries, or categories such as ‘developing countries’, or are not related to specific country/region are excluded.

Table 3: Geographical area of institutional affiliation of authors of articles focused on gender economic inequalities, *Feminist Economics*, 2013–2017

Area	N	%
Europe	66	40.2
North America	45	27.4
Pacific	9	5.5
Co-authors from Europe or North America and Sub-Saharan Africa	8	4.9
Latin America	5	3.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	5	3.0
East Asia	5	3.0
Co-authors from Europe and/or North America and/or Pacific (Australia)	5	3.0
Co-authors from North America or Europe and East Asia	4	2.4
Co-authors from North America or Europe and South Asia	4	2.4
International organizations	3	1.8
South Asia	2	1.2
Co-authors from North America or Europe and Middle East and North Africa	2	1.2
Middle East and North Africa	1	0.6
Total	164	100

Majority of authors is affiliated to the institutions in developed countries, of countries belonging to the category of high income (figure 2).

Figure 2: Countries of institutional affiliation of authors of articles focused on gender economic inequalities, according to World Bank income groups, *Feminist Economics*, 2013–2017 (N=164)



The ‘geography’ of knowledge opens important question of concepts and approaches applied in understanding gender economic inequalities, as authors from Europe and North America can apply theories and concepts that are developed in different societies and maybe not fully appropriate for understanding processes and phenomena in other regions. However, this cannot be answered based on this analysis and requires more in-depth analysis of theories, concepts and discourses.

Gender & Society

Among 170 articles published in *Gender and Society* during 2013–2017, 30% are related to gender economic inequalities (51 articles). Thematic focus of these articles is diverse (table 4), ranging from family, parenting and child care related to the workforce participation, employment, horizontal and vertical mobility on the labour markets, gendered aspects of work organizations, culture, norms, values, gender identities and their relation to work, etc. What is notable is that among key words ‘gender’ appears more often as stand-alone term, which not necessarily reflects relational approach and focus on inequality. Syntagm ‘gender inequality’ appears less frequently. This would require further research, focused on theories and discourses, but present analysis provides indication of lesser presence of studies concerned with inequalities and more with other aspects of specific gender identities, roles, experiences, practices.

Table 4: Frequency of different categories of key words, *Gender and Society*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017

Topics, issues	N key words	% of responses	% of cases
Gender	15	9.5	30.6
Family, parenting, child care	13	8.2	26.5
Labour market participation, employment	12	7.6	24.5
Work-life balance	10	6.3	20.4
Occupational mobility, segregation	10	6.3	20.4
Culture, norms, values	10	6.3	20.4
Social class, stratification	9	5.7	18.4
Migration	8	5.1	16.3
Gendered organizations, gender in workplace	8	5.1	16.3
Gender identities	8	5.1	16.3
Care economy, domestic workers	7	4.4	14.3
Social change, development, globalization	6	3.8	12.2
Intersectionality, race, gender, class, sexual orientation, etc.	5	3.2	10.2
Body, childbirth, pregnancy, breastfeeding	5	3.2	10.2
Wage, income, pay gaps	4	2.5	8.2
Education and training	4	2.5	8.2
Discrimination	4	2.5	8.2
Gender inequality	4	2.5	8.2
Violence, harassment	3	1.9	6.1
Intimacy, sexuality, sexual orientation	3	1.9	6.1
Neoliberalism, capitalism	2	1.3	4.1
Vertical mobility, glass ceiling, leadership, management	2	1.3	4.1
Technologies, information technologies	2	1.3	4.1
Wellbeing, leisure, free time	1	0.6	2.0
Other	3	1.9	6.1
Total	158	100	

Geographical focus of *Gender and Society* is clearly situated in the North-Western hemisphere. More than half of articles are based on the research

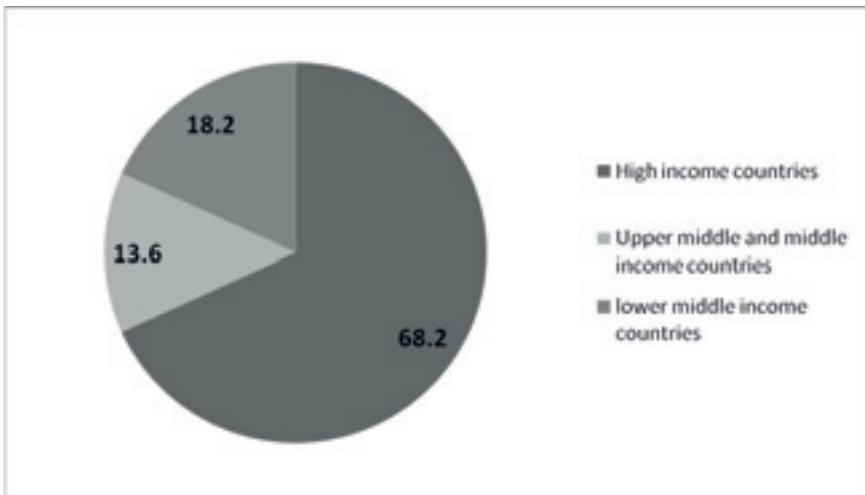
conducted in North America, followed by research conducted in Europe and East Asia. Other regions are much less frequently in the focus of research published in analysed volumes.

Table 5: Geographical area of thematic focus, *Gender and Society*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017

Area	N	%
North America	25	51.0
Europe	7	14.3
East Asia	6	12.2
Latin America	3	6.1
South Asia	2	4.1
Pacific	1	2.0
Cross-country, large comparative studies	1	2.0
Other, not relevant	4	8.2
Total	51	100

In terms of income categories, research is mainly focused on high income countries, followed by upper middle and middle income countries. It appears that no research focused on low income countries is published in analysed volumes.

Figure 3: Countries in focus of research according to World Bank income groups, *Gender and Society*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017 (N=51)



Authors of the articles are mainly affiliated with institutions in North America and Europe (table 6), or in terms of income groups, 96.1% of them are from high income countries, 3.9% from upper middle and middle income countries. There are no authors from lower middle income and low income countries.

Table 6: Geographical area of institutional affiliation of authors of articles focused on gender economic inequalities, *Gender and Society*, 2013–2017

Area	N	%
North America	41	80.4
Europe	6	11.8
East Asia	2	3.9
Middle East and North Africa	1	2.0
Pacific	1	2.0
Total	51	100

Thematic focus compared

Although the idea was not to compare two journals, but rather to get insights in their content as representation of knowledge produced in influential scholarly circles in two distinctive disciplines of economy and sociology, it is useful to see what are the overlaps and differences in the thematic landscapes of articles related to gender economic inequalities published in two periodicals.

Word cloud method of presentation¹² provides good fast insight in the relative proportion of thematic focus analysed based on key words. In the figures 4 and 5, relative ‘weight’ of key words in terms of their frequency among total number of key words is presented for bot journals. It is notable that both journals are strongly focused on employment, norms and values, while differences can be observed in stronger focus on inequality in *Feminist Economics*, as well as more analysis dedicated to policies and theories. On the other hand, *Gender and Society* content indicates more focus on family, culture and gendered identities.

Figure 4: Key words cloud, *Feminist Economics*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017



12 Word cloud is method of data presentation that is usually used for the presentation of textual data. The size the words that are placed in the word cloud represent frequency of words, while colors can represent some other feature that is in focus of the analysis.

Figure 5: Key words cloud, *Gender and Society*, articles focused on gender economic inequalities 2013–2017



Situation at the European Semi-Periphery: the case of Serbia

As it was explained in the methodology section, there are no journals specialised in feminist economics and feminist sociology in Serbia. Therefore the analysis included two journals for economics: *Ekonomski anali*, and *Ekonomske ideje i praksa*, both published by the Faculty of Economics of the University of Belgrade, and two journals for sociology: *Sociologija* and *Socioloski pregled*, published by two different national sociological associations (Serbian Sociological Society and Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro). In terms of professional communities, there is feminist section (SEFEM) active within both professional sociological associations, while there are no feminist professional associations among economists as independent or as part of existing national associations.

Articles published on gender economic inequalities are very rare in selected periodicals. Although there are notable differences between economic and sociological journals in publishing articles based on feminist research and gender studies, in regard to the topic of gender economic inequalities, articles are clearly marginal in all four journals.

Table 7: Articles with gender focus and gender economic inequalities focus published in four Serbian journals during 2013–2017

Journal	Number of published articles 2013–2017	Number of articles within area of gender studies (any focus)	Number of articles on gender economic inequalities
<i>Ekonomski anali</i>	111	3	3
Ekonomske ideje i praksa	109	1	1
Sociologija	144	18	1
Socioloski pregled	123	13	2

Topics in the focus are related to female entrepreneurship (Popović Pantić, 2014), discrimination against women on the labour market (Aleksic, Vuksanovic, 2017), leadership (Stojšin, 2017), gender aspects of migration (Pesic, 2013), and gender inequalities in the context of different welfare states in EU (Kovačević, Šehić, 2015). Among seven articles dedicated to gender economic inequalities five are focused on Serbia, one on EU and one is theoretical. All authors are national.

However, when addressing the question of presence of studies related to gender economic inequalities it is important to take into account specific academic and research context in Serbia. The picture provided by applying same criteria as for journals published in the core of international research communities obviously provides biased picture for country at the semi-periphery. Of course, picture is incomplete also for knowledge production in feminist economics and sociology at the center, because it is based on very limited sample of knowledge, but it is inadequate for Serbia due to the specific institutional and policy framework. Until recently, publishing in journals was not crucial for the presentation of knowledge and as criteria for academic or scientific promotion. With reforms of higher education and alignment with standards applied in EU and penetration of global processes of ‘marketization’ of scientific community, publishing in periodicals became more important as it is necessary condition for professional promotion. For highest ranks at the university and research institutes since recently it is needed to publish in international journals with impact factor. Therefore significant corpus of research remained outside of journals volumes.

The other important specific feature is the financing of research. As semi-periphery country, Serbia hosts many international donors who support research often outside of academia. This research is published in monographs, reports and remains invisible in this analysis due to the methodological limitations (including focus on journal and time frame). However, it is important to note that although research on gender economic inequalities is not abundant, there are significant contributions of researchers in understanding specific forms, roots and consequences of gender economic inequalities in this region. That research is focused on diverse areas. Sometimes it pays attention to gender economic inequalities within broader processes of development, and changes in everyday practices (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013) or in the comparative framework, such in the case of study on gender economic inequalities in Serbia and EU (Babović, 2010). In other cases, research is focused on labour market related inequalities (Babović, 2007) or more narrow, specific topic or group: i.e. discrimination in employment

(Nikolić Ristanović et al, 2012), position of rural women (Babović, Vuković, 2008, Blagojević Hjuson, 2010), women in business (Babović, 2014, 2012), women in academia (Blagojević Hjuson, 2015), gender pay gap (Avlijaš, et al. 2013), economic violence (Babović, Ginić, Vuković, 2010), power relations in household and division of household work and money management (Babović, 2009). The research is often contextualised and historically embedded, reflecting peculiar realities of societies at the semi-periphery of Europe that faced difficulties in transformation after the fall of socialism. Significant research was dedicated to changes in gender regimes within processes of social destruction and postponed transformation after the fall of socialism (Blagojevic, 2002, Milić, 2004).

Concluding discussion

Taking into account bias steaming from methodological limitations, the findings presented in this article provide elements for the picture of contemporary feminist research on gender economic inequalities in the center of knowledge production system and in Serbia as example of the country at semi-periphery (of Europe). The aim of the research was to provide insights in tendencies in contemporary feminist economics and feminist sociology in regard to the study of gender economic inequalities, in their thematic, geographical focus, but also in terms of who are the agents of knowledge production.

The analysis was based on the content of leading journals for feminist economics and sociology (according to impact factor) and four national leading journals for sociology and economics in Serbia (in the absence of specialized feminist sociological and economic journals).

The findings indicated dynamic knowledge production in *Feminist Economics*, with strong focus on gender economic inequalities, but also with broad range of relevant factors, related phenomena and within diverse context. The tradition of feminist economics from the early stages is still recognizable and present. Geographical focus is relatively broad, including different regions in the world, with some gaps (i.e. Eastern Europe and Central Asia). However, knowledge is still disproportionally produced in the Europe and North America, and it reflects more geographically diverse interest of researchers from developed regions than volume of knowledge produced by the authors from the regions in focus.

Gender and Society is much more centered around topics relevant for North America and less Europe, and judging by key words it departed from earlier traditions focused on inequalities. The analysis of key words and abstracts indicates more focus on gender roles and identities, as well as practices, but without conceptualization of inequality, except in minor number of articles. This is more knowledge on gender economic inequalities in developed world produced by the authors from developed world.

Findings from Serbia indicate particularly marginal role study of gender economic inequalities have in national periodicals. This does not reflect the real picture of knowledge production on gender economic inequalities, which opens the question of adequacy of transfer of criteria for academic and scientific achievements from center to semi-periphery.

Presented research is initial stage of broader research and it provided guidance for future lines of study. Before all it will be needed to conduct deeper analysis of theories and discourses in understanding and explanation of gender economic inequalities at the center, semi-periphery and periphery of the world system. Which theories are used and do they enable appropriate understanding of gender economic inequalities in regions far from those in which theories are created. Secondly, it will be important to further explore, which kind of knowledge exchange can be useful for researchers at different places in the global system of knowledge production. Are there theories, concepts developed at the semi-periphery and periphery that can be useful to be used in the center in order to understand some processes and tendencies? For example, recently published gender equality index shows backward trends in domain of time (which includes division of work and responsibilities in the household) across the EU. Research from countries at the semi-periphery of Europe (i.e. Serbia), showed that in circumstances when crisis occurs and resources in public sphere became more scarce, women are pushed towards sphere of private life or reproduction and tasked to take care of family and unpaid work, but also to organize key coping strategies in the absence of sufficient means for living (Blagojevic, 2002, Milić, 2004).

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