

6 Paid work, prestige professions and politics

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6.1 The inclusion of women in the labour market and the position of the genders in the social structure

A great deal has been written about the importance of economic equality for ensuring equal opportunities for women to enter public life and politics. Virginia Woolf's metaphor of a room of her own, demands for the opening up of "masculinised" professions to women, demands for equal pay for equal work, calls for the elimination of visible and non-visible barriers to the advancement of women in professional careers, and recent attempts to legislate quotas for the highest decision-making positions in business in the European Union bear witness to the fact that, despite certain shifts in the direction of establishing gender equality in the fields of the economy and business, work and earnings, economic power and decision making, men still retain a privileged position in this area in relation to women as a social group.

The importance of the economic independence of women for their active participation in politics was determined by a number of studies in the second half of the 20th century, a period when, particularly immediately after the Second World War, the proportion of women in politics was not high (Rule, 1987; Norris, Inglehart and Welzel, 2002; Norris and Lovenduski, 1995).

Although important shifts can be observed regarding the position of women in the area of employment in Slovenia in the last ten years (particularly the high representation of women in the labour market, increased full-time employment, and the breaking through of women into particular "prestige" fields, such as law, journalism and the university), we nonetheless find that women have not yet achieved appropriate positions in the labour market, as data clearly indicate the continued presence of horizontal and vertical gender segregation/segmentation, as well as differences in pay between the genders (Kanjuro-Mrčela, 1996, 2000, 2007). It is therefore clear that women still encounter certain (gender-specific) limitations that condition their position in the sphere of paid work. The limitations that women face on entering the field

of paid work cannot be considered purely in terms of evident (inadequate policies and legislation) and concealed (glass architecture) discrimination, but must also be reflected upon in the context of existing social practices and habitus, which continue to reproduce the conventional images of masculinity and femininity that dominate processes of subjectivisation and identity unconsciously and on the symbolic level (Bourdieu, 2010). In spite of the fact that we live in a time in which it appears that individuals' choices in creating personal biographies are autonomous, individuals are, as Duncan et al. (2003) explain, always dependent on decisions linked with moral and interpersonal obligations from everyday life. A person's choices are not purely individual or economically rational, but always also influenced by specific social circumstances and value orientations (Duncan et al. 2003, 256) that consciously or unconsciously condition decisions made both by those planning their own professional careers and by those seeking suitable candidates for specific employment positions.

In the present chapter, we seek to determine whether, and if so which, structural shifts in the area of paid work have, in the last ten years, contributed to our being able to speak about a pool of suitable female candidates for entry into politics in Slovenia (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995; Matland and Montgomery, 2003).

6.2 Mapping changes: Shifts in the sphere of paid work in the last decades in Slovenia

At least since the first half of the 20th century, women in Slovenia have represented an important part of the workforce. Historical sources show that in 1923 women represented 27.32% of all employees in Slovenia, a figure that had increased to 38.55% by 1934 (Kraigher, 1937).⁴⁶ From that time on, the proportion of women in the workforce has continued to grow, and since the 1990s it has not fallen below 46% (SORS; Kozmik and Jeram, 1997).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The author states that, in absolute terms, the number of employed women rose dramatically from 17,341 in 1923 to 30,458 in 1934, representing a 77% increase (Kraigher, 1937).

⁴⁷ More detailed data by year will be presented in the continuation.

The period of the socialist economy had an important influence on the employment of women, as the participation of women in the workforce was part of the socialist project. This gave women above all the right to work and to financial independence, and consequently to personal emancipation (Kanjuo Mrčela, Křížková, Nagy, 2010). Another important factor in this regard was that “in the period of the socialist economy, unemployment was virtually unknown, with the level of registered unemployed hovering around a symbolic 2%” (Černigoj Sadar and Verša 2002, 405).

A survey of the position of women in the labour market in Slovenia, presented in Table 12, shows that the proportion of women in full-time employment has grown steadily since 1950, when women represented just over a third of the workforce. Even during the present crisis, the proportion of women in the structure of the workforce in Slovenia has remained at almost 50%, amounting to 47.6% in 2010 and 47% in 2013 (SORS). Women in Slovenia are typically employed on a full-time basis, as Eurostat data show that only 14.4% of women were employed for a part time in 2009 (which is 5.5 percentage points more than men) (Eurostat, LFS, January 2009).

Table 12: The proportion of employed persons by gender in Slovenia from 1950 to 2013

Year	Men	Women
1950*	66%	34%
1960*	63.9%	36.1%
1970*	58.8%	41.2%
1980*	55.8%	44.22%
1990**	53.5%	46.45%
2000***	52.1%	47.9%
2010***	52.4%	47.6%
2013****	53%	47%

Source: * Census Books from the census in SRS, 1971, 1981. ** Statistics Yearbook RS, 1991; ***SORS, Workforce Survey; ****SORS, Active Population, Slovenia, January 2013 – final data.

Whereas the “labour market” was stable until the transition period, there were major upheavals at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Due to the transition from a planned socialist economy to a market economy and the restructuring of the labour market, major structural changes arose. This period was accompanied by tightened economic conditions and growing unemployment. A further consequence of the transformation depression was a significant reduction in the active working population, which, according to registry sources,⁴⁸ decreased by almost 200,000 in the years from 1988 to 1998 (Ignjatovič 2002, 13). Due to large companies in the heavy and machine industry sector going into receivership, as well as the closure of mines, transition events in the labour market initially had a greater impact on the male workforce, while the service sector and public administration, which mainly employed women (as they do today), were not affected to such a great extent at that time. Women therefore were less subject to redundancy than men in the initial phase of the transition. The first signs of a relative worsening of the position of women in the labour market in Slovenia began to emerge with the quietening of transition movements and the improvement in economic conditions, as the level of both the surveyed and registered unemployment of women began to exceed that of men at the end of the 1990s (Černigoj Sadar and Verša, 2002). This continues to be the case today, as in Slovenia, just as in other EU countries, unemployment in all age groups is higher amongst woman than men (European Commission, 2009).

In line with crisis events in the economic sector and the labour market, at the end of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s, post-socialist countries were caught in a serious attempt to redomesticate women and revive their traditional gender roles. As Maca Jogan (2001) explains, in the time of transition, the time of “democratisation” and “Europeanisation”, these efforts were characteristic of all of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The author determines that it was in fact women who felt the negative effects of transition most markedly and comprehensively (Jogan 2000, in Jogan, 2004).

⁴⁸ The Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS) collects data about the active working population using two methodological approaches: on the basis of registry and survey data. Registry data is based on the Statistical Register of the Active Working Population, while survey data is based on the Workforce Survey. Registry data represents a complete catchment, while the results of the Workforce Survey are an assessment based on a statistical sample. Registry data only takes into account employed persons with an employment contract, while the Workforce Survey is undertaken amongst the entire active working population, including individuals assisting family members and people who work on the basis of a work contract or a contract for copyright work, or who receive direct payment, i.e., people who, in the week prior to the conducting of the survey, have undertaken any kind of work whatsoever for payment (financial or non-financial), profit or family good (SORS, Active Population. Methodological Explanation: www.stat.si/doc/metod_pojasnila/07-009-mp.htm).

The economic crisis, increased workloads and unemployment (Kanjuro Mrčela, Křížková and Nagy, 2010), as well as attempts to achieve the re-patriarchalisation of Slovenian society and the redomestication of women, all contributed in part to the perpetuation of the ideology of women as the primary caregiver, and the consequent double workload of women. As Kanjuro Mrčela, Křížková and Nagy explain, at the beginning of the 1990s, “certain researchers and policy creators expected that women would leave the workforce *en masse* and become housewives” (2010, 649). Although in certain regions there was in fact a deterioration of the position of women both in the labour market and in society in general, these attempts were less effective in Slovenia, as women continued to remain an important part of the workforce and the reversion to traditional relationships between the genders did not eventuate (Antić Gaber 2006).

This is also confirmed by statistical data indicating that, in terms of the high proportion of active working women, Slovenia stands out during this period in comparison to other European countries. According to statistical indicators (European Commission, 2009), which will be presented in detail below, Slovenia is today amongst the countries with the highest level of women in full-time employment. Slovenia also stood out, and continues to stand out, regarding the high proportion of women who remain employed while establishing a family and bringing up children. Women in Slovenia did not typically leave the workforce and interrupt their professional careers due to caregiving and family obligations (Černigoj Sadar and Verša, 2002, 404). This is also true today, as Eurostat data from 2008 indicate that the difference between active working women with and without children is minimal and significantly below the European average.⁴⁹

The reason why the transition conditions described above did not have such a drastic impact on the position of women in the Slovenian labour market can, on the one hand, be found in the fact that in Slovenia, due to its historical tradition, the process of the emancipation of women had already developed to such an extent that it had become “almost impossible to push women into the reserve army of the workforce in the name of economic efficiency” (Jogan, 1986, 28). As early as in the beginning of the 1990s, women understood work as a

⁴⁹ In Slovenia in 2008, the level of employment of women aged 25–49 years with children younger than 12 years was 86.1% (EU 68.1%), while the level of employment of women in the same age group without children was 87.2% (EU 80%) (Eurostat, LFS – annual average for 2008).

value and not as a necessity, as the majority of women reported that they would not cease working even if they were provided for financially in a different way (Kanjuro Mrčela, Křížková and Nagy, 2010, 649). Similarly, research of public opinion undertaken in 1992 reported that a very high proportion of women (69.7%) strongly agreed with the assertion *“For a woman, to be employed is the best way to achieve independence”* (Jogan, 2004), which testifies to the high value placed on work by women. Furthermore, one must not overlook the fact that, in Slovenia, policies concerning employment and the reconciling of paid work and the family – which represent one of the key elements in regulating the position of women in the labour market – had been put in place decades before the transition, and that these policies had already taken into account the principle of gender equality (Kanjuro Mrčela, Křížková and Nagy, 2010).

6.2.1 Policies, measures, legislative solutions

Policies concerning employment and the reconciling of paid work and family obligations undoubtedly made a key contribution to enabling the relatively favourable position of women in the labour market and their continued existence within it. Although Slovenia, like the majority of former socialist countries in Eastern Europe, did not begin to engage more systematically with issues and policies concerning equal opportunities until the mid 1990s (Slana, 2010), when it was prompted to do so primarily by the process of alignment with the European Union (Jalušič and Antić, 2001),⁵⁰ the first budding of policies and mechanisms for promoting women, and the first demands for gender equality and the transformation of the traditional gender order in the Slovenian territories, can be traced back to the end of the 19th century.⁵¹ Jogan⁵² (1986) believes that a decisive role in liberating women in Slovenia was

⁵⁰ Jalušič and Antić (2001) explain that state bureaucracies, parties and institutions in countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia “acquired an interest in equal opportunities policy only after strong pressure from the European Union in the area of social policies” (p. 19).

⁵¹ As early as at the end of the 19th century, educated and economically independent employed women began to campaign for the elimination of gender discrimination in the professions and to demand political equality. In 1898 the Society of Slovenian Women Teachers was established, whose mission was the struggle against professional discrimination. Thus organised women teachers laid the foundations for the political and social movement whose demand was gender equality in all areas and the full entry of women into politics. Two years later, in 1900, female postal and telegraph workers also joined the struggle against gender discrimination in the workplace (Verginella, 2003, p. IV).

⁵² Maca Jogan is a professor emeritus at the University of Ljubljana, the recipient of several national awards, and an honorary member of the Slovenian Sociological Association. As a sociologist, she deals especially with the

played by the revolutionary workers' movement, which formulated a concise summary of its demands as early as in 1940.⁵³ This undoubtedly also had a significant bearing on the fact that, during the period of self-management, Slovenia introduced important legislative changes that facilitated the reconciliation of professional and personal life, as well as providing protection for female workers during the period of planning a family.

Another important contribution to increased employment opportunities and easier reconciliation of family work and participation in the sphere of paid work was made by well organised care for pregnant women and childcare. In Slovenia, the first significant increase in maternity and childcare leave was made in 1975,⁵⁴ when the previous three-month period was extended to eight months. The second extension occurred in 1986, when leave was increased to a total of 365 days, which is still the situation today (Voga and Pristav-Bobnar, 2007). In 1979, the Social Child Care Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 35/1979) also regulated the question of family benefits. Under this legislation, mothers or other rightful claimants also gained the right to compensation for loss of income due to childbirth and childcare (ibid.).

Measures in the area of social policy were also of crucial significance, as they enabled the organised and co-financed transfer of specific household and caregiving obligations to the public sphere, such as investing in and developing childcare institutions, organising cafeterias in kindergartens, schools and public companies (Černigoj Sadar and Verša, 2002), and investing in care of the elderly and healthcare (Jogan 2006 in Kanjuo Mrčela, Křížková and Nagy, 2010). These measures were, and still are, highly significant for the emancipation of women, as they made it easier to reconcile professional and family life, while also preventing

sociology of gender, as well as with the development of sociological theory and the history of sociology in Slovenia.

⁵³ At the 5th State Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Zagreb, demands were formulated for the protection of motherhood, the nationalisation of tasks associated with childbearing in workers' and farmers' families, the guarantee of equal pay for the same work as men, and the recognition of equal political rights, with which the workers' movement significantly surpassed the middle-class orientation of the movement (Tomšič, 1976, in: Jogan, 1986: p. 27). With the first constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, which established the foundation for a special policy regarding women, the demands of the women's movement for the elimination of discrimination also gained a formal legal basis (Jogan, 2004, p. 269).

⁵⁴ Maternity and childcare leave had increased gradually since the end of the Second World War. In the first post-war years, it increased from 84 days to 105 days, and in the 1960s it was extended to 135 days (Jogan, 2004, p. 271).

women – who are typically more burdened with caregiving obligations – from having to interrupt their professional careers due to family obligations.

The topic of equal opportunities and the establishment of related mechanisms did, therefore, enter the Slovenian political agenda prior to the process of joining the European Union, and we cannot understand it simply as a result of EU directives. One can speak about endeavours to realise the principles of gender equality in Slovenia even prior to independence.⁵⁵ Legislation prior to independence primarily protected women in the labour market, and was mainly protective legislation. It provided women with certain privileges on the basis of assumed “biological” differences, such as privileges due to childbirth (Jalušič and Antić, 2001).

After independence, in the mid 1990s, Slovenia addressed equal opportunities policy in a much more intensive and systematic way, as it had made a formal commitment to take the principle of equal treatment and equal opportunities into account when passing legislation (Slana, 2007). In the process of fulfilling demands and harmonising Slovenian legislation with that of the European Union, which was a condition for gaining full membership, in the subsequent years Slovenia had to engage with “a series of directives from the area of equal opportunities for women and men, and transfer their provisions to the national legal system” (Gortnar and Salecl, 2004,115), as it was soon evident that the existing legal framework was inadequate for ensuring real gender equality (Slana, 2007).

According to data of the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Slovenia commenced activities aimed at the integration of the principles of gender equality on the governmental level in 1997, with a pilot project that included a number of ministries. Within the framework of this project, civil servants attended education about gender equality policy and received training to increase their understanding and awareness of the importance of including the principle of gender equality in all policies (www.mddsz.gov.si).

The key period for passing legislation in this area was during accession negotiations with the European Union (1998–2002), as it was then that Slovenia harmonised its national legislation

⁵⁵ We understand the concept of gender equality as meaning the equal recognition, power and participation of both genders in all areas of public and private life. The principle of gender equality attempts to encourage the full participation of women and men in society, and involves the acceptance and equal evaluation of the differences between women and men, and of the different roles that they have in society (*Sto besed za enakost* [A Hundred Words for Equality], 2007, p. 6).

with EU *acquis communautaire*, thus enabling the amendment and passing of legislation regarding the equal treatment of men and women (Gortnar and Salecl, 2004, 122). It was during this period that an important shift occurred in the Slovenian legal system with regard to legal emphasis on the principles of equal treatment and equal opportunities for men and women, particularly in the area of employment and the rights derived from the employment relationship, as well as the areas of social and health security. Equality before the law and ensuring the freedom to work under equal conditions had already been determined by the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia.⁵⁶

A milestone marking Slovenia's commitment to implementing the integration of the principle of gender equality was the passing of the Equal Opportunities for Woman and Men Act (henceforth EOWMA) (Official Gazette RS, No. 59/02), which was renamed the Act on Equality between Women and Men in 2013.⁵⁷ With this legislation, Slovenia gained an umbrella act that determined guidelines and established a basis for improving the position of women and for creating equal opportunities for men and women in individual areas of social life. The basic purpose and important advantage of this act is that it introduces a general legal basis for passing various measures aimed at encouraging real gender equality and the creation of equal opportunities for men and women. It also enables the creation of state policy in this area and defines specific procedures for solving infringements of the principle of equal treatment of the genders (Habl, 2002, 7).

The EOWMA (Official Gazette RS, No. 59/02) also served as a direct basis for the passing of the Resolution on the National Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (Official Gazette RS, No. 100/2005). With this resolution, passed in 2005, Slovenia gained

⁵⁶ Equality before the law is determined by Article 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, where it is written: "In Slovenia, each individual shall be guaranteed equal human rights and fundamental freedoms irrespective of national origin, race, sex, language, religion, political or other beliefs, financial status, birth, education, social status or whatever other personal circumstance. All persons shall be equal before the law." Article 49 determines: "The freedom of work shall be guaranteed. Each person shall freely choose his employment. There shall be no unjust discrimination in work opportunities available to each person" (Official Gazette RS, No. 69/04).

⁵⁷ After more than ten years, the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, under the leadership of Minister Dr Anja Kopač Mrak, revised the old Equal Opportunities for Woman and Men Act and renamed it the Act on Equality between Women and Men, with the intention of placing greater emphasis on gender equality and the upholding of contemporary European directives in this area. Ministry staff emphasise that the principal aim of the revision of the Act was to ensure that women and men have equal recognition and power, and that they participate equally in all areas of public and private life. In this regard, the Ministry has initiated the implementation of two projects in the area of gender equality and equal opportunities. The first project is called *Include.All* and is aimed at encouraging gender equality in decision-making processes in the business sector, while the second important project in this area is entitled *Let's Balance Gender Power Relations* (MLFSAEO, http://www.mddsz.gov.si/nc/si/medijsko_sredisce/novica/article/1939/7317/).

the first strategic document that determined the goals and measures, as well as the key agents responsible for policy, for realising gender equality in individual areas of the lives of women and men in the Republic of Slovenia.

As strategic goals of gender equality policy in the area of employment, the Resolution states: ensuring equal opportunities for women and men in employment and work; ensuring a quality work environment, without any form of harassment; ensuring the reconciliation of the professional and private/family obligations of employees; ensuring equal opportunities for women and men in science and research; balanced representation and participation of women and men in political decision making; balanced representation and participation of women and men in selection for positions in public institutions and the judicial system; and balanced representation and participation of women and men in decision-making positions in the socioeconomic field (Official Gazette RS, No. 100/2005).⁵⁸

In addition to the EOWMA and the Resolution on the National Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (Official Gazette RS, No. 100/2005), one must not overlook certain other legislation passed after 2002, which is also of strategic significance for ensuring equal opportunities, both in the area of employment and in Slovenian society in general.

One case of such legislation is undoubtedly the Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment Act (IPETA; Official Gazette RS, No. 50/04), passed in May 2004, which upgrades the legal basis for ensuring the equal treatment of persons in all areas of social life, irrespective of their personal circumstances, including their gender. The Act highlights the areas of employment, employment relationships, and inclusion in trade unions and interest groups as being of particular importance to the area of ensuring equal treatment (Official Gazette RS, No. 50/04).

⁵⁸ Kanjua-Mrčela, Filipovič-Hrast and Humer (2013), who undertook an assessment of the execution of the resolution in question, judged that its acceptance was one of the most important contributions to the political and institutional framework of equal opportunities in Slovenia. Through their analysis, they ascertained that, in the period of the existence of the Resolution, the visibility of and sensitivity towards questions of gender equality had increased in society, that there were more (statistical) data available on the position of women and men in many areas of life, and that, in the previous ten years, there had been a significant increase in the research of topics that are important from the perceptive of gender. Furthermore, legislative changes and the introduction of new practices were evident in certain areas due to the influence of the guidelines brought by the Resolution (p. 95).

One of the most important legal documents from the perspective of the treatment and protection of women in the labour market is undoubtedly the Employment Relationship Act (ERA), passed in 2002. The ERA (Official Gazette RS, No. 42/02) represents one of “the most important elements of the new labour law system” (Končar 2003, 24), as it systematically regulates the question of workers’ rights in the area of employment and the employment relationship, as well as in the area of social and health security, and security of motherhood and parenthood. With this act, Slovenia legislated certain very important European directives that ensure the equal treatment of women and men in the labour market. One of the most important features of the ERA is undoubtedly the prohibition of indirect and direct discrimination. Article 6 of the Act determines that the employer may not place the employment seeker or the employee, either during the duration of the employment relationship or in connection with terminating the employment contract, in an unequal position due to gender, race or any other personal characteristic determined by the Act. Women and men must be ensured equal opportunities and equal treatment in employment, promotion, pay and other benefits from the employment relationship, as well as in other respects.⁵⁹ In accordance with this, Article 25 of the ERA determines that the employer may not advertise a vacant employment position only for men or women, except in cases where the work can only be undertaken by one gender or the other. Amongst other provisions, the Act also determines the prohibition of sexual harassment and other forms of harassment in the workplace (Article 45, ERA), the establishment of national institutions for the introduction of sanctions in cases of discrimination (Article 229, ERA), and special protection of employees with regard to pregnancy and parenthood (Articles 197–193, ERA) (Official Gazette RS, No. 42/02).

In addition to the measures listed above for encouraging gender equality in the labour market, it is worth mentioning measures aimed at encouraging entrepreneurship amongst women, which Slovenia included in its active employment policy. These are measures and programmes that are supposed to be based on the actual needs of women and the demands of the market, ensuring female entrepreneurs ongoing counselling and development. The measures were intended for implementation in Slovenia in the period 2004–2006, within the framework of programmes financed by the European Social Fund (Gortnar and Salecl, 2004,

⁵⁹ In addition to the areas listed, the Act determines equal opportunities in training, education, requalification, absence from work, working conditions, working hours and termination of the employment contract (Official Gazette RS, No. 42/02).

133). A report published in 2010 by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS) entitled “Female Managers in Slovenia” states that, in the strategy for the development of small business in Slovenia (1996), women are already defined as one of the target business groups that should be supported in the realisation of their business capabilities. Despite the fact that a number of important steps from this strategy are yet to be implemented, it has apparently had an impact on the proportion of businesswomen active in Slovenia, which has approached that of developed countries (Vertot, Divjak, Brnot, 2010, 2).

In addition, one should not overlook the important measures introduced in the area of family policy, particularly the introduction of non-transferable paternity leave aimed at fathers, which, in 2003, first gave fathers a legally defined opportunity to be actively included in childcare immediately after the child is born (Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities <http://www.mddsz.gov.si/>).⁶⁰

All of these measures and policies, as well as the development of various bodies and non-discrimination laws ensuring the promotion of gender equality in public life, have had a favourable impact on the position of women in the labour market in Slovenia and on their economic emancipation.

6.2.2 Shifts and alternations in the still segmented structure of paid work

We are aware that data on the proportion of women in the active working population do not provide a complete picture of the current state, of the shifts and alternations in the social structure. Despite certain positive trends and the constant presence of women in the labour market, research in recent decades (Jogan, 1986; Kanjuo Mrčela, 1996, 2000, 2007; Černigoj-Sadar and Verša, 2002) has highlighted the fact that both horizontal and vertical segregation (or segmentation) according to gender are still present in the Slovenian labour market, as is the gender pay gap (although the latter is less than the EU average).

In the report *Female Managers in Slovenia* (2010), for instance, it is pointed out that, although the proportion of businesswomen approaches that of developed countries, women in Slovenia still have many difficulties breaking into traditional male fields. In the *Human Development Report 2009*, Slovenia was ranked 34 amongst all of the countries in the world in terms of the

⁶⁰ More about this in the chapter by Šori and Humar.

measure of the distribution of power between the genders, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and was ranked 14 amongst member states of the European Union. In this report, it is stated that comparisons of the value of various development indicators show that countries typically display a significantly lower value in the distribution of power by gender than in other indicators of development.⁶¹ Slovenia's weak point continues to be the relatively low representation of women in leadership and senior positions and the low proportion of politically active women (Vertot, Divjak, Brnot, 2010).

The fact that Slovenia, despite certain positive trends, still has a long way to go in achieving full, or even satisfactory, gender equality is also demonstrated by a study conducted by the European Institute for Gender Equality⁶² (henceforth EIGE), which states that the domain with the greatest difference between the genders is the domain of power.⁶³ Nor does the index of gender equality in the domain of work indicate a satisfactory picture in Slovenia: in spite of being significantly higher than in the domain of power, it amounts to 69.1 and does not differ from the European average (EU27 69).⁶⁴

The unsatisfactory position of women both in the labour market and in Slovenian society in general is further confirmed by the Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Republic of Slovenia on the Realisation of the Provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 2013), in which it is stated that the labour market in Slovenia is still horizontally and vertically segregated by gender, as women predominate amongst employees in service activities, primarily in the fields of health and social care as well as education, while their share of the most senior and best-paid positions, such as those of senior officials, top management and legislators, is still significantly lower than that of men. Furthermore, data for 2011 show that women on average earn 4% less than men, with

⁶¹ For example, the Human Development Report 2009 ranks Slovenia in 29th place in terms of the human development index, i.e., amongst countries with a very high level of development (Vertot, Divjak, Brnot, 2010).

⁶² With a special measurement tool called the Gender Equality Index, researchers attempted to determine the level of gender equality in the 27 member states of the European Union (EU27), in which 1 represents absolute inequality and 100 represents absolute equality. The Gender Equality Index is calculated on the basis of gender differences within six fundamental domains: work, money, knowledge, time, power and health (more in EIGE, 2013).

⁶³ The domain of power measures the difference in the representation of women and men in the political and economic fields, as the greatest measure of gender equality can only be achieved with the balanced representation in and access to decision-making positions (EIGE, 2013).

⁶⁴ Gender gaps in full-time equivalent employment rates demonstrate the difference in the participation of men and women in the labour market. In all countries, it was found that women are less present in the labour market than men, that they work fewer hours and that they are present in the labour market for fewer years in their life. The data also indicate that horizontal gender segregation or segmentation (sectoral segregation) remains characteristic of the European labour market, with women still leading the way in typically feminised sectors, such as education, health services and social work (EIGE, 2013).

the greatest difference in the average earnings of women and men being amongst employees with short- and long-cycle higher education, where the difference amounts to almost 19%. The proportion of women involved in political decision making is also low (CEDAW, 2013).

In view of the longstanding inclusion of women in the labour market, their success in the field of education,⁶⁵ and the long tradition of the implementation of policies encouraging gender equality, one would expect the position of women to be significantly better both in the labour market and in the index of gender equality.⁶⁶ However, it is clear that, in Slovenia as well as elsewhere in Europe, women are still significantly underrepresented in positions of decision making and power.

Research highlights the fact that women encounter significantly more difficulties on entering the labour market than their male colleagues (Mencin-Čeplak, 2002; Ule and Šribar, 2008). Aleksandra Kanjuo Mrčela (2007) points out that the reasons for discrimination against women in the labour market can be found in the fact that positions with the greatest power are strongly masculinised, both in terms of gender as well as the expected leadership style and way of exercising power. Research shows that, due to the way of working (long and inflexible hours, frequent business travel, expectations regarding dedication to work, etc.), masculinised professions, irrespective of whether they are populated by men or women, are typically less adaptive in terms of harmonising work and family (Falter Mennino and Brayfield, 250). This kind of work environment represents an obstacle primarily to women, as both foreign (Drobnič and Rodriguez, 2011; Hochschild, 2003; Rosenthal, 2001; Wajcman, 1998), and Slovenian (Kanjuo-Mrčela and Černigoj-Sadar, 2007; Kanjuo-Mrčela and Černigoj-Sadar, 2011; Renner et al., 2005; Sedmak and Medarič, 2007; Ule et al., 2003) research incontrovertibly demonstrates the continued presence of the traditional division of caregiving and housework between the genders. In spite of their full integration into paid work, women remain the primary care providers of the home and family. This is also confirmed by the findings of the EIGE (2013), which state that the second domain in which differences between the genders are the greatest is the domain of time, particularly with regard to time invested in unpaid care and housework. Although Slovenia, with an index of 49.1 (EU27 38.8), is above

⁶⁵ Research shows that women in Slovenia achieve a higher level of education and successfully conclude their studies more quickly than men (Mencin Čeplak and Tašner, 2009; Gaber and Marjanovič-Umek, 2009; Ule, 2010; CEDAW, 2013).

⁶⁶ The index of gender equality measured within the framework of the research project EIGE (2013) amounted to 56 for Slovenia, just two points higher than the European average (EU27 54).

the European average in this respect, there is still a major difference between the genders in the use of time for caregiving and domestic chores.

In Slovenia, thanks to socialist ideology, there is intensive inclusion of women in the area of paid work. However, the essentially traditional division of work between the genders in the private sphere has not changed, as there have not been significant shifts in the ideology, thinking and perceptions associated with the traditional division of roles, particularly the conventional roles of women as mothers and housewives. The state “to some extent disburdened women in the socialist period with certain ‘measures’ such as the well-developed childcare network and all-day primary school, but it was far from eliminating the double workload and the ideological thinking and perceptions regarding the maternal role of women” (Kozmik and Jeram 1997, 12–13).

The developmental trends in the labour market and the behaviour of men with regard to equality and partnership remain largely embedded in traditional patterns and practices, and are out of sync with the expectations of young women, whose patterns of life have changed markedly in recent decades. Although contemporary men have developed the rhetoric of equality, they fail to behave according to it (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2006), which has negative effects in the context of everyday practices, particularly for women.

Giving written form to the principles of gender equality is, therefore, not enough; it is essential that these principles also be consistently put into practice on all levels of social action. It appears that, although the question of gender equality is present on the declarative level, its realisation still lags far behind the desired effects, as everyday practices and expectations in the labour market reveal numerous inconsistencies with the expected effects and practices with regard to gender equality.

6.2.3 Slight shifts in the vertical and alternations in the horizontal...

In this section, we will focus our attention on the question of the inroads made by women into certain “prestige” professions, such as the legal profession (the judiciary), leadership positions in business, leadership and expert positions in public administration, and senior positions in education, all areas that were long reserved exclusively for men. The position of women

within these professions⁶⁷ is of particular interest due to the fact that, as certain foreign studies have demonstrated (Cairney, 2007; Kenworthy and Malami, 1999), these are the professions that facilitate entry into the field of politics. Len Kenworthy and Melissa Malami (1999) find that relevant work experience linked with leadership and expert work are much more relevant to a political career than mere participation in the labour market.

Although the data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia for the period from 1970 to 2000 are, due to the use of different methodologies and changes in the classification of professions, not entirely comparable, they nonetheless bear witness to the kind of shifts that have occurred in the ratio of women and men in leadership and senior positions. It is evident from Table 13 that shifts have in fact occurred, but that they are extremely slow and certainly not yet sufficient. It is very significant that, in the period from 1980 to 1990, there was no shift whatsoever with regard to gender structure in leadership and senior positions, although it should be noted that different methodologies were used in collecting these data. From 2000 onwards, however, data were collected with a unified methodology and classification of professions, and are therefore directly comparable. These data show that the proportion of women in leadership and senior positions⁶⁸ is gradually increasing, but that the process is slow, with the proportion of women increasing by less than 5 percentage points over 12 years.

Table 13: The proportion of women amongst leadership and senior personnel⁶⁹

Year	Total	Women	% Women
1970*	22,836	3,032	13.3%
1980*	20,106	4,095	20.4%
1990**	18,702	3,864	20.7%

⁶⁷ We understand a profession as an occupation that has achieved high status in society as well as autonomy based on specific expert knowledge (Watson, 1995, 222), while also taking recourse to the definition by X. Hall, who understands a profession as a social role that has a central significance for an individual, as well as having indirect or direct financial and social consequences (Hall, 1969).

⁶⁸ From 2000 onwards, the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia included the following professions under the category of leadership and senior personnel: legislators, senior officials, directors and member of management boards, and managers (SORS, 2000, 2010, 2012).

⁶⁹ Due to the incomparability of data, in Appendix 1, Figure 1, the data are divided by period, whereby it is evident what was included under the category of senior personnel within the framework of national statistics databases in specific periods.

2000**	32,081	9,142	28.5%
2010**	45,870	14,778	32.2%
2012**	43,172	14,503	33.6%

Source: *Census Books for censuses, SRS, 1971, 1981. **SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

Although one could say that the proportion of women in leadership and senior positions has increased significantly since the 1970s, it is clear that women have barely achieved a one third share of the positions of power and decision making, both in public administration and in the business sector.

Table 14: The proportion of women amongst legislators and senior officials

	2000	2010	2012
LEGISLATORS ⁷⁰	23.1%	16.6%	23.3%
SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	48.2%	56.0%	53.7%
SENIOR OFFICIALS OF SPECIAL INTEREST ORGANISATIONS	38.5%	51.7%	49.9%
TOTAL	40.9%	47.8%	48.4%

Source: SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

⁷⁰ According to the Standard Classification of Occupations (SCO), legislators include: president of the Republic, president of the National Assembly, member of Parliament, president of the National Council, national councillor, prime minister, minister, municipal mayor, urban municipality mayor, president of a regional council, president of a municipal council, president of a local community council, president of a village community council, president of an urban quarter community council (SORS – SCO, V2, <http://www.stat.si/klasje/tabela.aspx?cvn=1182>).

Public administration is an important field in which women (who, as has been determined in the previous chapters, surpass men in higher education achievements) have for some time represented the majority of those gaining employment. This is demonstrated by Table 14, in which it is evident that the proportion of women in leadership and senior positions in public administration is increasing significantly: in 2000, women represented 40% of legislators and senior officials, whereas in 2012 the figure was just over 48%. *The Report on the Position of Women in Slovenia in the 1990s* states that, in the 1990s, women occupied all of the most demanding positions in the state administration, including the positions of senior officials (secretary general, state undersecretary, advisor, undersecretary, deputy director, advisor to the director, senior advisor), amongst which women represented 47% of all employees on 30 June 1996. The highest representation of women was amongst undersecretaries (62%), while 55% of general secretaries and 52% of advisors to the director were women (Kozmik and Jeram 1997, 113).

Earlier data show that, in the 1970s, women were also well represented in certain segments of senior positions. From the 1971 Yearbook, it is evident that there were 28 women amongst the 55 officials and managers in chambers, the Chamber of Commerce and similar,⁷¹ which represents approximately 50% of all of those employed in these functions.

However, we must not be misled by these kind of data, as closer examination reveals that the proportion of women is inversely related to the degree of power of the positions: the higher one goes on the scale of decision-making positions in the public or state administration, the fewer women are present. Thus, for example, the overall picture of the gender structure of employees in various leadership and senior positions in 1970 shows that the proportion of women in the highest positions of power in the state administration (members of representative bodies with ongoing responsibilities, elected officials with ongoing responsibilities, members of representative bodies and officials) was lower than 20%.⁷² Amongst members of representative bodies with ongoing responsibilities, the proportion of women was only 10.1% (SORS, Census Books from the 1971 census).⁷³

⁷¹ In the original: “*funkcioneri i rukovodioci u komorama i slično*” [“power holders and managers in chambers, etc.”].

⁷² For a more detailed presentation, see Vrečko and Antić-Gaber (2011).

⁷³ For a more detailed presentation for 1970, see Appendix 1, Table 15.

A similar situation is observed in all of the other periods. We do not have precisely elaborated data from the 1980s;⁷⁴ however, data from the 1990s show that, in spite of the presence of women in important positions in the public administration and in other senior positions, the highest positions of power were still reserved for men (Kozmik and Jeram, 1997). Data for later periods, from 2000 to 2012 (see Table 14), also show that women in the public and state administration occupy the most demanding positions, such as those of senior government officials and senior officials of special interest organisations.⁷⁵ The authors of the report *Women in Political Decision-Making: Monitoring Report by the Slovenian Presidency* also state that the proportion of women in all of the most important areas of operation of the public administration in Slovenia is amongst the highest in the EU, amounting to 42% in 2007. In the same year, Latvia registered the same proportion, and only Sweden had a higher proportion (43.9%) (Antić-Gaber, Rožman, Šepetavc, 2008). Nonetheless, it is evident from the data that women remain underrepresented in the most senior positions of power in public and state administration, occupying only 23.3% of such positions in 2012.

We find a very similar situation with regard to leadership and senior positions in the business sector. From statistical data (Table 15), it is evident that the proportion of women amongst leadership and senior personnel in companies has been gradually increasing since 1970, but these shifts are very slow. In 1970, women accounted for 10.8% of directors and other leadership personnel in economic bodies,⁷⁶ while in 1990, women represented 11.9% of all directors and presidents of managerial bodies. Comparable data from 2000 to 2012 show that the proportion of women amongst directors and members of management boards is gradually increasing, but that it increased by less than 3 percentage points in this twelve-year period, from 22.6% in 2000 to 25.8% in 2012 (Table 15). It is also important to point out that companies led by women are typically smaller and are predominantly engaged in providing services.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ For a more detailed presentation, see Appendix 1, Tables 16 and 17.

⁷⁵ The Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia has classified the following as senior officials of special-interest organisations: senior officials of political-party organisations; senior officials of employers', workers' and other economic-interest organisations; senior officials of humanitarian and other special-interest organisations (SORS, <http://www.stat.si/klasje/tabela.aspx?cvn=1182>).

⁷⁶ In the original: "*privredni organi*".

⁷⁷ Companies led by women in 2009 were predominantly small companies (92%), i.e., companies with fewer than five employees. The largest proportion of companies led by women were service providers in hospitality (19.4%) and commerce (18.6%). In absolute terms, the only areas in which the number of companies led by women was greater than those led by men were health care and social care (Lah, 2012).

Table 15: The proportion of women amongst directors, presidents and members of management boards⁷⁸

Year/Description	Total	Number of women	Proportion of women
1970* Directors and other leadership personnel of economic bodies	9,290	1,002	10.8%
1990** Directors, presidents of managerial bodies	3,939	469	11.9%
2000** Directors and members of management boards	11,913	2,695	22.6%
2010** Directors and members of management boards	18,617	4,977	26.7%
2012** General directors and members of management boards	1,983	511	25.8%

⁷⁸ Data from 1970 and 1990 are not comparable, nor can data from these years be compared with those of 2000, 2010 and 2012. Data from the years from 2000 to 2012 are, however, comparable. It was not possible to obtain data about directors for 1990.

Source: *Census Books from the SRS census, 1971.**SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

The data presented above leave no doubt as to the presence of vertical segregation or segmentation both in the area of public and state administration and in the area of the economy. Furthermore, they testify to the existence of “glass architecture”, that is, “informal but very powerful obstacles to mobility within organisations, which are never explicitly defined and are very difficult to overcome” (Kanjuro-Mrčela, 2007, 181).

In addition to vertical segregation/segmentation, data clearly demonstrate that the phenomenon of horizontal segmentation – the concentration of personnel in gender-specific professional areas – is still present in the labour market. Data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia show that, in all historical periods, women have dominated in professions from the areas of education, health and social care, social work, accounting, bookkeeping, human resources and secretarial work, sales, personal services and cleaning services. Men, on the other hand, prevail amongst engineers, drivers, builders, heavy mobile machinery operators, carpenters, mechanics, and device installation and maintenance workers. Notwithstanding certain minor changes, this gender division of professions and sectors remains strongly present today, as is confirmed by Eurostat data. These data show that, both in Slovenia and in the EU27, markedly feminised professions are particularly evident in the area of health and social care, where women represented 80% of employees (EU27 78.3%) in 2007, and in the area of education, where 77.8% of employees in 2007 were women (EU27 72.2%). Particularly masculinised professions were evident within the industrial sector (builders, engineers, machinists, etc.), where only 29.4% of employees in Slovenia in 2007 were women (Eurostat 2010).

The data presented thus far leave no doubt that, in spite of the long tradition of the presence of women in the sphere of paid work in Slovenia, the position of women in the labour market is far from satisfactory. At the same time, there is no denying the fact that important, highly visible and positive shifts have occurred in certain professions. A historical analysis of the position of women in the labour market shows that, from the 1970s on, women have made an important breakthrough in certain prestigious and previously highly masculinised areas, such as law, journalism and university or tertiary education, with the latter being the slowest to change.

In the continuation, we will attempt to determine the shifts and displacements in the aforementioned fields. As mentioned above, research (Cairney, 2007; Kenworthy and Malami, 1999) has demonstrated that transitions from these professional fields are more frequent than from others. In addition to a high level of education (cultural capital) and experience in top positions in one's professional field, gaining entry to politics is also influenced by the knowledge, competences, abilities, operational practices and developed social (professional) networks (social and symbolic capital) that can be gained precisely in the professions in question.

6.3 Breakthroughs in individual professions

6.3.1 The case of law

At first sight, it appears that law is the field from which it is natural, so to speak, to cross into politics and back again. Lawyers' knowledge, expertise and experience regarding the workings of the political, legal and economic system seem indispensable for successful and efficient engagement in politics. Data indicating that many Slovenian politicians (MPs, ministers, etc.) come from the field of law suggest that law and politics are very closely related. How does engagement in law affect the possibilities of women to enter politics? What shifts have taken place in this field in the past few decades?

According to statistical data, it is precisely the field of law that has witnessed the most evident breakthrough by women. It is clear from Table 16 that the proportion of women legal experts has more than doubled since the 1970s, resulting in women accounting for more than two thirds of employees in this profession today. The greatest rise was recorded in the decade 1980–1990, when the proportion of women increased by more than a quarter (or 26 percentage points), reaching 62% in 1990, after which their share has remained stable, fluctuating between 61% and 68%. Thus, we can speak today of the legal profession as a feminised professional field.

Table 16: The proportion of women amongst the total number of legal experts and lawyers

Year	Total number of legal experts and lawyers	Women	Proportion of women

1970*	1,487	428	28.8%
1980*	1,050	380	36.2%
1990**	2,822	1,758	62.3%
2000**	4,173	2,564	61.4%
2010**	6,659	4,527	68.0%
2012**	6,909	4,684	67.8%

Source: *Census Books from the SRS census, 1971, 1981.**SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

Amongst all of the legal professions, the most obvious reversal has occurred in the judiciary. Whereas, until the mid 1990s, the judiciary was reserved almost exclusively for men, today we can talk about its feminisation. As is evident from Table 17, in 1970, women occupied just under a fifth of all judicial positions within the general courts and specialised courts,⁷⁹ but their share had risen to more than three quarters (77.6%) by 2010 and has not diminished since, continuing to show slight growth.

Table 17: The proportion of female judges in general courts and specialised courts

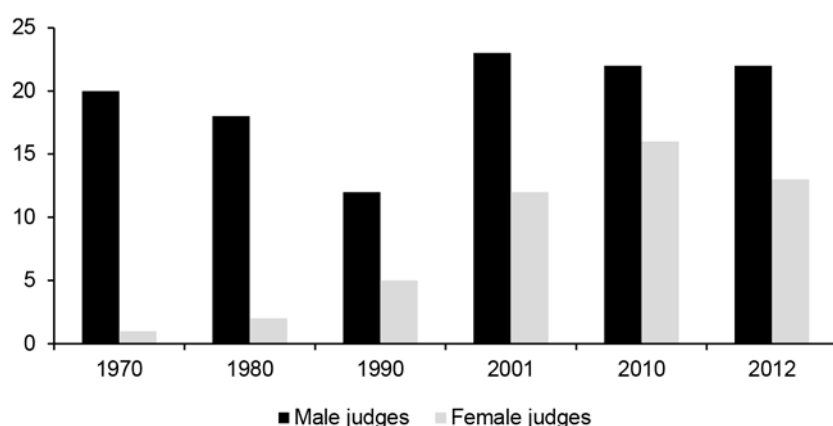
Year	Judges Total	Women	Proportion of women
1970*	367	73	19.9%
1980*	475	217	45.7%
1990**	551	284	51.5%
2001***	745	497	66.7%
2010***	1045	811	77.6%
2012***	1001	779	77.8%

Source: *Statistical Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice. 1971. 1981. **Statistical Yearbook RS. 1991.***Judicial statistics. 2002, 1-9 2010, 1-9 2012.

⁷⁹ In this period, the term “specialised courts” was not in use, but we can consider as equivalent the so-called Commercial Court, which has not existed since the 1980s.

It is, however, necessary to point out that, within the judicial profession, the promotion of women to senior positions (in the Supreme Court and the High Court of Justice) occurred at the slowest rate. The data in Appendix 1, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 show that women in general courts and specialised courts took the longest to advance to the positions of judges in the Supreme Court and the High Court. In the Supreme Court, as Figure 4 shows, women remain underrepresented to this day.

Figure 4: The number of male and female judges in the Supreme Court in Slovenia between 1970 and 2012



Source: *Statistical Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice. 1971. 1981. **Statistical Yearbook RS. Administration of Justice. 1991.***Judicial statistics. 2002, 1-9 2010, 1-9 2012.

Thus, in 1970, only one of the 21 judicial positions in the Supreme Court was occupied by a woman, whereas in the High Commercial Court all of the judges were men (Statistical Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice, 1971). Even more significant are data for 1980 and 1990, which show that the proportion of women in judicial positions had already caught up with or surpassed that of men; however, this can only be ascribed to an increased proportion of women in lower courts, such as Basic Courts and Courts of Associated Labour. While in Basic Courts the proportion of women amongst judges reached 50% in 1980 and just over 55% in 1990, women also accounted for more than 50% of judges in Courts of Associated Labour in 1990.⁸⁰ In the Supreme Court, the proportion of female judges in 1980 was only 10% (2 female judges, 18 male judges), while in the High Court it was 24% (Statistical

⁸⁰ The figure for the Court of Associated Labour for 1980 is not rendered by gender, and has therefore not been stated.

Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice, 1981). In 1990, the proportion of female judges in both superior courts of general jurisdiction was slightly higher but still remained low compared to the overall share of women in judicial positions (Statistical Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice, 1991).

In the period 2001–2012, an important turnaround took place, especially in the High Court. In 2001, the proportion of women in this court, at slightly over 54%, already exceeded that of men, and by 2010 it had risen to 72%, remaining the same in 2012. However, in the Supreme Court, the highest court of general jurisdiction, we can observe no such turnaround. Despite the proportion of women increasing somewhat compared to previous periods, it stood at 34.3% in 2001, reached 42% in 2010 and fell again to 37% in 2012 (Figure 4). The Supreme Court is the only court where women remain underrepresented (Judicial Statistics, 2002, 1–9 2010, 1–9 2012).

An important breakthrough in women occupying judicial positions can be observed in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia (since 1991, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia),⁸¹ which we treat separately due to its different jurisdiction. Since Slovenia's independence in particular, the Constitutional Court has been the supreme body of judicial authority for the protection of the constitution, as well as for legislation, human rights and fundamental freedoms. Judges of this court are elected to their functions.⁸²

Table 18: The proportion of women in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia

The Constitutional Court	The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia			The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia*			
Year	1970*	1980*	1990**	1991-1998	2000	2010	On 1 March

⁸¹ The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia came into being on 5 June 1963. When, in 1991, Slovenia became an independent state, this court became a court of the independent state. On passing the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia on 23 December 1991, which introduced the principle of the division of powers, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia gained the position of the supreme organ of the judiciary for the protection of the rule of the constitution and law, human rights and basic freedoms (<http://www.us-rs.si/>).

⁸² The Constitutional Court comprises nine judges. They are elected to their positions by Parliament, after having been nominated as candidates by the President of the Republic (<http://www.us-rs.si/>).

							2014
Judges Total	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Women	1	2	1	0	4	4	5
Proportion of women	11.1%	22.2%	11.1%	0	44.4%	44.4%	55.6%

Source: *Statistical Yearbook SRS. Administration of Justice. 1971. 1981. **Statistical Yearbook RS. Administration of Justice. 1991.***The Constitutional Court RS, for the periods 2000, 2010, 2014. <http://www.us-rs.si/o-sodiscu/sodniki/vsi-sodniki/>

As is evident in Table 18, women only represented a minimal proportion of judges (one or two at a time) in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which was established in 1963. It is interesting, however, to observe the situation subsequent to Slovenia's independence and the establishment of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia, which introduced the principle of the division of powers and became the supreme organ of the judiciary, and consequently one of the most prestigious institutions in the country. In the period until 1998, there were no women amongst the judges of this prestigious institution; since 2000, however, women have become an important part of the Constitutional Court, representing almost half of the court's judges.⁸³ It is significant, however, that, from independence until the present day, only one of the nine presidents of this court has been a woman.⁸⁴ It is again the case, therefore, that the most prestigious and crucial positions – those that are the most important symbolically and sometimes the most delicate politically – are still reserved predominantly for men.

Despite the fact that the most symbolically important positions, such as presidents of the Supreme Court and the most prestigious Constitutional Court, continue to be reserved for men, we can still say that, in this field, women have successfully converted their cultural capital and taken the majority of positions in the courts of general jurisdiction and specialised courts, and, in the past decade, in the High Court as well.

⁸³ In the current composition of the Constitutional Court, female judges occupy 5 of the 9 judicial positions (on 1 March 2014).

⁸⁴ The only president of the Constitutional Court has been Dr Dragica Wedam Lukić, in the period from 11 November 2001 to 10 November 2004 (The Republic of Slovenia, The Constitutional Court. <http://www.us-rs.si/o-sodiscu/sodniki/vsi-sodniki/>).

Some cases of women politicians who previously pursued successful careers in the legal profession (Darja Lavtižar Bebler, Irma Pavlinič Krebs, Katarina Kresal) show that they were able to efficiently convert their prior experience and practice into political capital, covering fields such as human rights, proposals for electoral legislation, and the controversial case of individuals who had their Slovenian citizenship revoked shortly after independence (the so-called “Erased”).

6.3.2 The case of journalism

Much like law, journalism is a profession that is extremely close to “professional politics”. Following political events and being familiar with them is a vital precondition for success within the profession. Journalists observe politicians closely but, at the same time, there are many cases of women journalists (as well as their male colleagues) who make their way into politics and back both in Slovenia and elsewhere (Danica Simšič, Ljerka Bizilj, Tanja Fajon, Melita Župevc, etc.). Whereas, at least at first sight, a transition from law to politics and back seems unproblematic, this is certainly not true with regard to journalism, as is clear from a number of cases, even in the short period in which the Slovenian state has been in existence, that have revealed a slightly more complicated situation in this field. Nonetheless, journalism is a social activity that provides those who practise it with certain knowledge, experience and competencies that can be successfully capitalised on in politics. But is this true regarding women as well?

As in the field of law, we can broadly observe important positive shifts in journalism (Table 19). The proportion of women journalists has more than doubled in the last four decades. In 1970, women accounted for only 24% of those employed in journalism, but this figure had risen to 40% by 1990. The proportion of women surpassed that of men for the first time in 2000 with 53%, while in 2012 more than 58% of journalists were women. Women also occupy the highest positions in journalism, with data for 2000 and 2010 (Table 20)⁸⁵ clearly showing that their proportion amongst “editor-journalists” and “desk editors” is either the same as or higher than the proportion of men.

⁸⁵ Data on editors for prior and later periods are unavailable.

Table 19: The proportion of women amongst journalists⁸⁶

Year	Total	Women	Proportion of women
1970*	807	201	24.9%
1980	No data	No data	No data
1990**	1,414	566	40%
2000**	872	466	53.4%
2010**	1,375	821	59.7%
2012**	2,170	1,270	58.5%

Source: *Census Books from the SRS census, 1971**SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

Table 20: The proportion of women amongst editor-journalists

	2000			2010		
	Total	Women	Proportion of women	Total	Women	Proportion of women
Editor-journalist	620	290	46.7%	440	222	50.5%
Desk editor	72	42	58.3%	234	135	57.7%

It is possible to conclude from the above data that the gender structure of this field – a field that, according to certain findings (Cairney, 2007), should by its very nature lead women more directly into political activity in the broadest sense – should not represent an obstacle to women, as they have not only exceeded the proportion of men but have also occupied a corresponding proportion of decision-making positions, i.e., editorial positions. It may well be that an additional obstacle to women from this field entering politics in greater numbers is a belief, often detected amongst the public, that it is not possible to act properly as a professional journalist after having been engaged publicly in party politics, this having marked and tarnished the reputation of the journalist. We find examples of this in the past when, after a period in politics, some women journalists were unable to return freely to their

⁸⁶ Surveys for 2000, 2010 and 2012 include journalists employed in companies, societies and similar organisations, as well as freelance journalists.

working environment (Ljerka Bizilj, Mirjam Muženič). However, in order to reach a fully substantiated conclusion in this area we would need more rigorous methods of investigation enabling more thorough qualitative analyses of the field and the way individuals operate within it, and of the perceptions the broader public have of journalism, particularly with regard to its links with politics.

6.3.3 The case of university

The field of education in general and the university in particular should, by definition, be a field in which people prevail who have expertise in their scientific field, who can ask the right questions – questions pertaining to a particular time and space – and who are capable of transferring their knowledge to others, which means that they should know how to speak in public, how to present their arguments well, and how to accept criticism and corrections of their work.

In the previous chapters, we have seen that it is in this profession that women have experienced the greatest shifts: this is the area that has become the most feminised. Closer inspection, however, reveals a rather strong affirmation and reinforcement of gender stereotypes with regard to the appropriateness of the activate participation of one gender or the other in particular areas. At the lower levels of education, which are considered to be oriented more towards moral education, women represent the majority of employees (moral education is considered to be more the domain of women), whereas at the higher, presumably more science-oriented levels men continue to dominate. This is particularly emphasised here because this situation persists despite the fact that women have prevailed amongst the total professional staff in education since the 1970s,⁸⁷ with the proportion of women never dropping below 70% from that time on, and standing at slightly more than 81% in 2012 (Table 21).

Table 21: The proportion of women amongst the total teaching/professional staff in education

⁸⁷ While the statistical yearbooks for 1970 and 1980 use the term “teaching staff”, statistical registers for later periods use “education experts”, with both categories comprising the entire staff employed at any level of education in the country.

Year	Total	Women	Proportion of women
1970*	17,206	12,061	70%
1980*	30,933	22,560	72.9%
1990**	31,685	24,198	76.4%
2000**	30,742	23,297	75.8%
2010**	37,046	28,949	78.1%
2012**	45,923	37,259	81.1%

Source: *Census Books for censuses, SRS, 1971, 1981. **SORS, Statistical Register of Employment, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2012.

At the same time, these data show that the proportion of women in the field of university and higher education has increased significantly, although the shifts in this regard have been very slow.

From Table 22, it is evident that the proportion of women amongst the total teaching staff at universities and (short- and long-cycle) higher education schools has increased steadily since 1970. Between 2000 and 2012 (the period for which data are comparable due to a unified methodology), the share of women amongst higher education teachers and fellows, as well as amongst research workers who participate in higher education programmes, has risen by 6 percentage points, reaching 42% in 2012.

Table 22: The proportion of women employed in the field of university and higher education⁸⁸

	Total	Women	Proportion of women
1970 Teaching staff at universities, short-cycle and long-cycle higher education schools ⁸⁹	1,086	254	23.4%
1980	/	/	/

⁸⁸ As classifications have changed through time, further specifications are added in Table 22 related to individual years. Since 2000, the category of higher education teachers used by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia has included: full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, senior lecturers, lecturers and language instructors. In 1980, lecturers and language instructors were not included, while in 1990 only language instructors were not included.

⁸⁹ In the original: “*Nastavno osoblje univerzitetnih, višjih i visokih škola*” [Teaching Staff at Universities and at the Short- and Long-Cycle Higher Education Schools].

1990** Teaching staff at universities, short-cycle and long-cycle higher education schools	2,295	667	29.1%
2000 ** The proportion of higher education teachers, higher education fellows and research workers teaching at the higher education levels	4,825	1,744	36.1%
2010** The proportion of higher education teachers, higher education fellows and research workers teaching at the higher education levels	8,474	3,384	39.9%
2012/2013*** The proportion of higher education teachers, higher education fellows and research workers teaching at the higher education levels	8.763	3.689	42.1%

Source: *Census Books for census, SRS, 1971.**SORS: ŠOL-KP. A statistical report on higher education teachers and research workers, short-cycle higher education school lecturers, and experts in higher vocational education, 2000, 2010***SORS, Pedagogical staff at higher education institutions and short-cycle higher vocational schools, 2012/2013 academic year.

Table 22 also shows that, although the proportion of women amongst higher education teachers has increased significantly since 1980, it has consistently remained significantly lower than that of men. A detailed examination of data on the proportion of women amongst higher education teachers by workplace, as presented in Table 23 below, also shows that the proportion of women decreases noticeably as they climb the career ladder. In the 2012/2013 academic year, women accounted for 23% of full professors, 33.2% of associate professors, 43% of assistant professors and 44.2% of senior lecturers. The highest proportion of women is recorded amongst language instructors, who accounted for 79% in 2000⁹⁰ and 83% in 2012.

It should not be overlooked, however, that certain positive trends can be observed within all of the categories, while the cross-section by years (Table 23) also indicates that the proportion of women has witnessed an upward trend in all positions amongst higher education teachers. Nonetheless, changes in the top positions are still very slow, reflecting the effects of the glass ceiling (cf. also Ule 2013, 36-37). The period after 2000 represents an important milestone in

⁹⁰ Data for language instructors prior to 2000 are unavailable.

the process of women achieving the positions of full and associate professor, with the proportion of women amongst full professors increasing by 8.2 percentage points and amongst associate professors by 11.7 percentage points, whereas in the previous decade (1990–2000) the proportion of women in both categories had increased by 2.5 percentage points. Based on the above data, it is possible to conclude that women's breakthrough to lecturing positions at university can only be traced back to the last decade of the previous century,⁹¹ which means that women are relative novices in this field and that their further advancement to top positions is (hopefully) to be expected.⁹²

Table 23: The proportion of women amongst higher education teachers by title/position

Category of pedagogical staff	1980*	1990*	2000*	2010*	2012/2013* *
Higher education teachers	19.4%	17.6%	24.8%	35.9%	37.8%
Full Professors	-	9.4%	11.9%	20.1%	23.1%
Associate Professors	-	16.5%	19.1%	30.8%	33.2%
Assistant Professors	-	16.1%	28.6%	40.7%	43%
Senior Lecturers	-	23.3%	29.3%	39.2%	44.2%
Lecturers	-	52.1%	49.6%	59.7%	56.4%
Language Instructors	-		79.1%	80.0%	83.2%

Source: **SORS: ŠOL-KP. A statistical report on higher education teachers and research workers, short-cycle higher education school lecturers, and experts in higher vocational education, for the period 1980–2010.

⁹¹ In the period 1990–2000, the proportion of women increased by 12.5 percentage points, and in the period 2000–2010 by 12.1 percentage points.

⁹² To date, the position of the Rector of the University of Ljubljana has, in all of the years of its existence, only been held by one woman (Dr Andreja Kocjančič), and at all of the Slovenian universities together only by two women (apart from Kocjančič, Dr Lucija Čok). The changes are nowhere near monodirectional, as is demonstrated by the fact that all four universities in Slovenia are currently run by men, that women deans only account for 10% of all deans, and that, in 2012, there were only 5 women amongst the 100 full members and associate members of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, whose members are elected for their special achievements in sciences and arts (SORS, Women's Day 2012).

*SORS, Pedagogical staff at higher education institutions and short-cycle higher vocational schools, Slovenia, 2012/2013 academic year.

6.4 Employment, advancement and formative professions and the transition to politics

The above outline of the dynamics and structural shifts in the fields examined clearly demonstrates that Slovenia possesses a sufficiently broad pool of suitable women candidates for the highest political positions. For some time, women in Slovenia have been equally present in the sphere of paid work, and they have successfully gained entry to previously masculinised employment areas (law, journalism, university); they do not, however, occupy decision-making positions in proportions comparable to men.

It can be concluded that the presence and high representation of women in the field of paid work is only the first step towards recognition of the fact that women can participate equally in political decision making, and in no way guarantees their balanced presence in politics. Achieving political positions requires a great deal more. As Kenworthy and Malami (1999) determine, it is necessary to acquire experience associated with leadership and expert work. Women face significant barriers in this regard related to career advancement, as they often reach a “glass ceiling” while men elegantly overtake them in the “elevator”.

Although women have battled their way into those professions that facilitate entry into politics (law, journalism, teaching), and in some of these professions (journalism) have even taken an almost equal share of the decision-making positions (editorial posts), this does not ensure an easier breakthrough into politics.

In determining transitions to politics from individual professions, we are faced with certain problems hindering the establishment of reliable patterns of transition. The completion of education and the occupation of a specific position within a profession are not always unequivocal, monodirectional and unproblematic processes. The type of work undertaken prior to entering politics or a political function seems to be particularly important, while the direct linking of this work to advisory or expert work for politics appears to be an especially effective strategy.

Examining the employment structure of the current MPs in Slovenia, we can determine that the majority of women MPs are professionals who, prior to being elected, occupied certain important senior/leadership and advisory positions in the state administration or the business sector (of 29 women MPs, 16 had previously occupied senior positions of responsibility in various companies and firms, as well as in public administration, working as business advisors, heads of administrative units, secretaries-general in local communities and project leaders), some of them having come from formative professions (4 from journalism). Approximately half of male MPs had previously occupied senior positions, and as many as 6 (10%) had spent their entire careers in politics (meaning that from their first employment they had been employed in a political party or had been active as professional politicians). There are no cases of career paths of this kind amongst women MPs.

It seems that, in the future, we will have to focus much more on a detailed analysis of the career paths of politicians, as well as documenting their multiple orientations and instrumental professional paths (Cairney, 2007) prior to entering professional politics. In this way, it will be easier to determine which professions can traditionally be understood as facilitating entry into politics (beyond formative professions) and to establish the importance of instrumental professions for active engagement in politics. In examining politicians' professional paths, it is insufficient to simply determine their basic formative professions: the variety of professions and activities performed by politicians prior to their election should be established. It would seem that, in order to determine the possibilities for making the transition from a professional career to politics, it is important to examine the entire combinatorial potential of professional engagement (Shephard et al., 2001) as well as the professions in which individuals were engaged directly prior to standing for office (Rush, 2001).

Of course, all of this requires monitoring the political careers of politicians across longer stretches of time, as well as applying purely qualitative research methods and approaches that, like elsewhere, will need to be developed in Slovenia in order to be able to answer the questions asked in the present study in a more comprehensive way. What we can say in the present chapter is that, although women have made significant inroads into many professional fields, they have not yet succeeded in converting the acquired experience and capital into political capital. This is not only their loss; it is a loss for Slovenian politics and society as a whole.