



Centre for
Women's Studies

RESEARCH

WOMEN IN CROATIAN POLITICS

[2011 RESULTS]



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Research:
Women in Croatian Politics
[2011 results]

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This publication has been created in the framework of the project AD ACTE – Anti Discrimination Actions Towards Equality of Women and Men.

Contents

Introduction	5
<i>Women in Croatian Politics: selected research results from 2011</i>	9
<i>Women in Croatian Politics: comparison of results 2003 – 2007 – 2011</i>	23
Instead of a Conclusion	35
Appendix	39

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INTRODUCTION

The research *Women in Croatian Politics* was conducted in 2011 for the third time. Initially conceived and conducted in 2003 on a sample of 808, and repeated in 2007 on a sample of 571 adult citizens from Zagreb¹, last year for the first time it was conducted on a representative sample from the entire country. While conceived as a longitudinal and national empirical research, in the first two cycles (due to financial reasons), it was only conducted on a representative sample in Zagreb. The implementation of the third cycle makes this research one of the most (if not the most) long-lived empirical study of “women’s issues” in Croatia.

The intention of this research was to examine the values of Croatian citizens, their perceptions and knowledge of women’s political participation, discrimination against women in the fields of public and political life, and the position of women in Croatia in general, in order to stimulate in-depth public debate on the issue of political underrepresentation of women and its possible solutions. The choice of sample and the formal and substantive uniformity of the number of used variables allow for a comparative analysis of the previous two cycles – the instrument for collecting empirical data was a survey consisting of 77 closed questions (nominal and interval scale) and 5 open questions.

¹ For more detailed information on the results, methodology and reasons for conducting this research please see: Kašić, Biljana / Šinko, Marjeta (eds) (2004) *Gyné politiké ili o političkoj građanki* [Gyné Politiké or About Woman as Political Citizen], Centre for Women’s Studies, Zagreb; and Šinko, Marjeta (ed.) (2008) *Žene u hrvatskoj politici. Sažetak rezultata istraživanja* [Women in Croatian Politics. Summary of the research results], Centre for Women’s Studies, Zagreb.

Below we repeat the initially established general objectives of the research:

1. to determine, describe and analyse the social characteristics and values of Croatian citizens;
2. to determine, describe and analyse the relationship of Croatian citizens to the values of gender/sex equality, the mechanisms for promoting gender/sex equality and for achieving them;
3. to determine, describe and analyse the relationship of Croatian citizens to women politicians and the political participation of women;
4. to determine, describe and interpret the changes in attitudes and perceptions of the surveyed population since 2003.

The field part of the research *Women in Croatian Politics* was conducted in the period from 30 November to 15 December 2011² on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, with the participation of 1 201 citizens. We used a random multiphase stratified national representative sample of adults (as was stated in previous publications, we were interested only in adults as they are formally full members of political communities). The sample is stratified according to the six regions and four settlement sizes, and the structure of the sample is further controlled with regards to gender, age, education and place of residence (urban or rural areas). The 2001 and 2011 Croatian censuses were used as a source of data for the structure of the total population. Sample randomness was ensured by the random choice of settlement, then by the random choice of household using the random walk method and, finally, by the random choice of respondent in the selected household. The percentages of individual subsamples (gender, age, education and place of residence) can be found in the appendix, but since the grouping of counties into regions and their frequencies are not visible from the survey, I am listing them here:

² With the exception of 3–4 December 2011.

regions / counties	No. of respondents	% of respondents
City of Zagreb	216	18.0
City of Zagreb	216	18.0
Northern Croatia	273	22.7
Zagreb County	88	7.3
Krapina-Zagorje County	40	3.3
Varaždin County	59	4.9
Koprivnica-Križevci County	34	2.8
Bjelovar-Bilogora County	26	2.2
Međimurje County	26	2.2
Eastern Croatia	235	19.6
Virovitica-Podravina County	24	2.0
Požega-Slavonia County	25	2.1
Brod-Posavina County	42	3.5
Osijek-Baranja County	92	7.7
Vukovar-Syrmia County	52	4.3
Central Croatia	105	8.7
Sisak-Moslavina County	51	4.2
Karlovac County	36	3.0
Lika-Senj County	18	1.5
Istria and Northern Croatian Littoral	143	11.9
Primorje-Gorski Kotar County	84	7.0
Istria County	59	4.9
Dalmatia	229	19.1
Zadar County	43	3.6
Šibenik-Knin County	32	2.7
Split-Dalmatia County	128	10.7
Dubrovnik-Neretva County	26	2.2

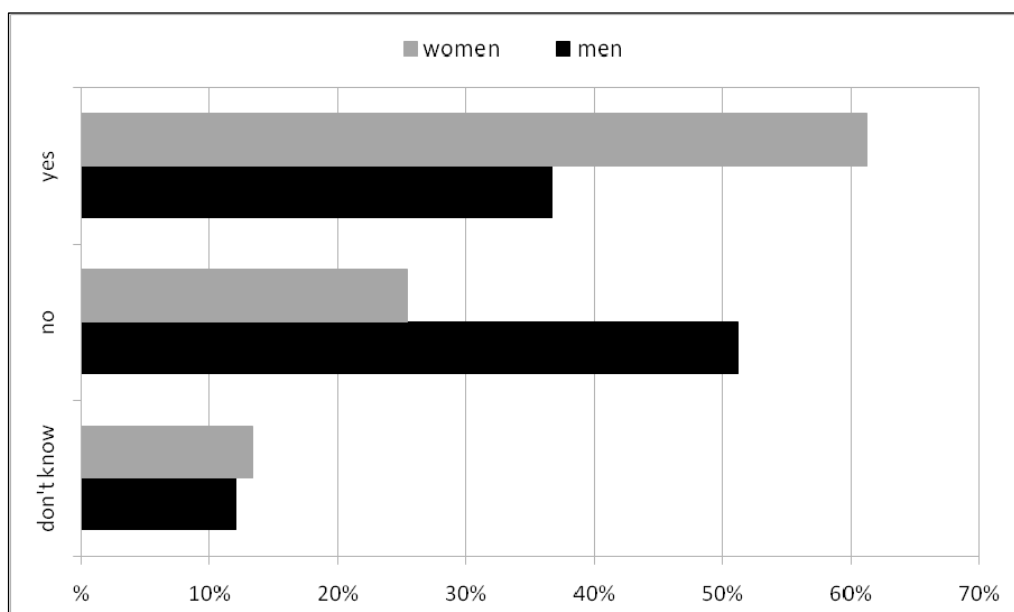
Below we present the distribution of responses and an overview of a part of the results gathered in the last research cycle, as well as a short data comparison from all three cycles. Naturally, neither this publication nor research would have been possible had there been no funding from the EU-funded project *AD ACTA – Anti-Discrimination Actions Towards Equality of*

Women and Men, which is implemented by the Centre for Women's Studies. The project manager is Jasminka Pešut, and other team members are Zorica Siročić, Leda Sutlović, Marina Ćuk and Rada Borić. In addition to them, it is necessary to once more thank Vlasta Ilišin, who was always willing to help the author by providing counsel and support, and Susan Jakopec, who from cycle to cycle endured the author's sometimes incomprehensible visual demands. Finally, and considering the fact that this publication uses the 2003 and 2007 results, let us not forget the financial contributions from Kvinna till Kvinna and the Office for Gender Equality of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, which made the previous research cycles possible.

Marjeta Šinko

WOMEN IN CROATIAN POLITICS: SELECTED RESEARCH RESULTS FROM 2011

As in the previous research cycles, there are statistically significant differences between men and women in identifying sex/gender discrimination ($\chi^2=89.641$). Expectedly, women who experience discrimination on a daily basis are more aware of it: almost two-thirds majority (61.2%) of the female respondents think that women in Croatia are discriminated against. On the other hand, nearly half as many male respondents (36.7%) share this view, while the majority disagree: 51.2% of men do not think that women in Croatia are discriminated against.



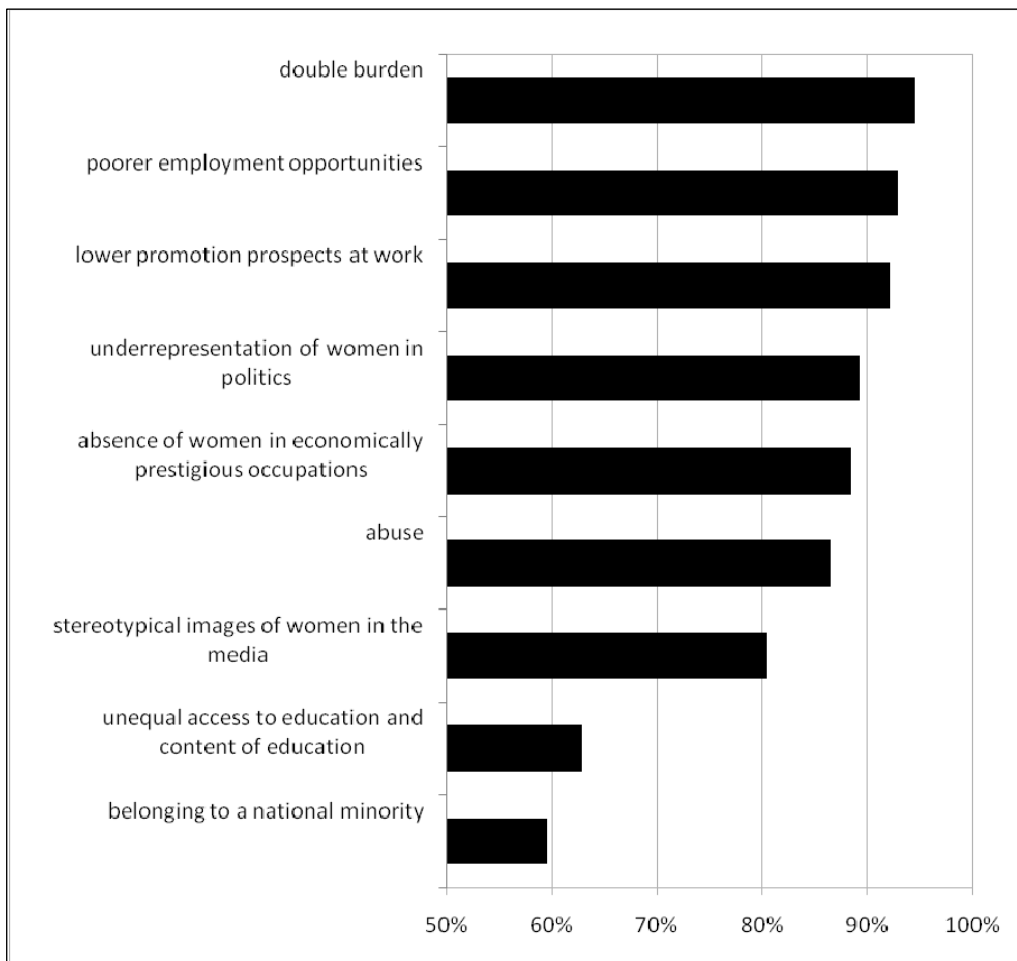
Graph 1

Do you think that women in the Republic of Croatia are discriminated against? (by gender)

We should note that religious and national belonging, party self-identification and age do not play a key role in the perception of discrimination. Self-education and involvement in housework are approaching a statistically significant sex difference ($\chi^2=39.264$, and $\chi^2=58.212$). Also, we see that the respondents with lower education are more aware of the existence of discrimination. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of respondents with no qualifications, as opposed to 50.4% of respondents with the highest qualifications, will claim there is sex/gender discrimination in Croatia. When we “gender” this data, we learn it is primarily women with no qualifications (68.5% of women notice discrimination, unlike the majority of men with no qualifications, 48.8%, who do not notice it). These findings point to the experience of multiple discrimination against female respondents, that is, the complexity and comprehensiveness of discrimination on the basis of sex, education and, undoubtedly, financial status. Thus, “being discriminated against” is still more important than “being educated”, but, at the same time, we can see that the structure of men’s attitudes follows a different path. Even though men, regardless of their education, do not accept that women in Croatia are discriminated against, there is an increase in acceptance in two categories: among those with high school education and those with higher education who, above average for the male population, recognize the existence of discrimination (43.8% and 40.7%).

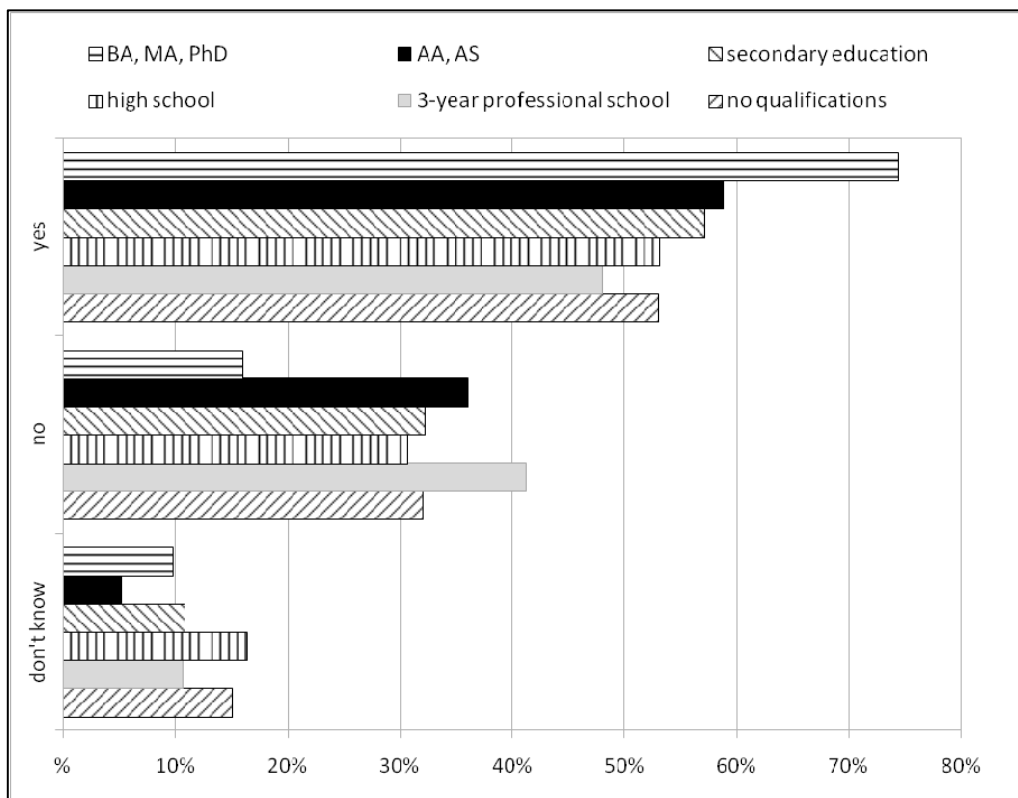
The way in which the double burden of women, one of the most widespread discriminatory practices, shapes the attitudes on the existence of discrimination is shown by the following results: sex/gender discrimination is perceived by 62.6% of respondents who spend more than 60 hours per week on housework, while 56.6% of respondents who do not do housework do not perceive discrimination at all. A view from the “gender perspective” affirms the intuitively presupposed situation – most women (57% – 67.2%), regardless of how much time they spend on housework, think they are discriminated against. At the same time, 61.1% of men who do not do housework deny the existence of discrimination, and this denial drops with the increase in the number of hours they spend on housework (“only” 41.7% of men who do more than 60 hours of housework per week do not think women are discriminated against).

These results point to the following question: what practices and situations do respondents perceive as most discriminatory against women? Those respondents who think sex/gender discrimination in Croatia exists perceive it primarily in the double burden (94.6%), lower employment opportunities (92.9%) and lower promotion prospects at work (92.1%). At the same time, they think that the approach to and content of education (62.8%) and national belonging (59.6%) contribute less to sex/gender discrimination. Understandably, members of national minorities acknowledge the latter option more often (66.0%) than respondents of Croatian nationality (47.8%). Let us also point out that abuse is in sixth place (out of 9 offered discriminatory situations), behind the underrepresentation of women in politics and absence of women in economically prestigious occupations!



Graph 2
To what extent do each of these situations contribute to discrimination against women?
(by acceptance of discrimination)

Both men and women who perceive discrimination evaluate discriminatory situations almost identically – with one notable difference. While women believe lower employment opportunities contribute the most to discrimination, men believe it is the double burden. This is an interesting finding because an insight into the respondents’ self-assessment on the subject of housework and family work reflects the traditional image of the household. The difference between men and women is statistically significant and great ($\chi^2=237.896$): about one sixth of the men (16.9%) do not do this type of work at all, while one fifth of the women (20.1%) do more than 60 hours per week.



Graph 3

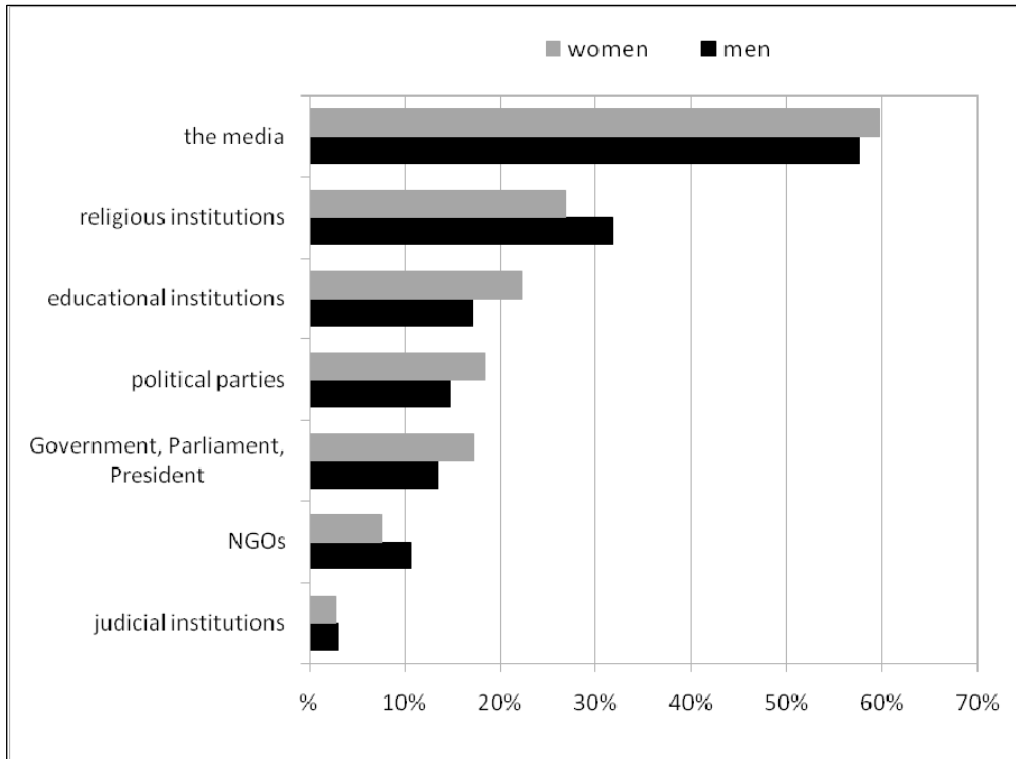
Do you think that Croatian society is patriarchal? (by education)

Taking into account the above stated views on the subject of discrimination against women, it is almost surprising to learn that most respondents (55.5%) think Croatian society is patriarchal. In fact, although there is a significant statistical difference between the answers of men and women ($\chi^2=26.806$), most men (51.1%) and most women (59.3%) agree with that statement. The respondents’ education determines the difference in answers ($\chi^2=35.079$)

even more than their sex – as a rule, the more educated the respondents are, the more they perceive patriarchy, whereby those with higher education are extremely perceptive of it.

Those respondents who think Croatian society is patriarchal recognize patriarchy primarily in the perpetuation of the stereotypical roles of men and women (38.6%), maintaining of the position of male power in society (30.3%) and, again, the division of housework at the expense of women (27.3%). The invisibility of women's contribution to history, science and culture (4.2%) and the support of traditional education (9.6%) are, according to the respondents, the least significant to the patriarchal situation. The respondents are also aware of the consequences of patriarchy for women – a great majority (80.3%) agree that women have to make more sacrifices in order to succeed. However, an analysis of sociodemographic characteristics points to statistically significant differences with regard to sex ($\chi^2=77.842$). Thus, 69.5% of men, as opposed to 89.9% of women, agree with this statement. A statistically significant difference with regard to sex also appears while questioning male-female roles in the private/public division ($\chi^2=11.976$). Although 82.8% of respondents do not agree that a woman's place is in the home or that politics should be left to men (which can be assessed as positive) – it is worrying that 21.2% of men and 13.6% of women still agree with this statement. It is perhaps best to conclude this overview of the respondents' perception of sex/gender discrimination and patriarchy in Croatian society and their influence on the status of women by their views on which institutions affect them the most. According to the respondents' opinions (and there are no statistically significant differences with regard to their different sociodemographic or sociocultural characteristics), the institution that wields the most influence over the role of women in society is the media (58.7%). Religious institutions come second (29.2%), and judicial institutions are at the bottom (2.9%), even behind NGOs (9.1%). Let us mention here that the recognition of women's NGOs as well as the mechanisms for promoting sex/gender equality strongly varies. For example, despite the fact that most citizens (85.6%) are familiar with the *Gender Equality Act*, a smaller number of them (31.4% and 27.5%) are aware of the existence of local committees or ombudspersons for gender equality. Considering the sociodemographic, socioprofessional and sociocultural characteristics, the profile of the respondents familiar with the *Gender Equality Act* is as follows: respondents with higher education (associate or

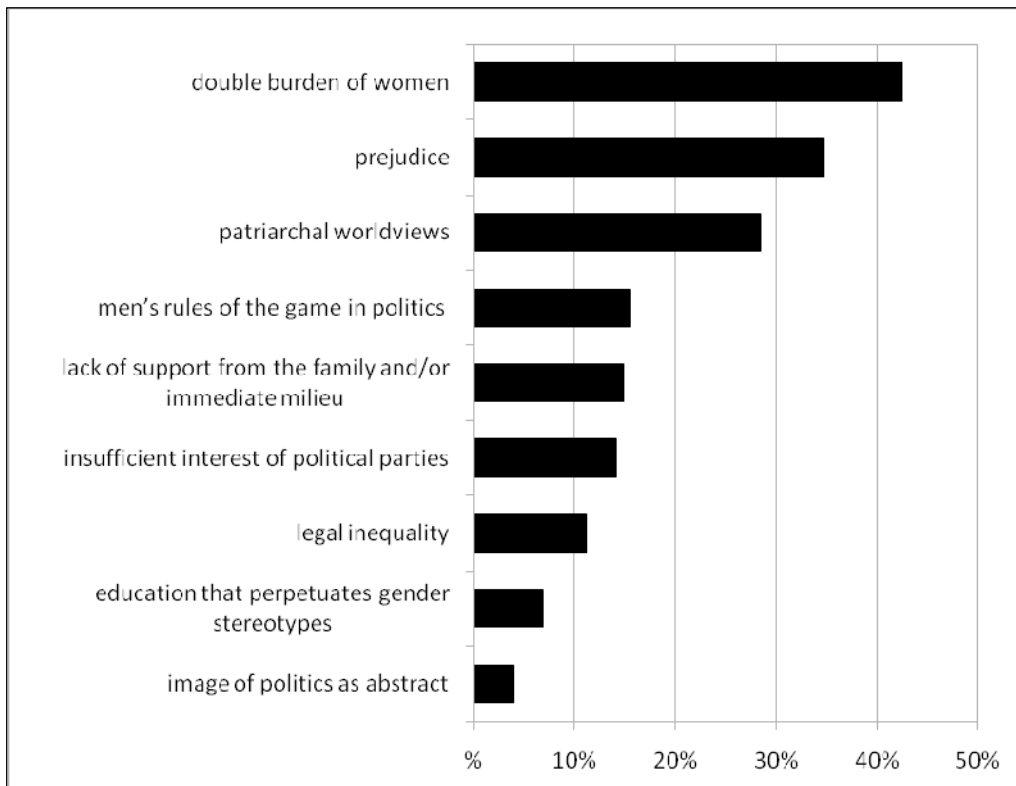
university degree) ($\chi^2=56.234$), who often stay informed about politics via the Internet ($\chi^2=38.654$) and daily press ($\chi^2=38.412$), students and those employed ($\chi^2=37.000$), respondents in their 30s ($\chi^2=34.729$), and those who live in Zagreb ($\chi^2=34.100$).



Graph 4
Which social and political institutions or groups have the greatest influence on the role of women in society? (by gender)

Thus, the respondents do not consider institutional politics as highly influential on the status of women, but they do believe women should engage in it. Although men hold this view somewhat less frequently than women ($\chi^2=21.344$), and those less educated less frequently than those more educated ($\chi^2=43.575$), still the majority of male respondents (78.7%) and female respondents (88.2%) acknowledge the necessity of women's political participation, and the acceptance of this view grows in proportion to education (91.2% of respondents with the highest educational qualifications). At the same time, more than two-thirds of the respondents (68.1%) think that not enough women participate in Croatian politics. Again, there is a difference in the responses of men and women ($\chi^2=35.099$), whereby more women (75.2%) than men (60.1%) share this view. However,

what is more interesting is a statistically significant difference with regard to age ($\chi^2=31.867$). Unlike all other age groups, in which 68% and more respondents think there are too few women in Croatian politics, only 57.8% of the youngest respondents (18-19 years) agree with that view. Still, these respondents are not satisfied with the number of women in politics, but it would appear they simply think about it less – 23.8% did not want/know how to respond to this question (unlike 8.3 – 14.1% of respondents from other age groups). Let us also note that SDP voters are the least satisfied with the number of women in politics, while non-voters are the most satisfied ($\chi^2=37.904$): 77.8% of the former and 61.2% of the latter believe there are not enough women in Croatian politics. With regards to this data, let us also mention that most women (74.6%) and most men (56.6%), regardless of the statistically significant difference ($\chi^2=46.494$), believe there should be more than one quarter of female representatives in Parliament. That view is shared by 74.1% of SDP voters, as opposed to 57.4% of the undecided and 63.3% of non-voters ($\chi^2=32.283$).

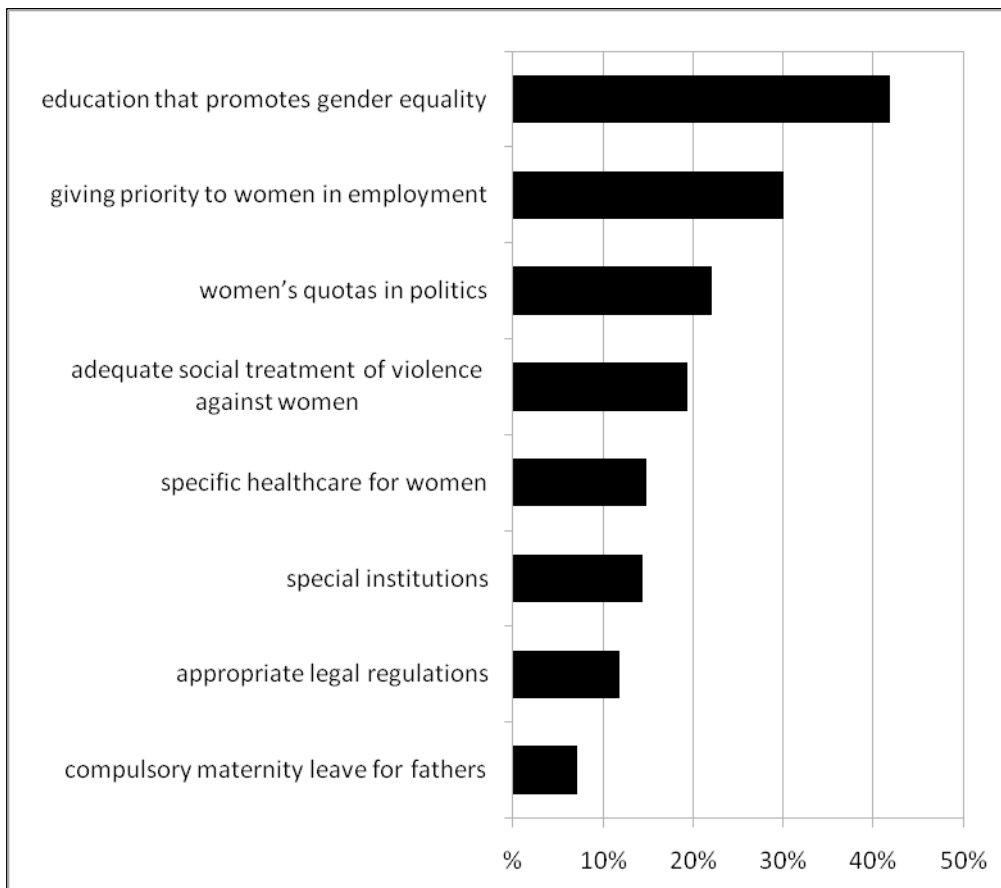


Graph 5
 What, in your opinion, are the greatest obstacles to women's more active engagement in politics?
 (by acceptance of obstacles)

If the existing political participation of women is insufficient, how do respondents explain the absence of a larger number of women from the political life of Croatia? First, let us note that most respondents (60.9%) think women are interested in politics. On the issue of the perception of women's interest in politics there are no statistically significant differences in the responses from different groups of respondents. Further, when asked whether there are any social obstacles to women's participation in politics, the respondents mostly provide negative answers (53.0%). Although there are statistically significant differences between the responses of men and women ($\chi^2=25.247$), most men (60.6%) and the largest number of women (46.2%) do not perceive any social obstacles to women's engagement in politics. Those respondents who do perceive them consider the following to be the most significant: the double burden (42.6%), prejudice (34.7%), and patriarchal worldviews in society in general (28.5%).

Hence, citizens do not believe there are obstacles to the political participation of women, but they do believe that it is insufficient, which is why they would support quotas for women.

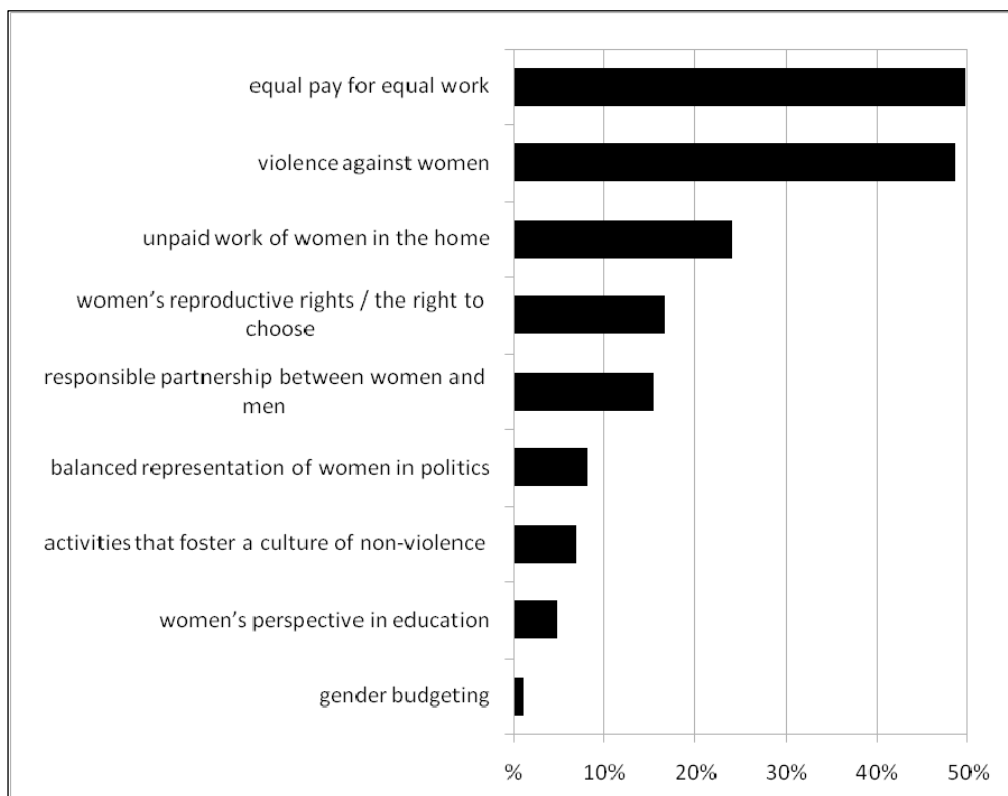
Most of the male respondents (52.7%) and a great majority of female respondents (70.2%) would support the use of women's quotas for the purpose of increasing the number of female representatives in Parliament ($\chi^2=48.831$). What is more, the respondents not only believe that the representation of women in Parliament is unsatisfactory, but that there ought to be gender parity in politics: regardless of the statistically significant difference ($\chi^2=26.882$), most women (66.1%) and most men (53.0%) share this view. At the same time, 85.4% of these citizens support the use of quotas, from which it can be deduced they would also support gender parity quotas (50%:50%), while 6.9% of them are not in favour of the use of quotas, which means they are more inclined toward reaching parity democracy "naturally".



Graph 6
 In your opinion, what positive or special measures aimed at achieving gender equality are the most effective? (by acceptance of special measures)

Croatian citizens, with no statistically significant gender differences, greatly support special measures aimed at achieving sex/gender equality – specifically, 72.7% of male citizens and 79.9% of female citizens. Statistically significant differences appear with regard to the respondents’ regional status ($\chi^2=42.544$), whereby special measures are most likely to be supported by respondents from Eastern (84.3%) and Central (83.8%) Croatia, and least likely by respondents from Dalmatia (69.0%) and Istria and Northern Croatian Littoral (65.7%). As the most efficient special measures citizens list education that promotes gender equality (41.9%), giving priority to women in employment (30.0%) and women’s quotas in politics (22.1%). Statutory parental leave for fathers is last on the list with an estimated efficiency of 7.1%.

What would, however, be the result of a greater number of women in politics? Would such politics become fairer, less corrupted? Or would women represent “women’s interests” and encourage the resolution of “women’s issues”? With a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2=64.800$), most women (69.1%) and the largest number of men (49.8%) believe that greater representation of women would change the quality of politics. At the same time, women are most often recognized for their consistency: 71.5% of respondents think women are more consistent in achieving political goals than men. Eighty-three point zero percent (83.0%) of women ($\chi^2=86.957$) agree with this view, as well as 82.2% of respondents from Central and 80.8% from Eastern Croatia ($\chi^2=31.745$).

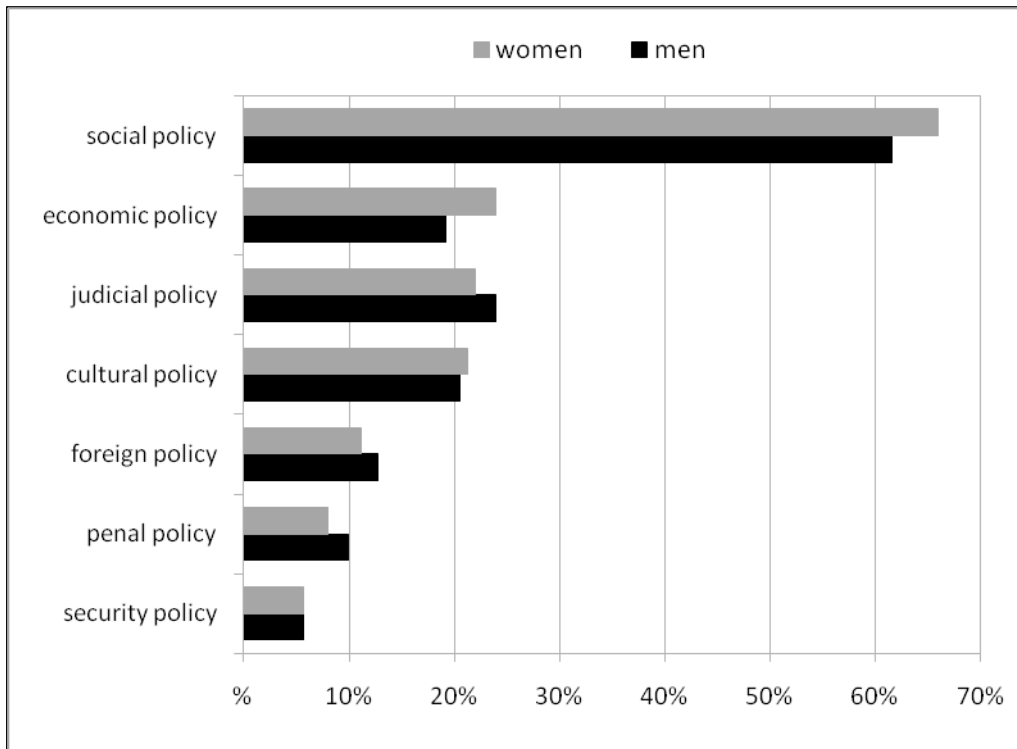


Graph 7

What topics do you consider to be “women’s issues”? (by acceptance of “women’s issues”)

When it comes to women’s political interests, the respondents are diametrically opposed: 40.4% think women have, and 40.4% think women do not have, different political interests from men. It is interesting to note that there are no statistically significant differences between the

responses of women and men; in other words, women are not unanimous on this subject. The only significant difference emerges with regard to region ($\chi^2=41.888$), whereby most of the respondents from Central Croatia support the view that women have different political interests (54.3%), which is opposed by respondents from Dalmatia (49.8%). The situation changes drastically when citizens are asked whether men can represent women's interests – expectedly, most men (54.8%) think men can also represent women's interests, while most women (50.9%) disagree ($\chi^2=47.366$). A statistically significant difference occurs among respondents who (do not) believe women's political interests are not the same as men's ($\chi^2=97.526$): 47.4% of respondents who think women's interests are different believe men cannot represent them fairly, and 51.6% of respondents who think there are no women's interests see men as fair representatives of everyone's interests. Still, although they do not recognize women's specific interests, respondents do believe there are "women's issues" that need to be resolved politically. That view is shared by 53.5% of women as opposed to 36.9% of men ($\chi^2=44.570$), 58.4% of those with higher education as opposed to 48.9% of those with no qualifications ($\chi^2=44.996$), and 32.8% of the youngest respondents as opposed to 46.8% of the oldest respondents ($\chi^2=33.408$). Simultaneously, the largest number of men (43.6%) and the youngest respondents (39.8%) think these issues do not exist. Those respondents who believe "women's issues" do exist detect them primarily in the equalization of men's and women's earnings (49.7%) and in the fight against violence against women (48.6%). Advocating women's perspective in education, such as women's studies, and gender budgeting are considered to be the least important of women's issues (4.9% and 1.1%).



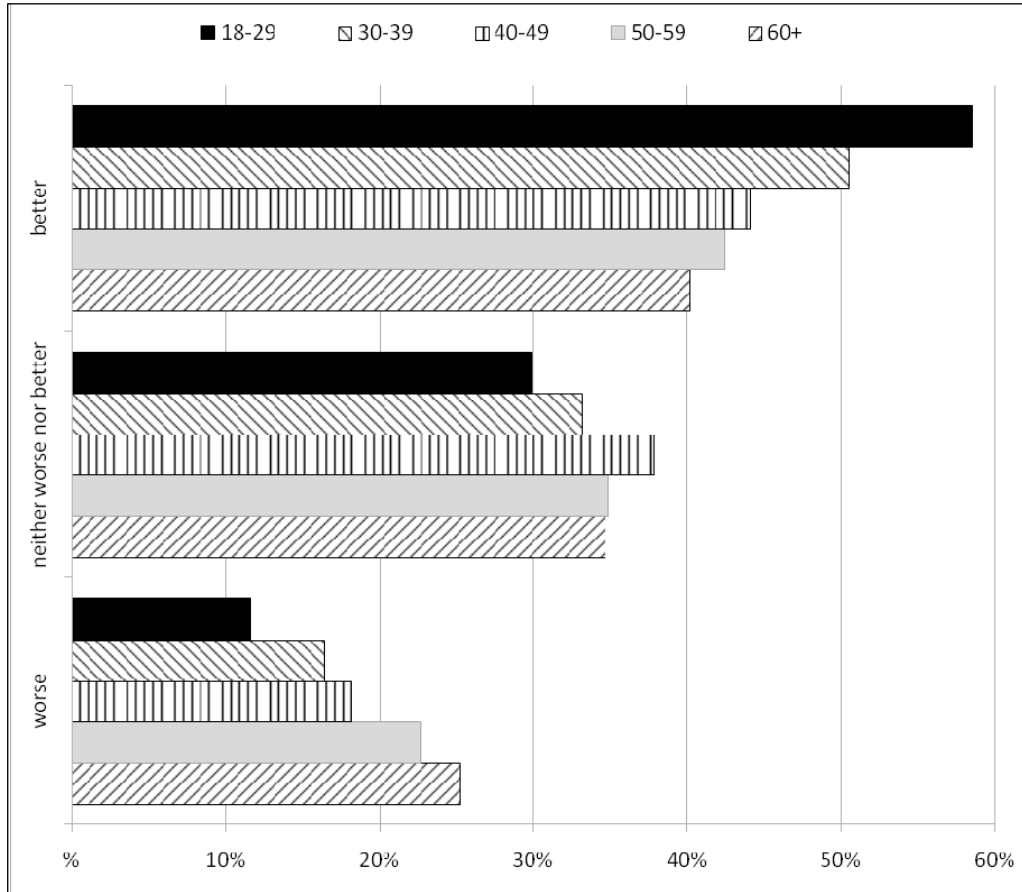
Graph 8

What areas, in your opinion, are women politicians most active in? (by gender)

Most respondents (52.3%) think women in politics are as active as their male colleagues. A statistically significant difference ($\chi^2=34.666$) occurs only with regard to gender – female respondents (41.2%) more often than male respondents (25.3%) think that women in politics are more active, and male respondents (16.7%) less often than female respondents (11.6%) think that female politicians are less active. Regardless of their assessment of the activity of female politicians as opposed to their male counterparts, Croatian citizens (65.3%) define social policy as the area in which they are most active. As we can see from the graph, women think female politicians are the most active in social (65.9%), economic (23.9%), judicial (22.2%) and cultural (21.2%) policy, while men think social policy (61.5%) is followed by judicial (23.9%), cultural (20.6%) and economic (13.1%) policy. Security policy is at the bottom of the list, for both men and women (5.7%).

Finally, before we turn to comparing the respondents' views over the last eight years, let us also look at their assessment of the development of the social status of women. More specifically, can we talk about advancement

or regression in comparison to the pre-democratic period, and in which areas do respondents perceive them? Most respondents (58.3%) do not perceive any differences in the status of women compared to the previous four years, but, at the same time, the largest number of them (46.8%) believe that the status of women is better today than it was prior to 1990. The respondents' gender does not play an important role in their responses, unlike regional belonging ($\chi^2=37.868$) and age ($\chi^2=29.913$). Respondents from Istria and Northern Croatian Littoral (61.3%) and Eastern Croatia (51.9%) to the fullest extent think that the status of women has improved, while respondents from Northern (24.0%) and Central (27.9%) Croatia are largely of the opposite view. If we take a look at the age cohorts, we see that the acceptance of the view on the deteriorating status of women increases with the respondents' age, while the situation is diametrically opposite when it comes to the view on the improving status of women. It is also interesting to note that the respondents who think the status of women has improved perceive the improvement primarily in education (40.6%), financial status (34.0%) and the division of labour in the family (34.0%), while the respondents who think the status of women has worsened perceive the deterioration in the increasing unemployment (73.9%) and declining financial status (53.0%).



Graph 9

By your estimation, is the position of women better or worse compared to the period prior to 1990? (by age)

WOMEN IN CROATIAN POLITICS: COMPARISON OF RESULTS 2003 – 2007 – 2011

Below we present a brief comparative analysis of the results of all³ previous research cycles, providing an overview of the perception of discrimination and social status of women and then, more specifically, on the perceptions and attitudes of citizens toward women politicians.

Do you think that women in Croatia are discriminated against?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (HR)
men	yes	31.2%	36.9%	42.3%	36.7%
	no	51.3%	41.3%	50.0%	51.2%
	I don't know	17.5%	21.8%	7.7%	12.1%
women	yes	52.0%	62.8%	58.9%	61.2%
	no	30.0%	19.4%	28.6%	25.4%
	I don't know	18.0%	17.7%	12.5%	13.3%

³ Seeing as the 2003 and 2007 cycles were conducted on a representative sample of Zagreb, and the 2011 research on a sample across Croatia, the tables contain two types of data: the first three columns refer to the distribution of responses from citizens of Zagreb through the cycles, while the last column refers to the national data from 2011.

To what extent do each of these situations contribute to discrimination against women?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (HR)
contributes	poorer employment opportunities	67.1%	78.7%	76.4%	77.9%
	lower promotion prospects at work	67.0%	77.3%	76.4%	75.9%
	absence of women in economically prestigious occupations	61.2%	65.0%	68.7%	70.1%
	double burden	79.1%	87.0%	88.3%	86.6%
	stereotypical images of women in the media	48.8%	61.7%	60.5%	66.6%
	underrepresentation of women in politics	54.3%	63.8%	69.5%	70.3%
	unequal access to education and content of education	30.4%	43.7%	48.3%	51.7%
	abuse	79.4%	76.9%	78.4%	77.1%
	belonging to a national minority	/		41.0%	49.3%
doesn't contribute	poorer employment opportunities	32.9%	21.3%	23.6%	22.1%
	lower promotion prospects at work	33.0%	22.7%	23.6%	24.1%
	absence of women in economically prestigious occupations	38.8%	35.0%	31.3%	29.9%
	double burden	20.9%	13.0%	11.7%	13.4%
	stereotypical images of women in the media	51.2%	38.3%	39.5%	33.4%
	underrepresentation of women in politics	45.7%	36.2%	30.5%	29.7%
	unequal access to education and content of education	69.6%	56.3%	51.7%	48.3%
	abuse	20.6%	23.1%	21.6%	22.9%
	belonging to a national minority	/		59.0%	50.7%

 Table 1⁴

⁴ In the 2003 survey, a different image of women in the media and unequal conditions and access to education, while the option national belonging was not offered in 2003 and 2007.

We can see, on the issue of the perception of sex/gender discrimination, that there has been a greater polarization of men: the number of undecided has dropped, while the number of those who perceive discrimination and those who do not has risen. Most men (50.0%) do not think discrimination exists, and the acceptance of this view has increased more than the acceptance of the view that discrimination does exist. A similar negative trend can be seen among women: although most women (58.9%) still perceive discrimination, their number has dropped. The number of the undecided has also decreased, but there is an increase in the percentage of women who do not perceive discrimination (almost at the 2003 level). When we compare this data with the national data, we see that male Zagreb citizens are somewhat more aware, and female citizens somewhat less aware, of the issue of sex/gender discrimination than the Croatian average. As for the view on discriminatory situations, their (non)acceptance has not drastically changed over the cycles, nor do the citizens of Zagreb significantly deviate from the national average (with the exception of stereotypical images of women in the media and belonging to a national minority, which are the less recognized discriminatory situations on the Zagreb level). There are certain changes in the perceived hierarchy of the most significant discriminatory practices: abuse, which had dropped from first place in 2003 to fourth place in 2007, has risen to second place of importance (after the double burden of women, which has retained its primacy). Poorer employment opportunities and lower promotion prospects are equally important – third on the list of discriminatory practices. On the national level, there is a minor deviation from this view: poorer employment opportunities are perceived more often. At the same time, stereotypical images of women in the media and unequal access to education and its content continue to be the least perceived of discriminatory situations (both on the Zagreb level and the national level).

By your estimation, is the position of women better or worse compared to the period prior to 1990?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	worse	13.0%	18.4%	20.2%	19.5%
	neither worse nor better	43.6%	27.2%	40.4%	30.5%
	better	43.3%	54.4%	39.4%	50.0%
women	worse	21.4%	24.4%	13.4%	19.1%
	neither worse nor better	53.1%	39.0%	50.0%	37.0%
	better	25.5%	36.6%	36.6%	43.9%
In what areas has the position of women changed compared to the period prior to 1990?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
worse	financial status	41.8%	35.2%	58.3%	53.0%
	(un)employment	67.4%	68.5%	91.7%	73.9%
	health and social security	31.9%	30.6%	8.3%	8.7%
	education	4.3%	3.7%	2.8%	7.0%
	division of labour in the family	2.8%	9.3%	19.4%	9.1%
	political participation	5.7%	11.1%	2.8%	7.4%
better	financial status	23.1%	34.1%	32.9%	34.0%
	(un)employment	19.2%	25.3%	25.6%	25.2%
	health and social security	18.8%	18.0%	15.9%	11.8%
	education	24.2%	33.6%	41.5%	40.6%
	division of labour in the family	21.5%	31.8%	30.5%	34.0%
	political participation	42.7%	28.6%	28.0%	22.5%

Table 2

The number of Zagreb citizens who think the status of women has not changed compared to the pre-democratic period has increased since 2007. Male Zagrebians are somewhat more critical (in relation to the previous cycles and to female Zagrebians): we see a continuous increase in the acceptance of the view on the degradation of the status of women since 2003, and this year there is a decrease in the acceptance of the view on the improvement of the status of women. Female Zagrebians, on the other hand, are more indecisive in evaluating their own status, and the percentage of those who think the status of women has worsened is in decline. However, the views of Zagrebians deviate from the views of other Croatian citizens. While the largest number of male Zagrebians (40.4%) and most female

Zagrebians (50.0%) are of the view that there has been no change in the status of women either for better or worse, most male citizens (50.0%) and the largest number of female citizens (43.9%) believe it has in fact improved compared to the period prior to 1990. Those respondents who think the status of women has deteriorated perceive it primarily in the increasing unemployment and deteriorating financial status – the view that has held, even strengthened, throughout the years, and which is shared by respondents from Zagreb and Croatia. At the same time, we have to point out that health and social security are significantly less perceived as an area of deterioration, and that Zagrebians are better than other Croatian citizens in recognizing the worsening status of women in the area of the family division of labour. Those respondents (on the level of Zagreb and Croatia) who think the status of women has improved recognize it primarily in the area of education, financial status and the family division of labour, and the perception of improvement in education, unlike in the other two areas, has increased since 2007. It is also interesting to note that financial status is recognized as an important area of change both by the respondents who think there has been deterioration and those who think there has been advancement – thus, some think that the financial status is worse, and some that it is better.

Are there, in your opinion, any social obstacles to women's more active engagement in politics?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	23.6%	23.7%	27.9%	28.4%
	no	54.3%	48.3%	64.4%	60.6%
	I don't know	22.1%	28.0%	7.7%	11.0%
women	yes	30.4%	39.5%	35.7%	38.3%
	no	42.2%	35.7%	45.5%	46.2%
	I don't know	27.4%	24.8%	18.8%	15.5%

What are, according to you, the greatest obstacles to women's more active engagement in politics?				
	2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
legal inequality	8.2%	8.6%	8.7%	11.1%
patriarchal worldviews in general	44.1%	49.4%	40.6%	28.5%
education that perpetuates gender stereotypes and does not affirm women	9.5%	7.4%	8.7%	6.9%
prejudice	35.5%	32.1%	36.2%	34.7%
double burden	42.7%	42.6%	43.5%	42.6%
lack of support from the family and/or immediate milieu	10.0%	8.6%	15.9%	14.9%
insufficient interest of political parties for promoting women in politics	20.5%	14.8%	13.0%	14.1%
image of politics as abstract, inefficient and with no impact on daily life	17.3%	1.9%	4.3%	4.0%
men's rules of the game in politics	/	13.6%	13.0%	15.6%

Table 3⁵

In 2003 and 2007, Zagreb citizens did not see any social obstacles to women's political participation, and the situation remains the same in 2011. Indeed, we are witnessing a greater polarization considering the drop in the percentage of the undecided, both on the level of Zagreb and the national level. The vast majority (64.4%) of male Zagrebians believe there are no obstacles for women, which is a significant increase compared to the previous cycle, and it even exceeds the 2003 results. Although this year the perception of social obstacles is on the rise for the first time, it is obvious that most of the undecided respondents have crossed into the opposing camp. A negative trend is present in female Zagrebians as well, that is, a return to the 2003 relations: the largest number of them (45.5%) do not see any obstacles for women, and that number has reached its peak in this cycle (the percentage of positive responses has dropped, on the other hand). The results from Zagreb do not differ significantly from the national results. A minority of respondents who perceive obstacles to women's active engagement in

⁵ In the 2003 survey, *education that perpetuates gender stereotypes and discrimination, lack of support from the family and/or immediate milieu, and the option men's rules of the game in politics* was not offered.

politics find them primarily in the double burden, patriarchal worldviews and prejudice. Double burden has made its way to the top of the list of obstacles for the first time, and this year, although not recognized as one of the three main obstacles, the lack of support from the family and/or immediate milieu has gained momentum. It is interesting to note that the option of patriarchal worldviews as an obstacle has dropped on the level of the city since the last cycle, but it is also much less perceived on the national level. Aside from this difference, other results on the level of Zagreb and the national level are commensurable; therefore, double burden is perceived as the main social obstacle on the national level as well, followed by prejudice and patriarchal worldviews.

Does a sufficient number of women participate in the political life of the Republic of Croatia?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	19.0%	20.3%	22.1%	24.5%
	no	49.3%	60.4%	60.6%	60.1%
	I don't know	31.8%	19.3%	17.3%	15.4%
women	yes	8.8%	5.8%	17.0%	12.7%
	no	69.0%	81.1%	71.4%	75.2%
	I don't know	22.2%	13.1%	11.6%	12.1%
Is the current proportion of female representatives in Parliament (xx%) sufficient?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	19.5%	18.4%	23.0%	25.2%
	no	49.4%	62.6%	51.0%	56.6%
	I don't know	31.1%	18.9%	26.0%	18.3%
women	yes	7.9%	5.5%	7.1%	12.4%
	no	70.4%	82.1%	78.6%	74.6%
	I don't know	21.6%	12.4%	14.3%	13.0%

Do you think that the representation of women in Parliament should be proportional to their representation in the population?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	32.0%	51.9%	50.0%	53.0%
	no	40.4%	26.2%	28.8%	26.4%
	I don't know	27.5%	21.8%	21.2%	20.6%
women	yes	56.1%	70.9%	56.3%	66.1%
	no	22.5%	12.5%	21.4%	15.4%
	I don't know	21.4%	16.6%	22.3%	18.5%
Do you think that a greater representation of women would change the quality of politics?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	38.1%	49.8%	50.0%	49.8%
	no	31.8%	26.1%	30.8%	32.3%
	I don't know	30.1%	24.2%	19.2%	17.9%
women	yes	57.0%	61.9%	62.5%	69.1%
	no	16.9%	12.0%	16.1%	13.7%
	I don't know	26.1%	26.1%	21.4%	17.3%

Table 4⁶

Looking at the set of questions regarding the representation of women in Croatian politics, we can also notice some negative trends. Even though most Zagrebians think there are not enough women in Croatian politics (the percentage has remained stable in the last four years), through the years we can see a slight increase in the acceptance of the view that the current participation of women in politics is sufficient. There is an even more dramatic shift among female Zagrebians: a significant increase in the number of those who are satisfied and a decrease in the number of those who are unsatisfied with women's political participation (although that is still the majority of female Zagrebians). A comparison with the national average indicates a slightly greater awareness of male Zagrebians and a slightly smaller awareness of their female counterparts. At the same time, among both male and female citizens of Zagreb the number of those who think that 25% of women in Parliament is enough has decreased, and the number of those who are satisfied with that percentage or are undecided has increased.

⁶ In the 2003 and 2007 surveys the proportion of women was 22%, in 2011 25%.

Although there are no significant differences in the results on the level of Zagreb and the national level, we can see that the respondents from Zagreb have somewhat more awareness than the national average on this issue as well. Also, the percentage of the non-acceptance of gender parity is growing – more expressly in female Zagrebians, whereby their distribution of responses comes close to that of male Zagrebians (and is almost identical to the responses of female Zagrebians from 2003). On the national level the respondents (especially female ones) are somewhat more aware and would largely accept parity representation. There is a slight increase in the view that a greater number of women in politics would change its quality, and a significant increase in the opposite view (that a greater number of women in politics would not affect its quality) – among both men and women. Female Croatian citizens and male Zagrebians hold the view that the representation of women affects the quality of politics more than female Zagrebians and male Croatian citizens.

Are there, in your opinion, “women’s issues” that need to be resolved politically?					
		2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
men	yes	33.6%	42.5%	40.4%	36.9%
	no	33.6%	21.3%	38.5%	43.6%
	I don’t know	32.7%	36.2%	21.1%	19.5%
women	yes	57.0%	60.4%	54.5%	53.5%
	no	18.3%	15.3%	30.3%	26.2%
	I don’t know	24.7%	24.3%	15.2%	20.3%

What topics do you consider to be "women's issues"?				
	2003	2007	2011	2011 (Croatia)
violence against women	60.4%	39.7%	50.5%	48.6%
unpaid work of women in the home	11.5%	23.7%	23.3%	24.0%
women's reproductive rights / the right to choose	19.0%	19.1%	16.5%	16.6%
responsible partnership between women and men	15.8%	17.6%	10.7%	15.5%
equal pay for equal work	39.8%	57.3%	62.1%	49.7%
balanced representation of women in politics	15.0%	12.2%	8.7%	8.2%
activities that foster a culture of nonviolence	15.8%	8.0%	6.8%	6.9%

Table 5⁷

Although the largest number of Zagreb citizens (40.4%) believe there are women's issues that can be resolved politically, since 2007 there has been a diametrical switch of the opposed and the undecided. That is, the percentage of those who think there are no women's issues that can be resolved politically has increased for about as much as the percentage of the undecided had decreased (the percentage is even slightly higher because it has absorbed some of those who hold a positive view on women's issues). The negative trend is even more pronounced on the national level, where most men (43.6) think there are no women's issues. Thus, a pronounced polarization in men's attitudes in 2011 (compared to their previous attitudes), which have swung one way on the level of Zagreb and the other way on the national level. We find a similar situation among women: a decrease in the percentage of those who think women's issues exist (although still 54.5%) and the undecided, and an increase in the percentage of the opposed. Female Croatian citizens have somewhat less conflicting and more indecisive views than female Zagrebians. If we take a look at the women's issues recognized by the respondents (who recognize the existence of women's issues in general), we see that the hierarchy from 2007 remains the same. Equal pay for equal work is in first place, then violence

⁷ In the 2003 survey *unpaid work of women in the home* and *activities that promote a culture of non-violence and sex/gender responsibility*. Note: options which received less than 5% of responses in all cycles (*women's perspective in education, gender budgeting*) are not listed in the table.

against women, and unpaid work of women in the home. It is interesting to note that violence against women, although second in importance, just like in 2007, is significantly more perceived as a women's issue and that its percentage has increased notably. On the national level the hierarchy of women's issues is identical, with one difference: equal pay for equal work is a less often recognized issue and it stands hand in hand with violence against women, which comes second. At the same time, the citizens of Croatia who believe women's issues exist, slightly more so than the citizens of Zagreb, think that responsible partnership between women and men is a women's political issue.

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INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

Finally, let us repeat some of the presented results. The largest number of respondents think that women are discriminated against, but looking at the development of views on the level of Zagreb, we notice a polarization, that is, a decrease in the number of the undecided and a return to the 2003 results, that is, an increase in the number of those who think there is no discrimination. As in all previous research cycles, women are more aware of discrimination, less educated women in particular – which points to the experience of not only sex/gender discrimination but of multiple discrimination that these (socially marginalized, materially endangered) women undoubtedly experience. It is, however, positive to find an emancipatory potential for men in education: men who are more educated are more sensitive to discrimination (aside from the issue of the perception of discrimination, education is also important for the perception of patriarchy, which applies to both men and women).

The most recognized discriminatory practice continues to be the double burden – regardless of whether we consider the responses of the citizens of Zagreb or Croatia, those who do or do not perceive discrimination (with a minor exception: women who perceive discrimination in Croatia find poorer employment opportunities first in the hierarchy of discriminatory practices, but with a minimal advantage of 0.3% before the double burden). The double burden is often perceived as negative, as one of the main reasons for women's subordinate position (and for the first time as the main obstacle to women's more active participation in politics), and the real experiences of women confirm that: not only do women do more housework than men, but the workload has even increased since the last research cycle (in 2007, 10.4% of women did over 60 hours of housework per week in Zagreb, and in 2011,

20.5% of women). Even though the percentage of men who do not do any housework has somewhat decreased (one of the rare positive findings), the participation of men in these activities is still insufficient. Because, if the discrimination of women, according to respondents, is primarily fostered by the double burden, one of the main goals for improving the everyday lives of women is responsible partnership, a completely balanced involvement of men in household and family work (and we should not forget the revitalization of the welfare state).

Lower employment opportunities for women is still one of the most important discriminatory practices, and equal pay for equal work the main “women’s issue” – which tells us about the continuous familiarity of respondents with the economic aspects of sex/gender discrimination. In the context of the long-term economic crisis which Croatia (and the world) is in, it is surprising that respondents have not given even more significance to these aspects. As in the previous research cycle, the respondents think that the status of women in society is most affected by the media and religion, and least by the judiciary (again, a smaller influence than NGOs). Thus, the idea that judicial institutions have little influence has not changed significantly in the last four years. We will assume that this evaluation is not based on the respondents’ knowledge about court cases and verdicts on the issue of sex discrimination, abuse, etc. (or lack thereof), but on the general perception of the judiciary as inefficient, corrupted and in need of reform.

There is confusion on the issue of women’s political participation in this cycle as well – most respondents think there are not enough women in politics, that women are interested in politics, but that there are no obstacles to their more active engagement in it. On the contrary, as an indication of a potentially negative trend, the youngest respondents’ indecisiveness about the issue of the sufficiency of women’s participation stands out, while on the issue of social obstacles to women’s engagement in politics there has been a greater polarization of views: the number of the undecided has decreased, and the number of those who believe there are no obstacles has increased. In spite of these negative shifts, the original dilemma remains: how do respondents explain the underrepresentation of women in politics (however, a possible scenario would be how is it that women are generally interested in politics, yet choose not to go into it, although there are no social obstacles), and why is discrimination in this domain harder to recognize? An

additional dilemma (which had not existed in 2007) is how much influence did the first female Croatian Prime Minister's mandate have on the perceptions and attitudes toward women politicians; in other words, to what extent did the public perception of her and her performance affect the perception of other female politicians and their abilities/opportunities in general? On the other hand, we can assume with some certainty that the fact that Croatia recently had the first female Prime Minister is considered by many as an affirmation of the fact that there are no obstacles to women's political participation even in the highest political positions (although the way she came into power could be used as evidence for the opposite).

Thus, the results of the latest research cycle point to a continuous misunderstanding of the key aspects of sex/gender discrimination as a deeply pervasive social phenomenon, on the one hand, and a return to less informed views and values, on the other. Aside from that, the gap between the views of women and men still proves to be decisive: most often, no other sociodemographic and/or sociocultural characteristic conditions a significant difference in the respondents' answers. Clearly, regarding the very subject of the research, this insight seems almost tautological, but the 2007 results did leave space for optimism due to the rise of the awareness of men (and women) of the perception of, for instance, sex/gender discrimination or patriarchy. In 2011, the state of most attitudes and values about women in Croatian politics can be described with the terms "petrification, polarization or regression".

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APPENDIX

CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES
Zagreb, Dolac 8
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&
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Budmanijeva 1

SURVEY: **WOMEN IN CROATIAN POLITICS**

The research *Women in Croatian Politics* is implemented by the Centre for Women's Studies in Zagreb. The study seeks to collect data on Croatian citizens' attitudes to the social and especially political status of women in the Republic of Croatia. The survey is conducted on a sample of 1200 respondents in the Republic of Croatia.

There are several types of questions in the survey. Some questions are multiple-answer, and you should choose your answer by circling the number in front of the answer which is closest to your opinion, which means there is only one answer allowed. In some questions it is possible to choose several answers that match your opinion, and in those questions it is noted how many answers you may circle. Some questions call for descriptive answers, in which you can state your opinion in your own words. If you have any additional questions about the survey, please consult the interviewer.

The results of this anonymous survey will be used solely for scientific purposes. We kindly ask you to answer the questions honestly and freely, because that is the only way to ensure the success of this research.

We thank you in advance for your cooperation!

NOTE:

The distribution of answers is shown by percentages of total answers given, then by the percentages of men's answers and finally by the percentages of women's answers. In questions that received less than 5% of answers the gender structure is not indicated. Questions 51, 54, 65, 79 and 82 are open.

Q1. What is your gender?

1. male	47.0
2. female	53.0

Q2. What is your age?

1. 18 – 29	20.3	22.3	18.5
2. 30 – 39	18.3	19.3	17.4
3. 40 – 49	16.1	16.0	16.2
4. 50 – 59	17.7	18.1	17.4
5. 60 or older	27.6	24.3	30.5

Q3. What is your place of permanent residence?

1. village	48.2	48.1	48.2
2. town	23.9	23.1	24.6
3. city (Split, Osijek, Rijeka)	12.2	12.3	12.2
4. Zagreb	15.7	16.5	15.0

Q4. Where did you and your parents spend most of your childhood up to the age of 15?

	A You			B Father			C Mother		
1. in a village	57.6	56.1	58.9	68.6	67.6	69.5	68.5	67.1	69.7
2. in a town	20.6	20.0	21.2	16.0	15.2	16.8	16.3	15.5	17.1
3. in a city (Split, Osijek, Rijeka)	11.6	11.2	11.8	8.6	8.8	8.4	8.5	9.1	8.1
4. in Zagreb	10.2	12.7	8.1	6.8	8.4	5.4	6.6	8.2	5.2

Q5. What is your attitude toward religion?

1. I am a firm believer and accept everything my faith teaches	50.6	44.9	55.7
2. I am a believer although I do not accept everything my faith teaches	31.5	33.4	29.9
3. I am not sure whether I am a believer or not	4.0		
4. I am indifferent to religion	3.8		
5. I am not religious but I have nothing against religion	9.5	11.4	7.9
6. I am not religious and I am against religion	0.6		

Q6. What type of education did you and your parents acquire?

	A You			B Father			C Mother		
1. no qualifications	3.4			13.6	12.1	15.0	18.6	18.1	19.0
2. primary school	18.8	12.5	24.5	32.5	29.3	35.4	42.4	40.3	44.4
3. vocational/professional school (three-year)	23.5	30.6	17.2	25.2	26.6	23.9	14.6	15.3	13.9
4. high school	4.1			1.9			1.7		
5. other type of secondary education (four-year)	32.6	33.3	31.9	17.7	19.7	15.9	17.5	19.3	15.8
6. associate degree	8.1	9.1	7.3	4.4			2.0		
7. university education	9.0	9.1	8.8	3.7			3.0		
8. master's or doctoral degree	0.5			0.8			0.3		

Q7. What is your employment status?

1. employed	35.2	39.5	31.4
2. self-employed	3.3		
3. retired	29.8	29.2	30.3
4. unemployed	19.3	20.5	18.4
5. homemaker	6.7	0.5	12.1
6. pupil or student	4.9		
7. other _____	0.8		

Q8. Which of the following categories do you fall into considering the work you are doing?

1. unemployed	23.4	22.4	24.4
2. individual farmer	3.8		
3. worker	37.2	40.3	34.0
4. clerk	12.3	8.3	16.3
5. expert with associate or university degree, but not head	8.3	6.9	9.6
6. head of department or facility	4.4		
7. director, assistant director, etc.	1.1		
8. private business	3.6		
9. storekeeper with employees	0.8		
10. employer, company owner or co-owner	1.0		
11. other _____	4.2		

Q9. What is your nationality?

1. Croatian	91.9	90.9	92.7
2. Serbian	5.7	6.4	5.0
3. Bosniak	0.9		
4. Italian	0.2		
5. Hungarian	0.1		
6. Albanian	0.3		
7. Slovenian	0.1		
8. Czech	0.6		
9. other _____	0.3		

Q10. What is your marital status?

1. single	22.0	29.3	15.6
2. married	61.1	59.9	62.1
3. divorced	4.4		
4. cohabiting	2.0		
5. widowed	10.5	5.3	15.1

Q11. How many children do you have?

1. one	17.4	14.7	19.7
2. two	39.4	37.9	40.8
3. three	11.5	9.8	13.0
4. four	2.7		
5. five or more	1.8		
6. I don't have children	27.3	34.7	20.7

Q12. If the election were held right now, which party would you vote for?

1. HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union)	13.2	12.9	13.5
2. HNS (Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats)	2.2		
3. HSS (Croatian Peasant Party)	2.7		
4. HSP (Croatian Party of Rights)	2.1		
5. HSU (Croatian Party of Pensioners)	2.2		
6. HDSSB (Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja)	1.9		
7. HL – SR (Croatian Labourists – Labour Party)	3.7		
8. HSD (Croatian Socialdemocrats)	0.2		
9. IDS (Istrian Democratic Assembly)	0.3		
10. SDSS (Autonomous Democratic Serbian Party)	0.3		
11. SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)	26.3	26.8	25.9
12. other _____	2.7		
13. I don't know	26.4	22.3	30.0
14. I wouldn't vote	15.7	18.4	13.2

Q13. Are you a member of the following groups and organizations? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. a political party	7.0	8.4	5.8
2. a human rights organization	0.3		
3. a women's rights organization	0.3		
4. a peacemaking organization	0.1		
5. an environmental organization	0.3		
6. a union	5.6	6.5	4.8
7. a sports group or association	4.0		
8. a cultural or art association	1.7		
9. a youth group	0.8		
10. other _____	2.0		
11. I am not a member of any group or organization	80.8	75.3	85.6

Q14. How much time on average do you spend doing household and family work?

1. up to 15 hours per week	33.4	47.1	21.2
2. 15 – 30 hours per week	26.9	21.3	31.9
3. 30 – 60 hours per week	18.0	10.5	24.7
4. over 60 hours per week	12.7	4.3	20.1
5. I do not do household or family work	9.0	16.9	2.0

Q15. Do you think that women in Croatia are discriminated against?

1. yes	49.7	36.7	61.2
2. no	37.6	51.2	25.4
3. I don't know	12.7	12.1	13.3

Q16. To what extent does each of these situations contribute to discrimination against women?

	4 extremely contributes			3 mostly contributes			2 mostly doesn't contribute			1 definitely doesn't contribute		
1. poorer employment opportunities	31.6	22.6	39.6	46.2	44.2	48.0	18.1	26.8	10.5	4.0		
2. lower promotion prospects at work	27.9	18.3	36.3	48.1	47.1	48.9	20.2	28.8	12.6	3.9		
3. absence of women in economically prestigious occupations	25.1	16.1	33.0	45.0	42.0	47.6	25.6	35.3	17.0	4.3		
4. double burden (family and work)	47.5	37.1	56.8	39.1	44.8	34.0	10.5	13.1	8.1	3.0		
5. stereotypical images of women in the media	23.5	18.6	27.8	43.1	41.0	44.9	27.6	33.3	22.6	5.8	7.1	4.7
6. underrepresentation of women in politics	23.1	16.0	29.3	47.2	42.9	51.0	23.9	32.6	16.2	5.8	8.5	3.5
7. unequal access to education and content of education (e.g., traditional images of women in textbooks)	15.7	9.5	21.3	35.9	34.0	37.6	34.3	40.3	29.0	14.1	16.2	12.2
8. abuse (sexual, family, sexual harassment in the workplace)	35.1	26.6	42.6	41.9	42.1	41.8	18.3	24.6	12.7	4.6		
9. belonging to a national minority	16.2	12.1	19.8	33.1	29.7	36.0	34.6	39.9	29.9	16.1	18.3	14.2

Q17. Do you think that Croatian society is patriarchal?

1. yes	55.5	51.1	59.3
2. no	33.1	40.2	26.8
3. I don't know	11.4	8.7	13.8

Q18. In which situations do you personally notice that Croatian society is patriarchal? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. perpetuating stereotypical gender roles	26.2	25.0	27.2
2. different upbringing of boys and girls	14.5	11.7	17.0
3. supporting traditional education	7.6	9.2	6.2
4. emphasizing the figure of the father (in family, politics, the media)	14.5	13.7	15.3
5. maintaining the position of male power in society	21.5	18.2	24.5
6. division of housework at the expense of women	23.1	19.1	26.6
7. violence against women	17.7	16.2	18.9
8. invisibility of women's contribution to history, science, culture	4.1		
9. other _____	0.7		
10. I don't think that Croatian society is patriarchal	23.2	28.6	18.5

Q19. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

STATEMENTS	4 I completely agree			3 I mostly agree			2 I mostly do not agree			1 I definitely do not agree		
	1. Women have to make more sacrifices in order to succeed.	44.9	29.2	58.9	35.4	40.3	31.0	14.8	23.2	7.3	4.9	
2. Women are not aggressive enough to be in politics.	15.3	13.3	17.1	31.4	31.2	31.6	34.9	38.4	31.7	18.4	17.1	19.6
3. Women cannot have both a family and a political career.	11.2	11.9	10.7	20.2	22.0	18.6	37.0	39.1	35.1	31.6	27.0	35.6
4. Women's place is in the home, and they should leave politics to men.	7.5	8.5	6.7	9.7	12.8	7.0	29.9	38.5	22.3	52.9	40.3	64.0

Q20. What social and political institutions or groups have the greatest influence on the role of women in society?

(Maximum of 2 answers)

1. the media	58.7	57.6	59.6
2. religious institutions	29.2	31.9	26.8
3. political parties	16.7	14.8	18.5
4. educational institutions	19.9	17.1	22.3
5. state institutions (Government, Parliament, President)	15.5	13.5	17.2
6. judicial institutions	3.0		
7. NGOs	9.1	10.7	7.6
8. other _____	0.6		

Q21. By your estimation, is the position of women better or worse compared to the period prior to 1990?

1. much worse	5.3	5.2	5.4
2. worse	14.0	14.3	13.7
3. neither worse nor better	34.0	30.5	37.0
4. better	41.3	41.4	41.3
5. much better	5.4	8.6	2.7

Q22. In what areas has the position of women changed compared to the period prior to 1990? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. financial status	30.0	30.4	29.7
2. (un)employment	34.3	32.6	35.9
3. health and social security	10.3	11.5	9.3
4. education	25.0	25.7	24.3
5. division of labour in the family	22.7	23.0	22.4
6. political participation	14.6	15.1	14.2
7. other _____	0.4		
8. the position of women has not changed	15.5	14.6	16.3

Q23. By your estimation, is the position of women better or worse since the last parliamentary elections in 2007?

1. much worse	3.8		
2. worse	14.9	14.8	15.1
3. neither worse nor better	58.3	55.9	60.5
4. better	20.6	23.3	18.2
5. much better	2.3		

Q24. In what areas has the position of women changed since the last parliamentary elections in 2007? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. financial status	22.5	23.9	21.3
2. (un)employment	27.6	26.4	28.7
3. health and social security	6.8	6.4	7.1
4. education	13.5	14.6	12.5
5. division of labour in the family	12.1	13.4	10.9
6. political participation	11.1	12.5	9.9
7. other _____	0.3		
8. the position of women has not changed	39.2	37.3	41.0

Q25. Are there, in your opinion, significant social obstacles to women's more active engagement in politics?

1. yes	33.6	28.4	38.3
2. no	53.0	60.6	46.2
3. I don't know	13.4	11.0	15.5

Q26. What are, in your opinion, the greatest obstacles to women's more active engagement in politics? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. legal inequality	8.5	6.8	10.0
2. patriarchal worldviews in society in general	17.7	18.3	17.1
3. education that perpetuates gender stereotypes and does not affirm women	4.5		
4. prejudice (e.g., "women are weak and delicate, men are strong and rational")	23.9	19.2	28.1
5. double burden (family and work)	31.6	27.6	35.2
6. lack of support from the family and/or immediate milieu	12.1	12.0	12.2
7. insufficient interest of political parties for promoting women in politics	11.9	11.6	12.1
8. image of politics as abstract, inefficient and unable to affect everyday life	3.7		
9. men's rules of the game in politics	9.4	8.1	10.6
10. other _____	0.5		
11. there are no obstacles to women's active engagement in politics	26.1	32.4	20.5

Q27. In your opinion, should women go into politics?

1. yes	83.8	78.7	88.2
2. no	10.8	14.9	7.2
3. I don't know	5.4	6.4	4.6

Q28. In your opinion, what are the most important reasons for women to go into politics? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. because based on universal suffrage women are formally equal in politics	28.8	32.8	25.3
2. because politics is a public matter of interest to both genders	35.2	34.8	35.5
3. because women's participation will make politics more just and improve its quality	25.7	19.6	31.1
4. because women are just as politically aware as men	29.1	25.7	32.1
5. because women bring change, a different style of politics	20.0	17.6	22.1
6. because women's participation increases trust in political institutions and democracy	9.8	10.1	9.5
7. other _____	0.5		
8. women should not go into politics	8.7	11.6	6.2

Q29. Do you find women generally interested in politics?

1. very interested	9.8	9.4	10.1
2. interested	51.1	49.4	52.7
3. nor interested nor uninterested	27.4	27.9	26.9
4. uninterested	10.6	11.9	9.4
5. very uninterested	1.2		

Q30. Are you familiar with the work of women politicians?

1. yes	44.7	49.3	40.7
2. no	45.8	42.2	49.0
3. I don't know	9.5	8.5	10.4

Q31. Do a sufficient number of women participate in the political life of the Republic of Croatia?

1. yes	18.2	24.5	12.7
2. no	68.1	60.1	75.2
3. I don't know	13.7	15.4	12.1

Q32. Is the current proportion of female representatives in Parliament (25%) sufficient?

1. yes	18.4	25.2	12.4
2. no	66.1	56.6	74.6
3. I don't know	15.5	18.3	13.0

Q33. Do you think that the representation of women in Parliament should be proportional to their representation in the population?

1. yes	60.0	53.0	66.1
2. no	20.6	26.4	15.4
3. I don't know	19.5	20.6	18.5

Q34. Would you agree with the application of women's quotas with the purpose of increasing the number of female representatives in Parliament?

1. yes	61.9	52.7	70.2
2. no	19.0	26.6	12.2
3. I don't know	19.1	20.7	17.6

Q35. Do you support positive or special measures aimed at achieving gender equality?

1. yes	76.5	72.7	79.9
2. no	15.2	18.4	12.4
3. I don't know	8.2	8.9	7.7

Q36. In your opinion, what positive or special measures aimed at achieving gender equality are the most effective?
(Maximum of 2 answers)

1. giving priority to women in employment	27.2	21.2	32.6
2. women's quotas in politics	17.9	18.0	17.9
3. education that promotes gender equality	36.5	34.4	38.5
4. special institutions (e.g., ministry for women, ombudsperson for gender equality, courts)	12.7	13.1	12.3
5. specific healthcare for women (e.g., counselling, compulsory mammograms)	13.8	12.1	15.3
6. adequate social treatment of violence against women	16.9	17.4	16.5
7. appropriate legal regulations (e.g., gender-aware criminal laws, election laws)	10.2	10.3	10.1
8. statutory parental leave for fathers	6.9	6.1	7.5
9. other _____	0.6		
10. none of the positive or special measures is effective	12.2	15.1	9.6

Q37. Do you think that a greater representation of women would change the quality of politics?

1. yes	60.0	49.8	69.1
2. no	22.4	32.3	13.7
3. I don't know	17.6	17.9	17.3

Q38. Are enough women appointed to responsible, high government positions?

1. yes	19.9	28.7	12.1
2. no	63.2	51.8	73.3
3. I don't know	16.9	19.5	14.6

Q39. Do you think that women in those positions are as efficient as men?

1. more efficient than men	29.3	18.3	39.1
2. equally efficient as men	62.5	69.7	56.2
3. less efficient than men	8.2	12.1	4.7

Q40. Are there, in your opinion, "women's issues" that need to be resolved by political means?

1. yes	45.7	36.9	53.5
2. no	34.4	43.6	26.2
3. I don't know	19.9	19.5	20.3

Q41. What topics do you consider to be "women's issues"? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. violence against women	39.4	38.9	39.8
2. unpaid work in the home	18.3	13.0	23.0
3. women's reproductive rights / the right to choose	12.9	10.8	14.7
4. responsible partnership between women and men	11.6	11.4	11.8
5. women's perspective in education (e.g., women's/gender studies)	4.0		
6. equal pay for equal work	37.7	31.9	42.8
7. balanced representation of women in politics	6.9	6.1	7.7
8. activities that foster a culture of nonviolence	5.2	6.7	3.8
9. gender budgeting	1.0		
10. other _____	0.3		
11. there are no "women's issues"	19.9	26.1	14.4

Q42. Do women have different political interests than men?

1. yes	40.4	37.8	42.7
2. no	40.5	42.4	38.8
3. I don't know	19.2	19.9	18.5

Q43. Can men, in your opinion, justly represent both men's and women's interests?

1. yes	44.7	54.8	35.8
2. no	42.4	32.8	50.9
3. I don't know	12.9	12.4	13.3

Q44. Do you personally notice that women politicians refer to their gender in public appearances?

1. yes	25.7	30.9	21.2
2. no	57.4	54.8	59.7
3. I don't know	16.9	14.4	19.2

Q45. To what extent do you agree with the following statements about women politicians?

STATEMENTS	4 I completely agree			3 I mostly agree			2 I mostly do not agree			1 I definitely do not agree		
1. Women are more broadminded than men.	21.2	16.2	25.7	41.5	35.9	46.4	27.4	36.6	19.2	10.0	11.4	8.7
2. Women have different political priorities than men.	22.5	18.9	25.6	45.4	42.9	47.7	25.8	29.6	22.4	6.3	8.6	4.3
3. Women talk about politics differently from men.	22.3	18.5	25.7	49.9	48.6	51.0	22.6	27.2	18.5	5.2	5.7	4.8
4. Women are more consistent in the implementation of political goals than men.	30.3	20.9	38.6	41.3	37.7	44.4	22.4	32.3	13.7	6.1	9.1	3.3

Q46. Do you think that women have different motivations for being in politics than men?

1. yes	46.9	42.6	50.7
2. no	41.0	46.8	35.9
3. I don't know	12.1	10.6	13.3

Q47. What, in your opinion, are women's most important motives for engaging in politics? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. awareness of the oppression of women	22.1	20.1	23.8
2. more equal distribution of power in society	27.0	27.4	26.6
3. changing the content and priorities of politics	15.4	15.4	15.3
4. more pronounced values of justice and welfare	27.8	22.6	32.4
5. solving specific problems in the community	27.5	21.6	32.7
6. representing the interests of other minority groups	3.9		
7. other _____	0.7		
8. women's motivation is not different from men's	22.6	26.6	19.0

Q48. How would you assess the political activity of women in relation to that of men?

1. more active than men	33.7	25.3	41.2
2. equally active as men	52.3	58.0	47.2
3. less active than men	14.0	16.7	11.6

Q49. In what areas, in your opinion, are women politicians most active? (Maximum of 2 answers)

1. judicial policy	23.4	24.2	22.7
2. penal policy	9.1	10.0	8.3
3. foreign policy	12.2	12.9	11.5
4. security policy	5.8	5.7	5.8
5. economic policy	22.1	19.4	24.7
6. social policy	65.3	62.2	68.2
7. cultural policy	21.4	20.8	21.9
8. other _____	0.7		

Q50. In your opinion, can one talk about women's policy?

1. yes	28.5	25.4	31.2
2. no	47.6	52.5	43.3
3. I don't know	23.9	22.2	25.4

Q51. How would you define women's policy?

Q52. Whom does the Croatian public trust more, women or men politicians?

1. it trusts women more	9.6	10.1	9.1
2. it trusts both equally	33.9	35.9	32.1
3. it trusts men more	32.5	29.9	34.8
4. it doesn't trust either	24.0	24.0	23.9

Q53. Whom do you personally trust more, women or men politicians?

1. I trust women more	20.2	15.8	24.1
2. I trust both equally	38.5	38.0	38.9
3. I trust men more	9.8	13.3	6.6
4. I trust neither	31.6	32.9	30.4

Q54. Why do you trust or do not trust women politicians?

Q55. By your estimation, whom does the Croatian public appreciate more, women or men politicians?

1. women politicians	6.8	7.1	6.6
2. both equally	29.5	31.5	27.8
3. men politicians	44.3	41.8	46.5
4. neither	19.3	19.6	19.0

Q56. Whom do you personally appreciate more, women or men politicians?

1. women politicians	22.1	15.3	28.1
2. both equally	45.4	48.4	42.8
3. men politicians	9.9	13.5	6.8
4. neither	22.5	22.8	22.3

Q57. Looking at male politicians' public statements, would you say they treat their female colleagues as their equals?

1. yes	31.6	38.5	25.6
2. no	51.5	46.5	55.9
3. I don't know	16.9	15.1	18.5

Q58. In your opinion, would the Croatian public elect a female president?

1. yes	50.0	54.3	46.3
2. no	33.9	30.7	36.7
3. I don't know	16.1	15.1	17.0

Q59. Would you personally vote for a female president?

1. yes	80.5	75.2	85.2
2. no	11.2	15.4	7.5
3. I don't know	8.2	9.4	7.2

Q60. In your opinion, would the Croatian public accept a female or male politician of a different sexual orientation?

1. yes	12.9	12.9	12.9
2. no	69.0	69.9	68.3
3. I don't know	18.1	17.2	18.8

Q61. Would you personally accept a female or male politician of a different sexual orientation?

1. yes	33.3	29.8	36.4
2. no	51.3	57.6	45.7
3. I don't know	15.4	12.6	17.9

Q62. In your opinion, would the Croatian public accept a female or male politician of one of the following national minorities as their representative?

		1 yes		2 no			3 I don't know		
1. Albanian	11.0	13.7	8.6	71.6	71.8	71.4	17.4	14.5	19.9
2. Bosniak	15.9	17.6	14.4	65.1	67.0	63.4	19.0	15.4	22.1
3. Roma	9.2	11.2	7.5	74.4	74.3	74.6	16.3	14.5	17.9
4. Serbian	11.2	13.1	9.4	71.2	71.8	70.6	17.7	15.1	19.9
5. Italian	15.7	17.6	14.1	62.4	62.6	62.2	21.9	19.9	23.7
6. Jewish	14.7	16.1	13.3	64.4	65.1	63.7	21.0	18.8	22.9

Q63. Would you personally accept a female or male politician of one of the following national minorities as your representative?

		1 yes		2 no			3 I don't know		
1. Albanian	26.1	26.6	25.6	57.8	61.7	54.3	16.2	11.7	20.1
2. Bosniak	29.9	28.9	30.8	53.8	58.5	49.6	16.3	12.6	19.6
3. Roma	24.6	25.4	23.9	59.8	63.3	56.7	15.7	11.3	19.5
4. Serbian	26.0	26.1	25.9	57.7	60.3	55.4	16.3	13.7	18.7
5. Italian	30.8	30.0	31.6	52.1	56.2	48.5	17.1	13.8	19.9
6. Jewish	29.6	28.7	30.3	53.2	56.7	50.1	17.2	14.5	19.6

Q64. When choosing political candidates, does their gender play a role in your decision?

1. yes	10.3	12.8	8.2
2. no	85.2	82.8	87.3
3. I don't know	4.5		

Q65. Why does or doesn't gender play a role in your choice of political candidates?

Q66. Have you heard of the following?

		1 yes		2 no		
1. Gender Equality Act	85.6	88.1	83.4	14.4	11.9	16.6
2. National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality	55.2	58.8	52.1	44.8	41.2	47.9
3. Croatian Parliament Gender Equality Committee	44.5	48.7	40.8	55.5	51.3	59.2
4. Ombudswoman for Gender Equality	60.2	59.9	60.5	39.8	40.1	39.5
5. Office for Gender Equality of the Government of the Republic of Croatia	43.4	43.6	43.3	56.6	56.4	56.7
6. Commissions for gender equality (county, city and/or local)	31.4	32.4	30.5	68.6	67.6	69.5
7. Coordinators for Gender Equality (in government bodies or offices)	27.5	28.0	27.1	72.5	72.0	72.9

Q67. Have you heard of the following women's NGOs?

		1 yes			2 no		
1. Autonomous Women's House Zagreb	71.5	68.7	73.9	28.5	31.3	26.1	
2. B.a.B.e. – Be active, Be emancipated	79.7	78.5	80.8	20.3	21.5	19.2	
3. Center for Education, Counselling and Research	44.2	42.4	45.7	55.8	57.6	54.3	
4. Center for Women War Victims	59.6	59.5	59.7	40.4	40.5	40.3	
5. Centre for Women's Studies	36.6	35.9	37.2	63.4	64.1	62.8	
6. Kontra	35.0	37.6	32.7	65.0	62.4	67.3	
7. Women's Information and Documentation Center	10.4	10.5	10.3	89.6	89.5	89.7	
8. Women's Network Croatia	23.2	22.5	23.8	76.8	77.5	76.2	

Q68. In what way do you stay informed about politics, politicians and political events?

	4 often			3 occasionally			2 rarely			1 never		
1. daily newspapers	31.6	36.9	26.9	35.9	35.5	36.3	20.8	17.2	24.1	11.7	10.5	12.7
2. weeklies and magazines	8.4	7.9	8.9	28.6	28.4	28.8	33.2	33.5	33.1	29.7	30.2	29.3
3. television	80.3	81.9	79.0	14.3	13.0	15.4	4.0			1.4		
4. radio	39.9	40.8	39.0	29.9	29.7	30.2	19.8	20.2	19.5	10.3	9.3	11.3
5. Internet	29.2	33.8	25.1	17.6	18.2	17.0	10.3	9.3	11.3	42.9	38.6	46.7
6. party activities (meetings, publications, gatherings)	2.5			6.1	6.4	5.7	12.1	12.9	11.4	79.3	78.0	80.5
7. talking with family members	21.8	21.6	22.0	40.1	39.2	40.9	26.9	27.5	26.3	11.2	11.6	10.8
8. talking with friends, neighbours and colleagues at work	20.5	21.5	19.7	44.4	44.4	44.4	25.3	25.9	24.7	9.8	8.2	11.2

Q69. Have you noticed that women politicians are represented differently than men in the media?

1. yes	36.1	32.6	39.2
2. no	46.4	50.9	42.4
3. I don't know	17.5	16.5	18.4

Q70. Are women politicians sufficiently present in the media?

1. yes	39.4	46.3	33.3
2. no	42.3	36.2	47.7
3. I don't know	18.3	17.6	19.0

Q71. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

STATEMENTS	4 I completely agree			3 I mostly agree			2 I mostly do not agree			1 I definitely do not agree		
1. The media covers the work of women politicians less than the work of their male colleagues.	17.2	14.7	19.5	36.4	32.0	40.3	36.7	41.7	32.2	9.7	11.6	7.9
2. The media concerns itself more with the personal appearance of women politicians than men politicians.	27.6	23.1	31.7	41.9	41.0	42.8	25.2	29.5	21.4	5.2	6.4	4.1
3. Women politicians are more often than men shown in the media as benefactors.	16.6	16.5	16.7	41.4	40.8	42.0	34.9	36.1	33.9	7.1	6.6	7.5
4. The media concerns itself more often with the family lives of women politicians than men.	19.3	15.6	22.6	37.1	35.5	38.5	34.8	37.9	32.0	8.8	11.0	6.8

Q72. Do you think that political parties devote enough attention to the issue of gender (in)equality?

1. yes	18.3	23.2	14.0
2. no	53.8	48.2	58.7
3. I don't know	27.9	28.5	27.3

Q73. Are you familiar with the differences in political party programs regarding the issue of (in)equality?

1. yea	14.1	14.2	14.0
2. no	84.5	84.6	84.5
3. I don't know	1.4		

Q74. Which parliamentary parties are most invested in solving the issue of gender (in)equality? (Maximum of 3 answers)

1. HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union)	15.0	15.8	14.2
2. HNS (Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats)	8.2	7.7	8.7
3. HSS (Croatian Peasant Party)	3.1		
4. HSP (Croatian Party of Rights)	2.3		
5. HSU (Croatian Party of Pensioners)	1.1		
6. HDSSB (Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja)	0.5		
7. HL – SR (Croatian Labourists – Labour Party)	2.5		
8. HSD (Croatian Socialdemocrats)	0.8		
9. IDS (Istrian Democratic Assembly)	1.4		
10. SDSS (Autonomous Democratic Serbian Party)	0.1		
11. SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)	23.9	24.4	23.5
12. SDA HR (Social Democratic Action of Croatia)	0.4		
13. other _____	2.5		
14. none	64.7	63.3	65.9

Q75. In which parliamentary parties are women most encouraged to advance? (Maximum of 3 answers)

1. HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union)	16.9	17.3	16.5
2. HNS (Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats)	9.7	8.8	10.6
3. HSS (Croatian Peasant Party)	3.1		
4. HSP (Croatian Party of Rights)	3.6		
5. HSU (Croatian Party of Pensioners)	0.5		
6. HDSSB (Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja)	0.3		
7. HL – SR (Croatian Labourists – Labour Party)	1.5		
8. HSD (Croatian Socialdemocrats)	0.8		
9. IDS (Istrian Democratic Assembly)	1.0		
10. SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)	27.4	29.0	26.1
11. SDA HR (Social Democratic Action of Croatia)	0.3		
12. other _____	1.4		
13. none	59.4	57.1	61.3

Q76. Do you think that the representation of gender equality helps or hinders the political parties' struggle for power?

1. it helps them	39.9	41.5	38.5
2. it has no impact	54.5	53.0	55.8
3. it hinders them	5.6	5.5	5.7

Q77. In your opinion, what is the Croatian public attitude toward feminism?

1. extremely positive	2.6		
2. mostly positive	17.6	19.6	15.8
3. neither positive or negative	56.7	57.7	55.8
4. mostly negative	20.6	17.1	23.6
5. extremely negative	2.5		

Q78. What is your personal attitude toward feminism?

1. extremely positive	10.7	8.6	12.6
2. mostly positive	31.1	28.8	33.3
3. neither positive or negative	49.7	51.6	47.9
4. mostly negative	7.2	9.1	5.4
5. extremely negative	1.3		

Q79. What attitudes are feminist, in your opinion?

Q80. In your opinion, do women politicians represent feminist attitudes?

1. yes	22.7	25.5	20.3
2. no	36.2	33.7	38.5
3. I don't know	41.0	40.8	41.3

Q81. Have you noticed that some women politicians declare themselves as feminists?

1. yes, which ones _____	6.4	5.9	6.9
2. no	51.0	52.7	49.6
3. I don't know	42.5	41.5	43.5

Q82a. Do you think that this research *Women in Croatian Politics* is necessary?

Q82b. Has this research induced you to think about new topics or issues?



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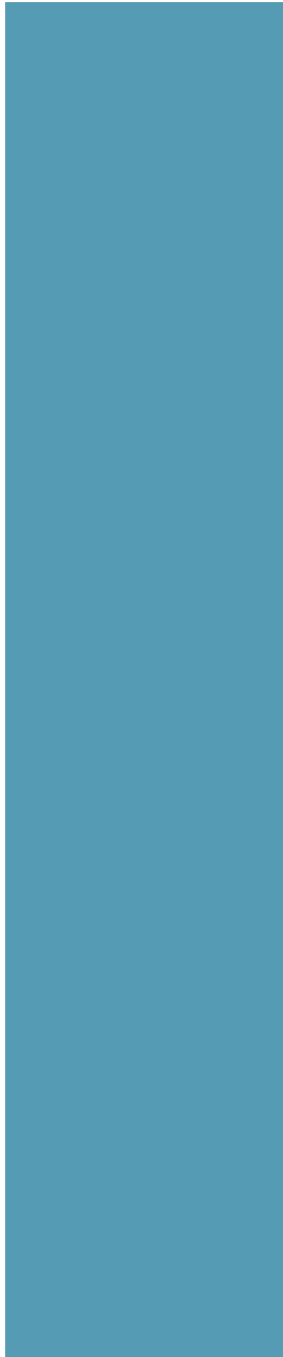
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For more on the project *AD ACTE – Anti-Discrimination Actions Towards Equality of Women and Men*, please see at <http://zenajevise.net>.



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