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DISCRIMINATION OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN POLITICS IN CROATIA - THE CASE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT BETWEEN 1990 AND 2016

Abstract

Democracy in the contemporary and modern world is inconceivable without the active and equal participation of women in all fields of social life, especially at the management level. The aim of this study was to investigate to what extent, and if at all, the transition path to modern democracy was accompanied by adequate political participation of women in management positions and the executive branch. The question is whether the proportion of women in the Croatian Government in the period 1990-2016 recorded an increase in relation to men? Since Croatia had a similar political path to declaring its independence like the neighbouring Republic of Slovenia, a comparison was made regarding the proportion of women in the Croatian Government as opposed to the neighbouring Slovenia. To further argue the data obtained from quantitative research, the share of women in the governments of Croatia and Slovenia was compared with the current average share of women in the governments of 28 EU member states. The first part describes how women in the world got the right to vote and the development of women's rights in Croatia. A total of 13 Croatian Governments were analysed with an emphasis on the proportion of women in the executive branch, as well as areas of political interest to women in government. The proportion of women in the same period in the Government of the Republic of Slovenia was also analysed, and a comparison was made with the share of women in the Croatian Government. Consequently, an attempt was made to compare the proportion of women with the average share of women in the governments of the 28 EU countries.

Keywords: Women in politics, management, management functions, political communication, Croatian Government, Government of the EU

1. Positive regulations in the Republic of Croatia

The position and rights of women in the Republic Croatia, as well as the prohibition of discrimination in all aspects of life, are regulated by numerous laws. The most important one is the Gender Equality Law (Official Gazette No. 82/08)[1] and the Anti-Discrimination Act (OG No. 85/08)[2]. The Gender Equality Law, Article 5, states: "Gender equality means that women and men are equally present in all aspects of public and private life, that they have equal status, equal opportunities to realize their rights, and equally benefit from the achieved results". Concerning the political involvement of women, Article 15 states: "(1) in determining and proposing lists of male and female candidates for the election of representatives to the Croatian Parliament, the election of members of representative bodies of local and regional governments, as well as the election of members of the European Parliament, political parties and other authorized proponents are obliged to respect the principle of gender equality and take account of the balanced representation of men and women on electoral lists in accordance with Article 12 of this Act."

(2) In order to implement paragraph 1 of this Article, political parties and other entities authorized to submit election lists shall introduce specific measures to ensure that the representation of men and women on the lists for the election of representatives to the Croatian Parliament, members of representative bodies of local and regional governments and members of the European Parliament is not significantly unbalanced, in accordance with Article 12, paragraph 3 of this Act. In accordance with Article 12, paragraph 1 of this Act, "a gradual increase of the underrepresented gender shall be achieved not later than after the implementation of the third regular elections after this Act comes into force."

On 13 February 2015 the Croatian Parliament passed the Law on Amendments to the Law on Election of Members of the Croatian Parliament. (OG No. 19/15)[3] According to this Law, political parties are, amongst other things, obliged to respect the equal representation of both genders on the candidate lists. The Law on Election of Members of the Croatian Parliament (OG No. 120/11)[4] was amended by Article 21a: "In determining and proposing party lists and independent lists for the election of Members of Parliament, proponents of the list are obliged to respect the principle of gender equality and take into account the balanced representation of women and men on the lists. It shall be deemed that the list for the election of representatives is in accordance with the principles set out in paragraph 1 of this article, insofar as the specific list contains at least 40% of both genders, while the lists with less than 40% representation of both genders shall be considered illegitimate".

However, the Constitutional Court annulled the last sentence of that article in its decision U-I-1397/2015, dated 24 September 2015. The Decision Summary of the Constitutional Court states that an automatic disqualification of the election list for disregarding the "gender quota" have a disproportional effect on one's freedom to run for parliament.

Furthermore, the Anti-Discrimination Act (OG No. 85/08)[5] states: (1) This Act ensures the protection and promotion of equality as the highest value of the Croatian constitutional system, it creates the prerequisites for achieving equal opportunity and protects against discrimination on grounds of race or ethnicity or skin colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, trade union membership, education, social status, marital or family status, age, health, disability, genetic heritage, gender identity, expression or sexual orientation.

(2) Placing of any person, or a person related to that person by kinship or other relationship, in a less favourable position on the grounds referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be, within the meaning of this Act, deemed to be discrimination.

(3) Placing of a person in a less favourable position based on a misconception of the existence of the grounds referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall also be, within the meaning of this Act, deemed to be discrimination.

2. Relevant parts of international regulations

The European Parliament in its Resolution on EU Strategy for equality between women and men post 2015 (2014/2152 (INI))[6] pointed out that the gender quotas in political decision-making have proven to be a most effective tool in addressing discrimination and power imbalances between men and women and for the improvement of democratic representation in political decision-making bodies. For example, the largest increase in the percentage of women

on boards of companies is registered in countries that have already enacted laws on compulsory gender quotas, while companies in countries, in which those mandatory measures have not been implemented, are still far from achieving an acceptable gender balance (Art. 40). The European Parliament also stressed the importance of gender-balanced candidate lists, headed alternately by candidates of different gender; highlights the importance of quotas for increasing the presence of women in political decision-making (Art. 41).

In its Resolution on women in political decision making - quality and equality (2011/2295 (INI))[7] the European Parliament has stressed that political parties bear responsibility for selecting, ranking and nominating candidates for leading positions. Furthermore, they play a central role in ensuring equal representation of women and men in politics and should therefore endorse good practices, such as voluntary party quotas for elections. The European Parliament calls on Member States and all political parties to take measures to encourage women's active participation and involvement in political life and in elections, to achieve real parity in their internal decision-making, in their nominations for elected office and in party electoral lists through the introduction of quotas and, when compatible with the electoral system and when the political parties are in charge of the composition of the electoral list, to pay attention to the position of women candidates on these lists (Art. 5).

3. Share of women in politics in Croatia after the parliamentary elections 2015

According to the final official results of the election for representatives to the Croatian Parliament, which were announced by the National Election Commission on 23 November 2015, there were 957 women and 1,354 men candidates (of 2,311), or 41.4% women and 58.6% men. The gender quota of 40% was not fulfilled on 33 from a total of 166 lists of candidates in 11 constituencies (19.9%). Looking at individual promoters lists of candidates, a total of 31 different proponents such as a political party, coalition of parties or independent lists, that participated in the elections, 7 (22.6%) had at least one list of candidates on which the quota was not respected, while the remaining 24 proponents fulfilled the quota on all lists. This, at first glance, is not a large proportion, however looking at individual political parties, out of 61 that took part in the election, as many as 21 parties were among the above mentioned 7. It is important to point out that two of those seven belong to the two biggest coalitions that won the most votes and parliamentary seats. This is a negative factor that has certainly had an impact on the final ratio of the unbalanced gender structure of the new session of the Croatian Parliament[8].

The eighth session of the Croatian Parliament finally selected 23 women and 128 men or 15.2% women and 84.8% men. After a part of the elected put their mandate on hold because of the other duties they perform, their places were occupied by their male or female deputies. The 24 representatives, whose mandate was put on hold (all men), were replaced by deputies, eight of whom were women. This finally gives the initial composition of the 8th sitting of the Croatian Parliament: 31 female MPs and 120 male MPs, or 20.5% women and 79.5% men[9].

4. Research objectives and methodology

The research objective of this paper is to explore and determine the participation of women in the executive branch of the Republic of Croatia from 1990 to 2016, compare the results with the situation in the Republic of Slovenia, as well as with the proportion of women in the 28 EU member states. (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów, 2016[10], The Members of the Government of the Czech Republic, 2016[11], Members of the Government/Úrad vlády SR, 2016[12], Members of the Government/Hungarian Government, 2016[13], Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, 2016[14], Belgian Federal Government, 2016[15], Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus, 2016[16], Statsministeriet/Christiansborg, 2016[17], Republic of Estonia Government, 2016[18], Finnish Government – Valtioneuvosto, 2016[19], Composition of the Government - Gouvernement.fr, 2016[20], Cabinet of the Federal Government – Bundesregierung, 2016[21], Prime Minister of Greece Our Government, 2016[22], Government of Ireland/government departments, 2016[23], List of Ministers and Ministers of State - Department of Taoiseach, 2016[24], Ministri e Sottosegretari/Governo Italiano, 2016[25], Laimdota Straujuma pozostaje premierem Łotwy - Ministru kabinets, 2016[26], Government of the Republic of Lithuania, 2016[27], Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 2016[28], Government of Malta/Ministries and Entities, 2016[29], The government of the Netherlands, 2016[30], Ministers/República Portuguesa,

2016[31], Ministers of the Romanian Government, 2016[32], The Government of Sweden, 2016[33], Government ministers - Gov.uk, 2016[34], Members of Government/Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016[35]). To achieve this, a quantitative method of counting has been used. The official government websites of both countries, the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia, listing all appointed male and female representatives in all elected governments in both countries from their independence to date was used as the primary source for the calculations. This was followed by calculating the proportion of women in each government, and then the results from both countries were compared. Finally, the proportion of women in the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of Republic of Slovenia on 7 April 2016 was compared with the proportion of women participating in the governments of all 28 EU members. The analysis unit was the number of women in the Croatian Government, the Slovenian Government and the Governments of all 28 EU members. The source for all the data were the respective official government websites. In conclusion, the sample selected for the method of counting is complete and representative, therefore the data obtained from this research are indicative. Furthermore, a qualitative analysis of the gathered data concerning the political interests of women in the executive branch of the Republic of Croatia has been made in order to give a better context for the need of this research and to underline its objectives. The following hypotheses have been set:

H1 The proportion of women in the Croatian Government does not show the expected increase in comparison to men (1990-2016).

H2 Women only occupy positions in "female" sectors, such as education, culture and family.

H3 The proportion of women in the Croatian government is similar to that in neighbouring Slovenia.

H4 The proportion of women in the Croatian Government is lower than the average share in the other 28 EU members (2016).

A quantitative method of counting data was used to collect data on 13 Croatian Governments, 12 Governments of the Republic of Slovenia and the Governments of the 28 Member States of the European Union. Using the inductive-deductive method, conclusions will be derived about the under-representation and gender discrimination of women in the executive branch of all Croatian governments from the independence to date, as well as conclusions about sectors led by women in the past 26 years.

5. Proportion of women in Croatian politics after the 2015 parliamentary elections

According to the official results of the election for representatives to the Croatian Parliament, which were announced by the National Election Commission on 23 November 2015, there were 957 women candidates and 1,354 men candidates (total of 2,311), or 41.4% women and 58.6% men. The gender quota of 40% was not fulfilled in 33 out of 166 lists of candidates in 11 constituencies (19.9%). Looking at individual promoters of candidates' lists, a total of 31 different promoters representing political parties, coalition of parties or independent lists, which participated in the elections, 7 of them (22.6%) had at least one list of candidates on which the quota was not fulfilled, while the remaining 24 promoters fulfilled the quota on all lists. At first glance the number does not seem to be very high. However, if we look at individual political parties, out of the total of 61 that took part in the election process, as many as 21 parties were among the above mentioned 7. Furthermore, it is important to point out that two of those seven belong to the two biggest coalitions, which won most votes and parliamentary seats. This is a negative factor that has certainly had an impact on the final ratio of the unbalanced gender structure of the new composition of the Croatian Parliament[36].

The composition of the eighth Croatian Parliament finally consisted of 23 women and 128 men or 15.2% women and 84.8% men. Some of the elected representatives in Parliament put their mandate on hold because of other duties they perform. They were replaced by their male or female deputies. Therefore, the 24 representatives who put their mandates on hold (all men) were replaced by their deputies, eight of whom were women. The final composition of the 8th Croatian Parliament consisted of: 31 female representatives and 120 male, or 20.5% women and 79.5% men[37].

6. Analysis of the gender structure of Croatian Governments from 1990 to 2016

The Croatian Parliament ratified the thirteenth Croatian Government on 22 January 2016 (Croatian

Government 1, 2016).[38] The Government consisted of 20 men and 3 women. A subsequent change in the Minister of Veterans didn't change the ratio of men and women. However, in this paper both ministers of Veterans were included, the former and the latter. So, in total the Croatian Government consisted of 21 men and 3 women, taking in account this one change in the Ministry of Veterans.

The first Croatian Government, with Prime Minister Stjepan Mesić (30 May – 24 August 1990) at its head, did not have a single woman. With numerous changes, it had a total of 27 ministers (Croatian Government 2, 2016).[39]

The second Croatian Government (24 August 1990 – 17 July 1991) also did not have a single female member. The Prime Minister was Josip Manolić. The Government had 31 male ministers.[40]

The Prime Minister of the third Government was Franjo Gregurić (17 July 1991 – 12 August 1992), and it had one female member. Vesna Girardi-Jurkić was Minister of Education, Culture and Sports (since 15 April 1992). Taking into account all the changes during its mandate, the Government had a total of 43 members. However, the number of ministries was lower, because there had been two different ministers in the Ministry of Diaspora, Defence, Justice, Education, Culture and Sports, Labour and Social Welfare, Trade, Interior, Foreign Affairs, while in the Ministries of Science and Technology (Croatian Government 4, 2016)[41] we even had three different ministers. The percentage of women in the Government was 2.3%.

The fourth Croatian Government (12 August 1992 – 3 April 1993) with Prime Minister Hrvoje Šarinić also had one woman. Again, it was Vesna Girardi-Jurkić, Minister of Education, Culture and Sports. The Government had 24 members, 23 men and only one woman. (Croatian Government 5, 2016)[42]. The percentage of women in the government was 4.1%.

The fifth Croatian Government (3 April 1993 – 7 November 1995), with Prime Minister Nikica Valentić, had 39 members, and included three women: Marina Matulović-Dropulić, Minister of Urban Planning, Construction and Housing (since 27 January 1995), Vesna Girardi-Jurkić, Minister of Culture and Education (until 18 October 1994) succeeded by Lilja Vokić, (since 18 October 1994) (Croatian Government 6, 2016)[43]. This was the first milestone since Croatia's independence with a more significant, although still relatively small, percentage of women in the executive branch. The participation of women in the Government was at a total of 7.7%.

The number of women showed further growth in the sixth Government, under Prime Minister Zlatko Mateša (7 November 1995 – 27 January 2000). For the first time since Independence in 1991 there was a female vice-president, Ljerka Mintas-Hodak. Out of the 43 members of the Government, including all the changes that had been made, 5 were women. The proportion of women in the Government rose for the first time since 1990, above the 10% threshold. The five female ministers were: Marina Matulović, Minister of Physical Planning, Construction and Housing (until 16 December 1996), Ljerka Mintas-Hodak, Minister for European Integration (since 4 March 1998), Milena Žic-Fuchs, Minister of Science and Technology (since 22 February 1999), Nansi Ivanišević, Minister of Education and Sports (since 5 October 1999) and Lilja Vokić, Minister of Education and Sports (until 4 March 1998). (Croatian Government 7, 2016)[44].

The proportion of women in the executive branch was growing even further in the seventh government, the one led by Prime Minister Ivica Račan (27 January 2000 – 30 July 2002) totalling 13.7%. Račan had a female vice-president, Željka Antunović. Out of the 29 members, four were women: Ingrid Antičević-Marinović Minister of Justice, Administration and Local Self-Government (28 September 2001), Minister of Health, Ana Stavljenić Rukavina (23 October 2001) and Minister of Tourism Pave Župan Rusković (Croatian Government 8, 2016)[45].

The eighth Government (30 July 2002 – On 23 December 2003), with Prime Minister Ivica Račan, had four women: Željka Antunović was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Ingrid Antičević-Marinović, Minister of Justice, Administration and Local Self-Government; Pave Župan Rusković, Minister of Tourism, and Gordana Sobol, Minister in the Government (Croatian Government 9, 2016)[46]. The percentage of women was 16.6%.

The ninth Croatian Government (23 December 2003 – 12 January 2008), that of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, had 19 members and included five women. For the first time since the Croatian Independence, the percentage of women was more than 20%, to be more precise 26.3%. Jadranka Kosor was Vice President and Minister of Family, Veterans and Intergenerational Solidarity; Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, was

Minister in the Ministry of European Integration (until 17 February 2005) and stayed at the head of the new formed Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (since 17 February 2005). Vesna Škare-Ožbolt was Minister of Justice (until 2005), when she was replaced by Ana Lovrin (since 2005). Minister of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction was Marina Matulović Dropulić (Croatian Government 10, 2016)[47].

During the second term of Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, in the tenth Croatian Government (12 January 2008 – 1 July 2009), the proportion of women dropped down to 20%. The Government had 20 members, 4 of whom were women. Jadranka Kosor was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Family, Veterans and Intergenerational Solidarity. Đurđa Adlešić was Deputy Prime Minister for Internal Affairs. Ana Lovrin was Justice Minister (until 10 October 2008) and Marina Matulović Dropulić was Minister of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction (Croatian Government 11, 2016)[48].

The eleventh Government (from 1 July 2009 until 23 December 2011) was the first Government in national political history which was led by a woman. The Prime Minister was Jadranka Kosor. She had only one female cabinet member, Minister of Finance Martina Dalić. The Government had 18 members. Despite the fact that a woman was the head of the Government, there was a significant decrease in the number of women in the Government. The proportion of women was only 11.1% (Croatian Government 12, 2016)[49].

The twelfth Government, the one with Prime Minister Zoran Milanović in charge (23 December 2011 – 22 January 2016), had 30 members in total, counting all the changes. Out of the total number of members five were women, which accounts for a percentage of 16.6% (Croatian Government 13, 2016)[50]. Vesna Pusić was the first Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Milanka Opačić was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Social Policy and Youth, Mirela Holy, Minister of Environmental Protection and Nature (23 January 2011 to 13 June 2012), Anka Mrak Taritaš, Minister of Construction and Urban Planning (16 November 2012 to 22 January 2016) and Andrea Zlatar Violić, Minister of Culture (23 December 2011 to 25 March 2015).

Table 1 Proportion of women in the Governments of the Republic of Croatia from 1990 to 2016

CROATIAN GOVERNMENT	M	F	TOTAL	SHARE F
1990	27	0	27	0%
1990 - 1991	31	0	31	0%
1991 - 1992	42	1	43	2.3%
1992 - 1993	23	1	24	4.1%
1993 - 1995	36	3	39	7.7%
1995 - 2000	38	5	43	10.4%
2000 - 2002	25	4	29	13.7%
2002 - 2003	20	4	24	16.6%
2003 - 2008	14	5	19	26.3%
2008 - 2009	16	4	20	20%
2009 - 2011	16	2	18	11.1%
2011 - 2015	25	5	30	16.6%
2015-	21	3	24	12.5%
TOTAL	**334**	**37**	**371**	**9.9%**

Source: Personal research

The number of all men and women who participated in the Croatian Government was taken into account in our calculations. However, the frequent replacements of Ministers within a term should be taken into consideration, since, for example, there had been alterations of several male and female ministers in one of the Government compositions. The fact is that Croatia has evolved concerning the participation of women in the executive branch of the Government since 1990, when there was not a single woman, to 2009 when the head of the Government was a woman. On the other hand, we have the situation of 2009 when we had the first female Prime Minister in the history of Croatia, but at the same time there was only one other female member of Government. That Government had the lowest proportion of women since 1993.

The Governments in 1995, 2003 and 2011 had the largest number of women. Two of those Governments were Liberal-Social Democratic and the third was a Christian Democratic. A total of five women were at some point part of those Governments. The number of men decreased after 2000, not because of the reduction of the number of ministries, but because of the lowered number of changes in individual Ministries in mid-term, which the Governments

had been particularly prone to at the beginning of the nineties.

7. Areas of political interest to women in the Governments of the Republic of Croatia between 1990 -2016

The assumption was that women, who were part of the executive branch in the Republic of Croatia, were engaged in areas related to women's rights, child care, child allowances, domestic violence and culture, while departments like the Ministry of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Defence were reserved exclusively for male members of the Cabinet. However, in analyzing the situation in Croatia during the above-mentioned period, it is evident that this is not entirely true. A generalization like this is impossible because, apart from the fact that we have already had one female Prime Minister in the Republic of Croatia, we have also had seven female Deputy Prime Ministers, one woman was head of the Ministry of Defence, three were leading the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, five different female Ministers were in charge of the Ministry of Justice and Administration and Local Self-Government, and one was in charge of the Ministry for Finances. On seven separate occasions, we have had a female Minister as head of the Ministry of Construction, Environmental Protection and Physical Planning. The same number of women led the Ministry of Culture and Education.

Table 2 Women headed ministries in the Government from 1990 to 2016

DEPARTMENT	No. W.
WELFARE, YOUTH, FAMILY, VETERANS	3
ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE	5
HEALTH	1
KULTURE, EDUCATION, EDUCATION AND SPORT	7
DEFENCE	1
HOME AFFAIRS	0
FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	3
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, BUILDING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT	7
ECONOMY	0
FINANCES	1
TOURISM	1
AGRICULTURE	0
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER	7
PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT	1

Source: Personal research

So far in the history of the Croatian Governments, not a single woman led the Ministry of Interior, Economy and Agriculture. However, the thesis that women were responsible only for areas that are not politically "strong" enough does not apply, because women covered a variety of departments despite gender under-representation in each Government.

8. Participation of women in the Governments of the Republic of Slovenia from 1990 to 2016

Since the Independence of the Republic of Slovenia in 1990, up to date, there have been 12 different Governments. The Governments had eleven male Prime Ministers and only one female Prime Minister, Alenka Bratušek, who was in office from March 2013 to September 2014 (The Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016)[51]. Unlike in the Croatian Government, two women were participating in the first and second Slovenian Governments. The largest proportion of women in the executive branch in Slovenia since their Independence to date is in the current government, led by Prime Minister Miro Cerar (The Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016)[52].

Table 3 Proportion of women in the Governments of the Republic of Slovenia from 1990 to 2016

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA	M	F	TOTAL	SHARE F
1990-1992	29	2	31	6.4%
1992-1993	26	2	28	7.1%
1993-1997	27	3	30	10%
1997-2000	26	1	27	3.7%

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA	M	F	TOTAL	SHARE F
2000	17	1	18	5.5%
2000-2002	14	3	17	17.6%
2002-2004	19	4	23	17.4%
2004-2008	20	3	23	13%
2008-2012	21	7	28	25%
2012-2013	13	1	14	7.1%
2013-2014	15	4	19	21%
2014-	9	8	17	47%
TOTAL	**236**	**39**	**275**	**14.1%**

Source: Personal research

Out of the 17 members of the Government, eight are women, which is even for the standard of the EU a very high 47%. The total percentage of women in the Governments of the Republic of Slovenia since their independence to date is 14.1%.

9. Comparison of the gender structure of the Slovenian and Croatian Governments from 1990 to 2016

Comparing the average percentage of women in the executive branch of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia from 1990 to 2016, we see a significant difference. Slovenia has had 14.1% women in the executive branch during the past 26 years, while Croatia had 9.9% women in the same period, with one extra Government. Therefore, in the same time period, Slovenia has had 42% more women in the executive branch of the Government than Croatia.

Table 4 Proportion of women in the Governments of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia from 1990 to 2016

1990-2016	SHARE F
CROATIAN GOVERNMENT	9.9%
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA	14.1%

Source: Personal research

10. Proportion of women in the 28 EU Governments in 2016 and a comparison with Slovenia and Croatia

On the day of the study, 7 April 2016, the proportion of women in the Governments of the 28 member states of the European Union, was 26.2%. By far the largest proportion of women was in the Government of Sweden (The Government of Sweden, 2016)[53]. Twelve out of the 24 members of the Government were women, a percentage of 50%. Sweden is followed by France with 47.3%, Slovenia 47%, Bulgaria with 42.1% and Finland with 41.6% of women in the Government.

Table 5 Proportion of women in the Governments EU 28 in 2016

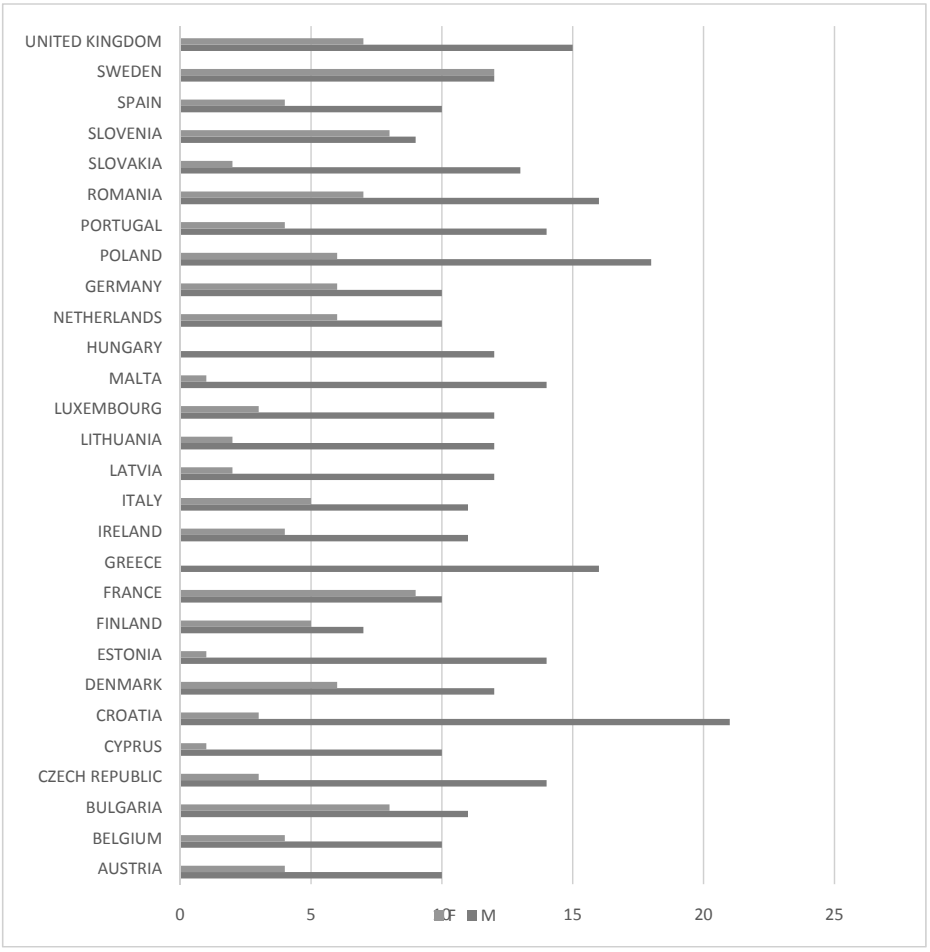
COUNTRY	M	F	SHARE F
SWEDEN	12	12	50%
FRANCE	10	9	47.3%
SLOVENIA	9	8	47%
BULGARIA	11	8	42.1%
FINLAND	7	5	41.6%
NETHERLANDS	10	6	37.5%
GERMANY	10	6	37.5%
DENMARK	12	6	33.3%
UNITED KINGDOM	15	7	31.8%
ITALY	11	5	31.2%
ROMANIA	16	7	30.4%
AUSTRIA	10	4	28.6%
BELGIUM	10	4	28.6%
SPAIN	10	4	28.6%
IRELAND	11	4	26.6%
POLAND	18	6	25%
PORTUGAL	14	4	22.2%
LUXEMBOURG	12	3	20%
CZECH REPUBLIC	14	3	17.6%
LATVIA	12	2	14.2%
LITHUANIA	12	2	14.2%
SLOVAKIA	13	2	13.3%
CROATIA	21	3	12.5%
CYPRUS	10	1	9%

COUNTRY	M	F	SHARE F
ESTONIA	14	1	6.6%
MALTA	14	1	6.6%
GREECE	16	0	0%
HUNGARY	12	0	0%
TOTAL	**346**	**123**	**26.2%**

Source: Personal research

At the very bottom of the scale are Hungary and Greece, where not a single woman currently holds a seat in the Government. The results in Sweden and Finland should not be a surprise since the Scandinavian parties were the first to introduce steps to encourage women to take up politics and they introduced the concept of an egalitarian political culture. Furthermore, the Scandinavian welfare state model and the well-organized women's movement also influenced the high proportion of women participating in politics (Šinko, 2007, according to Dahlerup, 1988 and Philips, 2001). The proportion of women in the Governments of Slovenia and Bulgaria does not support the thesis that countries of the former Eastern Bloc are lagging behind in the political participation of women in the executive branch. However, most of the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, as well as the Baltic states, are far below the European average.

Figure 1 The ratio of men and women in the Governments of EU 28 in 2016



Source: Personal research

It is evident that the average number of female Ministers in the "older" EU member states is constantly rising. Figure 1 reveals yet another fact. Croatia has, in addition to the small proportion of women participating in the Government, the largest number of male members of Government (21 ministers) taking into account all 28 member countries. Next in line is Poland with 18 male ministers.

Table 6 Proportion of women in the Governments of Croatia, Slovenia and the EU 28 in 2016

2016	SHARE OF WOMEN
CROATIAN GOVERNMENT	12.5%
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA	47%
EU 28	26.2%

Source: Personal research

After comparing the proportion of women in the executive branch of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia to the 28 EU member states, we can conclude that the Slovenian proportion is almost double to that of the European average for 2016.

11. Conclusion

History shows us that the process of introducing women into politics at the management level was very slow in practice despite all the efforts of positive regulations, which were supposed to promote and protect women against any form of discrimination. Even the legal obligations of the quota system of parliamentary democracy in Scandinavia haven't been a sufficient platform, because the rest of modern Europe didn't see it as a model for promoting the equality of women in management positions. In Croatia, women are now protected, even encouraged to political participation, by a number of laws. However, the number of women in Parliament, especially in management positions, is in complete disproportion to the law. That's why today we have the smallest percentage of participation of women in the Croatian Government since 2009. The political discrimination of women during the last 26 years since the Independence of the Republic Croatia until today is visible and there is a large gap between women's rights and the realization of them. Consequently, the first hypothesis of this study has been proven to be true. The percentage of women in the Government does not show the expected increase in comparison to men. The exclusion of women from the domain of the political decision-making process is evident, with the exception of a two-year period, from 2009 to 2011, when in fact a woman replaced a man at the head of the Government by a unanimous decision of the currently ruling party. Croatia has proven to be a country of prominent contradictions and discontinuities. From the times when women had not been involved at all in the executive branch over the period in which they were only part of the political infantry to the times when the only woman was head of Government. The second hypothesis in this paper isn't confirmed. Women haven't been in charge of only those Government departments which were primarily concerned with family, culture and education. They were head of departments like finances, constructions, and even defence. The third hypothesis was also shot down. The percentage of women in the Croatian executive branch has been lower than in neighbouring Slovenia over the past 26 years. Slovenia had 42% more women in the executive branch in this period than Croatia. Croatia is not last on the European scale in terms of the number of women in the Government, but neither is it first. While Hungary does not have a single female member in the executive branch, Slovenia, in which 47% women participate in the Government, is a bright shining light for countries from the former Eastern bloc, and an exemplary country for reaching a consensus on gender equality in political life. The fourth hypothesis has been proven to be correct. The percentage of women in the Croatian Government in management positions is lower than the average percentage of women in the Governments of the 28 EU member states. Reasons for the discouragingly low political participation of women today are not to be found in applicable regulations, but rather in the traditional understanding of the biological role of women, which keeps them away from the "gentlemen's club" centres of political power. Political parties have a key role, together with the motivational factor of women, for encouraging women to a more active involvement in politics, especially in the executive branch of politics, which, in the long run, will help the political confirmation of women in politics. Achieving gender equality, as a universal objective, should be the task of the whole society.

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DISKRIMINACIJA ŽENA NA UPRAVLJAČKIM POZICIJAMA U HRVATSKOJ POLITICI - SLUČAJ POLITIČKE PARTICIPACIJE ŽENA U IZVRŠNOJ VLASTI OD 1990. DO 2016. GODINE

Sažetak

Demokracija je, u suvremenom i modernom svijetu, nezamisliva bez aktivne i ravnopravne participacije žena na svim poljima društvenoga i političkoga života, posebice na upravljačkim položajima. U ovom je radu cilj bio istražiti koliko je, i je li uopće, tranzicijski put do moderne demokracije pratila i primjerena politička participacija žena na upravljačkim položajima u izvršnoj vlasti. Stoga se postavilo pitanje je li udio žena u Vladama Republike Hrvatske od 1990. do 2016. bilježio porast u odnosu na muškarce? S obzirom na to da je Republika Hrvatska imala sličan politički put od proglašenja neovisnosti, kao i susjedna Republika Slovenija, pokušalo se istražiti kakav je udio žena u Vladama Republike Hrvatske nasuprot onome u susjednoj Sloveniji. Kako bi se dodatno argumentirali podatci dobiveni iz kvantitativnoga istraživanja, pokušalo se podatke o udjelu žena u Vladama Hrvatske i Slovenije usporediti s aktualnim prosjekom udjela žena u vladama 28 zemalja članica Europske unije. U prvom dijelu rada opisan je put žena do prava glasa u svijetu te razvoj ženskih prava u Hrvatskoj. Analizirano je 13 hrvatskih Vlada od neovisnosti do danas, s naglaskom na udjelu žena u izvršnoj vlasti, kao i područja političkog interesa žena u Vladama. Analiziran je i udio žena u istom razdoblju u Vladama Republike Slovenije te je dana usporedba s udjelom žena u Vladama Republike Hrvatske. Slijedom toga, pokušalo se usporediti udio žena s prosjekom udjela žena u Vladama zemljama EU 28.

Ključne riječi: žene u politici, menadžment, upravljačke strukture, politička komunikacija, Vlada RH, Vlada EU