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History of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean
Croatia

Changes in the gender structure at the University of Dubrovnik from its founding (2004/5) until (2022/3)

Zmiany struktury płci na Uniwersytecie w Dubrowniku
od momentu jego założenia (2004/5) do (2022/3)

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Abstract: Women make up 40% of the world's workforce and half of the students' body in developed countries. Why then are there less and less women as we look upwards the academic hierarchy? The University of Dubrovnik is a relatively young institution and a good subject of research into gender structures of academics as there are no "old structures" and primary discrimination to overcome. The institutions' first yearbook was published in 2004; we note that there were only a few female professors at the University and one woman in a decision making position, at the time. Compared to the most recent yearbook published in 2021/22 (20 years later) the situation in regards to gender equality has changed radically due to employment of many young female researchers. Alas, men continue to dominate the hierarchy and we can trace a gap between "male" and "female" departments both in student's and teacher's bodies.

Keywords: gender structure, University of Dubrovnik, students

Abstrakt: Kobiety stanowią 40% światowej siły roboczej i połowę populacji studentów w krajach rozwiniętych. Dlaczego zatem, jak analizujemy zatrudnienie kobiet na uczelniach, w hierarchii akademickiej obserwujemy zjawisko ich nieproporcjonalnie mniejszego udziału? Uniwersytet w Dubrowniku jest stosunkowo młodą instytucją i stanowi dobry przedmiot badań w zakresie struktur płciowych wśród pracowników naukowych, ponieważ nie ma tu „starych struktur”, czyli

podstawowego czynnika dyskryminacji paternalistycznej. Pierwszy rocznik instytucji został opublikowany w 2004 roku; zauważamy, że wówczas na Uniwersytecie było tylko kilka kobiecych profesorów i jedna kobieta na stanowisku decyzyjnym. W porównaniu do najnowszego rocznika opublikowanego w 2021/22 roku (20 lat później), sytuacja dotycząca równości płci uległa radykalnym zmianom dzięki zatrudnieniu wielu młodych badaczek. Niemniej jednak, mężczyźni nadal dominują w hierarchii, a możemy zauważyć różnicę między „męskimi” a „żeńskimi” wydziałami zarówno wśród studentów, jak i kadry naukowej.

Słowa kluczowe: struktura płci, Uniwersytet w Dubrowniku, studenci

Introduction

In 2014/2015, 10 years ago, we became interested in the relationship between gender and teaching careers. We found that very little had been published in Croatian academia and no research gathered on the University of Dubrovnik; as well, neither the personnel nor the student services had been collecting data on gender structure. Our research began with the help of students, from our graduate course in scientific methodology and we take this opportunity to thank them for their cooperation¹. Pioneer research on gender structure and culture² (by Snježana Prijić-Samaržija, Ivanka Avelini Holjevac i Marko Turk) discusses the existence of a “glass roof” and gender inequality within the academic personnel of the University of Rijeka; appearing in an article by Ida Ograjšek Gorenja that deals with the gender structure within the University of Zagreb, between WW1 and WW2. The focus is on female students, their socioeconomic background and their careers after graduation; only two pages (pp 261-262) are devoted to female teaching staff³. Topics on female education and the standing of women in academia are still on the margins of the Croatian

¹ The nucleus of this article lies in research conducted at the University of Dubrovnik with students within the framework of the course “Introduction to scientific methodology” in the academic year 2014/15. We thank: Dajana Brala, Dinko Franotović, Rea Goić Kravarović, Vlaho Grbić, Sabina Jošavac, Ana Kovačević, Karmen Kraljević, Marko Krmek, Ante Puljan, Nikša Sentić, Stela Sušić, Ivana Šantek and Izabela Šubić for their enthusiastic help.

² S. Prijić-Samaržija, I. Avelini Holjevac, M. Turk, *Žene u znanosti: stakleni strop, „Društvena istraživanja”* 2009, vol. 18, no 6, p. 1049-1073.

³ I. Ograjšek Gorenja, *Ženska strana zagrebačkog sveučilišta u međuraću*, [in:] *Zagreb 1924. – 1930. I 1945. – 1967. Društvo, kultura, svakodnevnica: znanstveni skup s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem Desničini susreti 2018*, ed. D. Roksandić, Zagreb 2019, p. 261-262.

scientific community's interest⁴. There is interest in the history of female education in the 19th century but the main focus is on middle school and teachers' colleges. The identification of learning outcomes, especially the so-called "feminine virtues" (submission, chastity and domesticity) has interest, however the current situation and its tendencies remain mostly in the dark.

Historically, women's education in Croatia is rather short. The first female students, in Croatia, were accepted in the Faculty of Humanities in 1901. Whereas in most countries the first Faculty open to women was Medicine, mainly in Obstetrics. After WW1, in 1918 the Faculties of Law, Medicine, Economics and Forestry allowed women to enroll in universities⁵. Women attending classes were physically separated from the male students and not allowed to take exams. The Croatian academy of science however, accepted its first female student 19 years later, in 1937. In 2010 the percentage of female students in sciences in Croatia was below 9%⁶. In 2022 out of the academies' 127 members 15 are women thus raising the ratio to 11,8%. A thorough study on female scientists in Croatian higher education is still required, for example, where was the first female professor appointed in Croatia? We still do not know. There is also no data on the part women have played within the Croatian academic community, there is no biographical data on successful Croatian female scientists! These important questions will remain open until further research has been completed.

Through the indicators of one of the previous research programs of the European Union (- Horizon 2020) it was obvious that in the sphere of higher education and in scientific research institu-

⁴ In 2009, the Office for Gender Equality of the Government of the Republic of Croatia commissioned a study entitled „Percepcija, iskustva i stavovi o rodnoj diskriminaciji u Republici Hrvatskoj“. Among other things, gender equality in higher education was investigated. It seems that there is some interest in this topic within the (mostly female) student population as proven by some recent bachelor theses as f.e.: Lucija Ljubčić, *Stavovi studenata Sveučilišta u Zagrebu prema rodnim dimenzijama zanimanja u Hrvatskoj*, back. thesis, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Croatian Studies, 2021 and Iva Čavar, *Rodna diskriminacija na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu*, Master's thesis, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Law, Social Work Studies, 2020. There have also been few publications on this subject.

⁵ T. Luetić, *Prve studentice Mudroslovnog fakulteta kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu*, "Povijesni prilozi" 2002, no 22, pp. 167-207.

⁶ Vide: M. Pejić Bach, *Ostvarenje potencijala žena u poduzetništvu, znanosti i politici u Republici Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 2010.

tions, there is still a eclatant gender gap⁷. This led to an emphasis on the gender approach in scientific research within the programs launched from 2021 and the establishment of the Action Plan for Gender Equality as a mandatory additional mechanism for partners in scientific projects⁸. It is no surprise that the gender gap is more pronounced in the Southeast of Europe than in its North.

Gender equality is important, not only for women, but for the whole of society. Especially in times of crisis, when all the potential of the population is needed, to fill positions of strategic importance, such as education, with the best candidates regardless of gender. Additionally, Croatia takes part in the negative demographic trend of other European Union countries, and therefore, greater participation of women in all areas is not only desirable or fair, but also useful and necessary⁹. A critical analysis of the gender structure at the relatively small University of Dubrovnik in all its scientific fields and hierarchy levels can help to identify tendencies, predict development and assist in identifying possible problems and finding solutions¹⁰.

Legally women are equal in both social and business environments. The provisions of the Republic of Croatia prohibit discrimination on any basis (race, gender, age, nationality, etc.) and ensure the protection and promotion of equality as the highest value of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia, such as the Labor Law (Official Gazette 93/14) or the Law on discrimination (Official Gazette 112/12). Gender equality is also regulated by the statutes of all scientific and educational institutions in the Republic of Croatia, as well as the Statute of the University of Dubrovnik (Article 4/4), and the Rulebook on Work of the University of Dubrovnik (Article 7/ 2 and 3)¹¹.

⁷ European Commission, *Genderaction*, file:///C:/Users/Korisnik/Downloads/ds-au-18-001-en-n_08548BC3-A9FA-431F-D2B0D3C5C8440C03_50074.pdf (access date: 5.30.2023).

⁸ Vide: M. Karapetrović, *Značaj institucionaliziranja rodne politike*, [in:] *Izazovi integracije rodne ravnopravnosti u sveučilišnoj zajednici. Protiv rodno uvjetovanog nasilja*, eds. Z. Spahić Šiljak, J. Kovačević, J. Husanović, Sarajevo 2022, pp 167-178.

⁹ Low fertility and a higher number of deaths compared to live births is very prominent in most of the countries of the European Union, including in Croatia.

¹⁰ Henceforth UoD.

¹¹ *Statut Sveučilišta u Dubrovniku*, <https://www.unidu.hr/wp-content/plugins/quara-scope/download.php?file=30576> (access date: 30.11.2022); *Pravilnik o radu*,

The extent however, to which women are represented in science and higher education and what position they hold within the academic hierarchy, will be analyzed based on data gathered on the gender structure of teachers at the UoD – academic years 2004/05, 2013/14 and 2022/3. This analysis will provide an observation of changes that have taken place in a twenty year period¹². The UoD was founded in 2003/4 and enrolled its first students in 2004/5. Ten years should be a sufficient timeframe to correct any aberrations due to eventual unavailability of staff. The predictions we gathered previously can now be compared to our current situation. The aim of our research is the identification of oscillations in gender structure within the first two decades of the University of Dubrovnik's existence. The question is whether women have equal opportunities for advancement and whether the presence of women in the highest academic positions and jobs is proportional to their participation in science? Are there more men in higher scientific and teaching positions, and if so, why? We will also analyze the share of women in University decision making opportunities, access and participation. Furthermore, we ask what are the future projections (based on graduated students) regarding the gender structure at the UoD.

Gender structure of University of Dubrovnik teachers

In the first year of its activities (2004/05)¹³, a total of 162 teachers participated in teaching at UoD¹⁴. Of these, there were 107 male teachers and 55 female teachers, constituting only 34% of the total teaching staff. Not only was the share of female teach-

<https://www.unidu.hr/wp-content/plugins/quaroscope/download.php?file=21814> (access date: 31.12.2021).

¹² All the data required for analysis were taken from the First, Tenth and Seventeenth Yearbooks of the University of Dubrovnik. Yearbooks are available on the university website: https://www.unidu.hr/sveucilisni_godisnjak/. We also used data kindly made available by the personnel and student services.

¹³ At the proposal of the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Government of the Republic of Croatia supported the proposal of the Law on the establishment of the University of Dubrovnik, and the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia unanimously adopted that proposal on October 1, 2003. More about the history of the University of Dubrovnik at: *Povijest i razvoj*, <https://www.unidu.hr/povijest-i-razvoj/> (access date: 30.5.2023).

¹⁴ In addition to full-time teachers, the total also includes external associates.

ers smaller in the total number, but there were significantly fewer of them in higher scientific and teaching positions (table 1). There is a rigid hierarchy of scientific teaching positions and scientific positions (the latter are being slowly abolished now after the new law on Science in 2022). This hierarchy is echoed by the respective pay grade. There is a division between scientific and non-scientific positions (from College professor downwards) they are lower both in status and pay grade.

Table 1. Number of teachers at the University of Dubrovnik in the academic years 2004/05; 2013/14 and 2012/22

Title	2004/5				2013/2014				2021/2			
	♂		♀		♂		♀		♂		♀	
	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Professor emeritus	1	100	-	-	3	100	-	-	3	75	1	25
Full professor	23	92	2	8	34	80,95	8	19,05	12	75	4	25
Senior Scientific Advisor	-	-	-	-	2	100	-	-	-	-	1	100
Scientific Advisor	3	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	2	100	-	-
Associated professor	11	68,75	5	31,25	12	60	8	40	12	40	18	60
Senior Research Fellow	2	100	-	-	2	33,33	4	66,67	6	60	4	40
Assistant professor	8	66,67	4	33,33	26	56,52	20	43,48	16	39,02	25	60,98
Research assistant	1	33,33	2	66,67	3	60	2	40	2	100	-	-
College professor	3	100	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	3	100
Senior Assistant	-	-	-	-	4	30,77	9	69,23	2	40	3	60
Assistant	7	58,33	5	41,67	13	37,14	22	62,86	13	46,43	15	53,57
Senior lecturer	11	73,33	4	26,67	8	36,36	14	63,64	3	18,75	¹³	81,25
Lecturer	11	45,83	13	54,17	13	44,83	16	55,17	3	42,86	4	57,14
Scientific novice	5	26,32	14	73,68	4	57,14	3	42,86	-	-	-	-
Expert associate	21	77,78	6	22,22	25	32,89	51	67,11	-	-	3	100
Total:	107	66,05	55	33,95	150	48,7	158	51,3	74	44,05	94	55,95

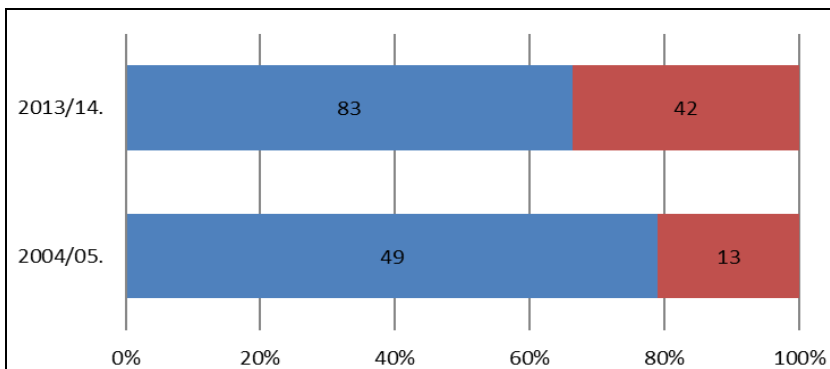
Sources: For Table 1 and Charts 1-6: First University Yearbook and Tenth University Yearbook. For chart 7 18th University yearbook /<https://www.unidu.hr/wpcontent/plugins/quarascope/download.php?file=31426> (access date: 30.5.2023).

At the time of UoDs founding in 2004/5 only teachers in scientific teaching positions (assistant professors, associate professors and full professors) are taken into account; the share of fe-

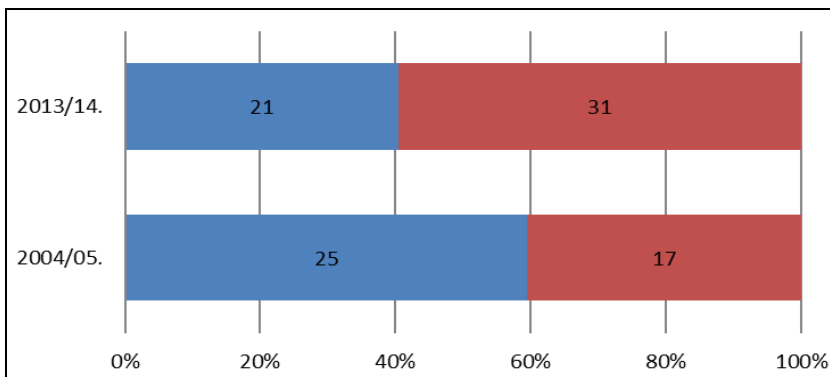
male teachers is 20,37%. In research positions (scientific associate, scientific advisor and senior scientific advisor) there were 75% male teachers and 25% female teachers (see chart 1). Within the teaching positions (lecturer, senior lecturer and college professor), the share of men is also slightly higher (59,52%) (see chart 2), and the same is true for assistants (58,33%). A higher share of women manifests itself only in the category of scientific novices, in which they made up 73,68% (see chart 3). The predominance of female assistants and female researchers can be interpreted as an indication of a possible greater representation of women in higher scientific and teaching positions in the coming years. Data on the structure of teachers in the academic year 2013/14 confirm that certain changes have indeed taken place. Firstly, the total number of teaching staff increased significantly – by almost 90% (see table 1). Changes also occurred in terms of gender structure, and the total number of female teachers 158 or 51,3% compared to 150 male teachers or 48,7%.

However, all changes regarding gender equality remain at a quantitative level, because female teachers are still underrepresented in higher scientific and teaching positions. Thus, there were only 19,05% female full professors, compared to 80,95% male full professors. At the level of all scientific and teaching positions, there were certain, albeit small changes, and the share of female teachers increased to 32,43%. In the ten-year period, the number of assistant professors increased the most (from four in 2004/05 to 20 in 2013/14). The total number of female teachers increased mostly by lecturers and senior lecturers, there were 60% women with this title compared to male 40% men. In senior assistants and assistants, women also predominate and are represented with over 70%. The biggest change occurred in the matter of professional associates, i.e. teachers who are not permanently employed at the UoD. Without taking into account the gender division, their representation increased almost three times (from 27 to 81). While the number of professional associates increased only slightly, the number of female professional associates increased more than eight times, from six to 51. Such an increase occurred due to the opening of new study programs, which necessitated an increase in teaching capacities.

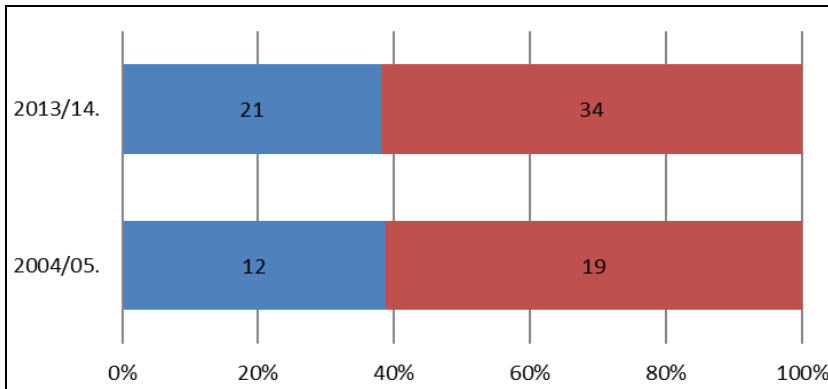
The situation has changed drastically in 2021/2 due to retirement of many of the first generation professors and advancement through the ranks of young researchers who were assistants in 2011/12. The highest positions of Professor emeritus (75% men, 25% women), full professor has the same gender ratio as professor emeritus, senior scientific advisor and scientific advisor are still dominated by men but already on a step lower, associate professor's women dominate by 10%. Another step down the hierarchy of assistant professors the number of women has increased even more from 33,33 to 43,48 and finally 60,98 today. The lower we look down the ranks the more women dominate. In assistants and lecturers, the gender ratio is almost even but in senior lecturer's women are in the majority with 81,24%. Overall the development of the gender ratio at UoD is a success story in a traditionally patriarchal environment.



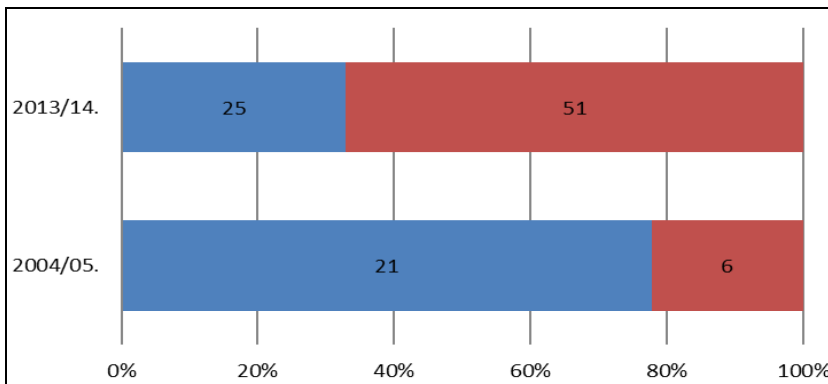
Grafikon 1. Teachers selected for scientific-teaching and scientific positions. In all grafikons blue denotes male and red female



Grafikon 2. Teachers electer to teaching titles



Grafikon 3. Teachers in senior assistant positions, of assistants and research trainees



Grafikon 4. Expert associate teachers

The fact that universities became a place for women's education only in the last century, and larger numbers of women began to actively engage in science even later, could be interpreted as one of the reasons for the insufficient representation of women in higher scientific and teaching positions¹⁵. If we look at the percentage of female and male PhDs in Croatia 1990, there were only 29,4% compared to 70,6%. Obviously women made up a significantly smaller share of the scientific community. Ten years later,

¹⁵ More about the position of women within the scientific community and scientific research in: K. Prpić, *Profesionalni položaj, postignuća i perspektive (mladih) znanstvenica*, "Društvena istraživanja" 2003, no 5, pp. 613-634; B. Baranović, *Rodna (ne)ravnopravnost i diskriminacija u obrazovanju*, [in:] *Rodna ravnopravnost i diskriminacija u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Ž. Kamenov, B. Galić, Zagreb 2011, pp. 43-48; I. Jugović, B. Baranović, *Percepcija, iskustvo i stavovi o rodnoj (ne)ravnopravnosti u obrazovanju*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 142-164.

their number had increased greatly, so that, for example, in 2000, there were 46,8% female PhDs and 53,3% male PhDs, and already in 2011, 56,9% female PhDs and 43,2% male PhDs. This trend continues 2017 with 55,45% female and 44,55 male PhDs. In 2022 the number of new Croatian PhDs had risen by 792, 52,5% of which were women. There are significant differences in academic fields, while women absolutely dominate in medicine, men do so in technical sciences¹⁶. Fluctuations in absolute numbers are also due to the significant exodus of highly educated specialists from Croatia to other parts of the EU. Therefore, in recent years, significant changes to the gender structure of the scientific community came to pass.

The fact that the mentioned changes are not proportional to the increased share of women in higher scientific and teaching positions is shown by the fact that in the academic year 2011/12 (at the national level) women were 28,3% full professors, 41,4% associate professors, 46,8% assistant professors and 55,2% research assistants¹⁷. In 2019/20 women represent 39,1% full professors, 47,5% associate professors, 51,3% assistant professors and 54,4% research assistants¹⁸. The trend continues in 2021/22 with 41,8% full professors, 48,2% associate professors, 52,5% assistant professors and 53,8% research assistants. Women dominate in the lower ranks and at the entrance level. In 2020/21 57,3% of University Freshmen and 52,3% Doctorate students were women¹⁹.

Management structure and gender (in)equality

When it comes to the management structure of the UoD in 2004/2005, there was an underrepresentation of women. Prof. Mateo Milković was elected as the first rector and the vice-rector positions were occupied by two men and one woman. The heads of all six departments were men (Department of Economics and Business Economics, Maritime Department, Department of Electri-

¹⁶ All Data is accessible at the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, <https://podaci.dzs.hr/2023/hr/58241> (last visit: 31.5.2023).

¹⁷ *Žene i muškarci u Hrvatskoj 2013*, ed. E. Aranjoš Borovac, I. Buršić, Zagreb 2013, pp. 24-31.

¹⁸ *Žene i muškarci u Hrvatskoj 2022*, ed. L. Ostroški, Zagreb 2022.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

cal Engineering and Computing, Mechanical Engineering Department, Department for Aquaculture, Communication science Department). However, certain changes took place in 2012, when a woman was elected rector and assisted by two male vice-rectors. Two of the six department heads were now women. Although with the election of a female rector and the increased proportion of women in the management structure of the University, the so-called glass ceiling, at least apparently, softened but one cannot yet speak of equal gender division and representation. If, for comparison, the University of Rijeka is taken (data for the academic year 2006/2007), it is noticeable that the situation was very similar. Namely, in the total number of teachers, women are more numerous, but in higher scientific and teaching positions they are in the minority and the percentage of full-time and part-time professors is only 17%. In the management structure, women were also underrepresented compared to men. Likewise, women are less represented in scientific organizations and non/formal collegial networks, participate less often in journal editorial boards and peer review procedures²⁰. Today in 2022/23 at UoD the male rector is assisted by two female (science & international relations, student affairs) and one male (business operations) vice rector. The ratio of department heads is the same as eleven years ago with two women and four men.

The chancellor and academic advisor as well as the director of the University institute for sea and coastal areas have been men from the founding of the University till now. It is interesting to note that of the total staff of UoD of 261, 114 are men and 147 women; 164 are in research or teaching; of 16 full professors 10 are men but of 36 associate professors 25 are women and out of 37 assistant professors 22 are men. Does the old adage “aut liberi aut libri” (either children or books) still apply and do women really have to work harder and be better than their male colleagues to achieve the same results? We don't know the share of projects and funds reserved for sciences managed by female scientists, but we do know that the share of female program managers of the Ministry of Health (2007-2011) was 27%, winners of the State Prize for Science

²⁰ S. Prijić-Samaržija, I. Avelini Holjevac, M. Turk, *Žene u znanosti...*, p. 1050, 1053.

(2009) 30%, deans 13%, vice-rectors 34% and rectors 17% (2010). In 2019 this had considerably changed at least in the Croatian Foundation for science where out of a total of 242 contracted projects in 2019 126 of them (respectively 52%) were led by women, and 116 (48%) by men²¹. Possibly this is a case of “pink washing” and women are put up as a face on the project, to comply with the Foundations endeavors to lower the gender gap in scientific projects.

When interpreting data in context with the “less attractiveness” of academic careers for women or similar arguments, it should be mentioned that the share of female doctoral candidates (2008) was 50% but already in 2021 54,1% of the total PhDs in Croatia are female. How does that relate to their careers in academia? ²² In 2015/16 39% heads of public institutions of higher education were women and in 2021/22 their number rose slightly to 40,5%. Only 22,2 University rectors in 2021/22 are women, 32,4 are vice-rectors, 24,2 are deans but 46,8 are vice deans. All in all, women hold only 29% of leadership positions at universities, with men holding the remaining 71%. This is despite the fact that women make up a majority of students and academic staff at Croatian universities²³. Such *state of affairs* is most likely caused by entrenched social, psychological and cultural mechanisms that lead to a “glass ceiling”. There seems to be a barrier to women in academic management positions which is harder for them to cross than for men²⁴.

In addition, research has shown that women in Croatia continue to take on the majority of household and caregiving responsibilities in the family, which can affect their ability to advance in their careers, academic or otherwise. Finally, we conclude that in Croatian universities, despite legal equality in professional advancement, women have a much harder time succeeding in being part of the management structure. The progression for women

²¹ *Zastupljenost znanstvenica u projektima HRZZ-a – tekst povodom Međunarodnog dana žena*, <https://www3.hrzz.hr/default.aspx?pid=2671> (access date: 11.06.2023).

²² *Žene i muškarci u Hrvatskoj 2022...*; Vide: M. Pejić Bach, *Ostvarenje potencijala žena u poduzetništvu, znanosti i politici u Republici Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 2010.

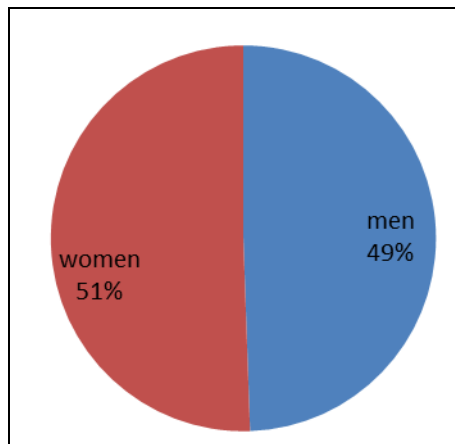
²³ M. Harcet, *Gender Equality at the Faculty of Theology and the University of Ljubljana*, [in:] *Uprkos strahu i tišini: Univerziteti protiv rodno zasnovanog nasilja*, ed. Z. Spahić Šiljak, J. Kovačević, J. Husanović, Sarajevo 2022, pp 121-130.

²⁴ S. Prijic-Samaržija, I. Avelini Holjevac, M. Turk, *Žene u znanosti...*, p. 1050.

is slower, opportunities for advancement less often and it is much more difficult for women to acquire the highest ranks.

Gender structure of UoD students

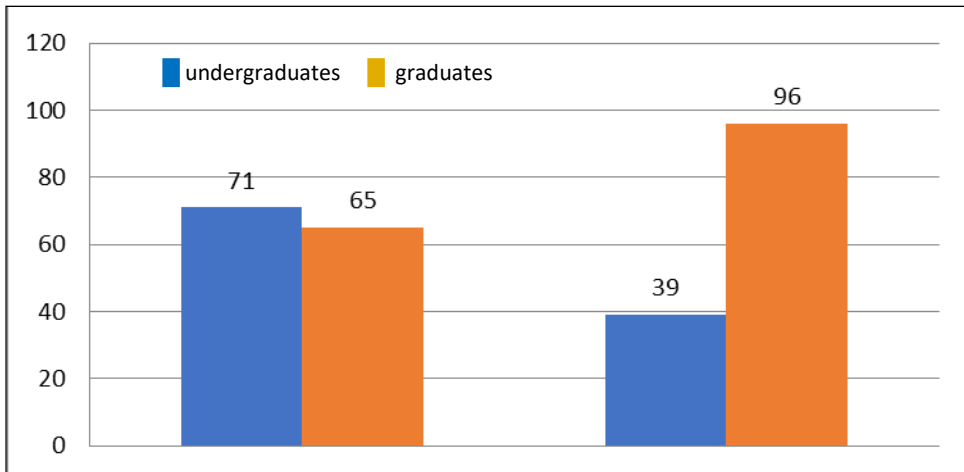
Regarding some future indicators, it is important to analyze the student population and the gender structure of male and female students who have successfully completed their enrolled studies. That is how they were represented at the UoD in 2004/05 362 students graduated; of these, 179 were male students (49,45%) and 183 female students (50,55%).



Grafikon 5. Ratio of graduates 2004/05

There is a large difference in study preferences according to gender, some programs are predominantly male and others predominantly female. For example, the economics study programs (Tourism, Foreign Trade, Management) as well as Aquaculture are studies with significantly more females (73%) than male graduates (27%). On the other hand, the field of technical sciences (Nautics, Marine Engineering, Yacht and Marina Management, Applied Computing, Marine Electrical Power and Electronics, and Mechanical Engineering) is disproportionately male compared to female students; just over 11%. These numbers have not changed significantly in the 20 years of the UoD's existence. In the academic year 2013/14, 136 students (71 male and 65 female students) obtained

their bachelor's degree, and 135 obtained their master's degree (39 male and 96 female students).



Grafikon 6. Ratio of graduations 2013/14

In 2021/22 157 students (80 male and 77 female students) obtained their bachelor's degree, and 103 obtained their master's degree (43 male and 60 female students)²⁵. At the state level, the number of female students has been higher than the number of male students for twenty years, and the ratio is the same as in the academic year 2011/12. 56.8% were female students and 43.2% were male students²⁶. This trend progressed and ten years later in 2020/21 60,7% students in Croatia were female and 39,3 male. In scientific fields, 2011/12 there is still a marked gender division. There are more women in natural, biomedical, and social and human sciences, while men are more numerous in biotechnical and technical sciences²⁷. Ten years later the situation is similar.

²⁵ Unfortunately, the University yearbook 2021/22 doesn't differentiate between male and female students. *Sveučilišni godišnjak akademska 2020./2021.*, ed. N. Burum, Dubrovnik 2021.

²⁶ *Žene i muškarci u Hrvatskoj 2013...*, p. 27.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 28; K. Prpić, *Profesionalni položaj...*, pp. 618-619.

Table 2. Students enrolles by scientific fields 2020/2021

Students Enrolled by Scientific Field, 2020/2021	Total	Women	Men	Distribution women%	Distribution men%
Total	155.627	89.187	66.440	57,3	42,7
Natural sciences	6088	3940	2148	64,7	35,3
Engineering	40301	11.267	29,034	28,0	72,0
Biomedicine and health	18,660	13 836	4824	74,1	25,9
Social sciences	67,383	44 514	22,869	66,1	33,9
Humanities	10,056	7 179	2877	71,4	28,6

Gender equality was missing in the private sector as well as in the political sphere of social action in 2011. Women made up 48% of the total workforce in Croatia, 27% of them in managerial positions and only 6% in top management. The share of women in top management positions in the 500 largest companies in Croatia was 8%, while the share in the 100 strongest companies was only 6%²⁸. Even the highest Croatian institutions of executive and legislative power show a great inequality in the representation of women.

In 2011, in addition to the Prime Minister, there were 20 other ministers in the Government of the Republic of Croatia, of which four were women (20%). The situation in 2022 looked thus: women made up 52,2% of the total workforce but also 58,9 of the unemployed and with a significantly higher risk of poverty. Only 22,5% of the members of the Croatian parliament are women. In county and city assemblies their number rose from about 14% in 2005 to 19,87% in 2011 to about 30% in 2022²⁹. On average 20% of middle to top managers are now women³⁰. We can see a similarity between the growing numbers of women in managerial positions

²⁸ S. Prijić-Samaržija, I. Avelini Holjevac, M. Turk, *Žene u znanosti...*, p. 1050, 1055.

²⁹ *Žene i muškarci u Hrvatskoj 2013...*, pp. 54-64.

³⁰ According to the latest Eurostat data: Thus, the share of women in the boards of Croatian companies in the CROBEX index in 2021 is only 16.1 percent, according to the Selectio agency, although this data represents an increase compared to the same period in 2020, when there were only 11.8 percent. For comparison, the representation of women in the boards of the 100 most important companies on the London Stock Exchange according to the data of The Female FTSE Board Report for 2020 is 34.5 percent and shows a growing trend. A. Brzić, *Indeks žena u biznisu – Hrvatska i dalje na dnu Europe!*, <https://lidermedia.hr/poslovna-scena/hrvatska/indeks-zena-u-biznisu-hrvatska-i-dalje-na-dnu-europe-135695> (access date: 13.06.2023).

and politics, especially as their number is higher in state owned or related companies. Thus the growing numbers are probably a combination of quota and social changes. The question arises whether the reason for the underrepresentation of women in politics is gender inequality and discrimination or a lack of interest. The fact that women ministers are usually holding typical positions deemed “female sectors”, such as education, social activities, and care for others, points to the former.

Conclusion

Women make up 40% of the world's working population and 50% of the student population in developed countries, with the percentage varying in academic fields³¹. Although it is still not possible to speak of gender equality and equal representation of male and female teachers (at least in terms of higher scientific teaching titles) at the University of Dubrovnik, there are positive tendencies and changes as more and more women are involved in university teaching and the academic community in general. However, the question still remains unanswered, why are there more and more female students at the University of Dubrovnik year after year, and men continue to dominate the higher scientific and teaching positions? Hindering the approach of qualified and eager young people who can contribute to the quality of teaching and the strengthening of scientific research is clearly not in anyone's interest.

Looking for an answer in conscious or primary discrimination, due to the supposed “irrationality” of women, which was often postulated in the past, seems to be the wrong way, especially since gender equality and anti-discrimination are written into the University Statute. Is there indirect or secondary discrimination, which is based on the traditional double burden of women with their career and family work, which is why there are stereotypes about their lower engagement (due to this)? Since the University of Dubrovnik is relatively young, it does not have entrenched patriar-

³¹ M. Pejić Bach, *Ostvarenje potencijala žena u poduzetništvu, znanosti i politici u Republici Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 2010; P. Völkerer et al., *Frauen – Bildung – Arbeitsmarkt. Die Entwicklung der Qualifikationsstruktur von Frauen und Männern 1981-2013 in Österreich und Wien*, Wien 2014; *Women, Quotas and Politics*, ed. D. Dahlerup, New York 2006.

chal structures as a result of the centuries-old male hierarchy, which is prone to reproducing male structures and disinclined to employ women. Analysis of data from university yearbooks shows the opposite picture. UoD in the past 20 years, has employed more female than male researchers and assistants. Despite this, the share of associate and full professors in the overall structure of the teaching staff is growing more slowly, which means that women are not progressing to the same extent as their male colleagues.

In many countries of the European Union, so-called “positive discrimination” in higher education has been regulated by law for several years³². In practice, this means financial stimulation for the employment of women and giving preference to women over men (with the same qualifications) when hiring. Despite this, the results are sometimes astonishing and only confirm that it is much more difficult for women to advance. For example, the University of Vienna has only 21% female professors, it has never had a female rector, and the share of women among doctoral students is 50% and among students 63%³³.

The obvious effect of positive discrimination and the many incentives and scholarships intended for female scientists are not enough to equalize the number of men and women in high positions and in management positions. When the associate and full professors of UoD are added together, the percentage of female professors is significantly higher than at the University of Vienna. For this analysis, the yearbooks of the UoD from its founding to the present day were used as well as data from student service and personnel services. The gender structure of employees in scientific teaching and teaching positions was compared. It is noticeable that the more we look up the hierarchy of titles and management positions, the fewer women there are in percentage terms, although this tendency is decreasing.

³² The so-called “quota regulation” (Quotenregelung) is applied in several European Union countries, including Germany and Austria. A. Wroblewski, A. Striedinger, R. Bildsteiner, V. Englmaier, *Gleichstellung in Wissenschaft und Forschung in Österreich*, Wien 2018.

³³ Vide: *Affirmative Action Plan for the Advancement of Women and Gender Equality of the University of Vienna*, <https://satzung.univie.ac.at/en/more-parts-of-the-statutes/affirmative-action-plan-for-the-advancement-of-women-and-gender-equality/> (access date: 12.06.2023).

In the first decade of its existence, the number of teachers at the University of Dubrovnik increased by almost 90%. Most of the new hires were young female assistants and research trainees, so we can forecast certain changes in the future. A new nomenclature was also introduced, so there is also a category of female assistant professors (docentica), female associate professors (izvanredna profesorica) while in the first yearbook we find only the male category. The small number of researches on female education, gender culture and gender structure extant are mostly produced by female scientists. Until this interesting field of research is equally interesting for men, we are far from gender equality and equal opportunities.

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