Women in the Transformational Democratic Society of Croatia

by

Gordana Jelinic

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

Dr. Matthew Heinz, Thesis Supervisor
Royal Roads University

Dr. Gregory Cran
Director, School of Conflict Analysis and Management
Royal Roads University

Dr. Matthew Heinz, Office of Interdisciplinary Studies
Royal Roads University

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how women in a transformational, post-conflict country perceive equality between women and men. Specifically, the thesis examines whether there is a need to anticipate, analyze, manage and resolve potential conflict issues perceived by women in Croatia towards increased gender equality in the course of the state’s transformation towards full democracy. Through guided interviews, women in Croatia discussed whether the status of their society could be measured, in part, by the representation of women in public, political, and economic spheres. The thesis is guided by the theoretical assumption that gender equality and the political and socio-economic development of Croatia are interrelated; therefore, the contributions women could make in the transformational democratic society of Croatia may be crucial for its successful development towards democracy. This qualitative study offers awareness and insights on women’s perceptions of gender equality issues experienced in Croatia.

Keywords: Croatia, women, transformational democracy, gender, equality
Acknowledgements

This thesis is a journey of discovery in finding a way to make a personal contribution on bringing awareness towards improving the world we live in. As Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, “The great thing in this world is not so much where we are, but in what direction we are moving.” Awareness helps to create a vision, and a clear vision instils courage for a journey of social collaboration towards sustainable human equality.

I would like to acknowledge and thank the many people who have provided encouragement and support throughout this research. Two people deserve special mention: my academic supervisor, Matthew Heinz, who generously provided me with his patience, guidance and supervision time throughout my research work and to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude; and Petar Jelinic, my loving husband, who has encouraged me to pursue this research as a fulltime occupation and supported me with his guidance and personal insights. Finally, I wish to thank all the participants who have kindly provided their valuable perspectives for this research and a special thank you is extended to Royal Roads University for their multifaceted support.

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Introduction

This thesis sets out to discover social, economic, political, gender and cultural dynamics critical to the transformational democratic state of Croatia through the experiences and perceptions of women in Croatia. My intention is to examine gender equality issues in Croatia after experiences of civil war in the early 1990s and in the course of the society’s transformation from a Socialist state with communism towards full democracy and economic modernization.

This study incorporates field research involving face-to-face interviews with 40 women on their perspectives of gender equality in the transformational democratic state of Croatia. It offers an exploratory investigation into the lives of women, through purposive sampling, on their experiences and perspectives on gender equality in the transitional state of Croatia. My key research objective is to determine whether Croatian women see a need for increased gender equality as part of their society’s transformation towards full democracy.

To fulfill the objective of this thesis, the document begins with a review of the relevant literature on gender equity in post-socialism and of the key concepts in examining gender equality issues in Croatia and their respective interrelated areas on gender equality which produce challenges in the process of a state’s transformation towards democracy. The subsequent section outlines the research design, research methodology and articulates the key role participants have within this research. The following section commences with the analysis of the research findings and recaps the significance of the research over the course of the study. The final section includes a summary of this research with conclusions and recommendations for future research. This research is motivated by my professional dedication to field explorations and academic research in the hope of offering awareness and deeper insights into the perceptions
of women who have personally experienced the effects of a transformational democracy through the lens of gender equality.

**Literature Review**

In the last decade, the Republic of Croatia has undergone fundamental changes of historical relevance during which Croatia was established as an independent democratic state with a multiparty system. Its transition towards political democracy and a global market economy occurred under very difficult conditions, due to civil wartime circumstances in the early 1990s and its struggle to achieve territorial integrity (Leinert-Novosel, 1999). Political insecurities in central and east European transformational democratic societies constitute one of the greatest challenges for positive change and progressive attitudes towards gender equality (Brunnbauer, 2002). In transitional central and east European democracies, it becomes quickly evident that there is more attention devoted to developing new political processes and improved economic strategies to support the civil society and less importance posed on gender equality (Gal & Kligman, 2000). Women in Croatia experienced setbacks as their needs didn’t receive sufficient attention. In the process of Croatia’s transition to democracy women expressed they were subjects of political and societal changes as their deteriorating position in society was increasingly exposed (Leinert-Novosel, 1999).

**Historical Background**

The Slavic peoples of the Balkan are characterized by religious and national differences, which were on occasion a source of tension. What united these peoples was the reality of their subjection to past foreign empires and the need for independence. The struggles for independency from suppression led to scenes of warfare at differing times in the previous
centuries. After five centuries under the Turkish Ottoman Empire, starting from the 1300s, followed by the rule and defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and continuing with the end of World War II in 1945, the Slavic territory on the Balkans was formed into a Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (MacMillan, 2001). President Tito, as head of the state of SFRY, set out to substitute multi-nationalism in favor of a unified Socialist state, with the South Slavic peoples as equals within the borders. The sole communist party provided a common ground and stability for the South Slavic peoples (Thomas, 2003). The territory encompassed key dividing lines, which ran through the Balkans: between Roman Catholicism in the West, Orthodoxy in the East, Christianity in the North, and Islam to the South. Intractable conflicts and ethno-political instability on the Balkans has been an ongoing battle for many centuries and conflicts re-emerged as one of the contributing factors to the collapse of the SFRY in 1991 and the transformation of former Yugoslavia into independent states (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia).

It is important to note that in the course of the 20th century, women on the territory of Croatia have lived under six different socio-political systems: dynastic monarchy ending in 1918, constitutional monarchy from 1918 until 1941, fascist occupation from 1941 until 1945, communist one-party rule from 1945 until 1990, nationalism with a civil war in 1991 and from 1995 until present post-civil war with transformational democracy (Ramet, 1999). One of the earlier Croatian books that revealed a need to promote equality between women and men was written by Blaz Lorkovic in 1883. The book titled “Women in the Home and Society” deals with the position and role of women in Croatia. Lorkovic presented his observations and reflections in a modern way even by today’s standards. He advocated full gender equality and strived to overturn the conservative notion that women’s social position and role was to be predetermined
based on gender. His advanced ideas on gender equality created public awareness. In the past decades, women in Croatia have witnessed similar socio-economic and socio-political transitional democratic changes as other women in former central and eastern European countries. However, Croatia’s transitional journey differed. What set the conditions for a different path that substantially contributed to a change in women’s opportunities in Croatia? First, at the time of Croatia’s presence in former Yugoslavia, the socio-political culture was more liberal in comparison to most communist countries in Europe (Leinert-Novosel, 1999). Second, Croatia’s attempt towards transitional democracy was severely impaired and stagnated due to the interference of the federal Yugoslavian state opposing Croatia’s independence and its choice of a non-communist government. Today’s Croatia, with its unique past, is a state that remains a rich conglomerate of cultures, ethnicities and religions. Croatia has socially and institutionally transformed throughout its struggles for independency.

**Key Concepts**

The ending of the Cold War has undeniably fostered a number of new democracies and while some of them are no longer considered novel in their current state, they continue to evolve in their pursuit of inclusive democracy (Thede, 2002). Political scientists have studied evolutionary democracies in ‘transitology’ (Schmitter & Karl, 1994) in order to create an increased understanding on the dynamics in changing democracies. Croatia, a former post-socialist, one party communist state, has undergone considerable institutional changes through its transition towards democracy and its transformational presence in Europe. With respect to the evolution of new changing states and for the purpose of this thesis, it is vital to address how transition and transformation have been used in this study. The word *transition* is used in the
context of a ‘path’, ‘journey’ from one known status or state towards another predetermined state – a destination. Some scholars have discussed the need for cautionary usage of the word transition in evolving democracies as it suggests an unproblematic trajectory and a well known destination from the past to the future without taking account of the present dynamics (Watson, 2000). The word *transformation* is used in the context of an event or state of current events which create a condition of change not conceivably predetermined. Croatia’s transformational change towards democracy is a term that signifies its current strides and evolutionary adjustment that cannot be entirely predetermined as no two or more democracies in the world can be identical systems. Croatia’s transformational processes cannot exclude its past cultural and political history as it continues into the future. Transformational changes in Croatia primarily address its present state. However, its past and future are undeniably interconnected in a unique way with a number of diverse and interacting variables that can be examined as a whole system (Laszlo, 1996). Gender equality is defined in this thesis as equality between women and men per the definition of the United Nation’s Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women:

*Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of women and men, and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women’s and men’s rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs, and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration while recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women’s issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for,*
and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development (United Nation’s Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, n.d.).

Within the framework of the above definition, gender equality is examined as equilibrium between women and men on the plane of equal opportunities where neither women nor men have advantages or disadvantages as a result of their gender.

Re-traditionalizing Gender Roles

The transformation of European communist societies into liberal democracies with capitalist economies has been controversial as it contributed to colossal social costs in exchange for economic restructuring. Through this process of states’ transformations from communist societies that proclaimed the presence of gender equality and the states’ route of developing democracies, women have experienced a decline from their previous status in socio-economic and political representation in government, in capacity negotiations and many other venues where decisions shape policies, which affect their lives. Brunnbauer (2002) stated that transformational post-communist European states brought about social change instilling traditional roles for women as a process of “domestication” and creating pressure on women to retreat from public life. This resulted in a dramatic decline in female representation on the political sphere in the early transition period of post-communist European states (Pollert, 2003). After 1989, in post-socialist transformational states, a number of indicators pointed to the deteriorating status of women in the arena of health and socio-political circumstances (Brunnbauer, 2002). With respect to Croatia, women are a political minority; however, they are slowly becoming more visible in the socio-political plane (Smid, 2006). In the course of transformational democracy, Croatia has taken significant strides in developing its legal and
institutional framework: by modifying its Constitution, which prohibits gender discrimination by establishing a Gender Equality Act, and by amending the Labor Act; by incorporating a definition of direct and indirect discrimination and sexual harassment, as well as an explicit ban on gender discrimination (6th European Ministerial Conference, 2006). The previously mentioned Acts are relatively new concepts and the implementation of changes and new norms supported by court practice is challenging. There is considerable focus on gender equality issues in Croatia; however, accomplishing equal opportunities between women and men in the socio-political sphere as well as on the enforcement legislation level is undoubtedly a challenge (Vinkovic, 2005). It will probably be quite some time before the effects of the new legislation acts on gender equality are confirmed in social practice due to cultural patterns which are rooted in the society.

Despite such rapid and almost daily change, the patriarchal status quo, the cultural pattern and attitudes towards the role of women and social practice that reflects it remains stubbornly persistent. The dominant attitude that woman’s natural place is primarily in the home with their family is often mirrored in the media and school textbooks. Young women are faced with societal demands to simultaneously fulfill the socially desirable role of the mother and of a competent, efficient and productive worker. The result is an unfavorable position for women in the labor market, where employers often regard them as undesirable workers because of their expected family duties (Smid, 2006, p. 10).

Due to socio-cultural factors and the real challenges of reconciling work and family life, women in Croatia have difficulty accessing, re-entering or remaining in the labour force. Restoration of statehood and nationhood promoted a public emphasis on the retraditionalisation of gender roles and the reinforcement of traditional values and attitudes. On the other hand, Croatia’s efforts to
promote gender equality are motivated by its aspirations to acquire European Union membership (Smid, 2006). The government is strongly encouraged to transform progress in legal and institutional reform on gender equality issues into tangible gains for Croatian women. It is apparent that Croatia’s new law on gender equality prescribes the introduction of special measures, the implementation of which is aimed at the promotion of equal participation of women and men in all sectors of the economy, including government (6th European Ministerial Conference, 2006). One way to accomplish the goal of gender equality is to draw public attention to the gap between the European Union’s directives, the Croatian Government’s strong institutional framework for gender equality and the difficult reality of transforming legislation into concrete results in daily life. Despite rapid changes in restoring the statehood, the patriarchal status quo and the socio-cultural patterns towards domesticated women’s roles remain consistently present. Croatia’s transformational democracy is accompanied by the state’s efforts of re-traditionalising gender roles. Through media and school textbooks, women in Croatia are encouraged to fulfil their role in procreation as a moral responsibility; however, the society and state will not economically support motherhood as they consider it to be costly (Smid, 2006). There is seemingly a contradiction between the state’s expectation of women to bear more children and the detrimental reality of the state’s unwillingness to provide women stronger social support.

The communist experience of women in the former socialist regime in Croatia was filled with complexities and paradox. Gender equality and social justice were promised in the context of supporting the socialist state (Gal & Kligman, 2000). Communism publicly supported equal legal rights to women and men: it sustained equal rights for education to women and men, maintained liberal abortion policies while excluding the Churches from political affairs and
provided financial resources to support women (Ramet, 1999). It seems appropriate to ask whether the persistence of traditional patriarchal attitudes remained in the transitional society as a consequence of the changing state’s expression of contradictory goals through socialist policies and pro-democratic policies concerning women’s gender equality issues. What contributed to the survival of the patriarchal status quo in the socio-cultural make-up of Croatia’s citizens despite of the changes in political ideology as the territory reformed from a communist to a democratic state institution? While officially supporting social justice and equality between women and men, communism had specific requests from women: to participate as state workers in rebuilding the country after World War II, to be caring mothers and obedient wives, and to take on leading roles for the collective benefit of the society simultaneously (Gal & Kligman, 2000). Women in Croatia made impressive progress during communism; however, they also experienced setbacks due to their predetermined traditional roles by the state and women’s underrepresentation in political, judicial and administrative state levels (Ramet, 1999). Despite promises, the socialist regime in Croatia embraced communism and neglected to address the lack of social change towards increased gender equality. Paradoxically, the manifestation of an increasingly present democratic society has not led to a greater participation of women on the socio-political sphere, but rather to their displacement and a strengthening of gender inequality (Metcalf & Afanassieva, 2005).

Research Question

Gender is seen as a socially and culturally produced ideology on male-female differences, power dynamics between the two and the inequality that structures the reproduction of these differences in the evolving institutionalized practices of a society (Gal & Kligman, 2000).
Recognizing through the literature review and subsequently through field research that state policies shape the dynamics between women and men, I proceeded to acknowledge the need to research how inequalities between women and men are perceived by the women who have experienced turmoil in a transformational democracy. It is evident that cultural dynamics on the differences between women and men are played out within the framework of larger discourses and within evolving state institutions. In reshaping state ideology and fostering institutional change, ideas on gender difference influence the central cultural make-up of family, society and the nation in which it resides.

The program of study I’ve completed through the Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies integrated coursework from Human Security and Peacebuilding Studies and Conflict Analysis and Management Studies. Interdisciplinary Studies have helped me focus on the interdependence of economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of human challenges in diverse societies and apply this knowledge on a practical dimension through field research. The research question guiding this study asks how women in Croatia perceive gender equality as part of their society’s transformation towards full democracy. To answer this question in depth, the study sought answers to related subquestions: Do women in Croatia perceive there is a need for increased gender equality? Do women see themselves fully a part of the transformational democratic society and governance of Croatia? How do they experience their contribution to the process of democratization and constructive change? How do women in Croatia perceive their status in the course of the state’s re-traditionalizing gender roles? Do women in Croatia perceive that the gender equality legal rights are exercised in practical daily life? What do women in Croatia see as legal, economic and political gender equality achievements exercised in Croatia?
The study’s purpose is to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and perceptions of women in a transformational society. Sustainable peacebuilding in transforming states requires research on the current civil societies’ issues that produce challenges and opportunities. This thesis intends to lay the groundwork for continued future collaboration on research projects and the dissemination of research results for the benefit of transformational democratic societies. The theoretical framework of my thesis incorporates interdisciplinary scholarship focusing on the interdependence of environmental, economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of human security, insecurity and mutual vulnerability, through the lens of gender equality. The complex nature of gender equality issues affecting women in Croatia has been explored through interviews and dialogue with women in Croatia.

**Grounded Theory**

My choice of research design revolved around the decision to choose the right methods that would best answer my research question involving human experiences. It was evident from the literature review that women in the territory of Croatia were presented with various complex challenges throughout the past and present century as they witnessed political institutional changes and it was essential to gather more contemporary information. In order to develop a clearer understanding on the gender equality challenges of women in Croatia, the data collection needed to be accomplished by way of a grounded theory study that incorporated field-based interviewing, which is consistent with a qualitative study and contributed in the construct of a working theory from the established themes, categories and their respective interrelationships (Leedy & Ormond, 2005). The perspectives and voices of the interviewees need to play a major
role in the data collection accompanied by other sources of information relevant to the research study (Charmaz, 2002).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) depict theory that emerges from observations ‘grounded’ in the research itself. In research design, a grounded theory approach is structured as well as exploratory in nature (Charmaz, 2002). The main focus in grounded theory is on the identification of key variables, concepts and processes through observations which provide insights into the research topic (Palys & Atchison, 2008). In this thesis the observations and explorations are focused on how women in Croatia perceive their status in relation to gender equality as their state’s political institution transforms towards democracy. The process of transformational democracy acts as a unique opportunity to address gender equality issues.

Methods

Data Collection

Qualitative methods examine socio-cultural issues through interviews, documents, historical interaction, and researcher’s observations on the feelings and perceptions of participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). It quickly became apparent to me that the qualitative process of interviewing coupled with grounded theory and thematic analysis was my best choice to approach and answer the research question guiding this study. The interviewing process provided an open-ended, in-depth exploration of gender equality issues of women in Croatia. Consequently, a working theory surfaced from the collected data.

This study is exploratory in nature with a purposive sampling technique, which encompasses a carefully selected sample of participants. This approach was advantageous for several reasons. First, I had access to interviews with women in Croatia who I knew and with
whom I had previously established a relationship of trust. As a result, these women felt comfortable discussing their experiences and perspectives on gender equality in a transformational democracy. Second, a purposive sampling technique was chosen to ensure some variation within the sample. The women were contacted by phone for the initial interviews, the follow-up interviews and the focus group (Appendix A – Phone Contact). All the interviews and follow-up interviews were conducted within the women’s homes as per their wish. The focus group was conducted at the home of one of the participants who volunteered to have the meeting at her home. My rapport with the participants was a result of having met them in the former state of Yugoslavia. I was born in the former Yugoslavia, and in 1989, at the end of the cold war, I decided to immigrate to Canada. While I am familiar with the socio-cultural and language aspects of Croatia up to 1989, I am less familiar but interested in the course of the state’s transformation towards democracy. I kept track of my assumptions, and how they changed throughout the study, in a journal as I proceeded with the study. My initial assumption was that the introduction of democracy would minimize socio-patriarchal attitudes which would allow for an increased, open-minded attitude towards gender equality and equal opportunities between men and women. While gender equality was present on the territory of Croatia in the context of a socialist-communist system prior to the present transitional democracy it seemed lacking documented personal accounts on how women in Croatia perceived their position within the patriarchal society throughout the previous decades.

Face-to-face, active interviewing was beneficial in this study for several reasons. In qualitative research, active interviewing, as elaborated by Holstein and Gubrium (1995), takes into account the person conducting the interview and the person being interviewed as active and equal partners. Conceptualized in this manner, interviews are a collaborative process which
cultivates and creates meaning as well as prospects for data. The in-depth face-to-face interviews, conducted by me in the Croatian language, with a sample size of 40 women from three differing Counties in Croatia were the primary source of data. The first interviews took place in the County of Zagreb. The second interviews took place in the County of Slavonski Broad – Posavina, and the third interviews were completed in the County of Osijek – Baranja. My sample size meets standards of qualitative scholarship and enables me to provide an answer to the research question. My sample is not a representative sample of the general population in Croatia; however, I gathered the data from three differing Croatian counties to implement a comparative method, which is consistent with grounded theory research. The research findings, through in-depth interviews, were derived from and rooted in the collected data characteristic of grounded theory (Leedy & Ormond, 2005).

The age of participants ranged from 20 to 70 years of age. Some women were single; some were married and had children; some women lived in common-law relationships; some had careers; some were homemakers while others were continuing their academic education and some women were retired. Semi-structured questions were used in the interview process as opposed to structured questions. This type of enquiry reduced the potential for the participants to be influenced in the interview process, and the semi-structured questions allowed input of additional information from the participants which would have not surfaced from the implementation of structured questions (Appendix B – Interview Guide). Each interview lasted from to one to two hours in length. Second in-depth follow-up interviews from a half an hour to an hour in duration were offered to the participants to allow them to provide more information and to answer any questions they had of the study. In addition, the second follow-up interviews were conducted to verify whether the observed, collected and interpreted data from the
participants, on the topic of gender equality, was accurately documented. Participants were offered a summary of the documented data and asked to confirm the correct interpretation of what they had communicated in the initial interview process.

The interviews began with an explanation of the study’s purpose and how the results would be disseminated, as well as details on the researcher’s university affiliation and background. A written consent form was provided, which explained how confidentiality of the participants’ identities and their responses would be preserved. The participants were assigned a specific pseudonym and these pseudonyms were used in the data collection process and in this thesis. The transcripts were coded and the names of the participants were not used at any time in the study with the sole objective to preserve confidentiality. In addition, the consent form provided information that the participants may end their participation at any time should they wish to do so. The consent form stipulated that I, as the interviewer, may choose to end the interview at any time should interpersonal conflict emerge due to political, ethnic, or cultural reasons (Appendix C – Consent Form). The interview questions were translated into English for submission to the Research Ethics Board at Royal Roads University prior to the commencement of my research.

In addition, as a conscientious interviewer, I was vigilant in my efforts to not to encourage reactive bias in the active interview process (Palys & Atchison, 2008). The participants were very attentive to cues that I, as the interviewer, was emitting since they wanted to know whether they were “doing well” as interviewees. Supportive and encouraging “uh-huhs” or nods of the head could have easily been misunderstood as cues to what the respondent “should” be talking about. Thus, I maintained rapport and exhibited genuine empathy but I
restrained from leading the participants in the interview, which could have negatively affected the otherwise productive interviews.

**Data Analysis**

Grounded theory is focused on a data generation process that includes participants’ perceptions, actions and interactions to specific issues (Appendix D – Data Generation Diagram). The process moved back and forth between data collection and data analysis (Leedy & Ormond, 2005). In addition to grounded theory, thematic analysis was used to identify themes. Thematic analysis, as defined by Boyatzis (1998), is a process used in qualitative research which discovers themes within the collected data, provides an organized approach on the observations and interprets the qualitative information. Boyatzis (1998) describes thematic analysis as a method that addresses people’s thoughts, behaviours, interactions, and provides records of individual and collective behaviour through identifying, encoding and interpreting themes. With the participants’ consent, the interviews were documented and additional interview notes were taken after each interview to capture my general impressions. In the post-interview process, I recorded my accounts and general impressions about each interview as part of my reflection process. The interview responses were translated and transcribed by me, as I am fluent in spoken and written Croatian. The data was analysed for patterns and categorized into themes emerging from the interviews. This is a structured, systematic way of narrowing down the quantity of data for answers to the research questions and establishes working theories derived from the interviews.

The interviews resulted in over 400 pages of raw material. First, I coded paragraphs into categories. Next, I analysed the coded categories and looked for patterns and the development of themes. Finally, I compared the themes that emerged from the three participant groups. Analysis of the interview and focus group data yielded themes that emerged from the data after multiple
readings of the transcribed material. Subsequent to the analysis of the transcribed data, I identified sections that were relevant to the research question. I classified the sections into three distinct major themes. In the results section below, each theme includes transcribed and translated materials as support data. Using the research question as guidance, I made a selection of which sections to use, their respective significance in relation to the themes, and how to present them. As a result, the opportunity for subjectivity and potential bias increased. Follow-up interviews with the participants were crucial in achieving objectivity in the study. Thirty-five participants responded to the invitation to read over the identified themes to provide feedback. During follow-up interviews, themes I identified were independently evaluated by each participant to verify whether they shared my observations in the interpretations of collected data, from the previous interviews.

Through self-awareness, introspection and consultations with my academic supervisor I took precautionary steps to identify my own assumptions and remain aware of them throughout the interview process. To support the validity of my research, I conducted one informal focus group with six women to establish whether the information gathered through individual interviews would generate similar or different results. The focus group meeting also sought to establish whether there was theoretical saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The focus group data reflected a repetition of previously documented themes and confirmed theoretical saturation.

Results

The results revealed that while on the surface the participants seemed to have different perspectives based on their individual experiences of gender equality, they shared the ways in which they prioritized specific gender equality issues. The following three themes were
confirmed by the participants as dominant themes, both in terms of the number of times in which they were raised and in the level of importance that participants ascribed to them:

1. women’s perceptions on experiences of gender discrimination in employment and their position/role in the transformational democracy;
2. women’s perceptions on their biological role in the transformational democracy;
3. women’s perceptions on social change and the future in the transformational democracy.

**Gender Discrimination in Employment**

The interviewees clearly communicated that they perceive themselves as being at a disadvantage during the state’s political transformational process because of their position as women in their society. Regardless of the county that the participants originated from, all women said they were treated as less than equal to men in their employment in public or private sectors outside of their home. Some women described detailed instances of discriminatory processes in employment circumstances, instances that they either experienced themselves or witnessed. Participants from all three counties reported a drastic change from the previous socialist system with communism where employment equality between women and men was encouraged and promoted. The following participant expresses her challenges:

In Croatia, the transitional democracy has decreased employment equality. When interviewed for a job, the first question I am asked is if I plan to have a family, children ... I was fired when I came back from maternity. … I wrote a written complaint to the Croatian government officials. They suggested I get a lawyer and sue the company as their process of investigation is slow (Mary, County of Zagreb, 2009).
Metcalfe and Afanassieva (2005) noted the commitment to equal opportunity employment enacted by previous European communist political systems stemmed from the need to increase economic production and support state objectives. In Croatia, after the Second World War, during the time of socialism with a one-party communist rule, Tito supported women’s gender equality rights solely in favour of developing and supporting socialism (Ramet, 1999). Gender equality was specifically set in a socialist/communist context and envisioned by Tito as a crucial part of building the post-war society. Under previous central and east European communist states, women had options with legal and social rights to return to work after having children on a part-time or full-time basis and additional time off was granted to take time for the care of their children when the children became ill (Metcalfe & Afanassieva, 2005). In post-communist Croatia, the participants expressed their disappointment at the lack of support and at the new presence of employment discrimination and their inability to create change. One participant explains her struggles:

Overtime is not paid and the pay is sometimes late... As a woman, I get paid less than a man working at the same position... When I am lucky to acquire work, my working hours are long and daycare services are difficult to come by (Ana, County of Slavonski Broad, 2009).

Pollert (2003) stated that qualitative research on post-communist countries exposed discriminatory processes within employment practices, where three-quarters of employers revealed that they considered female employees problematic and undesirable due to their dual responsibilities in work and family life. Interviewed women, from the three Croatian counties, expressed their discontent and verbalized that male individuals in hiring positions have the
authority to define the parameters for women’s employment suitability. A participant explains how unequal relations are displayed in the employment environment:

In our transitional society, patriarchal trends dictate that men hold privileges in employment... Men have access to higher paying jobs and men form the hiring and firing trends regardless of our labour policies (Kate, County of Osijek, 2009).

The participants expressed their opinion that some men in Croatia seek confirmation of their role and gender identity through rooted patriarchal socio-cultural trends which contribute to the preservation of male dominance in the employment sector. The interviewees contend that men seem to seek support and guidance from other men in the state who believe that women’s careers are frequently disrupted and that women are therefore less reliable and valuable employees. One of the participants explains:

There are prejudices and stereotypes. Regardless of my qualifications, as a woman employee, I am seen as not having the capacity to balance work and family life... due to pregnancy, childbirth and childcare... (Anita, County of Slavonski Broad, 2009).

As the participants communicated more about their difficulties the more obvious it became that the participants from all three counties experienced obstacles in seeking employment or encountered challenges during their employment due to their gender. Women that are retired spoke about their indirect accounts of gender employment discrimination - experienced by their daughters, friends and neighbours, which is an ongoing issue of concern to women in Croatia. One participant shared her challenges on retaining her employment:
I decided to express my opinion at work... I was told that “things” need to be done the way men do it. I protested... and my male co-workers said they did not want me to interfere in men’s business. I was asked to resign (Jane, County of Zagreb, 2009).

One of the more interesting things that emerged during the interviews was the degree of awareness the participants have in regards to state policies that were introduced in the transitional democracy to eliminate gender discrimination. However, despite this awareness, only one out of the forty interviewed women knew where to forward complaints. The remaining women stated that they did not know the names and addresses of the organizations or the phone numbers where they could seek help pertaining to employment discriminatory experiences as a result of their gender. According to the report presented by the Croatian delegation in Stockholm at the 6th European Ministerial Conference:

The Croatian Constitution recognises gender equality as the highest value of the constitutional order. .... The adoption of the anti-discrimination laws package helped raise awareness within the whole of society on the question of gender inequality. Beside the national anti-discriminatory legislation, the fundamental legal act for the regulation of legal position of women in the Republic of Croatia is the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), to which Croatia has been a party since 1992. ... Despite legal change, real gender equality has still not been achieved (6th European Ministerial Conference, 2006, p. 1).

Undoubtedly, the circumstances surrounding the challenges in achieving gender equality in a transformational democracy are complex. Women in Croatia perceive a new presence of employment discrimination in their view due to cultural structures that facilitate and enforce
gender inequality. Structural discrimination, in the transformational democracy, persists in part due to the society’s hypothesis that the anti-discriminatory laws are adequate for the realization of gender equality in the employment sector. While in theory the adoption of anti-discriminatory laws from CEDAW would seem to suffice in eliminating gender inequality, the documented interviews reveal that it is more difficult for women in Croatia to have access to employment or well paid employment as a result of their gender in the transformational democracy.

Interestingly, Croatia is a country with comprehensive legal support on eliminating gender inequality; although in Croatia, women’s perceptions and experiences disclose that women do experience consistency in gender inequality practices in its society. The interviewed women from all three counties strongly commented that they strive to experience equal economic rights, equal access to employment, including respectable labor conditions, but stated they are disappointed by the absence of gender equality. Interviewees state that they hope to acquire economic independence within the transformational democracy as they see it to be a dominating factor towards the achievement of gender equality in Croatia. According to the Croatian national delegation report (2006), research in Croatia on pay discrimination based on gender revealed that women are paid 19.4% less for the same work than men and this is present in all occupations; however, the largest discrepancy in wages is found in the business and management sectors where the wage gap is considerably more. Most women in the interviews commented that there exists a considerably higher percentage of discrepancy in wages than stated in the 2006 Croatian national delegation report. The majority of interviewees communicated a challenge to attain any employment and one interviewee described a representative view on the perception of economic independence:
Myself and other women I spoke to are not satisfied with their position in the transformational democracy. ... Until the day when women in Croatia can experience financial independence there is little room to talk about equality between men and women in today’s Croatia (Verna, County of Zagreb, 2009).

While gender equality was supported in the socialist/communist era encouraging women to participate in the rebuilding of a post-war society, gender equality in the transformational state presents itself as a controversial phenomenon. In today’s Croatia, the restoration of the statehood, through transformational democracy, puts an emphasis on the re-traditionalization of gender roles – the reinforcement of traditional values and attitudes where gender equality is on one hand legally supported and on the other hand neglected at the enforcement level. Women from all three counties stated that their primary role in Croatia on restoring nationhood is based on their responsibility to help the state restore the population by bearing more children, a theme explored in the next section.

*The Biological Role*

Building on the results of the interviews, the subsequent theme reveals views of women in Croatia on their biological role in the transformational democracy. The interviewees’ perception on their biological role within the restoration of statehood is a distinct theme and simultaneously intertwined with the previous dominant theme on employment challenges in a transformational democracy. Within the interview process there was a seamless progression from women’s statements on struggles in the workplace towards their views on the state’s expectations placed on women in Croatia, specifically, women’s expected roles and responsibilities in rebuilding the nation. The interviewees expressed being torn between the need
to financially contribute to their family’s livelihood through employment means and the state’s objectives to domesticate women’s role as stay at home mothers who need to tend to childbearing and childcare. The next paragraph depicts an interviewee’s disappointment about the lack of government support for women:

The state creates pressure for us to have more children – to increase the population... But when I decided to have more children the state did not follow through with adequate financial support. There is not enough daycare services provided... I am expected to devote my life to childbearing, motherhood and housework, but it is difficult to support my family with only my husband’s income (Catherine, County of Osijek, 2009).

From the interviewee’s perspectives, childbearing and childcare stands out as a problematic issue on several levels. First, while some women expressed their attempt to understand the state’s logistic to support a discourse that leads to rebuilding their nation, they raised their strong belief system that the number of children and the structure of their family life should be an individual choice separate from state politics. The interviewees collectively concluded, during separate interviews and in the focus group, that reproduction should not be an objective of their state’s agenda. Second, most women contended that they are perplexed by being burdened with the state’s politics on women’s responsibility to repopulate the society while the state fails to provide access to support mechanisms for women in everyday practice. Several concerns that have been put forward by the interviewees include a lack of the state’s provision for good childcare, a lack of employer’s support on women’s absence following childbirth and a presence of a considerable wage gap between women and men in the workforce. A representative view is communicated here by one of the interviewees:
I believe that the obstacle to gender equality is the existing pressures put on women by the state and society... we are expected to have lots of children, to be good mothers, good wives, good housekeepers...; in addition, we are expected to be career oriented but not at the expense of the family or state; therefore, in many instances, we are often not supported to pursue a career or employment... (Mary, County of Slavonski Broad, 2009).

Post 1990, the government in Croatia openly exhibited support for the Catholic church’s movement against abortion while causing pressure on women to return to traditional family values (Brunnbauer, 2002). The state institution in its transitional stages towards democracy made an attempt to control the reproductive rights of women in Croatia. Shiffman, Skrabalo, and Subotic (2002) elaborated that while the government opposed the actions of Croatian feminist groups, the strong organizational capacities of feminist activists succeeded in public protests in favour of reproductive rights and in 1995 prevented restrictive abortion. Croatian feminist groups continue to lobby for present and future reproductive rights of women and families in Croatia.

All participants stated they view that the domestication of women’s roles in conjunction with discouraging them to equally align with men in the workforce as a serious setback in gender equality rights. In East Central Europe, some scholars argue that reproductive responsibilities are imposed on women as a deliberate strategy not only to repopulate the nation, but also as an approach to address high unemployment rates by way of removing women from the employment sectors (Gal & Kligman, 2000); and allocating the male population to public life of work and politics and women to the private life of housework and motherhood (Brunnbauer, 2002).

Undoubtedly, in the course of transformational democracy, Croatia has experienced struggles not only in addressing the state’s dominant ideological paradigm of reproduction in favor of the preservation of the nation, but also Croatia experiences challenges in rebuilding and
strengthening its economy. Due to an increase in unemployment, and a decrease in the quality of life as a result of socio-economic challenges, the transformational democracy presents itself not only as a society of increased democratic opportunities but also of increased employment uncertainties and insecurities. Croatia’s socio-economic struggles are ongoing as it strives to position itself in the global free marketplace. The Croatian economy’s high unemployment rates are subject to frequent analysis as the nation strives to increase employment opportunities (Botric, 2003) and according to the CESifo World Economic Survey (2008), economists in Croatia are concerned with Croatia’s forecast of economic deterioration. Women’s reactions to the state’s attempt to re-traditionalise their roles and to the employment segregation due to their gender varied from woman to woman. The reaction to the challenges in gender equality manifests itself with some women distancing themselves from social and political affairs while other women in Croatia are becoming more active in pursuit of social change and in favour of increased gender equality rights. The interviewed participants are divided on their vision of change and on their future in the transformational democracy of Croatia, which is the focus of the next section.

Social Change and the Future

A central feature of the previous socialist system in Croatia, in its socio-political organization, was the implementation of gender equality among its citizens. Gender equality was based on women’s role in the socio-economic production alongside men (Metcalf & Afanassieva, 2005). Women’s responsibility was primarily worker-mother who was expected to first support the communist party’s objectives and second to support the family structure. This constitutional ideology was the right and responsibility of every woman. In the transformational
stage, the participants communicated that the transition from socialism to democracy carried promises of independence and economic stability – a promise of a liberal democracy. The interviewees communicated varying comments on the inevitable change and how they understood what the future would bring with a new socio-political climate. One participant expresses her positive outlook on the future:

Now-a-days, there is greater awareness on gender equality rights. The laws that protect gender equality exist, but we just need to implement them. I feel I can contribute to positive change because I have a female child and I am determined to make a difference for my daughter and the generations to come (Julia, County of Zagreb, 2009).

Most of the younger interviewees included their comments of hopes of a better and brighter future despite experiences of gender inequality. Some respondents verbalized that in order to realize a better future for women it is important that women be persistent in vocalizing their needs. One participant expresses her views on the importance of standing up for gender equality:

Too many women are quite and do not wish to speak up due to the fear of losing their jobs... they are dissatisfied, frustrated to have to experience gender inequality. For change to happen they need to speak up and not stay quite. We need to be more persistent in insisting on the availability of jobs for women (Martha, County of Osijek, 2009).

In the course of Croatia’s transformational democracy, women’s role is re-traditionalised from the worker-mother to the mother-worker. The mother-worker is encouraged to support the current states objectives and women’s primary responsibility is in caring and building her family. Women’s role as mother and caregiver is placed high on the state’s agenda and women’s work outside of the home is expected, by the state, to take on a secondary position. As the state’s
institution transforms, the constancy that remains is the presence of a patriarchal society; however, inevitably a question arises: Where is the true face of gender equality within the institutionally changing society? The paradox that emerges is while there was supported gender equality before the presence of democracy in the socialist/communist state there seems to be a lack of gender equality in practice within the transformational state that recognises the importance of democracy. There are no easy and straightforward answers that could resolve this paradox. When examining the impact gender equality barriers may have on the participation of women in the transformational state, a couple of key factors emerge. First, how women perceive themselves in the context of the changing society and how they assess their needs and define their gender equality aspirations is crucial to change. Second, state policies and laws, in practice and not in rhetoric, need to support women as they voice their experiences with gender equality policies and practices. Otherwise, the future may look bleak. A participant communicated her discouraging thoughts on the future:

If change for the better on women’s equality rights does not happen, I am afraid it will get worse in the future. The problem is not having a clear definition of what democracy is and represents. This democracy has introduced a poorly structured privatisation process that deprives women to have an economic share and benefit from the society’s resources, which were obtained during socialism. I worked all my life and now my pension is not enough to feed me (Barb, County of Osijek, 2009).

When examining gender equality in transformational democracies, it is important to note that individuals, social groups, and societies in a system behave in ways that are consistent with how they perceive their world and as a result, their worldview affects how they establish goals and aspirations within their social environment (Laszlo, 1996). We are surrounded by cultural views
in our everyday lives on gender equality issues and these views are experienced in the form of a deeper meaning on shared values, beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, and norms, which determine how challenging equality issues and societal conflicts are managed. Cultural attributes serve as powerful forces in shaping societal behaviors and they are most often exposed in habitual ways of thinking and doing (Brocklesby, 1995). The most significant point for leverage in a system and society is the beliefs of the entities in it, and the beliefs are what sustain, change and shape the system (O’Connor & McDermott, 1997). Increased awareness within a system can create shifts in attitudes and beliefs on the ways in which societies construct views of the world and views of experienced challenges (Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross and Smith, 1994). In the transformational democracy of Croatia, raised awareness on the gap between gender equality laws and the lack of gender equality in practice can serve as a leverage point in understanding diversities in behaviors and unveiling commonalities in the society’s attitudes and beliefs.

Good leadership, close societal bonds and effective communication are among the most significant resources societies can draw upon to avoid or resist detrimental conflicts on gender equality issues. The lack of strategic focus on the complex relationships between gender equality and transformational democracy could inevitably pull a nation to the direction of antagonism and chaos. There needs to be a presence of motivated leaders within the multitude of societal groups who can exercise and exemplify effective communication skills including political and religious leaders with moral and social authority for the development of sustainable gender equality relationships in the transformational democracy.
Conclusion

This exploratory study presents the results of interviewing a purposive sample of 40 Croatian women between 20 and 70 years of age. The purpose of this study was to gather data on the perceptions, attitudes and aspirations of Croatian women. The rationale for this study lies in the applied need to assess existing gender equality practices and contribute to increased, inclusive participation in the transformation towards a democracy. I hope to make the results on women’s perceptions on gender equality issues widely known so as to contribute to the debate on how to approach the challenges women in Croatia face among politicians and decision-makers. The information presented in this thesis may be used as a reference point for future research on women’s perceptions, attitudes and recommendations on developing efficient new policies and refining current national policies on gender equality issues. The focal points of these findings need to be extended with future research to include a greater number of women and men. More qualitative studies on women’s experiences of work conditions in private and government areas within transformational democracies would be beneficial in order to have a more in-depth understanding of the trends and circumstances surrounding everyday practices of gender equality challenges and successes.

My thesis instigates an opportunity for future analysis of the gathered information and provides recommendations for the potential proposal and generation of new governing policies towards the possible alteration and enforcement of existing legislation on progressive ideas and attitudes that would benefit the overall transformational democratic society of Croatia on increased gender equality.

The literature reviewed in this thesis demonstrates factual findings on the divide between gender equity policies in Croatia and the day to day practical experiences of women on gender
equality issues. While these factual findings to some may appear rhetorical rather than real and vary in the degree of women’s personal experiences within differing Croatian Counties, the fact remains that the transformation of the state has had a degree of influence over women’s expectations towards equal treatment and equal rights in the Croatian society. The transformational democracy redefines the margins of acceptable actions on policies in women’s favour of increased gender equality conditions. Clearly defining women’s interests and aspirations constructs a platform for incentive configuration that encourages progressive change in practice. By spreading awareness societal norms can be influenced in the direction of promoting a discourse that will enforce the integration of the existing gender equality policies to support the transformational democracy which would coincide with the aspirations of women in Croatia on the realization of gender mainstreaming. As a result of my research, I’m offering the following recommendations to those interested in enabling Croatia implement gender equality in social practice:

1. Increase understanding on the key influences that impede gender equity in women’s everyday lives through case studies.

2. Analyze key determinates that govern societal perceptions on gender-based discrimination in the work environment.

3. Create programs and services to redress discrimination in the workplace and enforce legal accountability for institutions and organizations exercising gender-based discrimination.

4. Monitor programs and services to establish their success rate in addressing gender-based discrimination.

5. Create a documentation process on cases revealing gender equality enabling factors in the work environment.
6. Establish a discourse that encourages women to communicate openly on the challenges they are experiencing in the transformational democracy.

7. Increase awareness on the connection between human rights practices and gender equality rights to re-shape the content and the implementation of gender equity state policies.

The gaps between state gender equality policies and its implementation in practices can be addressed through further research including the analysis of current state policies, specific case studies addressing work environments which could assist in sustainable gender equality practices. Further research could produce a platform for debate on the analysis and evaluation of the elimination of key obstacles in structural discrimination and possibly provide insights on the type of tools, attitudes, approaches and methods that could be implemented to circumvent barriers to gender equality in the transformational state of Croatia. The findings from continued research could contribute to initiatives that would diminish the gap between sound state policies and its implementation in practice. Documented findings are a powerful resource that could create a platform for gender equity mainstreaming that would support transformative change in the course of democratization with a higher degree of awareness on the benefits of equal inclusion of all citizens towards a progressive society in a transformational democracy.
References


APPENDIX A

Phone Contact

Researcher Introduction and Oral Agreement for a Meeting

This is Gordana Jelinic. I know it has been quite some time since we have last seen each other and I was wondering if you would be interested in meeting with me for a visit. Currently, I am conducting a study on gender equality issues and I am specifically interested in collecting information on the perceptions and experiences of women I know in Croatia in regards to this topic. The information I will gather will be included in my thesis, which is a requirement for the completion of my Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies at Royal Roads University in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

With this study, I hope to gather information that will provide greater public awareness on women’s perceptions on gender equality issues in Croatia. I am curious to encounter how women in a democratizing, transformational post-conflict country perceive equality between women and men. Would you be interested in participating? When and where would be a good time and place to meet?

The interview will consist of 15 open-ended questions. The questions address gender equality – specifically, economic equality and employment equity, as perceived by you. The interview will take a maximum of one to two hours of your time to complete. A follow up interview will take place at your convenience to give you an opportunity to review a summary on whether the observed, collected and interpreted data from the previous interview process on the topic of gender equality was accurately documented. Once we meet I can provide you with more information and answer any questions you might have before, during and after the interview. I look forward to seeing you again after so many years.
APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

Women in Croatia have an opportunity to voice their perceptions, concerns, needs, aspirations and successes.

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1. How do you perceive your status as a woman in Croatia as the Croatian society transforms itself into a democratic state? What are some of the benefits? What are some of the challenges?

2. What does “gender equality” mean to you?

3. How do you as a women living in Croatia experience gender equality when it comes to the following areas?
   a) economic equality, b) employment equity, c) position in families, and d) men’s attitudes towards gender equality issues?

4. What role in the society and family are you most expected to fulfill as a woman in Croatia?

5. What expectations do you have for yourself as a woman living in Croatia? Are these your personal goals? To what extend are your goals and aspirations influenced by your family and the society you live in?

6. Can you remember of an occasion where you felt you were treated less favorable or discriminated against due to your gender? How did you react? What actions did you take?

7. Can you remember an occasion when you were declined employment or lost employment due to your gender? How did you resolve/approach the issue?

8. What challenges do you face in the pursuit of higher education or career/job aspirations? Are there situations you can remember when you or other women were restricted in perusing career goals? How was this handled?
9. What process is there in place when you or other women in Croatia need to seek advice and guidance on issues of mistreatment due to your gender?

10. In your opinion is your position as a woman in Croatia improving or deteriorating? In what way is your position improving? In what way is your position as a woman living in Croatia deteriorating?

11. What are some of the privileges you as a woman in Croatia enjoy? How does being a woman benefit you?

12. What are some of the challenges you encounter as a woman in Croatia? How does being a woman disadvantage you?

13. Do you see a need for societal or governmental changes in regards to gender equality? Which ones?

14. What do you see is the greatest obstacle towards a higher standard of gender equality in Croatia?

15. If you were conducting this interview what gender related questions would you consider important to ask other women in Croatia?
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Women in the Transformational Democratic Society of Croatia

This consent form seeks your approval before you engage in this interview. It is an agreement of free and informed consent to participate in this study, which is a requirement for the completion of my Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies at Royal Roads University in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. With this project, I hope to gather information that will provide greater public awareness on women’s perceptions on gender equality issues in Croatia. The research objective is to investigate how women in a democratizing, transformational post-conflict country perceive equality between women and men. The interview will consist of 15 open-ended questions. The questions address gender equality – specifically, economic equality and employment equity, as perceived by you. The interview will take a maximum of one to two hours of your time to complete. A follow up interview will take place at your convenience to give you an opportunity to review a summary on whether the observed, collected and interpreted data from the previous interview process on the topic of gender equality was accurately documented.

Confidentiality

- In order to preserve confidentiality, participants’ names will not be recorded through this research process. Each interview participant will be assigned a specific pseudonym and only these pseudonyms will be used in the data collection process and in the final Thesis.
- The information you supply will be completely confidential and it will be summarized in a final Thesis for Royal Roads University to review and approve before it is publicized.
- With your consent the interview will be accompanied by written notes. The transcribed interviews will be translated to English. If you consent to the interview being documented and transcribed, the information will be stored and locked for 3 months after the completion of the Thesis – after which time the data will be destroyed by way of incineration.
• All documentation will be kept strictly confidential. The interview information will be recorded, processed and stored in my computer, which is equipped with a safeguard password security restriction system.

• You may withdraw your consent to participate in this interview at any point in the interview process. You are under no obligation to provide a reason for your discontinuation of the interview and you will experience no consequences as a result of your withdrawal from the interview process. Your responses will not be submitted as a result of the withdrawal.

• I, as the interviewer, may choose to end the interview at any time should interpersonal misunderstandings emerge. Your responses will not be submitted as a result of the discontinuation of the interview.

• If you have any questions and/or are interested in the results of this interview at any point during this study, you may reach the investigator at: gjelinic@gmail.com or by phone.

• If you have any questions for the Faculty Supervisor of this thesis please contact Matthew Heinz, PhD at the Royal Roads University: Matthew.Heinz@RoyalRoads.ca

By opting to choose “Yes” you give your informed consent to participate in this interview. Are there any questions you might have before proceeding further?

☐ Yes, I am of full legal age and I agree to participate in this interview process.

☐ Yes, I agree to have written notes taken of this interview process.

Signature: _______________________________            Date: _______________
APPENDIX D

Data Generation Diagram

Literature Review

- Field-based research in Croatia
- Data Collection through qualitative interviews

Data Analysis

- Development of a working theory
- Emerging themes & paradigms