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Neravnopravnost na ruralno-urbanoj osi: žene u ruralnim područjima*

Inequality on the rural-urban axis: women in rural areas*

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Žene u ruralnim područjima susreću se s brojnim ekonomskim i društvenim preprekama koje su uvjetovane, prije svega, nejednakim pristupom javnim uslugama i ograničenim mogućnostima obrazovanja i zaposlenja. Uz to postoji i nedovoljno statističkih podataka kojima bi se adekvatno pratili pokazatelji ravnopravnosti žena u ruralnim i urbanim područjima što rezultira njihovom ekonomskom i društvenom nevidljivošću. Cilj je ovoga članka utvrditi kolike su nejednakosti u socioekonomskim pokazateljima, obrazovanju i zaposlenosti između žena i muškaraca u urbanim i ruralnim područjima. Da bi se doprinijelo važnosti rodno segregiranih podataka i analiza, u ovom je radu provedena sekundarna analiza podataka iz baze Državnoga zavoda za statistiku [DZS] na nekoliko indikatora važnih za praćenje rodne ravnopravnosti. Podatci pokazuju da postoje nejednakosti na ruralno-urbanoj i rodnoj osnovi. U gradovima znatno više žena stječe diplomu u odnosu na žene na selu, zaposlenost žena višestruko je manja u ruralnim područjima u odnosu na urbana, a dostupnost pojedinih javnih usluga, poput predškolskoga odgoja i obrazovanja (vrtića), premda se događaju pozitivne promjene, i dalje je znatno manja u ruralnim područjima.

Ključne riječi: rodna ravnopravnost, žene u ruralnom području, ruralno-urbane razlike, obrazovanje, zaposlenost, javne usluge

Women in rural areas face numerous economic and social barriers, primarily due to unequal access to public services, and limited educational and employment opportunities. Moreover, there is insufficient statistical data to adequately monitor gender equality indicators in rural and urban areas, leading to the economic and social invisibility of (rural) women. The aim of this article is to examine the inequalities between women and men in urban and rural areas in terms of basic socio-economic indicators, education, and employment. In order to contribute to the importance of gender-specific data and analysis, a secondary analysis of data from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics' [CBS] database regarding several indicators important for monitoring gender equality has been conducted. The data shows that there are inequalities between rural and urban areas and between the genders. In urban areas, significantly more women obtain a university degree than in rural areas, the employment rate of women in rural areas is many times lower than in urban areas, and the availability of certain public services, such as pre-school education (kindergarten), is still significantly lower despite positive changes in rural areas.

Key words: gender equality, women in rural areas, rural-urban differences, education, employment, public services

Uvod

Žene u ruralnim područjima suočavaju se s dvostrukom neravnopravnošću (Shortall i Bock, 2015). Rodni jaz dobro je potkrijepljen statističkim podacima, no taj jaz nije jednak u ruralnim i urbanim područjima. Dodatni jaz postoji na ruralno-urbanoj osi, što znači da ruralne žene u odnosu na urbane žene imaju drugačije mogućnosti. Žene koje žive u ruralnim područjima imaju lošiji pristup uslugama, ruralnim organizacijama, infrastrukturi ili tehnologiji (Šikić Mićanović, 2012; Franić i Kovačićek, 2019; Copa Cogeca, 2020; Eurostat, 2022). U perifernim ruralnim područjima Europe te u državama članicama srednje i istočne Europe žene se suočavaju s više problema jer su ta područja manje rodno osjetljiva, posebno u pogledu zapošljavanja i javnih usluga (Shortall i Bock, 2015).

Žene se u ruralnim prostorima nalaze u nepovoljnijem ekonomskom i društvenom položaju što se najjasnije očituje u niskoj zaposlenosti, ekonomskoj nevidljivosti i statističkoj neprepoznatosti (Shortall, 1999; Barada i dr., 2011; Šikić-Mićanović, 2012; Franić i Kovačićek, 2019; Shortall i Marangudakis, 2022). Tradicionalistička i patrijarhalna društvena očekivanja nameću određene rodne uloge, a na strukturalnoj razini te su iste norme ugrađene u institucionalne dokumente i prakse. Također, žene na selu u većoj su mjeri nezaposlene i u odnosu na žene u gradu i u odnosu na muškarce, manje im je dostupno vlasništvo, a prevladavaju u neformalnom radu koji nije statistički zabilježen niti pruža socijalnu sigurnost. Primjerice, žene znatno više sati od muškaraca provode u neplaćenom radu, što je najčešće rad u kućanstvu i briga za članove obitelji. U Hrvatskoj je ta opterećenost žena neformalnim radom među najvišima u EU-u, uz Rumunjsku, Sloveniju i Litvu (Franić i Kovačićek, 2019). Primjerice, budući da su formalno zaposleni dugotrajni njegovatelji vrlo rijetki, broj neformalnih njegovatelja (pretežno žena) u Hrvatskoj je znatno veći od prosjeka EU-a, što negativno utječe na zapošljavanje žena. Rodni jaz u zaposlenosti od 9,5 % smanjio se ispod prosjeka EU-a (10,7 %), no udio neformalnih njegovatelja (opet, češće žena) viši je od prosjeka EU-a s 28,4 % žena i 22,9 % muškaraca spram 19,1 % žena i 14,8 % muškaraca na razini EU-a (Europska komisija, 2023, 57–58).

Introduction

Women in rural areas face a double dose of inequality (Shortall and Bock, 2015). The gender gap is well documented by statistical data, but this gap is not equal in rural and urban areas. An additional gap exists on the rural-urban axis, meaning that women in rural areas have different opportunities compared to women in urban areas. Women living in rural areas have less access to services, rural organizations, infrastructure, and technology (Šikić Mićanović, 2012; Franić and Kovačićek, 2019; Copa Cogeca, 2020; Eurostat, 2022). In the peripheral rural areas of Europe and in the EU Member States of Central and Eastern Europe, women face more problems, as these areas are less gender sensitive, especially in terms of employment and public services (Shortall and Bock, 2015).

Women in rural areas are in an unfavourable economic and social situation, which is most evident in low employment, economic invisibility and statistical non-recognition (Shortall, 1999; Barada i dr., 2011; Šikić-Mićanović, 2012; Franić i Kovačićek, 2019; Shortall i Marangudakis, 2022). Traditionalist and patriarchal social expectations prescribe certain gender roles and, on a structural level, the same norms are embedded in institutional documents and practices. In addition, rural women are more likely to be unemployed than urban women, have less property available to them than men, and are predominantly engaged in informal activities that are neither statistically recorded nor do they contribute to social security (pensions). For example, women spend significantly more time than men on unpaid work, which mostly involves housework and caring for family members. In Croatia, this burden of informal work for women is among the highest in the EU, along with Romania, Slovenia and Lithuania (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). For example, since formally-employed, long-term care workers are very rare, the number of informal care workers (mostly women) in Croatia is significantly higher than the EU average, which has a negative impact on the employment of women. Although the gender gap in employment has fallen below the EU average (10.7%) at 9.5%, the proportion of informal care workers (again, more often women) is above the EU average at 28.4% of women and 22.9% of men, compared to 19.1% of women and 14.8% of men at the EU level (European Commission, 2023, 57–58).

Oedl-Wieser i sur. (2020) tvrde da je potrebno još mnogo rada kako bi se osvijestili i raskinuli patrijarhalni obrasci u društvu, kako oni prisutni među stanovništvom koji posebno pogađaju žene preko ustaljenih rodni uloga koje prate tradicionalna stajališta tako i oni strukturalni, koji se provode institucionalno. Primjerice, tradicionalne rodne uloge očituju se u društvenim očekivanjima od žena, među kojima su istaknute briga za ostale članove kućanstva (Shepard, 2004; Bokan, 2021).

Da bi položaj žena u društvu postao ravnopravniji, a što je prema Touraineu (2009) jedan od važnih pokazatelja modernizacije, osobito je važna provedba UN-ovih ciljeva održivoga razvoja. Jednim od njih, petim, teži se uspostaviti rodna ravnopravnost i osnažiti sve žene i djevojčice (Ujedinjeni narodi [UN], 2015) da bi ostvarile ravnopravnost u svim područjima društvenoga života. Ključna područja u kojima se trebaju kontinuirano rješavati problemi s kojima se susreću žene jesu smanjivanje diskriminacije i nasilja prema ženama te prepoznavanje neplaćenoga rada u domaćinstvu i neformalnoj ekonomiji. I ciljevi održivoga i ruralnoga razvoja vezani su za rodnu ravnopravnost čime bi se ženama omogućilo sudjelovanje u donošenju odluka u ekonomskom, političkom i javnom životu, osigurao pristup ekonomskim resursima i nasljedstvu, pristup vlasništvu i kontrolu nad zemljištem zbog povećanja vidljivosti i ravnopravnosti žena u poljoprivrednom sektoru te poticanje upotrebe informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija da bi se žene dodatno osnažile (UN, 2018).

U ovom se radu rodnoj (ne)ravnopravnosti pristupa i kao pokazatelju procesa modernizacije, posebice u okviru postizanja ruralnoga razvoja, pri čemu autorice pristupaju (ne)ravnopravnosti, kako rodnoj tako i onoj ruralno-urbanoj, kao pokazatelju prisutnosti modernizacijskih procesa, tj. u slučaju neravnopravnosti – kao pokazatelju modernizacijskoga zaostajanja.¹

U prvom dijelu rada autorice predstavljaju suvremene teme i pristupe u istraživanju žena u ruralnim područjima europskih zemalja, a potom predstavljaju sekundarnu statističku analizu odabranih

Oedl-Wieser et al. (2020) claimed that much more needs to be done to raise awareness and break patriarchal patterns in society that are present in the population, especially those that impact women in particular, via established gender roles that follow traditional views, as well as structural patterns that are institutionally implemented. For example, traditional gender roles are reflected in societal expectations of women, with a focus on caring for other household members (Shepard, 2004; Bokan, 2021).

In order to improve the social status of women to become more equal to men's, which, according to Touraine (2009), is one of the most important indicators of modernization, the implementation of the UN Sustainable Development Goals is particularly important. The fifth of said goals aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (United Nations [UN], 2015) in order to achieve equality in all areas of social life. The key areas in which women's problems are to be solved are the reduction of discrimination and violence against women and the recognition of unpaid work in the household and in the informal economy. Both sustainable and rural development goals are linked to gender equality, which would enable women to participate in decision-making processes in economic, political and public life, gain access to economic resources and inheritance, and gain access to ownership and control over land, in order to increase visibility and equality of women in the agricultural sector and better use information and communication technologies to further empower women (UN, 2018).

In this paper, gender (in)equality is also considered as an indicator of the modernization process, especially in the context of achieving rural development, whereby the authors consider gender (in)equality, both between the genders and between urban and rural areas, as an indicator of the existence of modernization processes, i.e. in the case of inequality as an indicator of a modernization backlog¹.

In the first part of this paper, the authors present the current issues and approaches in the study of women in rural areas of European countries and

¹ Time članak odgovara na ciljeve projekta (bilješka * na str. 91) upućujući na potrebu uvođenja istovremeno rodni i ruralno-urbanih analiza u promišljanju (i provođenju) razvojnih politika.

¹ The article thus corresponds to the objectives of the project (Footnote * on page 91) and indicates the need to include both gender-specific and urban-rural analyses in the consideration (and implementation) of development policy.

pokazatelja važnih za razumijevanje položaja žena u ruralnim područjima. Na temelju analize dostupnih statističkih podataka prema Popisu stanovništva 2021. i Statistike u nizu (Gradovi i općine u statistici) Državnoga zavoda za statistiku (DZS, 2022a) u radu će se razmotriti odabrani pokazatelji položaja žena u ruralnim područjima te na taj način doprinijeti nedostatnom korpusu istraživanja o rodnom aspektu života u ruralnim područjima te istraživanju ruralnosti u okviru rodnih i ženskih studija.

U analizi statističkih podataka o socioekonomskim razlikama između ruralnih i urbanih područja u Hrvatskoj predočit će se razlike u obrazovanju i zaposlenosti na ruralno-urbanoj osi te dostupnosti javne usluge predškolskoga odgoja i obrazovanja, što je posebno važno za analizu nevidljivoga rada žena, posebno u ruralnim područjima. Analizirat ćemo dva aspekta razlika, jedan u odnosu između muškaraca i žena (tamo gdje takvi podatci postoje, tj. u podacima o obrazovanju), a drugi između stanovnika u urbanim i onih u ruralnim područjima.

Ruralne žene kao tema društvenih istraživanja i politika ruralnoga razvoja

Podređeni položaj žena ima duboke historijske korijene. Najveće promjene u položaju žena dogodile su se tijekom dvadesetoga stoljeća, no rodna neravnopravnost i dalje je dio institucija, zakona, društvenih struktura i prakse te se sporo i teško mijenja. Zakoni ne sprečavaju nejednakosti u praksi te se često u radu institucija ne prepoznaju niti mjere uzroci rodne neravnopravnosti. Tako, primjerice, žene na selu u pravilu nisu nasljeđivale zemlju iako su načelno pred zakonom ravnopravne. Drugi je primjer iz legislative EU-a i pojedinih zemalja gdje je utvrđena neosjetljivost politika i provedbenih programa na specifičnosti ženskoga poduzetništva i položaja žena u poljoprivredi (Simpson, 2010; Shortall i Marangudakis, 2022).

Struktura poljoprivrede i ruralni život nepovratno se mijenjaju, posebno intenzivno od druge polovice 20. stoljeća, a liberalizacija i globaliza-

then present a secondary statistical analysis of several indicators that are important for understanding the position of women in rural areas. Based on the analysis of available statistical data from the 2021 Census and the Statistics in a Series (Cities and Municipalities in Statistics) of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2022a), selected indicators regarding the position of women in rural areas are considered, thus contributing to the insufficient extant research corpus regarding the gender-related aspects of life in rural areas and contributing to the study of rurality in the context of gender and women's studies.

In analysing the statistical data on socio-economic differences between rural and urban areas in Croatia, the differences in education and employment on the rural-urban axis and the availability of public pre-school education services are presented, which is particularly important for analysing the invisible work of women, especially in rural areas. We will analyse two aspects of the differences: first, the ratio between men and women (where such data is available, i.e. in the education data) and second, between residents in urban and rural areas.

Rural women as a topic of social research and rural development policy

The subordinate position of women has deep historical roots. The greatest and most drastic changes in the status of women took place in the 20th century, but gender inequality is still part of institutions, laws, social structures and practices, and it involves a slow and difficult process to change. Laws do not prevent inequality in practice, and institutions often fail to recognize or change the causes of gender inequality in their work. For example, women in rural areas have generally not inherited land, even though they are in principle equal before the law. Another example is the legislation of the EU and individual countries, whose policies and implementation programs are blind to the specificities of female entrepreneurship and the position of women in agriculture (Simpson, 2010; Shortall and Marangudakis, 2022).

The structure of agriculture and rural life is irreversibly changing, especially intensively since the second half of the 20th century, and market liber-

cija tržišta produbljuju utjecaj na poljoprivredu i poljoprivrednu obitelj. U zapadnoeuropskim zemljama ti procesi vidljivi su već od 1980-ih, a u Hrvatskoj nešto kasnije, što se pak nadovezuje na deagrarizaciju i deruralizaciju koja traje već od 1960-ih. Iseljavanje mladih, diversifikacija poljoprivrednih gospodarstva te kriza poljoprivrede utječu na sve stanovnike sela pa tako i na žene. Danas je potrebno istražiti kako suvremene društvene promjene utječu na rodne odnose te kako promjene u rodnom odnosima postaju motor promjene u društvu. Odgovoriti na ta pitanja važno je i na političkoj razini za donositelje odluka, a u istraživačkom smislu potrebno je za postavljanje novih pitanja o raspodjeli moći, razlikama i različitosti (Bock, 2006).

Pristupi u proučavanju žena u kontekstu ruralnoga razvoja

Što se tiče vidljivosti žena u ruralnom razvoju i poljoprivredi, prve važnije studije o ženama u ruralnim područjima započele su 1970-ih godina u zemljama u razvoju. Žene su bile isključene s tržišta rada, a u tumačenjima je prevladavala zapadnjačka, tradicionalna slika poljoprivrede te su istraživanja bila usmjerena na ulogu muškaraca u modernizaciji poljoprivrede, a znanstvenici su se zalagali za uključivanje žena u razvoj kao resursa koji može pomoći razvoju. Desetljeće poslije, 1980-ih, u zapadnim zemljama započinju kritike „muške” poljoprivrede, uspoređuje se muški i ženski rad, analiziraju sati rada i slično. Ključna knjiga objavljena u to vrijeme bila je *The invisible farmer* Carolyn Sachs (1983) koja je donijela veliku promjenu u pogledu na doprinos žena u poljoprivredi. Sachs je ustanovila da su unatoč modernizaciji i mehanizaciji male farme vrlo ovisne o neplaćenom radu i ekstenzivnoj participaciji žena na farmi. Tada su već započele kritike statističkih podataka koje se nastavljaju do danas jer su žene u ruralnim područjima i žene u poljoprivredi na mnogo načina statistički nevidljive, što nam onemogućuje adekvatne analize pa time i osvještavanje neravnopravnosti i promjene usredotočene na ključne uzroke. Istraživači su tada još objašnjavali rad žena pomoću teorije uloga prema kojoj je socijalizaci-

alization and globalization are intensifying their impact on agriculture and the farming family. In Western European countries, these processes have been present since the 1980s (in Croatia they began somewhat later) following the deagrarisation and deruralisation that started in the 1960s. The rural out-migration of youth, the diversification of farms and the agricultural crisis affect rural population, including women. Today, it is necessary to examine how current social changes are affecting gender relations and how changes in gender relations are becoming a driver of social change. Answering these questions is also important at the policy level for decision-makers and, in terms of research, it is necessary to ask new questions about the distribution of power, differences, and diversity (Bock, 2006).

Approaches in the study of women in the context of rural development

Regarding the visibility of women in rural development and agriculture, the first significant studies on women in rural areas began in the 1970s in developing countries. As women were excluded from the labour market and the Western, traditional image of agriculture prevailed in interpretations, research focused on the role of men in the modernization of agriculture, and scholars advocated the inclusion of women in development as a resource that can contribute to development. A decade later, in the 1980s, criticism of “male” agriculture began in Western countries, the work of men and women was compared, working hours were analysed, etc. An important book published at the time was *The Invisible Farmer* by Carolyn Sachs (1983), which fundamentally changed the view of women’s contribution to agriculture. Sachs noted that despite modernization and mechanization, small farms were highly dependent on unpaid labour and the extensive participation of women on the farm. It was then that the criticism of statistical data began, which continues to this day, because rural women and women in agriculture are statistically invisible in many ways, preventing us from conducting proper analyses to raise awareness of inequality and focus change on the root causes. At the time of Sachs’ research, researchers still explained women’s work in terms of role theory, according to

ja pripremila žene i muškarce za različite uloge i očekivanja.

Kritike razvoja i modernizacije bile su jedan od važnijih koraka u usmjeravanju istraživačke perspektive prema institucijama. Znanstvenici su kritizirali pristup *Women in Development* kojim su se ignorirali strukturni čimbenici koji stvaraju nejednakost. Žene su, naime, integrirane u razvoj, ali nisu od toga imale koristi (Bock, 2006). One su bile neplaćena radna snaga, bez službene prepoznatosti te su u pravilu izuzete iz poljoprivrednoga vlasništva, tj. nasljeđivanja. Slično se događalo i u Hrvatskoj u vrijeme najintenzivnije deagrarizacije od 1960-ih do 1980-ih kad je došlo do feminizacije poljoprivrede. Žene su ostajale na poljoprivrednim gospodarstvima, desetljećima neprepoznate i nevidljive, ekonomski i statistički. Isti problem postoji i danas te se EU za naredno razdoblje obvezala usmjeriti na razvijanje metodologije prikupljanja detaljnijih rodno segregiranih socioekonomskih podataka o ženama u ruralnim područjima i poljoprivredi koji u ovom trenutku i dalje nedostaju (Europska komisija, 2020).

Od 1990-ih, kada je u akademske rasprave uveden koncept roda, postavlja se pitanje kako rodni identiteti, institucije te norme i vrijednosti stvaraju nejednake rodne odnose. Žene se ne promatraju više samo kao žrtve nego i kao akteri koji sudjeluju u reprodukciji odnosa, ali im se mogu i suprotstaviti i inicirati promjenu. Tada se počinje naglašavati mogućnost promjene i aktivno djelovanje žena u realiziranju promjena, što bi trebale podržati i razvojne politike u zemljama EU-a putem osnaživanja žena da bi si one same mogle pomoći.

Osim u akademskim raspravama, 1990-ih dogodila se bitna promjena paradigme i u politici ruralnoga razvoja EU-a, odmaknuvši se od pristupa odozgo prema pristupu odozdo ili procesnom, participativnom pristupu. Taj je pristup usmjeren na ruralni razvoj koji osnažuje ruralne stanovnike da preuzmu kontrolu nad vlastitim prioritetima za promjene. Tada se osvijestilo da u ranijim desetljećima modernizacije poljoprivrede Zajednička poljoprivredna politika nije nužno išla u korist ekonomskoga položaja žena jer je strukturna podrška poljoprivredi preferirala velika i visoko profitabilna gospodarstva, a žene su češće

which socialization prepares women and men for different roles and expectations.

The critique of development and modernization was one of the most important steps in shifting the research perspective to institutions. Scholars have criticized the “women in development” approach for ignoring the structural factors that lead to inequality. While women were integrated into development, they did not benefit from it (Bock, 2006). They were unpaid workers, without official recognition, and were usually excluded from agricultural property, i.e. inheritance. Something similar happened in Croatia during the period of the most intensive deagrarisation from the 1960s to the 1980s, when feminism emerged. Thus women remained working on the farms for decades, unrecognized and invisible, economically and statistically speaking. The same problem persists today, and for the next period the EU has committed to focus on developing a methodology to collect more detailed gender-specific socio-economic data on women in rural areas and in agriculture, which is currently lacking (European Commission, 2020).

Since the 1990s, when the concept of gender was introduced into academic discussions, the question of how gender identities, institutions, and norms and values create unequal gender relations has been raised. Women are no longer viewed only as victims, but also as actors who participate in the reproduction of relationships, but they can also oppose them and initiate change. Then the possibility of change and the active role of women in the realization of changes, which should also be supported by development policies within EU countries via the empowerment of women so that they can help themselves, begin to be emphasized.

Beyond academic discussions, the 1990s saw a major paradigm shift in EU rural development policy away from a top-down approach towards a bottom-up or process-based participatory approach. This approach focuses on rural development that empowers rural residents to set their own priorities for change. It was found that in the earlier decades of agricultural modernization, the Common Agricultural Policy did not necessarily favour the economic situation of women, as structural support for agriculture favoured large and highly profitable farms, while

bile odgovorne (vlasnice, nositeljice) manjih i ekstenzivnih gospodarstava, stoga su poljoprivredne politike u nejednakoj mjeri pozitivno utjecale na razvoj „ženskih” i „muških” gospodarstava. Također, uključivanjem rodnoga aspekta u analizu ruralnoga razvoja stavlja se pozornost na različita iskustva žena i muškaraca i potrebu da se pomno prouči različit utjecaj ruralnih politika na žene i muškarce.

U razvijenim se zemljama tada fokus premjestio s isključenosti žena iz ruralnoga razvoja prema istraživanju kako žene sudjeluju i doprinose ruralnom razvoju kroz diversifikaciju farme, na koji se način angažiraju u ruralnoj zajednici i doprinose održavanju kvalitete života u ruralnim područjima. Zaokret u politikama ruralnoga razvoja prema participativnom pristupu i pristupu odozdo trebao je dovesti do osnaživanja žena, no istraživanja otkrivaju da sudjelovanje žena u razvoju i dalje nije na visokoj razini i da su često onemogućene ekonomskim, društvenim i kulturnim čimbenicima (Bock, 2006; Dunne i dr., 2021). Na razini provedbenih politika studije također otkrivaju kako, primjerice, maskulinističke definicije participacije, razvoja i inovacija čine ženski doprinos nevažnim i nevidljivim (Riley, 2009; Budge i Shortall, 2022; Fernández-Giménez i dr., 2022). Preostaje i dalje istraživati poziciju žena u poljoprivredi, posebice kako globalizacijski procesi, migracije, klimatske promjene, a posljednjih godina i pandemija te rat u Ukrajini utječu na postojeće politike prema ženama u ruralnim područjima.

Današnja pitanja u istraživanju žena u ruralnom kontekstu

Feministička kritika polazi od pretpostavke da rad oslobađa ženu od muške dominacije. Ovdje se pažnja usmjerava na podatke o (ne)zaposlenosti žena, a uzimaju se u obzir i podatci o slabijem ekonomskom statusu žena i lošijim radnim uvjetima, koji također čine dio neravnopravnoga društvenog položaja (hooks, 2004; Tomić-Koludrović, 2015). Govoreći o radnim uvjetima, hooks (2004) ističe problem potplaćenosti, višestruke opterećenosti žena uslijed velika opsega posla u kućanstvu i na radnom mjestu, masovne nezaposlenosti zbog

women were more often responsible for smaller and extensive farms (owners, operators), so that agricultural policy positively influenced the development of the economy of ‘women’ and ‘men’ to different degrees. Including the gender aspect in the analysis of rural development also takes into account the different experiences of women and men and the need to carefully examine the varied impacts of rural policies on women and men.

In developed countries, the focus then has shifted from the exclusion of women from rural development to research on how women participate and contribute to rural development via farm diversification, how they engage in the rural community and contribute to maintaining the quality of life in rural areas. The rural development turn towards a participatory and bottom-up approach was supposed to lead to the empowerment of women, but research continues to reveal that women’s participation in development is not at a high level and that they are often prevented from meaningfully taking part by economic, social, and cultural factors (Bock, 2006; Dunne et al., 2021). At the level of implementing policies, studies also reveal how, for example, masculinist definitions of participation, development and innovation make women’s contributions irrelevant and invisible (Riley, 2009; Budge and Shortall, 2022; Fernández-Giménez et al., 2022;). It remains to further investigate the position of women in agriculture, especially how globalization processes, migration, climate change, and in recent years the pandemic and war in Ukraine affect, and existing policies address, women in rural areas.

Recent issues in research on women in the rural context

Feminist critique is based on the assumption that work liberates women from male domination. It focuses on data on women’s lack of employment, and also considers data on women’s weaker economic status and poorer working conditions, which are also part of their unequal social status (hooks, 2004; Tomić-Koludrović, 2015). In terms of working conditions, hooks (2004) points to the problem of underpayment, the double workload of women due to the large volume of work in the household and at work, mass unemployment due to the mis-

neusklađenosti potreba tržišta rada i obrazovanja te nedostatne socijalne skrbi. Potplaćenost žena u statistikama najčešće se očituje kao jaz u plaćama i mirovinama između muškaraca i žena gdje su primjerice žene 2018. u EU-28 zarađivale u prosjeku 16,2 % manje po satu rada od muškaraca, a mirovina im je iznosila 37,6 % manje od prosječne mirovine muškaraca (Franić i Kovačićek, 2019). U ruralnim područjima taj se jaz dodatno produbljuje za 10 % (Franić i Kovačićek, 2019; Tuitjer, 2022). Prema novim podacima Europskog instituta za ravnopravnost spolova [EIGE] (2022) žene, posebno mlade žene, nalaze se u ranjivoj skupini i zbog toga što su češće zaposlene u sektorima koji su bili najosjetljiviji na posljedice pandemije.

O višestrukoj opterećenosti žena u hrvatskom kontekstu govori Tomić-Koludrović (2015, 108) navodeći da je u socijalističkom razdoblju uslijed masovnijega zapošljavanja žena, pogotovo u terciarnom sektoru, došlo do dvostrukoga opterećenja žena zbog pokušaja balansiranja između plaćenoga rada i rada u kućanstvu. Pritom socijalistička društva nisu prošla strukturnu emancipaciju žena kao što je to bio slučaj u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama, već se smatralo da je problem rodne neravnopravnosti riješen pripuštanjem žena na tržište rada. To se dodatno intenziviralo u ratnim i poslijeratnim okolnostima kada su žene bile primorane obavljati poslove u svojoj ekonomiji da bi prehranile obitelj dok su muškarci bili na bojištu (Tomić-Koludrović, 2015).

Neusklađenost potreba tržišta rada i obrazovanja vidljiva je u nezaposlenosti na razini cijele Hrvatske te tako Bokan (2021, 89) uočava da je u razdoblju od 2011. od 2018. udio visokoobrazovanih žena među nezaposlenima bio dvostruko viši od udjela nezaposlenih visokoobrazovanih muškaraca. Bolje obrazovanje koje je danas sve dostupnije ženama ne znači automatski bolje životne uvjete (Bokan, 2021; Oedl-Wieser i dr., 2020). Podatci u više istraživanja pokazuju da je upravo dostupnost obrazovanja razlog zbog kojega žene i u drugim europskim zemljama često napuštaju ruralna područja (Peer, 2016; Wiest i dr., 2014. prema Tuitjer, 2022). U Europi žene češće od muškaraca napuštaju ruralna područja, u manjoj su mjeri uključene u tržište rada, vjerojatnije je da će biti nezaposlene te su u mnogo

match between the needs of the labour market and education, and inadequate social care. The underpayment of women is most often expressed in statistics as the wage and pension gap between men and women, whereby, for example, in 2018 women in the EU-28 earned on average 16.2% less per hour than men and their pensions were 37.6% less than men's (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). In rural areas, this gap widens by a further 10% (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019; Tuitjer, 2022). According to new data from the European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE] (2022), women, especially young women, are a particularly vulnerable group, as they are more likely to be employed in the sectors that have been most affected by the pandemic.

Tomić-Koludrović (2015, 108) examined the double burden of women in the Croatian context, noting that in the socialist period there was a double workload for women due to their mass employment, especially in the tertiary sector, as they tried to balance paid work and domestic work. At the same time, there was no structural emancipation of women in socialist societies, as was the case in Western European countries, but it was assumed that the problem of gender inequality was solved by admitting women to the labour market. This was exacerbated during the war in the 1990s and the following post-war period, when women were forced to work in the informal economy to support their families while men were on the battlefield (Tomić-Koludrović, 2015).

The discrepancy between the needs of the labour market and education is evident in unemployment across Croatia, with Bokan (2021, 89) noting that in the period from 2011 to 2018, the proportion of highly-educated women among the unemployed was twice as high as the proportion of unemployed highly-educated men. Better education, which is increasingly available to women today, does not automatically mean better living conditions (Bokan, 2021; Oedl-Wieser et al., 2020). Data from several studies show that the availability of education is the reason why women often leave rural areas in other European countries as well (Peer, 2016; Wiest et al., 2014 after Tuitjer, 2022). In Europe, women leave rural areas more often than men, are less involved in the labour market, are more likely to be unem-

većem broju zastupljene u neformalnoj ekonomiji (Franić i Kovačićek, 2019).

Mladi ljudi, posebno žene, napuštaju ruralna područja ponajviše zbog obrazovanja i posla ili im preostaju sezonski poslovi u poljoprivredi i turizmu, tvrde Schumacher i Kunz (2016). U slučaju ostanka ili povratka u ruralna područja ograničena je ponuda radnih mjesta za visokoobrazovane žene za razliku od muškaraca (Schumacher i Kunz, 2016). Zbog manjih mogućnosti zaposlenja za žene u ruralnim područjima u nekim zemljama nude se još razne alternative zapošljavanja kao što su *coworking* prostori i zajednički prostori stvaranja (engl. *maker spaces*) (Tuitjer, 2022) i skriveni potencijali ženskoga poduzetništva u sferama kulturnoga rada, poljoprivrede i ruralnoga turizma (Bembenek i dr., 2016; Rollnik-Sadowska, 2016), međutim u Hrvatskoj takve mogućnosti na ruralnim prostorima još nisu razvijene.

Statistička nevidljivost žena u ruralnom području i zasebno žena u poljoprivredi činjenica je i u Europskoj uniji, koja je za sljedeće programsko razdoblje Zajedničke poljoprivredne politike kao jedan od osam specifičnih ciljeva odredila upravo rodnu ravnopravnost s jednim od podciljeva koji će biti usmjeren na razvijanje sustavnoga prikupljanja rodno segregiranih podataka o ruralnim područjima i poljoprivrednoj djelatnosti. Iako u razdoblju 2012. – 2021. u EU-u raste zaposlenost žena u ruralnim područjima, njihova je ukupna zaposlenost u ruralnim područjima i dalje niža od zaposlenosti muškaraca te je tako 2021. bila niža za 12,3 postotna boda (za žene je iznosila 67,3 %, a za muškarce 79,6 %). Žene u većoj mjeri rade u neformalnoj ekonomiji nego muškarci, a Hrvatska ima jedan od najvećih udjela neformalnoga rada žena u poljoprivredi u Europskoj uniji (Franić i Kovačićek, 2019). Uz to žene obavljaju disproporcionalno više neplaćenoga posla i poslova u kućanstvu što dovodi do kontinuiranoga trenda da su žene globalno plaćene manje od muškaraca. Tako Eurofound (2017, 117) navodi da na razini EU-28 žene obavljaju u prosjeku 22 sata neplaćenog rada tjedno, a muškarci 9 sati.

Da bi žene mogle nesmetano obavljati plaćeni rad, potrebno je osigurati kvalitetu javne usluge, što je često izazov u ruralnim područjima (Shortall, 2015; Bembenek i dr., 2016; Rollnik-Sadowska,

employed, and are represented in the informal economy in far greater numbers (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019).

According to Schumacher and Kunz (2016), young people, especially women, leave rural areas mainly for education and work or seasonal jobs in agriculture and tourism. If they stay in or return to rural areas, there is only a limited supply of jobs for highly qualified women as opposed to men (Schumacher and Kunz, 2016). Due to fewer employment opportunities for women in rural areas, various employment alternatives are offered in some countries, such as coworking spaces and makerspaces (Tuitjer, 2022), and the hidden potential of female entrepreneurship in the fields of cultural work, agriculture and rural tourism (Bembenek et al., 2016; Rollnik-Sadowska, 2016). In Croatia, however, such opportunities have not yet been developed in rural areas.

The statistical invisibility of both rural women and farm women also exists in the European Union, for which the next programming period of the Common Agricultural Policy has set one of the eight specific objectives regarding gender equality, with one of the sub-objectives aimed at developing a systematic collection of gender-disaggregated data on rural areas and agricultural activities. Although women's employment in rural areas increased in the EU over the 2012–2021 period, their overall employment in rural areas was still lower than that of men, by 12.3% in 2021 (for women it was 67.3% and for men 79.6%). Women work in the informal economy to a greater extent than men, and Croatia has one of the highest shares of informal work by women in agriculture in the European Union (Franić and Kovačićek, 2019). In addition, women perform disproportionately more unpaid work and domestic work, leading to a persistent trend of women being paid less than men worldwide. For example, Eurofound (2017, 117) stated that at the EU-28 level, women performed an average of 22 hours of unpaid work per week, while men performed 9.

In order for women to perform paid work smoothly, quality public services must be ensured, which is often a challenge in rural areas (Shortall, 2015; Bembenek et al., 2016; Rollnik-Sadowska,

2016; Oedl-Wieser i dr., 2020; Bokan, 2021). Tradicionalno se pretpostavlja da su žene zadužene za brigu o djeci i/ili starijima i nemoćnima u obitelji, a često se i zapošljavaju na sličnim radnim mjestima. Neravnomjerna raspodjela javnih socijalnih usluga u ruralnim područjima povezana je prije svega s neadekvatnom prometnom i društvenom infrastrukturom (Shortall, 2015; Rollnik-Sadowska, 2016; Oedl-Wieser i dr., 2020), ali i nedovoljnom zastupljenošću žena u tijelima za donošenje odluka lokalnih i regionalnih jedinica, smatraju Oedl-Wieser i dr. (2020). Zbog ograničene ponude javnih usluga žene teže pronalaze posao izvan kuće, a također i vrijeme za hobije (European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE], 2022) te dugo godina izbivaju s tržišta rada što negativno utječe na njihova osiguranja, mirovine i samostalnost (Oedl-Wieser i dr. 2020). Sve je to prepreka promjeni tradicionalnoga odnosa prema ženama, posebice onim očekivanjima koja se odnose na brigu o ukućanima kao što su djeca (Bokan, 2021). Tomu svakako ne ide u prilog što su vrtići znatno dostupniji u gradovima nego ruralnim sredinama u Hrvatskoj te to što je kapacitet smještaja za starije i nemoćne osobe u nekim županijama u Hrvatskoj, poput Ličko-senjske, ispod nacionalnoga prosjeka (Bokan, 2021). Pandemija je također nepovoljno utjecala na cjelokupnu situaciju jer se povećala neformalna skrb za djecu, odnosno dugoročna skrb i rad u kućanstvu za žene (Möhring i dr., 2020 prema Tuitjer, 2022; EIGE, 2022).

Bokan (2021) razmatra još jedan važan aspekt za same žene, a to je dostupnost primarne zdravstvene zaštite, odnosno ginekoloških ordinacija za koje nisu dostupni statistički podatci s obzirom na vrstu naselja. Upravo je dostupnost spolnoga i reproduktivnoga zdravlja te reproduktivnih prava jedan od UN-ovih podciljeva (podcilj 5.6) održivoga razvoja (UN, 2017). Međutim, podatci Hrvatskog zavoda za zdravstveno osiguranje pokazuju da se svega osam ginekoloških ordinacija nalazi u općinama, a sve ostale u gradovima te da od potrebnih 335 ginekoloških timova na razini Hrvatske nedostaje čak njih 62² (Bokan, 2021, 106).

² Minimalni broj pacijentica po ginekološkom timu je 4500, a maksimalni 9000. Ako uzmemo u obzir standardni broj od 6000, teoretski možemo pretpostaviti da između 280 000 i 560 000 žena nema adekvatnu zdravstvenu zaštitu specifičnu za žene.

2016; Oedl-Wieser et al., 2020; Bokan, 2021). It is traditionally assumed that women are responsible for the care of children and/or the elderly and infirm in the family, and they are often employed in similar positions. The unequal distribution of public social services in rural areas is primarily related to inadequate transportation and social infrastructure (Shortall, 2015; Rollnik-Sadowska, 2016; Oedl-Wieser et al., 2020), but also to the insufficient representation of women in local decision-making bodies and regional units, according to Oedl-Wieser et al. (2020). Due to the limited availability of public services, it is more difficult for women to find work outside the home and to have time for hobbies (European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE], 2022). Furthermore, absence from the labour market for many years has a negative impact on their insurance, pension and independence (Oedl-Wieser et al. 2020). All of this is an obstacle to changing traditional attitudes towards women, especially expectations relating to the care of household members such as children. The fact that there are significantly more kindergartens in cities than in rural areas of Croatia and that accommodation capacities for the elderly and disabled in some counties in Croatia, such as Lika-Senj County, are below the national average, certainly does not help (Bokan, 2021). In addition, the pandemic had a negative impact on the overall situation, as informal childcare and long-term care and women's household work increased (Moehring et al., 2020 after Tuitjer, 2022; EIGE, 2022).

Bokan (2021) considered another important aspect for women, namely the availability of primary health care, i.e. gynaecological practices, for which no statistical data is available in relation to settlement type. The availability of sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights is one of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Target 5.6) (UN, 2017). However, data from the Croatian Institute of Health Insurance show that only eight gynaecological practices are located in rural areas, others being located in urban areas, and of the required 335 gynaecological teams at the Croatian level, as many as 62² are missing (Bokan, 2021, 106).

² The minimum number of patients per gynecological team is 4,500, the maximum is 9,000. If we take into account the standard number of 6,000, we can theoretically assume that between 280,000 and 560,000 women do not receive adequate women's health care.

Važna podskupina žena na selu su žene na obiteljskim poljoprivrednim gospodarstvima (žene u poljoprivredi), no to je posebna tema sa specifičnom problematikom koja zahtijeva istraživanje, stoga poljoprivredni aspekt iskustava žena u ruralnim područjima ostavljamo za buduće analize i zaseban znanstveni rad.

U ovom kratkom pregledu istraživanja i relevantnih podataka o ženama u ruralnim područjima vidljivo je da se problemi i strukturni nedostaci ponavljaju desetljećima. Tako i danas postoji nedostatak statističkoga praćenja neformalnoga ženskog rada te brojnih drugih rodno segregiranih podataka, što nam govori o izrazitoj potrebi da se više istražuje i u znanstvenim radovima snažnije sugeriraju mjere za strukturalno provođenje rodno osviještene politike.

Analiza odabranih pokazatelja rodne i ruralno-urbane neravnopravnosti

Nedostatak rodno segregiranih podataka i njihove analize velik je nedostatak i prepreka uvođenju rodno osviještenih politika. Da bi se barem dijelom nadoknadio taj manjak i potaknule slične analize, za potrebe ovoga rada provedena je sekundarna analiza na tri skupine podataka iz baze Gradovi i općine u statistici za godine 2011.–2021. (DZS, 2022a). Provedena je analiza obrazovnih podataka o diplomiranim ženama i muškarcima, podataka o zaposlenosti te o dostupnosti vrtića i broju djece koja pohađaju vrtić. Cilj je ove analize utvrditi postoji li i kolika je razlika u broju ostvarenih diploma između muškaraca i žena u ruralnim i urbanim područjima, postoji li i kolika je razlika u zaposlenosti između ruralnih i urbanih područja te kolika je dostupnost vrtića u ruralnim područjima, odnosno koliki udio djece pohađa vrtiće u ruralnim u usporedbi s urbanim područjima. Time se želi upozoriti na izrazito nejednaku dostupnost obrazovanja, zaposlenosti i socijalnih usluga (na primjeru predškolskoga odgoja) za stanovništvo, a posebno žene u ruralnom području. U odnosu na analize predočene u Bokan (2021), ovaj rad donosi nekoliko novih elemenata. Prvo, u ovdje prikazane analize uključeni su podatci s Popisa stanovništva iz 2021. te su relevantniji kao referentne brojke ukupnoga

An important subgroup of rural women are farm workers (women in agriculture), however, that is a separate topic with specific issues, that requires its own research, so the agricultural aspect of women's experiences in rural areas is left for the future analyses and a separate paper.

From this brief overview of research and relevant data on rural women, it is clear that issues and structural deficiencies have been going on for decades. To date, there is a lack of statistics on informal women's work as well as numerous other gender-disaggregated data, which points to the clear need for more research and for academic papers to propose more measures for the structural implementation of gender mainstreaming policies.

Analysis of the selected indicators of gender and rural-urban inequality

The lack of gender-disaggregated data and analysis is a major shortcoming that is one of the obstacles to the introduction of gender-equitable policies. In order to at least partially compensate for this shortcoming and to stimulate similar analyses, a secondary analysis of three datasets from the database of cities and municipalities in statistics for the 2011–2021 period was carried out in this paper (CBS, 2022a). An analysis of educational data on female and male graduates, data on employment and the availability of kindergartens, as well as the number of children attending kindergarten was conducted. The aim of this analysis was to determine whether and to what extent the number of degrees obtained differs between women and men in rural and urban areas, how employment differs in rural and urban areas, and the availability of kindergartens in rural areas, i.e. the proportion of children attending kindergarten in rural areas compared to urban areas. In this way, we wanted to highlight the extremely unequal availability of education, employment and social services (e.g. pre-school education) for the population, especially women, in rural areas. Compared to the analyses presented in Bokan (2021), this paper introduces several new elements. First, the analyses presented here include data from the 2021 census and are much more relevant as reference figures for

broja stanovnika u ruralnim i urbanim područjima, posebice zato što je Hrvatska doživjela znatne demografske promjene u desetljeću između Popisa 2011. i 2021. izazvane iseljavanjem u zemlje EU-a. U smislu znanstvenoga doprinosa u ovom se radu prepreke s kojima se žene na selu suočavaju konceptualiziraju unutar kritičke društvene teorije. U tom se kontekstu položaj žena na selu objašnjava u vidu strukturne barijere koja pokazuje strukturne odnose moći u vidu neravnopravna položaja i nejednake količine društvene moći dvaju rodova. S toga stajališta autorice se kritički osvrću na koncept ruralnoga razvoja, koji nije dovoljno rodno osjetljiv, u skladu s čim se tumače rezultati. Na koncu, ovaj rad donosi i primjenjiv doprinos nudeći konkretne prijedloge za uključivanje novih statističkih pokazatelja koje je potrebno mjeriti da bi se pratile nejednakosti na rodnoj i istovremeno ruralno-urbanoj osi, što je preduvjet kreiranja rodno osviještenih politika i aktivnijim mjerama koje ciljano smanjuju rodne neravnopravnosti općenito, ali i s posebnim naglaskom na ruralno-urbani jaz.

Metodološke napomene

U nastavku se izlaže sekundarna analiza nekoliko setova podataka za period 2011. – 2021. koji se objavljuju kao statistika u nizu u bazi podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici³ (DZS, 2022a). U predloženim analizama naglasak je na razlikama između obrazovnih postignuća (mjereno jednim od mnogih mogućih pokazatelja – brojem diploma) žena i muškaraca na ruralno-urbanoj osi. Uz napomenu iz fusnote 3 koristit će se pojmovi urbano

3 Podatci u bazi Gradovi i općine u statistici slijede administrativnu podjelu Državnog zavoda za statistiku prema kojoj se administrativne jedinice dijele na općine i gradove što ima svoja ograničenja. Podjela jedinica lokalne samouprave na gradove i općine tek dijelom i s brojnim ograničenjima omogućuje uvid u odnos između urbanih i ruralnih naselja. Temeljnu prepreku stvara činjenica da mnogi administrativni gradovi obuhvaćaju i neurbana (ruralna i mješovita/prijelazna) naselja. Stoga nije pogrešno smatrati da se podatci za općine odnose na ruralno stanovništvo, ali zaključci o urbanom stanovništvu trebali bi se donositi s oprezom jer administrativni gradovi obuhvaćaju dio stanovništva u neurbanim naseljima. S druge strane, ruralna područja oko većih gradova vjerojatnije su pod društveno-ekonomskim utjecajem tih gradova te je u tom smislu opravdana statistička podjela. Ipak, unatoč mogućim metodološkim nepreciznostima smatramo da su ovakve analize izrazito značajne jer pokazuju očigledne i goleme razlike koje postoje između ruralnih i urbanih muškaraca i žena što ih čini nedvojbeno opravdanim.

the total number of inhabitants in rural and urban areas, especially because Croatia has experienced very large demographic changes in the 2011–2021 intercensal period due to out-migration to EU countries. In terms of scientific contribution, the obstacles faced by rural women are conceptualized within the framework of critical social theory. In this context, the position of rural women is explained as a structural barrier that reveals structural power relations in terms of the unequal position and degree of social power between the two genders. From this point of view, the authors have taken a critical look at the concept of rural development, which is not sufficiently gender-sensitive, and interpreted the results accordingly. Finally, this paper makes an applicable contribution by providing concrete suggestions for the inclusion of new statistical indicators that should be measured in order to monitor gender and rural-urban inequalities simultaneously, which is a prerequisite for the creation of effective gender-sensitive policies and more active measures aimed at reducing gender inequalities in general, but also with a particular focus on the rural-urban divide.

Methodological remarks

In the following section, a secondary analysis of several data sets for the 2011–2021 period is presented, which are published as statistics in a series in the cities and municipalities in statistics³ database (CBS, 2022a). The focus of the analyses presented is on the differences between educational attainment (measured by one of many possible indicators – the number of degrees) of women and men on the

3 The data in the Cities and Municipalities in Statistics database follow the administrative division of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, according to which the administrative units are divided into municipalities and cities/towns, which is not without limitations. The administrative division of units into cities/towns and municipalities provides a somewhat limited insight into the relationship between urban and rural settlements. One fundamental obstacle is the fact that many administrative cities also include non-urban (rural and mixed/transitional) settlements. Therefore, it can be assumed that the data for municipalities refer to the rural population, but conclusions about the urban population should be drawn with caution, as administrative cities include part of the population in non-urban settlements. On the other hand, rural areas surrounding larger cities are more likely to be under the socio-economic influence of these cities, and in this sense the statistical split is justified. Despite possible methodological inaccuracies, we consider such analyses to be extremely meaningful, as they reveal obvious and large differences between rural and urban men and women.

i ruralno za podatke koji se odnose na gradove i općine.

Da bi odnos diplomiranih i zaposlenih na ruralno-urbanoj osi bio što manje podložan nepreciznostima uvjetovanima promjenom broja stanovnika u međupopisnom razdoblju, kao referentna upotrijebljena su dva posljednja popisa stanovništva, i to na način da su podatci od 2011. do 2015. stavljeni u odnos s brojem stanovnika iz 2011., a podatci od 2016. do 2021. s brojem stanovnika prema Popisu 2021.

Obrazovanje

Već niz godina podatci Statistike u nizu (DZS, 2022a) pokazuju da u Hrvatskoj više žena završava fakultete te da je od deset diplomiranih otprilike šest žena i četiri muškarca. Zanimalo nas je jesu li te razlike vidljive i ako usporedimo podatke za urbana i ruralna područja. Na 1. slici prikazane su obrazovne razlike između žena i muškaraca unutar gradova i općina pojedine županije. Nakon toga prikazano je koliko je vjerojatnije da će žena odnosno muškarac steći diplomu ovisno dolazi li iz urbanoga ili ruralnoga područja.

Ako usporedimo žene i muškarce prema broju stečenih diploma u svim županijama te posebno u ruralnim i urbanim područjima, vidimo da se udio žena s diplomom kreće oko 60 posto u odnosu na oko 40 posto muškaraca, podjednako u urbanim i ruralnim područjima. Ako promatramo ruralnu populaciju, razlike su i veće, pa tako u ruralnim područjima čak u 19 od 20 županija (Grad Zagreb tu ne ubrajamo jer nema administrativno ruralnih općina) žene na selu češće završavaju fakultete od muškaraca. Vidimo da je u Virovitičko-podravskoj i Ličko-senjskoj županiji najveća razlika između ruralnih žena i muškaraca – među onima koji su stekli diplomu u ruralnom području tih županija više je od 65 posto žena, što znači da je u desetogodišnjem razdoblju manje od 35 posto muškaraca steklo diplomu. Da bi se ti podatci ispravno protumačili, potrebna su empirijska istraživanja, kvalitativna i kvantitativna, no nadovezujući se na autorice Seferagić (2002) te Žutinić i Bokan (2008) koje su se pitale je li selo

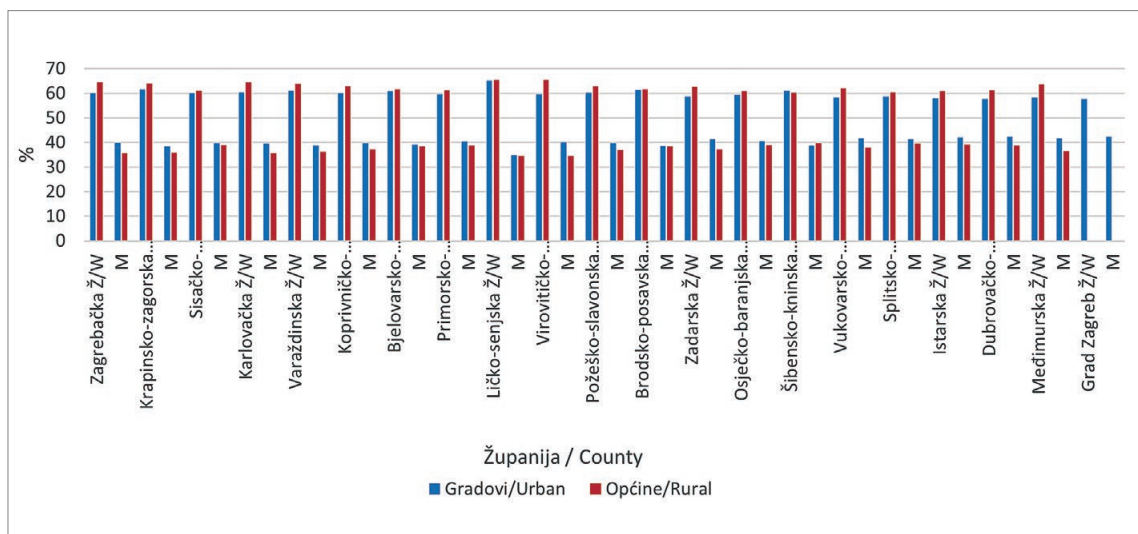
rural-urban axis. While keeping the remark from footnote 3 in mind, we will use the terms urban and rural for data referring to cities and municipalities.

In order to make the ratio of graduates to employed on the rural-urban axis less susceptible to inaccuracies due to changes in population in the intercensal period, the two most recent censuses were used as a reference, so that the 2011–2015 data are related to the 2011 Census and the 2016–2021 data are related to the population according to the 2021 census.

Education

For some years now, data from Statistics in Series (CBS, 2022a) have shown that more women than men obtain higher education in Croatia and that for every ten graduates, around six are women and four are men. We wanted to know whether these differences are also visible when we compare the data for urban and rural areas. Figure 1 shows the educational differences between women and men in the cities and municipalities of each county. This is followed by the data regarding how much more likely a woman (or a man) is to graduate depending on whether they come from an urban or rural area.

Comparing women and men by the number of degrees earned across counties and especially in urban and rural areas, we find that the percentage of women with a college degree is about 60 percent, compared to about 40 percent of men, in both urban and rural areas. If we look at the rural population, the differences are even greater, so that in rural areas, even in 19 out of 20 counties (we did not include the city of Zagreb, as it has no administratively rural municipalities), rural women are more likely to graduate from higher education than men. In Virovitica-Podravina and Lika-Senj counties, the difference between women and men in rural areas is the largest: of those who have obtained a higher education degree in these counties, more than 65% are women, which means that less than 35% of men have obtained a higher education degree in the last decade. Qualitative and quantitative empirical research is needed to properly interpret these data, but according to the authors Seferagić (2002) and Žutinić and Bokan (2008)



Sl. 1. Omjer diplomiranih žena i muškaraca u gradovima i općinama RH, 2011. – 2021.

Fig. 1 The ratio of women and men (university) graduates in urban and rural areas of the Republic of Croatia, 2011–2021

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

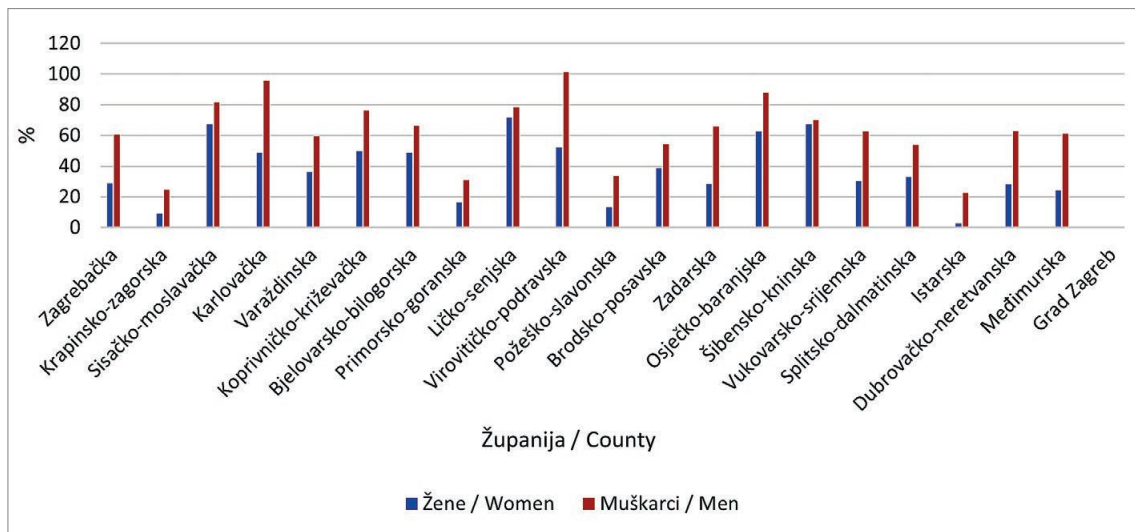
Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)

izbor samo za one koji nemaju druge mogućnosti te jesu li, između ostalih važnih čimbenika, obrazovne težnje žena strategija kojom ostvaruju veće mogućnosti izbora u daljnjem životu da ne bi bile osuđene na ostanak na selu, možemo pretpostaviti da je to jedna od prihvatljivih pretpostavaka. Vrijedilo bi također u budućim istraživanjima ispitati i brojne druge moguće čimbenike izrazitih obrazovnih razlika između žena i muškaraca na selu. U svakom slučaju, posljedice disproporcije između broja visokoobrazovanih muškaraca i žena na selu može dodatno povećati iseljavanje žena iz ruralnih područja prvenstveno zbog nepostojanja dovoljno prikladnih poslova i nedostatka podjednako obrazovanih potencijalnih bračnih partnera.

Sljedeći analizirani pokazatelj broj je stečenih diploma u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. na osi ruralno-urbano kojim se upućuje na razliku u šansama žena odnosno muškaraca da će steći diplomu ovisno o tome dolaze li iz gradova ili iz ruralnih područja. Provedena je analiza broja diplomiranih žena u ruralnim i urbanim područjima za svaku županiju u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. godine te prikazano kolika je ta razlika u šansama da će žene odnosno muškarci steći diplomu ovisno o tome dolaze li iz urbanoga ili ruralnoga područja.

who have explored whether staying in the village is a choice only for those who have no other options, and whether, among other important factors, women's educational aspirations are a strategy by which they realize greater choices for themselves, so that they are not "doomed" to stay in the village—we can assume that this is one of the plausible assumptions. It would also be worthwhile to investigate numerous other possible factors for the pronounced educational differences between rural women and men in future research. In any case, the consequences of the disparity between the number of highly educated men and women in rural areas may be further exacerbated by the out-migration of women from rural areas mainly due to the lack of adequate jobs and the lack of equally educated potential marriage partners.

The next indicator analysed is the number of degrees obtained in the 2011–2021 period on the rural-urban axis, which shows the difference in the chances of women/men to obtain a degree depending on whether they come from urban or rural areas. An analysis was conducted using number of female graduates in rural and urban areas for each county from 2011–2021, showing the difference in the chances of women and men obtaining a degree depending on whether they come from an urban or rural area.



Sl. 2. Razlika (%) između ruralnih i urbanih žena i muškaraca u stečenim diplomama, po spolu, 2011. – 2021.

Fig. 2 The difference between rural and urban areas in degrees obtained, by gender, 2011–2021

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)

Slika 2 prikazuje razliku (zbrojenu i izraženu u postotcima) u broju diplomiranih žena iz ruralnih i urbanih područja te iste te podatke za muškarce. Na slici 1 prikazano je da ruralne žene u odnosu na ruralne muškarce znatno više stječu diplome, što je u skladu s trendom u općoj populaciji RH, no ako se promotri odnos ruralnih i urbanih žena te ruralnih i urbanih muškaraca u stečenim diplomama, razlike među njima izrazito su velike. U ruralnim područjima znatno je manji postotak žena koje stječu diplomu u odnosu na urbane žene i to je slučaj u svim županijama osim u Istarskoj gdje je taj broj podjednak, svega je 2,7 posto više ruralnih žena s diplomom u usporedbi s urbanim ženama. Razlike su najveće u Ličko-senjskoj, Šibensko-kninskoj, Sisačko-moslavačkoj i Osječko-baranjskoj županiji, gdje je 60 i više posto vjerojatnije da će žena iz grada završiti fakultet nego što je to za ženu iz sela. Razlika između broja ruralnih i urbanih muškaraca još je izraženija, pa tako u Karlovačkoj, Osječko-baranjskoj i Sisačko-moslavačkoj postoji 80 posto veća šansa da će muškarac iz grada završiti fakultet nego što je to za muškarca sa sela, dok je u Virovitičko-podravskoj ta šansa veća od 100 posto. Navedeni podatci upućuju ponajprije na činjenicu da je u ruralnim područjima manje visokoobrazovanih, no još važ-

Figure 2 shows the difference (summed and expressed as a percentage) in the number of female graduates from rural and urban areas and the same data for males. In the previous figure, it was shown that women in rural areas obtain significantly more diplomas compared to men in rural areas, which corresponds to the trend in the total population of the Republic of Croatia. However, if we look at the ratio of rural and urban women and rural and urban men in terms of degrees obtained, the differences between them are extremely large. In rural areas, the percentage of women obtaining a diploma is significantly lower than that of urban women, and this applies to all counties except Istria, where the number is nearly the same—there are only 2.7% more rural women with a diploma compared to urban women. The differences are greatest in Lika-Senj, Šibenik-Knin, Sisak-Moslavina and Osijek-Baranja counties, where the probability of an urban woman obtaining a college degree is 60% (or more) higher than for a rural woman. The difference between the number of rural and urban men is even more pronounced: in Karlovac, Osijek-Baranja and Sisak-Moslavina counties, the probability of an urban man obtaining a college degree is 80 percent higher than for a rural man, while in Virovitica-Podravina it is over 100 percent. The aforementioned data primarily points to the fact that there are fewer highly educat-

niji nalaz jest da mladi iz ruralnih područja nemaju iste šanse za visoko obrazovanje kao mladi iz urbanih područja. Na taj se način produbljuje društvena nejednakost između urbanih i ruralnih područja te ostavlja ruralna područja u stagnirajućem ili, još gore, regresivnom demografskom i razvojnom stanju. Društveni, ekonomski i kulturni razvoj ruralnih područja ne može se očekivati bez socioekonomskoga napretka u obrazovanosti stanovništva, stoga bi se razvojne i demografske politike trebale usmjeriti prema povećanju jednakih prilika u visokom i drugim vrstama obrazovanja s posebnom usmjerenošću na izjednačavanje šansi za vrstu i stupanj obrazovanja na ruralno-urbanoj osi.

Zaposlenost

Podatci o zaposlenosti u bazi podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici (DZS, 2022a) nisu rodno segregirani, pa nije moguće napraviti istu vrstu analize kao za obrazovanje, tj. stjecanje sveučilišne diplome. Stoga će se usporediti zaposlenost u ruralnim i urbanim područjima bez usporedbe između muškaraca i žena. Na 3. slici autorice prikazuju broj zaposlenih na 1000 radno sposobnih stanovnika i to usporedno za ruralna i urbana područja. Ruralno-urbane razlike u zaposlenosti su drastične. Da bi se preciznije prikazale razlike u zaposlenosti između urbanih i ruralnih područja, na temelju slike 3 proizlaze podatci prikazani na slici 4 gdje je vidljiva postotna razlika između zaposlenih u urbanim i ruralnim područjima. Očito je da su razlike izrazito velike, pa tako u urbanim područjima ima 100, 200, a u barem pet županija čak 300 posto više zaposlenih nego u ruralnim područjima. To neizravno upućuje na izrazito neravnomjernu ponudu poslova na ruralno-urbanoj osi te time na neravnopravan položaj ruralnoga i urbanoga stanovništva, što se odražava i na ukupnu vitalnost lokalnih ruralnih ekonomija i zacijelo potiče stanovnike na trajno napuštanje ruralnih područja.

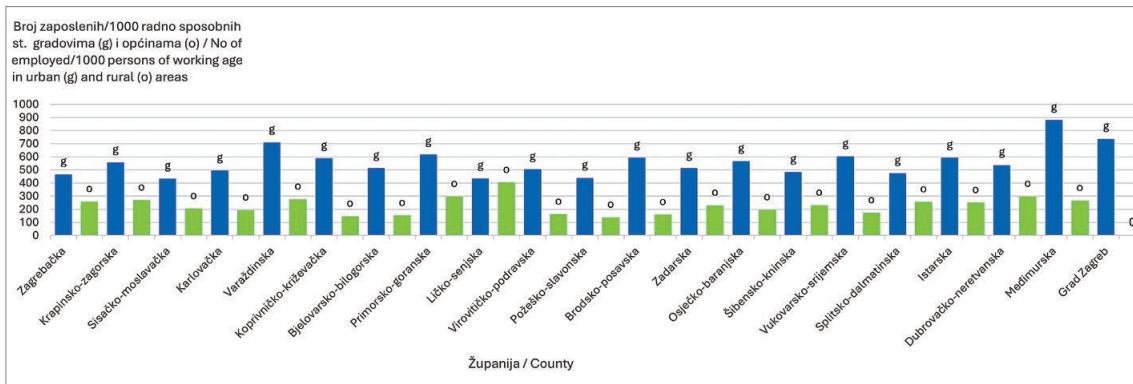
Na slikama 3 i 4 vidljivo je da su županije s najmanje zaposlenih na 1000 radno sposobnih stanovnika u ruralnim područjima iste one koje su u usporedbi s gradovima u svojoj županiji u najneravnopravnijem položaju po zaposlenosti, a

ed people in rural areas, but an even more significant finding is that young people from rural areas do not have the same opportunities for higher education as young people from urban areas. In this way, social inequality between urban and rural areas is deepening, leaving rural areas in a stagnant or, worse, declining demographic and developmental state. Social, economic and cultural development of rural areas cannot be expected without socio-economic progress in the education of the population. Therefore, development and demographic policies should be geared towards increasing equal opportunities in higher education and other education sectors, with particular attention to equalizing opportunities in terms of type and level of education on the rural-urban axis.

Employment

Data on employment in the Cities and Municipalities in Statistics database (CBS, 2022a) are not separated by gender, so it is not possible to perform the same type of analysis as for education, i.e. degree attainment. Therefore, employment in rural and urban areas is compared without making a gender comparison. In Figure 3, the authors show the number of employees per 1,000 working-age population compared between rural and urban areas. The differences in employment between urban and rural areas are dramatic. To illustrate the differences in employment between urban and rural areas in more detail, the data presented in Figure 4 is derived on the basis of Figure 3, showing the percentage difference between those employed in urban and rural areas. It can be seen that the differences are extremely large, with urban areas having 100%, 200%, and in at least five counties even 300% more employment than rural areas. This indirectly points to an extremely unequal supply of jobs on the rural-urban axis and thus to the unequal position of rural and urban populations, which is reflected in the overall vitality of the local rural economy and certainly encourages residents to leave rural areas permanently.

Based on these two figures, it is clear that the counties with the lowest number of employed persons per 1,000 working-age inhabitants in rural areas are the same ones that are the most unequal in terms of employment compared to the

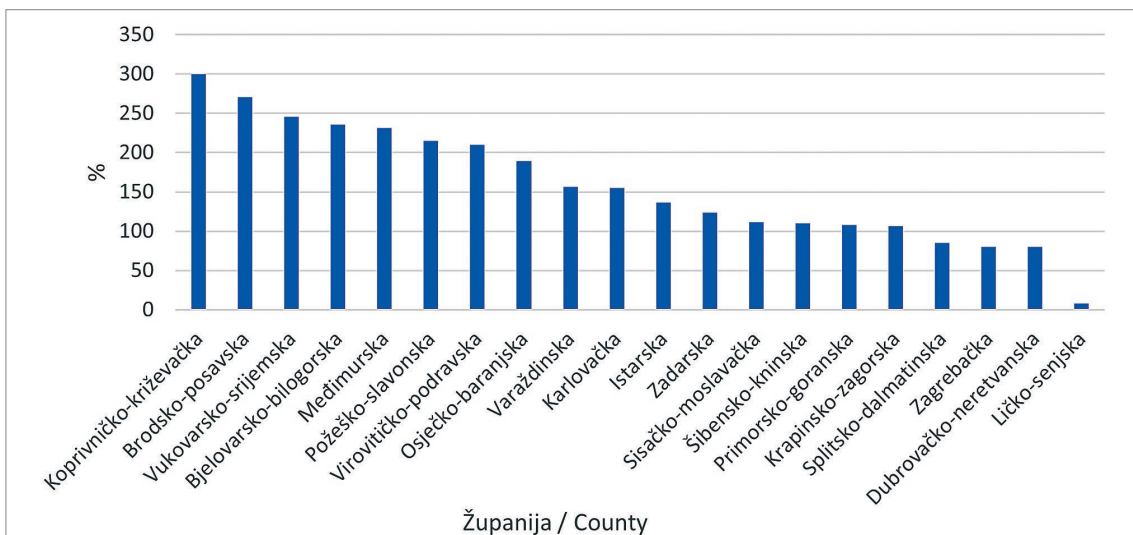


Sl. 3. Zaposleni u gradovima i općinama 2021.

Fig. 3 Employed persons in urban and rural areas

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)



Sl. 4. Razlika između zaposlenih u gradovima i općinama za 2021.

Fig. 4 Difference between number of employees in urban and rural areas

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)

to su Koprivničko-križevačka, Brodsko-posavska, Vukovarsko-srijemska te nešto zapadnije Bjelovarsko-bilogorska županija. Drugim riječima, izrazito niska zaposlenost u ruralnim područjima podudara se s niskom vjerojatnošću da će osoba iz ruralnoga područja biti zaposlena u usporedbi s osobom iz urbanoga područja. K tomu, podatci DZS-a (2022b, s.n.) o stopama nezaposlenosti po županijama (koji nisu dostupni na ruralno-urbanoj osi, ali jesu na rodnoj) pokazuju da je najveća stopa registrirane nezaposlenosti za žene bila u Virovi-

towns in their county, namely Koprivnica-Križevci, Brod-Posavina, Vukovar-Srijem counties and, a little further west, Bjelovar-Bilogora County. In other words, extremely low employment in rural areas is associated with a lower probability that a person from a rural area is employed compared to a person from an urban area. Furthermore, CBS (2022b, s.n.) data on unemployment rates by county (which are not available on the rural-urban axis but are available on the gender axis) show that ‘the highest rate of registered unemployment for women was

tičko-podravskoj i Brodsko-posavskoj s po 18,2 % te Vukovarsko-srijemskoj županiji sa 17,5 %, što je za 9,3, odnosno 8,6 postotnih bodova više od registrirane stope nezaposlenosti za žene u Republici Hrvatskoj (koja iznosi 8,9 %). Manja zaposlenost u „ruralnijim” županijama prisutna je zbog demografskoga starenja ruralnog stanovništva, ali se također može tumačiti kroz pretpostavku da manji gradovi, koji bi trebali biti vitalna središta ruralnih područja, nemaju ekonomsku snagu da ponude dovoljan broj i raznolikost poslova za ruralne općine u okruženju, stoga bi razvojne politike trebale ići i u smjeru razvoja malih gradova koji bi za žene i muškarce ruralnih područja bili nosioci obrazovanja, zaposlenosti i kvalitete društvenoga života. Društvene i ekonomske mogućnosti u ruralnim i urbanim područjima izrazito su velike i upućuju na potrebu za sustavnijim praćenjem podataka uvođenjem novih pokazatelja (zaposlenosti, nezaposlenosti, neformalnoga rada) koji bi trebali biti dostupni istovremeno po rodnoj i po ruralno-urbanoj osi. Tek na temelju preciznih rodno i ruralno-urbano osjetljivih podataka može se očekivati da će razvojne politike biti usmjerene na odgovarajući način.

Djeca u vrtićima

Neizravni pokazatelj nevidljivoga rada žena nezaobilazan u analizi položaja žena općenito u društvu i posebno na tržištu rada jest pohađanje vrtića za djecu predškolske dobi. Podatci za Hrvatsku (EIGE, 2023) pokazuju da se 39 % žena u odnosu na 28 % muškaraca svaki dan brine za djecu, starije ili nemoćne osobe. Na razini EU-a ekvivalentni podatci iznose 34 i 25 posto. Što se tiče brige za djecu predškolske dobi, prethodne analize (Bokan, 2021) na podacima do 2018. pokazale su da je u Hrvatskoj izrazito nizak postotak djece koja pohađaju vrtić. Ovdje prikazujemo novije podatke koji pokazuju da se situacija od 2018. promijenila nabolje, tj. prema većem broju vrtića te prema većem broju djece koja pohađaju vrtiće.

Žene i dalje snose većinu brige za članove kućanstva, što je u pravilu nevidljiv, neprepoznat i neplaćen posao. Najčešće su to briga za malo-

recorded in Virovitica-Podravina and Brod-Posavina counties at 18.2 % each” and in Vukovar-Srijem County at 17.5 %, which is 9.3% and 8.6% above the registered unemployment rate, respectively. 8.6% above the registered unemployment rate for women in the Republic of Croatia (8.9%)’. The lower employment in the more “rural” counties is due to the demographic aging of the rural population but can also be interpreted by assuming that the small towns, which should be vibrant rural centres, do not have the economic strength to provide a sufficient number and variety of jobs for the surrounding rural communities. Therefore, development policy should be directed towards the development of small towns that would be providers of education, employment and social quality of life for women and men in rural areas. The social and economic opportunities in rural and urban areas are considerable and require more systematic monitoring of data and the introduction of new indicators (employment, unemployment, informal work), which should be available simultaneously by gender and along the urban-rural axis. Only on the basis of accurate gender-specific and district-based data can development policies be appropriately targeted.

Children in kindergarten

An indirect indicator of the invisible work of women, which is essential for the analysis of the position of women in society in general and in the labour market in particular, is the kindergarten attendance for preschool children. Data for Croatia (EIGE, 2023) show that 39% of women compared to 28% of men care for children, elderly or infirm people on a daily basis. At the EU level, the corresponding figures are 34% and 25%. In terms of care for pre-school children, previous analyses (Bokan, 2021) based on data up to 2018 have shown that an extremely low percentage of children attend kindergarten in Croatia. Here we present more recent data that gives an insight into the fact that the situation has improved significantly since 2018 and a greater number of kindergartens and a greater number of children are attending kindergarten.

Women still bear most of the burden of caring for household members, which is mostly invisible, unrecognized and unpaid. In most cases, this involves the

ljetnu djecu te starije i nemoćne osobe. Jedan od načina da se poveća vidljivost i vrednovanje te vrste rada te da se rastereti žene jest dostupnost javnih ustanova za predškolski odgoj te domova za starije i nemoćne osobe. Dostupnost ustanova za predškolski odgoj također je jedan od važnih preduvjeta za povećanje broja žena aktivnih na tržištu rada, za pokretanje poduzetničkih pothvata ili pronalaženje posla izvan kućanstva (Bokan, 2021). Istraživanja u Hrvatskoj (Šikić-Mićanović, 2012; Tomić-Koludrović, 2015) pokazuju da dio žena i dalje smatra da je sramota upisati djecu u vrtić ako su one nezaposlene ili pak borave u kući (domaćice, one koje rade na obiteljskom poljoprivrednom gospodarstvu). K tomu, vrtići su u Hrvatskoj još uvijek dostupniji u gradovima nego u ruralnim područjima. No, pozitivni pomaci postoje i oni su najizraženiji upravo u posljednjih nekoliko godina.

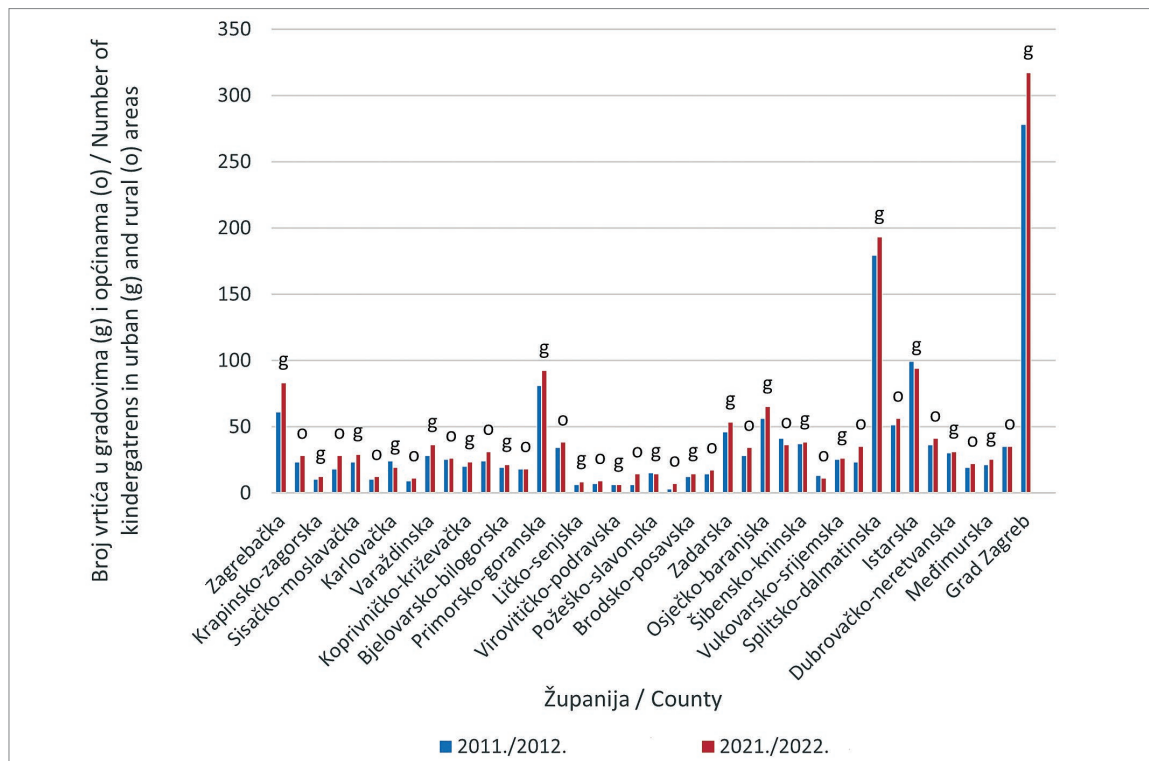
Tako se broj općina bez vrtića u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. smanjio za 37 posto, tj. pao je sa 108 na 68 općina bez te usluge (DZS, 2022a) te danas otprilike šestina općina (16 % od ukupno 428 općina) nema takvu vrstu usluge. Nepostojanje vrtića sigurno nije jedini razlog depopulacije u Hrvatskoj, no značajan je pokazatelj koji se rijetko spominje. Ukupno stanovništvo u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. smanjilo se za 9,64 %, no u općinama bez vrtića stanovništvo se smanjilo više nego četverostruko, za visokih 42,65 %. Ako promatramo broj djece od 0 do 6 godina u razdoblju 2011. – 2021., njihov broj smanjio se za 17 posto, s tim da se u urbanim područjima njihov broj smanjio za 14 %, a u ruralnim za 24 % (izračun na temelju DZS, 2022a).

Ukupno na razini RH porastao je i postotak djece od 0 do 6 godina starosti koja pohađaju vrtić, pa je tako 2011./2012. vrtić pohađalo 42,9 % djece, dok se 2021./2022. taj postotak popeo na 58 % (DZS, 2022a). Također, u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. znatno se povećao postotak vrtićke djece i u gradovima i u općinama. Tako je 2011. u gradovima svega četiriju županija bilo više od 50 % djece u vrtićima, dok 2021. postotak djece ukupno gledajući u gradovima svih županija premašuje 50 %. Ako promatramo promjene u općinama, tj. ruralnim područ-

care of underage children as well as the elderly and infirm. One of the ways to increase the visibility and appreciation of this work and to relieve the burden on women is the availability of public services for preschool education and homes for the elderly and infirm. The availability of such public services for preschool education is also one of the important conditions for increasing the number of women who are active in the labour market, i.e. who want to start businesses or look for work outside the household (Bokan, 2021). Research in Croatia shows (Šikić-Mićanović, 2012; Tomić-Koludrović, 2015) that some women still find it shameful to enrol their children in kindergarten if they are unemployed or stay at home mothers (e.g. housewives, or women who work on family farms). Moreover, in Croatia, there are still more kindergartens in the cities than in rural areas. However, there are also positive developments that have been particularly pronounced in recent years.

For example, the number of municipalities without kindergartens has decreased by 37 percent in the 2011–2021 period, i.e. from 108 to 68 municipalities without this kind of service (CBS, 2022a), so that (at the time of writing) about one-sixth of municipalities (16% of a total of 428 municipalities) do not have this type of service. The lack of kindergartens is certainly not the only reason for depopulation in Croatia, but it is an important indicator that is rarely mentioned. The total population has decreased by 9.64% in the period 2011–2021, but in municipalities without kindergartens, the population has more than quadrupled, namely by 42.65%. Looking at the number of children aged 0–6 years, their number decreased by 17% in the period 2011–2021, with their number decreasing by 14% in urban areas and 24% in rural areas (calculation based on CBS, 2022a).

Overall, the percentage of children aged 0 to 6 years attending kindergarten has also increased at the level of the Republic of Croatia, so that in 2011/2012 42.9 percent of children attended kindergarten, while in 2021/2022 this proportion increased to 58 percent (CBS, 2022a). The proportion of children in nursery schools also increased significantly in both cities and municipalities in the 2011–2021 period. In 2011, for example, more than 50 percent of children in the cities of only four counties attended kindergarten, while in 2021 the proportion of children in the cities of all counties is over 50% overall. Looking at the changes in rural



Sl. 5. Broj vrtića u gradovima i općinama 2011./2012. i 2021./2022.

Fig. 5. Number of kindergartens in cities and municipalities in 2011/2012 and 2021/2022

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

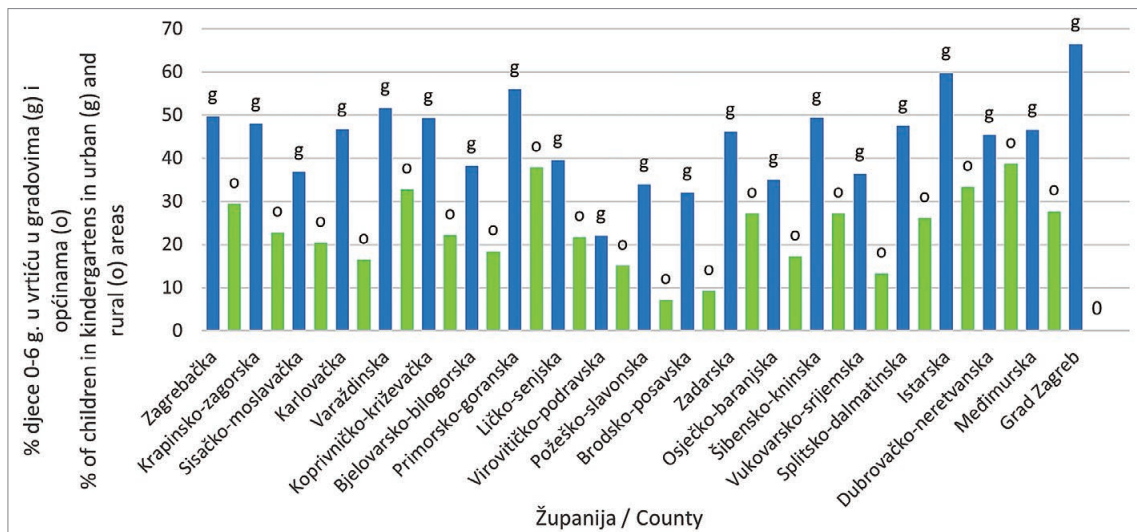
Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)

jima, one su relativno velike. Tako 2011. u čak 11 županija udio djece u vrtićima nije prelazio ili je jedva prelazio 20 %, u narednih je pet taj postotak bio oko 30 %, a u svega četiri županije prelazio je 30 %. U proteklih deset godina ti su postotci porasli u ruralnim područjima svih županija te se za većinu ti postotci za 2021./2022. kreću između 30 i 50 posto predškolske djece u vrtićima. Na slici 5 prikazuje se dostupnost ustanova za predškolski odgoj u ruralnim i urbanim područjima županija RH, a potom slijedi analiza udjela djece predškolske dobi koja po- hađa vrtić (slike 6 i 7).

Povećanje broja dječjih vrtića jedan je od ključ- nih elemenata i demografske i razvojne politike, posebice u ruralnim područjima. Smanjen broj općina bez vrtića unatrag nekoliko godina upu- ćuje na osvještavanje lokalnih politika o važnosti ove usluge za osiguravanje kvalitete života mladih obitelji, no i za sam demografski opstanak rural-

areas, they are relatively large. In 2011, the proportion of children in nursery schools was not or only just over 20 percent in 11 counties, in the following five counties this proportion was around 30 percent and in four counties it exceeded 30 percent. Over the last ten years, these percentages have risen in the rural areas of all counties, and for most of them these percentages for 2021/2022 are between 30% and 50% of pre-school children in nursery schools. The Figure 5 shows the availability of facilities for pre-school education in rural and urban areas of the counties of the Republic of Croatia, followed by an analysis of the percentage of pre-school children attending kindergarten (Figure 6 and 7).

Increasing the number of kindergartens is one of the key elements of demographic and development policy, especially in rural areas. The decrease in the number of municipalities without kindergartens in the last decade shows that local governments are aware of the importance of this service for the quality of life of young families, but also for the demographic survival of rural areas

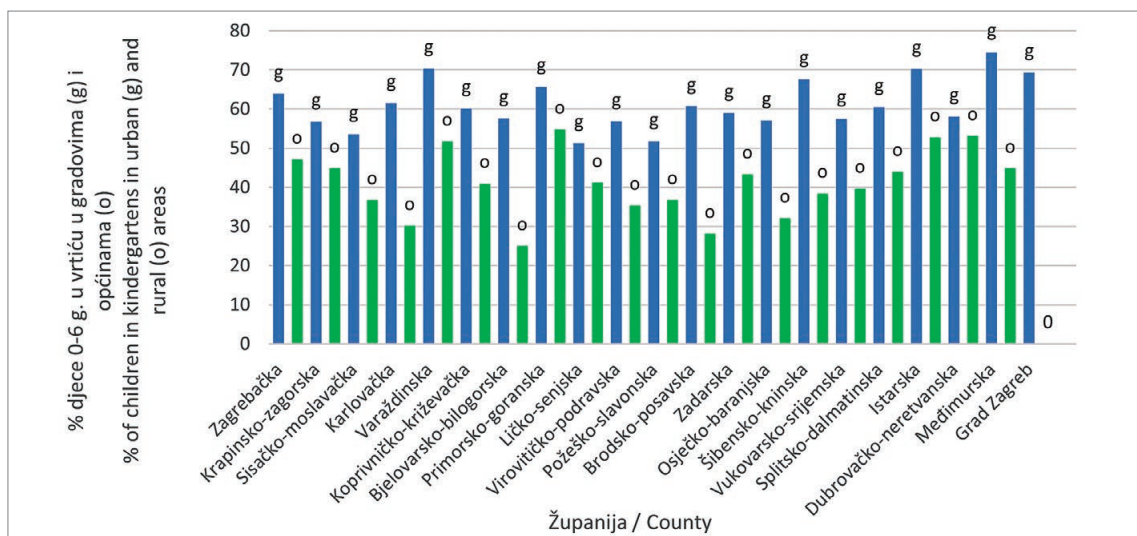


Sl. 6. Djeca u vrtiću 2011./2012.

Fig. 6 Children in kindergarten 2011/2012

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)



Sl. 7. Djeca u vrtiću 2021./2022.

Fig. 7 Children in kindergarten 2021/2022

Izvor: autorski prikaz temeljem podataka Gradovi i općine u statistici, 2011. – 2021. (DZS, 2022a)

Source: author's presentation based on the data from Cities and Municipalities in Statistics, 2011–2021 (CBS, 2022a)

nih područja u Hrvatskoj. Međutim, to je i dalje relativno spor napredak, posebno kada uzmemo u obzir da se u ruralnim područjima broj djece drastično smanjio, gotovo za četvrtinu. To govori da su javne usluge koje bi ženama olakšale izlazak na tržište rada samo mali djelić preduvjeta koji bi

in Croatia itself. However, this is still relatively slow progress. Especially when we consider that the number of children in rural areas has fallen drastically, by almost one-quarter. This means that the public services that would facilitate women's access to the labour market are only a small part of the conditions that should be rapid-

se na razvojnoj razini trebali ubrzano mijenjati da bi se postigla i veća rodna i ruralno-urbana ravnopravnost.

Zaključak

Na temelju sekundarne analize podataka DZS-ove baze *Gradovi i općine u statistici za razdoblje od 2011. do 2021.* utvrđeno je nekoliko pokazatelja neravnopravnosti na ruralno-urbanoj osi. U prethodnim istraživanjima o ruralnim područjima u Hrvatskoj i izvan nje često se navodi nejednaka dostupnost zaposlenja, obrazovanja i drugih javnih usluga u ruralnim područjima. Ovim se radom pokazalo kolike su te razlike u Hrvatskoj u razdoblju između dvaju popisa stanovništva.

Uz ruralno-urbane razlike pri obrazovanju se promatraju i rodne razlike koje su unatoč manjku rodne segregacije podataka o zaposlenosti svakako prisutne i kod drugih dvaju pokazatelja jer izravno utječu na život ruralnih žena. Analizirani podatci tako pokazuju da žene u ruralnim područjima češće stječu diplomu od muškaraca u istim područjima. No na ruralno-urbanoj osi žene na selu izrazito su deprivilegirane. Žene na selu rjeđe stječu diplomu od žena u gradu, kojima su šanse da će završiti fakultet, u nekim dijelovima Hrvatske, do oko 60 % veće u usporedbi sa ženama na selu. Ono što ne znamo, a valjalo bi istražiti, jest kolike su razlike u upisanima na fakultet, tj. upisuju li žene na selu u manjem postotku fakultet ili od njega u većoj mjeri odustaju nakon upisa. Kod muškaraca je ta razlika još izraženija i u nekim županijama šanse su za stjecanje diplome muškaraca u gradovima u odnosu na muškarce na selu 80 pa do čak 100 % veće.

Analiza podataka o zaposlenosti upućuje na to da u urbanim područjima ima od 100 do 300 % više zaposlenih nego u ruralnim područjima. Podatci o dostupnosti javnih usluga na primjeru dječjih vrtića pokazuju pozitivne pomake koji se očituju u smanjenju broja općina bez vrtića za 37 % u razdoblju 2011. – 2021. Štoviše, dok je udio djece u vrtićima 2011. rijetko prelazio 30 %, ti se postotci 2021./2022. u ruralnim dijelovima većine županija kreću između 40 i 50 %. Među-

ly changed at the development level in order to achieve greater gender equality and equality between urban and rural areas.

Conclusion

Based on a secondary analysis of data from the CBS Cities and municipalities in Statistics in series database for the period from 2011 to 2021, the authors have identified several indicators of inequality on the rural-urban axis. Previous research on rural areas in Croatia and abroad often mentions the unequal availability of employment, education and other public services in rural areas. This paper shows the extent of these differences in Croatia in the intercensal period.

In addition to the differences between urban and rural areas, gender differences are also found in the education data, which, despite the lack of gender segregation in the employment data, are certainly also present in these other two indicators, as they directly affect the lives of rural women. The data analysed thus show that women in rural areas are more likely to obtain a college degree than men in the same areas. However, on the rural-urban axis, rural women are extremely underprivileged. Rural women are less likely to earn a college degree than urban women, where the likelihood of earning a college degree for urban women is 60% higher when compared to rural women. What we do not know and should be investigated is how much of a difference there is among those who attend college, i.e. whether rural women also attend college at a lower rate or whether they drop out at a higher rate after enrolling. For men, this difference is even more pronounced, with some counties having 80% and even 100% variance.

An analysis of employment data shows that there are 100–300 percent more people employed in urban areas than in rural areas. As far as data on the availability of public services, e.g. kindergartens, is concerned, positive developments can be observed, which are reflected in the 37% reduction in the number of municipalities without kindergartens in the period 2011–2021. While the percentage of children in kindergarten was rarely above 30% in

tim, broj djece u ruralnim područjima smanjio se gotovo za četvrtinu u međupopisnom razdoblju, stoga je potrebno daleko sveobuhvatnije promišljati politike razvoja ruralnoga područja. Naime, vrtiči su samo mali dio potrebnih dubinskih promjena.

Rodna neravnopravnost dodatno se potvrđuje institucionalnim, zakonskim i društvenim praksama. Na temelju provedene analize nedvojbeno je da se mogućnosti za žene u ruralnim područjima svakako trebaju povećati u području dostupnosti zaposlenja, obrazovanja i javnih usluga. Na temelju utvrđenoga ruralno-urbanog jaza u ovom radu, bilo bi potrebno u daljnjim istraživanjima utvrditi koji su uzroci toliko duboka jaza te uz to započeti sa stvaranjem institucionalnih i administrativnih preduvjeta za stvaranje dobrih radnih uvjeta te poticati zapošljavanje i samozapošljavanje žena, primjerice kroz poduzetništvo, posebice ono izvan tradicionalno uvriježenih ženskih poslova i rodni uloga. Također valja promisliti jesu li Hrvatskoj potrebne drugačije obrazovne politike te propitati jesu li sadašnji sveučilišni programi prikladni za obrazovanje stručnjaka za probleme i mogućnosti s kojima se suočavaju ruralna područja. Naime, sadašnji podatci govore da fakultetsko obrazovanje u pravilu „odvlači” mlade iz ruralnih područja pa je pitanje trebaju li nam, uz postojeće, i drugačiji obrazovni ciljevi prilagođeni različitim potrebama ruralnih i urbanih područja.

U svakom slučaju, otvaranjem ustanova za predškolski odgoj i domova za starije i nemoćne žene bi u većoj mjeri mogle sudjelovati na tržištu rada. Uz to, uloga žena i njihova rada u kućanstvu, neformalnoj ekonomiji i poljoprivredi trebala bi postati društveno priznata i statistički mjerena. Jedan od načina da se to postigne jest povećati pristup žena vlasništvu nad nekretninama, obiteljskim poljoprivrednim gospodarstvima i kontroli nad zemljištem. Drugi način kojim bi ženski rad dobio na vidljivosti mogao bi biti uvođenje statističkoga praćenja dosad neplaćenoga rada žena u domaćinstvu i poljoprivrednim gospodarstvima. Da bi se naposljetku uvriježeni tradicionalni stavovi prema ženama i njihovim rodnim ulogama promijenili i dubinski ostvarila

2011, these percentages will be between 40% and 50% in rural parts of most counties in 2021/2022. However, the number of children in rural areas has fallen by almost one-quarter in the intercensal period, so a more comprehensive rethink of rural development policy is required. After all, kindergartens are only a small part of the far-reaching changes needed.

Gender inequality is further reinforced by institutional, legal and social practices. On the basis of the analysis carried out, there is no doubt that it is essential to improve opportunities for women in rural areas in terms of access to employment, education and public services. Based on the urban-rural divide identified in this paper, it would be necessary to carry out further research to identify the causes of such a deep divide and also to start creating the institutional and administrative conditions to create good working conditions and to promote women's employment and self-employment, for example through entrepreneurship, especially outside the traditionally-defined female professions and gender roles. It is also necessary to consider whether Croatia needs a different education policy and to question whether the current university programs for the education of professionals are suitable for the problems and opportunities of rural areas. Indeed, current data show that higher education generally 'draws' young people away from rural areas, so the question arises as to whether we need other educational goals in addition to the existing ones, tailored to the possibly different needs of rural and urban areas.

The provision of services for pre-school education and homes for the elderly and infirm would allow women to participate more fully in the labour market. In addition, the role of women and their work in the household, in the informal economy and in agriculture should be socially recognized and statistically recorded. One of the ways to achieve this is to improve women's access to property ownership, family farming and land management. Another way that would make women's work more visible could be the introduction of statistical monitoring of women's hitherto unpaid work in the household and in agriculture. Ultimately, to change traditional attitudes towards women and their gen-

rodna ravnopravnost, potrebna bi bila sustavna primjena rodno osviještenih politika u različitim područjima, od načina zapošljavanja do osnaživanja žena da se uključe u upravljanje i donošenje odluka u lokalnim zajednicama, to jest njihovo osnaživanje za sudjelovanje u političkim procesima.

Uz rodno osviještene politike potrebne su nam i ruralno osviještene politike koje u kreiranju mjera uzimaju u obzir specifičnost ruralnih područja te im prilagođavaju politike da bi se ostvarili kvalitetniji i ravnopravniji uvjeti za život. Na koncu, da bi buduća istraživanja mogla dubinski objašnjavati, a provedbene politike adekvatno se usmjeriti na poboljšavanje kvalitete života žena (i muškaraca) u ruralnim područjima, potrebno je, između ostaloga, uvesti rodno osviještene i ruralno osviještene statističke pokazatelje kojima bi se sustavno pratila obilježja i promjene u položaju žena u ruralnim područjima. Jedan od pokazatelja jest istovremeno praćenje zaposlenosti i nezaposlenosti po spolu i po ruralno-urbanoj osnovi, što se ovim radom utvrdilo da nedostaje. Također treba pratiti neformalan rada žena u poljoprivredi i izvan nje te brojnih drugih pokazatelja. Nadalje, nije dovoljno tek prikupljati statističke podatke, već ih je potrebno i sustavno analizirati i na takvim analizama temeljiti pravovremene mjere kojima bi se ciljali upravo oni elementi neravnopravnosti na koje su statistička praćenja upozorila. U suprotnom, ako podatci ne postoje ili pak postoje, ali se analize ostavljaju slučajnom interesu pojedinih istraživača dok istovremeno nema mjera kojima bi se utvrđene neravnopravnosti na rodnoj i ruralno-urbanoj osi ciljano umanjile, možemo očekivati daljnje produbljenje ruralno-urbanoga jaza, odnosno demografsko i društveno praznjenje ruralnih područja.

Želimo iskreno zahvaliti Anti Turudiću na pomoći sa statističkom analizom bez čega ovaj rad ne bi bio moguć. Također, zahvaljujemo recenzentima koji su svojim sugestijama pridonijeli da rad bude jasniji i koherentniji.

der roles and achieve profound gender equality, systematic implementation of gender-specific policies would be needed in various areas, from the nature of employment to the empowerment of women to participate in governance and decision-making in local communities, i.e. their empowerment to participate in political processes.

In addition to a gender-specific policy, we also need a rural policy that takes into account the specificities of rural areas when drawing up measures and adapts policies to them in order to achieve better and more equal living conditions in rural areas. In order for future research to be able to explain in depth the quality of life of women (and men) in rural areas and for the implementation of policies to be adequately geared towards improving the quality of life of women (and men) in rural areas, it is necessary, among other things, to introduce gender and rural statistical indicators that can systematically monitor the characteristics and changes in the position of women in rural areas. One of these indicators is the monitoring of employment and unemployment by both gender and rural-urban axis, which has been established in this paper to be missing. It is also necessary to monitor women's informal work outside and in agriculture, as well as numerous other indicators. Furthermore, it is not enough to collect statistical data, the data must also be systematically analysed and based on these analyses, timely measures must be taken that precisely target the elements of inequality that have emerged from statistical monitoring. Otherwise, if the data is not available, or if it is available but the analyses are left to the random interest of individual researchers and no action is taken to reduce the inequalities identified on the gender and rural-urban axis, we can expect a further deepening of the rural-urban divide as well as continual rural out-migration and social decline of rural areas.

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N. Bokan
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Neravnopravnost na ruralno-urbanoj osi: žene u ruralnim područjima

Inequality on the rural-urban axis: women in rural areas

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