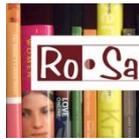




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Country Report Croatia

Gender Pay Gap in Croatia

Background Information to Develop New Solutions for an Old Problem

Dora Levačić, Tajana Broz

Country Report prepared for the project:

“Gender Pay Gap: New Solutions for an Old Problem. Developing Transnational Strategies Together with Trade Unions and Gender Equality Units to Tackle the Gender Pay Gap“

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COUNTRY REPORT

PART I: General information

Country:	Croatia
Experts name(s):	Dora Levačić
	Tajana Broz

General overview (cross-sector)

Name	Organisational background	Function
Mario Iveković	<p>Croatian Association of Trade Unions (HURS) was founded in 1990 as an expression of workers organized in independent, mostly newly established trade unions from companies from all over Croatia, in an atmosphere of war and the radical and economic changes that have also resulted with the pluralism of trade union scene. The aim of HURS is to assemble the Croatian workers regardless of their political, racial, national or religious affiliation in order to achieve economic and social objectives and political principles of HURS. The fundamental task of HURS is to collectively negotiate and conclude collective agreements at all levels of activity.</p> <p>As a confederation, or, according to the terminology of the Labor Law, higher-level association, HURS gathers trade unions which operate mainly in shipbuilding, metallurgy, petroleum and chemical industry,</p>	Chairman of the New Union and Head of the County Office of the Croatian Association of Trade Unions of the City of Zagreb

	<p>port activities, agriculture and food industry, commerce, catering, tourism, insurance, transport and communications, public administration and pre-school education. Besides the trade unions organized in the companies or businesses, HURS brings together local and regional unions, which allow the representation of the workers' interests in almost all sectors and all over Croatia.</p> <p>The New Union was founded in 2002 in Zagreb as a trade union of general type, which means that it gathers and organizes workers in all industries and sectors throughout the country. The New Union sees the meaning of syndicalism in the unification and not fragmentation of workers, and wants the consolidation of the trade union movement transcending professional and territorial divisions.</p> <p>The idea of union organizing for the New Union is based on decision-making from the bottom, so that the basic organizational forms of the Union are the branches established at the level of companies and institutions, as well as cities. This provides support and encouragement to the autonomy of subsidiaries, strengthening their organizational capacity and their connection with other branches of the New Union. At this point, the New Union gathers members from around 100 subsidiaries, and has established a trade union representation in 18 companies and institutions, 2 cities (Karlovac and Ravna Gora) and in activities of humanitarian demining.</p>	
Tomislav Kiš	The New Union was founded in	The Secretary of the New Union

	<p>2002 in Zagreb as a trade union of general type, which means that it gathers and organizes workers in all industries and sectors throughout the country. The New Union sees the meaning of syndicalism in the unification and not fragmentation of workers, and wants the consolidation of the trade union movement transcending professional and territorial divisions.</p> <p>The idea of union organizing for the New Union is based on decision-making from the bottom, so that the basic organizational forms of the Union are the branches established at the level of companies and institutions, as well as cities. This provides support and encouragement to the autonomy of subsidiaries, strengthening their organizational capacity and their connection with other branches of the New Union. At this point, the New Union gathers members from around 100 subsidiaries, and has established a trade union representation in 18 companies and institutions, 2 cities (Karlovac and Ravna Gora) and in activities of humanitarian demining.</p>	
Višnja Ljubičić	<p>The Ombudsperson works independently and autonomously, monitors the implementation of the Gender Equality Law and other regulations concerning gender equality. The Ombudsperson reports to the Croatian Parliament at least once a year. The Ombudsperson acts upon the discrimination complaints on the grounds of sex, marital or family status, and sexual orientation.</p>	Ombudswoman for Gender Equality
Tamara Šterk	The Office for Gender Equality	Advisor to the Government's

	<p>was established on February 3rd, 2004 based on the Regulation of the Croatian Government (Official Gazette 18/04) as an expert service of the Croatian Government for the performance of professional and administrative tasks relating to the goal of gender equality in Croatia.</p>	Office for Gender Equality
Ivana Matic	<p>Women in Adria is a brand and an online magazine for female entrepreneurs, corporate women, and women who want to have a more successful career in any kind of field.</p>	Founder and editor of the Women in Adria website
Nataša Novaković	<p>The Croatian Employers Association (HUP) was established in 1993 as a voluntary, non-profit and independent association of employers that protects and promotes the rights and interests of its members. HUP has been involved since 1994 as the sole representative of employers in the work of the Economic and Social Council at the national level as the highest form of tripartite social dialogue in Croatia. HUP, as an independent representative of the employers, through the Labor Act of 1996 coming into force, is given a legitimate right to collective bargaining and collective agreements.</p> <p>HUP's 30 regional offices are representing specific interests of different industries.</p> <p>Since 2012, HUP is the headquarters of the UN's initiative Global Compact Croatia, thus promoting the principal of corporate social responsibility amongst its members.</p>	Advisor to the director general of the Croatian Employers Association for the Labor Market and Human Resources Development, and the coordinator of the Global Impact Croatia.

Ivana Pirin	Commission for Gender Equality of the Bjelovarsko-bilogorska County	President
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■ Wage-setting mechanisms

In Croatia wages are determined via collective bargaining whose institutional and legal framework is regulated with Labor Law, while public sector wages are unilaterally set by the Government. Monopoly on collective bargaining in the name of workers holds up syndicates and high level associations of syndicates. Also, only one employer by themselves or association of employers can negotiate in the name of employers. In Croatia there are 313 registered syndicates with 4 syndical confederations, which indicates high level of fragmentation of syndical scene despite relatively high rate of syndical density of the 35%. This is the data from 2010. However, during the period of transition, the rate of syndical density in Croatia is at continuous decline. Also, there are accentuated differences in the syndical density between public and private sector: according to the data from 2010, the rate of syndical density for public sector is 68.1%, and for private sector only 16.8 (Bagić, 2010). Total number of registered employer's associations is about ten times smaller than the number of registered syndicates, and there is only one employer's association (Hrvatska udruga poslodavaca, HUP – Croatian Employers Association) which is representative on the national level, and which represents employers at the tripartite institutes.

The collective agreement determines the minimum basic salary, basic salary, incentive pay, salary increases for length of service and the conditions for exercising the right to increased salary (for overtime, night work, work on Sundays, etc.).

The most important tripartite institute is the Economic and Social Council of Croatia which was established for protection and promotion of economic and social workers' and employers' rights, for keeping harmonized economic, social and development policy, and for encouraging the conclusion and application of collective contracts. Economic and Social Council is composed of Government representatives, high level employer's association (Croatian Employer's Association) and of high level syndicate associations (four syndical confederations) for whom is, within the corresponding law or some other file, determined the fulfillment of prescribed conditions about the way of assessment of representativeness for participation in tripartite institutes on the national level.

Collective bargaining is possible on domestic, regional, sectoral and national level. However, collective bargaining in Croatia is, as in other post-socialist countries, marked with distinct decentralization, as indicated by data on the dominant share (88%) of collective domestic agreements within collective bargaining valid on the national level, with only 12% of sectoral collective bargaining (that is, bargaining which regulates working conditions in a significant number of employers on one level activities). The dominance of domestic collective bargaining indicates the fact that of 845 collective agreements registered with the Ministry of the Economy, Labor and Business in 2009, big part of them is signed on the cantonal level, and only 160 on the national level (Bagić, 2010).

About 60% of workers in Croatia are covered with some sort of collective agreement. But, it's important to consider expressed difference between public and private sector, and also the fact that this is only an evaluation, because in Croatia there is no base of collective bargaining. In the public sector (state enterprises and public services) collective bargaining coverage is estimated on more than 70%, while collective bargaining coverage at the private sector is about 44% (Bagić, 2010). However, considering significant job losses,

especially in the construction and trade sector, because of the economic crises, it is estimated that the collective bargaining coverage at the private sector will fall below the recorded level (Šeperić, 2014).

Bagić (2010) found a positive relation between high level of syndical organization in the public sector and the relative level of wages, that is – between the lower level of syndical organization in the private sector and lower wage. Since women are more represented in the public sector, they are located in a more favorable position because of bigger collective bargaining coverage and bigger syndical density (estimation of syndical density of the female workforce is 39.7%, and of male workforce is 31.2%). However, collective bargaining so far has not proved effective in preventing gender discrimination and reducing the gender pay gap. Gender pay gap is also significant in the activities of the public sector because of the vertical gender segregation, that is: increased representation of women in hierarchical lower positions as a problem that cannot be controlled with mechanisms like collective bargaining. Through analysis of 30 sectoral and domestic collective agreements, Rebac (2006) has found that only 4 agreements spoke about gender and age discrimination against workers. In four agreements in which the issue of gender discrimination is mentioned – it's only generally prohibited – without development of control mechanisms. Discrimination based on the gender and age is prohibited by the Constitution and Labour Law, while inclusion of non-discrimination in the collective bargaining doesn't have an important contribution to its real prevention in the absence of specific mechanisms for verification of employers. Interlocutors from New Syndicate the main source of discrimination against women see in the discrimination in employment, and they stress that through collective bargaining isn't possible to act on this form of discrimination, whose outcome, among other things, is the difference in average wages of women and men.

Although syndicates have legal monopoly to negotiate on behalf of workers with employers about the most important issues – like wages and business hours – at the enterprise level workers can be represented through works councils, modeled on German, the so-called dual model of industrial relations. Worker's councils have legally defined rights – like receiving information from the employer every three months, among other things, about the movement of wages. Also, worker's council have legal right on co-decision in the case of job cancellations to particular groups of workers, inclusion of child-bearing women and mothers on the list of care while using sick leave or other rights in order to care. However, even if the employer is obliged to counsel with the workers' council on employment policy, layoff, overtime and night work etc., the law doesn't stipulate what happens in the case of disagreement between employer and the workers' council. So, the advice boils down to information (Bagić, 2010). Also, from interviews with long-time members of the Croatian trade union scene it is evident that in practice even the right of workers' councils to information is very rare exception. Besides that, the only way that workers can affect the determination of wages through collective bargaining is via union representatives.

According to the interlocutors from Ministry of Labor and Pension System, since the beginning of the economic crisis there have been considerable changes in collective bargaining in the private sector, where the unions have agreed to the reduction of workers' rights. Due to lack of data and lack of base of collective bargain, in Croatia isn't possible to determine the exact change in the coverage of collective agreements since the beginning of economic crises until today. However, according to Šeperić (2014) due to the large loss of jobs in the construction and trade sector during the crisis, decline of collective

bargaining coverage in private sector is expected. To employees of state and public services, several times, since the beginning of economic crisis, salaries and material rights have been decreased, and in 2014 decision to ban new employment in state institutes has been adopted.

In 2012, a new law on the criteria for participation in tripartite institutes and representativeness for collective bargaining is adopted. This law, among other things, cancelled the institute of extended application for collective agreements, and determined new and more restrictive terms under which syndicates and employers can participate in collective bargaining and in work of tripartite institutions. Also, during 2014 passed a new Labor Law which aims at easier dismissal of employees, stimulation of atypical forms of employment and at more flexible regulations of working time.

■ **Minimum wages**

In Croatia the regulation of minimal wages until 2008 was based on Collective agreement for the lowest wages from 1998. This law was adopted on a national level. After consultation of the social partners (government, syndicates and employers) in 2008, a new Law for the lowest wages was adopted. This law regulated the mechanisms of control and the sanctions for non-compliance with the Law on the minimum wage, and introduced a new way of determining the minimum wage and its regular alignment with the real GDP growth during the last year. After discussion between the social partners in 2013 a new Law on minimum wage has been adopted – it synchronized the indicators to calculate the minimal wages with those prescribed by International Labor Organization – monthly limit of risk from poverty for one-person household, the coefficient for the number of members in the average household in Republic of Croatia, coefficient for employment and change index for consumer prices of goods an annual average. The Law also applies in the cases in which agreement, collective agreement, company regulations or some other documents prescribe lower amount of wages. However, as an exception, collective agreement can stipulate minimum wage in the lower amount than the amount prescribed by regulation of the Government, but it cannot be lower than 95% of the amount prescribed by regulation.

Through adoption of the Law on the minimum wage in 2008 the minimum wage was set at 39% of the average wage, which is 2747 kn GDP. After that the minimum wage rose to 2814 kn in 2009. And after that it didn't rise until the adoption of the latest law in 2013, which changed the basis of calculating the minimum wage. With the introduction of the latest law the amount of the minimum wage is increased and currently amounts 3029 kn GDP, and the minimum wage is currently receiving about 7% of Croatian employees (slightly less than 100.000 people), of which 90% are in the private sector.

It is estimated that about 11% of women receive wages on the level of the minimum wage or lower – in the comparison with about 5% of men. Since women are more represented than men among the workers who receive the minimum wage (their percentage is about 75%), raising the minimum wage should contribute to reducing the gender pay gap at the bottom of the wage distribution, that is among the ones with the lowest wages (Nestić & Rašić Bakarić, 2010).

■ Initiatives and/or measures practiced in tackling the gender pay gap

As a fundamental strategic document for achieving gender equality, the National Policy for Gender Equality 2011-2015 has to a certain extent recognized the problem of gender pay gap. In order to achieve the goal of *1.1. Improving knowledge and awareness raising around anti-discrimination legislation, gender equality and women's human rights* one of the measures listed is the celebration of the European Pay Day; for the goal of *2.3. Promoting measures that enable the reconciliation of work and family life* the listed measures are *2.3.3. Carrying out awareness raising activities for all stakeholders involved in collective bargaining around the importance of the equal pay for equal work principle and the Labor law implementation*, and *2.3.4. Advancement of collecting, processing, analyzing and distributing statistical indicators on gender pay gap*.

As the County Committees for Gender Equality have the obligation to adopt action plans regarding the implementation of the measures of the National Policy for Gender Equality for the Period from 2011 until 2015, a number of County Committees have included in their action plans the celebration of the European Pay Day and the measure to “collect, process, analyse and distribute the statistical indicators on gender pay gap, and to work on awareness raising of the equal pay for equal work principle and the Labor law implementation”.

Regarding the implementation of the mentioned measures in the report of the Croatian Government's Office for Gender Equality on the implementation of the National Policy for the 2011-2013 period, they have stated that “concerning the necessity of the elimination of gender wage gap in the cases of equal pay for equal work, social partners are constantly being educated in regards to the process of collective bargaining, and the Croatian Bureau of Statistics prepares statistical reports on a regular basis that include gender segregated data on the labor market trends”. Actual facts and figures of the implementation of these activities in the said report do not exist. In the same report it is explained how the measure of celebrating the European Pay Day in 2012 and 2013 was implemented: publishing press releases and presenting a number of relevant data on the persistent gender wage gap in the EU and Republic of Croatia on the Office's web site, presenting information about the European Commission's initiative “Equality Pays Off”. At the same time they have acknowledged that the Day is not widely recognized amongst the general public. The Office points out their lack of human and financial capital and the fact that they do not have specific tools for influencing important processes that will bring about significant results. Their implementation mechanisms include participating in working groups, campaigns and trainings that deal with gender equality within the framework of labor market.

According to the aforementioned report, the Croatian Parliament's Committee for Gender Equality has in 2012 published on the Croatian Parliament's website a press release in regards to the European Pay Day.

Certain gender equality county committees have also carried out activities regarding the European Pay Day celebrations. For example, the Commission for Gender Equality from the Bjelovarsko-bilogorska county has in 2014 organized an action called “Equality coffee”. For a period of one week women could have drunk coffees with a 10% discount with the intention of making the public aware of the gender pay gap. The same action was repeated in the period between March 7th and 14th in 2015 when six coffee places from Bjelovar and three from Daruvar participated.

The problem is that the existing initiatives are not widely publically recognized and there is a lack of evaluating mechanisms. For instance, the Ombudswoman for Gender Equality claims that she is not acquainted with the initiatives that have the goal of closing down the gender pay gap. She explains the lack of initiatives as the reflection of the “perception of the gap as the expected outcome of gender differences in career choices”. Lack of knowledge is also present amongst the other interlocutors with the exception of the Croatian Government’s Office for Gender Equality. They claim that the strategic planning of concrete activities is yet to come in order to work on the gender pay gap issue through multisectoral cooperation between institutions, trade unions, civil society organizations and others, following best practice examples from other European countries. Tamara Šterk, from the Government’s Office for Gender Equality, explains that the reason behind the invisibility and lack of initiatives is the unlikelihood of success when demanding for equal pay for equal work in the current economic crisis and with such high levels of unemployment. She also claims that it would seem that everyone is postponing dealing with this issue hoping to resume dealing with it once the economic situation is better and the employment levels are higher. HUP claims that the lack of initiatives comes from the fact that the issue is perceived as irrelevant. Nataša Novaković believes that this is especially so in the context of the economic crisis during recent years, when the public was dealing with major issues such as taxes and general economic policy, and the so-called “light” topic remained on the sidelines although they are of the utmost importance.

In 2011 the Ombudswoman conducted a research on the gender pay gap on the Croatian labour market that has been published in a yearly report on the work that she has done. She had also started the initiative for the introduction of strong proactive gender equality policies through 1) obliging employers to introduce the so-called “equality analysis” in order to have clear cut criteria of job evaluation and performed work, 2) introducing qualitative evaluation of the criteria for value assessment of different types of work in order to include the unfairly ignored knowledge and skills that are commonly associated with the female gender, 3) ensuring the transparency of the recruitment process and advancement on the labour market through legal measures, 4) introduction of affirmative action to ensure balanced representation in management and leadership positions, 5) discouraging employers from firing female workers older than 45 years with strict legal measures based in the antidiscrimination policy, 5) introducing professional development programs for judges that deal with labour disputes regarding equal pay, etc.

The interlocutors from the gender equality units claim that there is a structural problem behind the gender pay gap which is, on the one side, perpetuated by the employers with the continuing usage of the dominant social perception of “female” jobs as less valuable on the labour market, and on the other perpetuated by women themselves who choose their profession which is perceived by the society as more suitable for women. Ombudswoman for gender equality believes that “the primary responsibility for breaking the vicious circle lies with government bodies which have the resources, expertise and political legitimacy that can be used to develop and take appropriate positive measures”. Tamara Šterk from the Government’s Office for Gender Equality agrees to a great extent with this opinion. Another issue that is mentioned is the lack of human resource management in companies, especially in small businesses. There is also a lack of measures and activities that are targeted towards the employers and the lack of obligations for employers to accurately define the value of the workplace as such. In addition to this, some of the interlocutors think that the problem is also the process of individual wage bargaining where women are reluctant to ask for a salary they deserve, and experience negative reactions during the negotiations.

The Croatian Employers Association noticed differences in human resource management between large and small companies, because small companies are more focused on mere survival, but have stated that there is difference between foreign and local companies. Foreign companies that have the advantage as they are acquainted with good practices that are present in Europe that the local companies are not acquainted with. HUP plans to encourage both small and local companies to take into consideration the reconciliation of work and family life through the dissemination of good practice. Nataša Novaković from HUP also argues that the biggest gap can be found amongst the women who are educated but are not present in high positions. She believes that there is no gender pay gap in the case of equal pay for equal work, and that the employers will not give different wages to men and women for the same position. She also states that there are professions that are paid less and are usual performed by women. Women are underrepresented in high managerial positions and this is reflected in their earnings. Career development for women, unlike men, also depends on the family, children and the support system for the family care.

Union representatives, however, believe that discrimination is most visible during the employment process, and that there is the issue of gender roles, which ultimately leads to the fact that women earn less even though their basic coefficient is higher, but that the issue of gender pay gap in the case of equal pay of equal work does not exist. "In the union we have dealt a lot with the issue of pay gap – and we definitely oppose the view that in Croatia two persons are paid differently for the same position" claims the union, and provides an example for this opinion: "Female and male tram drivers – they are equally paid for their work, but at the end of the day male drivers have higher incomes. During one month a woman will be 3-4 days on sick leave, while the man will not take any days off. Therefore, men work more and are for that reason paid more – there is a difference here, but the basic coefficient, pay per hour, it is the same for everyone. There is no gender difference. It is expected that women will go on sick leave if she has a small child, while the men won't. So at the end of the month male drivers have higher incomes than female drivers". Union representatives have also added that some employers stimulate presence at work and in that case they make no exceptions if the worker is absent for justified reasons – for example if their child is sick. Regarding the fact that women stay at home with the child, their view is that this should not lead to discrimination, and that society should find a way to compensate their absence to their employers without discriminating against women.

Interview stakeholders have listed several proposals on the issue of gender pay gap: Ombudswoman for Gender Equality believes that the key measures for reducing gender equality are 1) transparent criteria for evaluating specific tasks/work place, 2) transparent procedure for the application of criteria, 3) balanced representation of women and men at all levels and in all types of jobs, 4) educational policy that encourages balanced participation of women and men in all branches of professional education and training, 5) positive measures to encourage participation of women in workplaces where they are underrepresented. She also believes that the unions should definitely lead the collective bargaining process in regards to the aforementioned proposals. Tamara Šterk, from the Government's Office for Gender Equality also stresses out the importance of unions' involvement in these issues and believes that they should have a crucial role when it comes to closing the gender pay gap. But at the same time she states the fact that there is a lack of knowledge and awareness amongst unions in order to fill their role.

Other interlocutors also believe that there is work to be done on the issue of setting up standards for wages for certain workplaces in small businesses to make women aware of

the minimum and maximum salary for a specific workplace. This would then reduce the impact of individual negotiation. It is also important to work on improving the process of evaluating employees and implementing the procedure for monitoring wage differences in companies. In addition, there should exist public recognition of employers who in their own companies do not have gender pay gaps and the necessity of proving the same in public procurement procedures which could have an effect on the closing the gender pay gap. Some believe that is necessary to empower women for individual salary negotiations.

Unions point out that through collective bargaining they are constantly struggling and pay additional attention to the part where it says that there should be no gender pay differences. But at the same time they believe that collective bargaining and collective agreements are not the right way to solve this problem. They emphasize the need to work on changing gender roles in the society, and that the role of the unions is the one of “cooperation in designing measures with which it would be possible to compensate employers for the absence of women because of their children”.

PART II: Sector-specific Analysis: Financial Service, Insurance and Auxiliary Activities and Human Health Activities

PART II.A

Sector-specific Analysis: Financial Service and Insurance

Please indicate name, organizational background and function of the experts

Name	Organizational background	Function
Sanja Smoljak Katić	HUP's 30 regional offices are representing specific interests of different industries. HUP – Association of Financial Operations is a voluntary and independent association of employers that protects and promotes the rights and interests of its members, particularly in regards to determining terms and conditions, relations with government bodies, trade unions, labour, social, and economic legislation, collective bargaining and entering into collective agreements, labour disputes and other issues important to the employers' economic and social position	Director of regional offices
Nataša Novaković	The Croatian Employers	Advisor to the director general of

	<p>Association (HUP) was established in 1993 as a voluntary, non-profit and independent association of employers that protects and promotes the rights and interests of its members. HUP has been involved since 1994 as the sole representative of employers in the work of the Economic and Social Council at the national level as the highest form of tripartite social dialogue in Croatia. HUP, as an independent representative of the employers, through the Labour Act of 1996 coming into force, is given a legitimate right to collective bargaining and collective agreements.</p> <p>Since 2012, HUP is the headquarters of the UN's initiative Global Compact Croatia, thus promoting the principal of corporate social responsibility amongst its members.</p>	<p>the Croatian Employers Association for the Labour Market and Human Resources Development, and the coordinator of the Global Impact Croatia.</p>
<p>Željka Obradović</p>	<p>The Croatian Union of Bank and Financial Employees was founded in 1990.</p> <p>It is active throughout Croatia and includes branches in 21 banks. They represent the largest trade union association of employees in banks and financial institutions in the Republic of Croatia.</p> <p>They are member of the second largest trade union federation - the Independent Croatian Unions, and the international trade union organization that brings together the largest number of employees in the banking and financial sector in the world - Union Network International.</p>	<p>Head of the legal service in the Croatian Union of Bank and Financial Employees</p>

Background information about the sector:

The sector is dominated by private multinational companies while among the state/public monetary financial institutions there are only the following institutions: Croatian National Bank (HNB), Croatian Bank for Reconstruction and Development (HBOR), Croatian Postal Bank (HPB), Croatia Insurance (CO) and Croatia Bank (CB), out of which the last three have recently been privatized or are currently in the privatisation process. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, there were 2030 legal entities registered in this sector on the 31st of December 2012, out of which 1137 were active, and 362 were trades and independent contractors. The data shows that most companies are for-profit, but that there are also 190 non-profit organisations in this sector. This includes associations, institutions, economic associations, funds, judiciary, Croatian National Bank, foundations, political parties, citizens' associations and other organisations. Croatian Chamber of Commerce's data shows that in Croatia there are 29 banks, 26 insurance companies, 24 associations for investment fund management, 23 leasing companies, 29 factoring companies and over 400 other companies and trades whose activities overlap with this sector. Over half of these institutions are registered in the City of Zagreb.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics the sector had a total of 39,894 employees in 2013, out of which 69.3% were women, which is not typical for the private sector. Namely, the financial sector in Croatia is predominantly private, and the share of women employed in the private/business sector is around 45% (source: Men and Women in Croatia in 2014). Among the total number of employed in Croatia, 45% are women. According to the research data from the 2010 publication "Analysis of employees in the Croatian public sector" carried out by the Institute of Public Finance, there are 12.5% of employees in the public part of the sector, while the rest are employed in the private part of the sector.

If we look at how many women are working in the financial sector from the total number of employed women, we come to the number of 4.7% of women working in finance and insurance.

The number of employees in this sector has reduced for about 1200 people between 2012 and 2013, while before that it was mostly steadily and continuously growing according to the Statistical Yearbooks. However, according to the "Economy, Trade and Business Administration: Subsector Profile – Economy (Financial Professions)" the financial service businesses are a constant, except for insurance and pension funds. There are 23.000 workers employed in the financial service businesses, with a slight rise of the employees. A significant loss happened at the beginning of 2010 and this trend lasted throughout the whole year. But from the beginning of 2011 the employment number was beginning to rise. A significant rise in employment is recorded in the branches of insurance, reinsurance, and pension funds. This rise did not come as a surprise as there was a pension reform and an increase in demands for insurance – Croatian citizens did not have the habit of contracting life insurance nor were the citizens properly informed on the offers and types of investments. There are a few dozen insurance companies on the market these days that provide increasingly sophisticated and diverse forms of insurance. The Banking and Financial Professionals Union explains the decline in employment through the decline in the number of employees in auxiliary activities (security, counting money, money transfer), or in other words the fact that the number of people who had fixed-term contracts was reduced.

Although it is a predominantly private sector which is in Croatia characterized by below-average wages, unsafe working conditions and overtime, the financial sector has shown to be an exception to this rule. Wages are above average in this sector, employees generally enjoy relative safety because of the employment contract for an indefinite period (according to the 2013 Statistical Yearbook there are 92.9% of those kinds of contracts compared to the average of 86.6%, and there are also 96.3% of full-time contracts), and other working conditions such as normal working hours, show that the average employee on average works overtime only for 8 hours (the average for all sectors is 21 hours). However, in the Union they believe that the number of overtime hours shown in the Statistical Yearbook isn't realistic, and that especially in the banking sector there are a lot of unreported overtime hours. "Certain larger banks are transforming the staying late of the workers into the so-called business culture. The management expects workers to work constantly which results in 10 p.m. e-mails, which is something that is not registered as overtime work", said the Union.

According to the publication of the Agency for vocational education from 2012 ("Economy, Trade and Business Administration: Subsector Profile – Economy (Financial Professions)"), amongst the employees of the subsector of the economy there are mostly people with four-year schools for technical and vocational occupations (43.3%), followed by those with master degrees (24.4%), while in the third place there are people with bachelor degrees (11.8%). It should be noted that the subsector of the economy includes human resources and activities in all financial sectors – from banks to insurance companies, accounting services, financial advisory businesses, brokerage operations, and all jobs that require economic knowledge which means that this does not cover only employees in the financial sector as researched in this publication, but this can still certainly serve as a status indicator.

Large financial institutions that have the highest number of employees have signed collective agreements that guarantee relatively large range of rights to their employees compared to the rest of the private sector. According to media reports, the banks do not disclose the collective agreements to anyone except their employees, and according to the previous and available contracts from, for example the Split Bank, the employees had additional vacation days for children under seven years, a vacation bonus of 5330.25 kunas gross, almost an entire salary (more precisely, 90% of their base salary) during sick leave, thirteenth salary, and other rights.

The major banks have specific programs for the reconciliation of work and family life, and those programs are mostly used by women. For example, the Institute for Research and Education "Working Mother" has awarded the right to use the sign MAMFORCE COMPANY© to the Zagreb Bank (ZABA, part of UniCredit Group) and Privredna bank Zagreb (PBZ, part of Intesa Sanpaolo group of Italy) for their successful implementation of family aware HR practices which enables employees to balance better their work and family life. Some of the family policy measures are flexible working arrangements (flexible working hours and/or part-time work) aligned with the business and organisational capabilities, and support for employees that are on a prolonged leave of absence through avoiding discrimination because of the prolonged leave, maintaining contacts with employees that are on prolonged leaves, and facilitating the return to work.

The sector's situation concerning the gender pay gap and the income situation:

The average net wage in Croatia is 5469 kunas and the average women's net wage 5172 kunas and amounts to 90.4% of men's wages. The average gross wage is 7863 kunas, whereby the women's gross wage amounts to 7424 kunas, and it is 90.2% of men's gross wage. According to Eurostat, the gender pay gap for Croatia for the year 2013 amounts to 7.4% when calculating gross earnings per hour. Also according to Eurostat, the largest gender pay gap is found in the age group from 35 to 44 and it is 11.8%.

The average net wage in the finance and insurance sector is 7586 kunas, while the average gross wage is 11,835 kunas. The average women's gross salary is 10,658, while the average men's wage is 14175 kunas meaning that the proportion of women's wage to men's is 75.2%. The average net wage in this sector is 7586 kunas, and the women's average wage is 6964 kunas which makes 78.9% of men's net wage (source: Men and Women in Croatia in 2014). This means that women who are employed in this sector earn 42,204 kunas less per year than men. Generally speaking, the gender pay gap in Croatia is widening with the increase in the proportion of women in the financial and insurance sector. The biggest gender pay gap is found in the financial and insurance sector, health sector and in the manufacturing industry.

Eurostat data for Croatia however indicates that the gender pay gap in this sector is 16.8% which is the lowest in the EU when compared to the same sector across all other EU members.

As stated in the Statistical Yearbook for 2013, there are huge differences in wages when analysed by education levels. The average net wage for people with master degrees is 10,363 kunas, for the ones with bachelor degrees it is 7117 kunas, and for the ones with high school degrees it is 5786 kunas. According to the information we have gathered, auxiliary activities in the sector, such as cleaning and maintenance of premises, are mostly outsourced. 19.7% of employees have received wages between 5001 and 6000 kunas, 34.4% of employees have received wages between 6001-8000, and 29.9% of employees have received wages higher than 8001. The remaining 26% of employees have received a salary less than 5000 kunas.

It was not possible to find out how many women in the finance and insurance sector work as counter clerks, and how many are on the company manager positions. In this sense, the gender pay gap shows, amongst other things, an indication of the gender hierarchy within a sector which cannot otherwise be determined. Some stakeholders, indicate that women often work as tellers and do clerical jobs and that there are so called more prestigious departments within the companies which are male-dominated, and where the salaries are higher than the less prestigious departments.

As it has already been mentioned, collective agreements are not available to the public, but from conversations with key stakeholders it is known that companies typically have a salary policy that is based on the principle that the salary consists of a basic salary, incentives and bonuses. The basic salary is defined by salary scales depending on the complexity of work. Salary scale defines the minimum and maximum salary for a specific

job and the individual employee negotiates their salary within this salary scale. Incentives and bonuses are defined in accordance with the company's internal regulations.

According to the "Women and Men in Croatia" publication by the Central Bureau of Statistics which has been issued since 2006, the share of women's wages in men's wages in this sector has been from 75.2% in 2013 to 79.7% in 2006. We can say that there was an increase in the gender pay gap from 2006 to 2012, while it has decreased in the last two years, but those are all minor changes. Also, if we look at the average salary in this sector, we will see that the average salary has been continuously growing. In 2006 it was 6039 kunas and in 2014 it was 7586 kunas, which indicates that in this sector salaries were not reduced during the crisis. If we look at the information that the auxiliary activities have been outsourced in large companies, and that the people working on fixed-term contracts were laid off, it is possible that this was the cause of the increase in average wages in this sector.

Specific wage-setting process in the sector:

All questions regarding wages and the minimum wage in Croatia are defined by the general legislation – the Labour Law and the Law on the Minimum Wage. The elaboration of the rights deriving from these legal acts is part of the collective agreements. In Croatia in the financial sector there is no branch collective agreement but only collective agreements of individual companies.

As it has already been indicated, the highest number of institutions that have signed a collective agreement is found in the financial sector, which indicates that the unions are a relevant factor in the salary defining process.

The Union states that the fact is that a significant number of workers are covered by collective agreements, but when we look at the number of legal entities that becomes a really small number, and if we look at collective bargaining and contracting as the highlight of the social dialogue, then we cannot be satisfied with it in the sector. They also state that banks such as Zagrebačka banka, Splitska banka, and Erste banka have signed collective agreements. Croatian Postal Bank has had signed collective agreement, but it was terminated due to political and other turmoil, and there is a new one in the process of making, and the Podravska banka is in the process. Privredna banka Zagreb has a certain collective agreement with their union which is not a part of the Croatian Banking and Financial Professionals Union, and in their opinion the agreement covers more the question of arbitration rather than workers' rights.

Although at the moment it is not possible to obtain recent collective agreements, it can be seen from older agreements that the basic wage system is defined by the collective agreement. The salary typically consists of the basic salary, incentives and bonuses. The basic salary is defined on the monthly basis and depends on the salary scale to which the worker belongs in accordance with the criteria for the workplace evaluation, and which the company decides on in cooperation with the unions. Within these salary scales the worker themselves has the ability to negotiate and seek a certain salary and a raise. Based on the employee's work results, they can be given a salary incentive, and these incentives are defined by internal acts of the company itself. In addition, there are also bonuses that are paid depending on various conditions, such as overtime, working on Sundays and

holidays, work experience, night work etc.

In companies that do not have a collective agreement wages are defined by the Labour Ordinance. Employers are obliged to consult with the Workers' Council on the Labour Ordinance, but do not have to accept the Council's advice or view. "The Union is participating in this part in a way that there are trade unionists in the Workers' Council, or that the union representative takes on the role of the Workers' Council", state the Union. In this way, the Union through their expert proposals influences the level of workers' rights in the company, and does that from within the centre of the trade union.

In the Union they state their culturally conditioned approach to the social dialogue.

"The social dialogue often depends on who the head of the bank and what the administration of the bank is like. In the long run it works very well because we (the Union a/n) demonstrate that we know what this is about, and that we have the knowledge and skills to develop good cooperation over time. German banks, for example, respect more workers' councils, while the French banks absolutely respect the unions. But at the same time, although the banks are predominantly under foreign ownership, in a lot of cases the people in the administrations were Croatian", explains the Union. But they also state that there must be some harmonisation of the wage policies on the level of the entire group in which the bank belongs.

Collective agreements also define the minimum wage in companies as well as other rights.

Regarding the crisis and wage issue in the sector, HUP points out that both the banks and big companies went through certain restructuring, but mostly out of the public eye in cooperation with the unions. In fact, the financial sector was one of the healthier and more stable sectors during the crisis.

According to the Union, the crisis has affected the sector – there was a drop in the level of rights in connection to Christmas bonuses, allowances and similar material rights, and possibly other non-taxable maximums of those rights, as defined by the laws. The number of employees also decreased, whereby the recession occurred earlier in the banking sector. With the workers leavings, mostly the auxiliary activities (security, counting money, money transfer) disappeared, that now exist as separate companies. In other words, the number of people who had fixed-term contracts was reduced.

Specific initiatives in the sector to tackle the gender pay gap:

As already stated, in the financial sector there are no sectoral collective agreements, only at the individual companies' level. The Croatian Employers Association emphasizes that they have a satisfactory cooperation with the branch union – Croatian Banking and Financial Professionals Union which has branches in all the major banking companies. The very branch of financial operations which operates within HUP has no recorded major conflicts, but also no joint initiatives with the union on this issue, although one of their tasks is to encourage social dialogue. HUP points out that the issues of wages and collective bargaining is first and foremost at the level of the companies themselves, as they perceive their role as knowledge and information transfer especially to smaller business entities in the sector. They also indicate that since this is a sector which includes multinational companies, that there is also a possibility that exactly those international practices in human resource management have greatly contributed to the favourable situation of workers in the finance sector.

The Union has stated that they were not aware of the gender pay gap initiatives. “Banks swear to social responsibility, but that should be put into practice in their own homes first, through the responsibility towards the workers, and then towards the community. An employer who does not have a collective agreement, and has a union, cannot be called socially responsible. If the collective agreement is the highpoint of the social dialogue, then it represents also social responsibility. In the collective agreements there should be defined what is given to women, mothers, because the foundation is that female workers have the basic, which is security. We in the Union have through collective agreement and Labour Ordinance worked a lot in regulating specific issues surrounding the time and attendance so that it becomes more humane. We have insisted on certain rights related to children, such as gifts for St. Nicolas, and we succeeded, but not as a specifically women’s issue”, the Union stated. As the cause of gender pay gape, the Union sees patriarchal gender roles and stereotypes that are not closely related to the sector, but are socially determined. Therefore, they believe that the issue should be addressed on a broader community level through structural and institutional solutions. “The support of women in the community must be stronger and in this respect we as a union have significantly influenced through various bodies at the national level”, stated the Union.

However, they see the key to respecting workers’ rights and the better position women in the labour market as: “As long as the situation on the labour market is such where everyone literally has to worry over a piece of bread, this is then a blackmail situation and it is very hard to do anything. When we are in a position to say to the employer that we do not want to work under these conditions, then things will change. As long as we as workers do not have a real alternative, this will continue to happen.”

In the sector there were no specific initiatives to deal with the gender pay gap issue. We conclude that the absence of such initiatives in this sector coincides with the general lack of initiatives on this issue in Croatia for reasons that were also previously stated:

1. Gender pay gap is seen as a negligible issue as it is a result of different hierarchical positions that men and women hold within the sector, and not as a result of intentional and/or systematic discrimination against women.
2. When and if there is a gender pay gap it is primarily understood as the result of deep-rooted patriarchal gender roles that impose a greater burden on women such as caring for children, elderly and the family, which leads to their heavier and slower career development and more frequent absences from work, which in the end affects their overall income.
3. In a bad general economic situation, the benefits enjoyed by workers in the financial sector certainly affect workers’ “self-satisfaction” and their primary goal is to retain (for Croatian circumstances) their high workers’ rights.
4. There exists a higher level of awareness when it comes to the reconciliation of work and family life which is a challenge generally imposed on women, which could then lead to an easier and faster advancement of women and breaking the glass ceiling, which could in the end reduce the existing differences in earnings between men and women.

Future possibilities in the sector to tackle the gender pay gap:

The relevant stakeholders are generally interested in dealing with the issue, but it is not recognized as a vital issue for the sector. Amongst the relevant stakeholders the prevailing opinion on the gender pay gap is that if it exists it is a consequence of structural conditions concerning the difference in education of women and men, or more broadly the result of the patriarchal social structure that still puts pressure on women to take care of children and the family. Initiatives for the reconciliation of work and family life do exist as there is awareness surrounding the issue, and we believe that it could be possible to mobilize more easily and efficiently various stakeholders on that issue than on the issue of gender pay gap. Also, there is consensus on the issue of vertical impenetrability or diminished opportunities for advancement of women to top position management, and it is recognized as a problem. The issue of gender pay gap on its own is not currently relevant and we cannot expect that it will become relevant in Croatia anytime soon. If we also take into consideration the fact that the gender pay gap in Croatia is amongst the lowest in Europe, and is the lowest in the financial sector in the EU, then it becomes obvious that this question won't be on the agenda in the near future.

PART II.B

Sector-specific Analysis: Human Health Activities

Please indicate name, organisational background and function of the experts		
Name	Organisational background	Function
Anica Prašnjak	<p>The Croatian Trade Union of Nurses and Medical Technicians was created in 1991 due to nurses' wish to organize their trade union. In 1993, the union was one of the founders of a higher level association - Association of Croatian Public Sector Unions.</p> <p>In 1995, trade unions participated in passing the first Labour Law, which came into force on January 1 1996. In 1996, this union, along with other health unions, signed the first Collective Agreement for the health care and health insurance services. In 2001, along with other negotiators in public services, the union was the signatory of the Basic Collective Agreement for Employees in Public Services.</p> <p>In 2001, it became a member of Public Services International - the international association of public service workers, as well as EPSU.</p>	President of the General Council
Ana Vračar	<p>Baza za radničku inicijativu i demokratizaciju (BRID) / Organisation for Workers' Initiative and Democratisation (OWID)</p> <p>Established in 2012, the Organization for Workers' Initiative and Democratization (OWID) is committed to the protection and promotion of workers' rights, democratic decision-making processes</p>	Project coordinator

	<p>among the workers and economic democracy, as defined by 7 cooperative principles.</p> <p>The organization is conducting various researches, educational and fieldwork activities related to workers' issues.</p>	
Tomislav Kiš	The New Union	Secretary
Tanja Leontić	<p>The Independent Trade Union of Health and Social Welfare (SSZSSH) organizes all profiles of employees in health and social care, regardless of profession or qualifications.</p> <p>The union was founded in 1991.</p> <p>Despite organizing new unions in the health sector (18 trade unions at the national level), it is still the largest union with about 18,000 members in 170 union branches throughout Croatia.</p> <p>SSZSSH is a full-time negotiator for basic collective agreement and branch collective agreements for health and social welfare, and it has assumed the responsibility for collective bargaining.</p>	Secretary
Gordana Miškulin	The Croatian Trade Union of Nurses and Medical Technicians – subsidiary KBC Rebro	Union rep

Background information about the sector:

The female workforce in Croatia is highly concentrated in terms of sectors activities - 70% of women are employed in only five sectors, while the participation of women in other sectors of activity does not exceed 5%. Among the five "female" sectors is the sector of health care and social welfare, which employs 12% of the female workforce. According to the latest data, women make 79.2% and men 20.8% of employees in the sector of health care and social welfare. Considering the far greater number of women in the sector as compared to men, a majority share of women in all major occupations within the sector is not surprising: among the medical doctors the proportion of women is 59%, among the dentists 66%, among pharmacists 92%, among clinical chemists 93.5%, among nurses and technicians 90%.

However, there are important differences in the structure of male and female workforce in the health sector, which partly explain gender pay gap at the sector level. Of all women employed in the health sector, most of them are in the category of other health workers with secondary education (55%), followed by the category of other health care workers with higher education (18.2%) and the category of medical doctors with 16.3%. The structure of the male workforce in the health sector is quite different: most of men are among medical doctors (48.3%), followed by the category of other health workers with secondary education (29.1%) and other categories of health workers with a college degree (14.1%). Detailed information on the hierarchical structure of occupations by gender at the sector level are not available, but the educational structure of the male and female workforce is clearly a reference to gender segregation by occupation, which certainly greatly influences the gender pay gap in average wages of health care professionals.

In terms of specific regulations related to parenthood, in the collective agreement for the health service there is a paragraph which protects certain categories of workers, such as pregnant women and mothers with children under three years of age from working overtime. However, initiatives aimed at facilitating the harmonization of family and career doesn't exist. It is important to point out that such initiatives do not exist at the national level also, or in other sectors, with the exception of a few so-called corporate kindergartens that offered employees of private firms child-care close to work.

Data on gender structure according to the form of employment do not show significant differences between men and women that might partly explain the gender pay gap. The structure of health care by type of employment at the level of the entire sector is dominated by employees with a full-time contracts – in 2013 – 90% of women and 89% of men were employed under full-time contracts. The private sector has a slightly higher proportion of employees with temporary contracts (15%). However, data on the gender structure of the private sector by type of employment contract are not available.

Within the sector there are no significant differences in working hours between men and women that could materially affect the gender pay gap - equal percentage of women and men (98%) work full time, while the number of employees in part-time is negligible. However, what significantly influences the gender pay gap at the sector level is the issue of overtime hours. Unfortunately, overtime is not recorded by sex, so we rely on the information given by the interviewed experts and survey by HSSMS-MT about the position of nurses conducted in 2006 on a sample of 79% of hospitals in Croatia.

The law stipulates that overtime must be paid to all workers, but experts from trade union organizations warn that in the case of nurses and technicians that provision is often violated. According to a survey HSSMS-MT, a large majority of surveyed nurses (77%) stated that their overtime hours are never paid and that they monthly perform average 15.3 hours of overtime, which indicates the understaffedness of Croatian health system with affiliated staff. The interlocutors state that the reason of short-changing nurses and medical technicians is their weaker position in the system and a general underestimation of the profession. As another problem with overtime interlocutors cited the problem of gender division of labor within the family for which men are often available for work by invitation or on-call time, which results in earnings, of women and men with the same level of professional qualification, may be uneven due to various supplements, despite an equal basis.

Most (72%) health workers are employed in state health institutions, while in the private health care institutions and private practice works 28% of health care professionals. The educational structure of employees in the private sector is somewhat different from the overall educational structure of employees in the health sector, with gender differences in the educational structure are far more evident in the private sector. Male health workers in the private sector are mainly employed as doctors of dental medicine (42.6%) and medical doctors (36.1%), while most of the women are employed in the category of other health workers with secondary education (51%), followed by the category of medical doctors with only 20%. Despite the lack of data on the gender pay gap based on ownership, such a difference in the educational structure of the male and female workforce undoubtedly contributes to a greater gender pay gap between health workers in the private sector. Without further research it is not possible to determine for which reason there is this difference, but it is logical to assume that men with higher levels of education choose employment in the private sector, which are time-demanding and better paid than those in the public sector, while women, burdened with taking care of the family, prefer to choose employment in the public sector because they give priority to employment security against working conditions, pay or promotion opportunities.

The Ministry of Labor registered 19 trade unions in the health sector, including the largest Independent Trade Union of Health and Social Welfare of Croatia (SSZSSH) who is the only representative branch union in the health sector. This union organizes 18,000 members in 190 branches. Also, at the Ministry of Labor, representative is Croatian Trade Union of Nurses and medical technicians (HSSMS-MT) with 14,000 members and Croatian medical union (HLS) which lost its representativeness, in 2014 due to changes in the law, but continues to engage in negotiations. The trade union scene in health care is fragmented and not particularly successful in responding to the problems of their own membership, which is a general characteristic of Croatian trade union scene. For example, collective bargaining at various levels, which have repeatedly failed to respond properly to problems such as shift work, discrimination in the nursing profession, the lack of skilled personnel and differentiation of coefficients in certain groups of workers. According to interviewed experts from trade union organizations, a special problem is the so-called "nepotism by profession", ie. the fact that the rights of physicians are usually much better defined in relation to the rights of nurses, because people in top positions in the sector come from the medical profession, including ministers of Health. Also, noticeable is the high disunity even among the three largest unions – interlocutors feel that in the negotiations, all professions should stick together, but it is often the case that, for example, doctors negotiate exclusively for itself, which ultimately leads to a large difference in

salaries between different professions in health care. Since the majority of women in the health profession are employed as nurses, mentioned "nepotism by profession" which favors the medical profession and the failure of unions in representing the interests of this group, also represents a huge problem in terms of the gender pay gap.

The sector's situation concerning the gender pay gap and the income situation:

Gender pay gap at sector of health care and social welfare, according to the latest data (for 2013) was 74.1% in the gross amount, making it the sector with the largest gender pay gap in Croatia, while the average gender pay gap in gross salaries at the level of all activities was 90.2%.

Data on the gender pay gap in the health sector for specific occupations are not available, but according to all the interviewed experts from the sector, direct discrimination in the sense of paying unequal wages to men and women for the same work place does not exist. The basis for the calculation of wages is determined by the Law on Salaries in public services, and is the same for all employees in a particular occupation, regardless of gender. Our interlocutors who are representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Pension System and the major trade unions in the health sector, agree on the fact that this legal provision is absolutely respected in practice, at least in the public sector. However, a more detailed overview of statistical data on the composition of the male and female workforce in the sector, as well as information gathered from interlocutors indicate the existence of several factors that will eventually lead to lower average salary of women compared to men, despite the lack of direct sex discrimination.

The most important factor to be borne in mind in interpreting the differences in average wages between women and men at the sector level is the difference in the proportion of employees with secondary and higher education within the male and female workforce. While the largest part (55%) of female labor force is employed in the health sector in the category of health workers with secondary education (or nurses), among the male labor force is the dominant category of medical doctors (49%). Even without detailed information about the hierarchical structure of occupation in the sector by gender (which unfortunately is not available), data on the educational structure of male and female labor force clearly indicate larger representation of more ranked occupations within the male labor force and a greater representation of lower-level occupations among women's work clearance. Experts from the sector gender segregation by occupation mainly explained by the fact that men, more than women, aim at further professional training, that enables them better paid positions, because they are not hindered by (current or expected/future) family obligations. Among the main factors contributing to the gender pay gap, besides the educational structure of the labor force itself, it is necessary to mention a way of evaluating the work of various categories of workers in health care, as determined by the Government through the coefficients of job complexity, where one can observe a very unequal distribution of coefficients among occupations. While among the different categories of jobs, for which the condition is a high degree, difference in coefficients is very large and coefficients for those occupations are of high amount, among nurses coefficients are of much lower amounts and are much less branched. Croatian Government in January 2014 adopted the Regulation on job titles and complexity coefficients in public services according to which the nurses ejected by name and placed in the group of workers with much lower coefficient

than before, about what is currently being debated by the Government and unions, and is expected to change the Regulation under which the coefficients for nurses-technicians will be enlarged.

Interviewed experts from trade union organizations agree that in determining the complexity of work by the coefficient involve discrimination of the nurses who represent the largest profession in the health sector and whose importance and responsibility are underestimated. As the reasons for this discrimination experts see the aforementioned "nepotism by profession", favoring the medical profession and under-representation of the nursing profession in the highest hierarchical positions such as hospital directors and heads of departments. Although interviewed experts on a general level justify higher wages for medical compared to the nursing profession, however, they believe that the current distribution of wages in the sector is unfair, and that the differences in the coefficients between the professions are too big and too biased in favor of the medical profession. Also, they believe that importance of the nursing profession is underestimated.

Another factor influencing the gender pay gap in wages is aforementioned payment of overtime work, which also extremely deprives nursing profession. According to interlocutors, in payment of compensation for overtime hours, the funds are being spared on the nurses-technicians and on this point control is not implemented. The interlocutors believe that this case also involve discrimination in the nursing profession, given that it has been customary that in positions which decides about the payment of compensation for overtime, are members of the medical profession who favor their own profession. The aforementioned factors are not involving direct discrimination of workers in the same job on gender basis, but it is about underestimation of the nursing profession, which only indirectly increases the gender pay gap in wages due to the majority presence of nurses among women employed in health care. However, all respondents report that the highest ranked, management positions, such as principals, managers and heads of medical institutions or departments are almost always men. The fact that on this position rarely or almost never are elected women all the respondents attributed to traditional sexist attitudes about the undesirability of women to higher positions. This topic should conduct a more thorough investigation in order to obtain more information and possibly taken some measures to stop this form of discrimination.

Gender pay gap in 2008 amounted to 72.7% and in the next four years, increased slightly to a total of 74.1% in 2012. But data for the later period are not yet available, which makes it impossible to clearly assess the impact of economic crisis on the gender pay gap. Since the beginning of the crisis, the material rights of the public sector employees were sliced on several occasions, but there is no basis for the assumption that the measures unequally affected the wages of women and men, due to the fact that they have applied on salaries of all employees of the public sector. The aforementioned reduction of coefficient for the profession of nurses and technicians certainly contributed to increasing gender pay gap in 2014 and 2015, on which no data is available. However, HSSMS-MT came out in the media with the information that the annual gross income of nurses of 2009 was decreased by 24 to 34%.

In conclusion, although much of the gender pay gap in the health sector must be attributed to the choice of profession or different educational structure of the male and female workforce, there are other factors that further increase the gender pay gap, such as

underestimation of nursing profession and short-changing in salaries and other material rights. Also, although gender discrimination can not be considered a major cause of the gender pay gap in health care, it still occurs in the case of elections in managerial occupations. Taking into account that it is precisely these occupations that have by far the highest coefficients, it is undeniable that discrimination contributes to gender pay gap. Finally, although the argument of a different occupation of women and men as an important cause of the gender pay gap has nothing to complain about, the fact that gender pay gap at the sectoral level is as high as 74.1% (compared to 90.2% nationally) indicates excessive wage differentials between occupations within the sector, and worrying underestimation of lower-level, and also the most numerous and predominantly female occupations within the sector.

Specific wage-setting process in the sector:

As in the rest of the public sector, wages in the health sector are set by the Government by adopting the Law on salaries in the public service. Although the government is not legally obliged to consult with the social partners before making this law, some of the respondents from the trade union organizations indicate that they, with their own pressure, managed meetings with representatives of the Government on this subject, although the majority of suggestions of union representatives the Government did not recognize. With The Law on Salaries in the public sector the method of determining the basis for calculating the wages is defined. Jobs are divided into four groups according to their level of qualification. This law specifies the coefficient ranges in which they can move coefficients for different jobs in each of the four groups. With a special law and with the directives of the Government the names of jobs and qualifications for assignment to these jobs are determined. According to some of the respondents, unequal status and the impact of individual professions within the sector is also reflected in the distribution of coefficients for different jobs - a lot more branching of coefficients within job type of the 1. rank (those for which the condition is a university degree) as opposed to a modest amount and range of coefficients for lower category jobs interlocutors consider as a result of lobbying and negotiation "under the table" between doctors and representatives of the Government. Although the very base of the wages and coefficients for various occupations within the sector unilaterally determines the Government, issues of wages and other benefits that are not regulated by the Law on salaries are regulated by collective agreements. In the area of health care the Basic Collective Agreement and Collective Agreement for the health care and health insurance are applied for employees in the public service.

Since there is no prescribed regulation of wages in the private sector, the data of the survey about the privatization of primary health care by HSSMS-MT is not surprising. According to the survey, the large variations in average monthly salaries of nurses are noticeable, which in the case of ambulances records enormous variation from 1460 kn to 8400 kn, and in specialized clinics from 2200 kn to 7682 kn.

Since the beginning of the crisis any significant changes didn't occur in the mechanism of wage determination. However, wages and material rights of workers in the health sector have been sliced repeatedly, wherein adequate mobilization of trade unions was absent. For example, under the pretext of the financial crisis and savings, from 2009 to the

present, basic salaries of employees in the government and the public service has been reduced by 6%. The annual increase of the basic salary has also been decreased on the basis of seniority from 0.5% to 0.3%; also the payment of holiday allowance, Christmas bonus, jubilee and part of the transport costs has stopped. The Act to deny the right to increase salaries based on actual years of service which has, to employed in the civil and public services, withheld salary increase that was agreed in collective agreements in the amount of 4, 8 and 10% for 20, 30 and 35 years of service. An important change, compared to the previous period, occurred in 2014 by introducing The new Law on the representativeness of employers' associations and trade unions. With this Law, one of the three previously representative trade unions in the field of health care, Croatian medical union (HLS), has lost the right to representativeness due to lack of members.

It is obvious that these changes had a negative impact on the level of income of workers in the health sector, but given the fact that they affect all workers in health care, it is unlikely that it have affected the gender pay gap.

The above mentioned cuts led to negotiations between the Government and trade unions, but the context of lack of funding and the introduction of austerity measures, as well as the lack of developed social dialogue in Croatia, did not support the quality negotiations. Also, the union demands, though defensive in nature, were often declared unrealistic and was treated improperly. For example, the Government has conditioned the unions of accepting the certain amendments under threat of cancellation of the Basic Collective Agreement. Also, a case of illegal appointment of representatives of the Association of Employers in the health sector in the negotiating committee has been registered. Interlocutors from the trade union organizations agree in the assessment that Croatia still denies the social dialogue, as well as conventions of the International Labour Organisation. On the other hand, there are many problems with the unions, such as mutual non-compliance and poor quality of communication, and the lack of unity of the trade union leadership with its own membership. Some respondents pointed out that the trade unions themselves are too passive and indulgent, while union leaders often support the government and act in self-interest, rather than in order to improve working conditions and living standards of workers in the health sector. All this has a devastating impact on the level of income of workers in the health sector, especially in view of the already unfavorable context in which trade unions act today in Croatia, and which reduces their struggle to the defense of already acquired rights.

Specific initiatives in the sector to tackle the gender pay gap:

The relevant stakeholders in the process of wage determination in the health sector are Government, representative trade unions operating in the field of Health care (HSSMS-MT and SSZSSH) and the Association of Employers in Health care (UPUZ). There is awareness of the existence of the gender pay gap between these actors. However, among the representatives of the institutions we spoke to, a skeptical attitude towards this subject is notable. In fact, assuming that as the primary cause of the gender pay gap implies discrimination against women, the officials primarily had the need to point out that they didn't meet with such phenomena, and that it certainly did not cause the gender pay gap in the health sector, because the matter of equal pay for the same workplace is legally regulated. Given the huge numerical dominance of female workers in the sector, among the respondents it has been expressed awareness on a range of issues related to the status of women in the sector, such as verbal abuse, undervaluation of women's

occupations, gender segregation by occupation in the sector, the phenomenon of the glass ceiling, etc.

So far, Croatia has not taken any measures nor initiatives focused on the problem of gender pay gap, both at national level and at the level of the health sector. The reason for their absence is probably related to the fact that most of the medical professionals are working in the public sector where the amounts paid for certain professions are regulated by the law. Therefore, there is no discrimination against women in the classical sense of short-changing for equal pay for the same job. Since the biggest part of the gender pay gap can be explained by differences in occupation or in the educational structure of men and women employed in the sector of health care, almost all respondents believe that on this point nothing much cannot be done. All respondents recognize the specific problems of women workers in the health sector, such as the difficulty to reconcile family and work obligations that prevent them from moving forward. However, generally it is considered that this issue concerns personal arrangements within the patriarchal family and the national mentality, which does not leave much room for a reconceptualization of the problem of gender pay gap as of items of narrow targeted initiatives, campaigns and union activities. It's probably an important reason for the lack of initiatives and measures aimed at the problem of gender pay gap, as the general context of the worsening of workers' rights and living standards of workers in health care, which is why this problem to relevant stakeholders now makes a sideshow.

Future possibilities in the sector to tackle the gender pay:

Among the experts from the health sector there is generally no stated intention to pursue the issue of gender pay gap. As stated, the reason for skeptical attitude lies in the fact that to many discrimination is first associated with the gender pay gap and therefore arises the need for eliminating these prejudices. According to the fact that behind the data on the difference in average wages between women and men at sector level actually stands a variety of causes, including the different educational structure of men and women which is very important, we believe it would be useful to reformulate the problem, that is, to determine it more narrowly. For example, the research suggests that besides the differences in the objective characteristics of the male and female labor force, there are specific issues which indirectly generate additional differences in pay between women and men. Taking into account the very limited availability of data on the actual earnings of workers, which would consider the different additions to the basic salary by sex, we think that it would primarily be useful to carry out the more focused researches on this topic. When planning future campaigns and initiatives aimed at reducing gender pay gap, it might be useful to reckon with misinformation and a general skepticism towards the topic, and maybe more specifically determine the goals of the campaign/initiative. For example, the question of unequal bonuses and opportunities for career advancement for women and men because of family responsibilities is an issue that certainly has a great impact on the gender pay gap. Relevant stakeholders recognize it as an important topic. Also, a related issue of choice in management positions in the sector has been identified as problematic, and could be included in the campaign on the subject of glass ceiling that is present in all sectors, which opens up the possibility of alliances between different stakeholders from different sectors.

Although the health sector does not include campaign, nor initiatives aimed specifically at raising awareness of the gender pay gap, to some of the activities of existing trade union

organizations may be added to this dimension, and in this way to achieve cooperation. For example, the survey by HSSMS-MT about position of nurses, on whose data we made reference in the report, offers a model of future collaboration between the trade union and non-governmental organizations dealing with labor and women's rights. Also, we believe that the potential activities of trade unions on the issue of working conditions in the nurses and technicians profession could further strengthen the arguments about how the underestimation of the profession indirectly increases the gender pay gap. Short-changing of the nursing profession with unevenly distributed and unfairly low coefficients open up the question of criteria for the valuation of work mostly done by women. Since representatives of both unions consider that the nursing profession is unfairly undervalued, a campaign to discuss the valuation of women's work in general could benefit from linking with the trade union organizations. While all respondents feel that much cannot be done on the issue of gender pay gap, because it is considered the result of different selection of occupations for women and men, at the same time they are aware that the profession that women most frequently selected (nursing profession) is unfairly low paid and undervalued. If there was an attempt to achieve cooperation with the trade unions on this issue, we believe that instead of launching a campaign on the theme of gender pay gap, with their practical experience, conceptual framing of the problem as discrimination on the basis of the profession would better correspond.

For all these reasons we believe that "Gender Pay Day" does not necessarily constitute the best framework for the promotion of work on this problem, but it could point the way through which future campaigns could narrow focus and connect with the existing activities of trade unions and professional organizations in the health sector and the problems the health workers face in practice. We believe that, due to the widespread prejudice against the abstract concept of the gender pay gap, this approach seemed more stimulating for the inclusion of stakeholders from the sector. Currently there are no plans for future initiatives to deal with gender pay gap at national level and at the sector level. However, in recent years there are more and more informal initiatives within civil society that discusses the status of women in the labor market, and that pose potential partners in future projects on this subject.

Out of possible allies in future campaigns and initiatives on the issue of gender pay gap, we believe that valuable partner would be Women's Front for workers and social rights, established in September 2013. Women's Front is made up of several non-governmental and trade union organizations and deals with the issue of labor and social rights of women in the context of legislative changes induced by the economic crisis. Also, except HSSMS-MT, the research that is closely related to the issue of gender pay gap was investigated by the Office of the Ombudsman for Gender Equality, which has made research on the issue of the glass ceiling in the private sector and it could be a contributor in the future actions by this point.

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