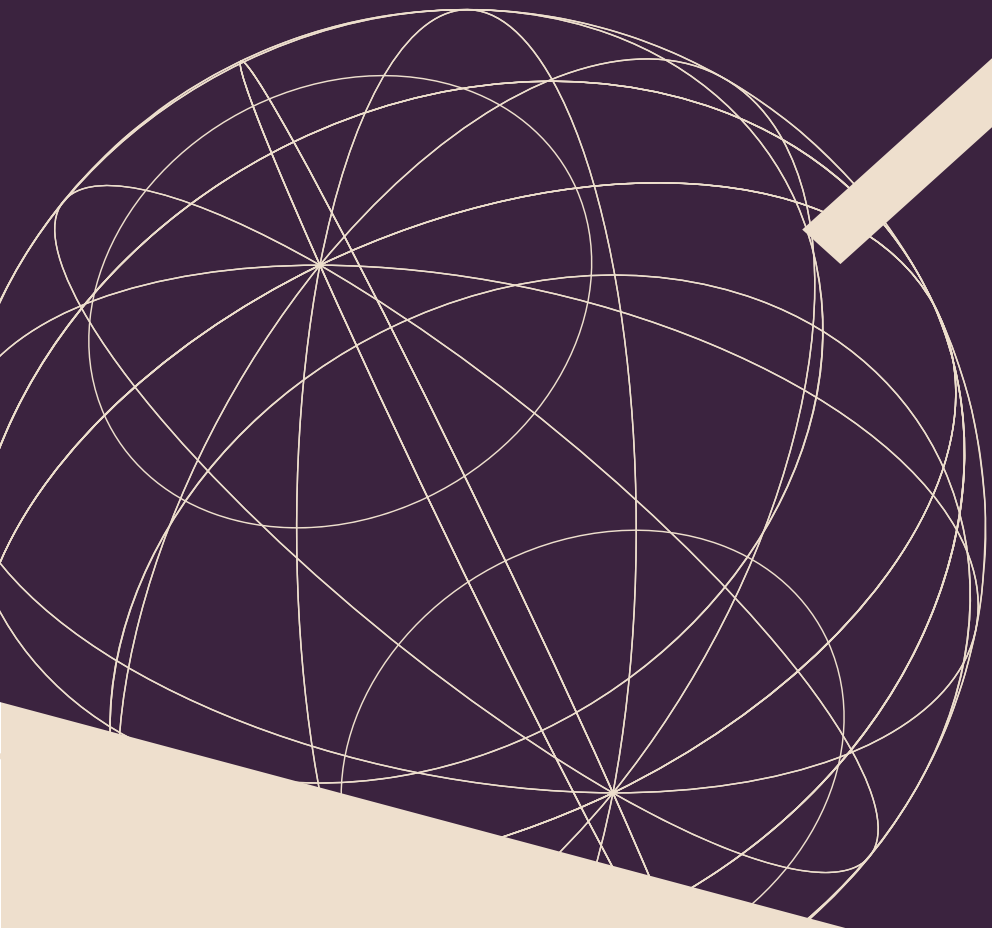
Recognize
Resist
Rise up



Country Report
on Gender-Based Violence against Women Politicians in Slovakia by a collective of female authors (Freedom of Choice/Možnosť voľby)

Co-funded by the European Union

možnosť voľby
FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Views and opinions expressed are however those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or European Commission. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Country Report
on Gender-Based Violence against Women Politicians in Slovakia by a collective of female authors (Freedom of Choice/Možnosť voľby)

možnosť voľby
FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Co-funded by
the European Union

Views and opinions expressed are however those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or European Commission. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Table of Contents

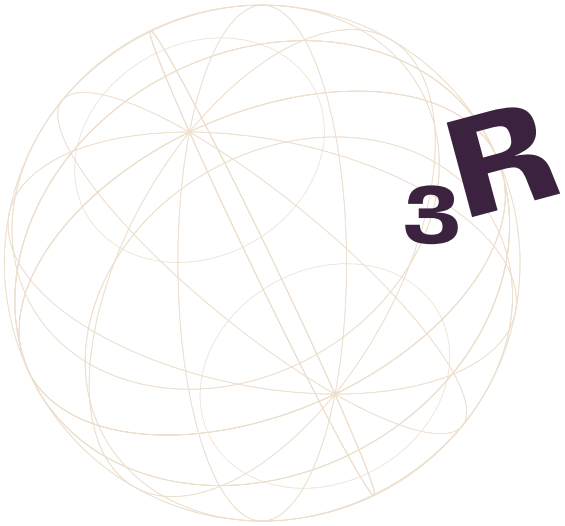
1. Introduction 1
2. Overview of the legislative and institutional framework 2
National institutional frameworks 5
3. Summarizing existing data, research and findings on VAWP 6
Research and data on VAWP 8
4. Policies and strategies for preventing and addressing VAWP in parliaments, political parties and other institutions 10
Circle the Woman 11
Political Parties 12
National Parliament 13
5. Case studies of violence against women politicians 14
Role of Media and Case Study on Lucia Plaváková 14
Case study on Zuzana Čaputová 16
6. Conclusion and recommendations 18
References 20

1. Introduction:

This Country Report (Capturing Background Information Related to Gender-Based Violence Against Women Politicians) was developed within the framework of the international project **3R: Recognize, Resist, Rise Up: Tackling Gender-Based Violence against Women in Politics**, implemented by a consortium of five European organizations: **Women for Election Ireland (IE)**, **EAF Berlin (DE)**, **Možnosť voľby (SK)**, **JÓL-LÉT Alapítvány (HU)**, and **Fórum 50 % (CZ)**. This report provides an overview of existing research, data and policies on violence against women in politics and identifies remaining gaps and challenges.

Violence against women in politics (VAWP) is a growing global concern, threatening not only gender equality but also democratic processes and rule of law. In Slovakia, women entering political life often face disproportionate levels of harassment, abuse and violence—both online and offline. This violence, often coordinated, aims to silence, delegitimise and ultimately exclude women from political life, posing a direct threat to inclusive governance and equal representation.

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the legislative, institutional and social context surrounding VAWP in Slovakia. It examines relevant legislative and institutional frameworks, evaluates national strategies and party-level responses and analyses available research, public attitudes and presents key case studies. Special attention is given to the role of media, civil society and political institutions in either combating or perpetuating this form of gender-based violence.



Findings reveal critical gaps: Slovakia lacks **targeted institutional or policy mechanisms** to specifically address violence against women in political life. Existing legal frameworks treat such violence as a collection of isolated offences, failing to capture its gendered, coordinated and structural nature. Moreover, the report highlights a concerning **lack of perpetrator accountability**, especially when public figures are involved in inciting or perpetrating the harassment. Harassment and abuse by other political leaders or public figures are often tolerated or ignored, with limited institutional remedies for victims. These shortcomings foster a climate where women's participation in politics is systematically undermined and discouraged, despite growing public awareness fostered by media and civil-society efforts.

2. Overview of the legislative and institutional framework

Key takeaways:

- Lack of a legal definition of VAWP; but existing laws cover relevant individual offences without recognizing the gendered political dimension and impacts.
- New legislation aiming to increase security of public figures lacks a nuanced gender-sensitive perspective and consideration of VAWP and its forms.
- Substantial legislative and institutional framework offers protection and criminalises most forms of VAWP, but timely access to justice and redress mechanisms are lacking.

This section includes an overview of the legislative and institutional framework relevant to VAWP, focusing on four sections: offences criminalised in the criminal code (sexual violence offences, other individual offences and offences aimed at public figures), legislation on misdemeanours, anti-discrimination legislation and relevant international and national frameworks. Currently, the Slovak legal system does not define gender-based violence, violence against women, nor political violence as such, but criminalises individual offences separately. For an overview of relevant offences from the Criminal Code (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2025), see Table 1 below.

Most of the included offences contain a mention of aggravating circumstances, which oftentimes include perpetration of the offence against a protected individual (including public figures) or repeated offences.

Another relevant legal provision is the Act no. 372/1990 on misdemeanours, which contains three relevant paragraphs – §47 Misdemeanour against public order, §47a Extremist misdemeanours, §48 Misdemeanour against civil coexistence (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 1990). Because there is no specific legislation on political violence or VAWP nor a reporting mechanism or institution, there is no tracking of VAWP reports, investigations or court decisions, which means that cases are considered in isolation and the true scope and extent of VAWP is unknown.

VAWP can also take the form of discrimination, which is prohibited by the Act no. 365/2004 on Equal Treatment in Certain Areas and Protection against Discrimination, amending and supplementing certain other laws, commonly known as the Anti-discrimination Law (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2004). Anti-discrimination law includes protection from sexual harassment as one form of discrimination, which can be considered an offence within VAWP. The scope of application of anti-discrimination law is limited to employment, education and public institutions, thus it would be applicable for women politicians, but its use as a form of prosecution of VAWP is not very known or widespread.

Table 1: Overview of criminal offences from the Criminal Code

CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES	EXAMPLES OF ACTS AND BEHAVIOURS
Bodily harm and battery §155 - §157	Intentional cause of grievous bodily harm, intentional cause of injury, or injury caused by negligence.
Rape §199	Non-consensual sexual intercourse committed against a woman by violence, threat of imminent violence, or abuse of the victim's helplessness.
Sexual violence §200	Forcing another person to perform or tolerate sexual acts through violence, threats, or exploitation of helplessness.
Assault against a public figure §323	Use of violence or threat of violence against a public official in connection with their official duties.
Aggravated assault against a public figure §324	Includes death threats, threats of physical harm, other damage
Incitement §337	Public incitement to violence or other criminal offences
Dangerous assault §360	Includes threats
Dangerous stalking §360a	Persistent following, harassment, threats, or other intrusive conduct that causes distress or fear for safety.
Dangerous electronic harassment §360b	Long-term threatening, humiliating or harassing conduct via electronic communications (e. g., email, social media), including threats of violence or damage to reputation.
Defamation §373	Public dissemination of false statements damaging another person‘s reputation.
Misuse of personal data §374	Unauthorized collection, disclosure, or misuse of someone's personal or sensitive data.
Incitement to national, ethnic or racial hatred §424	Publicly inciting hatred or violence against individuals or groups based on national, ethnic, racial, or similar identity.

Source: Slovak Criminal Code, Act no. 300/2005 Z. z.

Following the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister Fico in May 2024, new Act no. 166/2024 on certain measures to improve the security situation in the Slovak Republic, commonly known as "Lex Assassination", proposed by the government, was adopted in 2024 (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2024). The law regulates and restricts the right to protest, and guarantees appropriately equipped residence for three highest constitutional authorities. It also guarantees the right to protection in the form of security for leaders of all political parties elected into the parliament, who are members of parliament and who are not entitled to protection in connection with the fulfilment of other mandate. These provisions are mostly connected to physical security of some public officials and whereas they would be applicable to women, should they hold such posts, they do not specifically address other forms of VAWP, such as cyber violence, harassment or psychological violence nor do they address gender-dimension of violence against women in politics.

It is important to mention that following the attempted assassination, certain individuals were accused and convicted after sharing content approving or inciting to further violence against the Prime Minister or other governmental figures. However, these prosecutions were exceptional, as they only took place against individuals reacting to the attempted assassination. Such proactive action by law enforcement is rare, especially following similar incidents of incitement of VAWP.

International frameworks

There are two key international frameworks for women's rights and gender equality: The Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women by the Council of Europe (the Istanbul Convention). Slovakia is a signatory party of both frameworks but has ratified only CEDAW. The provisions of CEDAW are legally binding and therefore an important instrument of accountability; Slovakia furthermore ratified the Optional Protocol, thus allowing civil society organisations to seek redress and justice in case of individual complains by citizens or civil society organisations (United Nations, 1979).

The General Recommendation no. 35 from 2017 addresses gender-based violence as a form of discrimination, which can also happen in public and political life, and stresses various aspects related to access to justice and redress mechanisms for all victims of gender-based violence as well as the need to monitor and analyse data on complaints of GBV, including those that are facilitated via technology. It recommends a strengthened mandate of the national human rights institutions in addition to the role and use of self-regulatory mechanisms by media and social platforms to eradicate gender-stereotypes and address and limit gender-based violence (CEDAW, 2017).

CEDAW committee periodically issues Concluding Observations with specific recommendations for the government. In the latest Concluding Observations from 2023, the committee addressed the representation of women in politics and VAWP in several instances. One section was focused on countering gender-stereotypes, preventing hate-speech and gender-based discrimination on social media and the need to criminalise gender-related hate speech against women politicians (CEDAW, 2023). The Committee also directly addressed women's representation in politics and decision-making and recommended implementation of targeted measures such as increased quotas, more balanced candidate electoral lists by using for example the zipper system and intentional financing of pre-election campaign to reach more equal representation of women in on all levels of politics (CEDAW, 2023).

National institutional frameworks

This section includes a brief overview of national institutional frameworks related to gender equality and human rights.

The Government Council for Human Rights, National Minorities and Gender Equality of Slovak Republic is the expert, consultative and advisory authority to the government in matters of human rights protection, civil and political rights, minority rights and gender equality and others. It monitors and reports on implementation of international obligations in the field of human rights protection, in particular obligations arising from international conventions, including related optional protocols ratified by the Slovak Republic, and treaties on human rights and fundamental freedoms to which the Slovak Republic is a party. It can also adopt opinions and statements on current events related to human rights, minority rights and their violations or the state of gender equality.[1] The permanent expert body is the Committee for Gender Equality organised under the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family. It is an interministerial organ with representatives from all ministries, academia, social partners, civil-society organisations and regional government. Its key functions include monitoring of CEDAW implementation, other human rights frameworks, and EU legislation and strategic documents related to gender equality.[2]

The Department of Human Rights at the Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic is responsible for drafting of human rights legislation and ensures the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Ministry in the field of development and implementation of the national policy in the field of human rights and coordination of the fulfilment of tasks in the field of human rights.[3] The Department of Gender Equality, which is organised under the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family is responsible for the development of public policies, frameworks and strategies of gender equality and equality of opportunities in Slovakia as well as prevention and combating of violence against women.[4]

Another relevant public body is the Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, which is independent official equality and non-discrimination institution. Its mandate includes monitoring and evaluation of the adherence to the principles of human rights and equality as well as awareness-raising and educational activities, research and monitoring of the media.[5]

The institute of Public Defender of Rights is the independent authority monitoring the adherence to the principles of human and fundamental rights by public administration bodies. The institute can issue statements, recommendations and submit an application to the Constitutional Court.[6]

1 https://www.justice.gov.sk/ministerstvo/rada-vlady-sr-pre-ludske-prava-narodnostne-mensiny-a-rodovu-rovnost/
2 https://www.employment.gov.sk/sk/vybor-pre-rodovu-rovnost/
3 https://www.justice.gov.sk/ministerstvo/kontakty/
4 https://www.gender.gov.sk/sample-page/odbor-rodovej-rovnosti-a-rovnosti-prilezitosti/
5 https://www.snslp.sk/
6 https://vop.gov.sk/

3. Summarizing existing data, research and findings on VAWP

Key takeaways:

- Available studies and reports underscore targeted and coordinated attacks against women politicians, especially with connection to progressive and democratic values.
- There is a lack of both quantitative and qualitative research.
- Surveys and polls demonstrate persistent gender stereotypes related to women's and men's characteristics and behaviours related to participation in politics.

Currently there is no available data or studies on prevalence and only one qualitative study on VAWP in Slovakia. There are several studies mapping societal attitudes to women's participation in decision-making and politics, which can provide valuable information about women's perceived roles in public life. These come from surveys done by Slovak agencies or by EU institutions, such as different Eurobarometer surveys. Furthermore, there are two reports on monitoring of hate-speech and cyber violence on social media in the context of pre-election periods. This section first presents an overview of the state of women's representation in politics, followed by available data on public opinions about women's representation in politics and decision-making and lastly key findings from existing studies and research on hate-speech and violence against women in politics and then political figures in general.

Statistical information on women's candidacy and election into regional governments, European and national parliaments and the presidential election is available and published yearly by the Statistical Office (see the publication for more information). The last publication from 2024 provides statistical information on the period between 2009-2024. In the most recent parliamentary elections in 2023, 33 women candidates were elected into the national parliament making them 22% of all parliamentarians, currently as of May 2025 the number of female parliamentarians stands at 35 (23.3%). The election success rate of women candidates in the election of 2023 stands at 5% and the success rate of male candidates at 5.9%, the ratio was slightly more favourable in 2020, when it was 5.2% to 5.7%. These statistics also show that young women under 30 are the least likely age-group to be elected into parliament; their election rate stood at 2% in 2023, followed by women aged over 61 with the election rate of 3.1% compared to 5.9% for men in the same age category.

The most gender balanced distribution is in the European parliament with seven women and eight men representatives, where women experienced the biggest success in the proportion of candidates versus elected representatives, 88 to seven for women and 204 to eight for men. On the other hand, women's representation in the governmental bodies of self-governing region is only 17%, making it the least gender balanced. Women make up 26.5% of municipal and town mayors and 27.1% of municipal governments. Slovak Republic had one women president in its history, in the period between 2019 and 2024, in that election there were two women candidates to 11 male candidates. In the most recent presidential elections in June 2024, for the first time in history there was no women candidate and nine male candidates. When it comes to ministers, as of May 2025 there are two (13%) women ministers, at the Ministry of Economy and Ministry of Culture. After the parliamentary elections in September 2023, there was also a women Minister of Health, who stepped down. The highest proportion of women ministers in any

government was five out of 15, (33%) during the period in 2018-2020 and during the period of interim government of civil servants in 2023.

The recent Flash Eurobarometer (European Commission, 2023) on gender stereotypes surveyed public acceptance of different stereotypes, including two questions relevant to women's political participation. 83% of respondents in Slovakia agreed that men are more ambitious than women when it comes to politics, compared to the EU average of 47% respondents agreeing, which demonstrates considerably higher agreement with stereotypical perception of men's characteristics related to political life. There is only a small difference in the agreement of Slovak men and women, with 85% and 81% respectively, and the data further shows that men aged 40-54 and women aged 55+ tend to agree with the statement the most. Another surveyed stereotype was related to women being more likely to make decisions based on their emotions than men, with 76% of Slovak respondents agreeing compared to the EU average of 62%. 78% of Slovak men and 74% of women agree with the statement, with men aged 15-24 being the most likely to agree between all age categories and both genders, with the rate of 84%.

The Institute for Public Affairs carried out a more extensive research on public's perceptions of the political participation of women as well as the identification of major barriers to women's increased participation in politics in 2020 titled Political participation of women in Slovakia 2020: Where we stand and where are we heading? The research had a limited focus on surveying the proportion of those satisfied with women's participation in different levels of decision-making limited to their numbers. Results showed general low sensitivity towards more balanced representation of men and women in decision-making, with almost half of respondent being sort-of or completely satisfied with women's representation in regional and municipal governments (55%), in the parliament (46%) and in the government (45%), especially considering that women's representation in these has steadily been around 20-30% and oftentimes significantly lower in governments. Men show higher rates of satisfaction with women's representation than women (see Table 2) and display considerable high levels of satisfaction in general – between 63% to 55% of men consider women's political representation satisfactory, whereas women's actual representation is around 20-30%. This shows that men are less sensitive to equal participation of women and men in politics (Bútorová & Gyárfášová, 2020).

Table 2: Public satisfaction with women's representation in politics (in %).

	WOMEN		MEN	
	Satisfactory	**Not satisfactory**	**Satisfactory**	**Not satisfactory**
Municipal and regional government	46	51	63	34
National parliament	37	60	56	42
Government	36	62	55	43

Source: Bútorová, Z., Gyárfášová, O. (2020). Political participation of women in Slovakia 2020: Where we stand and where are we heading? Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs, p. 34.

The research further surveyed the most commonly perceived barriers to women's increased participation in politics, where respondents rated eight formerly identified barriers as rather or very significant barrier or rather or not significant at all. The barrier, which was perceived as the most significant was women's household and childcare responsibilities (79%), followed by male domination in politics and their intent to keep their power and decision-making (77%) and lack of support and understanding by women's partners (73%), perception of politics as dirty and ruthless and therefore unsuited and unattractive to women (74%) (Bútorová & Gyárfášová, 2020). The threats and consequences of VAWP are not included as a barrier, but both the perceived importance of male domination in politics and the perception of politics as dirty and ruthless (77% of women compared to 71% of men consider this barrier as mostly or very significant) can be linked to women's exposure to violence and harassment in politics, due to the perception of them not belonging into it. The authors then analyse the impact of these perceptions on general assessment of equal opportunities of women and men running for parliamentary elections, with three factors being the most impactful: structural barrier of women having less favourable positions on candidate lists, lack of understanding and support from a partner and male domination in politics (Bútorová & Gyárfášová, 2020, 38).

Research and data on VAWP

In the context of Slovak Republic there is one qualitative study on violence against women active in the public sphere focused on members of parliament, journalists and gender equality experts from 2024 (Gotthardová). This research provided primary data and findings from 14 semi-structured in-depth interviews and focused on experiences of violence and its consequences from the perspective of those critical of the government in the context of attempts to limit the freedom of the press and in period when several women public figures withdrew from the public life and politics as a direct consequence of experiencing violence. Results confirm that women politicians are oftentimes targeted and harassed for their appearance, age, sexuality, gender-identity, personal lives or supposed incompetence but most prominently for their political beliefs and values.

Most reported forms of violence included online abuse and harassment, often sexualized, but also physical or verbal attacks in person. One respondent reported having a stalker for an extended time period and few reported receiving death-threats targeting them and their family. The findings further identified coordinated patterns of online harassment and violence against women politicians representing pro-European and progressive values like democracy, human rights, gender equality or showing support to Ukraine during the war. The reported consequences of exposure to violence include self-censorship, retreat from social media or politics in general and even change in their professional expertise to limit the exposure to violence associated with certain topics, such as migrant and refugee rights or Roma rights and inclusion. Findings also underscore a widespread lack of trust in institutions and law enforcement, where the responsibility to deal with the violence and its consequences is individualised, without access to targeted support or reporting mechanisms. Multiple interviewed politicians outsource the management of their social media or email accounts to their assistants to go through, delete and block violent or abusive content. Some MPs also utilise special online features to automatically flag and remove certain content. Few MPs report particularly violent content to a Ministry of Justice department dealing with extremism, but they made note that if doesn't seem to function since after election restructuring. There is a strong perceived lack of accountability for perpetrators, who are sometimes openly and publicly accepted and even supported by certain public officials from opposing political parties. Several respondents mentioned they took legal action against the perpetrators, but the court cases were still ongoing or took several years to be resolved.

The area of online violence against women politicians in Slovakia has been explored in the study *Gender-based hate in the Slovak pre-election period: Are publicly known women and men being attacked on social platforms to the same extent and in similar ways?* published by GLOBSEC in 2023 (Strauzsová et al.). The study was part of a wider project aimed at monitoring the information space during

pre-election period. This research focused on analysing, quantifying and comparing the extent to which men and women are targeted by online violence, abuse and harassment. The sample included 76 women and 46 men among who were politicians, journalists and other institutional authorities and the analysis was carried out on 300 selected social media posts, 150 targeting women and 150 targeting men selected based on the highest numbers of interactions. The goal of the study was to identify the most common gender-narratives and the target audience of the posts as well as to determine whether women experience more violence or more intense attacks. Results demonstrated that women were targeted in 88% of posts compared to men attacked in 66% of posts. Majority of attacks on women were targeted against the then president Zuzana Čaputová and the journalist Monika Tódová, followed by Veronika Remišová, who previously served as Minister for Informatisation, Regional Development and Investments. Most common for both genders were attacks based on moral ideals, including accusations of selling out, media manipulation, lobbying or anti-LGBTQ+ narratives. Women were more often attacked or targeted for their intellectual abilities and to a lesser extent for their, skills and competencies, age, use of misogyny and sexism and appearance. The conclusions of the research show that women experience more online violence compared to male figures and most of the analysed violent posts were coordinated and published by other political actors or disinformation media and personalities.

Another recent publication focused on the role of social media, specifically on the presence of hate speech on social media profiles of political figures and its influence on polarisation of the society and respect for human rights. The research was carried out by the Slovak National Centre for Human Rights in the publication *Hate Speech on Political Facebook Profiles: Hate Speech Monitoring Report* published in 2023. The monitoring included the mapping of both social media statuses and related comments of most popular political figures with a specific focus on islamophobic, homophobic and anti-Roma sentiment and content in the period before the official start of 2023 the parliamentary election campaign. Even though the monitoring is not focused on gender-based violence or VAWP, there are several relevant findings. The mapping confirmed the wide-spread presence of anti-liberal, anti-progressive and anti-democratic narratives aimed at activists or civil-society organizations representatives or figures who publicly support or advocate for movement against climate change and ecology, rights of migrants and refugees, Roma and LGBTQ+ minorities. The report further underscores the presence of hate-speech in comments under posts across the whole political spectrum, their presence as not always linked to hate-speech in the post itself and a general normalization and acceptance of hate speech and related narratives on social media and the absence of fair discussion and public discourse (Vicenová et al., 2023).

4. Policies and strategies for preventing and addressing VAWP in parliaments, political parties and other institutions

Key takeaways:

- Lack of institutional mechanisms targeted at combating VAWP, reporting or investigative mechanisms and no code of conduct for MPs.
- Only one political party has a code of conduct which addresses harassment, discrimination and sexual harassment and informs about a reporting and investigation procedure.
- Despite formal commitment to eliminating VAWP and increasing women's representation in politics, specific actions, clear and measurable targets and indicators by governmental and public administration bodies are missing.
- Civil society organisations and media play a crucial role in VAWP awareness raising, but these activities are not supported by targeted measures, commitment and funds administered by government or public institutions.

Institutions and government in Slovakia pledge support to increasing and supporting the participation of women in politics and decision-making in a number of strategies, documents and frameworks. One entire chapter in the most recent National strategy for equality of men and women and equality of opportunities for the period of 2021-2027 is dedicated to political and economic participation of women and their participation in decision-making (Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic, 2021). The first chapter of the strategy first presents an overview of the status-quo when it comes to women's representation in parliaments, elections and judiciary, identifying slow progress in increasing women's participation especially in the context of their higher education compared to men. The strategy introduces a main and operational goals aimed at increasing women's political and economic participation: more equal and representative participation of women in managerial and decision-making positions in public and private sphere. Equal participation in decision-making. The operational goals related to political participation and decision-making include:

— Support in increasing participation of women in decision-making positions in political life, including their motivation and ability to run in elections and participate.
— Support in enabling girls to participate in public life via working with youth, youth parliament and simulation, workshops or other activities in cooperation with women politicians, activists and publicly active women.

This strategy thus doesn't contain any concrete and measurable goals or vision for increasing women's participation in politics and decision-making, the outlined goals are vague and only one is directly linked to women's political participation. The goals outlined in the Equality strategy are to be reached via the corresponding Action plan for the equality of men and women and equality of opportunities for the period 2021-2027 (Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family). The section on political and economic participation of women contains only three activities, one of which is aimed at economic participation:

1. Creation of an interactive map with female candidates and representatives across the regions to be realized in cooperation with regional and municipal bodies by 2023 and continuously updated

2. Support the increase in women's representation and societal and expert discussion on increasing women's participation in politics via awareness raising campaign

3. Supporting women's entrepreneurship by systemic changes including improving work-life balance (not applicable).

This action plan lacks any concrete measurable goals (except for activity no. 1), measurable indicators to determine the success of the activities and implementation plan, especially concerning activity no. 2, which is the most relevant for reaching the strategic goal. The body responsible for the implementation of this activity is the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family in cooperation with unspecified civil-society organisations. Furthermore, no budget is indicated for the envisioned activities. The implementation of the action plan is monitored every three years by the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family and reported on in a monitoring report; the last report was published in 2023.[7] The monitoring report does not display or address activity no. 1 – interactive map – and doesn't offer any explanation as to why this goal was not realized and was disregarded; as of May 2025 no interactive map of female candidates and representatives is available. Regarding activity no. 2, a civil-society initiative Circle the Woman (discussed below) is mentioned as the only activity, without clear indication of what role or support was provided by the Ministry or other governmental bodies, citing the success of increasing women's representation in the national parliament by one woman MP in 2023 compared to 2020. No further information or evaluation is available, demonstrating limited ability and willingness by governmental and public institutions to improve women's position in political life and decision-making and public commitments to their support as only declaratory.

Circle the Woman

Circle the Woman (Zakrúžkuj ženu) is the most recent and the most relevant initiative with a specific focus on women politicians. It is a civil society organization established by gender-equality experts, activists and volunteers before the 2023 parliamentary election. The aim is to increase women's participation in politics by encouraging people to use preferential voting to select women candidates – thus the name Circle the Woman. The goal underscores individual power of citizens and their ability to make a difference, despite the lack of effort by political parties to ensure equal representation of candidates on candidate lists or women's increased promotion, for example by positioning them on top of candidate lists. The initiative was realized via public campaign featuring publicly known figures becoming ambassadors of the initiative and announcing their support as well as by organizing a series of public discussions and publishing articles and awareness-raising content on their website. This initiative encouraged public discourse on why women should be equally represented in politics and decision-making as well as drawing attention to the biggest challenges, such as continued sexism, stereotypes and misogyny, lack of prioritization by political parties and lack of mechanisms ensuring that women are able to continuously participate in decision-making– ensuring favourable conditions for their participation. The initiative gained traction in Slovak media, but the representation of women in the national parliament after the 2023 election increased by one woman only. The initiative also actively engaged with the 2024 presidential elections, which for the first time in Slovak history didn't feature any women candidates.[8]

---

7 The monitoring report was shared by a member of the Committee for Gender Equality for purposes of this report, but is not available online.

8 https://www.zakruzkujzenu.sk/

Political Parties

Encouraging women to actively participate in politics can only be done when favourable measures and mechanisms are implemented by political parties and public institutions themselves. Political parties can promote gender equality by ensuring women have equal access to opportunities and resources and also by addressing and eliminating their exposure to violence and giving its members access to reporting mechanisms, with clear investigation procedure and possible sanctions.

Only one political party, Progressive Slovakia, introduced gender quotas in their candidate list – featuring 75 women and 75 male candidates, implementing the zipper system[9] with woman candidate as no. 2, resulting in 15 elected women candidates out of 33 total elected women candidates in the most recent parliamentary elections in 2023.[10] The same political party implemented the zipper system for elections into the European parliament, resulting in three women representatives from the party.[11] Another guideline or mechanism on the level of political parties, which can support women's participation in politics and decision-making is a gender-sensitive and gender-responsive code of conduct, which contains a clearly defined set of values and guiding principles as well as behaviours and actions which will not be tolerated and defines actions, which will follow should a complaint or report be made.

Out of six parliamentary political parties, only two parties have published a code of conduct/ethical code (Progressive Slovakia and Sloboda a solidarita) and the rest of political parties publish their party rules (bylaws). The Sloboda a solidarita (SaS) code of conduct is focused on virtues related to good conduct in legal and criminal matters, especially financial, and requires its members to act in accordance with the constitution, laws, norms and "good manners," without any specifications. The Code of conduct makes a reference to a board of supervisors and arbitration commission, which can investigate, exclude or penalize a party member for breaking the code of conduct.[12] Progressive Slovakia's ethical code includes the values they follow, including equality and human dignity as well as principles guiding political participation within the party and outwards such as tolerance, respect, equal opportunities and equal treatment. The ethical code makes a reference to behaviours, which are considered to be in conflict with the ethical code and are not tolerated: discrimination, harassment, sexual harassment, humiliation and other disrespectful behaviours. It further includes examples of behaviours, which can be considered sexual harassment and outlines formal and informal options for resolution. The ethical code also outlines the investigation procedure and responsible organs: Arbitration Committee and the party Secretariat.[13]

The remaining political parties' only publish bylaws, which include rights and duties of party members usually including reference to behaviour in accordance with the party program (Hlas[14] , SMER[15] , SNS[16], Hnutie Slovensko[17]) or internal regulations (SNS), but these are not publicly available. All party bylaws include reference and organization of Arbitration Committee. No political party documentation other than Progressive Slovakia makes any specific reference to values of gender equality and women's equal participation in politics or decision-making nor addresses any gender-sensitive issues. The existence of gender-sensitive provision in the ethical code doesn't guarantee its effective implementation exercise.

---

9 The so-called zipper system, also called vertical parity, in the context of candidate lists refers to alternating order of male and female candidates, meaning that 50% of candidate list is made up of women, increasing the number of elected women as a result.
10 https://dennikn.sk/3455740/kandidatna-listiny-strany-progresivne-slovensko-pre-parlamentne-volby-2023/
11 https://domov.sme.sk/c/23333750/kandidati-za-stranu-ps-eurovolby-2024.html
12 https://www.sas.sk/clanok/4055/hodnoty
13 https://progresivne.sk/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Eticky-kodex-hnutia-Progresivne-Slovensko.pdf
14 https://strana-hlas.sk/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Stanovy-strany-HLAS_1.01.pdf
15 https://www.strana-smer.sk/o-nas/stanovy
16 https://www.sns.sk/dokumenty/stanovy/
17 https://www.obycajniludia.sk/stanovy/

National Parliament

A set of binding principles guides the fulfilment of members of parliament political mandate in the form of the Rules of procedure, which make a direct reference to the duties of MPs in following the constitution, laws and ethical code, which can be adopted by the National Parliamentarian Assembly (§9a).[18] The rules of procedure also state that the breach of ethical code is punishable with a fine of up to 500 EUR and contains a specific provision stating that offending the bodies of national assembly or other member of parliament or constitutional authority, is subject to a fine up to 1000 EUR if decided by the Mandate and Immunity Committee. As of May 2025 there is no valid Code of Conduct for Members of Parliament in Slovakia. The official website of the Parliamentary Assembly published a draft code of conduct, which was created in 2015, but it was never adopted. The draft proposal contains a provision requiring MPs to behave with integrity and fairness and with respect to good manners and abstain from media and public appearances, which could negatively affect another MP's human dignity and disproportionately criticise their work and avoid all acts and behaviours criminalised in the criminal code.[19]

Media and political discourse on hate speech in public has gained significant attention following the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister Robert Fico in May 2024, which was according to Fico and some other governmental officials a direct result of hate speech and violence in public discourse by media, oppositional politicians and activists.[20] In response to these events a proposal on Code of Conduct of Public Officials has been drafted and submitted to legislative process by the Director of the Office of the Government of Slovak Republic (2025). The draft code of conduct contains the key guiding principles, including the principle of proper conduct and inclusion, which requires public official to (translation and gender-sensitive language by the author):

> "Maintains high standards of decorum and conducts oneself in a manner that upholds the highest standards of presentable behaviour.
>
> He/she should conduct himself/herself in a professional, respectful and dignified manner in official dealings and with all those with whom he/she comes into contact.
>
> He/she shall perform his/her duties with due respect for the institutional framework and with unconditional respect for the applicable legal order of the Slovak Republic.
>
> Shall show respect for all citizens and their dignity and encourage such behaviour across ethnic minorities and communities irrespective of their standing and affiliation." [21]

The proposed Code of Conduct is currently under review after receiving initial comments. These recent developments surrounding the proposed Code of Conduct must be understood in the current social and political context of politicization and weaponisation of discourse around hate-speech and requirements for proper conduct by public officials with the aim to manipulate and control public opinion and restrict media and public discourse in increasingly authoritarian efforts by some constitutional and governmental officials.

---

18 https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Static/sk-SK/NRSR/Doc/zd_rokovaci-poriadok.pdf

19 https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/Download.px%3FDocID%3D418224&ved=2ahUKEwjT37GDxdiNAxXyIRAIHUNmAy4QFnoECBsQAQ&usg=AOvVaw3xokETqdhE4bKatKp1Vxr_

20 https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/RMaKbGp/policia-spaja-atentat-na-roberta-fica-s-jedinou-opozicnou-stranou-na-vysluch-uz-musel-ist-predseda-aj-krajsky-sef/

21 https://www.slov-lex.sk/elegislativa/legislativne-procesy/SK/LP/2025/69

5. Case studies of violence against women politicians

Key takeaways:

- Case studies demonstrate the intersectionality of VAWP, combining homophobia, misogyny, discrimination and repression of political participation and its possible consequences of complete withdrawal from politics.
- These high-profile case studies sparked societal and media discourse and in some cases cross-party and societal solidarity and support, but institutional redress and accountability for perpetrators was limited and often obstructed.

Role of Media and Case Study on Lucia Plaváková

Whereas there has been little progress by political parties or the national parliamentary assembly and its institutions, media coverage of instances of VAWP are and have been instrumental in awareness-raising about the barriers and challenges that women in politics face and its consequences on their professional and private lives.

The five-year mandate of Slovakia's first women president Zuzana Čaputová between 2019 and 2024 marked the biggest milestone in women's representation and participation in politics and decision-making, but also openly addressed VAWP and its consequences exemplified in Čaputová's decision not to run for second term as president. She explained her decision by not having enough strength to sustain constant attacks against herself and her close family, including her children, for another 5 years and she openly discussed her experiences in media appearances, broaching the topic of VAWP, which sparked wider societal discussion. In summer of 2024, several long-read articles and interviews with women politicians representing different political parties were published. In an interview published by Denník N, women politicians shared their worst experiences as well as their coping mechanisms and whether they are motivated to continue in their political work. A shared narrative among the interviewed women was mention of attacks on their families and children as being particularly difficult to deal with and as having immense impact on their willingness and motivation to continue in their political work (Tódová, 2024). Another common experience included the coordinated attacks on social media of women politicians, when a certain event, social media post or a press conference by oppositional politician or well-known figure would incite a wave of violence and attacks. This attests to the use of VAWP as a tool for political gain and at the same time to push women out of the public sphere. The women also shared strategies of how they limited their exposure to online harassment, hate and violence, for example by having their assistants go through their mailbox, inbox and comments first and remove inappropriate and offensive content. This underscores the lack of institutionalised reporting mechanisms or support and complete individualisation of responsibility to deal with VAWP dependent on their resources – human, emotional, financial and time.

There have been several other instances when VAWP was publicly addressed and gained media attention and wider societal support. One incident involved discrimination and harassment of the oppositional MP Lucia Plaváková, when she was ordered to leave the parliamentary assembly and accused of displaying

commercials in the form of an LGBTQ+ flag sticker on her notebook.[22] This was considered discriminatory as Plaváková is an LGBTQ+ community member and an outspoken advocate for queer rights by Plaváková and a number of other MPs.[23] The incident further escalated and was discussed in multiple press conferences of different political parties and in one of them, another MP from the Slovak National Party, Rudolf Huliak, said: "This woman doesn't deserve to be called anything other than a bitch," and further said he doesn't even consider her a woman, connected to her support of a women's right to terminate pregnancy.[24] Following this, Plaváková took a number of steps, including reporting the incident and violence against her and her daughter that it caused to the police by filing a lawsuit on personality protection against Huliak and also submitted a complaint to the constitutional court for discrimination and for banning her from the parliamentary assembly and together with her party members they initiated disciplinary proceedings against Huliak by the Mandate and Immunity Committee and also attempted to remove Huliak from the post of Chairman of the National Council's committee on agriculture and the environment.[25] This incident illustrates the complex and intersectional violence that women politicians experience and its widespread consequences in the offline and online world on their professional and personal lives. Plaváková was attacked, harassed and discriminated against for being a member of the queer community in very violent public display of dehumanisation and also attacked for her values of LGBTQ+ and pro-choice rights. She was also prevented from being able to fulfil her mandate as an MP.

At the same time, the event unified the oppositional political parties who held a press conference and rejected the violence and sparked a supportive action in the form of petition Let's say no to harassment and humiliation of women, which was started by Holečková, an MP from the Freedom and Solidarity party and signed by a number of both female and male members of parliament and public figures.[26] In reaction, some members of the Government Council for Human Rights, National Minorities and Gender Equality submitted a resolution condemning the increasing violations of good manners and parliamentary behaviour and the discrimination and harassment of Plaváková in particular and demanding that Huliak is held accountable. Based on a statement by one member of the Council, the planned session did not take place and thus the resolution was not adopted.

As of May 2025, it is not known what are the official outcomes of the court procedures, but proceedings have started. The parliamentary institutions and the Mandate and Immunity Committee have decided that there has been no breach of protocol and no disciplinary actions against Huliak have been taken. In March 2025, Huliak has been named the Minister for Investments, Regional Development and Informatisation, underscoring the general acceptance and tolerance of discriminatory behaviour and violence and harassment of women in public roles, despite its clear rejection by some.

---

22 Display of commercial symbols in the assembly is forbidden by the Rules of Procedure.
23 https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/740630-ustavny-sud-prijal-na-dalsie-konanie-staznost-plavakovej-proti-vykazaniu-z-plena-parlamentu-za-nalepky-na-laptope/
24 https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/727811-huliak-bude-za-hrube-vyroky-voci-plavakovej-celit-pokusu-o-odvolanie-progresivci-navrh-predlozia-parlamentu/
25 https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/725549-plavakova-sa-pre-huliakove-urazky-obracia-na-policiu-aj-ustavny-sud/
26 https://www.peticie.com/povedzme_nie

Case study on Zuzana Čaputová

Zuzana Čaputová was the youngest and the first women president of the Slovak Republic in the years 2019-2024. She ran for election supported by the Progressive Slovakia party following a successful career as lawyer and activist, where she became known as the face of successful public campaign against a toxic landfill near residential area. Both during her campaign and her presidency, she advocated for and supported values of democracy, inclusion, social justice and equality. She described herself as the president of the people and oftentimes actively disagreed with government's legislative proposals or actions.

Background: Čaputová's presidential campaign and subsequent presidency was marked by a series of crises and events, which significantly influenced the political and social environment. During the presidential campaign, the investigative journalist Jan Kuciak and his fiancée Martina Kusnirova were assassinated, which sparked protests and resulted in restructuring of the government, with the Prime Minister Fico stepping down. The period between 2020 and 2023 was also marked by the COVID-19 pandemic. This background and contextual information is crucial for understanding the scope and nature of violence which was aimed at Čaputová. Čaputová was thus targeted by representatives of the then leading party SMER, especially after the 2020 parliamentary election, when they were in opposition and later again after winning the 2023 parliamentary election. Čaputová was also targeted by some representatives of the 2020-2023 government for criticising some of government's actions or vetoing legislation.

Perpetrators and forms of violence: Zuzana Čaputová was repeatedly harassed by public figures, including governmental officials, MPs, both coalitional and oppositional party leaders and by the general public. The violence was often perpetrated on social media, but also in press or during public events or press conferences.

She was also often targeted by disinformation media channels who published untrue information, but also published images altered by AI, where was made to appear weighing more, one image showed her with a bigger and differently shaped nose[27] and manipulated pictures from political visits where she appeared bored and disgusted were also shared. Several deepfake videos were circulated aimed at political manipulation (Struhárik, 2023). There have been several incidents when she received death threats, was sent bullets in an envelope and once a person entered her private property. The most common types of VAWP Čaputová experienced was psychological violence and physical violence, which included threats (Benedikovičová, 2024).

The harassment and violence she experienced exhibits several characteristic features: complex and coordinated patterns of violence, where well-known public figures with great following would accuse Čaputová of some wrongdoing and at times incite (both directly and indirectly) their followers to also harass her. This resulted in complex layers of violent content – in the comment sections of accounts of political parties or public figures or under articles, but also Čaputová's email, public profiles or even letterbox in her residency or the presidential palace. These experiences and patterns also demonstrate the online-offline continuum of VAWP, where it is difficult to clearly distinguish between individual experiences of violence in the online and offline space, as they might be interconnected and feed into each other.

Several key narratives repeatedly used for the harassment can be identified:

- Claims and accusations that Čaputová is a foreign agent or sponsored by a foreign government or influential figures – most prominently the US government and George Soros and she is following their instructions
- In this context, she was often called explicit names, such as American prostitute or whore, on one occasion then party leader Fico likened her to a rat, which is an example of dehumanisation (Kéry, 2023)

27 https://www.omediach.com/hoaxy/15215-zem-a-vek-upravil-nos-caputovej-ako-na-antisemitskych-karikaturach?fbclid=IwAR3u4MbUhIL4OBDSM42KQ5VK_g0aLD64rl3Zfkva49IYuGnfFk3xjiw9Ipg

— Similar claims were linked to her supposed support of NATO and attacks that certain geopolitical decisions would threaten the security of the country and thus accusing her of being a traitor
— Čaputová was often accused of spreading and supporting gender ideology and promoting migration, both of which were linked to threats for the country's security.

One of the most severe incidents of VAWP took place during a rally organised by the then oppositional party SMER-SSD for 1st of May celebrations in 2022, where one of key party figures asked the crowd to say what they think about the president and repeatedly calling American and the crowd responding with "American whore" several times (Kyseľ, 2022).

Another medialised incident of cyber violence involved Čaputová's underage daughter, who was targeted and attacked by the MP Tomas Taraba following her participation in fashion show in 2021. In this attack he shared her images with the comment: "We have a new top model in Slovakia." Comments under this post ridiculed her appearance and implied that her participation in the fashion show was due to her being the daughter of president. This incident caused a wave of harassment and abuse against president and her daughter. In response Čaputová issued a statement on her social media channel: "Attacking a politician over his or her children is a political low. MP Taraba would never have been interested in my daughter if it was not related to my position. Human malice and stupidity is what I have to face in life, but leave my children out of it!" (Hyriaková, 2024). This incident underscores that women politicians are often harassed for their personal lives and roles as mothers.

Responses: Despite Čaputová's general belief that public political figures are subjected to greater scrutiny and also must tolerate a greater degree of criticism, on several occasions she filed a personality protection lawsuits against several political figures for publishing and spreading untrue information with the goal of inciting to strong negative emotions and further violence, specifically against Fico (Osvaldová, 2023) and Blaha (Osvaldová, 2022). The lawsuit was filed in reaction to being accused of being a foreign agent and following foreign orders. The court ruled in her favour twice and also ordered Blaha to delete the social media content without delay.

Moreover, Čaputová raised awareness about the nature and scope of VAWP she experiences as lawyer, presidential candidate and president and its consequences openly and publicly, especially after announcing that she will not run for second term. This sparked a wider societal debate on VAWP in Slovakia (as discussed in section 5. On media). The experiences of VAWP that Čaputová faced were rejected by many Slovak or foreign political and public figures and many expressed their support. During her term in office, she also drew attention to violence against women in general, by visiting specialist support services for victims of violence,[28] organising a public campaign for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (TASR, 2023). and by creating the platform We are Here, with the aim of building a community of allies who fight against VAW and its acceptance, announced on the occasion of International Women's Day (Aktuality, 2024).

Consequences: The most significant consequence of the exposure to VAWP was Čaputová's decision not to run for second term of presidency, where she specifically mentioned the harassment and violence against her and fear for her family as some of the main reasons. This underscores that VAWP can result in women's withdrawal from politics as well as potentially discourage other women from entering politics after witnessing the harassment and abuse. Further consequences include interruptions of day-to-day and family life as Čaputová retold the aftermath of somebody breaking onto the private property, consequences of fearing for one's life as aftermath of death threats, reputational damage, emotional, financial and time resources for building a case and bringing a lawsuit against individuals.

28 https://www.prezident.sk/article/prezidentka-debatovala-s-odbornickami-o-nasili-na-zenach/

6. Conclusion and recommendations

Violence against women in politics in Slovakia remains a largely invisible and inadequately addressed issue, despite its significant implications for democracy, rule of law and equality. This report findings reveal a complex and concerning picture: women politicians are regularly subjected to targeted, coordinated, and often politicized abuse, particularly those who advocate for democratic values, gender equality, and minority rights. These attacks are not only personal; they are also political, used to marginalise, intimidate and silence women and ultimately push them out from public life.

Three interlinked challenges can be identified. First, there is a lack of data, both quantitative and qualitative on the prevalence, forms and consequences of VAWP. This prevents evidence-based policymaking and might reinforce the perception that the problem is isolated or anecdotal. Second, Slovakia lacks targeted legal, institutional and reporting mechanisms to define, recognize, prevent and respond to VAWP. Current protection is fragmented and reactive, and the burden to seek justice falls overwhelmingly on individual women, not institutions. Third, there is a culture of impunity and political tolerance for perpetrators, especially when those responsible are themselves public officials or party representatives. This failure of accountability has negative consequences for women in politics but can also deter others from entering political life. Moreover, the current context is characterized by the instrumentalisation of violence, harassment and abuse as tools of political control. Disinformation, misogyny and targeted online hate campaigns are used to incite public hostility and violence, often encouraged or left unchecked by political leaders. These practices are particularly dangerous in polarised political contexts, such as the current one.

Despite these challenges, civil society organizations, media, and some political actors play a crucial role in bringing attention to VAWP, supporting and showing solidarity to the affected women, and pushing for change.

To counter these challenges, the following policy recommendations are proposed:

1. **Adopt a Legal Definition of VAWP:** Introduce specific legal definitions and provisions recognizing violence against women in politics as a unique and punishable criminal offence.

2. **Establish a Dedicated Police Unit:** Establish a dedicated police unit and ensure gender-sensitive and expert capacity building on political violence, which reflects new technological advancements and changing forms of violence, to ensure timely proceedings, investigation and accountability in matters of VAWP.

3. **Include VAWP into National Action Plan on Gender Equality:** Integrate the elimination of VAWP into existing gender equality frameworks with concrete and measurable goals, indicators, timelines and dedicated funding.

4. **Enforce Gender-Sensitive Codes of Conduct for the Members of the Parliament:** Require all parliamentary institutions to adopt and implement codes of conduct addressing discrimination, harassment, and abuse, with concrete mechanisms for enforcement to promote a culture of accountability.

5. **Enforce Gender-Sensitive Codes of Conduct for Political Parties:** Require all political parties to adopt and implement a gender-sensitive code of conduct with concrete list of unacceptable behaviours and the investigation procedure and sanctions.

6. **Establish Institutional Reporting Mechanisms:** Create safe, accessible, and confidential channels for reporting VAWP, ensuring victim protection and legal support.

7. **Hold Perpetrators Accountable:** Ensure timely investigation and punishment of offenders, including public officials and political leaders who perpetrate or incite violence.

8. **Strengthen Data Collection and Research:** Mandate national data collection on the prevalence, forms, and consequences of VAWP to inform evidence-based policymaking and targeted mechanisms.

9. **Provide Victims with Support Services:** Provide tailored psychological, legal, and security support for women in politics who experience violence.

10. **Invest in Public Awareness and Media Regulation:** Relevant authorities should cooperate with media and online platforms to counter hate speech and gender stereotypes, promote respectful discourse, and enhance digital safety.

11. **Promote Gender Quotas and Electoral Reform:** Advocate for gender quotas and incentives for parties to improve the representation of women candidates and implement measures to foster a safe and inclusive environment for all MPs.

References

Aktuality. (2024, March 8). Zuzana Čaputová: Platforma SME TU chce rozširovať komunitu ľudí, ktorá podporuje obete násilia. Aktuality.sk. https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/b2T6EWt/zuzana-caputova-platforma-sme-tu-chce-rozsirovat-komunitu-ludi-ktora-podporuje-obete-nasilia/

Benedikovičová, M. (2024, June 17). Čaputovej spoveď: Keď mi lekári povedali o dcérinom náleze, váhala som, či sa stanem prezidentkou. Denník N. https://dennikn.sk/4047739/caputovej-spoved-ked-mi-lekari-povedali-o-dcerinom-naleze-vahala-som-ci-sa-stanem-prezidentkou/

Bútorová, Z., & Gyárfášová, O. (2020). Political participation of women in Slovakia 2020: Where we stand and where are we heading? Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs. https://www.ivo.sk/buxus/docs//publikacie/subory/Politicka_participacia_zien_2020.pdf

CEDAW. (2023). CEDAW/C/SVK/CO/7: Concluding observations on the seventh periodic report of Slovakia. United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. https://docs.un.org/en/CEDAW/C/SVK/CO/7

CEDAW. (2017). General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating general recommendation No. 19. United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-recommendation-no-35-gender-based-violence

European Commission. (2023). Country factsheet Slovakia. Flash Eurobarometer 538: Gender Equality. Brussels. https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/api/deliverable/download/file?deliverableId=95973

Strauzsová, K., Kazaz, J., & Klingová, K. (2023). Gender-based hate in the Slovak pre-election period: Are publicly known women and men being attacked on social platforms to the same extent and in similar ways? GLOBSEC Policy Institute. https://www.globsec.org/sites/default/files/2023-10/Gender-Based%20Hate.pdf

Gotthardová, K. (2024). Transgressing Women: Is there space for women in the Slovak public sphere? Central European University.

Hyriaková, K. (2024, May 21). Dcéra prezidentky Emma Čaputová sa vzdala modelingovej kariéry a stiahla sa zo sociálnych sietí. Je za tým jednoduchý dôvod. Interez. https://www.interez.sk/dcera-prezidentky-emma-caputova-sa-vzdala-modelingovej-kariery-a-stiahla-sa-zo-socialnych-sieti-je-za-tym-jednoduchy-dovod/

Kéry, Š. (2023, January 23). Fico prerazil najhlbšie dno: Prezidentku Čaputovú prirovnal k potkanovi. Start It Up. https://www.startitup.sk/fico-prerazil-najhlbsie-dno-prezidentku-caputovu-prirovnal-k-potkanovi/

Kyseľ, T. (2022, May 2).Po Blahovom hecovaní ľudia vulgárne nadávali prezidentke, vedenie Smeru sa smialo. Beňová sa Čaputovej ospravedlnila. aktuality.sk. https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/28FYtne/po-blahovom-hecovani-ludia-vulgarne-nadavali-prezidentke-vedenie-smeru-sa-smialo-benova-sa-caputovej-ospravedlnila/

Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic. (2021). National Strategy for Gender Equality and Equal Opportunities 2021–2027. https://www.employment.gov.sk/files/sk/ministerstvo/spolocny-sekretariat-vyborov/vybor-rodovu-rovnost/dokumenty-udalosti/strategia-rovnosti-z-m-2021-27.pdf

National Council of the Slovak Republic. (2024). Act No. 166/2024 on certain measures to improve the security situation in the Slovak Republic. https://www.employment.gov.sk/files/sk/ministerstvo/spolocny-sekretariat-vyborov/vybor-rodovu-rovnost/dokumenty-udalosti/strategia-rovnosti-z-m-2021-27.pdf

National Council of the Slovak Republic. (2005). Act No. 300/2005 Coll. Criminal Code, as amended. https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2005/300/

National Council of the Slovak Republic. (2004). Act No. 365/2004 on Equal Treatment in Certain Areas and Protection against Discrimination (Anti-discrimination Act). https://www.slov-lex.sk/ezbierky/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2004/365/

National Council of the Slovak Republic. (1990). Act no. 372/1990 on Misdemeanours. https://static.slov-lex.sk/static/SK/ZZ/1990/372/vyhlasene_znenie.html

Office of the Government of Slovak Republic. (2025). Draft Code of Conduct for Public Officials. https://www.slov-lex.sk/elegislativa/legislativne-procesy/SK/LP/2025/69

Osvaldová, L. (2023, September 13). Prezidentka podala na Fica žalobu na ochranu osobnosti. Denník N. https://dennikn.sk/3566918/prezidentka-podala-na-fica-zalobu-na-ochranu-osobnosti/

Osvaldová, L. (2022, March 24). Blaha už nesmie o Čaputovej hovoriť ako o americkej agentke a vlastizradkyni a má mazať statusy, nariadil súd. Denník N. https://dennikn.sk/2781287/blaha-uz-nemoze-o-caputovej-hovorit-ako-o-americkej-agentke-a-vlastizradkyni-a-ma-mazat-statusy-nariadil-sud/

Struhárik, F. (2023, September 29). Šíria sa falošné nahrávky politikov. Niekoho môžu pobaviť, podstatné je, že majú ovplyvniť voľby. Denník N. https://dennikn.sk/3595174/siria-sa-falosne-nahravky-politikov-niekoho-mozu-pobavit-podstatne-je-ze-maju-ovplyvnit-volby/

TASR. (2023, November 24). Čaputová a osobnosti vyzvali na zastavenie násilia na ženách. TERAZ.SK. https://www.teraz.sk/slovensko/caputova-a-osobnosti-vyzvali-na-zastav/756853-clanok.html

Tódová, M. (2024, May 10). Čaputová končí, ony zostávajú. Šesť političiek rozpráva, čo najhoršie v politike zažili a či majú dosť síl. Denník N. https://dennikn.sk/3981067/caputova-konci-ony-zostavaju-sest-politiciek-rozprava-co-najhorsie-v-politike-zazili-a-ci-maju-dost-sil/

United Nations. (1979). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

Vicenová, R., Máriássyová, A., & Popík, J. (2023). Hate Speech on Political Facebook Profiles: Hate Speech Monitoring Report. Slovak National Centre for Human Rights. https://www.snslp.sk/wp-content/uploads/Nenavistny-jazyk-na-politickych-fb-profiloch-2023_web.pdf

Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. (2024). Women and Men in Slovakia 2024. Available online.