25 Years of Progress? Examining the representation of women in political executives across post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, 1989-2014

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Abstract

Despite the increasing scholarly interest in the representation of women in parliaments worldwide, little academic attention has been paid to women’s representation in the highest echelons of political power: political executives. This paper seeks to further the understanding of women's political representation through an examination of the representation of women in cabinets in post-communist Europe. This region’s unique political history renders it a particularly interesting case for the investigation of women’s executive representation, due to the lasting legacy of authoritarian Communism on the social and political role of women. Through the use of an original dataset, quantitative methods are employed to seek to explain variation in women's representation in the executives of the ten post-communist European Union member states over time. A novel theoretical framework for the investigation of women’s executive representation is employed, through the use of a top-down versus bottom-up structure. The results of this analysis indicate that bottom-up, societal pressures for an increased representation of women in government best explain increases in women's representation over time. Top-down institutional factors also affect the selection of women for cabinet positions. A finding unique to the region is that right-wing Prime Ministers are found to appoint more women to government than their leftist counterparts. This discovery is testament to the increased mobility of women in the rightist parties created after the collapse of Communism, and the observed inversion of the concepts of ideological left and right in states with a legacy of ideological totalitarianism. The process of European Union accession has also played a significant role in increasing women's cabinet representation in post-communist governments, due the EU’s uniquely effective methods of policy diffusion and political socialisation.

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Introduction

In the male-dominated governments of post-communist Europe, the question of the integration of women has been largely ignored. Indeed, throughout the entire history of democracy the views and policy preferences of women have been under-represented in executive decision-making. Unlike the analysis of the representation of women in executives, ‘literature on comparative female representation in parliament is now well established’ (Siaroff 2000:197). Much of this work adopts an institutionalist perspective, assessing the impact of institutional features on the election of women to the legislature (Caul 1999, Kenworthy and Malami 1999). The global share of women in parliament has been gradually rising and reached 20% in late 2012 (United Nations 2013:1).

Yet, even in states which are moving towards gender parity in their legislatures, women typically hold few government positions. When women are appointed to cabinet ministries, they are rarely allocated the most prestigious portfolios. Besides some key works which highlight the mechanisms through which women’s appointment to executive positions can be understood, the selection of women for cabinet positions is under-analysed (Davis 1997, Siaroff 2000, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005, Claveria 2014). Women’s representation in the executive is a particularly interesting and important subject for analysis, as ministerial positions are some of the most powerful in the democratic world. Furthermore, these positions are not elective but appointive: the systems of appointment to cabinet positions are complex, and clearly point to Prime Ministers and party leaders.

Post-communist Central and Eastern Europe is a lucrative landscape for the analysis of women’s representation, as the region provides a unique opportunity to examine the nature of gender inequality in democratic governments after a period of authoritarian rule. During the period covered in this study (1990-2014) the Central and Eastern European states have undergone dramatic transformations, from totalitarian Communism and a centralised command economy to political and economic liberalism. Gender plays a complex role in the politics of post-communist Europe (Fuszara 2000). During the Communist era, women were forced into a ‘pseudo-emancipation’ as the Soviet governments declared that gender equality had been achieved despite the deeply patriarchal nature of the totalitarian communist regimes (LaFont 2001:205). After the collapse of Communism, gender equality relapsed for economic convenience, as women returned to the home in a period of deep economic recession.
It is typically understood that women are more equally represented in democracies than non-democracies, as the rules of the political game are more transparent and consistent in democracies (Paxton 1997). However, due to the unique history of the post-communist states, the transition to liberal democracy actually led to a remarkable decrease in the number of women in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2014). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the quotas enforced by the Communist regimes which guaranteed women around 30% of the seats in the parliament were removed (Ostrovska 1994). This led to a decrease in the representation of women in the legislature. During the Communist era this representation was ‘little more than a formality’, yet as the political arena has become increasingly empowered women have become poorly represented (LaFont 2001:209).

This region also provides a unique opportunity to assess the role of international institutions in the promotion of gender equality in the highest echelons of political power. In the enlargements of 2004, 2007 and 2013, eleven of the post-communist Central and Eastern European states acceded to the European Union (EU) and thus joined a progressive, democratic regional institution. It is expected that accession to this institution will reduce the gender gap in political participation through socialisation and EU policy diffusion mechanisms.

This paper seeks to identify the conditions under which women are appointed to cabinet positions by posing two research questions. Firstly, which set of factors are seen to lead to an increase in the number of women appointed to government in Central and Eastern Europe? Secondly, how are these factors similar to those identified in existing studies of women's cabinet representation across the world, and which factors can be identified that are unique to post-communist Europe? The theoretical basis for this paper will be developed from an analysis of the existing literature on women’s representation in legislatures and executives, and the literature examining the role of women in post-communist European societies (Funk and Mueller 1993, Gal and Kiligman 2000, Matland and Montgomery 2003). This research will employ statistical methods to examine the appointment of women to ministerial positions across ten post-communist states.

This quantitative analysis develops the existing literature examining the representation of women in executives by testing the theories identified in this field in a previously unexamined region. This paper also supplements the academic literature on the political representation of women by proposing new mechanisms which are specific to the Central and
Eastern European context. This study is also conducted within a novel theoretical framework which enables competing mechanisms for women's representation to be tested using regression analysis. This theoretical framework leads to the development of four competing models to explain the variation in women's cabinet representation: time, bottom-up pressures, top-down factors and international influences. This investigation will begin with an explanation of the theory behind the hypotheses tested in this analysis, the methods of data collection will then be discussed before the results of the regression analysis are presented. The results will be analysed in order to assess the relevance of each of the hypothesised variables in the post-communist context. Finally, conclusions will be drawn from the analysis and the implications of the findings will be considered. This quantitative analysis reveals similarities, as well as significant differences, between the existing literature examining the representation of women in government and the nature of women's representation in post-communist Europe.

**Theory and Hypotheses**

In this analysis, a novel theoretical approach to the study of women's cabinet representation is employed in order to assess the gendered nature of ministerial selection. Previous studies of the representation of women in cabinets have utilised a ‘supply and demand’ model of government appointment. In that theoretical framework, factors affecting the number of women in the ministerial selection pool are contrasted to the political costs and benefits of appointing a woman to a cabinet post (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005:830). Other analyses have focussed on alternative mechanisms of cabinet selection. Davis’ (1997) analysis of women executives in Western Europe draws a distinction between generalist and specialist recruitment norms. Davis (1997) finds that women are less likely to be appointed in generalist systems (where cabinet ministers move between portfolios) due to their hierarchical nature and closed selection processes (Davis 1997:42). In this analysis, we utilise a new theoretical model to provide a framework within which to understand the factors behind the selection, or non-selection, of women for government positions.

In this analysis, the factors affecting the representation of women in government are conceptualised using a bottom-up and top-down framework. Bottom-up pressures for an increase in women's representation in executives capture the effect of the empowerment of women in politics and society, which affects cabinet appointments in two ways. Firstly, as more women become professionally-trained, well-networked and politically active, the number of women in the ‘pool of eligibles’ for cabinet positions increases (Davis 1997:59).
Secondly, as women become increasingly socially, politically and economically active, Prime Ministers and party leaders are more likely to develop an awareness of the need to respond to their needs as a group at the ministerial level. Previously unrepresented groups are unlikely to be represented in political systems until those groups 'develop a sense of their own interests and place demands upon the system' (Sapiro 1981:704).

In contrast, the top-down factors affecting the selection of women for executive positions captures the institutional factors which may impact upon the decision-making processes of Prime Ministers and party leaders. Prime Ministers and party leaders are primarily responsible for the selection of ministers in semi-presidential political systems. The decision-making relationship between party leaders and Prime Ministers in the selection of ministers within coalition governments is widely debated in the ministerial selection literature (Huber and Martinez-Gellardo 2008:171). For the purposes of this analysis, it will be assumed that the Prime Minister is the individual ultimately responsible for the selection of ministers for cabinet positions. This analysis also considers the effects of international pressures on the gendered selection of cabinet ministers. These external pressures include socialisation norms and legal interventions instigated by international and regional organisations which can affect the perceived costs and benefits of selecting a woman for a cabinet position.

Some of the mechanisms identified in this theoretical framework are specific to the Central and Eastern European countries, while others are observed in existing studies examining women's political representation. This analysis develops the existing literature on women's representation in government by testing the salience of the mechanisms identified in other studies in the post-communist context, and also proposes new factors which are specific to the region.

**Time Effects**

Existing analyses of the representation of women in both parliaments and legislatures across the world, have shown that the representation of women has consistently increased over time (Davis 1997, Matland 1998, Siaroff 2000, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005, Kittilson 2006). However, to say that this increase is due to the passage of time alone is theoretically uninteresting, and neglects the wide range of factors that also occur over time and may impact upon the representation of women in government.

In general, there are two key mechanisms by which the passage of time may correlate with an increase in the number of women selected for cabinet positions. Firstly, as citizens,
parliamentarians and party leaders slowly become increasingly accustomed to women holding ministerial portfolios, successive Prime Ministers are more likely to also appoint women to government positions (Sainsbury 2004). Eventually, Prime Ministers may be negatively received and criticised for the under-representation of women in their cabinets. Secondly, women’s low levels of political ambition may ‘be attributed to a paucity of female political role models’ (Paxton, Kunovich and Hughes 2007:267). Consequently, as more women are appointed to government, others may be inspired to seek political office as they have evidence that a ministerial post is an achievable career goal (Atkeson 2003, Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006:233).

These transition effects will be assessed in more detail through the other variables included in this analysis. However is expected that the passage of time since the collapse of Communism will have a substantial positive effect on women's cabinet representation, due to the vast simultaneous economic, social and political transformations towards liberalism in the post-communist states (Jaquette and Wolchik 1998:4).

H1: The representation of women in government will increase over time.

Bottom-up Pressures

Bottom-up pressures for an increased representation of women in the executive are the societal processes of women’s empowerment. There are three key aspects of these societal changes that are theorised to have a bottom-up effect on women's representation in government: the role of women in the workforce, the number of women engaged in tertiary-level education, and the representation of women in parliament.

Most cabinet ministers have professional experience before commencing their political career (Norris 1993, Sainsbury 2004). Consequently, an increase in the number of women actively engaged in the workforce is anticipated to have a positive effect on the number of women appointed to cabinet to cabinet positions. Additionally, an enhanced role of women in the workforce been found to lead to greater female political participation in general: as women begin to earn and contribute to family resources, the political dominance of men over women in the family is reduced (Togeby 1994). There is an increased likelihood of bottom-up demands from women for increased representation when more women are working outside of the home.

In post-communist Europe, Soviet employment policies have left a significant legacy on the role of women in the workforce. The Soviet policies aimed at full employment were not sensitive to the needs to the female population (Purvaneciene 1998). During the communist
era, women were inhibited by a ‘double burden’: they were forced into full-time, low-paid work whilst patriarchal attitudes in the home meant that they still took full responsibly for domestic work and childcare (Siemienska 1998:127). During the 1980s in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, close to 90% of working-age women were in paid employment (LaFont 2001:205). Women often had little time to engage in political activities, and the male-dominated professional market was closed to most women who were placed in low-paid, low-skill employment.

The dual transition to democracy and a capitalist economy in Central and Eastern Europe has led to increases in women’s unemployment and underemployment (LaFont 2001:203, Bartlett 1997). As the post-communist states began the austere process of market liberalisation, women - as potential mothers - became expensive to employ. The male-dominated political elites of the transition era had too few resources and little interest in providing the employment-related social entitlements and benefits for women which were guaranteed by the law (LaFont 2001:210). In order to make efficiency savings during the transition era, many women lost their jobs and chose to return to the home. This movement from paid work to housewifery was endorsed by the transition governments who were concerned about declining birth rates and a decrease in familial stability. In Bulgaria, government slogans bluntly stated ‘back to home and family’ (Mamonova 1993:265, Gineitiené 1998). Women were forced into poorly paid, low-skill labour under Communism and then encouraged back into the home during the transition to democracy. As the post-communist economies stabilised over time, more women returned to paid employment. As women’s employment increases, so will their importance as an economically engaged political group. Previous analyses of the effect of women's role in the workforce on the representation of women in national legislatures and executives have found that employment is correlated with formal political representation (Davis 1997, Siaroff 2000).

\[H2: \text{An increase in the proportion of women actively engaging in the workforce will have a positive effect on the representation of women in government.}\]

Secondly, educational attainment is a key political resource and has a significant positive impact on political interest, efficacy and knowledge (Verba, Burns and Schlozman 1997:1060). Based on theoretical expectations, an increased number of women in tertiary education will increase the number of women with the necessary skills and networks, as well as confidence and aspiration, to assume a position in government. Fox and Lawless (2004)
find that women are much less likely than men to aspire for political office, and less likely to view themselves as qualified to run for elected and appointed positions. Therefore, it is anticipated that an increase in the number of women with university degrees will have a positive effect on women’s cabinet representation. Previous analyses have shown little evidence for this relationship in Western Europe (Paxton 1997, Kenworthy and Malami 1999). The interaction between gender and education is particularly important in Central and Eastern Europe. During the Communist era, women were excluded from well-paid prestigious jobs, such as those in heavy industry. This had the unintended consequence of increasing women’s educational attainment. As other opportunities were closed to women, they progressed throughout formal education, encouraged by progressive Communist education policies (Einhorn 1993:48). High educational attainment drew women to certain professions, including medicine, specialist legal areas and accountancy (Pollert 2003:334). However, these professions quickly became feminised, leading to a reduction in their pay and prestige. Despite the feminisation of these careers persisting throughout the transition to a liberal economy, many women still undertake higher education. Over time, the socialisation role of higher education is expected to have a positive impact upon the representation of women in ministerial positions.

H3: An increased number of women with tertiary-level education will have a positive effect on the representation of women in the executive.

The final bottom-up mechanism is the representation of women in parliament. The number of women in the legislature is a key factor affecting the number of women in the ‘pool of eligibles’ for cabinet appointments (Davis 1997:59). As most cabinet ministers have had a career prior to taking up their ministerial portfolio a paucity of women in the legislature is likely to lead to an under-representation of women in government positions (Blondel 1987, Kobayashi 2004). Furthermore, the broader cultural effects of an increase in the number women in parliament should not be underestimated. An increased representation of women in parliament changes the ‘political climate’ of an institution, as well as perceptions about female politicians (Dalherup 1988:284).

Due to the lasting legacy of Communism, the role of women in Central and Eastern European legislatures is particularly interesting. The Communist rhetoric of gender equality and the socialist emancipation of women led to the enforcement of gender quotas in the “rubber-stamp” legislatures. These quotas usually stipulated that at least 30% of the representatives in
parliament must be female (Funk 1993:12). However, women were frequently recruited from the countryside to meet the 30% threshold, rather than to articulate women’s interests. These women were selected by male political elites to further their own totalitarian regime. This ‘milkmaid syndrome’ meant that the rural women selected to fulfil the stipulated quotas had little political savvy and were not kept informed by party elites (Corrin 1994). The recruitment of unprofessional and inexperienced women parliamentarians has had a negative effect on the perception of women politicians, who have since been perceived as incompetent (Funk 1993:4). Although one might assume that democratisation would increase women’s representation in parliament, in light of the nature of representation during the Communist era, a decline in descriptive representation does not necessarily mean a decline in the substantive representation of women (Saxonberg 2000:146).

In the existing literature, the representation of women in the legislature has had a significant positive impact on the number of women appointed to the cabinet, even if the women parliamentarians are not from the governing party (Davis 1997, Siaroff 2000, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005).

**H4: An increase in women's legislative representation will have a positive effect on the representation of women in government.**

**Top-Down Pressures**

There are also top-down pressures on a Prime Minister to appoint more women to government positions. These factors arise from domestic, institutional characteristics which lead to increased incentives for appointing women to government, or increased costs of choosing not to do so. These include the ideological orientation of the Prime Minister’s party, the security of the Prime Minister’s party in the legislature and whether the government is single-party or a coalition.

For any individual who seeks to run for political office, political parties are ‘gatekeepers’: the potential candidate must be selected by a political party and supported by the party throughout their political career (Lovenduski and Norris 1993, Kunovich 2003, Sanbonmatsu 2002, Kittilson 2006). Consequently, political parties play a key role in the election of women to parliament and the selection of women for government positions. One key function of political parties is the representation of ideological and group interests (Strom 1990). Therefore, ideological differences between political parties may play a role in the recruitment and promotion of women in political institutions. Indeed, some studies have shown that
ideology can provide a more consistent explanation for variation in the representation of women in parliaments than often-studied electoral system effects (Chiva 2005:971).

In the existing literature examining the impact of party ideology on the representation of women in the legislature, left-wing parties typically exhibit a greater representation of women than right-wing parties (Rule 1987, Norris and Lovenduski 1993, Matland 1998, Kenworthy & Malami 1999, Caul 1999, Chiva 2005). This effect is seen to be caused by the leftist rhetoric of equality and egalitarianism, which leads left-wing parties to promote traditionally under-represented groups. There can also be a ‘contagion effect’ between parliamentary parties, whereby smaller left-wing parties actively recruit more women which places pressure on the larger parties, especially those on the centre-left, to increase the number of women in their parliamentary party (Matland and Studlar 1996:707). This effect has been shown to have an impact on larger social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe (Saxonberg 2000, Moser 2001:363).

In the literature examining the representation of women in political executives, there is no consensus on the role of ideology in the appointment of women to cabinet. Davis (1997) finds no evidence for an independent, direct effect of ideology on the number of women in government. Instead, she proposes that ideology plays an indirect role due to the greater ‘supply’ of female parliamentarians on the left (Davis 1997:65). In Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson’s (2005) analysis, ideology has a small effect, with leftist presidents appointing 1.6% more women to government than their right-wing counterparts (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005:836). Whereas, others find a strong and statistically significant relationship between ideology and the representation of women in government (Siaroff 2000:974, Claveria 2014).

**H5: There will be more women in government when the Prime Minister is from a left-wing party.**

Despite the extensive literature examining the development of party systems in post-communist Europe, the role of gender issues has been neglected in these analyses (see Wightman 1995, Mair 1996, Kitschelt et al.1999). Women played a wide range of active roles in undermining the Communist regimes, including involvement in social protest movements and fostering values in the home which were not approved by the authorities (Jaquette and Wolchik 1998:3-4). Therefore, women were more likely than ever before to become involved in the creation of new political parties at the beginning of the transition to
democracy: new institutions require new actors (Semenova et al. 2014:1). Women tend to succeed in democratic political parties that have transparent rules which prevent the formation of ‘old-boy networks’ (Guadagnini 1993:180-182). Therefore, it is hypothesised that women are more likely to be promoted to government positions in new, center-right, political parties in Central and Eastern Europe that do not have an existing network of predominantly male elites. It has often been observed that the traditional roles of left and right-wing political parties are reversed in Central and Eastern Europe due to the legacy of totalitarian Communism. For example, leftist political parties in post-communist Europe are more likely to pursue rightist policies of fiscal responsibility and economic reform than their right-wing counterparts (Tavit and Letki 2009). Additional evidence of this reversal includes observations that highly educated and democratically-inclined citizens in post-communist Europe demonstrate a right-wing bias, unlike the rest of the world where the opposite is true (Thorisdottir et al. 2007, Pop-Elches and Tucker 2010:2). The impact of left-wing totalitarianism may result in the inversion of the effect observed in the West: the newly-formed, centre-right political parties may have more women in their executives than left-wing parties. Consequently an alternate hypothesis to H5 is to be tested: 

**H6:** In the post-communist states, there will be more women in the government when the Prime Minister is from a right-wing party.

As each of the states in this study are parliamentary or semi-presidential political systems, party leaders and Prime Ministers appoint cabinet ministers¹ (Krouwel 2003:2). One factor affecting the perceived costs of appointing women to government positions is the size of the governing party’s majority in the legislature (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005). Close competition among political parties is expected to be beneficial for women, since the government may see the appointment of women ministers as a means by which to appeal to female swing voters (Studlar and Moncrief 1997:69).

**H7:** There will be more women in government when there is close competition among parties in the legislature.

The nature of the government may also effect a Prime Minister’s decision whether to appoint women to ministerial positions. Existing analyses of women in government have shown that

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¹ Consequently, the presence of a woman Prime Minister may also increase the representation of women in government. However the rarity of this occurrence makes it difficult to test. In this analysis, there are 5 observed cases of women Prime Ministers: Poland 1992-93, Bulgaria 1994-95, Slovakia 2010-12, Slovenia 2013-Present and Latvia 2014-Present.
women are less likely to be appointed to ministerial positions in coalition governments than
majoritarian ones (Matland 1994, Davis 1997, Shvedova 1997). Davis (1997) finds that the
nature of coalition bargaining and government formation may dilute leftist parties’
commitment, or power, to appoint women to government (Davis 1997:61). In addition,
smaller coalition partners often choose their party leader to fill ministerial positions: as these
party leaders are usually male, fewer women are appointed to government (Shvedova 1997).
Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2005) argue that a president who has not been
forced to form a coalition government can afford the ‘luxury of reaching out to new groups
through his cabinet appointments if he chooses to do so’ (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-
Robinson 2005:832).

H8: Fewer women will be appointed to cabinet ministries in coalition governments.

International Factors
Top-down pressures on Prime Ministers to increase the representation of women in their
cabinets are also applied by external organisations. Indeed, there has been a shift in the
literature examining the political representation of women towards assessing the role and
power of international actors in the promotion of women’s political representation (Gray et al.
2006, Paxton et al. 2006, Chhibber 2009). This literature has demonstrated that international
pressures for gender equality and the global diffusion of norms and ideas about gender have
had a significant impact on the representation of women in political institutions. The United
Nations’ (UN) Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) put women’s
representation on the global agenda (West 1999:177). At the time, the Beijing Conference
was the largest UN conference ever held, with over 50,000 participants from 189 states (Otto
1996:7). This event sparked a significant change in international attitudes towards women’s
issues, and demonstrated a global shift which ‘may rapidly raise the cost of not having at
least token representation of women in top levels of government’ (Escobar-Lemmon and
Taylor-Robinson 2005:832). One chapter of the Platform for Action determined at the
conference was entitled ‘Women in Power and Decision-Making’ (UN 1995b). At the time of
the conference, the post-communist states were undergoing their transitions to a liberal
political and economic system. Therefore, these states may have been particularly open to UN
influence in their desire to open-up to the international community.

H9: The Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) has had a positive
impact on the representation of women in government in Central and Eastern Europe.
However, the post-communist Central and Eastern European states have been engaged in a more rigorous, intensive and cohesive international process than the UN World Conference on Women: accession to the European Union. EU enlargement is a ‘unique process in world politics’, due to the necessary adoption of binding legislation that shapes the functioning of the state (Avdeyeva 2010:208). In general, there are three key mechanisms of policy diffusion: acculturation, persuasion and coercion (Goodman and Jinks 2004). The EU has generally been highly successful in diffusing its policies and institutional models to states that aspire to membership due to the underlying mechanism of coercive policy diffusion (Sedelmeier 2012:20).

The promotion of gender equality was one of the first declarations of the European Community (EC), as stated in Article Two of the 1957 Treaty Establishing the European Community. The elimination of gender discrimination has remained a consistent EU policy, especially in the field of equal pay and equality in the workplace. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the prospect of achieving EC membership was a powerful symbol of the post-communist states’ ‘return to Europe’. Membership was a powerful incentive for these states to implement the acquis communautaire, including the legal provisions and directives on gender equality. As the process of EU accession has established a single standard of policy among the states in the East and West of Europe, it is anticipated that accession negotiations and membership of the EU will have a positive impact on the representation of women in government.

\[H10: \text{The process of EU accession negotiations will have a positive impact on the appointment of women to cabinet positions.}\]

\[H11: \text{Membership of the EU will have a positive effect on the representation of women in Central and Eastern European governments.}\]

**Data and Variables**

The dataset used in this analysis was assembled by the authors, and details the cabinet composition of 10 post-communist Central and Eastern European states: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. In
this dataset, the unit of analysis is each individual government\textsuperscript{2}. There are 139 individual
governments in this dataset, which covers a total of 1,882 individual ministers. The first
government analysed in each state is the ‘founding government’, as defined by Müller-
Rommel, Fettelschoss and Harfst (2004) (see Appendix)\textsuperscript{3}. The first case in this analysis is the
government of József Antall in Hungary, which was appointed on 23/04/1990. The most
recent case included in this analysis is the Latvian government led by Laimdota Straujuma,
appointed on 22/01/2014. The date of appointment and dissolution of each government has
been standardised using Conrad and Golders’s (2010) guidelines in their study of government
duration and stability in Central and Eastern European democracies. The appointment and
dissolution dates for the governments that are not included in Conrad and Golders’s (2010)
analysis are designated according to the standardising procedure identified in their study.

Data on the composition of each government was gathered from Lars Sonntag’s Politica
database\textsuperscript{4} (Sonntag 2014). The data on the ministerial composition of the cases in Poland,
Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary were gathered from alternate sources for a paper
on the tenure of ministers in post-communist Europe (Meyer-Sahling and Morgan-Collins
2012). The authors then proceeded to identify the sex of each cabinet minister, using a
reputable international first name database. Ambiguities were resolved through the
consultation of language experts and web searches for references to the minister. This data
was then verified through a process of cross-checking with the relevant entries in the
European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook (EJPR 2014). The
percentage representation of women in government has been calculated using the data
gathered by the authors and is the dependent variable in this study.

To test for the effects of time across each of the cases, a variable is included which measures
the time in years since 1990. 1990 represents a significant starting point for this analysis,
marking two months after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the year of the appointment of the
first case in this study.

\textsuperscript{2}Consequently, changes of minister and portfolios allocations are included within one case. The most turbulent
government in this analysis has 60 ministers within one case.

\textsuperscript{3}An exclusion from this rule are the governments of former Czechoslovakia. The first government considered in
this analysis for the Czech Republic is that of Petr Pithart (29/06/1990-02/07/1992), who was Prime Minister of
the Czech Republic within Czechoslovakia. For Slovakia, the first case in this analysis is Vladimír Mečiar
(27/06/1990-22/04/1991). Prior to the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the democratically elected Prime Ministers
of the two republics were able to appoint their own, separate cabinets. Thus, it is appropriate that these
cases are included in this analysis.

\textsuperscript{4}The Sonntag dataset has been described as ‘especially helpful, valuable and reliable’ (Manow and Döering
2008: 1367)
Turning to the bottom-up variables, the effect of women in the economy, H2, is operationalised through the percentage ratio of female to male labour force participation. This data is made publically available by the World Bank, but collected by the International Labour Organisation in their *Key Indicators of the Labour Market* database (World Bank 2014). The labour force participation rate is the proportion of the population aged 15 and older that is economically active, i.e. supplying labour for the production of goods and services. Due to the lack of data on women's representation in managerial or executive positions, this measure is the most effective means by which to capture the role of women in the economy. Women’s education, H3, is measured using the ratio of girls to boys enrolled in tertiary education. This data is part of the UN database of *Millennium Development Goals Indicators* (UN 2014). A value of 1 indicates parity between the sexes in tertiary-level education, a value between 0 and 1 demonstrates a disparity in favour of males, whilst a value greater than 1 indicates a disparity in favour of females. The representation of women in the legislature, H4, is operationalised as the proportion of women in the lower (or only) chamber as a percentage of the total number of Members of Parliament. This data is measured on an annual basis by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU 2014).

The ideology hypotheses, H5 and H6, are operationalised through the use of the left-right score accorded to the Prime Minister’s party in Holger Döring and Philip Manow’s party ideology expert surveys in the *Parliament and Government Composition Database*. The measures of party ideology ‘are time-invariant unweighted mean values of information from party expert surveys on a 0 to 10 scale’ (Döring and Manow 2014a). A value of 0 indicates an extreme left party, whilst a value of 10 represents an extreme right party. Despite this measure being time-invariant, it is a suitable indicator for this analysis, as it enables an effective comparison between states.

The level of partisan competition in the legislature, H7, is operationalised as the percentage representation of the Prime Minister’s party in the lowest or only chamber of the legislature. This is collated using data from the *Parliament and Government Composition Database* (Döring and Manow 2014b). This data is divided into a trichotomous measure whereby the Prime Minister’s party has a secure majority when it controls more than 55% of the seats in parliament. The party has a near majority/narrow minority when it controls 45 to 54.9% of the seats, and the party is measured as a minority when it holds less than 44.9% of the seats in parliament. This measure provides an indicator of party competition in the legislature. An additional internal top-down factor, whether the Prime Minister has formed a coalition
government, H8, is measured using a dummy variable. A value of 1 represents a minimal-winning coalition, a surplus/grand coalition or a minority coalition. A value of 0 represents a single party majority or single party minority government. The data used to code this variable is gathered from the *Parliament and Government Composition Database* (Döring and Manow 2014c).

The role of the EU, as hypothesised in H10 and H11, is operationalised using another trichotomous variable. Three dummy variables are used to assess the impact of the EU on the representation of women in the post-communist governments. The first dummy variable represents the period prior to the formal establishment of accession negotiations between the EU and the post-communist state. The second codes the period of EU accession, between the establishment of formal negotiations and eventual membership of the EU. A final dummy variable represents the period since accession to the EU.

**Results and Analysis**

Table 1 presents the results of a series of linear OLS regression models where the dependent variable is the percentage representation government ministers that are female. OLS regression is appropriate for this analysis as the independent variables can be assumed to be non-random and are not linearly dependent, this data does not violate the homoscedasticity assumptions for OLS regression (Pohlman and Leitner 2003). In this analysis, four regression models are presented to test the competing sets of pressures that have been theorised: time, bottom-up factors, top-down and international pressures. The fifth model presents a comprehensive analysis of all of the factors identified in this study, except time which correlates too strongly with the variables representing the impact of the EU. The results of this regression analysis provide an original insight into the representation of women in government, and add to the existing literature examining the nature of political representation in Central and Eastern Europe.

---

5 The EU began formal accession negotiations with the Central and Eastern European states in two rounds. Round 1 was initiated in 1998 and included the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. Round 2 began in 2000 and included Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia.
Table 1: Regression Analysis Results, Dependent Variable the Percentage Representation of Women in Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
<th>Beta Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years Since 1990</td>
<td>0.697*** (0.090)</td>
<td>0.522*** (0.131)</td>
<td>0.697*** (0.108)</td>
<td>-0.106 (0.206)</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Force Participation</td>
<td>-0.059 (0.176)</td>
<td>-0.106 (0.131)</td>
<td>-0.106 (0.108)</td>
<td>0.188 (0.156)</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Parity In Tertiary Level Enrolment</td>
<td>7.401** (3.013)</td>
<td>9.253*** (3.370)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women In Parliament (%)</td>
<td>0.284** (0.143)</td>
<td>0.188 (0.156)</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left-Right Score</td>
<td>0.853** (0.331)</td>
<td>0.724** (0.354)</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM Party Near Majority or Narrow Minority In Legislature</td>
<td>10.432** (4.011)</td>
<td>6.711 (4.799)</td>
<td>0.340</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM Party Minority In Legislature</td>
<td>6.832* (3.802)</td>
<td>3.361 (4.629)</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition</td>
<td>2.017 (1.749)</td>
<td>2.637 (1.768)</td>
<td>0.128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Beijing Dummy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongoing EU Accession Negotiations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU Accession</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.301</td>
<td>0.396</td>
<td>0.309</td>
<td>0.280</td>
<td>0.335</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Standard errors shown in parentheses, ***p<0.01, **p < 0.05, *p< 0.10)
Model 1

A greater number of years since 1990 is expected to have a positive effect on women's cabinet representation, reflecting the anticipated increase in the representation of women over time. As demonstrated in Graph 1, the positive bivariate relationship between time and women's representation is clear, where the line of best fit has an $r^2$ value of 0.31. In this dataset there are ten observed cases where there are no women represented in the cabinet, eight of which are Romanian governments. Two cases with zero women ministers are clear outliers: the Romanian Popescu-Târiceanu III government (02/03/07-30/11/08) and the Hungarian Bajnai government (28/04/09-29/05/10). Each of these governments were replacement cabinets allocated after a period of political instability. Therefore, the exclusion of women may reflect the hasty choice of ministers made by the Prime Minister at the time, as well as the perception that the Prime Minister was not seeking re-election and thus need not be concerned with the electorates’ perception of the government. Two of the three cases in which more than one-third of cabinet ministers are female are in incumbent at the time of writing

![Graph 1: The Effect of Time on the Representation of Women in Government](image)

The Bulgarian Prime Minister, Plamen Oresharski, sought to increase his domestic popularity through emphasising the professionalism of his cabinet and the representation of women
within it, thus he actively appointed more women ministers in order to appeal to the female electorate (Europost 2013). The other incumbent government with a relatively high proportion of women ministers is the Latvian administration appointed on 22/01/14 by female Prime Minister Laimdota Straujuma.

Model 1 seeks to examine whether, at a bivariate level, time has a positive effect on women's cabinet representation. As shown in Table 1, the bivariate OLS regression model reveals a significant positive relationship. Over the 24 year time-period of this study, the representation of women in each government across all of the countries is expected to have increased by 16.73 percentage points. Moreover, this model accounts for 30.1% of the variation in the representation of women in government. Thus, as expected, time has a significant and positive impact on women's government representation. However, it is the mechanisms behind this time effect that are key to this analysis.

Model 2

In Model 2, bottom-up pressures are shown to explain 39.6% of the variation in the percentage representation of women. This model has the largest adjusted \( r^2 \) value of each of the regression analyses, which illustrates the significance of the bottom-up pressures on women's representation in the cabinet. Time, the control variable in this model, has a statistically significant effect. Two of the three hypothesised bottom-up variables have a positive, statistically significant effect on the percentage of the cabinet which is female.

In H2 it was hypothesised that an enhanced role of women in the economy would have a positive effect on women's cabinet representation due to the greater professionalism of women candidates and an increase awareness amongst Prime Ministers for the need to appeal to women as an economically active group. However, this result does not achieve statistical significance. This may be due to the over-representation of women in low-prestige, low-paid roles in post-communist Europe (LaFont 2001:203). Due to the under-employment of women, active engagement in the labour force may not have an effect on a woman’s ability to gain the necessary skills to pursue a career in politics or apply pressure for an increase in women's representation in politics.

Unlike previous analyses of the representation of women in government, the effect of the education indicator is statistically significant (Davis 1997, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005). However, in all but seven cases there is a disparity towards women in enrolled in tertiary-level education. Therefore, an increased representation of women in
university-level education may have a weaker effect in post-communist Europe in comparison to regions in which there is a disparity towards men in tertiary education (Bradley 2000). This analysis demonstrates that the bottom-up pressure of educated and well-networked women available for appointment to government positions increases the likelihood more women in the cabinet in post-Communist Europe. Therefore, there is evidence to accept H3.

In H4, it was hypothesised that women's government representation would increase when a greater proportion of the legislature was female, as a greater number of women would be eligible for appointment to cabinet positions. As observed in Graph 3, at the bivariate level there is a positive relationship between the representation of women in parliament and women's cabinet representation, although the goodness-of-fit measure for the linear relationship between these variables is small ($r^2=0.20$). Within the bottom-up regression model, the representation of women in the legislature has a statistically significant, positive effect on women's representation in cabinet. This finding is consistent with existing analysis of the representation of women in government (Davis 1997, Siaroff 2000, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005). The suggested effect is noteworthy, if a case moves from the mean representation of women in parliament (14.47%) to the maximum observed value (32.20%) a 5.04 percentage point increase in the representation of women in government is expected. For the average sized cabinet (22.22 ministers) this increase would constitute the appointment of one female minister. As anticipated, the representation of women in the
legislature has a significant positive impact on the representation of women in government: H4 is accepted.

The results of this regression model have demonstrated the impact of societal advancement of women on the highest echelons of political power. The finding that the measures of women’s representation in education and the legislature have a significant impact on the representation of women in government, even when controlling for time, demonstrates that upwards pressures from educated women increase the likelihood that a Prime Minister will appoint more women to the cabinet.

**Model 3**

The third model tests the effects of top-down factors. Three of the four variables achieve statistical significance, including the time variable. The top-down model explains 30.9% of the variation in the representation of women in government.

Two contradictory hypotheses were proposed regarding the effect of the party left-right score of the Prime Minister’s party on women’s representation in the cabinet. H5, suggests that more women will be appointed by left-wing Prime Ministers, as is observed in the existing analyses of the representation of women in cabinets and legislatures (Caul 1999, Siaroff 2000, Chiva 2005, Claveria 2014). H6 proposes that more women ministers will be observed in governments led by right-wing Prime Ministers in the post-communist context due to increased women’s mobilisation in right-wing parties formed after the collapse of Communism. The regression coefficient for this variable demonstrates that the relationship is positive, and is significant to the 95% level. As the value for party ideology increases when the party is more right-wing, this positive regression coefficient demonstrates that there is expected to be a greater representation of women in government when the Prime Minister is from a right-wing party. Thus, this analysis suggests that there is evidence to reject H5 and accept H6. This is a significant and novel contribution to the existing literature on the representation of women in government, as well as the nature of party ideology in the context of post-communism. Right-wing Prime Ministers may appoint more women to the cabinet because of an increased openness and transparency in the newer, rightist parties; unlike the ‘communist successor parties’ which are dominated by male party elites (Bozóki and Ishiyama 2002). This observation also adds to the existing literature on the nature of political ideology in post-communist Europe. In this developing field it has been observed that, due to the legacy of leftist totalitarian communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, the nature
of ideological representation has been reversed (Evans and Whitefield 1998, Yordanov and Zhelyakova 2011). This variable also achieves statistical significance in both models in which it is included. Therefore, a feature unique to post-communist Central and Eastern Europe is that an increased representation of women in government is observed when the Prime Minister is from a party on the right.

The results from the trichotomous dummy variables that indicate the representation of the Prime Minister’s party in the legislature provide significant evidence to accept H7, that more women will be appointed to a government where there is intense partisan competition. When compared to governments in which the Prime Minister’s party controls a majority of seats in the legislature, cases where the Prime Minister’s party has a near majority/narrow minority or minority representation in the parliament display an increased representation of women in government. Each of these results is statistically significant, and the effect is anticipated to be largest in governments in which the Prime Minister’s party holds a near majority/narrow minority in the legislature. All else being equal, the model predicts that a government in which the Prime Minister’s party holds a near majority/narrow minority will have 10.43 percentage points more women than a government where the Prime Minister’s party holds a majority in the legislature. However, this analysis does not return a significant regression coefficient for the coalition government variable. Consequently, the hypothesis that women will be more poorly represented in coalition governments, H8, is rejected. This may be due to the preponderance of coalition governments in Central and Eastern Europe, as only 29 of the observed cases are single-party governments. Therefore, it is unlikely that this variable will achieve statistical significance.

This model has demonstrated the relevance of top-down pressures on women's representation in the cabinet. The most interesting result observed in this model is the impact of party ideology on the appointment of women to government positions. The effect witnessed in existing analyses, that there is a greater likelihood that women will be appointed to government by leftist Prime Ministers, is not observed in this study.

**Model 4**

The fourth model in this analysis seeks to capture the effect of international factors on the representation of women in the cabinet. In this model, the time variable is omitted as it is highly correlated with the EU variables. In this model, three external top-down pressures are
tested: the role of the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women, the impact of the EU accession process and the consequences of membership of the EU.

The results from this analysis demonstrate that the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing did not have a significant impact on the representation of women in post-communist governments. Therefore the null hypothesis, that the Beijing conference did not have an impact on the representation of women in government, must be accepted. This effect could be due to the UN’s limited ability to enforce the policies proposed at the Beijing conference, due the international organisation’s reliance on acculturation and persuasion as methods of policy diffusion (True and Mintrom 2001).

In H10 and H11, it was hypothesised that the EU accession process and membership of the EU would lead to an increase in women's cabinet representation due to the positive influence of this regional institution. Model 4 demonstrates that EU has a more significant impact on the representation of women in Central and Eastern European governments than the UN. Within this analysis, the period before the formal initiation of accession negotiations with the EU is compared to the period during the accession process and membership of the EU. Both the dummy variable representing the EU accession process and the variable denoting membership of the EU are statistically significant, and have a large impact on the representation of women in government. Thus it can be observed that the chapter-by-chapter EU accession process has had a significant positive impact on the representation of women in government. The difference in values for the two EU variables signifies that eventual membership of the EU does not have such a large impact on the representation in government. Therefore, this regression analysis suggests that the period of accession negotiations had the most significant impact on the number of women appointed to ministerial positions.

This model demonstrates the importance of coercive methods of policy diffusion. The EU used coercion during the accession negotiations, as states were unable to join the EU unless each of the EU’s directives were enforced at the national level. As the post-communist states were keen to join the EU to signify their political ‘return to Europe’, the EU had significant leverage over the Central and Eastern European governments (Mikkel and Pridham 2004:716). This leverage was used by the EU to enforce legislation which enhanced the role of women in society, and this has had a positive effect on women's representation in government. Furthermore, the EU had a socialisation effect on the elites of the transitioning
states, who became more accustomed to women holding powerful political positions within the EU.

Model 5

The focus of this paper is to test the competing explanations for an increased representation of women in government through the use of several regression models. However, a comprehensive model examining the representation of women in post-communist cabinets provides significant insight into the relative salience of each factors. The only variable excluded from this analysis is the time measure, as this factor is too highly correlated with the dummy variables which capture the EU effects.

Three of the factors which exhibit statistical significance in Models 1 to 4 maintain their significance in the comprehensive model. Firstly, gender parity in tertiary-level education is significant to the 99% level. This effect demonstrates the persistent salience of this bottom-up pressure for an increased representation of women in government and the importance of women's access to university-level education in improving their chances of economic and political advancement in transitioning economies. Another factor which achieves significance within this comprehensive model is the left-right score of the Prime Minister’s party. This result demonstrates the importance of the finding that the expected representation of women is greater in governments led by rightist Prime Ministers. However, the left-right score variable has a small beta regression coefficient (0.179), so the ideology of the Prime Minister has a small effect on the representation of women in the government. Finally, one of the external top-down pressure variables is also significant in this model: the dummy variable representing the period in which the state is in accession negotiations with the EU. The continued significance of this variable demonstrates that accession negotiations had a large impact on the representation of women in ministerial positions.

Some variables which demonstrated significance within Models 1 to 4 lost their statistical significance in this comprehensive model. One of these variables is the representation of women in the legislature. This demonstrates that, contrary to the findings of Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2005), the representation of women in the parliament may have a limited effect on the representation of women in government. This could be due to limited career progression for women in Central and Eastern Europe. Another key observation is that the dummy variable representing membership of the EU also loses its significance in this model. Therefore, it may be observed that the EU is more effective in
policy diffusion whilst states are acceding to the Union, rather than when the state becomes a member of the EU.

Together, these results provide a wide range of insights into the nature of women's representation in post-communist governments. Through identifying the similarities and differences between this region and the existing analyses of women's representation in government, this study has provided a first insight into the nature of women's political representation in cabinets in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Conclusion**

The representation of women in ministerial positions is important for democratic representation and accountability, especially during periods of social, political and economic upheaval. The exclusion of women from ministerial positions limits the descriptive and substantive representation of women in the highest echelons of political power (Bratton and Haynie 1999). Of course, not all women appointed to government positions are going to represent women's interests, but even the purely descriptive representation of women is preferable to the systematic exclusion of women from political power (Paxton, Kunovich and Hughes 2007:272).

This research has illuminated a previously unexplored phenomenon: the nature of women's representation in Central and Eastern European governments. The findings from this regional, time-series OLS regression analysis have enhanced the existing literature examining women's cabinet representation, through testing the theories identified in these analyses in a different region with a unique political history. The purpose of this analysis was to test the salience of previously established theories of women's cabinet representation in a new context and examine new mechanisms which are specific to the role of women in post-communist European society. An additional contribution has been the top-down/bottom-up framework employed in the analysis. This framework has provided a new way to conceptualise the factors which affect women’s cabinet representation, through the examination of both institutional and societal factors.

In addition to the finding that time has a significant positive effect on the representation of women in government, there have been multiple conclusions from this analysis which can
provide a novel contribution to the existing literature on the political representation of women.

The first significant finding from this investigation is that, in Central and Eastern Europe, societal changes matter. The bottom-up model examined in this analysis has the largest adjusted r-squared value of each of the models, and thus explains the most variation in the percentage representation of women in cabinets. In particular, this analysis demonstrates the importance of women’s engagement in tertiary-level education. Women’s representation in the legislature also has a positive effect on the appointment of women to government, which demonstrates the importance of women successfully standing for election to political office in order to affect change in the gender balance of the executive. Socioeconomic changes are especially relevant in the analysis of states transitioning from totalitarian regimes. When a society is in a state of flux, this analysis has shown that the socioeconomic advancement of women is key to women's political representation.

Secondly, the model assessing the effect of top-down features on the representation of women in government provides one particularly interesting result: that right-wing Prime Ministers are more likely to appoint women to their governments than their left-wing counterparts. This is particularly significant as previous studies of the representation of women in government across the world have found that leftist parties are more likely to treat women politicians more favourably than right-wing parties (Davis 1997, Siaroff 2000, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005, Chiva 2005). This finding reflects the often-observed inversion of interpretations of ideological left and right in the context of a legacy of a leftist totalitarian regime (Pop-Elches and Tucker 2010).

The effect of international factors on women's representation in government provides an original insight into the impacts of EU accession on post-communist political elites. As anticipated, this regression analysis demonstrates that the impact of the EU accession process is greater than that of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). The EU accession negotiations significantly impacts on the representation of post-communist women in their national governments. This analysis also reveals that the EU accession negotiations had a greater effect on the representation of women in government in the accession countries than their eventual membership of the EU.

The findings of this paper are subject to at least two limitations. Firstly, this study only covers ten of the democratic Central and Eastern European states. Therefore, this analysis could be
improved through expanding the dataset to all of the post-communist states, which will provide an illuminating comparison between EU member states and non-EU states. Secondly, this analysis may be improved though the inclusion of more cultural and societal variables which reflect the general attitudes towards gender equality over space and time.

However, the conclusions from this analysis demonstrate the importance of the continued investigation of women's representation in a wide range of geographic and political contexts, as the explanations identified in one set of cases may not be generally applicable to others. As women’s under-representation is a pervasive feature in politics across the world, it is essential that the investigation of the nature of women’s representation continues. This analysis adds to this pursuit. This study has opened up opportunities for further work in the field of women's representation in government, as well as the nature of gender roles in post-communist Europe.

These results demonstrate the persistent under-representation of women in government, but also identify the conditions under which women's cabinet representation has increased. The former Lithuanian Prime Minister, Kazimiera Prunskienė, titled her essay for the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women ‘I was Regarded an Exception’ and declared her frustration that the male-dominated legislature restricted her ability to appoint female ministers (Prunskienė 1995:1). This analysis has demonstrated the conditions in which more women are likely to be selected for government positions, and identified the trend towards increased gender-parity in the executive. The finding that broad societal bottom-up pressures have a significant effect on women's representation in government provides encouragement that women like Prunskiene will no longer be regarded as an exception, but welcomed to the most powerful political offices in post-communist Europe.
Appendices

Appendix I

Table 2: Summary Statistics for All Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representation of Women in Government (%)</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35.7143</td>
<td>11.2262</td>
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<td>Years Since 1990</td>
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<td>Labour Force Participation</td>
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<td>70.8481</td>
<td>88.7070</td>
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<td>Gender Parity In Tertiary Level Enrolment</td>
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<td>0.79</td>
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<td>Women In Parliament (%)</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>32.20</td>
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<td>Left-Right Score</td>
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<td>2.79</td>
<td>8.4962</td>
<td>5.5080</td>
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<td>PM Party Near Majority or Narrow Minority In Legislature</td>
<td>117</td>
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<td>117</td>
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<td>0.418</td>
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<td>Coalition</td>
<td>139</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0.408</td>
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<td>0.489</td>
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</table>
Appendix II

As a test for the effect of country-level difference on the percentage representation of women in government, a categorical variable was coded for each county. The results of a regression analysis on these country dummy variables demonstrated that there was not a significant difference in the representation of women in government between Romania (the state with the lowest mean representation of women) and the other states included in this analysis. In the two exceptions to this observation, Latvia and Bulgaria, the unstandardised regression coefficients reveal that these differences only have a small effect. Therefore, as expected, the country-level analysis demonstrates that a region-wide study is particularly enlightening in post-communist Europe due to the shared experiences of totalitarian communist regimes.

Appendix III

Table 3: Regime Transition in Central and Eastern Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date of independence</th>
<th>Date of adoption of constitution</th>
<th>First free elections</th>
<th>First non-communist government</th>
<th>Founding government</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>16 December 1992</td>
<td>8 June 1990</td>
<td>30 June 1990</td>
<td>1 January 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>1 January 1993</td>
<td>1 September 1992</td>
<td>8 June 1990</td>
<td>29 June 1990</td>
<td>12 January 1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *election to Constituent Assembly; †Czechoslovak Federal Assembly; ‡Czechoslovak federal government, inauguration of first Czech state government on 30 June 1990; §government in office as Czech state government since 2 July 1992; †re-implementation of the 1922 Constitution; ‡election to Constituent Assembly; †Czechoslovak federal government, inauguration of first Slovak state government on 28 June 1990.

Table extracted from (Müller-Rommel, Fettelschoss and Harfst 2004:871)
Bibliography


