WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN EAST-EUROPEAN POST-COMMUNIST AND POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES

Macro- and Micro-Level Analysis of the Factors of Election to the National and Regional Legislatures

Inauguraldissertation

zur

Erlangung des Doktorgrades

der

Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Fakultät

der

Universität zu Köln

2020

vorgelegt von

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Tag der Promotion: 14.07.2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most salient political issues today is women's under-representation in state authority
bodies. Women constitute approximately half of the world' population, but gender parity in
parliaments is achieved only in Scandinavia and is a distinct goal for all other countries. This is
not only a research problem for social scientists, but a real challenge for the world on how to
overcome this discriminatory pattern. Women's legislative representation has a positive impact on
society in many ways. For instance, it improves women's substantive representation (Kittilson,
2008), increases the perception of a parliament's legitimacy (Gilardi, 2015), and contributes to the
general political engagement of women (Alexander, 2012). Many factors affect how many women
get elected, from the electoral system and presence of gender quotas to their employment level and
personal characteristics (Dahlerup, 2006, Thames and Williams, 2013). Notwithstanding,
women's legislative representation and range of factors affecting it vary considerably across the
world. In this dissertation, I look at women's legislative representation in East-European post-
communist and post-Soviet countries from different angles.

The situation in post-communist countries is unique. During Communism, women were
represented in the main state authority bodies to a great extent, while their actual political power
was minimal. Regime transitions in the early 1990s led to a significant fall in women's legislative
representation in all countries of the region. Over time, some countries have made major advances
in increasing the shares of female MPs, while other countries still lag behind. Nevertheless,
women's presence in the national parliaments of post-communist countries might mean holding
real political power, and the current advances in the numbers of women elected can represent an
actual progress in the quality of women's representation.

In this thesis, I am mostly interested in how characteristics of a political regime, namely its
level of democracy, corruption, and overall structure of government, affect women's electoral
chances. At the same time, I analyze whether female and male parliamentarians are different or
similar in their personal and professional characteristics. Thus, this dissertation starts with
analyzing factors of women's legislative representation at the national level; then moves one level
down and assesses gender parity in regional politics as well as the national–subnational gap in the
shares of female MPs; afterwards I proceed to the lowest level of analysis – parliamentarians

themselves – and focus on personal traits of politicians from a gender perspective. The chapters of the dissertation are connected to each other by a particular goal of closing several literature gaps in the studies of women in politics. More precisely, there is a major lack of research on women's political representation in post-communist countries. The analyses conducted here thus improve our knowledge of these countries and of the factors that contribute to regional variation in women's legislative representation.

The radical political and socio-economic changes experienced by post-communist countries – the end of the Communist rule and the transition towards new political and economic systems – make the post-communist region of particular interest for analysis. However, post-communist European countries, especially post-Soviet states, have so far been understudied. In Chapter 2, I address two gaps in the literature, focusing on how democracy and corruption influence women's legislative representation in post-communist countries, since the fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the USSR. On the regional level, I am mostly interested in the effect of the rise of regional political arenas and multilevel politics on women's electoral success. To analyze it, in Chapter 3 we develop a theoretical argument that this relationship is mitigated by the distribution of competences between the different levels of political system. More precisely, the impact of decentralization reforms on women's legislative representation is dependent on regions' actual level of political power. Finally, to overcome the US-centered bias in studies of the differences and similarities in personal and professional characteristics of female and male parliamentarians, Chapter 4 focuses on post-communist political elites. The post-communist region is characterized by a shared legacy of "state feminism" but different trajectories of countries' political development after the collapse of the Communist rule. Due to that, it creates a perfect laboratory for analyzing whether the combination of these factors contribute to the eradication of the differences between female and male MPs or to their consolidation.

Overall, my dissertation contributes to the literature by closing several gaps in research on women in politics. The results show that we cannot generalize findings based on studies of developed countries with consolidated democracies to other world regions. Furthermore, the findings also contribute to the general debate on women's political representation, both descriptive and substantive, and raise questions that are interesting to consider not only from a scientific, but also a normative perspective.

There are several purposes of this introduction. First, I discuss the main concept used in this dissertation – representation. Second, I proceed to the overview of the current situation with women in politics to highlight a particular importance of analyzing the factors that hinder or facilitate women's representation in the legislative bodies. Third, I familiarize readers with the state of the art in regard to the most well-studied, "traditional" factors influencing women's

electoral success. Subsequently, I give an overview of women's legislative representation in (post-) communist countries and describe literature gaps on which this dissertation is built. Then, I move to the summary of the articles included in this thesis. Finally, I discuss theoretical and practical contributions this dissertation makes as well as broader implications for future research.

1.1 Women in politics: State of the art

1.1.1 Concept of representation

The overarching concept used in this dissertation is representation. Therefore, it is necessary to define what representation is before focusing on its particular form – women's legislative representation. Hanna Pitkin, in her seminal work "The Concept of Representation" (1967), discusses different forms of representation, distinguishing four interconnected subdimensions. Formal representation refers to the institutional rules of the game, according to which women and men are elected to state authority bodies. Descriptive representation shows whether representatives "stand for" or are similar to their voters in terms of their characteristics such as gender and race. Consequently, an ideal parliament's composition should reflect the proportion of women and men in the population, which is roughly 50/50. Substantive representation is "acting for" people who are represented. Thus, more women should be elected to parliament to represent women's interests. Finally, symbolic representation refers to a representative's "[….] power to evoke feelings or attitudes […]" of the represented (Pitkin, 1967, p. 97). Under this concept, women are seen as role models, encourage other women to run for an office, and increase the perception of parliament's legitimacy (Gilardi, 2015, Alexander, 2012).

Pitkin claims that substantive representation is at the core of the overall concept of representation, and some scholars do find a connection between the level of women's legislative representation and parliament's responsiveness to women's issues (Bratton, 2002, Kittilson, 2008, Lovenduski and Norris, 2003, Schwindt-Bayer, 2006). However, substantive representation implies the existence of some universal women's issues that are shared by all women (Sapiro, 1981), which is debated in the literature (Celis and Childs, 2012). For instance, there is no collective political identity among women and they cannot be considered as a homogeneous group (Celis and Childs, 2012). "Women's interests" are, to some extent, constrained by party discipline (Bratton, 2002, Childs and Withey, 2004, Dahlerup, 2006). Some scholars also claim that a relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation is not linear and a certain threshold of the number of female MPs, a "critical mass", should be achieved before women can start acting in women's interests (Bird, 2004). At the same time, the concept of "critical mass" is problematic in itself (Childs and Krook, 2009, Studlar and McAllister, 2002).

In one of the few studies that test the relationship between all four types of representation, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) analyze women's political representation in 31 democracies and come to the conclusion that Pitkin's four subdimensions of representation are indeed interconnected. However, they argue that

> […] descriptive representation, rather than substantive representation, emerges from this analysis as the keystone to the representation of women. The percentage of women in the legislature is a principal determinant of women's policy responsiveness and of women's confidence in the legislative process. Descriptive representation also mediates virtually all of the impact of formal representation on both policy responsiveness and symbolic representation. (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, p. 422).

Consequently, descriptive representation of women stands outs as the most important subdimension of representation which e.g. serves as a foundation for both substantive and symbolic representation and increases women's political engagement (Barnes and Burchard, 2013, Karp and Banducci, 2008). Therefore, in this dissertation, I use the concept of women's legislative representation meaning only the descriptive component. Descriptive representation is the base, from which other forms of representation follow. Moreover, it is a more comparable, over time and cross-nationally, concept than substantive representation. There is no consensus among scholars on how to empirically analyze substantive representation of women across different countries that vary in the main political and socio-economic characteristics. Scholars employ different research strategies and observe policy outcomes (Kittilson, 2008), parliamentarians' speeches (Celis, 2006), or personal preferences and priorities (Schwindt-Bayer, 2006). Consequently, due to the fact that there is little research conducted on women's political representation in post-communist countries, the analysis of women's descriptive representation is the place to start.

1.1.2 Women's under-representation in the world and the variations between the regions

Before discussing the state of the art in analyzing women's legislative representation, it is worthwhile to give a general overview of the current situation with women in politics. According to the data of Inter-Parliamentary Union, the global average percentage of women in the lower / single chamber of national parliaments has grown over time but remains quite low, 24.6 percent by October 1st, 2019 (Women in National Parliaments, 2019). However, the global trend masks variations at the lower levels. Figure 1.1 shows the average shares of women elected in different

world regions, based on geographical / political and income groupings of the World bank, over time (Our World in Data, 2017).

Figure 1.1. The variation in women's legislative representation between world regions

Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments

The proportion of women in national parliaments is defined as the percentage of parliamentary seats in a single or lower chamber held by women.
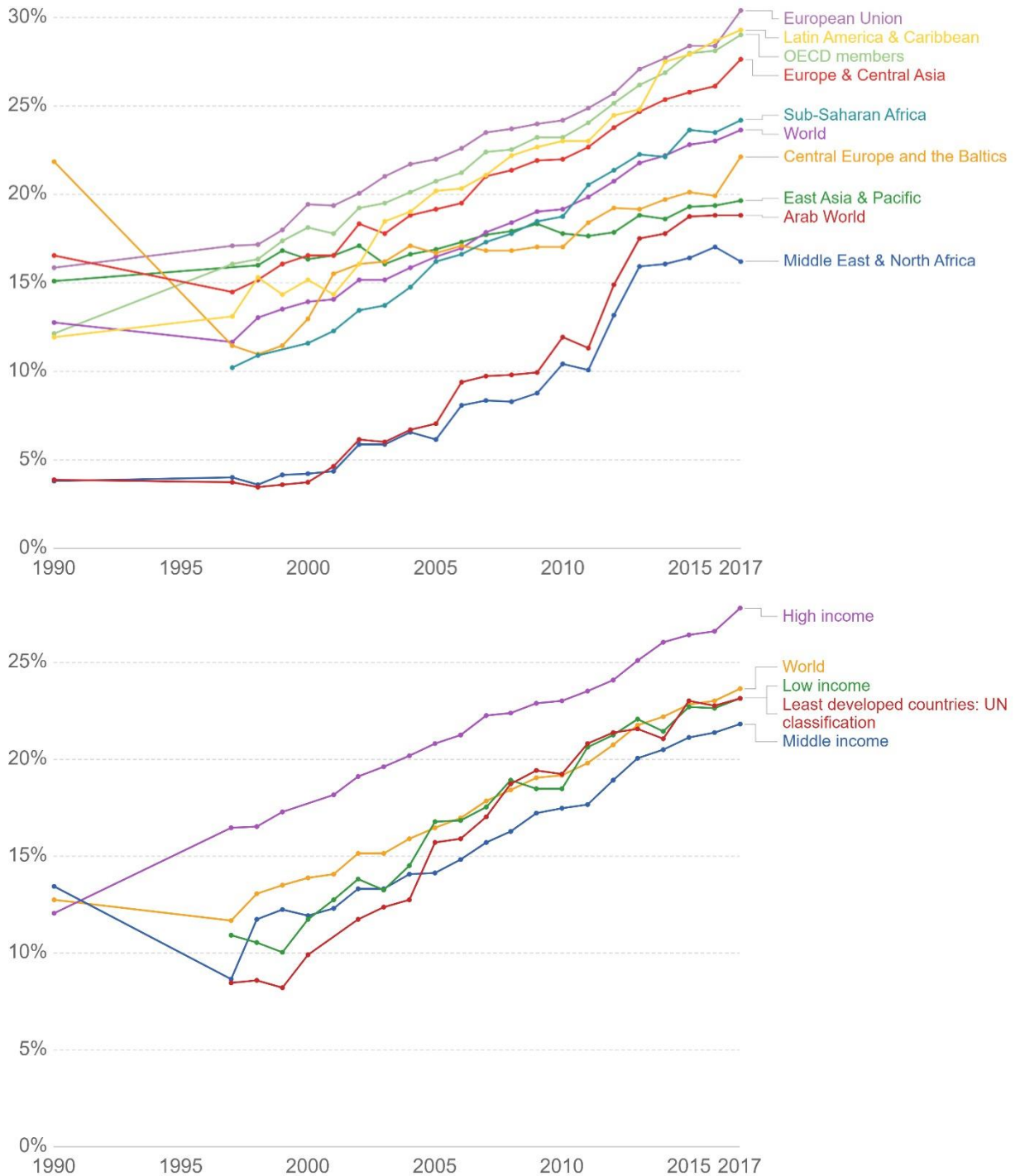
Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators (WDI)

In average numbers, as of October 1st, 2019, the world leaders in women's legislative representation are Nordic countries (44 percent), followed by both Americas (30.6 percent) and

Europe (28.1 percent, excluding Nordic countries). Sub-Saharan Africa (24.1 percent), Asia (20.1 percent), and Middle East and North Africa (17.7 percent) are located in the middle of the list. The world's laggard is the Pacific region where the average level of women's legislative representation is only 16.6 percent (Women in National Parliaments, 2019). Based on these numbers and Figure 1.1, several conclusions can be made. First, we see a general trend that the percentages of women elected to the single / lower house of national parliaments slowly increase over time in all world regions. However, despite the fact that women constitute roughly a half of the world's population and has gained political rights in almost all countries, they remain highly underrepresented in legislative bodies. Second, regional context clearly matters for women's legislative representation. We see that the trajectories of women's representation differ not only within-regions, but also between them over time.

This dissertation aims at improving our knowledge of the factors contributing to such variation. In the next section, I review the main findings in the literature in regard to the well-studied, "traditional" factors of women's legislative representation and highlight how they, or their strength of impact, differ between the regions. Contrary to these studies, the articles included in my dissertation, which are described in Section 1.2, focus on the factors that either were not investigated at all or received some empirical examination only on the samples of developed countries. In both cases, it is of particular importance to analyze how, if at all, these factors affect women's legislative representation in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries. This region constitutes a highly interesting sample for the analysis and has so far been mostly overlooked by the scholars of women's representation. Section 1.1.5 gives a general overview of the post-communist region in regard to the focus of this dissertation – what and how affects women's legislative representation.

1.1.3 "Traditional" factors of women's legislative representation and gaps in the literature: "demand-side" and structural factors

The increasing importance of women's representation in politics goes in parallel with the growing volume of literature on it. Since the second half of the 20th century social scientists have been investigating what factors contribute to or hinder women's political representation. Women's presence in national legislative bodies have received the most attention. Some scholars adhere to the demand- and supply-side approach arguing that women's election to the parliament is dependent upon the pool of eligible female candidates, "supply-side", - whether there are ambitious women willing to run for an office with a necessary level of education and political experience – and the willingness of party gatekeepers, "demand-side", to recruit and nominate women. These two sides of the electoral equation per se and the interaction between them are

determined by the structural / institutional characteristics of a political regime (Hughes and Paxton, 2007, Krook and Schwindt-Bayer, 2013, Paxton et al., 2007).

In regard to "demand-side" and structural factors, scholars, based on the studies of developed countries with consolidated democracies, find that the following factors facilitate women's legislative representation. Proportional electoral system increases the share of women elected due to the higher district magnitude (Duverger, 1955, Krook, 2010, Norris, 2006). Gender quotas promote women's legislative representation through the so-called "fast track" (Dahlerup, 2006, Inglehart and Norris, 2003), but only if rank order of candidates is specified and effective sanctions for non-compliance are implemented (Norris, 2004, Schwindt-Bayer, 2009). Studies of developed countries also show that left-leaning parties are more inclined to recruit and nominate women than right-leaning parties (Kunovich and Paxton, 2005). Finally, women's increasing presence in the paid workforce contributes to the raise in their legislative representation through political mobilization and financial independence of working women (Rosenbluth et al., 2006, Schwindt-Bayer, 2005).

At the same time, the growing body of literature on developing countries suggests that the above-mentioned factors might lack the same weight there (Htun, 2005 on Latin America, Moser, 2001 on post-communist countries, Saxonberg, 2000 on East-European countries). For instance, scholars argue that the left-leaning ideology of parties does not have a significant impact on women's legislative representation in developing countries (Htun, 2005). Morgan and Hinojosa (2018) claim that Latin American right-leaning parties have closer ties with women's organizations. Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna (2012) argue that the impact of left ideology depends on the level of democracy – as the country becomes more democratic, the positive effect decreases. Furthermore, in the absence of strong democratic institutions, the above-mentioned factors might also have unexcepted negative consequences. For instance, proportional electoral system contributes to the persistence of authoritarian rule in Rwanda (Stroh, 2010). Gender quotas adopted in Tanzania lead to the reproduction of corruption practices there (Bjarnegård et al., 2018). Thus, it is believed that a country needs to reach a certain "development threshold" before "traditional" factors come into force (Matland, 1998, Rosen, 2013, Viterna et al., 2008).

It is thus of particular importance to take regional context into account when analyzing women's legislative representation. It affects which factors play a more important role and how they influence women's electoral success. For instance, the key factors facilitating gender parity in the Nordic parliaments are high socio-economic development and active "state feminism" (Dahlerup, 2006). In Latin America, the legislated gender quotas adopted in Argentina were later introduced by neighboring countries – the contagion effect – increasing the percentage of female MPs in the region (Dahlerup, 2006). In Sub-Saharan Africa, post-conflict reconstruction of

national political systems provided new opportunities for women to enter political arena (Krook, 2010). In Western countries,[1] the most important factors promoting gender parity in legislatures are a proportional electoral system and voluntary gender quotas (McAllister and Studlar, 2002). Women's legislative representation in the East-European countries fell after the end of the Communist regime mainly due to the demobilization of women during the transitional period and the unwillingness of party leaders to recruit and nominate women (Einhorn, 1993, Moser, 2001). Traditional values in regard to gender equality still prevailing in many Arab and South Asian states serve as the major obstacle to women's participation in politics (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

As we can see, much has been said about the relationship between the "traditional" factors and women's legislative representation in the world and in particular regions. Therefore, in this dissertation, particularly in Chapters 2 and 3, they act only as control variables. Instead, I focus on the structural factors that either were not investigated before or received academic attention in the developed countries only. In Chapter 2, I focus on such important characteristics of political regime as the levels of its democratic development and corruption. In Chapter 3, we analyze the impact of decentralization reforms which nowadays become wide-spread not only in federal, but also in unitary states. More detailed overview of these two studies and the contributions they make are described in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 respectively. I believe that analyzing how these more abstract but highly important characteristics of political regimes affect women's legislative representation in post-communist countries contribute greatly to closing the gaps in the literature and enhancing our general knowledge about the factors influencing women's electoral success.

1.1.4 "Traditional" factors of women's legislative representation and gaps in the literature: "supply-side" factors

Analysis of "supply-side" factors – women's political ambitions, family situation, educational and professional background, among others – has been even more "West"-centred, especially US-centred, in the literature than the investigation of "demand-side" and structural factors. One of the main reasons for the lack of such studies on other world regions is the difficulties with data collection. To collect biographical data on politicians, scholars mostly run surveys (Fox and Lawless, 2004, Fox and Lawless, 2010) and conduct interviews (Sanbonmatsu, 2003). In both cases, it is highly time-consuming to receive enough responses to get representative results. In Chapter 4 of this dissertation, in turn, primarily web-scraping is applied to collect the data on parliamentarians.

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[1] This political rather than geographical region usually includes Western European and North American countries, Australia, and New Zealand.

One of the main supply-side factors that has received major academic attention is political ambition. The main argument of such studies is that candidates should have political ambitions to participate in electoral campaigns. Empirical evidence in regard to gender differences in political ambitions, however, produces mixed results. Some scholars argue that men are more ambitious than women and, as a result, fewer women run for office (Davidson-Schmich, 2008, Fox and Lawless, 2004), others claim that there is no significant difference in political ambitions between men and women (Fox et al., 2001, Schneider et al., 2016, Niven, 2006). Besides external factors affecting political ambitions of women, such as discouragement / encouragement from political parties and families (Fox and Lawless, 2004), there are internal ones – those factors that women take into account when deciding whether to participate in the electoral campaign. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu (2009) believe that women's decision to run for office is "[…] a critical juncture where gender differences that hinder women's increased representation may be apparent." (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2009, p. 3)

The literature identified several factors that women consider before running for office. Some studies show that women think that they cannot get financial and political support from political parties or external organizations as easily as men do (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009), despite the empirical evidence that women are as likely to raise money as their male counterparts (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). Moreover, women take into account whether their partner approves of their decision and whether they have young children who needs constant care (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Fox and Lawless, 2004). A person's own perceptions about her / his competence play an important role too (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). For instance, women tend to have more prior political experience than men because they have less confidence in their qualifications, and double standards continue to exist in politics when more is required from women than men (Sanbonmatsu, 2003, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010).

Finally, women's occupational and educational background is often considered in the literature as well. Some scholars claim that the problem for women's legislative representation lays not on the "demand-side", but on the "supply-side", meaning that there a shortage of female candidates in the eligibility pool (Lane, 1995, Sanbonmatsu, 2003). This pool of candidates, from which parties recruit candidates, primarily consists of people with a background in traditionally "male" professions: law and business. A majority of women, in turn, have traditionally "female" occupational backgrounds in education and health care (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). However, recent studies show that the share of women in "male" professions has grown over time and the gender gap is slowly decreasing (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010).

Studies of the "supply-side" factors cited above contribute to our understanding of the micro-level factors of women's legislative representation. However, almost all of them, besides e.g. the analysis of Germany by Davidson-Schmich (2008), are based on the samples of US politicians. Overall, we see that there are some recent positive trends in the convergence of female and male career paths, but gender gaps continue to persist. However, a distinct pattern might be identified for post-communist parliamentarians due to the simple fact that there are differences in socialization processes, political culture, and political / socio-economic development between the US and East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries. Chapter 4 of this dissertation aims at making the first step at minimizing this literature gap and provides an exploratory gendered analysis of parliamentarians in five post-communist countries. Furthermore, we expect to find differences in personal characteristics of MPs not only between world regions, but also within them. For instance, countries of the post-communist region vary in their political regimes which, in turn, can affect how their parliamentarians "look like" in terms of personal features and professional background. Therefore, Chapter 4 analyses parliamentarians elected in post-communist countries with different political regimes: autocratic, democratizing, and fully democratic.

To conclude the overview of the "traditional" factors of women's legislative representation, it is worthwhile to highlight again that countries from one region, either political or geographical, usually have their own "profile" determined by this regional context and similar historical development. It makes them distinct from the countries in other world regions in political and socio-economic development and attitudes towards gender equality. Consequently, the focus of this dissertation on one particular region contributes to the argument that it is of a high importance to analyze women's legislative representation cross-nationally in a specific world region to provide a comprehensive picture of the situation with women's representation there, improve our knowledge of the factors that induce these regional variations, and outline new venues of research that are not possible to formulate based on analyses of developed countries only.

1.1.5 Women in politics in post-communist countries

To give a general overview of the development of women's legislative representation in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries, three periods can be distinguished. In this section, I will briefly summarize each of them and describe state of the art. This discussion helps to set up a general foundation for the analyses performed in this dissertation by distinguishing the post-communist region from other world regions and highlighting most important characteristics of the relationship between (post-)communist political regimes and women's political representation.

It is worth starting with the communist regime itself and its system of "state feminism" which was directed towards "directive emancipation" of women in all spheres of life (Matland, 2003). This regime of gender equality manifested itself in providing equal opportunities for women and men in education, employment, and politics (Einhorn, 1993). In regard to the latter, communist governments adopted gender quotas, around 30 percent, to ensure the raise of women's representation in their parliaments, Supreme Soviets (Lapidus, 1978, Ballington and Binda, 2005). Due to this measure, the share of women in the communist legislative bodies was even higher than in many Western democracies. However, these parliaments were merely symbolic because the real decision-making power was vested into the Central Committee of the Communist Party. According to the data provided by Browning (1987), the share of women there was much lower, eight percent in 1981 reaching its maximum of 13 percent in 1986. Thus, we can conclude that although women's descriptive representation under Communism was considerably high, it did not translate into real political power women held. The regime of "state feminism" implied mostly de jure gender equality where elected women were just tokens.

In regard to the socio-economic status of women in communist and post-communist regimes, several comments should be made. On average, post-communist countries have a lower level of economic development than developed countries. Women's socio-economic standing in terms of literacy, education, and labor force participation, in turn, is in line with the position of women in developed countries and is usually significantly higher than in other developing countries. At the same time, scholars argue that patriarchism was not eliminated in communist regimes in both public and private areas of life (Einhorn, 1993, LaFont, 2001) Moreover, gender gaps in some socio-economic indicators were widened by the transition from planned to capitalist economy (LaFont, 1998). These discrepancies create a controversial situation in which women achieved a relative gender parity in some spheres of life – education and labor market – but not in the political arena:

> Under communist rule women achieved levels of literacy, education, and participation in the work force that rivaled or exceeded levels in the West. But women reached this status under political regimes that allowed virtually no independent political organization. Therefore, women did not develop the level of political organization that accompanied increased gender equality in the West nor did they experience the level of political activity of women's groups during transitions from authoritarianism in developing countries of Latin America. This social context characterized by weak political organization but high levels of literacy, education, and economic activity may interact in different and unexpected ways with institutional arrangements rendering the relationship between women's

representation and electoral systems in post-communist states different from both consolidated democracies and democratizing states from other regions. (Moser, 2001, p. 354-355)

Thus, Moser's argument (2001) brings us to the transitional period, during which women's legislative representation drastically dropped (Rueschemeyer and Wolchik, 2009). There are several reasons for the decrease in the shares of women elected in post-communist countries. First and most obvious is the abolition of gender quotas described above. Second, women were demobilized due to the forced emancipation under the communist regimes and double burden of responsibilities at home and at work (Einhorn, 1993, Matland and Montgomery, 2003). At the same time, as Moser (2001) points out, almost no women's political organizations were founded. Consequently, the lack of women's activism contributed to political parties' unwillingness to recruit and nominate women (Kostadinova, 2003). Moreover, the abovementioned tokenism of female parliamentarians during communist rule created certain negative stereotypes about women in politics which, in run, further facilitated gender bias within political parties (Matland, 2003).

Finally, after the periods of almost uniform women's legislative representation in communist and, then, transitional post-communist countries, the shares of women elected to national parliaments started to vary within the region. First, different political and socio-economic reforms were conducted in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries. Second, differences in political culture and general attitudes towards gender equality between countries started to manifest themselves as well. Furthermore, European integration contributed to the variation in women's legislative representation between countries, especially between members and non-members of the European Union (Ortbals et al., 2011).

These developments stimulated scholars to start identifying particular factors that can explain between-country variation in levels of women's legislative representation. Most of these articles are based on case- or small-N studies. For instance, Irvine (2013) analyzes different strategies of promoting gender parity that women's organizations in Croatia and Serbia employed. Kostadinova and Mikulska (2017) focus on the successful promotion of female candidates by the right-wing and populist parties in Bulgaria and Poland. The analyses of post-Soviet countries mostly include case-studies. Bagratia and Badashvili (2011) look at the Georgian political parties from a gender perspective, while Stefańczak (2015) assesses the general political and socio-economic development of Georgia and its impact on women's representation. Hankivsky and Salnykova (2012) edit a volume on Ukraine which includes studies analyzing how different political and socio-economics transitions affect women's status and role in the Ukrainian society.

Notwithstanding, there is no systematic longitudinal research on women's legislative representation in the post-communist region that would include all or majority of its countries.

These countries, however, provide a great variation in the shares of women elected, political regimes, and general socio-economic development. At the same time, the Fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union provide researchers with a natural starting point for the analysis. Radical changes in political and economic systems allow us to isolate path-dependent factors and to analyze the impact of current political, cultural, and socio-economic indicators. At the same time, some countries of the region experienced more than one change in political regime. Therefore, it is of particular interest to analyze how the level of democracy and regime corruption affect women's electoral success over time in post-communist countries (Chapter 2). Some post-communist countries, even unitary ones, undertook decentralization reforms. However, none of the studies include them in the analysis of the effect of government's structure on women's legislative representation (Chapter 3). Over time, the share of politicians with a communist background naturally diminishes in these countries. However, we do not know much about the current political elites in the region. Semenova and co-authors (2014) edit a volume on parliamentary elites in post-communist countries where they analyze e.g. the level of their professionalism and socio-economic background. But no gender research on the differences and similarities in personal and professional characteristics between female and male MPs is performed (Chapter 4). This dissertation aims at closing these literature gaps.

1.2 Overview of included studies

1.2.1 Chapter 2

The dissertation consists of three articles. The first one with the title "Democracy, Regime Corruption, and Women's Legislative Representation in Post-Communist Europe" constitutes Chapter 2. In this paper, I analyze the relationship between democracy, corruption, and women's legislative representation in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries in 1990 – 2018. In regard to the effect of democracy, this chapter builds on the discrepancies in the theoretical arguments and empirical findings. There are several reasons to believe that democratic governance should increase women's legislative representation. Free and fair elections, open competition, respect of political rights and civil liberties, among others, create clear rules of political game, minimizing the number of barriers women have to overcome to get elected (Paxton et al., 2010). Institutionalized party systems, which are more common in democratic countries (Kuenzi and Lambright, 2005, Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007), contribute to the lessening of informal, male-dominated relations within political parties that have historically disadvantaged female candidates (Kittilson, 2006). At the same time, less democratic countries often adopt legisled gender quotas to gain international legitimacy (Stockemer, 2018), which leads to the increase in women's legislative representation. Political parties in authoritarian regimes might also

nominate a considerable number of female candidates because their loyalty to the regime matters more than gender or competence (Freedman, 2004).

The evidence from the large-N studies mostly supports the argument that, on average, women's chances to get elected are higher in less democratic countries (Stockemer, 2009, Tripp and Kang, 2008, Bauer and Burnet, 2013, Kunovich and Paxton, 2005, Yoon, 2004). Small-N and case studies consistently find that women's legislative representation diminishes during country's democratic transition (Geisler, 1995, Jaquette and Wolchik, 1998, Stockemer, 2011, Watson, 1993, Yoon, 2001). Finally, some researchers go further and hypothesize a curvilinear relationship between democracy and women's representation: the latter is high in the authoritarian countries, diminishes during the democratic transition, and increases again with the consolidation of democratic institutes (Fallon et al., 2012, Bjarnegård and Zetterberg, 2016, Paxton et al., 2010).

Building on these findings, one of the main contributions of this article is to analyze the presence of a negative and / or curvilinear impact of democracy on women's legislative representation over time in post-communist countries, that were not comprehensively studied before. East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries experienced major regime transformations after the collapse of the communist rule. Afterwards, some of them continued along the democratization path and consolidated their democratic regimes, while others underwent democratic backslide. At the same time, all these countries share a common historical background and a tradition of "state feminism", that is at least de jure promotion of gender equality (Einhorn, 1993). Therefore, it is of particular interest to look at how the combination of these conditions influences women's legislative representation in post-communist countries. I also additionally test the impact of some specific factors of countries' political regimes to find out what particular indicators of (lack of) democracy contribute to or hinder women's legislative representation.

Less ambiguity exists in the literature in regard to the impact of (political) corruption on women's legislative representation. Although the direction of the relationship remains fuzzy, scholars claim that such forms of corruption as nepotism, clientelism, electoral fraud, among others, negatively affect women's chances to get elected by e.g. distorting the rules of political game and making them intransparent (Goetz, 2003, Bjarnegård and Kenny, 2016, Swamy et al., 2001, Rivas, 2013, Dollar et al., 2001, Jha and Sarangi, 2018, Stockemer, 2011). I build on this premise and develop it further by testing whether the effect of corruption differs between different types of political regimes. Political regime affects corruption mainly through accountability mechanism, which, in turn, depends on the level of democracy, electoral competition, freedom of media, and so on (Lederman et al., 2005, Karklins, 2005). Therefore, some scholars find that the level of corruption is lower in more democratic countries than in authoritarian regimes (Treisman, 2000, Drury et al., 2006, Rock, 2007), while others specify that the relationship between

democracy and corruption is curvilinear: the latter increases during democratization and decreases when democracy consolidates (Amundsen, 1999, Nur-tegin and Czap, 2012, Sung, 2004). Taking into account a possible curvilinear relationship between, on the one hand, democracy and women's representation and, on the other hand, democracy and corruption, it is not clear how in the end corruption affects women's chances to get elected. Interacting democracy and corruption can either lead to the reinforcement of their effects on women's legislative representation or to their counterbalance.

Moreover, it is interesting to analyze the impact of corruption on the number of women elected to the national parliaments in post-communist countries for the following reason. Many scholars highlight the persistence of corruption and informal relations in these countries from the communist times to the present day (Karklins, 2005, Karklins, 2002, Sajó, 2003, Sandholtz and Taagepera, 2005). Therefore, wide-spread and deeply-rooted corruption may not affect women's legislative representation at all because it became a part of everyday life in post-communist societies. At the same time, more democratic countries of the region, especially members of the European Union, might be more inclined to fight corruption (Karklins, 2005). Therefore, its incidents might have a bigger impact on women's chances to get elected in democracies.

To test my theoretical assumptions, I use the data on the shares of women elected to the national parliaments in East-European post-communist countries complementing it with the original dataset on women's legislative representation in post-Soviet countries. Overall, 201 legislative elections in 29 countries in 1990 – 2018 are analyzed. OLS regression with unit fixed effects is run to perform a longitudinal cross-sectional analysis. Obtained results support earlier findings that women's legislative representation is higher in less democratic countries of the region. This is mostly explained by the high share of seats in the parliament that the ruling party obtains due to electoral fraud and other electoral irregularities. This party, for example for the reasons of loyalty, nominates a high number of female candidates. Challenging previous studies, the results also show that regime corruption has only a minor negative impact on women's legislative representation and its effect is not stronger in more democratic countries of the region.

1.2.2 Chapter 3

Second article titled "Multilevel Governance and Women's Legislative Representation" is co-authored with André Kaiser and constitutes Chapter 3. The focus of the paper remains on the factors of women's legislative representation but moves down to the regional level. We are mainly interested in analyzing whether decentralization and multilevel governance have an impact on women's electoral success and whether there is a gap between national and subnational levels in the shares of women elected. It is a particularly interesting topic considering that nowadays many

unitary states have undertaken extensive decentralization reforms (Biela et al., 2013). As a result, the distribution of political power between national and subnational levels in them became comparable to that in some federations (Ortbals et al., 2011).

The findings in the literature are ambiguous. Many scholars argue that women prefer participating in the elections at the lower levels of government because: this politics is closer to home (Johnson et al., 2003, Beall, 2005, Darcy et al., 2003); it deals with more familiar, day-to-day issues (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009); and eligibility criteria are lower (Luciak, 2005, Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015). It is believed that all of these factors contribute to a higher women's legislative representation at the regional and local levels than at the national level. However, the only two, to our knowledge, large-N longitudinal analyses provide mixed results. Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) show that approximately four percent more women are elected to the national parliaments in federal than in unitary countries. According to the authors, the fact that the national parliaments in federal states have two chambers, that is more chances for women to get into politics, mainly explains this finding. In contrast, Vengroff and co-authors (2003) argue that there is no significant effect of the structure of the government on both women's legislative representation at the regional level and on the gap in the shares of female MPs between national and subnational levels.

Building on these findings, we develop our theoretical argument further. First, we argue that instead of focusing only on the distinction between unitary and federal states, as e.g. Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) and Vengroff and co-authors (2003) do, we should take into account countries' multilevel, decentralized structures. In this case, we are able to capture more nuanced variations both between and within countries in women's electoral success. Second, we suggest to analyze the impact of the exact level of political authority regions possess on the share of women elected to the regional legislatures and on the gap in the shares of female MPs between national and regional levels. Thus, we can assess whether and to what extent decentralization is advantageous or harmful for women's legislative representation. Finally, we hypothesize that fewer women are elected in more politically powerful regions for several reasons. For instance, women are still perceived by voters as less competent and fit for politics (Bauer, 2015, Fulton, 2014, Branton et al., 2018) and the attractiveness of the regions with higher political authority for still predominantly male political elite can increase the competitiveness and financial costs of electoral campaigns which disadvantage women (Chin, 2004, Lovenduski, 1986, Vickers, 2010).

The sample for the analysis has to include European countries that, first, have regional level where legislatures are directly elected and, second, have data available on both Regional Authority Index (Hooghe et al., 2016), that we use to measure regions' political power, and on the shares of women elected to the regional legislatures over time. Therefore, we added 12 European countries

to the sample of seven post-communist countries, that fulfill the above-mentioned criteria, to increase the sample size and the variation in the main indicator of interest. Thus, our original dataset on women's legislative representation at the regional level is comprised from the data on 383 regional legislatures in 19 European countries in 1970-2018. To test our hypotheses empirically, we apply longitudinal multilevel regression modeling and run a three-level mixed-effects model with random intercepts at the region and country levels.

The results confirm our expectations. Between-country analysis shows that fewer women are elected to the legislatures in the regions possessing more political authority. Within-country analysis reveals that regions with higher political power have fewer female MPs than the national parliament. The results are robust for the different specifications of the models. Therefore, despite the general increase in women's legislative representation over time in majority of the regions, it remains lower in more politically powerful ones. Moreover, a devolution of power from the national to the subnational level contributes to the widening of the gap in the shares of female MPs between them.

1.2.3 Chapter 4

Third article that constitutes Chapter 4 has the title "Pathways to Power: Women and Men in Post-Communist Parliaments" and moves to the individual level by focusing on the parliamentarians themselves. Analyzing the macro-level factors of women's legislative representation, scholars, and I in the first two articles, consider women as an abstract and homogeneous group which is under-represented in state authority bodies. However, this is obviously not the case in real life, therefore it is of particular importance as well to look at who women elected are and in what regards they are similar to or different from their male colleagues.

Majority of studies analyzing personal and professional characteristics of female and male parliamentarians are based on the samples of US politicians (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009). In regard to personal characteristics, these articles identify e.g. that women tend to be older and have older children than men when entering political office because they still remain the primary care-takers (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Fox and Lawless, 2004). Female MPs are more often than male MPs single, divorced, or widowed (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009). And, there is a shortage of female candidates with an occupational background in law in the eligibility pool because women still tend to receive education in "female" spheres such as social work or health care (Sanbonmatsu, 2003, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). In regard to professional characteristics, studies on the US find that e.g. Democrats recruit and nominate more women than Republicans (Fox and Lawless, 2010). Outside the US, research usually shows that left-leaning parties are more successful in promoting female

candidates than right-learning parties (Morgan and Hinojosa, 2018). One of the factors found to undermine women's chances to get elected is incumbency. Incumbents are usually men who often win reelection (Schwindt-Bayer, 2005). Finally, Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009) identify that there is no big difference in the numbers of female and male parliamentarians with prior political experience. At the same time, in case of presence of such experience, women more often than men tend to obtain it at the lower level of government, in local politics.

Taking into account that factors of women's legislative representation are either different or have different strength of impact in developed and developing countries (Matland, 1998, Rosen, 2013), we can expect that personal and professional characteristics of parliamentarians in post-communist countries and in the US are various as well. It is also interesting to analyze MPs in post-communist countries because of their historical background. "State feminism" (Einhorn, 1993) and "forced emancipation" (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005) of women under Communist rule were aimed at achieving gender equality and gender parity in all spheres of life: education, employment, and politics. Thus, parliamentarians who grew up before the collapse of the Soviet Union and fall of the Iron Curtain could receive very similar education. Consequently, female and male MPs in post-communist countries can differ less from each other than their counterparts in the US. At the same time, studies show that this adherence to gender equality principles did not translate into their de facto implementation. For instance, post-communist societies remain patriarchal (LaFont, 2001) with considerable gender gaps in socio-economic and political spheres of life (Einhorn, 1993). Regime and economy transformations after the end of the communist rule only facilitated these gender differences (LaFont, 1998). Therefore, we can equally expect that female and male parliamentarians in post-communist countries vary from each other to a great extent.

To empirically test the hypotheses on the gender gaps, I collect an original database on the biographical data of MPs elected to the last two terms of the national parliaments in five post-communist countries. I perform an exploratory analysis of the total of 1237 parliamentarians applying descriptive statistical methods: t-test, chi-square test, and test for equality of proportions. The results show two general patterns. In terms of personal characteristics, differences between women and men in post-communist countries are similar to those identified in the US. For instance, there are higher proportions of female than male MPs who are single, divorced, or widowed and who have occupational background in education and social work. In contrast, professional characteristics of post-communist parliamentarians mostly contradict earlier findings. Among other things, female MPs are not more left-leaning than their male colleagues. Higher proportions of the former participate in the elections as independent candidates. It is also interesting to note that career paths of parliamentarians differ: men tend to have more gradual, step-by-step career

from the lower level of government to the higher, while women more often "jump" directly to the national level. The analysis reveals some positive findings. I identify that the gender gap in the occupation from which political parties mostly recruit their candidates, law, is diminishing. Also, almost equal proportions of women and men run for office as incumbents. Thus, these factors are not significant barriers that women have to overcome to get elected in post-communist countries.

1.3 Relevance and broader implications

The main interest of this dissertation is to analyze women's legislative representation in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries from different perspectives to overcome the lack of scientific attention this region has received so far in regard to women in politics. Thus, this thesis contributes to the various branches of literature which will be outlined in this section.

One of the key focuses of this dissertation is to identify the relationship between some of the main characteristics of a country's political regime and women's legislative representation. The results of the analyses challenge some of the previous findings in this field and broad existing theoretical arguments. First, I test the impact of democracy and corruption on women's legislative representation over time and from different angles: the effects of these two factors separately, a curvilinear impact of democracy, and an interaction effect between democracy and corruption. It allows us to get a comprehensive picture of the relationship between these two important characteristics of political regime and women's legislative representation. The results identifying that more women are elected in more authoritarian countries where the ruling party receives the majority of the parliament's seats show us that some countries of the region have remained stuck in the Communist past. The high levels of women's descriptive representation in these countries do not translate into their real power and ability to influence policies adopted. Political power remains concentrated in the hands of the authoritarian leader and / or ruling party. It thus raises a question whether such achievements in women's legislative representation can or should be considered by the international community as a positive trend. At the same time, a more gradual increase in the shares of female MPs in more democratic countries of the region may go in parallel with the increase in the quality of women's substantive representation there.

Contrary to previous findings (Goetz, 2003, Bjarnegård and Kenny, 2016, Rivas, 2013, Jha and Sarangi, 2018, Stockemer, 2011), the results also show that regime corruption does not significantly decrease the number of women elected in post-communist countries, even in more democratic ones. This, in turn, unfortunately supports earlier arguments by the scholars that corruption has become an integral part of the everyday life in post-communist societies (Karklins, 2005, Sajó, 2003) and, thus, it does not have an impact on women's chances to get elected. Although the finding appears to be positive indicating the lack of one of the barriers for female

candidates, it has important implications for future consideration. From a normative perspective, no significant impact of regime corruption on women's political representation can reinforce the prevalence of informal relations in the region and potentially contribute to democratic backslide. More research on it is required to unravel a more nuanced relationship between female candidates and corruption practices in the region.

Next, André Kaiser and I focus on another overlooked aspect of women's representation – the subnational level – and analyze the effect of countries' government structure on the share of women elected. We challenge the general theoretical argument and empirical strategy of the previous studies (Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015, Vengroff et al., 2003) by claiming that we cannot assess the effect of countries' multilevel structure of governance on women's legislative representation by simply dividing countries into two groups: federal and unitary. Related small-N studies make some preliminary conclusions that devolution reforms might have an impact on women's electoral success in unitary countries (Kenny and Mackay, 2011, Ortbals et al., 2011). We built on these findings and develop our argument further – it is necessary to analyze the impact of decentralization, which can be found in both federal and unitary states, on women's legislative representation. Empirically, we propose to look at the relationship between the actual level of political power that regions possess and the share of women elected. We explore not only between-country but also within-country variation and find that women's chances to get elected are lower in more politically powerful regions. Our theoretical argument and general empirical strategy have implications for further studies of the effects of decentralization reforms which, according to our results, are not unambiguously positive. We increase our knowledge of the factors of women's legislative representation and broad our understanding of the political processes taking place below the national level. At the same time, our article contributes to the broader debate in organizational studies and literature on labor market that women remain underrepresented in more prestigious and powerful positions. It opens an opportunity for the future cross-disciplinary collaboration.

Finally, I zoom in on the parliamentarians themselves and challenge some of the previous findings which are mainly based on the analysis of politicians in the US (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009). The part of the analysis focusing on the professional characteristics of female and male MPs confirms that there are gender gaps in them in post-communist countries as well, but quite often they run in the opposite to the US direction. For instance, the results show that men are members of more left-leaning parties than women who are, in turn, more often than men run for office as independent candidates. Furthermore, almost equal proportions of female and male MPs enter national parliaments as incumbents. I thus contribute to the literature on the factors of women's legislative representation by showing e.g. that women do not need political and financial support from political parties to win elections and that incumbency

is not a barrier for female candidates in the post-communist region. At the same time, I show the importance of analyzing other world regions that differ substantially from developed countries with consolidated democracies. It leads to acquiring new knowledge about various political contexts and allows us to come up with new or to revise existing theoretical arguments.

Elaborating on the last point, I would like to highlight that this dissertation tests theoretical arguments on the sample of countries that have been overlooked in the literature. For instance, to my knowledge, there are no studies looking at the effects of corruption and decentralization on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries. In regard to personal and professional characteristics of MPs, Semenova and co-authors (2014) provide a rich overview of parliamentarians in post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but do not make a gendered analysis. Some studies of East-European post-communist countries make first steps in analyzing the effect of democracy on women's legislative representation by identifying factors of its initial drop after the collapse of the communist rule (Rueschemeyer and Wolchik, 2009, Chiva, 2005, Kunovich, 2003, Matland, 2003, Kostadinova, 2003, Moser, 2001). However, most of these articles are based on small-N and case-studies, are not recent, or are not longitudinal. Moreover, contrary to post-communist countries in Europe, post-Soviet countries have not been systematically studied in regard to the factors of women's legislative representation. Despite several case studies (Bagratia and Badashvili, 2011, Hankivsky and Salnykova, 2012, Mejere, 2012, Stefańczak, 2015), there is no cross-national and time-series analysis. Thus, my dissertation closes described literature gaps.

Furthermore, a more practical contribution of this dissertation involves collecting three original databases: on the shares of women elected to the national parliaments in East European post-communist and post-Soviet countries over time, on the shares of women elected to the regional parliaments in 19 European countries over time, and on the biographical data of MPs elected to the last two terms of the national parliaments in five post-communist countries. It provides a great opportunity for the further and deeper research of women's legislative representation in the post-communist region. It allows to test hypotheses derived from the studies of developed countries with consolidated democracies on the developing and less democratic counties and to assess whether earlier findings are applicable to other world regions.

What is more, some results of this dissertation speak to the literature on women's substantive representation. In Chapter 2, I support earlier findings of the negative impact of democracy on women's legislative representation (Kunovich and Paxton, 2005, Yoon, 2004, Bauer and Burnet, 2013). Higher share of women gets elected in more authoritarian countries which is mainly explained by the high share of seats the ruling party obtains in the parliament due to electoral fraud. Since loyalty of the politicians matters more under authoritarianism than their

competence, qualifications, or gender, I assume that the ruling party nominates a considerable number of female candidates. In Chapter 4, based on the pooled and by country exploratory analyses of the current political elites in post-communist countries, I find e.g. that Belarus often appears as an outlier that can be explained by its authoritarian political regime and, consequently, different rules of political game where loyalty to the regime is more important than gender or competence of the parliamentarians. These results raise important questions, whether women elected in less democratic countries of the region remain just symbolic tokens, as under Communist rule, or can have an impact on the policies adopted; whether women elected as members of the ruling party have independence and / or willingness to represent women's interests; and whether parity without equality have positive implications for women's general empowerment in more patriarchal societies. The relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women in post-communist countries remains unclear and requires future exploration.

Finally, the findings of this dissertation have broader relevance, when we think about the latest shifts in democracy levels in some post-communist countries or the recent corruption scandals. Scholars identify democratic backsliding in some post-communist countries, e.g. in Hungary and Poland, and the persistence of the authoritarianism and its negative influence on some neighboring countries in Russia (Cianetti et al., 2018, Lührmann and Lindberg, 2019). Of similar concern are the corruption scandals of the last years e.g. in Slovakia and the continuing ineffectiveness of anti-corruption measures in Romania and Bulgaria (Dimitrova, 2018). I find that women's electoral success is higher in less democratic countries and is not hindered by regime corruption. The question thus arises whether increase in women's legislative representation by means of electoral fraud and / or informal, patronage-based relations is desirable and can be considered as a positive trend. At the same time, one might wonder whether increasing women's legislative representation in less democratic countries can promote democratization. It will be of particular interest to monitor the future developments of political regimes, women's political representation, and the interconnection between the two in the post-communist region.

1.4 Publication status of the articles

The first article titled "Democracy, Regime Corruption, and Women's Legislative Representation in Post-Communist Europe" (Chapter 2) is single-authored. It was submitted to the journal Communist and Post-Communist Studies on January 20th 2020 and is currently under review.

The second article with the title "Multilevel Governance and Women's Legislative Representation" (Chapter 3) is co-authored with André Kaiser. Both authors contributed equally to the research. The paper was invited for revision and resubmission to the European Journal of Political Research. It was resubmitted on January 20th 2020 and is currently under review.

The third paper titled "Pathways to Power: Women and Men in Post-Communist Parliaments" (Chapter 4) is single-authored. It is currently prepared for the submission to the Post-Soviet Affairs journal.

DEMOCRACY, REGIME CORRUPTION, AND WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE

Abstract

Women remain significantly underrepresented in national parliaments, but their representation varies considerably across the world, affected by a wide range of factors. Post-communist European countries, especially post-Soviet states, have so far been understudied. This article addresses this gap in the literature, focusing on how democracy and regime corruption affected women's legislative representation in post-communist countries in 1990–2018. Results of the longitudinal, cross-national analysis show that more women are elected in more authoritarian countries, primarily due to the high share of seats obtained by the ruling party and electoral fraud. Regime corruption has a negative, albeit minor, impact on women's legislative representation and the strength of its effect does not vary between more and less democratic countries of the region. Thus, the primarily "top-down" increase in women's legislative representation in more authoritarian countries raises substantial questions for future research.

2.1 Introduction

The process of women's enfranchisement eventually drew academic attention to the issue of women's political representation. The global average percentage of women in national legislatures has grown over time but remains quite low: 24.6 percent in 2019 (Women in National Parliaments, 2019).[2] The global trend masks sharp variations between regions. The leaders in female legislative representation are the Nordic countries (44 percent), significantly above both Americas (30.6 percent), Europe (28.1 percent, excluding Nordic countries), Sub-Saharan Africa (24.1 percent), Asia (20.1 percent), and Middle East and North Africa (17.7 percent). The world's laggard is the Pacific region, with only 16.6 percent (Women in National Parliaments, 2019).[3] We can draw two

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[2] All percentages refer to single or lower houses unless otherwise specified.
[3] Regional groupings are in accordance with the PARLINE Database on National Parliaments.

conclusions from these figures. First, despite the fact that women constitute roughly half the world's population, they remain seriously underrepresented in national parliaments. Second, regional context may be a factor that has so far been overlooked.

Most studies on women's representation in national legislatures are based on developed countries with well-established democracies, and find that the main factors facilitating women's legislative representation are a proportional electoral system (Krook, 2010, Norris, 2006), gender quotas (Dahlerup, 2006, Thames and Williams, 2013), and the inclusion of women in the paid workforce (Rosenbluth et al., 2006, Schwindt-Bayer, 2005). However, a growing body of literature on developing countries suggests that these factors lack the same weight there (Htun, 2005, Moser, 2001). Some scholars argue that a country needs to reach a certain "development threshold" before "conventional" factors come into play (Matland, 1998, Rosen, 2013).

The discrepancies in the findings between developed and developing countries are partially due to different operationalizations of the variables and method of analysis. However, regional context is of particular importance because it affects which factors play a more important role and how they influence women's representation. After the end of Communist regimes, women's representation in East European countries fell, mainly due to the demobilization of women during the transitional period and the unwillingness of party leaders to recruit and nominate women (Einhorn, 1993, Moser, 2001). Post-communist countries have followed different paths of development after that. Some of them democratized and eventually became members of the European Union (EU), while others experienced democratic backsliding, Russia being one of the most prominent examples.

We do not know much about how these political regimes and their changes over time affected women's representation in the national parliaments of post-communist countries. Similarly, there is almost no research on the effect of regime corruption on women's legislative representation in the region (see e.g. Karklins, 2005). Both democracy and corruption were shown to have a negative impact on the share of female MPs in the studies of other countries and world regions (see e.g. Bauer and Burnet, 2013, Stockemer, 2011). However, Central and East-European and post-Soviet countries have a legacy of "state feminism", that is de jure gender equality, (Einhorn, 1993) and of regime corruption, which became a systemic and deeply-rooted part of their political regimes (Lederman et al., 2005). How does it affect what impact do the type of political regime and the level of regime corruption have on women's legislative representation? Common historical background, but different trajectories of political and socio-economic development after the collapse of the communist regimes make these countries of considerable interest for analysis. In this article I fill this gap in the literature and aim to discern the effect of

democracy and regime corruption on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries in 1990-2018.

In contrast to previous research on women in politics in post-communist European countries (see e.g. Kostadinova and Mikulska, 2017, Rueschemeyer and Wolchik, 2009), I focus on the whole post-communist area, based on an original dataset on women's legislative representation in post-Soviet countries. This (sub-)region has not been extensively studied before. Although there are some descriptive case studies (Bagratia and Badashvili, 2011, Hankivsky and Salnykova, 2012, Mejere, 2012, Stefańczak, 2015), there is no systematic research on factors affecting the representation of women in the national parliaments over time after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yet this region constitutes an interesting sample for analysis. During Soviet times, the percentages of women in the Supreme Soviets of the USSR's 15 republics were approximately the same, around 30 percent, due to special gender quotas (Lapidus, 1978, Shahnazaryan et al., 2016). The dissolution of the Soviet Union and, consequently, abolition of gender quotas, caused a steep decrease in female representation in the newly formed 15 states. Over time, however, the share of female MPs started to vary considerably across countries. Thus, the end of the Soviet and Communist rule in the analyzed countries of Europe in 1991 and 1989 respectively gives us a good, "natural" starting point for the analysis.

To find out whether democracy and regime corruption affect women's legislative representation, I conduct a time-series cross-sectional analysis by running an OLS regression with fixed effects. The results show that democracy decreases women's legislative representation in the analyzed region, although its impact is moderate. Thus, post-communist countries have not achieved yet a level of democratic development and consolidation after which the share of women elected starts rising again. Currently, particular components of democratic regimes, namely free and fair, "clean" elections impair electoral results of female candidates. They are more likely to be elected in countries with a higher level of electoral fraud and restricted competition. Countries where the ruling party receives a majority of seats in parliament have more female MPs. It is thus more expedient for women considering running for office to belong to this ruling party than, for instance, to a smaller party but with a greater adherence to gender equality issues by its leaders. The lack of free and fair elections which results in the ruling party obtaining the majority of the votes is the usual characteristic of less democratic political regimes. Therefore, we can conclude that in more authoritarian countries, where candidacies are mostly determined by the leadership of a dominant ruling party and electoral fraud is a popular tool to achieve the necessary electoral results, women have higher chances of being elected.

Regime corruption has a negative impact on women's legislative representation, although its impact is minor. Its effect does not vary between the different types of political regime in post-

communist countries. We can thus conclude that corruption and the informal relationships it generates are still an integral part of political regimes in these countries. Therefore, it does not substantially affect women's decision of whether to run for office and their chances to get elected. More "conventional" factors, such as proportional electoral system and gender quotas, play a bigger role in determining the level of women's legislative representation in the region. However, the results enable us to conclude that women have higher chances of being elected to the national parliaments of more authoritarian countries than of democracies. This finding raises substantial questions about the differences in the "quality" of women's legislative representation and in women's career paths between democracies and autocracies and about the effects that higher shares of female MPs in authoritarian countries have on their substantive representation.

The article proceeds as following. First, I focus on the relationship between a country's democratic development and its impact on women's legislative representation. Second, I outline previous research on corruption and women in politics. Section 2.4 describes and justifies the sample of post-communist countries for this analysis. In section 2.5, data and method of analysis are presented. Section 2.6 discusses the results of the statistical analysis. The last part concludes and offers points for further consideration.

2.2 Women's Legislative Representation and Democracy

It is not clear from the literature what effect does democratic government have on women's political representation. On the one hand, nowadays, on average, the percentage of female MPs is higher in developed countries with consolidated democracy than in developing countries. One can therefore assume that democracy positively affects women's chances to get elected. First, democracies are characterized by free and fair elections and open competition. Second, respect of political rights and civil liberties in democratic regimes facilitates women's activism and promotion of gender equality and gender parity. Thus, these clear and transparent rules of political game reduce the number of barriers women have to overcome to get elected (Paxton et al., 2010).

Having a democratic political regime also facilitates the positive impact of other institutional factors on women's legislative representation. For instance, a mixed electoral system, common in post-communist countries, can increase the share of women elected due to its contamination effect between two tiers (Hennl and Kaiser, 2008). However, this effect can be mitigated by a particular political context. Golosov (2014) argues that electoral authoritarianism changes incentives for political parties and candidates, and mitigates the positive spill-over effect between the majoritarian and proportional tiers of the mixed electoral system. Therefore, the number of female MPs decreases.

Due to a greater adherence to gender equality issues, political parties in more democratic countries, in contrast to the ones operating in more authoritarian contexts, can be more inclined to adopt voluntary gender quotas. For instance, parties in many Western countries, such as Canada, France, Italy, Spain, the UK, and others, adopted some sort of voluntary gender quotas (Verge, 2012). Legislated gender quotas, in turn, are a popular tool to promote at least de jure gender parity and / or to gain international legitimacy in the authoritarian countries (Stockemer, 2018).[4] For example, gender quotas were adopted in the Soviet Union and abolished after its collapse (Ballington and Binda, 2005).

Democratic countries are usually characterized by more institutionalized party systems (Kuenzi and Lambright, 2005, Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007). Formal rules of recruitment and nomination procedures within political parties are advantageous for women because they minimize the impact of informal male-dominated relations from which women have been historically excluded (Caul, 1999, Kittilson, 2006). Many post-communist countries, in turn, have weak party systems (Moser and Scheiner, 2012, Thames, 2007, Casal Bértoa, 2017). In Russia and Ukraine, for example, the internal life of parties is mainly based on informal relations and patronage (Matland and Montgomery, 2003). As a result, loyalty, rather than competence, is highly valued. Nevertheless, irrespective of the level of party system institutionalization, women should organize themselves to demand improvement of their status both within and outside parties (Matland, 2003). Such activism is also more likely to be found in more open and democratic societies where the level of repressions is smaller.

On the other hand, there are several reasons to believe that authoritarianism can facilitate women's legislative representation. In regard to post-communist countries, the tradition of the so-called "state feminism" could persist over time (Einhorn, 1993). Although it did not lead to de facto parity, communist regimes promoted female emancipation through the increase of women's employment, opportunities for education, and introduction of gender quotas, usually around 30 percent, applied to symbolic legislative elections at different levels of government (LaFont, 2001). These gender quotas were mainly adopted as a source of legitimation by the international community, rather than a real means to achieve gender parity. However, since the end of the communist rule, gender quotas have become less widespread in post-soviet and post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. One of the reasons for their current unpopularity in the region, especially among female candidates, is because they call to mind the Soviet "forced emancipation" (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005, p. 34, see also Einhorn, 1993, Fallon et al., 2012).

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[4] For more details on the countries and political parties that adopted gender quotas see The Quotas Database (retrieved from https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas).

High centralization of power in the authoritarian regimes leads to an increased importance of loyalty of political actors. Control over candidates' pool and centralization of recruitment and nomination processes within parties can promote women's legislative representation. What is valued is not competence and qualification of a candidate, but her / his loyalty to the regime, irrespective of the candidate's gender (Freedman, 2004). Thus, such form of "state feminism" together with the authoritarian nature of the political game can contribute to the increase in the shares of female MPs.

Therefore, to date, no large-N quantitative analysis has identified a positive effect of democracy on women's legislative representation (Reynolds, 1999, Stockemer, 2009, Tripp and Kang, 2008, Bauer and Burnet, 2013), while it has even been found to have a negative impact (Kunovich and Paxton, 2005, Yoon, 2004, Bauer and Burnet, 2013). Qualitative case- and small-N studies show that in many countries women's representation decreased after democratic transition (Geisler, 1995 on Southern Africa, Jaquette and Wolchik, 1998 on Latin America and Eastern-Central Europe, Stockemer, 2011 on Africa, Watson, 1993 on Eastern Europe, Yoon, 2001 on sub-Saharan Africa).

The lack of a positive effect of democracy on women's legislative representation also indicates that political development does not always run in parallel with socio-economic development (Hughes, 2009, Krook, 2009). There are socio-economically developed countries with authoritarian regimes, such as Singapore, where 23 percent of representatives elected in 2015 were women; and democratic developing countries, such as South Africa or India, with respectively 42.4 and 11.8 percent in 2014. By April 1, 2018 the share of female MPs in the US was still low, at 19.5 percent. In contrast, Rwanda with 61.3 percent heads the table of women's legislative representation today (Women in National Parliaments, 2019).

Some scholars show that the relationship between democracy and share of female MPs is not straightforward, but follows a curvilinear trajectory. Due to the factors mentioned above, women's legislative representation in authoritarian countries can be high, irrespective of female politicians' de facto status as tokens. Transition to a new political regime and democratization, that is instability and changes of the rules of political game, lead to a sudden drop in the share of women elected. Consolidation of the political regime shows an increase in women's legislative representation again (Fallon et al., 2012, Bjarnegård and Zetterberg, 2016). Paxton and co-authors (2010) argue that democracy needs more time than authoritarianism to start affecting women's representation. They show that democracy has "increasing returns over time" (ibid, p. 29) – its initial level does not affect the share of women elected, but it determines the rate of its growth over time. In particular, the authors claim that advances in civil liberties, mostly in women's activism, rather than in political rights, contribute to a higher women's legislative representation.

Thus, a longitudinal analysis is preferable when analyzing the impact of democracy on women's legislative representation. However, Paxton and co-authors did not include post-communist countries in their sample "[b]ecause the processes facilitating women's inclusion in politics are different […], producing substantially different trajctories […]." (Paxton et al., 2010, p. 35) Despite the possible different career paths of women in democratic and authoritarian countries, in both types of political regimes women's legislative representation could grow over time. Therefore, it is of particular importance to analyze the effect of a political regime on women's legislative representation on the sample of post-communist countries over time.

We do not know from the literature how democratization or, in contrast, a democratic backslide affects women's legislative representation in post-communist countries over time, especially in the post-Soviet region. What particular factors characterizing democratic and authoritarian political regimes contribute the most to the increase or decrease in the shares of female MPs in their national parliaments? We should thus analyze both democratic and (electoral) authoritarian countries at different levels of socio-economic development in order to evaluate how the type of political regime and its particular characteristics affect the share of female MPs. Focusing on a specific regional context, European post-communist countries, is thus beneficial because this sample provides variance in many important indicators both over time and between countries. At the same time, a common historical development constrains this heterogeneity to a certain extent allowing to limit the number of relevant control variables in order to not overburden statistical models.

Based on the previous findings from the literature, I hypothesise:

H1 (on democratic development of a country):
A higher level of democratic development of a country leads to fewer women being elected to its national parliament.

Having in mind previous research on democratization and women's legislative representation by Fallon and co-authors (2012), I also check the curvilinearity of the relationship between democracy and the share of female MPs – more women are elected when a country has a more authoritarian political regime as well as when its democratic system consolidates, than during its middle stages of democratization. To test the non-linear impact of democracy on the share of women elected, I include its quadratic term in the model.

2.3 Women's Legislative Representation and Corruption

Less ambiguity in the literature exists with regard to the relationship between (political) corruption[5] and women's political representation. In general, scholars find a negative effect of corruption on the share of women elected, although the direction of impact is not clear. Political corruption, or power-preserving political corruption, as Amundsen (2019) defines it, is directed to preserving or increasing power by political actors. It incorporates different means of achieving this goal such as nepotism, clientelism, patronage, co-optations of oppositional politicians, electoral fraud, control over the courts, and so on (Amundsen, 2019, p. 16-17). It is thus more difficult for women to get elected when the rules of the political game are intransparent and electoral competition is controlled and distorted.

Clientelism and informal relations within political parties disadvantage women. Women were historically excluded from this type of male-based clientelist relationships which could persist over time (Goetz, 2003). Male party leaders recruit and nominate male candidates at higher rates and in safer districts and put them in higher positions on party lists (Bjarnegård and Kenny, 2016). As a result, the share of women nominated and, hence, elected, is lower. Some studies also show that women are less corrupt and / or are perceived as less corrupt than men by voters (Swamy et al., 2001). Therefore, people might be more willing to vote for female candidates. At the same time, women can be less inclined to participate in elections and to become part of the political system when the level of corruption is high (Rivas, 2013). Consequently, scholars find a negative relationship between the level of corruption in the country and the share of women elected to its parliament, although the direction of the relationship remains fuzzy (Dollar et al., 2001, Jha and Sarangi, 2018, Stockemer, 2011).

Therefore, I hypothesize:

H2 (on political corruption of a country):

A higher level of political corruption in a country leads to fewer women being elected to its national parliament.

Corruption is a part of political regime and, therefore, it might play a different role in democracies and autocracies. As Lederman and co-authors argue, "[…] the political macrostructure – related to the political system, balance of powers, electoral competition, and so on – determines the incentives for those in office to be honest and to police and punish misbehavior." (Lederman et al., 2005, p. 3) One of the main channels through which a political regime can influence corruption is accountability. The latter, in turn, is determined by the level of

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[5] I use the most wide-spread definition of corruption as "abuse of public power for private benefit" and political corruption as "corruption in which the political decision-makers are involved". (Amundsen, 2019, p. 5-6).

democracy, particularly by the degree of electoral competition, freedom of media, existence of checks-and-balances, and transparency of the rules of the political game (Lederman et al., 2005, Karklins, 2005).

Therefore, although corruption exists in all types of political regimes, it is more wide-spread in developing and transitional countries that in consolidated democracies (Lederman et al., 2005). Besides higher levels of accountability, consolidated democracies are also associated with higher economic development, which, in turn, reduces corruption (Treisman, 2000, Drury et al., 2006). Some scholars also show that the level of corruption is lower in new unstable democracies than in stable autocracies (see e.g. Nur-tegin and Czap, 2012, Rock, 2007). Compared to a baseline category of Western Europe and North America, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Latin America are consistently found to be the regions with the highest levels of corruption (Treisman, 2000, Lederman et al., 2005).

However, some authors claim that the relationship between corruption and democracy is not linear. Corruption rises during democratization when the rules of the political game change due to rapid economic and political reforms and decreases only when democracy consolidates (Amundsen, 1999, Nur-tegin and Czap, 2012). Sung (2004) claims that the relationship between corruption and democracy is best described with a cubic function. The author agrees that early stages of democratization are associated with boosts in corruption which then diminishes when democratic institutions consolidate. Yet the author stresses that the initial level of democracy, from which a country starts democratization, and the following depth and quality of democratic reforms determine future corruption.

Taking into account a curvilinear relationship between corruption and democracy, it is not clear what effect corruption has on women's legislative representation when interacted with political regime. We know from the literature that democracy either has a negative or curvilinear relationship with the share of female MPs. Corruption has a negative effect on women's legislative representation. At the same time, corruption is higher in autocracies and democratizing countries than in consolidated democracies. What is the interaction effect of democracy and corruption on women's legislative representation? Do their effects counterbalance or reinforce each other?

Before answering these questions, it is important to understand what role corruption plays in post-communist Europe. One of the main points in studies analyzing it is the persistence of the culture of corruption, informal relations, and clientelism over time: from communist times to current political regimes (see e.g. Karklins, 2005, Karklins, 2002, Sajó, 2003). Sandholtz and Taagepera (2005, p. 109) summarize the main argument:

> Communism created structural incentives for engaging in corrupt
>
> behaviors, which became such a widespread fact of life that they

became rooted in the culture in these societies – that is, the social norms and practices prevailing in communist societies. The transitions toward democracy and market economies have not yet erased this culture of corruption. In addition, the process of privatization itself has opened myriad opportunities for corruption.

Karklins (2002) creates a typology of corruption in post-communist Europe and notes that although it differs between countries in terms of depth, the fundamental features are the same and are determined by the preceding communist regimes. Vachudova (2009) provides an overview of corruption in a majority of post-communist European countries, focusing on the most corrupt societies in Bulgaria and Romania. However, none of the studies analyzes the relationship between corruption and women's electoral success in post-communist countries in general and in post-Soviet countries in particular. Thus, looking at a sample of post-communist countries is of considerable interest for evaluating the impact of corruption on women's legislative representation. Countries of the region, especially members and non-members of the EU, differ from each other in degrees of corruption and mechanisms of fighting it. Clientelism and informal relations, however, are widespread even among more democratic countries of the region (Holmes, 2009).

However, due to the fact that corruption is wide-spread and deeply-rooted in post-communist countries and became a part of everyday life, it can have a less prominent effect on women's legislative representation. Without informal networks, bribes, and fraud, especially in authoritarian regimes, it is not possible to achieve electoral results needed by the ruling party or, in case of women, to get elected when the institutions are gendered (Esarey and Chirillo, 2013). Women can react differently to the incidents of corruption in different political regimes and either seize the opportunity to get elected even through informal connections and fraud or refrain from participating in the elections (Goetz, 2007). Thus, taking into account communist legacies of state feminism and corruption, I assume that corruption does not have a statistically significant impact on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries. I thus create an alternative to H2 hypothesis:

H2A (on political corruption of a country):

A higher level of corruption in a post-communist country does not lead to fewer women being elected to its national parliament.

Still, since more democratic countries of the region, e.g. Baltic and Central European countries, are members of the EU now and are more successful in fighting corruption than other countries of the region (Karklins, 2005, p. 12), I assume that corruption has some negative impact on women's legislative representation in more democratic countries:

H3 (on political corruption and democracy):

A higher level of political corruption in a more democratic country leads to fewer women being elected to its national parliament.

2.4 Women's Legislative Representation in Post-Communist Countries

Before proceeding to the analysis, it is important to outline three main stages of development of women's political representation in post-communist countries. It helps to show how this region differs from the other world regions in terms of the patterns of women's "directive emancipation" (Matland, 2003) and career paths and why it is relevant to analyze it. Under the communist regimes, due to special gender quotas, the percentages of women in the symbolic parliaments were around 30 percent, higher than in many Western democracies (Ballington and Binda, 2005, Kochkina, 2003, Lapidus, 1978). However, this was not reflected in the actual political power women possessed. The real decision-making power lay not in the symbolic parliaments (Supreme Soviets) but in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union, for instance, women's representation there, by contrast, was low: 8 percent in 1981, reaching its highest level of 13 percent in 1986 (Browning, 1987, p. 34).

The collapse of the Soviet Union, fall of the Iron Curtain, and consequent abolition of gender quotas caused a sharp decline in women's legislative representation in the newly formed countries (Rueschemeyer and Wolchik, 2009). Scholars identify several additional factors for this drop in the shares of female MPs (Chiva, 2005, Kunovich, 2003). First, women were demobilized during the transitional period because of the previous forced emancipation, that did not translate into de facto equality between men and women, and double burden of work and family responsibilities they had to carry (Einhorn, 1993, Matland, 2003). Second, this lack of women's activism let to the situation when parties, not exposed to external or internal pressure, were unwilling to recruit and nominate women (Moser, 2001, Kostadinova, 2003). Finally, as Matland argues, "[…] the tokenism of female representation in the communist party-states, rather than providing women with credible political credentials, actually created a number of negative stereotypes about the 'woman representative'." (Matland, 2003, p. 37)

Over time, governments in both post-Soviet and post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe implemented political and socio-economic reforms, and women's legislative representation started to vary considerably. Based on case- and small-n studies, scholars tried to explain this variation by differences in the role and strength of women's movements (Irvine, 2013), the uncommon phenomenon in other regions that right-wing and populist parties are willing to nominate women (Kostadinova and Mikulska, 2017), usage of preferential voting (Kunovich, 2012), and so on. Moreover, European integration induces differences in women's legislative

representation, on the one hand within Central- and East-European countries and, on the other hand, between these states and non-EU members of the post-Soviet region. Joining the EU could increase the share of female MPs due to the EU's general promotion of gender equality (Ortbals et al., 2011). Thus, "[w]here the various countries are today has relatively little to do with where they were as a group […] [during communist times]. Internal conditions, that vary across the countries, are determinative of women's representation." (Matland, 2003, p. 2).

Most of the research on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries is either not recent or is based on case- and small-n studies. A more recent study of parliamentary representation in post-communist countries edited by Semenova, Edinger, and Best (2014) focuses on the development of political elites in general rather than on women in parliaments. The authors analyze the level of professionalism, patterns of recruitment by political parties, socio-political background of the MPs, among other factors. Also, in contrast to post-communist countries, post-Soviet states have not been systematically studied before in regard to women's legislative representation. There are some descriptive case studies (Bagratia and Badashvili, 2011, Hankivsky and Salnykova, 2012, Mejere, 2012, Stefańczak, 2015), but there is no cross-national analysis of factors affecting the representation of women in the national parliaments over time.

Post-communist countries differ not only from established democracies and developing countries of other regions, but also from each other, in the patterns of women's legislative representation, their political regimes, and socio-economic development. Percentages of women elected to the national parliaments of post-communist countries in 1990-2018 are presented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Percentage of women in national parliaments, 1990-2018

35
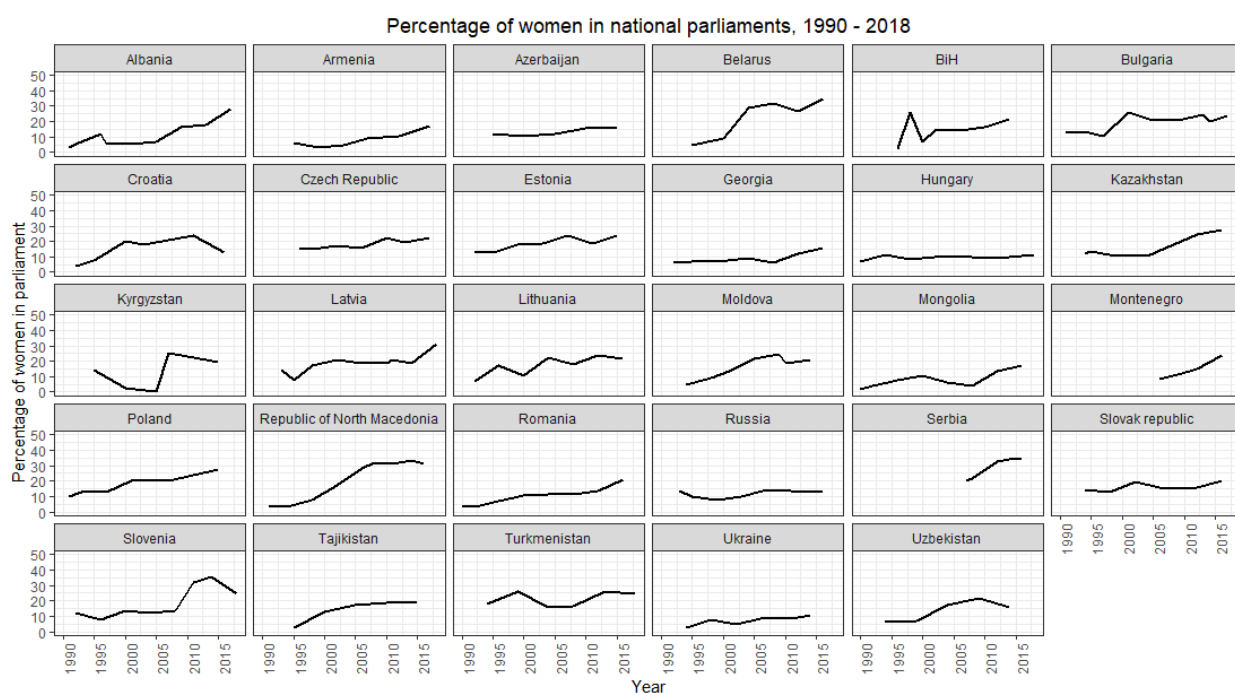
We see that, first, gender parity is not achieved in any country of the region. Second, although there is a general longitudinal trend for the percentage of female MPs to increase, there are large variations, not only between countries but also, over time, within them. The fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union establish a good starting point for the analysis. Drastic changes in political regimes and general socio-economic development enable us to isolate possible path-dependent factors and to focus on the countries' current political, socio-economic, and cultural indicators. Therefore, analyzing post-communist countries over time in regard to the factors of women's legislative representation is of particular importance. Moreover, adding an original database on women's electoral performance in post-Soviet states enriches the analysis with new empirical data and widens our understanding of different post-communist countries.

2.5 Data and Method

The sample for the analysis includes all national legislative elections held in 29 post-communist countries[6] in 1990-2018. After the fall of communist-led governments in 1989, the first multi-party elections under democratic rule were conducted in 1990 in many Central and East European countries. For post-Soviet countries, the departure point is 1991 when the USSR was dissolved. The list of the national legislative elections analyzed is presented in Table SM1.1.1 in the Appendix.

The dependent variable is the percentage of women elected to the single / lower chamber of the national parliament in each election from 1990 to 2018. The main independent variables of interest are the level of a country's democratic development and corruption. The former is measured by the V-DEM index of electoral democracy, ranging from 0 (the ideal of electoral democracy is not at all achieved) to 1 (the ideal of electoral democracy is fully achieved). Among others, it incorporates such important concepts as freedom of association and expression and free and fair elections, which can affect women's legislative representation (Coppedge et al., 2019).[7] This makes it one of the most essential measures of representative democracy corresponding to a great extent to Dahl's (1971) definition of polyarchy (Teorell et al., 2016).[8] Since I am interested

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[6] Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Montenegro, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Republic of North Macedonia, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

[7] For more details see V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 39.

[8] Due to certain methodological problems, for example with validity and reliability, I do not use such measures of democracy as Polity IV and Freedom House (for a detailed discussion of problems associated with the Freedom House or Polity IV indices see e.g. Coppedge et. al. 2017; Munck and Verkuilen 2002). According to the authors of the V-DEM database, their index of electoral democracy is a more conservative measure than Polity IV and a more precise one than Freedom House in terms of measuring democracy itself rather than civil liberties and political rights

in the overall level of grand corruption in a country's political system, rather than in its particular forms, I operationalize corruption by the V-DEM index of regime corruption reflecting the extent to which politicians abuse the power for their own purposes, either private or political. Higher values of the index show more corruption in a country (Coppedge et al., 2019).[9]

Based on the existing literature, I control for several variables that have been shown to influence women's legislative representation in previous studies. One of the most important factors is the type of electoral system. More specifically, proportional representation (PR) increases women's chances to get elected due to a higher district magnitude (Matland, 2005, Norris, 2006). Thus, I control for the percentage of seats allocated under PR. This is a better measure of electoral system than a dichotomous (PR – majoritarian) or a categorical (PR – majoritarian - mixed) variable because it captures more subtle differences between the countries or within them between elections. I expect countries with a more proportional electoral system to have more women elected to their parliaments.

The second institutional variable that is supposed to boost women's legislative representation is gender quotas. They are less likely to increase the number of women elected if effective sanctions for non-compliance with the quota's requirements and rank order of female and male candidates are not specified (Dahlerup, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer, 2009). Thus, I focus only on the legislated gender quotas and assign a value of "1" if they were in force during each particular election and a value of "0" otherwise. I assume that more women are elected during elections with legislated gender quotas.

Socio-economic development is particularly important for women's representation because "[d]evelopment leads to weakening of traditional values, decreased fertility rates, increased urbanization, greater educational and labor force participation for women, and attitudinal changes in perceptions of the appropriate roles for women" (Matland, 1998, p. 114). Therefore, I control for two variables provided by the World Bank. Economic development is conventionally measured by GDP per capita at purchasing power parity (PPP) in thousands of constant 2011 USD. I use the log because the original variable is skewed to the right. Women's access to the labor market is operationalized by their labor force participation rate as a percentage of female population ages 15+. I expect both variables to increase the share of women elected.

It is widely held that egalitarian values promoting gender equality facilitate women's political representation (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Religion plays a prominent role in shaping people's attitudes towards gender equality. Protestantism has a positive impact on women's

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(Teorell et. al., 2016). Moreover, the Freedom House index includes a question on corruption in its questionnaire, which potentially can create a problem of multicollinearity with the corruption index I use.

[9] For more details see V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 262-263.

legislative representation (Paxton et al., 2006), whereas more traditional and conservative Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam may inhibit it (Davidson-Schmich, 2006, Reynolds, 1999). Thus, I control for the share of Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Muslim adherents in the population (Brown and James, 2019). However, I expect no significant impact of these variables on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries. Religion was either officially banned or suppressed. Consequently, religious beliefs might not play as significant role in shaping people's attitudes and in influencing their vote choices there as they do in other world regions.

Women's organizations play an important role in promoting gender parity in politics (Matland, 2003, Irvine, 2013). Specialized civil society organizations (CSO) help women to organize, build networks, and participate in the elections, therefore, women's legislative representation should increase. Thus, I control for women's participation in CSO by using a corresponding V-DEM index as a proxy. It measures whether women and CSO focusing on women's issues are able to participate freely in a country's social life (Coppedge et al., 2019)[10]. It ranges from low (participation is almost always prevented) to high (participation is almost never prevented) values.

All variables are taken for each election year. Prior to the analysis, variables ranging from 0 to 1: democracy and regime corruption indices – are multiplied by 100. Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Table SM1.1.2 in the Appendix. To perform a longitudinal analysis, I run an OLS regression with unit fixed effects. I use a demeaning procedure to obtain "fixed effects", to account for the unobserved unit heterogeneity, and to preserve degrees of freedom due to the small number of observations. The lagged dependent variable is included as a predictor for dynamics and, consequently, accounts for serial autocorrelation. Panel corrected standard errors (pcse) (Beck and Katz, 1995, Beck and Katz, 1996) are used to account for panel heteroskedasticity.

2.6 Results

2.6.1 Democracy, regime corruption, and women's legislative representation

The results of the models testing the impact of democracy, its quadratic term, regime corruption, and the interaction term between democracy and regime corruption on women's legislative representation are presented in Table 2.1.

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[10] For more details see V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 182.

Table 2.1. Democracy, regime corruption, and women's legislative representation
(pcse in parentheses)

	Model 1 (Democracy)	Model 2 Democracy^2	Model 3 (Regime Corruption* Democracy)
Regime corruption	-0.07$^+$ (0.04)	-0.07$^+$ (0.04)	0.11 (0.13)
Democracy	-0.13$^+$ (0.08)	-0.39 (0.30)	0.06 (0.16)
Democracy^2		0.00 (0.00)	
Regime corruption* Democracy			-0.00 (00)
% women's seats$_{(t-1)}$	0.21** (0.07)	0.21** (0.07)	0.21** (0.07)
% PR seats	0.11*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)
Legislated gender quotas	3.75* (1.56)	3.86* (1.55)	3.77* (1.53)
GDP perc capita PPP (log)	6.20*** (1.47)	5.88*** (1.54)	5.95*** (1.49)
Female labor force participation	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.15)
CSO women's participation	2.80$^+$ (1.64)	3.00$^+$ (1.66)	2.93$^+$ (1.64)
% of Muslim	-0.37* (0.16)	-0.36* (0.16)	-0.36* (0.15)
% of Catholic	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.14)
% of Protestant	-0.07 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.26)	-0.12 (0.26)
% of Orthodox	-0.28 (0.18)	-0.29 (0.18)	-0.22 (0.19)
n (countries)	29	29	29
N (legislatures)	164	164	164
Adj. R^2	0.41	0.41	0.41

Significance: '***' $p < 0.001$ '**' $p < 0.01$ '*' $p < 0.05$ '+' $p < 0.1$

As we can see from Table 2.1, Hypothesis 1 is confirmed – democracy negatively affects women's legislative representation. In Models 1, the impact of the democracy index is negative and is statistically significant. Each increase in this indicator by one percentage point leads to approximately 0.13 percentage points fewer women being elected to the national parliament. At

the same time, the quadratic term of democracy is positive, albeit not statistically significant (Model 2). Thus, we cautiously conclude that democracy has some negative effect on the share of women elected to the parliaments in post-communist countries, however it cannot be considered as a decisive factor of women's legislative representation in the region. We can therefore make an assumption that currently post-communist countries are not at the point in their democratic development yet after which the number of women elected to the national parliament starts rising.

Hypothesis 2 is confirmed. The impact of regime corruption on women's legislative representation is negative and, although statistically significant at the lower level, decreases the percentage of women elected to the national parliament by approximately 0.07 percentage points (Model 1 and Model 2). Therefore, the results of the statistical analysis lean more toward confirmation of Hypothesis 2A rather than Hypothesis 2. Contrary to some other countries and world regions, regime corruption only slightly decreases women's chances to get elected in post-communist countries.

Hypothesis 3 is rejected. In Model 3, the interaction term between regime corruption and democracy is negative, as hypothesized, but is not statistically significant. Thus, corruption does not play a different role in different political regimes of post-communist countries. It does not have a bigger impact in democracies, for example as theorized by Goetz (2007). However, at the same time, it does not increase the share of women elected through informal networks, patronage, and other corruption techniques in more authoritarian countries.

Institutional and socio-economic variables, except for female labor force participation, have the hypothesized and statistically significant impact on women's legislative representation. Having a more proportional electoral system by ten percentage points leads to approximately 1 percentage point more women being elected. The adoption of any sort of legislated gender quota, even with low sanctions for non-compliance, increases the share of female MPs by approximately 3.8 percentage points. The increase in GDP per capita by one point leads to approximately 6.1 percentage points more women being elected to the national parliament. Consequently, conventional factors that have been proven to increase women's legislative representation in many other countries and world regions still play a more important role than democracy or low level of corruption in promoting gender parity in politics in post-communist countries.

The assumption about the unessential impact of religious beliefs on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries is partially confirmed. All religions have a negative impact on the dependent variable, even Protestantism. However, only the percentage of Muslim population reaches statistical significance. Thus, although in post-communist countries religious beliefs do not play a significant role in shaping people's attitudes towards gender equality,

influencing their voting choices, and affecting women's decision whether to run for office, Islam can still inhibit women's participation in politics in the region.

Contrary to my expectation and previous studies, a higher rate of women's participation in the labor force decreases their legislative representation. Although the impact of this variable is not statistically significant, it is an interesting finding that requires further exploration. The conventional assumption is that working women are politically mobilized and gain financial independence which are important factors in promoting gender equality and running for office (Rosenbluth et al., 2006). Why does it have the opposite impact on women's legislative representation in post-communist countries? First, an aggregated measure of female labor force participation shows that women work but does not indicate where. For instance, in many Asian countries, women predominate in factories, but do not thereby acquire the knowledge necessary for running for office (Paxton and Hughes, 2007). Second, if informal relations dominate the recruitment and nomination processes within political parties, then women's participation in the workforce does not increase the pool of eligible candidates from which parties choose (Stockemer, 2011).

Third, as we can see in Table 2.1, the impact of women's participation in CSO is positive, but statistically significant at a lower level. On the one hand, this is a positive finding telling us that even in less democratic political settings, women have higher chances of being elected if there are organizations that promote gender equality. Building networks, receiving necessary knowledge and support in such organizations can be beneficial for women, especially in the absence of professional communities, high profile and well-paid jobs, and predominance of informal relationships in a country's political sphere. On the other hand, lower statistical significance can indicate that organizations working in women's interests are still not numerous or inefficient in the region.

The negative impact of democracy raises the question which attribute of it is at work in the region. Which components of the political system in general or of elections in particular in democratic countries are able to worsen women's electoral success? One broad explanation is the persistence of the legacy of Communist rule, where a general adherence, at least de jure, to gender equality did not necessarily translate into female representatives wielding actual decision-making power, nor into wider social perceptions of women as equal to men. This can result in political parties still preferring male (incumbent) candidates and, therefore, recruiting and nominating fewer women. This pattern can be more visible in democratic countries where the "market" of eligible candidates is (partly) free, parties play a more prominent role in shaping political landscape, there are more formal rules of nomination processes within them, elections are freer and fairer, and there is less electoral fraud affecting the results of the elections.

In more authoritarian countries, in turn, the composition of the pool of candidates from which parties choose is mostly determined by the ruler or ruling party to ensure the stability of the political regime. Thus, in less democratic post-communist countries parties play a less important role in the political game and the party system is weak (Hale, 2006, Moser and Scheiner, 2012, Thames, 2014). Nomination processes within parties are more informal and are characterized by patronage because a candidate's loyalty is perceived as more valuable criteria than his / her competence and gender (Matland, 2003). Therefore, parties can nominate a substantial number of female candidates. Due to the fact that elections are not "clean" to ensure that the ruling party gets the majority of votes, more women can get elected as members of this ruling party.

2.6.2 Elections' attributes and women's legislative representation

To take a closer look at why democracy negatively affects women's legislative representation, I test the impact of some of the attributes of legislative elections on it. First, I test the effect of the V-DEM indicator of free and fair elections. It measures the extent to which elections in a country are "clean" in terms of the freedom of participation for opposition parties and candidates, electoral fraud, vote buying, and other irregularities associated with the elections (Coppedge et al., 2019)[11]. Higher values of this variable show freer and fairer elections that should increase women's legislative representation by lowering the number of barriers they have to overcome and providing them with clear and detailed rules of political game. However, as mentioned before, in more authoritarian countries which are characterized by less "clean" elections, more women can get elected as members of the ruling party which choose their candidates based on loyalty, not gender. Thus, I assume that "cleaner" elections has a negative impact on the share of women elected.

In connection with the previous factor, I check the impact of the share of seats obtained by the largest party in each particular election (Coppedge et al., 2019) on the percentage of women elected. In more authoritarian countries, the ruling party wins the elections by a large margin of votes and, therefore, gets the majority of seats in the parliament. At the same time, gender and competence are not as important factors in nominating candidates as loyalty, we can thus assume that the ruling party fills these seats with a substantial number of women. As a result, women's legislative representation in more authoritarian countries increases. Thus, a higher share of the total parliament's seats obtained by the largest party leads to a higher share of women elected.

To account for the strength of the party system, importance of parties in a country's political sphere, and predominance of (in)formal rules of recruitment and nomination processes within parties, I control for two relevant variables. First, I use the V-DEM index measuring the

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[11] For more details see V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 44.

extent to which parties are institutionalized (Coppedge et al., 2019).[12] Higher values of the indicator, according to the authors of the index, correspond to a more institutionalized party system as a whole. It is the best available proxy for party system institutionalization. On the one hand, weak party systems are associated with more informal rules operating within parties, hence we can expect it to disadvantage female candidates (Caul, 1999). On the other hand, weak party systems are more wide-spread in less democratic countries where there is strong control by party leaders over the nomination processes to ensure that only loyal candidates are selected. In this case, female candidates might be chosen at a higher rate. Thus, I expect the impact of this variable to be negative.

Second, since I mentioned several times that control over candidate selection by party leaders might bring more women into power, it is necessary to control for it as well. To account for the level of control over the recruitment and nomination of candidates by party leaders, I use the V-DEM index of centralization of candidate selection. This variable ranges from low (national party leaders select candidates exclusively) to high (constituency groups or direct primaries are responsible for candidates' selection) values (Coppedge et al., 2019).[13] I expect a negative relationship between this indicator and the dependent variable because women should perform better under more centralized nomination processes.

The results of the statistical analysis testing the impact of these elections' attributes[14] on women's legislative representation are presented in Table 2.2.[15]

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[12] "Party institutionalization refers to various attributes of the political parties in a country, e.g., level and depth of organization, links to civil society, cadres of party activists, party supporters within the electorate, coherence of party platforms and ideologies, party-line voting among representatives within the legislature." (V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 281)

[13] For more details see V-DEM Codebook V9, p. 90-91.

14 Free and fair elections and party institutionalization variables range from 0 to 1, therefore they were also multiplied by 100 before the analysis.

15 I exclude the democracy variable from the model because it correlates to a great extent with the free and fair elections indicator.

Table 2.2. Women's legislative representation and elections' attributes

(pcse in parentheses)

	Model 1
Elections free and fair	-0.11[+]
	(0.07)
Share of seats won by largest party	0.06*
	(0.02)
Party institutionalization	-0.03
	(0.09)
Centralization of candidate selection	0.13
	(1.14)
CSO women's participation	2.97[*]
	(1.48)
Regime corruption	-0.08
	(0.05)
% women's seats$_{(t-1)}$	0.21**
	(0.07)
% PR seats	0.10***
	(0.02)
Legislated gender quotas	4.04**
	(1.54)
GDP perc capita PPP (log)	6.43***
	(1.53)
Female labor force participation	-0.11
	(0.17)
% of Muslim	-0.37*
	(0.15)
% of Catholic	0.05
	(0.13)
% of Protestant	-0.09
	(0.25)
% of Orthodox	-0.32[+]
	(0.19)
N (countries)	29
N (legislatures)	164
Adj. R^2	0.42

Significance: '***' $p < 0.001$ '**' $p < 0.01$ '*' $p < 0.05$ '+' $p < 0.1$

As we can see from Table 2.2, two out of four additional factors have a statistically significant impact on women's legislative representation. In accordance with my expectation, having freer and fairer legislative elections worsens women's electoral performance. Elections with a higher level of irregularities and fraud by one point lead to 0.11 percentage points more

women being elected to the national parliament. In "cleaner" elections oppositional parties and candidates freely participate in the campaign which can increase its competitiveness and financial costs - factors known to worsen women's chances to get elected (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009, Schwindt-Bayer, 2005). At the same time, when the largest party obtains one percent more seats in the parliament, women's representation increases by 0.06 percentage points. Therefore, a female candidate has higher chances of being elected as a member of the stable ruling party in a more authoritarian country than as the candidate of a smaller party but with probably greater adherence to gender equality by its leaders in a more democratic political regime.

Measures of party institutionalization and centralization of candidate selection are both not statistically significant, albeit the former has the hypothesized direction of impact. Therefore, we can make a preliminary assumption that women might perform better in weak party systems characterized by the predominance of informal relations, but this finding requires additional consideration. More precise measures at the party level would be beneficial for further unravelling the relationships between party systems, parties' internal dynamics, and (lack of) success of female candidates in post-communist countries. Unfortunately, such data, especially cross-nationally and over time, is scarce.

Overall, the analysis shows that, unfortunately, post-communist countries have not achieved a stage of political development yet at which the overall level of democracy would improve women's representation in their national parliaments. Regime corruption slightly impedes women's electoral success but it might still induce it through informal relations and electoral fraud, irrespective of whether this is normatively desirable or not. Having less free and fair elections benefits female candidates because the competitiveness of the elections is lower and, consequently, the ruling party receives the majority of the votes. Either due to the legacy of Communist rule, where gender equality was de jure guaranteed, or due to the authoritarian nature of political regime, where loyalty is more important than gender, party leaders nominate more women. Consequently, the higher share of seats obtained by the ruling party leads to a higher share of female MPs.

At the same time, women's legislative representation can be increased in post-communist countries via more traditional means that were shown to be efficient in other countries and world regions. A more proportional electoral system and adoption of some sort of legislated gender quotas have a significant positive effect on the share of women elected to the national parliament. Moreover, even in a less democratic context, civil society organizations that work in women's interests play an important role in promoting gender parity. Training, financial resources, and encouragement to run for office provided by such organizations are important factors in bringing more women into politics in post-communist countries.

The results raise substantial questions for future consideration and research. Is the primarily "top-down" increase in women's legislative representation in more authoritarian countries as desirable as in more democratic countries? In the former, does women's descriptive representation lead to the improvement of their substantive representation? Can female MPs act independently in the interests of a wider female population in a restricted political environment? Does it matter for female voters whether they are represented by male or female MPs if they are all members of the same ruling party with a particular, usually not liberal, ideology? Does the concept of representation itself have the same meaning in authoritarian countries as in democracies? To what extent are women's career paths similar or different in democratic and authoritarian political regimes? To think about these questions is important when analyzing women's political representation in less well-studied countries and world regions that differ substantially from the developed countries with established democracies.

2.7 Discussion

Unequal representation of women in states' authority bodies is a particularly salient issue today. Gender parity in national parliaments is close to being achieved in the Nordic countries, but it is a distant goal in all other world regions. Analyses of developed countries with a consolidated democracy mostly show that proportional representation and gender quotas play the most important roles in promoting gender parity in politics. In developing countries, in turn, socio-economic development explains a bigger share of variance in the share of female representatives. However, there is little consensus among scholars on the factors affecting women's legislative representation, and studies of different regions often show contradictory results. I argue that these variations derive not only from choosing different variables and methods of analysis, but also because context matters. Even within a region, either geographical or political, each country has its own unique political, socio-economic, and cultural profile, affecting which particular factors influence women's legislative representation and how.

Post-communist European and post-Soviet countries remain an understudied region, so it is unclear what factors identified in the literature work there. The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 give us a natural starting point for analysis. The transformation of the former communist countries into independent states introduced great variation not only in the share of women elected to national parliaments both between and within countries over time, but also in political regimes and socio-economic development. Particularly, I am interested in whether democratization and / or democratic backsliding and associated with them, to a great extent, regime corruption affected the share of women elected. Unfortunately, the literature on the relationship between democracy, corruption, and women's legislative

representation in post-communist countries is scarce. Hence, I aim at identifying what effect democracy and regime corruption have on the share of female MPs in post-communist countries in 1990-2018.

The results of the first longitudinal cross-national analysis of all post-communist countries, including an original dataset of 15 post-Soviet countries, provide evidence that women have a greater chance of being elected to the national parliaments in more authoritarian countries. This is mainly explained by the high share of seats obtained by the ruling party, primarily due to "unclean" elections, electoral fraud, and other electoral irregularities. Thus, democracy is not a keystone for women's legislative representation, because free, fair, and more competitive elections impair women's electoral success. Regime corruption has a negative, albeit minor, effect on the share of women elected. Its impact is also not stronger in more democratic countries of the region.

Thus, we can cautiously assume that informal relationships dominating the political arena in the more corrupt and, hence, less democratic countries do not impede women's chances to get elected. On the one hand, this is a positive finding because it shows that the factor found to decrease women's legislative representation in other world regions does not appear as a significant barrier for female candidates in post-communist countries. On the other hand, from a normative perspective, this is an objectionable finding because it might contribute to the persistence of regime corruption, informal networks, and, consequently, democratic backslide. Overall, in more authoritarian countries where candidacies are mostly determined by the dominant ruling party to ensure stability of the political regime, it is more expedient for women considering running for office to belong to the ruling party than to a smaller party, even the one with greater commitment to gender equality by its leaders.

The results raise substantial questions for future consideration by both practitioners and social scientists, especially in regard to the connection between descriptive and substantive representation. Women's legislative representation is higher in more authoritarian countries, but it is unclear whether this translates into real decision-making power for women. Are women elected just tokens, as it was under the Communist rule, or do they have an impact on the policies adopted? Should a powerless descriptive representation be increased? Does parity without equality contribute to the empowerment of women in less egalitarian societies and to their substantive representation? Finally, can a larger share of women elected promote democratization in more authoritarian countries? A further and deeper analysis of women's political representation in the region is required to answer these questions.

CHAPTER

THREE

MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE AND WOMEN'S LEGISALTIVE REPRESENTATION

(co-authored with André Kaiser)

Abstract

Research shows that electoral system, gender quotas, and a country's socio-economic development affect women's legislative representation. Less attention is paid to the effects of the rise of regional political arenas and multilevel politics on the share of women elected. Due to less costly and competitive electoral campaigns, women can have easier access to subnational parliaments. We argue that this relationship is mitigated by distribution of competences between the different levels of the political system and that decentralization's effect on women's legislative representation at the subnational level is dependent on the regions' political power. To test it, we use an original dataset on women's representation in 383 regional parliaments in 19 European countries from 1970 to 2018. Results of the three-level models show that more political authority vested into regions leads to a lower level of women's representation in their legislatures than not only in less powerful regions but also in the national parliament. Possible explanations for this effect, such as the attractiveness of these positions to the mostly male political elite and, consequently, increased costs and competitiveness of electoral campaigns, are suggested.

3.1 Introduction

Women's political representation has become an increasingly salient topic, in both academia and real life, in recent decades. Much has been written about the factors that determine the level of women's representation in national parliaments and ministries, on the obstacles women face in running for office, on the role party gatekeepers play, and so on. We know from this literature that the type of electoral system, gender quotas, level of a county's socio-economic development and the prevailing political culture affect women's political representation (Inglehart and Norris, 2003, Viterna et al., 2008). For instance, more female MPs are elected under proportional representation than majoritarian electoral systems (Krook, 2010, Norris, 2006). Clearly specified gender quotas

at either the national or party level increase the number of female MPs (Dahlerup, 2006, Thames and Williams, 2013). General enhancement of women's socio-economic status, expressed in terms of their access to higher education and the labor market, positively affects their electoral prospects as well (Rosenbluth et al., 2006, Schwindt-Bayer, 2005). However, less attention has been paid to the effects of the rise of regional political arenas and multilevel politics on women's electoral performance.

What effect do decentralization and multilevel governance have on women's political representation? Are women represented better at the subnational[16] than the national level? Is there a national–subnational gender gap? There is no consensus in the few studies addressing these questions. Some argue that decentralization is disadvantageous for women's movements (Haussman, 2005, Vickers, 1994), because it fragments their resources between different levels of governments (Vickers, 2010). In contrast, others claim that multiple layers of government provide more opportunities for women to get elected and start their political career (Chappell, 2000, Donaghy, 2004, Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015). Ortbals et al. (2011) argue that the subnational level can provide both advantages and disadvantages for women, depending on the particular characteristics of the national political system (see also Escobar-Lemmon and Funk, 2018). Variation in the levels of women's political representation can also exist between regions within a country (Kenny and Mackay, 2011).

In this article we address the question of what effect multilevel politics has on women's legislative representation. More precisely, does it strengthen women's electoral performance and, if so, at what level? Of course, these questions are quite broad. We therefore focus on a single aspect of the multilevel system. We argue that the effect of political decentralization on women's legislative representation is dependent on the political power, in terms of the level of political authority they possess, of the subnational units in the national political system. On the one hand, we expect to see a generally increasing proportion of women elected at both national and regional levels over time. On the other hand, we hypothesize that the more politically powerful regions are, the fewer women are elected to their legislatures.

To test our hypotheses, we use an original dataset on women's legislative representation in 383 regional legislatures in 19 European countries from 1970 to 2018. The results of a three-level longitudinal mixed-effects model confirm our expectations. Our analysis shows that, despite a

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[16] Throughout the paper we use the terms "regional" and "subnational" interchangeably, referring to the second or intermediate level of government in a country that exercises authority within its geographical boundaries. Regions are included in the sample when they fulfil two criteria: they have directly elected legislatures and are located between national and local governments. In several countries, some regions are missing due to the lack of data for them in the Regional Authority Index database. For more information on the regions included in the Regional Authority Index database, see http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/data/regional-authority/.

general increase in women's representation over time, it remains lower in the legislatures of the more politically powerful regions in comparison not only to the regions possessing less authority but also to the national parliament. Possible explanations for this effect include the attractiveness of regional political positions to the mostly male political elite and, as a result, increased costs of electoral campaigns and higher competitiveness of the elections. All these factors inhibit women's electoral success in powerful regional legislatures.

Our analysis makes several important contributions to the literature. First, we collect an original dataset covering almost 50 years of women's representation in 383 regional legislatures in 19 European countries. This data is complemented with longitudinal data on regional political and socio-economic indicators. Second, by using the Regional Authority Index (Hooghe et al., 2016), we exploit not only cross-country, but also within-country variation in how regions' political power affects women's electoral performance. This advances our understanding of the political processes occurring beyond the national political arena. Finally, we raise an important question on whether decentralization is unambiguously positive for women's legislative representation. We show that extensive decentralization reforms allocating a considerable amount of political power to the regions can impede electoral success of female candidates. To overcome this barrier and to enhance the achievement of gender parity at the regional level, particular measures such as the adoption of gender quotas need to be taken.

The rest of the article is organized as follows. In the next section, we outline previous research on women's legislative representation and multilevel politics. Then we describe in detail our dataset and variables. The fourth section presents and discusses the results of the statistical analysis. The last section concludes and suggests avenues for further research.

3.2 Multilevel Governance and Women's Political Representation

The subfield of the literature on women in politics dealing with a multilevel structure of government and / or decentralization is small but diverse. Some studies assess whether federalism and / or decentralization is beneficial for women's political representation. In one of the few large-N time-series cross-national analyses (of 99 democracies between 1995 and 2010), Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) find that approximately four percent more women are elected to national parliaments in federal than in unitary states. This finding is mainly explained by the fact that federal states have two chambers in their national parliaments as well as directly elected regional legislatures, which creates more access points for women to get elected (Donaghy, 2004, Mackay, 2010). This is widely argued as the reason why federations have more women in political positions.

Some scholars also argue that more women are interested in running for office at the local or regional level because subnational politics is closer to people (Johnson et al., 2003), deals with

day-to-day problems (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009), and does not require long travel time (Beall, 2005, Darcy et al., 2003). Moreover, the eligibility criteria for participation in second-order elections are not as demanding as those for national electoral campaigns (Luciak, 2005, Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015). Thus, women, still considered by many voters to be less competent and fit for politics than male candidates, have a better chance of being elected there (Paul and Smith, 2008, Branton et al., 2018). Electoral campaigns at the subnational level are also less financially costly and competitive, which enhances women's electoral performance (Chin, 2004, Lovenduski, 1986). As Nowacki (2003, p. 34) explains, "[i]n smaller districts where the costs of running a campaign are modest and it is possible to meet a significant number of the voters, women are able to compensate for their economic disadvantages through personal contacts." Vickers (2010) points out that women's legislative representation is higher in less professional and well-paid US state legislatures than in more powerful and competitive ones.

Another large-N study, analyzing the effect of the federal–unitary distinction on the percentage of women elected to 536 subnational legislatures in 29 states, comes to a different conclusion from Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) (Vengroff et al., 2003). It finds no statistically significant impact of government structure on women's electoral performance at the regional level, nor on the national–regional disproportion in the percentages of female MPs. The latter relationship, they suggest, "[a]lthough there is some variation […] is more likely to run from the local to the national in the industrial democracies in which meso units have had a long existence and the reverse in those in which meso units are relatively new creations" (Vengroff et al., 2003, p. 171). However, as we will show in this article, the national–regional gap in women's legislative representation can be both positive and negative, and can be explained by the political power of the region in the national political system.

Kenny and Mackay (2011), focusing on the devolution reforms in Spain and the UK, draw cautious conclusions about the impact of state architecture on women's political representation. They claim that the relationship is not linear and straightforward, because it is highly dependent on the particular party system, dynamics within parties,[17] and the degree of decentralization reforms in general. Similar arguments are put forward by Ortbals et.al. (2011) for Italy, Spain, and Poland, who show that the significant variation in women's electoral success across unitary decentralized states can be explained by different degrees of decentralization and the ideology of the government in these countries.

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[17] See also KENNY, M. & VERGE, T. 2012. Decentralization, Political Parties, and Women's Representation: Evidence from Spain and Britain. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism,* 43**,** 109-128. on decentralization and quota adoption by political parties.

A separate branch of research focuses on the influence of federalism and decentralization on women's substantive representation in terms of policy output and on women's movements (Haussman et al., 2010).[18] The results here are also mixed. Some scholars argue that federalism facilitates policy developments that can benefit women (Rincker and Ortbals, 2009), while others claim that the effect of federalism and decentralization is ambiguous and difficult to isolate from the influence of other contextual factors (Gray, 2006, Rincker, 2009). However, the issue of women's substantive representation is beyond the scope of our analysis. Nor do we consider studies not of decentralization per se but of regions as separate units of observation. For instance, Davidson-Schmich (2006) analyses gender quota implementation strategies in 16 German states; this type of research is interesting in itself, but does not contribute much to the debate on multilevel politics and women's political representation.

Departing from the research cited above, we argue that it is not enough to focus on the federal–unitary distinction in order to understand how multilevel politics influences women's legislative representation. Nowadays, many formally unitary, yet decentralized, countries – such as Italy and Spain – have more women elected than federal states – such as Germany or the US (Inter-Parliamentary Union).[19] Some unitary states have implemented far-reaching decentralization reforms that lead to a power distribution between national and subnational levels comparable to that in some federal states (Ortbals et al., 2011). Dividing countries into only two groups (federal and unitary) can thus capture the overall differences between them in numbers of female MPs, but not the variation within the groups and not between regions within particular countries. To understand the general pattern in women's legislative representation in multilevel political systems, we need to perform a large-N analysis on the sample of both federal and unitary states, taking into account their multilevel decentralized structures.

However, the only two large-N studies, to our knowledge, by Stockemer and Trembley (2015) and Vengroff et al. (2003), use a categorical and a dummy variables, respectively, to account for the differences in countries' political structures. While in the first case the categorical variable can help to explain the percentages of women elected to national parliaments in various countries, a dummy variable is unable to shed light on the variations in percentages of female MPs between the regions within countries. The distinction between federal and unitary state structures depends on the constitutionally guaranteed division of competences between territorially defined governmental levels. The level of centralization or decentralization, on the other hand, refers to the capability (in terms of competences but also resources) to independently implement policies

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[18] See also a special issue on "Gendering Federalism" (2013), *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 43(1).

[19] As of February 1, 2019. Women in National Parliaments (http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm).

as disposed by some superordinate institution. Consequently, we may find unitary political systems that are highly decentralized when it comes to policy making on the ground (Biela et al., 2013).

The differences between federal and unitary states are, therefore, overstated because there is a certain degree of divided power in most countries. Thus, we argue that it is of particular importance to focus not on the distinction between de jure federal and unitary countries, but on the exact degree of political authority that subnational levels have within them. This strategy will allow us to discover whether decentralization affects women's legislative representation, and to what extent the effect is dependent on the political power of the subnational units.

We test two main hypotheses:

H1 (on political power of a region):

Greater political power of subnational units leads to a lower percentage of women being elected to their legislatures compared to the subnational units with lower political power.

Our first hypothesis aims at testing whether political power of a region, irrespective of the country it belongs to, has a direct impact on the percentage of women elected to its legislature over time. In this case, we are able to perform a cross-country comparison of women's legislative representation in the regions with higher and lower levels of political authority. At the same time, there are countries where regions differ from each other in terms of political power they possess. Thus, we are interested in whether these variations affect women's legislative representation within countries and, particularly, whether this contributes to the national–subnational gender gap in the percentages of women elected. Thus, our second hypothesis is:

H2(on political power of a region in the national political system):

Greater political power of subnational units in the national political system leads to a lower percentage of women being elected to their regional legislatures compared to the national legislature.

Taking into account that gender stereotypes still affect voting decisions – women are perceived by some voters as less competent than men (Bauer, 2015, Fulton, 2012, Fulton, 2014) – we expect fewer women to be elected to the regional legislatures in the regions possessing more political authority. More politically powerful regions can be an attractive political arena for male elites and can be seen as a good launching pad for their future political career. A region's greater political power can increase the competitiveness of its elections and the costs of the electoral campaign, which, in turn, are known to be damaging to women's electoral performance. Moreover, political parties may nominate fewer women to run for more politically important offices. At the national level, in turn, these barriers might be reduced, for instance, by a greater visibility of national political office and, consequently, a higher pressure from voters and international community to promote female candidates and to adopt national gender quotas.

Thus, we are looking at the "macro" relationship: fewer women are elected to the legislatures of more politically powerful regions. This derives from many "micro" factors: women do not run for more prestigious political positions because the costs of electoral campaigns are too high (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009); it is difficult to compete with male incumbents in very competitive elections (Schwindt-Bayer, 2005); and women (and voters) do not consider themselves competent enough for office (Fox and Lawless, 2004). These "micro" factors have been tested in the literature on women in politics, but the "macro" relationship, as described above, has not so far been properly studied. We focus, therefore, on the relationship between regional political authority and women's legislative representation and provide possible explanations for its particular direction and magnitude.

3.3 Data

One of the reasons that research on women's political representation at lower levels of government is scarce and less developed than at the national level is the lack of cross-national, especially time-series, data on women's electoral performance at the subnational level and on the regional indicators of socio-economic development. Accordingly, we have compiled an original database on women's legislative representation in 383 regional parliaments in 19 European countries,[20] from 1970 to 2018, supplementing it with data on regions' GDP and electoral systems.[21] Focusing on European countries, instead of covering as many countries as possible, comes with the advantage that cultural, economic, political, and social heterogeneity is limited and, consequently, the number of relevant control variables does not overburden our statistical models. It should be noted that Russia is not a member of OECD and is one of the biggest decentralized countries. Therefore, including it in the main models can "drive" or bias the results to a great extent. Therefore, we include it only in the robustness check models to see whether our main independent variables of interest show the same direction and magnitude of the impact. It is essential to do this because Russia provides a large variation in political authority between the regions, especially in the 1990s and at the beginning of 2000s, as well as with regard to other control variables included in the statistical models.

The starting point of 1970 is not accidental. Before 1970 women were represented in regional and national legislatures sporadically in the most developed countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, Scandinavian countries and Iceland surpassed a threshold of 20 percent of women elected. In 1990, the UN Economic and Social Council set a goal of reaching 30 percent women's

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[20] Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK.

[21] We would like to thank all national and regional statistical offices, archives, ministries of interior, regional legislatures and other officials that helped us and provided us with the data requested.

legislative representation by 1995 (Dahlerup, 2006). The adoption of the Beijing 1995 Declaration also contributed to further improvement in women's electoral performance (Fallon et al., 2012). From the 1990s many countries started to adopt gender quotas to foster women's political representation (Dahlerup, 2006). Of course, not all countries in our sample had regional elections in 1970. For each country we take as a starting point either the first regional legislative elections for which data is available or the first elections to the regional legislatures to be held. (See Table SM2.1.1 in the Appendix for the time periods analyzed for each individual country, which are included only from the time of becoming a democracy.)

We use two dependent variables in our models corresponding to Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 respectively. The first, DV 1, is the percentage of women elected to regional legislatures. In this step of the analysis we will be able to see whether the political power of the subnational units has a direct impact on women's representation in the regional legislatures, irrespective of the country they belong to. We expect the proportion of female MPs to be higher in less powerful regions.

The second dependent variable (DV 2) is the gap between the percentages of women elected to the national legislature and to the regional legislature. It is calculated for each year because in many countries the years of national and regional legislative elections do not coincide. Then, the mean of the yearly values of this variable for each election period of a regional legislature is taken. Thus, positive values of the dependent variable show that more women are elected at the national than at the regional level.[22] We expect fewer women than at the national level to be elected in the more powerful regions of a particular country. Thus, national level is used only as a benchmark for comparison of the regions within countries, not between them (as in DV 1).

For instance, if the national parliament and the regional legislature have 20 and 10 percent of women elected respectively, then DV 2 = 20% - 10% = 10%. In the same way, if the national parliament and the regional legislature have 40 and 30 percent of women elected respectively, then DV 2 = 40% - 30% = 10%. Although in the first case the levels of women's legislative representation are lower than in the second example, the gap between the national and regional shares of female MPs is the same. While with DV 1 we estimate the levels of regional female representation (10 and 30 in this example), with the second dependent variable we assess women's legislative representation in each region in the context of the particular national political system. In the latter case, it is important for us whether women's legislative representation at the regional level is higher or lower than in the national parliament within one country. By calculating the gaps,

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[22] We also perform a robustness check where we use a dummy variable instead of a continuous DV 2 to account for the direction, rather than the size, of the national–regional gap in the percentages of women elected. The operationalization of the variable and the results of the robustness check are discussed in the analysis section.

we are also able to minimize the effect of some unobserved factors influencing women's legislative representation that differ between the regions, because this variation between the regions is smaller within countries than between them (as in DV 1). The general trends in the percentages of women elected to the regional legislatures and national parliaments over time are presented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Percentages of women elected to regional and national legislatures, 1970-2018
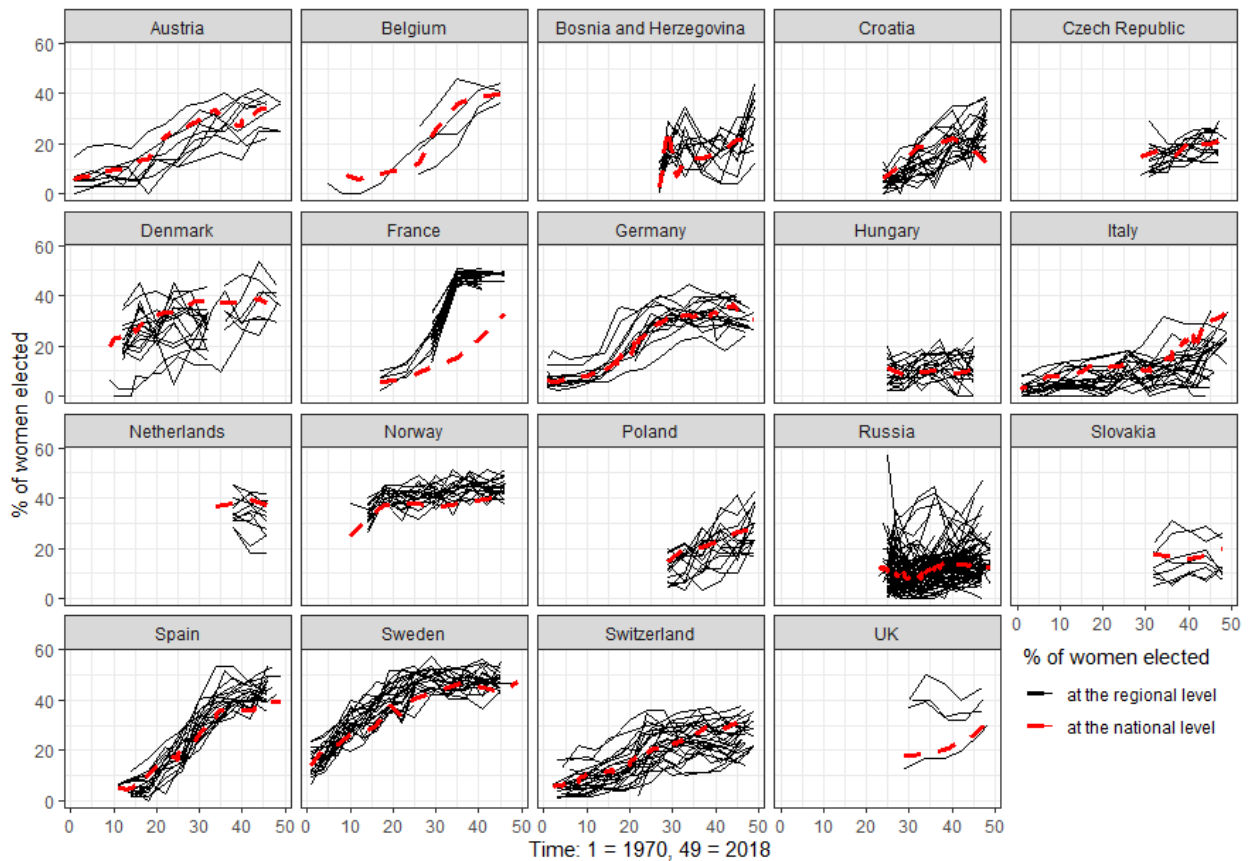
Figure 3.1 shows the general longitudinal trend in the increase of the share of women elected to the regional legislatures and national parliaments in all countries. We also see that the trajectories and magnitudes of the change differ between regions within countries. One possible explanation of these variations is the asymmetry between regions in terms of political authority. For instance, Scotland has a higher level of political power than Wales, Northern Ireland, and London.

The main independent variable of interest is the Regional Authority Index (RAI) score, measuring the level of a region's legal authority in the domains of "self-rule" within the region and "shared rule"[23] within the country in ten subdimensions: institutional depth, policy scope, fiscal autonomy, borrowing autonomy, representation, law making, executive control, fiscal control, borrowing control, and constitutional reform – for each year (Hooghe et al., 2016). We

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[23] "Self-rule is the authority that a subnational government exercises in its own territory. Shared rule is the authority that a subnational government co-exercises in the county as a whole." (Hooghe et al., 2016, p. 23)

argue that all of the dimensions constituting RAI need to be included to measure political power of the region. There are different fields where a region can exercise its authority and all of them are interconnected. As the authors of the index argue, all the dimensions "can be thought of as indicators of a latent variable" measuring a region's political authority – that is, its legitimate power (Hooghe et al., 2016, p. 15).

It is necessary to highlight a main advantage of using RAI for testing our argument about the impact of regions' political power on women's legislative representation. Although RAI is also available as an aggregate measure at the national level, we use disaggregated scores assigned for each particular region at each particular point of time. Therefore, we have a variation in political power regions possess over time within a country. Thus, we are able to perform not only cross-country, but also within-country comparison. The variation in RAI between, and in many cases within, regions covered by our dataset both within and between countries can be seen in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Variation in RAI, 1970-2018
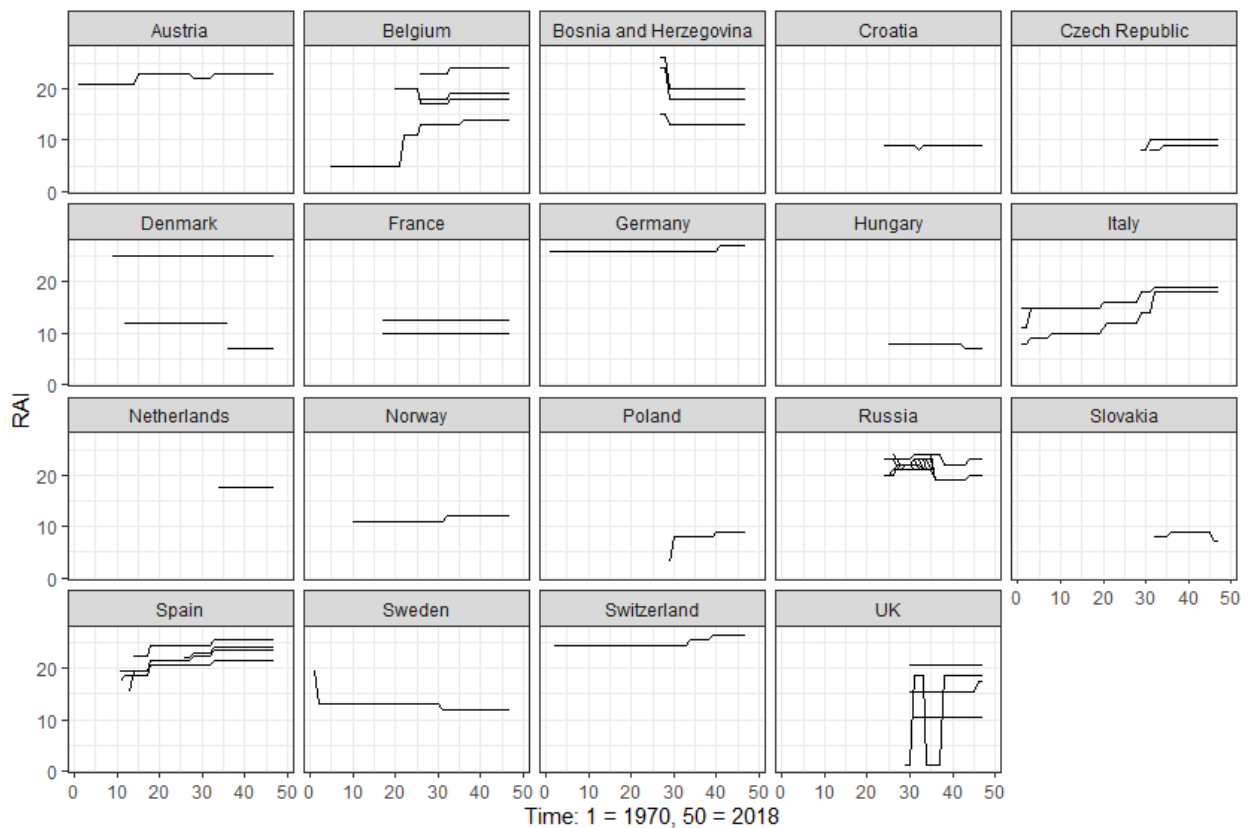
For the whole dataset, including Russia, the mean RAI score is 16.65. The average percentage of women elected to the legislatures in the regions with a low level of political authority, below the mean, is approximately 25.3 percent. The average share of female MPs in the legislatures in the more politically powerful regions, above the mean, is approximately 17.97

percent. At the level of descriptive statistics, we can already see that, on average, fewer women are elected to the legislatures of the regions possessing more political authority.

More specifically, we can distinguish two groups of countries in regard to the variation in RAI. First, there are countries with a symmetrical configuration of power, for example Austria and Croatia, where there is no distinction between the regions in terms of political authority they possess. Second, there are asymmetrical countries – political power of their regions varies. In this second group though there are two subgroups. In one of them, differences in RAI between the regions remain constant over time, for instance, in Denmark and France. As we can see in Figure 3.2, Denmark has three groups of regions with different RAI scores, France has two such groups, but for both countries the lines are always parallel and do not change over time. Thus, we test the impact of the increase in RAI of a region on the percentage of women elected to its legislature either compared to all other regions, irrespective of the country they belong to, or compared to the national parliament. In the other subgroup, however, the power of some regions decreases or increases but not unilaterally. The changes in RAI come simultaneously. Therefore, the existing differences in RAI levels between the regions remain constant over time. For instance, the changes in RAI in Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Czech Republic go almost always in parallel.

Thus, RAI is the best available measure of political authority regions possess. It captures variations in it both between and within countries as well as over time in different domains of power: financial, legal, policy, representational, and constitutional (Hooghe et al., 2016, p. 6). By using this measure of regional political power, we evaluate whether the distribution of power between national and subnational levels affects the gap in the "distribution" of female MPs between them and the share of women elected to the regional legislature itself.

We know from the literature and the data on women's legislative representation at the national level that is has increased in a majority of countries over time, due to general advances in women's socio-economic and political status (Lovenduski and Hills, 2018). Universal suffrage, easier access to secondary and tertiary education and to the labor market, and a gradual shift in cultural norms promoting the idea of gender equality have contributed to the overall increase in the number of women in politics. As our study is longitudinal, we expect to see a positive impact of time on women's legislative representation at the regional level as well. We control for this by including a continuous variable ranging from "1" (1970) to "49" (2018).

Following the literature on factors affecting women's legislative representation, we include three other control variables measured at the regional level. First, the type of regional electoral

system, measured as the proportion of seats allocated under proportional representation (PR).[24] Many studies show that PR positively affects women's chances of being elected, due to a higher district magnitude (McAllister and Studlar, 2002, Norris, 2006). In our opinion, this way of operationalization is advantageous, since it captures more nuanced variations in electoral systems between the regions than a dummy (PR – majoritarian) or a categorical (PR – majoritarian – mixed) variable. We expect that the percentage of women elected at the regional level should be higher the more proportional the electoral system is. However, we do not expect PR to have a considerable impact on our second dependent variable, because in the majority of countries in our sample the electoral system at national and subnational levels is the same. More proportional representation at the subnational level increases the percentage of women elected; at the same time, more proportional representation at the national level does the same. Thus, the national–regional gender gap should remain constant.

Next, legislated gender quotas adopted at the regional level. Many scholars have shown that all types of quota increase the percentage of women elected through the "fast track", rather than "incrementally" as happened in Scandinavian countries (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005). Although a positive effect of this affirmative action is confirmed by many studies (McAllister and Studlar, 2002, Dahlerup, 2006), it does not increase women's representation if effective sanctions for non-compliance with the quota's requirements and rank order of female and male candidates are not specified (Norris, 2004, Norris, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer, 2009). Consequently, legislated gender quotas are likely to be more effective than voluntary party quotas, due to better enforcement mechanisms (Dahlerup, 2006, Davidson-Schmich, 2006). Therefore, we focus only on the former; we assign a value of "1" if a gender quota was in force during a particular regional legislative election, and "0" otherwise. We expect a positive impact of legislated gender quotas on the percentage of women elected to the regional legislature (DV 1) and, consequently, a decrease in the gap between percentages of female MPs at the national and regional levels (DV 2).

The last control variable is regional GDP per capita measured in constant 2010 USD (thousands) at purchasing power parity (PPP); we use the log because the original variable is skewed to the right. Two main data sources were used for calculating this variable: the OECD database on regional statistics and European regional data provided by Cambridge Econometrics. Higher socio-economic development of the country, or of the region in our case, facilitates gender equality in politics through different channels such as urbanization, better child-care infrastructure, better education opportunities, and so on (Fallon et al., 2012, Schwindt-Bayer, 2005, Thames and

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[24] We do not use standard measures of the proportionality of electoral systems, for example the Gallagher index of disproportionality, because these are behavioral measures focusing on the outcome of elections and not on the institutional setting itself.

Williams, 2013). Therefore, we expect regions with higher GDP per capita to have more women elected to their regional legislatures (DV 1), and the national–regional gap between the percentages of female MPs (DV 2) to decrease.

Unfortunately, we were forced to exclude a control for female labor force participation[25] at the regional level – another common variable known to affect women's legislative representation (Rosenbluth et al., 2006, Viterna et al., 2008) – from the final model due to the high level of missing data for this indicator. Nevertheless, our results are robust in terms of the magnitude and direction of the effect of the main variables when including it in the model (see Table SM2.3.1 in the Appendix).

Finally, to show that our measure of decentralization based on RAI performs better in evaluating the impact of multilevel governance on women's legislative representation than the binary federal–unitary distinction used in previous studies, we also run the models with this dummy variable. Instead of RAI, we include a binary variable at the country level where 1 corresponds to de jure federations and 0 to the unitary states. Thus, all of the independent variables included in the main models, except for federalism, are measured at the regional level (See Table SM2.1.2 in the Appendix for the descriptive statistics of the variables included in the analysis.)

3.4 Method and Analysis

To test our hypotheses, we apply longitudinal multilevel regression modeling and run a three-level mixed-effects model with random intercepts at region and county level to account for the hierarchical data structure: 1816 regional legislatures are nested within 276 regions nested within 18 countries (excluding Russia). We take means of the yearly values of the independent variables – RAI, PR, and GDP per capita – for each regional legislature. In regard to the time variable, we take the first value that corresponds to the beginning of the regional legislature's term. The intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) for the first dependent variable – percentage of women elected to the regional legislatures (DV 1) – are 0.00 for the regions and 0.549 for the countries. This suggests that the biggest part of the variance is at the lowest level of the regional legislatures, which is not surprising, considering how this dependent variable is measured. There is some cross-country variance to be explained, but the cross-region variance is minimal. The intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) for the national-regional gap dependent variable (DV 2) are 0.175 for regions and 0.401 for countries, meaning that while the biggest share of variance in that

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[25] The female employment rate is measured as the percentage of women employed at ages 15−64 in the working age population at ages 15−64 in the region. For some regions, due to the lack of comparable data, data for the age cohorts 15−72 is used. The data is partially provided by the OECD Regional Database.

dependent variable is across regional legislatures, there is still some cross-region and cross-country variance in the gender gap to be explained.

The results of the statistical analysis are presented in Table 3.1. Models 1 and 2 are based on the percentage of women elected to the regional legislature as dependent variable (DV 1), while Models 3 and 4 have the national-regional gap in the percentages of women elected as the dependent variable (DV 2). Models 2 and 4 include a dummy variable for federalism instead of RAI, to account for the multilevel structure of the national political system.

Table 3.1. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation

	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature		DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	-14.41*** (3.79)	-16.50*** (3.99)	8.09** (3.09)	12.67*** (2.99)
RAI	-0.29** (0.11)		0.39*** (0.09)	
Time	0.43*** (0.02)	0.40*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)
Regional electoral system (PR)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
Gender quota	8.51*** (0.63)	5.92*** (0.60)	-5.57*** (0.55)	-5.49*** (0.55)
GDP per capita (log)	8.22*** (0.89)	8.43*** (1.02)	-7.09*** (0.83)	-7.11*** (0.83)
Federation		-2.86 (4.78)		3.90 (3.36)
N (regional legislatures)	1807	1816[26]	1807	1816
N (regions)	276	276	276	276
N (countries)	18	18	18	18

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

The results in Table 3.1 show that both our hypotheses are confirmed. Greater political power of a region leads to fewer women being elected to its regional legislature than to the regional legislature of a less politically powerful region. From Model 1 we see that each increase in RAI of one point leads to 0.29 percentage points fewer female MPs elected to its regional legislature. The upper Figure SM2.2.1 in the Appendix shows predicted probabilities of the share of women elected

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[26] N of regional legislatures varies between Models 1 and 3 on the one hand and Models 2 and 4 on the other hand due to some missing values in RAI.

to the regional legislature (DV 1) for different levels of regions' political authority. We see that the increase in RAI scores leads to a decrease in the percentage of women elected to the regional legislatures from approximately 27.5 percent to less than 20 percent.

Our second hypothesis is confirmed as well. Each increase in RAI of the region of one point leads to 0.39 percentage points fewer women elected to its regional legislature compared to the national parliament. The lower Figure SM2.2.1 in the Appendix shows predicted probabilities of the national–regional gap in the percentage of women elected for different levels of RAI. We see that when the RAI score is approximately 20 points, our DV 2 becomes positive indicating that henceforth more women are elected at the national than regional level. Therefore, we can conclude that regions possessing more political authority in a particular national political system have less women elected to their legislative bodies than to the national parliament.

The attractiveness of the regional political positions in terms of the power and career prospects for the mostly male political elite inhibits women's electoral success in regional legislatures. Women's representation at the national level, in turn, can grow faster for several reasons. For instance, the greater visibility of national politicians may put parties under pressure to nominate more women to run for the national legislature, in order to demonstrate their de facto or de jure adherence to gender equality ideals. This strategy can attract female voters and help parties win votes. As a result, women's legislative representation at the regional level decreases and, at the same time, the national–regional gap in the percentages of female MPs grows. Thus, the regional authority index scores, measuring the distribution of power between national and subnational levels of government, help to explain the percentage of women elected at the regional level itself and also a more complicated pattern of the "distribution" of female candidates between national and subnational levels in a country.

RAI is a relevant factor in explaining where more women "go" to – meaning that fewer women are elected in more powerful regions, but they might be elected at higher rates at other levels of government. In some countries, for example in Belgium, the federal level is much less powerful than the regional one and it might be easier for women to achieve legislative office there. In other countries the national level is much more visible than the regional electoral arenas, so parties might be under more pressure to nominate and promote female candidates. Of course, there are many factors that help to explain an increase in female MPs in national legislatures, but that is beyond our scope here. Our analysis suggests, though, that one of these factors might be the power of subnational units which "pushes" women away from the regional political game and prevents higher rates of female election there. Therefore, additional measures, such as the adoption of gender quotas at the regional level, that would help women get elected in the more powerful

regions, still seem necessary to enhance gender parity in the regional legislatures and to decrease the national–regional gender gap.

Almost all basic regional political and economic indicators behave in a hypothesized manner. The positive (in Models 1 and 2) and negative (in Models 3 and 4) impact of regional GDP per capita is highly statistically significant. This implies that higher economic development of a region leads to more women being elected to its legislature. It also decreases the national–regional gap in the percentages of women elected. In line with previous research, we find that legislated gender quotas adopted at the regional level have a considerable and highly statistically significant impact on the share of women elected to the regional legislatures. Gender quotas also decrease the gap in the percentages of women elected at the national and regional levels, lending support to our suggestion above that additional measures such as the adoption of gender quotas would help to boost women's legislative representation in more powerful regions.

Contrary to our intuition, a more proportional electoral system at the regional level does not increase the percentage of women elected to regional legislatures. The impact of this control variable on women's legislative representation at the subnational level is positive, albeit not statistically significant. However, this is not a major concern for us, since additional institutional aspects of the electoral systems are not taken into account. Proportional electoral systems are widely used at the subnational level in many countries in our sample; thus, the variation between regions is not great. But subnational electoral systems differ in terms of electoral threshold, district magnitude, and level of party system fragmentation, all of which may affect women's election (Vandeleene et al., 2013). However, PR has a positive and statistically significant effect on the national–regional gap in the percentages of women elected. Although electoral systems at national and subnational levels coincide in the majority of cases, the identified effect suggests that PR works more effectively at the national level because, as argued above, parties might be under more pressure to include women in their electoral lists.

Unsurprisingly, the impact of time is positive and statistically significant, as we hypothesized. Over time – that is, at each consecutive regional legislative election – the percentage of women elected increases by approximately 0.4 percentage points. Figure 3.1 presented above illustrates this general longitudinal trend in the increase in the percentage of female MPs at both subnational and national levels. The effect of time on the national–regional gap is also positive, meaning that more women are elected at the national than the subnational level. This confirms our earlier assumption that the percentages of women elected to national parliaments grow faster, for one reason or another, than the percentages elected to the regional legislatures of politically powerful regions.

Finally, we see from Table 3.1 that the binary federal–unitary distinction, used in previous studies to account for the multilevel structure of politics, does not have a statistically significant impact on either of our dependent variables. Based on the direction of influence of this control variable, we can say that fewer women are elected to regional legislatures in federal than in unitary countries, and the national–regional gap increases in federations. However, we do not know what accounts for this relationship when using a dummy variable to test the impact of multilevel politics and decentralization on women's legislative representation.

We also performed a robustness check by running two-level models with country dummies where regional legislatures are nested within regions. The results presented in Table SM2.3.2 in the Appendix show the same direction and statistical significance of the independent variables as in the main models. Except for the robustness of our results, one more thing that should be noted is that some of the country dummies have a positive impact on DV 1 and / or DV 2, while others have a negative impact. Similarly, some country dummies are statistically significant, while others are not. Taking this and, especially Figure 3.1 presented above, into account we can see that, of course, our sample is not homogeneous. We distinguish thus at least three major clusters of countries with similar patterns of women's legislative representation at the subnational level and in relation to the national level.

Post-Communist countries show both progress and regress in the percentage of women elected to regional legislatures over time. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia, there are both upward and downward trends at different points of time. A second group of countries (Belgium, France, Italy, and Spain) exhibits a sudden jump in women's legislative representation at the regional level, attributed to the introduction of some form of gender quota. They also have political parties which adopted voluntary gender quotas (Verge, 2012).[27] The last clear group is Scandinavian countries, where the percentage of women elected was higher than in any other country, starting from the very first regional legislature term we analyzed. Despite these country differences, we do not include any control variables at the national level in our models because, first, much has been written on the national factors of women's legislative representation. Second, we are mainly interested in the subnational units and their political and socio-economic characteristics. Controlling for spatial autocorrelation statistically with a three-level model or with the inclusion of country dummies is therefore sufficient for the purposes of this analysis.

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[27] For the types and details of gender quotas in these countries, see the Gender Quotas Database (https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/database).

Due to the high number of regions in Russia, we performed a separate robustness check of the main models on the sample including Russia. The results are robust for Hypothesis 2 (Table SM2.3.3 in the Appendix). However, as we can see from Table SM2.3.3, the impact of RAI on the percentage of women elected to regional legislatures (DV 1) preserves the direction of influence, but becomes not statistically significant. Thus, the inclusion of Russia makes the relationship between the political authority of the regions and women's legislative representation less clear. There are several possible explanations for this. First, there is some evidence that the percentage of women elected is higher in more authoritarian countries than in democracies (Stockemer, 2011). Loyalty is a more valuable feature than competence or gender in candidates running for office in less democratic countries. Therefore, a ruler or ruling party mostly nominates candidates irrespective of their qualifications and gender. Second, over time political authority vested in the Russian regions has become less important in real life than on paper. The process of re-centralization of power by the federal center has led to the predominance of informal relations between Moscow and regional governments and to increased control of regional affairs by the federal center (Golosov, 2011, Golosov, 2018). These factors blur the relationship in Russia between RAI and women's legislative representation.

The results are robust to different specifications of the variance–covariance matrix of the multilevel model. The results of the main model with different error covariance structures are presented in Table SM2.3.4 in the Appendix. We also ran an OLS regression with region dummies[28] to check if our results are robust under this specification. For DV 1, all independent variables are in the same direction of influence, as in Table 3.1, and are statistically significant, except for the regional electoral system. For DV 2, all independent variables are in the same direction of influence, as in Table 3.1, and are statistically significant. Finally, we ran a three-level mixed effects logistic regression where we substituted DV 2 with a dummy variable accounting for the direction of the national–regional gap in the percentages of women elected. The value of "0" was assigned if the gap is negative, meaning that the percentage of women elected to the regional legislature is higher than the percentage of women elected to the national parliament; a value of "1" otherwise. The results are presented in Table SM2.3.5 in the Appendix. All of the independent variables, except for the regional electoral system (PR), preserve their direction of influence and are statistically significant. Thus, the results are robust.

3.5 Discussion

Many scholars have studied issues associated with women's political representation, trying to identify factors that prevent women from being elected at higher rates or that enhance their

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[28] Not shown. Available from the authors upon request.

electoral performance. Much has been said about how the type of electoral system, gender quotas, socio-economic development, or cultural and religious norms influence women's legislative representation in different parts of the world. Most of these studies analyze women's performance at the national level, leaving aside the regional level and local governments. However, today, when many countries have experienced the rise of regional political arenas and decentralization has become common not only in federal, but also in unitary states, understanding how this multilevel structure of politics affects women's electoral performance is of particular importance.

A few studies analyzing the relationship between federalism / decentralization and women's legislative representation point out that, due to more access points and less costly and competitive electoral campaigns at the regional level, women can have easier access to subnational legislatures (Nowacki, 2003, Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015). However, large-N studies come to contradictory conclusions. For instance, Vengroff et al. (2003) do not find that the federal–unitary distinction has a statistically significant impact on women's electoral performance at the regional level or on the gap between percentages of female MPs in national and regional legislatures. In contrast, Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) argue that more women are elected at the national level in federal countries than in unitary. However, because they deployed a dummy or a categorical variable to account for the multilevel structure of politics, the authors were unable to study the effect of decentralization on women's legislative representation or to shed light on the variations in percentages of female MPs between regions within countries.

In this article, we consider whether the impact of decentralization may be mitigated by a particular distribution of competences between the different levels of the political system. We argue that the effect of decentralization on women's legislative representation is dependent on the political power of the subnational units in national political systems. We hypothesized that more powerful regions, in terms of the level of political authority they possess, worsen women's electoral performance, which leads to fewer women being elected to those regional legislatures. More powerful regions may be viewed as more appealing electoral arenas for political careers by still predominantly male political elites. This, in turn, increases the costs of electoral campaigns and the competitiveness of the elections, and can uncover gender biases among voters. As a result, a lower proportion of women win regional than national legislative elections. At the national level, which is more visible in many countries, parties may be under stronger pressure to nominate and promote female candidates. Thus, the gap in the percentages of women elected between the national and the regional level increases.

To test our hypothesis on the impact of the political power of subnational units, we use an original dataset on women's legislative representation in 383 regional legislatures in 19 European countries from 1970 to 2018. The results of the three-level mixed-effects models confirm our

expectation. They show that, despite the general increase in women's legislative representation over time in all regions due to the general advancement of women's socio-economic status, it remains lower in the more politically powerful subnational legislatures. Women's legislative representation at the national level, in turn, increases over time at higher rates. Therefore, the distribution of power between the national and subnational levels of government in favor of the latter leads to a widening gap between the percentages of female MPs at the national and subnational levels.

Of course, there are some alternative explanations for the differences in levels of women's legislative representation between the regions, such as the local strength of particular political parties. Left-wing parties usually promote gender equality policies more than right-wing ones, so more women are recruited and nominated by left-leaning parties (Morgan and Hinojosa, 2018). Hence, party-level analysis would be useful to control for the impact of parties' ideology and their candidate selection and nomination strategies on the percentage of women elected (Vandeleene et al., 2013). But the collection of party-level data across countries and especially over time at the subnational level is difficult and time-consuming, so we leave consideration of these issues for future analysis.

Given our findings, we can conclude that decentralization dynamics are not indisputably positive. Decentralization can complicate responsibility attribution (León et al., 2018) and pose particular problems for responsiveness in a multilevel political systems (Däubler et al., 2018). Our analysis shows that far-reaching decentralization reforms allocating a considerable amount of political authority to the subnational units can impede the electoral success of female candidates. To overcome this barrier and to enhance the achievement of gender parity in the regional political arena, therefore, measures such as legislated gender quotas at the subnational level would need to be adopted. This, in turn, would lead to an increase in the pool of eligible female candidates from which parties can choose their candidates for future elections and enable female MPs to boost their further political career either at the national level or at the regional level itself (Stolz, 2003).

The results of our study can also be generalized to other spheres of life. Similar patterns of women's underrepresentation in more prestigious, powerful, and relevant positions are found in organizational studies and literature on the labor market. The well-known "glass ceiling" phenomenon in corporations implies that, irrespective of their qualifications and experience, women are impeded in reaching senior managerial positions (Abidin et al., 2009, Dreher, 2003, Goodman et al., 2003). Sanders and her co-authors (2009), analogously, analyzed the labor market of professorial positions in the Netherlands, evaluating how women were or were not able to break the "glass ceiling" and obtain full professorial status. Thus, the collaboration of researchers across different disciplines has the potential to produce useful insights into the issues of women's

underrepresentation in the most powerful political and socio-economic positions and to create new avenues for future research.

CHAPTER

FOUR

PATHWAYS TO POWER: WOMEN AND MEN IN POST-COMMUNIST PARLIAMENTS

Abstract

The legacy of communist rule and "state feminism" shared by post-communist countries and the different trajectories of their development after the collapse of the Soviet Union creates an interesting combination of factors that can contribute either to the annihilation of the differences between female and male MPs there or to the widening of the gender gaps. Studies of the differences and similarities in personal and professional characteristics of female and male parliamentarians, however, are mostly based on developed countries with consolidated democracies. The post-communist region, while being quite distinct from them in political and socio-economic development, remains understudied. Exploratory analysis of the original dataset of personal and professional characteristics of MPs elected to the last two terms of the national parliaments in five post-communist countries reveals two general patterns. Gender gaps in personal traits of MPs are similar to the previous findings in developed countries. Analysis of professional characteristics, in turn, shows distinct results.

4.1 Introduction

Post-communist countries share a common historical background of Communist rule and a legacy of "state feminism". This regime implied at least de jure gender parity in terms of equal opportunities for education and employment for both men and women (Einhorn, 1993). However, we do not know whether and, if yes, how communist legacy influences career paths of female and male parliamentarians in post-communist countries. Mostly US-centered studies of gender gaps in personal and professional characteristics of MPs (see e.g. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009) provide us with some general knowledge on the similarities and differences between women and men e.g. in family status, education, and political experience. However, they do not shed light on the respective patterns existing in other countries and world regions. One of the regions that remains understudied is the post-communist region.

We know from the literature that developed and developing countries differ from each other in the factors of women's legislative representation (see e.g. Rosen, 2013). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that personal and professional characteristics of female and male candidates elected to the national parliaments in less developed and democratic countries also differ from the ones identified in developed countries. For instance, if majority of parliamentarians in the post-communist region received their education in the Soviet Union, then there should be no big difference between them in occupational background or education level. Consequently, if the tradition of "forced emancipation" of women (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005, p. 34) persisted over time after the collapse of the USSR, then we should see no significant variation in many personal and professional characteristics of female and male MPs.

At the same time, studies show that communist regimes were not successful in eliminating patriarchism neither in the public nor in the private spheres (LaFont, 2001). Gender gaps continued to exist in socio-economic and political domains (Einhorn, 1993). Transitions from communist to current political regimes and from planned economy to capitalist one only contributed to further widening of these discrepancies (LaFont, 1998). Thus, it might also be the case that female and male parliamentarians substantially differ from each other in their career paths. To find out which of the two described scenarios takes place in real life, I analyze differences and similarities between female and male politicians in post-communist countries existing nowadays. It contributes to our understanding of the general patterns in the composition and characteristics of the current political elites in these countries.

To perform this analysis, I collected an original database on the personal and professional characteristics of post-communist parliamentarians elected to the last two terms of the national parliaments in five countries: Belarus, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.[29] Total number of MPs under consideration is 1237. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, I apply descriptive statistical methods such as t-test, chi-square test, and test for equality of proportions to analyze whether there are gender gaps in personal and professional characteristics of female and male parliamentarians.

The analysis reveals that both scenarios described above happen in post-communist countries. Unfortunately, gender gaps in personal characteristics of parliamentarians continue to persist in the region, supporting earlier findings in the studies of US politicians. For instance, women tend to be single, divorced, or widowed more often than men and have fewer children than their male counterparts. Majority of female parliamentarians still obtain their education in traditionally "female" professions – education and social work – while men dominate in business

and economics. At the same time, there is an annihilation of the gender gap in the proportions of MPs with a degree in law. Therefore, the lack of women with a background in law, the sphere from which political parties mostly recruit their candidates from, is not a significant factor of women's under-representation in the region. Overall, patriarchism in the socio-economic sphere inherited from the communist regimes remains a problem in post-communist countries.

The results of the analysis of parliamentarians' professional characteristics, in turn, mostly contradict previous findings. For instance, higher proportions of women than men are elected as independent candidates. It can indicate that either women do not feel represented by political parties or they do not need as much financial and political support from them in the post-communist region as in the other countries. Another positive finding reveals that incumbency is not a big barrier for female candidates in post-communist countries. Furthermore, male parliamentarians tend to follow a more gradual career path: from the lower level of government to the higher one. In contrast, women often "jump" directly to the national level. Overall, there are several positive trends in elimination of the gender differences in professional characteristics of MPs. It can either be attributed to the communist legacy of de jure gender equality or to the characteristics of current political regimes. In more democratic countries of the region, general evolution towards gender parity can contribute to the annihilation of the gender discrepancies. In more authoritarian countries, in turn, candidate's gender might matter less than loyalty to the regime, which can lead to the minimization of the gender gaps.

It is worth noting that while the patterns for some indicators are quite similar between the countries, other characteristics vary by country. These discrepancies raise important questions for further consideration. For instance, Belarus often appears as a distinct outlier, which can be attributed to its authoritarian political regime and, hence, a different logic and rules of political game operating there. Loyalty of parliamentarians might be more important than their competence, education, political experience, or gender. Therefore, it contributes to the differences between personal and professional characteristics of political elites in Belarus and in the other, more democratic countries of the region.

The rest of the article proceeds as following. In the next section, I describe previous studies aimed at identifying differences and similarities between female and male politicians and derive hypotheses for my study. Section 4.3 describes the dataset, operationalization of the variables, and methods of analysis. The results of the conducted analysis are presented and discussed in Section 4.4. The last section concludes and offers points for further consideration.

4.2 Female and Male Parliamentarians: Similar or Different?

A vast bulk of literature on women's legislative representation focuses on identifying macro-level factors affecting women's chances to get elected. From these studies we know that proportional representation, gender quotas, and higher socio-economic development of the country usually positively influence the number of women in the national parliaments (see e.g. Dahlerup, 2006, Fortin-Rittberger and Eder, 2013, Viterna et al., 2008). However, fewer studies focus on the personal characteristics of women (and men) and on how they influence their decision to run for office (see e.g Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013) and their chances of being elected (see e.g. Teele et al., 2018).

Within the field of literature that aims at identifying micro-level factors of women's legislative representation, studies on candidates' ambitions occupy the central stage. Straightforwardly, the main argument is that candidates should have political ambitions that motivate them to participate in the electoral campaign. Some studies show that women are less ambitious than men (Davidson-Schmich, 2008, Fox and Lawless, 2004), while others argue that the level of ambitions is the same for both female and male candidates (Fox et al., 2001, Schneider et al., 2016). What affects political ambition? According to the studies, two primary factors are encouragement from parties and / or families, which can be gendered (see e.g. Fox and Lawless, 2004), and candidates' own perceptions of their qualifications and competence (see e.g. Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). The former factor is out of the scope of this paper. The latter one is discussed in more details below.

Another type of "micro-level" research analyzes career paths of female and male MPs and looks at characteristics that make candidates more attractive for recruitment by political parties and more successful in running for office. These candidates' features can be roughly divided into personal and professional. Regarding the former, studies show that women tend to take more factors into account than men when deciding whether to participate in the elections (Fox et al., 2001). Particularly, as women still remain the primary care-takers, they consider whether they have a spousal approval and support to run for office and whether their children are old enough (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Fox and Lawless, 2004). Thus, women tend to be older than men and have older children when entering a political office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2009, Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009) find that the average age at which women enter political office for the first time is 50. Therefore, I hypothesize that when entering a national parliament:

H1 (on the age of parliamentarians):

Women tend to be older than men.

Unfortunately, I am unable to test the assumption on the age of parliamentarians' children due to the difficulties with the data collection. Instead, I hypothesize that:

H2 (on the number of children of parliamentarians):

Women tend to have fewer children than men.

In regard to family status, studies show that more women than men are single, divorced, or widowed when starting a political career (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). Consequently, more men than women are married or live as married (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009). Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H3 (on the family status of parliamentarians):

More women than men are single, divorced, or widowed; more men than women are married or live as married.

One of the important factors of women's under-representation identified in the literature is their shortage in the eligibility pool (Sanbonmatsu, 2003). It is believed that political parties mostly recruit candidates with traditionally "male" occupational backgrounds in law and business, from which women have been historically excluded (Sanbonmatsu, 2003). Women, in turn, tend to have a background in health care, education, and social work (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). Thus, I hypothesize that:

H4 (on occupational background of parliamentarians):

Women tend to have occupational background in traditionally "female" spheres: health care, education, and social work; men tend to have occupational background in traditionally "male" spheres: law and business.

Studies show that there is a gender gap in qualifications of parliamentarians (Sanbonmatsu, 2003). Since more women than men tend to think of themselves as not having enough expertise for running for office (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009), women usually tend to be overqualified when entering politics e.g. by having a higher level of education (Fox and Lawless, 2004). Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H5 (on academic degree of parliamentarians):

Women tend to have a higher academic degree than men.

Scholars identify gender gaps in professional characteristics of parliamentarians as well. Having in mind that encouragement from parties is a more important factor for women rather than men (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009), we can assume that women are less likely than men to run for office as independent candidates. Some studies confirm that women are usually not self-starters because they need to be recruited and encouraged by political parties to enter electoral race (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). Therefore, I hypothesize:

H6 (on party identification of parliamentarians):

More women than men tend to be members of political parties rather than independent candidates.

Due to the fact that majority of the studies are based on the US, it is usually pointed out that Democrats recruit women at higher rates than Republicans (Sanbonmatsu, 2003, Fox and Lawless, 2010). Outside US context, we know from the general literature on women in politics that left-leaning parties tend to have higher levels of female candidates than right-leaning parties (see e.g. Morgan and Hinojosa, 2018). However, recent studies started to challenge this assumption. Kostadinova and Mikulska (2017), analyzing post-communist Bulgaria and Poland, argue that right-leaning and populist parties were more successful in nominating female candidates than left-leaning parties. Devroe and Wauters (2018), studying gender stereotypes in Belgium, claim that a perception that a majority of female MPs belongs to the left parties is not true because they are almost evenly dispersed among Belgian parties. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H7 (on the ideology of parties that parliamentarians belong to):

Women and men are equally spread among different, in terms of ideology, parties.

One of the main factors preventing women from being elected at the higher rates is incumbency. Studies show that majority of incumbents are men who often win reelection, it is thus difficult for female candidates to compete with them (Schwindt-Bayer, 2005). Thus, I hypothesize that:

H8 (on incumbency of parliamentarians):

More men than women are elected to the national parliament as incumbents.

As mentioned above, women tend to be more qualified than men when entering political office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). However, prior political experience, for example at the lower levels of government, is not a prerequisite for being elected to the national parliament. As Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009) show, for both women and men being elected to the national parliament is often the first step in their political careers. Thus, I hypothesize that:

H9 (on prior political experience of parliamentarians):

There is no significant difference in the numbers of women and men with the prior political experience in either elective or appointive political offices.

At the same time, Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009) show that when female MPs have prior political experience in either representative or executive offices, it is mostly obtained at the local level. Therefore, within the group of parliamentarians with the prior political experience, I assume that women tend to obtain it primarily at the local level, while men – at the higher levels of government such as regional and national political arenas. I hypothesize that:

H10 (on the level of government where the prior political experience is obtained):

More women than men have prior political experience at the local level; more men than women have prior political experience at the regional and national levels.

In general, comparing the results of the surveys undertaken in 1981 and in 2008, Sanbonmatsu and Carroll (2009) find that career paths of women and men converged over time in some areas. For instance, both women and men value occupational flexibility when deciding whether to run for office. Both women and men started to worry to a similar extent whether their prior political experience is sufficient. Moreover, there is a positive trend that gender gaps in some professional occupations have started decreasing over time. Particularly, nowadays more women obtain degrees in law (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009). At the same time, the opposite trend takes place as well and gender gaps continue to persist over time. For example, family and financial considerations are still more important factors for women than men when deciding whether to participate in the electoral campaign. Women tend to not enter politics as self-starters because it is more crucial for them than for men to be encouraged by political parties (Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009).

There are two main shortcomings of the studies considered above. First, almost all of them are based on the US (see e.g. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2009). Second, they use either surveys (see e.g. Fox and Lawless, 2004, Fox and Lawless, 2010) or interviews (see e.g. Sanbonmatsu, 2003) to gather data which can lead e.g. to disproportionate numbers of responses between men and women. Two of the few, to my knowledge, studies analyzing political ambition outside US context is the one by Davidson-Schmich (2008) on Germany and by Avdeyeva and co-authors (2017) on Russia which are based on the survey results as well. Schneider and co-authors (2016) run an experiment, rather than survey, to analyze the gender gap in political ambition, but this study is also based on the US.

Therefore, there is little knowledge available on the career paths of women and men in East-European post-communist and post-Soviet countries. Particularly, we do not know whether there are more differences or similarities in personal and professional characteristics of female and male parliamentarians in the region. On the one hand, these countries share a legacy of "state feminism", that is de jure gender equality in terms of equal education and employment opportunities for women and men (Einhorn, 1993). Communist regimes promoted emancipation of women and, consequently, one might expect no significant differences between female and male MPs in some basic personal characteristics.

On the other hand, patriarchy was not eliminated under communism and men continued to dominate in private and public life (LaFont, 2001). Countries' transition from communist to current political regimes led to widening of gender gaps in socio-economic and political statuses (Einhorn, 1993, LaFont, 1998) and "[…] post-communist women […] have lost some of the gains

made under communism." (LaFont, 2001, p. 204) Therefore, there are reasons to believe that gender differences in characteristics of MPs, even if minor in the first terms of the national parliaments, can manifest themselves in the most recent legislative elections. Consequently, it is of particular importance to analyze differences and similarities between female and male MPs in post-communist countries to understand the general patterns in the composition and characteristics of political elites existing nowadays.

4.3 Data and Methods

The dataset for analysis consists of all MPs elected[30] to the last two terms of the national parliaments in Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Total number of the parliamentarians in the sample is 1237. The numbers of MPs by gender, term, and country are presented in Table SM3.1.1 in the Appendix.

There are two main reasons why these countries are chosen for the analysis. First, these countries vary in their political regimes. According to Freedom House 2019 data, Baltic countries are "free" countries with consolidated democracies: Estonia is assigned 94 out of 100 points[31], Latvia – 87 points, and Lithuania – 91 points. Georgia is described as "partly free" country with its 63 out of 100 points. Finally, Belarus is a "not free" country and is assigned 19 out of 100 points (Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2019). Moreover, there are between-countries variations in the electoral characteristics which are considered important for women's legislative representation. For instance, Belarus has a majoritarian electoral system (First-Past-The-Post), Georgia and Lithuania have mixed parallel electoral systems, while Estonia and Latvia employ open-list proportional representation.

Therefore, by analyzing women and men's career pathways in these countries, we can see whether MPs who are elected in a democratic country differ from MPs who are allowed to be elected in an authoritarian country. Do the common historical background and a long history of Communist rule diminish the differences between, on the one hand, female and male MPs and, on the other hand, between MPs in different countries? Do the diverse trajectories of countries' development after the collapse of the Soviet Union, for instance EU membership, facilitate the between-countries differences? Although focusing primarily on the gender gaps in various characteristics of MPs, this study can shed light on these questions as well.

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[30] Unfortunately, the data on the candidates participating in the national parliamentary elections is not available or is difficult to collect. Therefore, I cannot assess what factors contribute to the election of candidates and which factors prevent them from being elected.

[31] Aggregate Score: 0 = Least Free, 100 = Most Free (Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2019. Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2019/map).

Second reason for analyzing these five countries is data availability. Unfortunately, not many post-communist countries provide the basic biographical information about their parliamentarians on the national parliaments' websites. The data is either very scarce or in the national languages only which makes it difficult and time-consuming to collect the necessary information. Countries included in this analysis have most of the data available in English[32], which made it possible to collect it by applying web-scraping techniques. This information was then complemented with the data from Every Politician database, Wikipedia, and Wikidata.

The main indicator for the analysis is gender of MPs. I assign the value "1" if parliamentarian is a woman and the value "0" if parliamentarian is a man. Afterwards, I am able to analyze gender gaps in several MPs' characteristics of interest. All of the variables are measured at the beginning of the national parliament's term:

1. **Personal characteristics**:

a. Age of a parliamentarian – continuous variable.

b. Number of children – continuous variable.

c. Family status – categorical variable with five categories: single, married, in a domestic partnership, divorced, widowed.

d. Occupational background – five dummy variables: law, business and economics, education, social work, health care and medicine. As a proxy for occupational background, I use the information on their education, namely which subject they studied at the university / institute / vocational school. Although not every MP works according to the formal education received, this operationalization makes the data collection easier.

e. Academic degree – categorical variable with three categories: secondary education, higher (BA or MA) education, PhD. BA and MA degrees are merged into one category because for many MPs there is no information on which particular degree they obtained. Also, for MPs who received their education in the Soviet Union, there is one "specialist" degree which is the only five-year higher education diploma that was available.

2. **Professional characteristics**:

f. Party of a parliamentarian. In accordance with Hypotheses 6 and 7, I analyze parties in regard to two variables. First variable is categorical and shows which party family MP's party belongs to: agrarian, conservative, ethnic-regional, liberal, nationalist, social-democratic, socialist, or whether MP ran as an independent candidate. Second variable is continuous and measures

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[32] The exceptions are the 2012 – 2016 and the 2015 – 2019 terms of the national parliaments in Belarus and in Estonia respectively. The data for these terms are available in national languages only.

ideology of the party, ranging from left to right. The data for both variables is provided by the Manifesto Project Database (Volkens et al., 2019).

g.　　Incumbency of a parliamentarian – a dummy variable measuring whether she / he was elected in the previous term of the national parliament. The value "1" is assigned for being an incumbent and the value "0" otherwise.

h.　　Political experience of a parliamentarian. In accordance with Hypotheses 9 and 10, I create two variables showing whether parliamentarians had some executive / appointive or legislative / elective experience before entering the national parliament. First variable is a dummy where the value "1" is assigned if MP was elected to a legislature or appointed as a mayor or minister at any level of government and the value "0" otherwise. Second variable is ordinal and takes into account the "number" of experiences and their levels, meaning that I differentiate if a parliamentarian had a prior political experience at the municipal, regional[33], national level, or at several of them.

Descriptive statistical methods are used to analyze the data. With the dummy variables, I apply a proportion testing which shows whether a proportion of female MPs in some indicator is higher / lower than the proportion of male MPs. I analyze categorical variables using Pearson's chi-squared test and continuous variables using Welch two-samples t-test. The results of the tests are presented for the whole sample and by country. Although descriptive statistics does not show the causal relationship between the variables, it is an appropriate tool for the first exploratory analysis of the biographical data of MPs. Obtained results can help to see the general patterns in the data and to raise research questions for either more advanced statistical analysis or a case study of the country with the most interesting or unusual results.

4.4 Analysis

4.4.1　Personal characteristics of parliamentarians

I start the analysis with the testing of Hypotheses 1 – 5 on personal characteristics of parliamentarians.

a)　　Age

The results of the analysis testing the difference in parliamentarians' age based on the whole sample are presented in Table 4.1.

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[33] All of the countries in the sample are unitary states. Regional level refers to the "counties" in Estonia and Lithuania (counties were abolished in 2010 in Lithuania) and "regions" in Belarus, Georgia, and Latvia.

Table 4.1. Age of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	48.18	9.95			
			2.57	483.28	0.01
Men (n=958)	49.96	10.8			

Welch two-samples t-test

Hypothesis 1 is rejected. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference in the age of female and male MPs, although the difference is small. Women are almost two years younger than men when they get elected to the national parliament. Thus, the average age of female parliamentarians for my sample of post-communist countries is 48, slightly below the average age of female MPs in the US, identified by Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009). The results of the analysis by country are presented in Figure 4.1 and Table SM3.2.1 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.1. Age of parliamentarians by gender and country
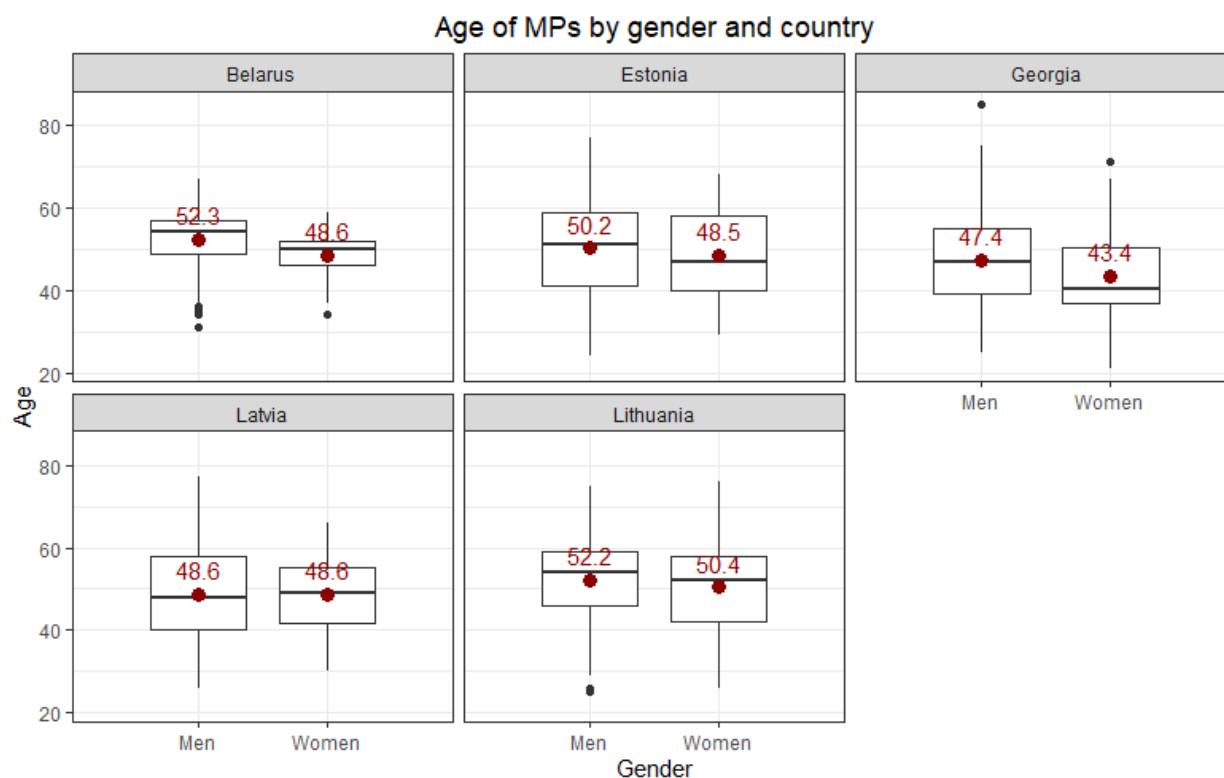
Although for the whole sample the average age of female MPs is smaller than the average age of male MPs, the results differ between countries. The only statistically significant differences in age between female and male parliamentarians are in Belarus and Georgia. Women are approximately four years younger than men in both cases. On average, the youngest female MPs are elected in Georgia, 43, while the oldest work in Lithuanian parliament, 50. The youngest male MPs are also elected in Georgia, 47, while the oldest – in Lithuania again and in Belarus, 52.

Thus, the results are different from the previous findings based on the US. For instance, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu (2010) talk about "graying" of the state legislatures in the US. According to the authors, the average age, 57, was similar for both female and male MPs in 2008 (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, p. 16). Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, Walsh (2009), in turn, find that the average age of a female MP in the US is 50. On the contrary, in post-communist countries, we see a slight decrease in the age of female parliamentarians. The most prominent example here is Georgia that promotes younger candidates in politics to a greater extent than the other countries.

Given that statistically significant results are shown in less democratic countries of the region, the finding raises several questions. Are women younger than men in less democratic countries because their competence matters less than loyalty? Are they symbolic figures or are able to have an impact on the policies adopted, especially in terms of women's substantive representation? Does patriarchy still prevail in less democratic post-communist countries and men are able to exercise control over their younger female colleagues and the overall legislative process?

b)   Number of children

The results of the test analyzing the difference in the number of children between female and male MPs based on the whole sample are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Number of parliamentarians' children (whole sample)

Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	1.68	1.10	5.24	369.36	0.00
Men (n=958)	2.14	1.15			

Welch two-samples t-test

Hypothesis 2 is confirmed. Although the number of children for both male and female MPs is low, there is a statistically significant difference. Men tend to have two children, while women – one child. We can thus conclude that women still remain the main care-takers in post-communist countries. Therefore, the number of children and, presumably, their age remain an important factor for women when deciding whether to participate in the national electoral campaign. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.2 and Table SM3.2.2 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.2 Number of parliamentarians' children by gender and country

Number of children of MPs by gender and country
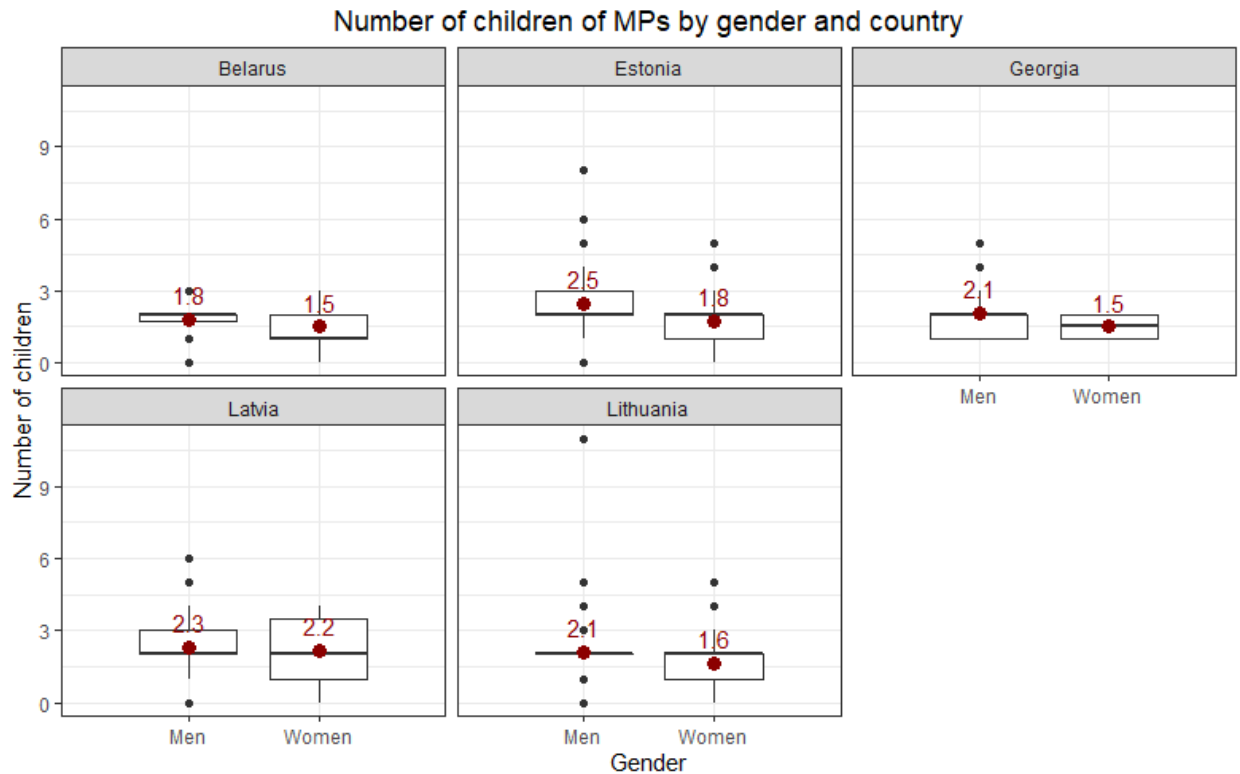
All countries, except Latvia, show similar patterns and statistically significant results. Women tend to have one child, while men – two children. The highest numbers of children for both men and women are in Estonia, the lowest numbers are in Belarus. In Latvia, both men and women tend to have two children, although it should be noted that there are a lot of missing values for Georgia and Latvia. Therefore, the results for these countries should be interpreted cautiously. In general, the number of children parliamentarians have is similar across the countries and is quite low. Nevertheless, previous finding that women tend to have fewer children than men is confirmed on the sample of post-communist countries. In Figure 4.2, we can also see that there are outliers in each country, for instance there is a male MP in Lithuania who has 11 children.

c)   Family status

The results of the analysis looking at the differences between women and men in their family status based on the whole sample are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Family status of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Family status	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	
Married	645	177	
Domestic partnership	33	2	
Single	21	19	38.39
Divorced	23	16	p = 0.00
Widowed	2	5	
Not specified	234	60	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value[34] (based on 2000 replicates)

So far, we cannot reject or confirm Hypothesis 3. There is a statistically significant relationship between the gender of MPs and their family status. However, from Table 4.3 we do not know for which categories the differences between men and women are statistically significant. Therefore, I performed two-sample test for equality of proportions, excluding MPs in "not specified" category. The results are presented in Table 4.4.

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[34] In chi-square tests, simulated p-values are used due to the small number cases for some variables and categories.

Table 4.4. Family status of parliamentarians by category (whole sample)

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=219)	0.81	9.55	0.00
Men (n=724)	0.89		
Domestic partnership			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=219)	0.01	5.27	0.02
Men (n=724)	0.05		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=219)	0.09	12.42	0.00
Men (n=724)	0.03		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=219)	0.07	6.23	0.01
Men (n=724)	0.03		
Widowed			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=219)	0.02	6.67	0.01
Men (n=724)	0.00		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Hypothesis 3 is confirmed. The proportion of men who are married or are in a domestic partnership is higher than the proportion of women. The differences for both categories are statistically significant. In accordance with the previous findings in the US, the proportions of women who are single, divorced, or widowed are higher than the proportions of men. All three differences are statistically significant as well. Therefore, post-communist parliamentarians are similar to their US colleagues in the family status. The results of the analysis by country, excluding MPs in the "not specified" category, are presented in Figure 4.3 and Table SM3.2.3 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.3. Family status of parliamentarians by category and country
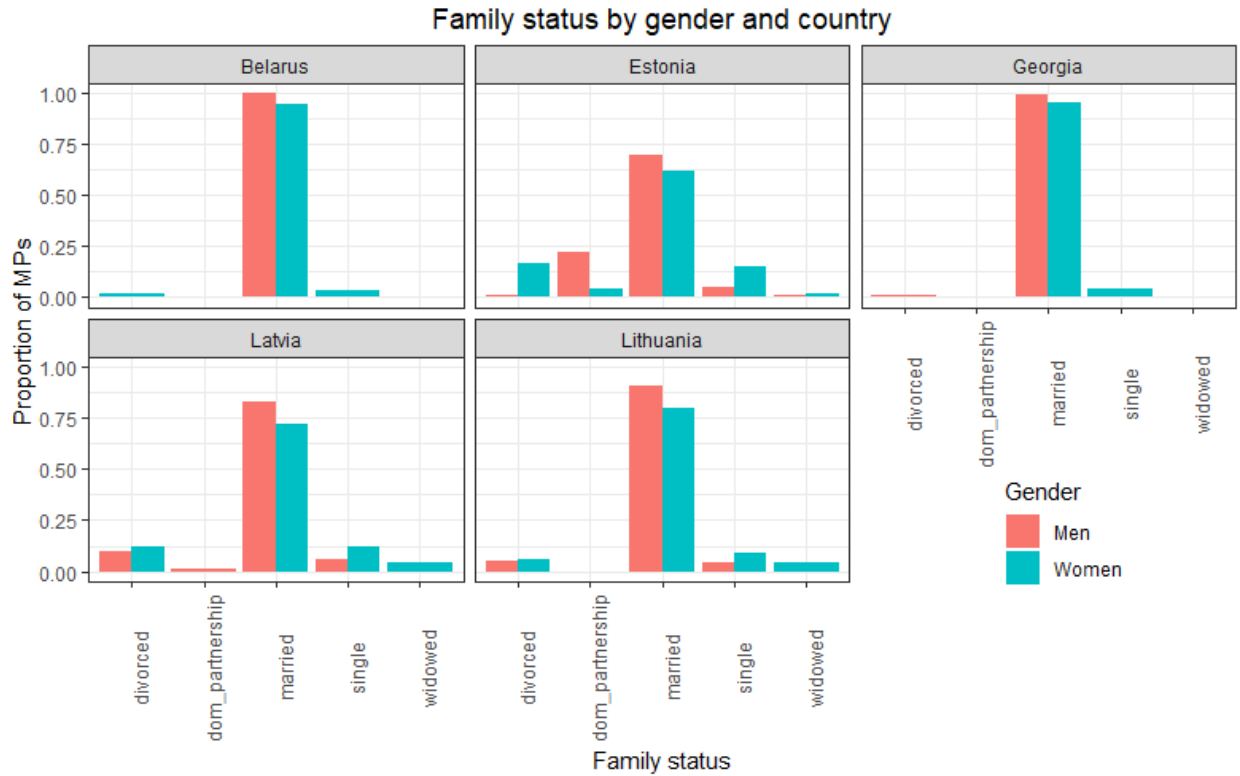
Georgia and Latvia have the highest numbers of MPs who did not specify their family status. Therefore, we should cautiously interpret their non-significant results. The other three countries show statistically significant results. In Belarus, almost each MPs is married which corresponds to a more traditional lifestyle there than in the other countries. There is more variation between the categories in Estonia and Lithuania. The results of two-sample tests for equality of proportions by category and by country are presented in Tables SM3.2.4 – SM3.2.8 in the Appendix.

In Belarus (Table SM3.2.4), we see that almost all MPs are married, but the proportion of married men is still higher than the proportion of married women and the difference is statistically significant. Slightly higher proportions of women are single or divorced, but the differences are not statistically significant. In Estonia (Table SM3.2.5), higher proportions of men than women are married as well, but the difference is not statistically significant. Much higher proportion of men than women is in a domestic partnership and the difference is statistically significant. As expected, higher proportions of women than men are single or divorced. Both differences are also statistically significant. In Lithuania (Table SM3.2.8), a high proportion of male than female MPs is married, as in Belarus, and the difference is statistically significant. Although the proportions of women who are single, divorced, or widowed are higher than the proportions of men, as in the other countries, only the latter difference reaches statistical significance.

Unfortunately, in Georgia (Table SM3.2.6) and Latvia (Table SM3.2.7), there are too many missing values to get any representative results. From the data available, we can see that the proportion of men who are married is higher than the proportion of women in both countries. But the results are not statistically significant. In Lithuania, the proportions of women who are single or widowed are higher than the proportion of men, while the proportions of divorced men and women are the same. However, all of these results are not statistically significant.

d)   Occupational background

I check whether there are differences between the proportions of men and women in traditionally "male" professions – law, business and economics – and in traditionally "female" professions – health care and medicine, education, and social work. It should be noted that it is not clear from the literature whether medicine is considered as a "female" or "male" profession. There is a slight distinction between nurses and doctors. The former is believed to be a more "female", while the latter – a more "male" profession (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). Unfortunately, I am unable to make such a precise differentiation due to the lack of data. Therefore, I analyze occupational background in all spheres of medicine and heath care together.

First profession to be analyzed is law. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Occupational background in law (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.21	0.25	0.62
Men (n=958)	0.19		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

As we can see, there is no statistically significant difference between the proportions of female and male MPs with a degree in law. What is interesting, the proportion of women who studied law is higher than the proportion of men. This is a positive finding indicating that the lack of women with a degree in law cannot be considered as a factor contributing to women's under-representation in post-communist countries. Minimization of the gender gap in this profession supports an earlier finding by Carroll and Sanbonmatsu (2010) showing that there is a convergence of the numbers of men and women with a degree in law in the US. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.4 and Table SM3.2.9 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.4. Occupational background in law by gender and country
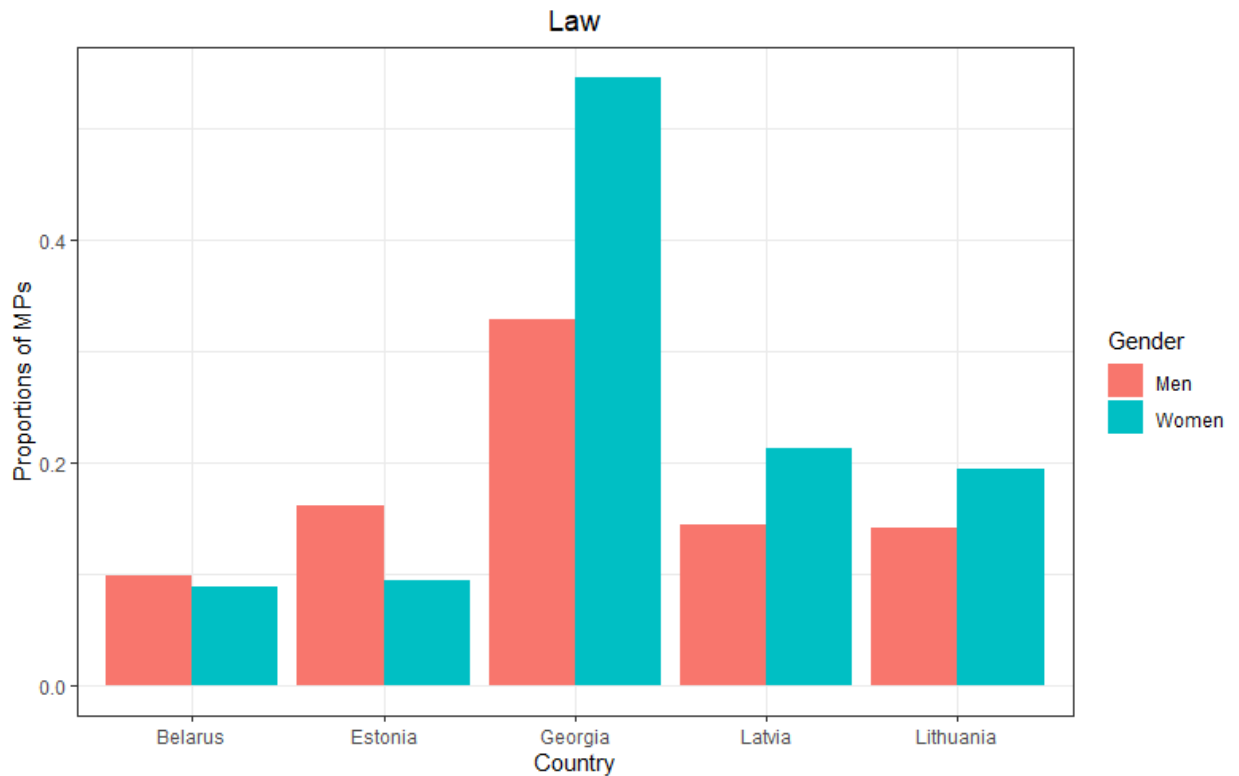
In Belarus and Estonia, proportions of women with a background in law is lower than the proportions of men, but the differences are not statistically significant. In the other three countries, in turn, the proportion of female MPs with a degree in law is higher than the proportion of male MPs. The difference reaches statistical significance in Georgia. The results by country raise several questions. Is it more difficult for women in Georgia, Latvia, and Lithuania to get elected if they do not have a more "male" degree in law? Or, on the contrary, is law not a "male" profession anymore in these countries? Are job markets in Belarus and Estonia still more traditional and gendered?

Second occupation under consideration is business and economics. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Occupational background in business and economics (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.15	2.91	0.09
Men (n=958)	0.19		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

There is a slight statistically significant, albeit at the lower level, difference between the proportions of female and male MPs with a background in business and economics. As predicted, more men than women received their education in this sphere. Thus, business and economics

remains a primarily "male" domain in post-communist countries. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.5 and Table SM3.2.10 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.5. Occupational background in business and economics by gender and country

Business and economics
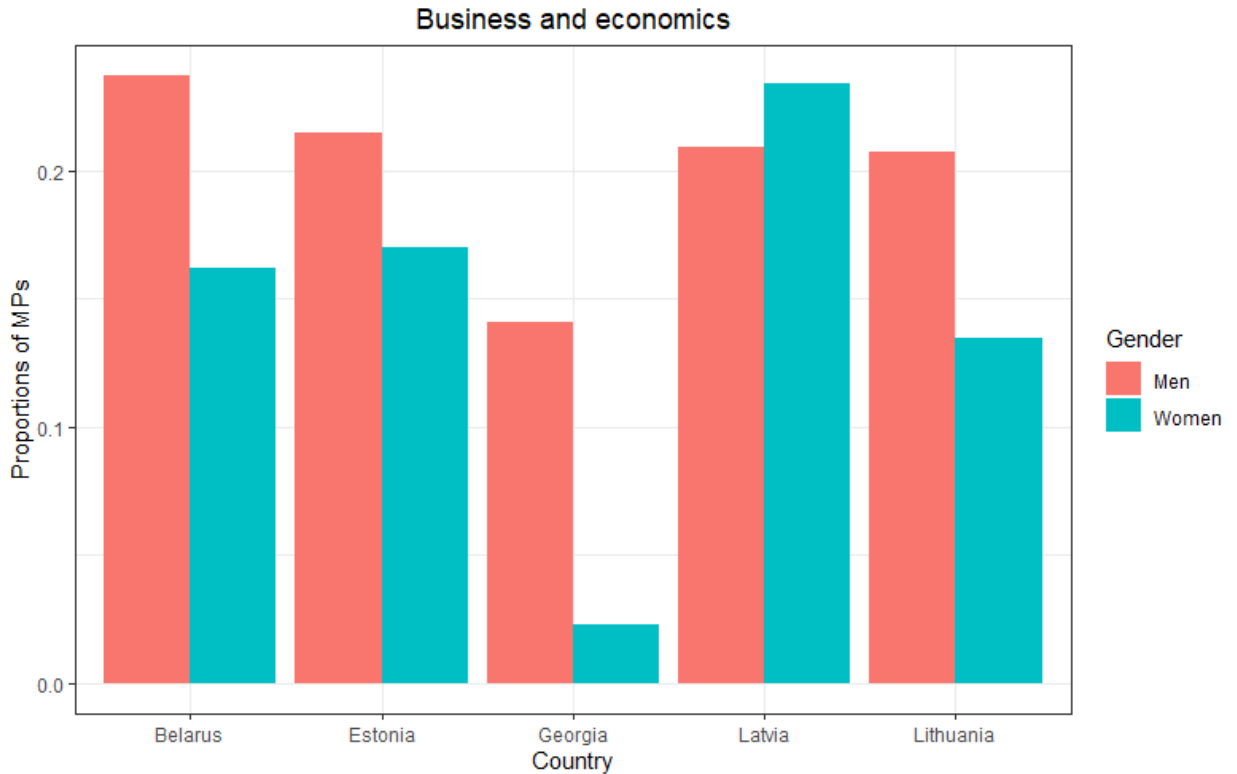
In all countries, except Latvia, the proportion of men with an occupational background in business and economics is higher than the proportion of women. However, only the difference in Georgia reaches statistical significance. There, only one female MP has a background in business and economics, however we should remember that there are many missing values for this country. Contrary to the results in other countries, a slightly higher proportion of women than men studied business and economics in Latvia. But the difference is not statistically significant. Therefore, gender distribution remains more traditional in business and economics than in law.

Now I proceed to the analysis of traditionally "female" professions and start with education. The results of the test for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Occupational background in education (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.18	21.63	0.00
Men (n=958)	0.08		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

As hypothesized, there is a statistically significant difference between the proportions of female and male MPs with a background in education. The proportion of women is more than two

times higher than the proportion of men. Thus, gender gap in this profession remains intact in post-communist countries. The results of the analysis by country are presented in Figure 4.6 and Table SM3.2.11 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.6. Occupational background in education by gender and country
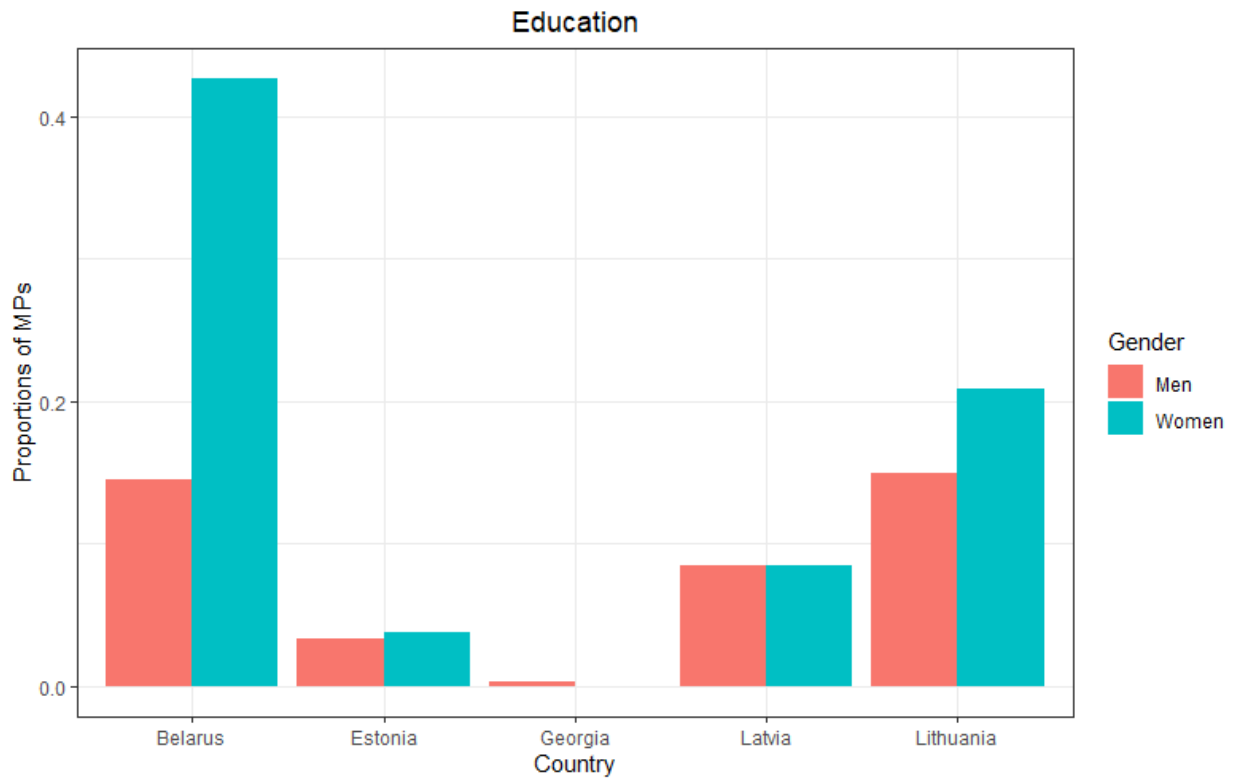
There is almost no difference in proportions of men and women with a background in education in Estonia and Latvia. In Belarus and Lithuania, in turn, higher proportions of female than of male MPs have a background in education. In Belarus, the difference is almost three times higher and is statistically significant. The results for Georgia are inconclusive because, due to the high number of missing values, there is only one male MP in the sample who has a background in education. Thus, between-country analysis reveals that only in the more traditional and less democratic country of the region, Belarus, education remains a primarily "female" domain. Other countries, in turn, slowly change the gendered nature of this profession.

Social work is another profession which is mostly associated with women. It should be noted that there are only a few such cases in the sample, so the results might not be representative. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Occupational background in social work (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.03	5.67	0.02
Men (n=958)	0.01		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

As predicted, higher proportion of women than men have a background in social work and the difference is statistically significant. Therefore, this field remains a primarily "female" domain in post-communist countries. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.7 and Table SM3.2.12 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.7. Occupational background in social work by gender and country
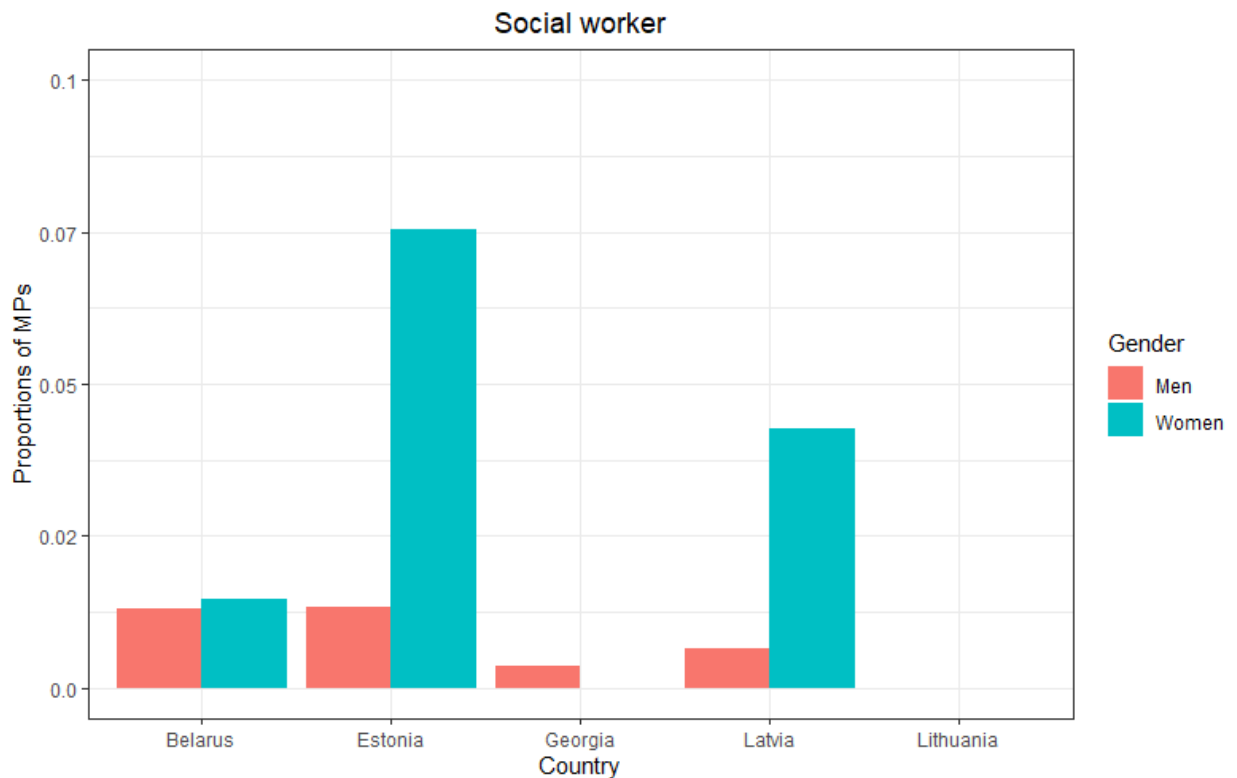
The results by country show different patterns. There are no MPs with a background in social work in Lithuania. Although there are only a few observations in the sample, for example there is only one male MP who studied social work in Georgia, the results show that the proportion of women who are social workers is slightly higher than the proportion of men in all countries. In Estonia, this difference is statistically significant, albeit at the lower level.

Finally, I analyze whether there is a significant difference between female and male MPs with a background in health care and medicine. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Occupational background in health care and medicine (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.10	0.85	0.36
Men (n=958)	0.08		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

We can see, that the proportion of women with a background in health care and medicine is slightly higher than the proportion of men. However, the difference is not statistically significant. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.8 and Table SM3.2.13 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.8. Occupational background in health care and medicine by gender and country
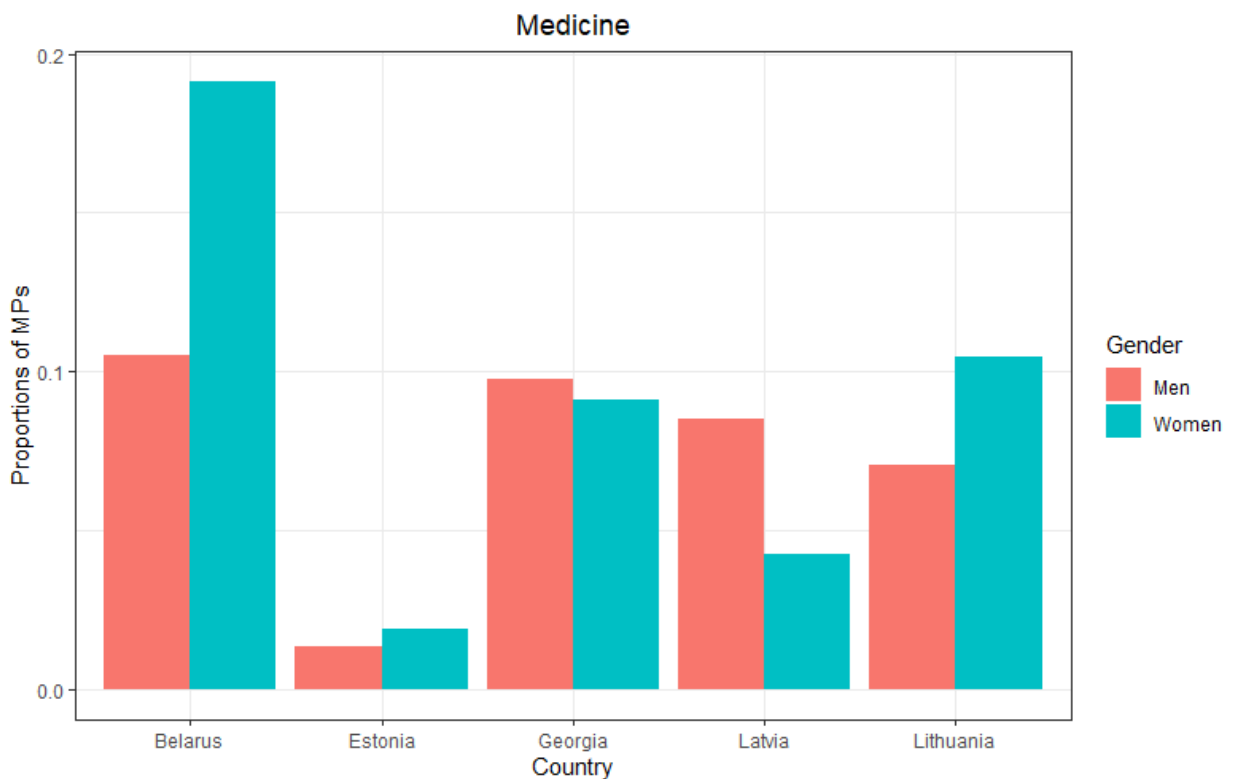
The results by country are mixed. In Estonia and Lithuania, the proportions of women with an education in health care is slightly higher than the proportions of men. In Belarus, Georgia, and Latvia, in turn, the pattern is the opposite. Only in Belarus the difference reaches statistical significance – the proportion of men with a background in health care is three times higher than the proportion of women. Due to the between-country variation, it would be interesting to differentiate between different types of medical professions in the future research. So far, we cannot unambiguously conclude whether health care and medicine are predominantly "female" or "male" profession in post-communist countries.

Overall, Hypothesis 4 is partially confirmed. Law and health care can be considered as gender-neutral professions. In regard to the former, which is viewed as the main sphere from which

political parties recruit their candidates, it is a particularly positive finding showing that there is no major gender gap in this sphere of education. Thus, lack of women with a degree in law is not a reason for women's under-representation in post-communist countries. As in the US, education and social work remain one of the most "female" professions in the post-communist region. Business and economics, in turn, stay a primarily "male" domain. Thus, besides a convergence of women and men in law, other professions remain gendered, despite the heritage of Communism, under which women and men were provided with equal opportunities for education.

At the same time, between-country analysis provides either mixed findings or unanimous results that are the same as for the whole sample. Countries show similar patterns in regard to business and economics and social work. For education, law, and medicine, in turn, the results differ between countries, although not all of them are statistically significant. In general, fewer women still obtain a law degree in Belarus and Estonia, while fewer men – in Georgia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Approximately the same proportions of female and male MPs get degrees in education in Estonia, Georgia, and Latvia. Belarus and Lithuania, in turn, remain more traditional and have more women with this occupational background. Finally, fewer women studied medicine in Estonia and Lithuania, while fewer men received a medical education in Belarus, Georgia, and Latvia.

e) Academic degree

The last personal characteristic analyzed is academic degree. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.10. Eight MPs for whom the information on academic degrees is not available are excluded.

Table 4.10. Academic degree of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	19	3	1.26 p = 0.51
Higher (BA or MA)	754	226	
PhD	178	49	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

Hypothesis 5 about the relationship between the gender of MPs and their academic degree is rejected.[35] However, there might be some variation between countries. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.9 and Table SM3.2.14 in the Appendix.

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[35] 2-sample tests for equality of proportions for each academic degree category do not show statistically significant results for the whole sample. The results are available from the author upon request.

Figure 4.9. Academic degree of parliamentarians by gender and country
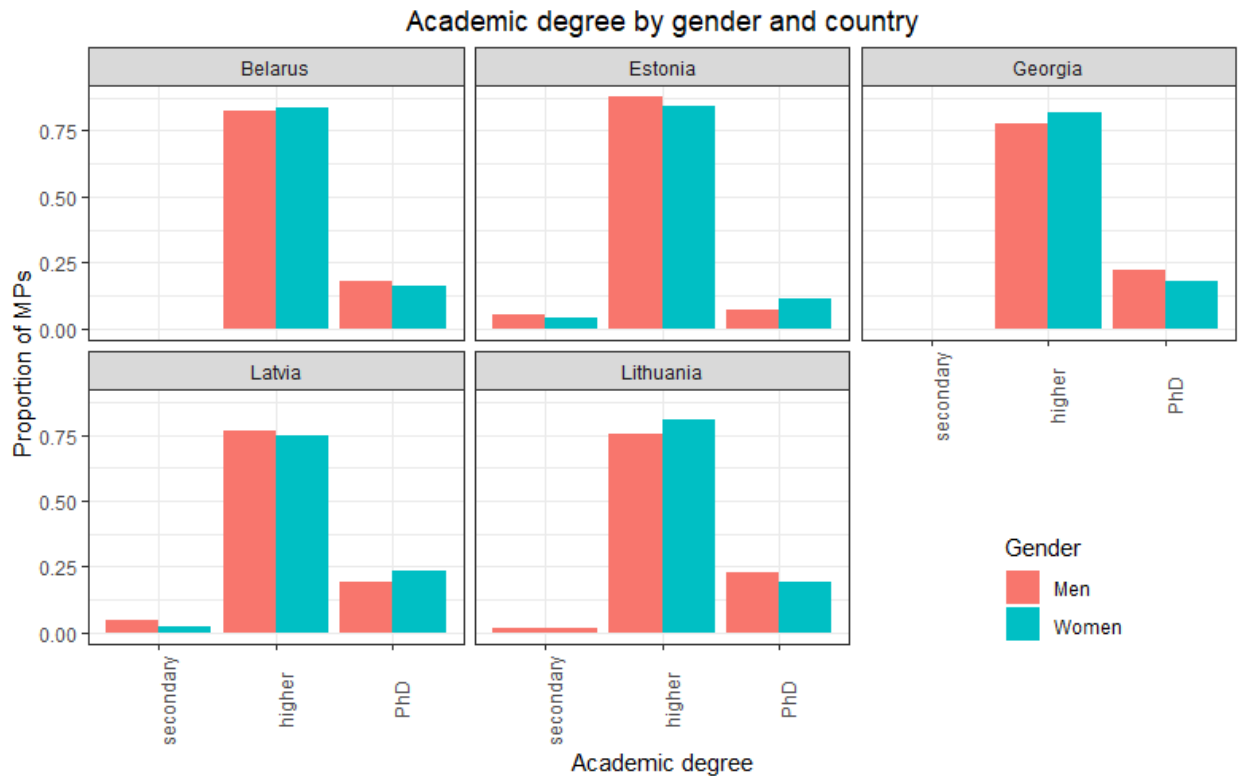
None of the countries has a statistically significant relationship between the gender of MPs and the level of their education.[36] This can be considered as a positive finding indicating that women do not have to be more educated than men to get elected in post-communist countries – pattern found in previous studies of other countries. It can be attributed either to the general promotion of gender equality in politics over time or to the heritage of the Communist rule where women and men got similar education. Thus, the results highlight that the previous findings based on the US and other developed countries cannot be generalized to the post-communist region.

It is also interesting to note that in less democratic countries of the region, Belarus and Georgia, there are no MPs with only a secondary education. Baltic countries, in turn, are more inclusive in this regard, although the number of women with secondary education is lower than the number of men. It can indicate than women are still not confident enough to run for office without some higher education. In Belarus, Georgia, and Lithuania, the proportions of women with higher education is slightly higher than the proportions of men. In Estonia and Latvia, higher proportions of female rather than male MPs have PhD degrees. Lithuania has the highest number of female MPs with PhD degrees, followed by Belarus and Latvia. Estonia has the lowest number of MPs with PhD degrees, both men and women.

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[36] 2-sample tests for equality of proportions for each academic degree category do not show statistically significant results in any of the countries. The results are available from the author upon request.

To summarize the section on personal characteristics of MPs, we can make several conclusions. In general, in comparison to male colleagues, female parliamentarians are younger, have fewer children, and are more often single, divorced, or widowed. At the same time, they do not have to be more educated than men to get elected. Finally, majority of women still have an occupational background in traditionally "female" professions – education or social work – while men prevail in business and economics. However, there is a positive finding that more women have started coming into more "male" professions, particularly law. Thus, this traditional gender gap slowly diminishes in the post-communist region.

4.4.2 Professional characteristics of parliamentarians

Now I proceed to testing of Hypotheses 6 – 10 on the differences and similarities between female and male parliamentarians in their professional characteristics.

f)   Party family and independent candidates

I start with the analysis on whether more women than men ran as party members or independent candidates. The results are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Independent parliamentarians by gender (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=276)	0.23	3.89	0.05
Men (n=956)	0.18		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Hypothesis 6 is rejected. There is a statistically significant difference between the proportions of men and women who ran as independent candidates. However, contrary to my assumption, the proportion of independent female MPs is higher than that of male MPs and the difference is statistically significant. Consequently, the proportion of male parliamentarians who are members of parties rather than independent candidates is higher than the proportion of their female colleagues. Therefore, we can assume that being self-starters in politics is not a problem for women in post-communist countries. They might be able to gain financial resources as likely as men, do not need encouragement from political parties, or women's organizations help them to run for office.

The results of the analysis by country are presented in Table SM3.2.15 in the Appendix. The results by country vary, but none of them is statistically significant. There are no independent candidates in Georgia, while in Estonia there is only one male MP who ran as independent candidate. In Belarus and Lithuania, the proportions of male parliamentarians who are independent

are higher than the proportions of their female colleagues. In Latvia, higher proportions of women than men are elected to the national parliament as independent candidates.

Now we can proceed to Hypothesis 7 and analyze whether female and male MPs are equally spread among left- and right-leaning political parties. First, I run Pearson's chi-squared test to see if there is a statistically significant relationship between parliamentarians' gender and party families. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. Party family of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Party family	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Agrarian	67	18	
Conservative	113	31	
Ethnic-regional	17	8	
Liberal	402	96	8.48
Nationalist	72	20	df = 8
Social democratic	81	27	p = 0.39
Socialist	28	10	
Special issue	7	2	
Independent	169	64	

Pearson's Chi-squared test

There is no statistically significant relationship between parliamentarians' gender and their party families. Thus, female and male MPs are quite equally spread among political parties. Is there a between-country variation? The results of the analysis by country are presented in Figure 4.10 and Table SM3.2.16 in the Appendix.[37]

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[37] The results for Belarus should be interpreted cautiously due to the lack of the current data on political parties in the Manifesto Project Database. Although majority of MPs in Belarus are independent, there are some parliamentarians who belong to political parties. However, the information on their party families is either missing or is based on 1995 data.

Figure 4.10. Party family of parliamentarians by country
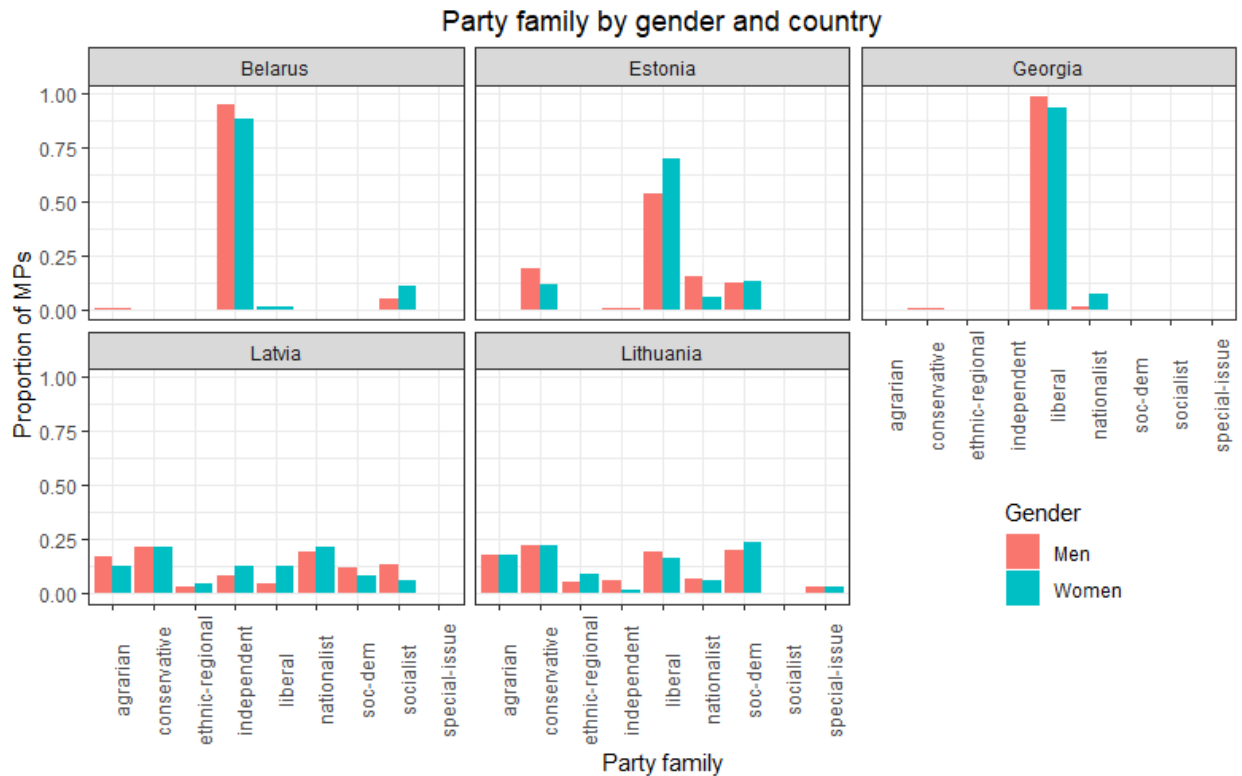
None of the countries has a statistically significant relationship between gender of MPs and their party family. However, there are some interesting observations. Belarussian MPs are almost all independent, which is not surprising considering its authoritarian political regime in which political parties are either banned or suppressed. It is hard to evaluate precisely what party family other parliamentarians belong to due to the lack of the current data in the Manifesto Project Dataset. In Georgia, political competition is also constrained and most of the MPs belong to two main liberal parties. In more democratic countries of the region, Baltic states, more parties participate in the elections. In Estonia, majority of female MPs belongs to the liberal parties, followed by social democratic and conservative parties. In Latvia, the situation is different from what we know from the literature. Most female MPs are members of conservative and nationalist parties. Only three and four women are elected as members of socialist and social democratic parties respectively. In Lithuania, the situation is mixed. Almost equal numbers of female MPs belong to social democratic and conservative parties, followed by agrarian and liberal parties. We can thus assume that approximately equal numbers of female MPs in different parties lead to a higher quality of women's substantive representation in Lithuania.

Second, to identify more precisely whether women are members of more left-leaning parties than men, as found in previous studies, Welch two-samples t-test is performed on the whole sample, excluding independent candidates. The results are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13. Ideology of parliamentarians' parties (whole sample)

Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=212)	-5.11	15.2	-0.97	325.72	0.33
Men (n=787)	-6.24	14.8			

Welch two-samples t-test

Overall, Hypothesis 7 is confirmed. There is no statistically significant difference between female and male MPs in terms of the ideology of the parties they belong to. It is interesting to note that, contrary to many previous studies, men tend to be members of more left-leaning parties than women. However, some studies show that a traditional left–right distinction is blurry in the context of post-communist countries (see e.g. Aspelund et al., 2013). For instance, left-leaning parties there tend to adopt more rightist economic and fiscal policies than right-leaning parties (Tavits and Letki, 2009). Therefore, left–right orientation explaining ideological differences in the "Western" countries might be not applicable to the post-communist region. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.11 and Table SM3.2.17 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.11. Ideology of parliamentarians' parties by country

Party left-right ideology by gender and country
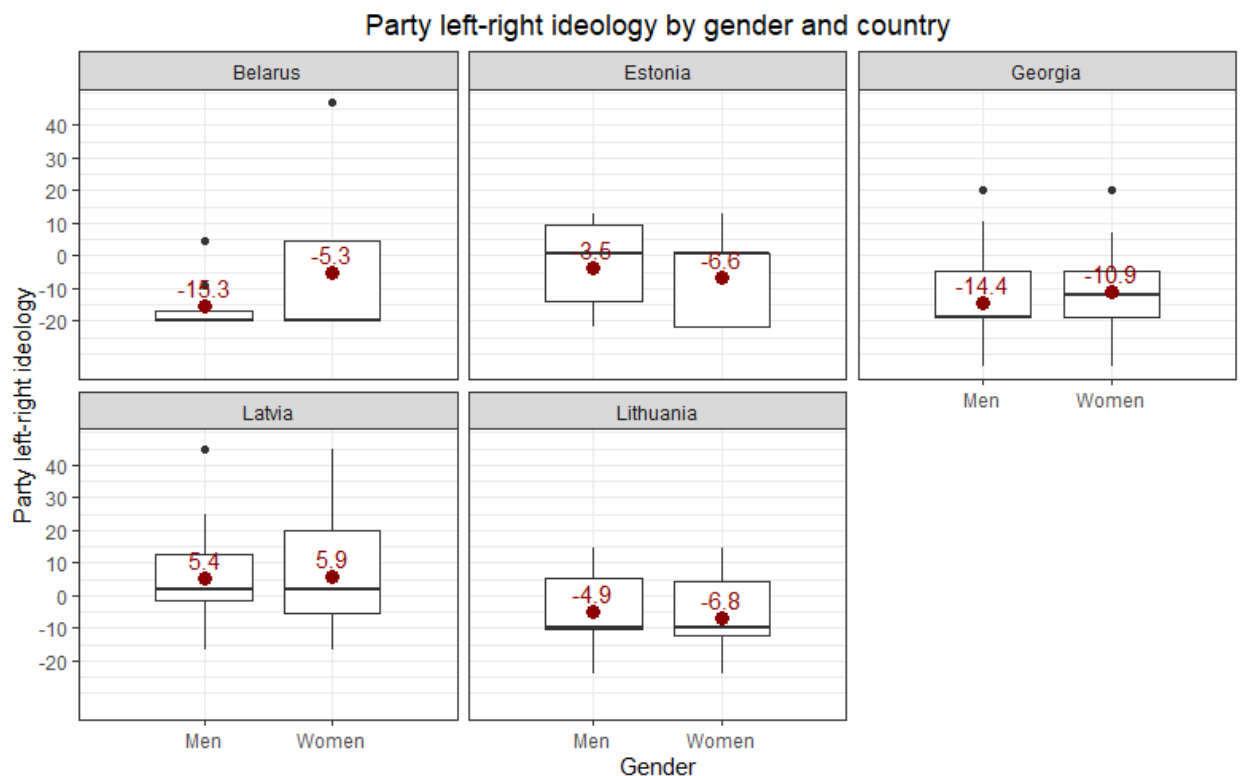
There are no statistically significant differences between the ideology of the parties that female and male MPs belong to in any country. One general observation is that majority of MPs are members of the left-leaning parties, with the prominent exception of Latvia, where parliamentarians are more right-leaning than in the other countries, with women being slightly

more to the right that their male colleagues. In accordance with the findings for the whole sample, men are members of more left-leaning parties in Belarus and in Georgia. In contrast, the results for Estonia and Lithuania indicate that female MPs belong to more left-leaning parties than male MPs. Thus, it shows that a well-known argument, which is based on the analyses of developed countries with consolidated democracies, that left parties recruit and nominate more women holds only in more democratic countries of the regions, but is not applicable to more authoritarian countries.

g)   Incumbency

Now I procced to testing one of the most popular assumptions in the literature that more men than women get elected as incumbents. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14. Incumbency of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.40	0.03	0.86
Men (n=958)	0.41		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Hypothesis 8 is rejected. The proportions of female and male MPs who are incumbents are almost equal and the difference between them is not statistically significant. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.12 and Table SM3.2.18 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.12. Incumbency of parliamentarians by country
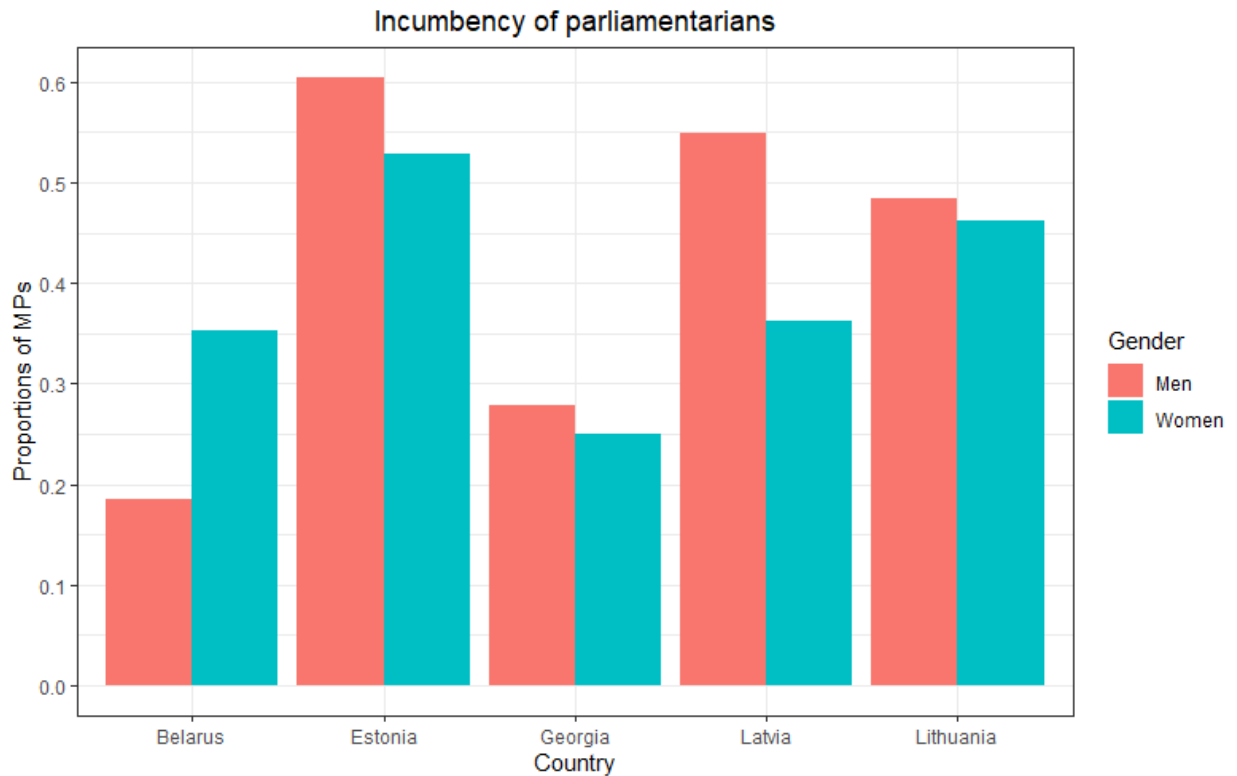
The analysis by country shows interesting results. In Estonia and Lithuania, the proportion of male incumbents is slightly higher than the proportion of female incumbents, but the differences are not statistically significant. However, it is interesting to note that the proportions of incumbents in these countries are quite high for both genders – approximately half of MPs in Lithuania and even more than a half in Estonia. In Georgia, the number of incumbents is the smallest in the sample and, although the proportion of male incumbents is also slightly higher than the proportion of female incumbents, the difference is not statistically significant. Latvia shows the same pattern, but the difference in proportions of male and female incumbents is statistically significant. More than a half of male MPs are incumbents which can explain, to a certain extent, why Latvia has the least number of female MPs among Baltic countries. Finally, Belarus turns out to be a distinct outlier. The proportion of female incumbents there is almost twice higher than the proportion of male incumbents and the difference is statistically significant. This finding raises a question whether elected women are just tokens in Belarus. In this case, loyal female parliamentarians are "kept" from one term of the national parliament to another because they do not pose a threat to the stability of political regime. Moreover, women can be under control of their older male colleagues, as found in the previous subsection.

h)   Prior political experience

Finally, I analyze whether female and male MPs differ from each other in their prior political experience. The results of the analysis testing Hypothesis 9 on the existence or lack of such experience, are presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15. Prior political experience of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.69	3.31	0.07
Men (n=958)	0.75		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Hypothesis 9 is rejected. There is a slight statistically significant, albeit at the lower level, difference between the proportions of female and male MPs with prior political experience. However, higher proportion of men rather than women had political experience before being elected to the national parliament. These results contradict not only my assumption, but also some previous findings indicating that women tend to be more qualified than men when entering political office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010). It is thus interesting to see whether there is a between-country variation. The results by country are presented in Figure 4.13 and Table SM3.2.19 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.13. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by country
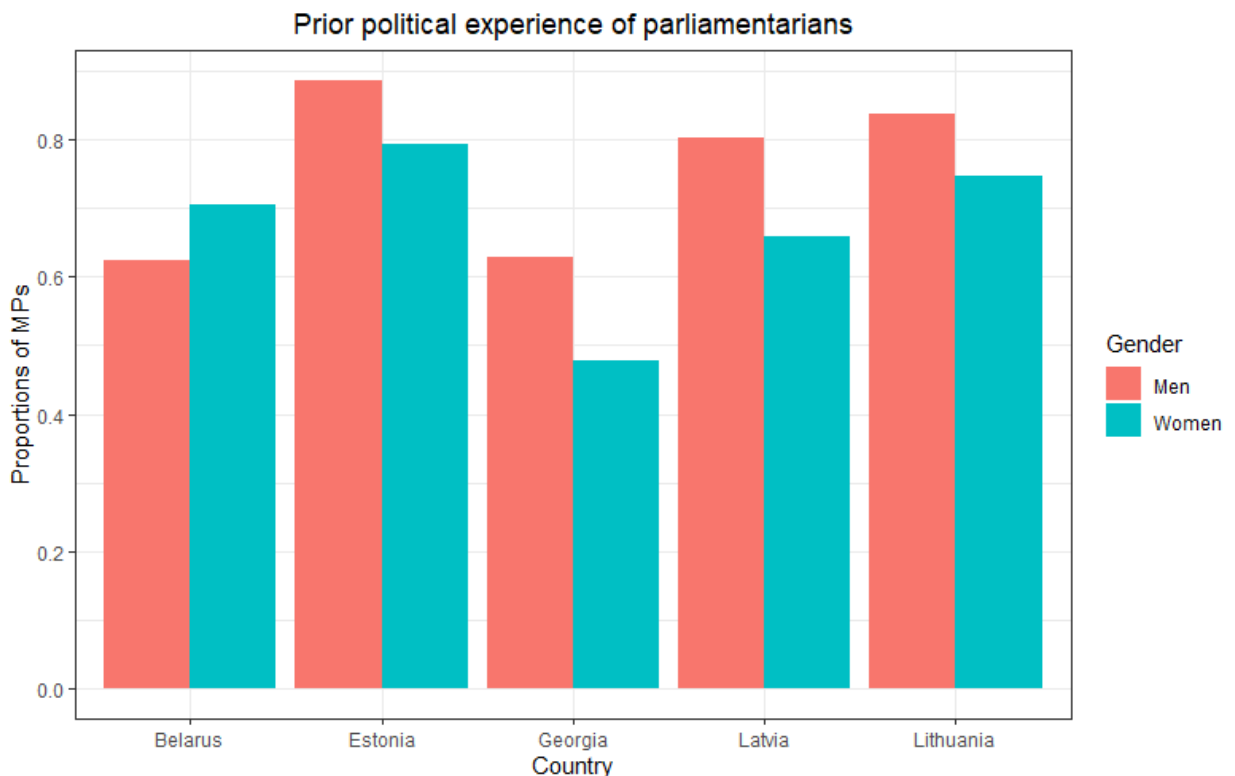
In all countries, except for Belarus, the proportion of men with prior political experience is higher than the proportion of women. In Baltic countries, patterns are similar: the proportion of

women with prior political experience is approximately 0.7, while the proportion of men is 0.8. The numbers are the highest in Estonia and are the lowest in Latvia, where the difference reaches statistical significance, albeit at the lower level. In Georgia, more men than women have prior political experience and the difference is statistically significant at the lower level. At the same time, the proportion of women with some prior political experience there is the lowest in the sample. This is a positive finding indicating that almost a half of female MPs in Georgia are newcomers and had a chance to get elected to the national parliament due to either support from political parties, which are not afraid to nominate unexperienced women and put them on the top positions on the party lists, or from women's organizations.

In contrast to the other countries, the proportion of politically experienced women is higher than the proportion of men in Belarus, but the difference is not statistically significant. The finding raises several questions. Do women have to prove their competence by having a prior political experience? Can the results for Belarus be explained by the fact that majority of MPs in Belarus run as independent candidates? It might be thus more important for women in Belarus than in the other countries to be experienced in running for political office. It can also be the case that recruiting more "new" male MPs without prior political experience is a way to ensure loyalty of parliamentarians, control over the parliament, and stability of political regime in Belarus. To further support an argument about loyalty, it is interesting to note that majority of MPs in Belarus receive an additional education, mostly in public administration, in the Academy of Public Administration under the aegis of the President of the Republic of Belarus. We can thus assume that it is a mandatory step for politicians before being allowed to get elected to the national parliament that helps to control them and can be viewed as a certain type of "kinship".

The last characteristic to be analyzed is where MPs gained their political experience before being elected to the national parliaments: at the local, regional, national levels, or at the several of them. The results of the analysis for the whole sample are presented in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16. Levels of prior political experience of parliamentarians (whole sample)

Political experience	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
None	244	87	
Municipal	164	47	
Regional	38	6	
National	239	81	13.24
Mun. + Reg.	23	5	p = 0.07
Mun. + Nat.	204	48	
Reg. + Nat.	27	2	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	19	3	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

There is a statistically significant, albeit at the lower level, relationship between the gender of MPs and the "levels" of their political experience. However, we do not know yet for which levels of government the differences in proportions of men and women are statistically significant. To check this, I run two-sample test for equality of proportions for the whole sample. The results are presented in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender (whole sample)

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.31	3.31	0.07
Men (n=958)	0.26		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.17	0.00	0.99
Men (n=958)	0.17		
Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.02	1.58	0.21
Men (n=958)	0.04		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.29	1.67	0.20
Men (n=958)	0.25		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.02	0.14	0.71
Men (n=958)	0.02		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.17	1.98	0.16
Men (n=958)	0.21		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.01	3.30	0.07
Men (n=958)	0.03		
Municipal + Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=279)	0.01	0.57	0.45
Men (n=958)	0.02		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Hypothesis 10 is rejected. First, there are categories where the proportions of men and women are the same. For instance, equal proportions of male and female MPs have experience at the municipal and at the municipal and regional levels. Second, higher proportions of women than men either have no experience at all, and this difference is statistically significant at the lower level, or have some experience at the national level. Third, higher proportions of men than women have experience at the regional level, at the municipal and national levels, at the regional and national levels, and at all three levels. The difference in the combined experience at the regional and national levels is statistically significant at the lower level. Thus, more men than women had experience at more than one level of government before being elected to the national parliament, which represents a more gradual career path. Female MPs, in turn, start their political career directly at the national level: either they are elected to the national parliament without any prior experience in the executive or legislative bodies or they worked at the national level before. The latter contradicts earlier findings by Sanbonmatsu and co-authors (2009) who claim that women tend to gain prior political experience at the local level.

However, the analysis by country can show variation. The results of the analysis by country are presented in Figure 4.14 and Table SM3.2.20 in the Appendix.

Figure 4.14. Levels of prior political experience of parliamentarians by country
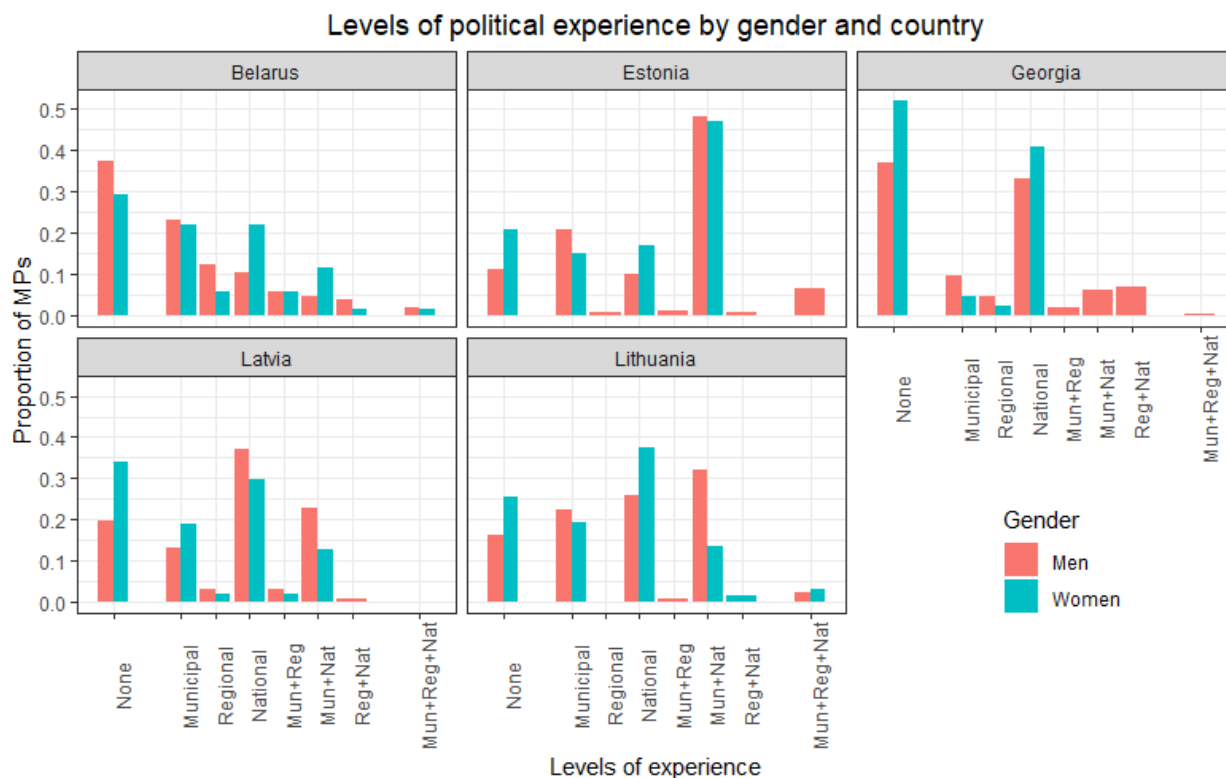
Only in Belarus and Lithuania, the relationship between the gender of MPs and their prior political experience is statistically significant, albeit at the lower level in the former. However, we should analyze whether there are statistically significant differences between the proportions of men and women in each of the categories. The results by country are presented in Tables SM3.2.21 – SM3.2.25 in the Appendix.

In Belarus (Table SM3.2.21), the proportions of women are lower than the proportions of men in all categories, except for having prior political experience at the national and at both municipal and national levels. There, the proportion of female MPs is higher than the proportion of their male colleagues and the differences are statistically significant. In Estonia (Table SM3.2.22), higher proportions of women than men do not have prior political experience at all or have some experience at the national level. In all other categories, the proportions of male parliamentarians are higher. However, none of the differences reaches statistical significance. In Georgia (Table SM3.2.23), the pattern is similar to Estonia. Higher proportions of women than men have no prior political experience or have experience at the national level, but only the former difference is statistically significant. It is interesting to note that there are no women there who would have prior political experience at more than one level of government.

In Latvia (Table SM3.2.24), there are no MPs of any gender who would have prior political experience at all three levels. More female than male MPs have no experience at all or some prior experience at the municipal level, but only the former difference reaches statistical significance.

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In all other categories, the proportions of men are higher than the proportions of women. Finally, in Lithuania (Table SM3.2.25), higher proportions of men than women have experience at the municipal, both municipal and regional, and both municipal and national levels. The latter difference is statistically significant. Higher proportions of female parliamentarians have no prior political experience at all, some experience at the national, both regional and national, and at all three levels. However, only the difference at the national level is statistically significant.

Summing up the analysis of prior political experience, we can differentiate patterns of career paths between men and women. In all countries of the sample, men either tend to have some prior political experience at least at one level of government before running for the national parliament or they follow a more gradual, step-by-step political career when they start at the lower level of government and "climb" to the top. The general pattern for women is different. They either do not have any prior political experience at all and "jump" directly to the national parliament or they first work at different positions at the national level. Thus, the results for post-communist countries resemble the ones by Sanbonmatsu and co-authors on the US (2009) that many female and male MPs start their political career directly in the national parliament. However, contrary to their findings, when women have some prior political experience, they tend to gain it at the national, rather than local, level.

Summarizing the subsection on professional characteristics of women and men in post-communist countries, we can make several conclusions. First, challenging previous findings that women tend to be members of left-leaning parties (Morgan and Hinojosa, 2018), I find that female and male candidates are spread quite equally among different party families. One notable exception is Latvia, where parliamentarians of both genders are mostly elected as members of conservative and nationalist parties. At the same time, analysis shows that men are located even more to the left than women. Therefore, we cannot generalize previous findings based mostly on the developed countries with consolidated democracies on other world regions with less democratic and less developing countries.

Contrary to previous findings (Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009), higher proportions of female rather than male parliamentarians run for the national parliaments as independent candidates. The exceptions are Belarus, where almost all MPs are "independent", and Lithuania. Does this finding imply that women are confident enough to run for office without parties' support and are able to gain necessary financial and political resources? Or, does it indicate that women do not feel represented by any party? In any case, this is a positive finding showing that female candidates have the chance to get elected in post-communist countries even when being self-starters.

Another finding that contradicts previous studies (Schwindt-Bayer, 2005) shows that almost equal proportions of women and men, a bit less than a half of the total numbers of MPs, are incumbents. Especially high numbers of incumbents run for the national parliaments in Estonia and Lithuania. Georgia, in turn, is characterized by a higher rotation of its political elites. The exception is Latvia, where higher proportion of male than female parliamentarians are incumbents. This can partially explain why the number of female MPs there is the lowest in the sample. One obvious outlier on the opposite side is Belarus – a higher proportion of women than men are incumbents. This finding raises a question whether it can be explained by the necessity to keep loyal, easy-to-control parliamentarians in the office and whether elected women in Belarus are just tokens, as it was during the Soviet rule.

Finally, contradicting previous studies of the US (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2009), higher proportions of men rather than women tend to have some prior political experience before being elected to the national parliament. This is true for all countries in the sample, except Belarus. For the latter, the question of loyalty raises again. Male parliamentarians can be viewed as a bigger threat to the stability of its authoritarian regime, therefore there can be a higher necessity to rotate them and recruit "newcomers" without established political connections. Within the group of parliamentarians with the prior political experience, career paths for men and women differ. Men, more often than women, tend to gradually "climb" up the career ladder from the lower levels of government to the higher ones. Women, in turn, quite often start directly at the national level by e.g. being appointed to a ministerial position before running for the national parliament.

4.5 Discussion

Literature on micro-level factors of women's legislative representation is scarce. Studies analyzing how female and male parliamentarians differ or resemble each other in terms of their personal and professional characteristics are mostly based on the surveys of US politicians (see e.g. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, 2009). However, we do not know whether their results can be generalized to other countries and world regions. Particularly, does the heritage of "state feminism" under Communism, that is de jure gender parity in education, employment, and politics, contribute to the alignment of post-communist female and male parliamentarians in terms of their personal features? Does EU membership of some of post-communist countries contribute to the minimization of gender gaps?

To start answering these and other related questions, I collected an original database on personal and professional characteristics of female and male MPs elected to the last two terms of the national parliaments in five post-communist countries: Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, and

Lithuania. I analyzed the data using descriptive statistics. Although these methods do not provide a casual explanation, they allow to give a first extensive overview of parliamentarians in post-communist countries from a gender perspective. Furthermore, countries in the sample vary in their political regimes and some other essential for women's legislative representation electoral characteristics. Therefore, it is of particular importance to analyze not only the overall patterns via pooled analysis of the whole sample, but also differences between countries.

The analysis of the personal and professional characteristics of parliamentarians in post-communist countries reveals two general patterns. In regard to the personal features, obtained results mostly support earlier findings. Female MPs tend to have fewer children than their male colleagues and are more often single, divorced, or widowed rather than married. Majority of women still receive education in the spheres that are considered to be traditionally "female" – education and social work. Men, in turn, predominate in business and economics. At the same time, there are some differences between post-communist female parliamentarians and their colleagues in developed countries, e.g. in the US. In the former, women tend to be younger than their male counterparts and do not have to be more educated to men to get elected to the national parliament. Moreover, there is a positive finding that the gender gap in such a traditionally "male" profession as law diminishes in post-communist countries.

The results of the analysis of parliamentarians' professional characteristics mostly contradict previous studies. Female and male MPs are quite equally dispersed between different party families, and men tend to be members of more left-leaning parties than women. One notable exception here is Latvia where majority of women get elected as members of conservative and nationalist parties. At the same time, higher proportions of female rather than male parliamentarians run for office as independent candidates. This is a positive finding indicating that nowadays women are able to become members of the national parliament as self-starters who do not need financial support and encouragement from political parties. Furthermore, incumbency does not seem to be a great obstacle for female candidates as well. Finally, more men than women tend to have some prior political experience before being elected to the national parliaments. And, career paths for female and male parliamentarians vary. Men usually follow a more gradual political career when they start at either elective or appointive office at the lower level of government and then "climb" up. Women, in turn, often start directly at the national level.

Obtained results do not only give us a general overview of the personal and professional characteristics of parliamentarians in post-communist countries. They also allow us to see that many of the previous findings based on the US and other developed countries with consolidated democracies cannot be generalized to other world regions with less developed and / or less democratic countries. Factors found to inhibit women's legislative representation in developed

countries, e.g. incumbency or lack of parties' encouragement, do not act as significant barriers for women's electoral success in the post-communist region. Thus, this study raises important research questions for future consideration: from the general questions on the development and operation of political regimes to more precise ones on the factors of women's under-representation. To answer some questions, for example on the age of parliamentarians' children, ideology of independent candidates, or the role of women's organizations, more detailed data is required. This article takes a first step in closing the literature gap and provides a foundation for a further and deeper analysis of political elites in post-communist countries. Moreover, there is a necessity to further explore less democratic countries of the region. For instance, Belarus has a more traditional and gendered labor market than other analyzed countries. At the same time, nowadays it is a regional leader in women's legislative representation. How do these patterns fit together? Does this high descriptive representation of women play only a symbolic role for international community and, if not, to what extent does it improve substantive representation of women? Deeper statistical analyses and case studies are necessary to address these questions in more details.

CHAPTER

FIVE

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

SM1 Democracy, Regime Corruption, and Women's Legislative Representation in Post-Communist Europe

SM1.1 Summary statistics

Table SM1.1.1. National legislative elections in post-communist countries, 1990-2018

States	Name of the lower / single house of parliament	Years of elections
Albania	Kuvendi / Parliament	1991
		1992
		1996
		1997
		2001
		2005
		2009
		2013
		2017
Armenia	Azgayin Zhoghov / National Assembly	1995
		1999
		2003
		2007
		2012
		2017
Azerbaijan	Milli Mejlis / National Assembly	1995
		2000
		2005
		2010
		2015
Belarus	Palata Predstaviteley / House of Representatives	1995 (May)
		2000
		2004
		2008
		2012
		2016
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Predstavnicki dom / House of Representatives	1996
		1998
		2000
		2002
		2006
		2010
		2014
Bulgaria	Narodno sabranie / National Assembly	1991
		1994
		1997
		2001
		2005
		2009
		2013

		2014
		2017
Croatia	Hrvatski Sabor / Parliament	1992
		1995
		2000
		2003
		2007
		2011
		2015
		2016
Czech Republic	Poslanecka Snemovna / Chamber of Deputies	1996
		1998
		2002
		2006
		2010
		2013
		2017
Estonia	Riigikogu / Parliament	1992
		1995
		1999
		2003
		2007
		2011
		2015
Georgia	Sakartvelos Parlamenti / Parliament	1992
		1995
		1999
		2004
		2008
		2012
		2016
Hungary	Országgyülés / National Assembly	1990
		1994
		1998
		2002
		2006
		2010
		2014
		2018
Kazakhstan	Mazhilis / House of Representatives	1994
		1995
		1999
		2004
		2007
		2012
		2016
Kyrgyzstan	Jogorku Kenesh / Supreme Council	1995
		2000
		2005

		2007
		2010
		2015
Latvia	Saeima / Parliament	1993
		1995
		1998
		2002
		2006
		2010
		2011
		2014
		2018
Lithuania	Seimas / Parliament	1992
		1996
		2000
		2004
		2008
		2012
		2016
Mongolia	Ulsiin Ih Hural / State Great Hural	1992
		1996
		2000
		2004
		2008
		2012
		2016
Montenegro	Skupstina / Parliament	2006
		2009
		2012
		2016
Poland	Sejm / Sejm	1991
		1993
		1997
		2001
		2005
		2007
		2011
		2015
Republic of Moldova	Parlament / Parliament	1994
		1998
		2001
		2005
		2009 (Percentage of female MPs is taken as an average from elections in April and July)
		2010
		2014
Republic of North Macedonia	Sobranie / Assembly	1991
		1994

		1998
		2002
		2006
		2008
		2011
		2014
		2016
Romania	Camera Deputatilor / Chamber of Deputies	1990
		1992
		1996
		2000
		2004
		2008
		2012
		2016
Russia	Gossoudarstvennaya Duma / State Duma	1993
		1995
		1999
		2003
		2007
		2011
		2016
Serbia	Narodna skupstina / National Assembly	2007
		2008
		2012
		2014
		2016
Slovak Republic	Narodna rada / National Council	1994
		1998
		2002
		2006
		2010
		2012
		2016
Slovenia	Drzavni Zbor / National Assembly	1992
		1996
		2000
		2004
		2008
		2011
		2014
		2018
Tajikistan	Majlisi namoyandogon / House of Representatives	1995
		2000
		2005
		2010
		2015
Turkmenistan	Mejlis / Assembly	1994
		1999

		2004
		2008
		2013
		2018
Ukraine	Verkhovna Rada / Parliament	1994
		1998
		2002
		2006
		2007
		2012
		2014
Uzbekistan	Qonunchilik palatasi / Legislative Chamber	1994 (2nd round in 1995)
		1999
		2004
		2009
		2014 (2nd round in 2015)

Table SM1.1.2. Descriptive statistics of the variables

	Mean	Median	Min	Max	St. deviation
% women's seats	15.35	14.29	0	35.56	7.88
% women's seats$_{(t-1)}$	14.29	13.33	0	35.56	7.62
% PR seats	66.28	92.72	0	100	39.65
Legislated gender quotas	0.22	0	0	1	0.41
GDP perc capita PPP (log)	2.31	2.43	0.17	3.49	0.75
Female labor force participation	50.2	51.29	28.29	65.66	6.77
% of Muslim population	21.35	2.42	0.01	96.76	31.88
% of Catholic population	20.78	4.76	0	91.01	31.19
% of Protestant population	2.9	0.55	0.02	29.72	5.62
% of Orthodox population	31.44	15.83	0.08	94.95	33.13
Regime corruption	54.51	60.7	2.6	96.7	28.78
Democracy	57.34	60.45	14.7	90.9	23.84
Elections free and fair	60.31	64.7	0	96.6	28.69
CSO women's participation	1.56	1.84	-0.71	2.43	0.7
Share of seats won by largest party	44.84	40.8	2.73	100	20.35
Party institutionalization	71.19	74.6	11.3	93.4	16.19
Centralization of candidate selection	-0.08	0.02	-2.3	1.71	0.83

SM2 Multilevel Governance and Women's Legislative Representation

SM2.1 Summary statistics

Table SM2.1.1. Time period of regional elections

Country	Regions	Time period
Austria	Burgenland, Carinthia, Lower Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Tyrol, Upper Austria, Vienna, Vorarlberg	1970–2018
Belgium	Brussels-Capital Region	1989–2018
	Walloon Region (Wallonia) Flemish Region (Flanders)	1995–2018
	German-speaking Community	1974–2018
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska, Una-Sana, Posavina, Tuzla, Zenica-Doboj, Bosnian Podrinje, Central Bosnia, Herzegovina-Neretva, West Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Canton 10	1996–2018
Croatia	Bjelovar-Bilogora, Brod-Posavin, Dubrovnik-Neretva, Istria, Karlovac, Koprivnica-Križevci, Krapina-Zagorje, Lika-Senj, Međimurje, Osijek-Baranja, Požega-Slavonia, Primorje-Gorski Kotar, Šibenik-Knin, Sisak-Moslavina, Split-Dalmatia, Varaždin, Virovitica-Podravina, Vukovar-Srijem, Zadar, Zagreb County, City of Zagreb	1993–2018
Czech Republic	Prague	1998–2018
	Central Bohemian, South Bohemian, Vysočina, Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, Ústí nad Labem, Liberec, Hradec Králové, Pardubice, Olomouc, Moravian-Silesian, South Moravian, Zlín	2000–2018
Denmark	Aarhus, Bornholm, Frederiksborg, Funen, Copenhagen County, Copenhagen city, North Jutland, Ribe, Ringkjøbing, Roskilde, South Jutland, Storstrøms, Vejle, West Zealand, Viborg	1981–2005
	Hovedstaden, Midtjylland, Nordjylland, Sjælland, Syddanmark	2005–2018
	Faroe Islands	1978–2018
	Greenland	1979–2018
France	Alsace, Aquitaine, Auvergne, Lower Normandy, Burgundy, Champagne-Ardenne, Franche-Comte, Upper Normandy, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Lorraine, Nord-pas-de-Calais, Picardy, Poitou-Charentes, Midi-Pyrénées, Rhône-Alpes	1986– 2014
	Brittany, Centre-Val de Loire, Corsica, Île-de-France, Pays de la Loire, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Réunion	1986 – 2018
Germany	Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin (West), Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein	1970 – 2018
	Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia	1990 – 2018

Hungary	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves, Nógrád, Hajdú-Bihar, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Bács-Kiskun, Békés, Csongrád, Pest, Budapest, Komárom-Esztergom, Fejér, Veszprém, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Vas, Zala, Baranya, Somogy, Tolna	1994 – 2018
Italy	Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Emilia Romagna, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardy, Marche, Molise, Piedmont, Apulia, Sardinia, Sicily, Tuscany, Trento (Trentino), Bolzano (South Tyrol), Umbria, Aosta Valley, Veneto	1970–2018
Netherlands	Friesland	2003–2018
	Drenthe, Flevoland, Gelderland, Groningen, Limburg, North Brabant, Overijssel, Utrecht, South Holland, Zeeland	2007–2018
Norway	Akershus, Aust-Agder, Buskerud, Finnmark, Hedmark, Hordaland, Møre og Romsdal, Nordland, Oppland, Østfold, Rogaland, Sogn og Fjordane, Telemark, Troms, Vest-Agder, Vestfold	1983–2018
	Nord-Trøndelag, Sør-Trøndelag	1983–2017
	Oslo	1979–2018
Poland	Lower Silesia, Kujawy-Pomerania, Łódź, Lubelskie, Lubusz, Lesser Poland, Masovia, Opole, Podkarpackie, Podlaskie, Pomerania, Silesia, Świętokrzyskie, Warmia-Masuria, Greater Poland, West Pomerania	1998–2018
Russia	Komi-Permyak Autonomous Region	1994–2005
	Evenk Autonomous Region	1994–2006
	Koryak Autonomous okrug, Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenetsk) Autonomous Region	1994–2007
	Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Region	1994–2008
	Aginsk-Buryat Autonomous Region	1996–2005
	Khakassia Republic	1992–2018
	Oblast: Arkhangelsk, Volgograd, Moscow, Tula; Moscow Federal City; *Republic*: Kabardino-Balkar, Adyge, Altai, Sakha (Yakutia), Tuva	1993–2018
	Oblast: Amur, Astrakhan, Belgorod, Bryansk, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Jewish Autonomous, Chita (from 2008 – Zabaykalsky Krai), Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Lipetsk, Magadan, Murmansk, Nizhny Novgorod, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orenbug, Orlov, Penza, Perm, Pskov, Rostov, Ryazan, Samara, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Tambov, Tver, Tomsk, Tyumen, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl; *Krai*: Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoyarsk, Primorsky, Stavropol, Khabarovski; *Republic*: Buratya, Ingushetia, Kalmykia, Karelia, Mari El, Mordovia, Chuvash; St Petersburg Federal City; *Autonomous Region*: Nenets, Khanty-Mansi, Chukotka, Yamalo-Nenets	1994–2018
	Oblast: Kamchatka, Ulyanovsk; *Republic*: Karachai-Cherkess, Bashkortostan, Dagestan, Komi, North Osetia (Alania), Tatarstan, Udmurt	1995–2018

	Chechen Republic	2005–2018
Slovakia	Banská Bystrica, Bratislava, Košice, Nitra, Prešov, Trenčín, Trnava, Žilina	2001–2018
Spain	Catalonia, Basque Autonomous Community	1980–2018
	Galicia	1981–2018
	Andalusia	1982–2018
	Aragon, Principality of Asturias, Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Cantabria, Castile and León, Castilla-La Mancha, Extremadura, La Rioja, Madrid, Region of Murcia, Chartered Community of Navarre, Valencian Community	1983–2018
	Ceuta, Melilla	1995–2018
Sweden	Älvsborg, Göteborg och Bohus, Kopparberg, Kristianstad, Malmöhus, Skaraborg	1970–1996
	Blekinge, Gävleborg, Gotland, Halland, Jämtland, Jönköping, Kalmar, Kronoberg, Norrbotten, Örebro, Östergötland, Södermanland, Stockholm, Uppsala, Värmland, Västerbotten, Västernorrland, Västmanland	1970–2018
	Dalarna, Skåne, Västra Götaland	1998–2018
Switzerland	Friburg	1971–2018
	Basle-City, Schaffhouse, Schwyz, St Gall, Thurgovia, Uri	1972–2018
	Argovia, Geneva, Grisons, Neuchâtel, Soleure, Wallis	1973–2018
	Berne, Glaris, Nidwald, Obwald, Vaud, Zoug	1974–2018
	Basle-Country, Lucerne, Tessin, Zürich	1975–2018
	Jura	1978–2018
	Appenzell Outer-Rhodes	1990–2018
	Appenzell Inner-Rhodes	1991–2018
UK	Northern Ireland	1998–2017
	Scotland, Wales	1999–2018
	London	2000–2018

Table SM2.1.2. Descriptive statistics of the variables

(regional legislatures level, excluding Russia)

	Mean	Median	Min	Max	St. deviation
% of women at the regional level (DV 1)	23.75	22.16	0	57.3	14.42
National–regional gap (DV 2)	-0.52	-0.12	-35.17	47.28	8.46
RAI	15.81	13	1	27	6.59
Time	29.02	30	1	49	13.01
PR	91.87	100	0	100	21.65
Gender quota	0.12	0	0	1	0.33
GDP per capita (log)	3.33	3.39	0.74	4.8	0.45
Female employment rate	53.78	55.19	15.45	86.53	15.15
Federation (dummy)	0.29	0	0	1	0.45

SM2.2 Effect of RAI on the dependent variables

Figure SM2.2.1. Predicted probabilities of the share of women elected to the regional legislatures and of the national-regional gap in the share of women elected
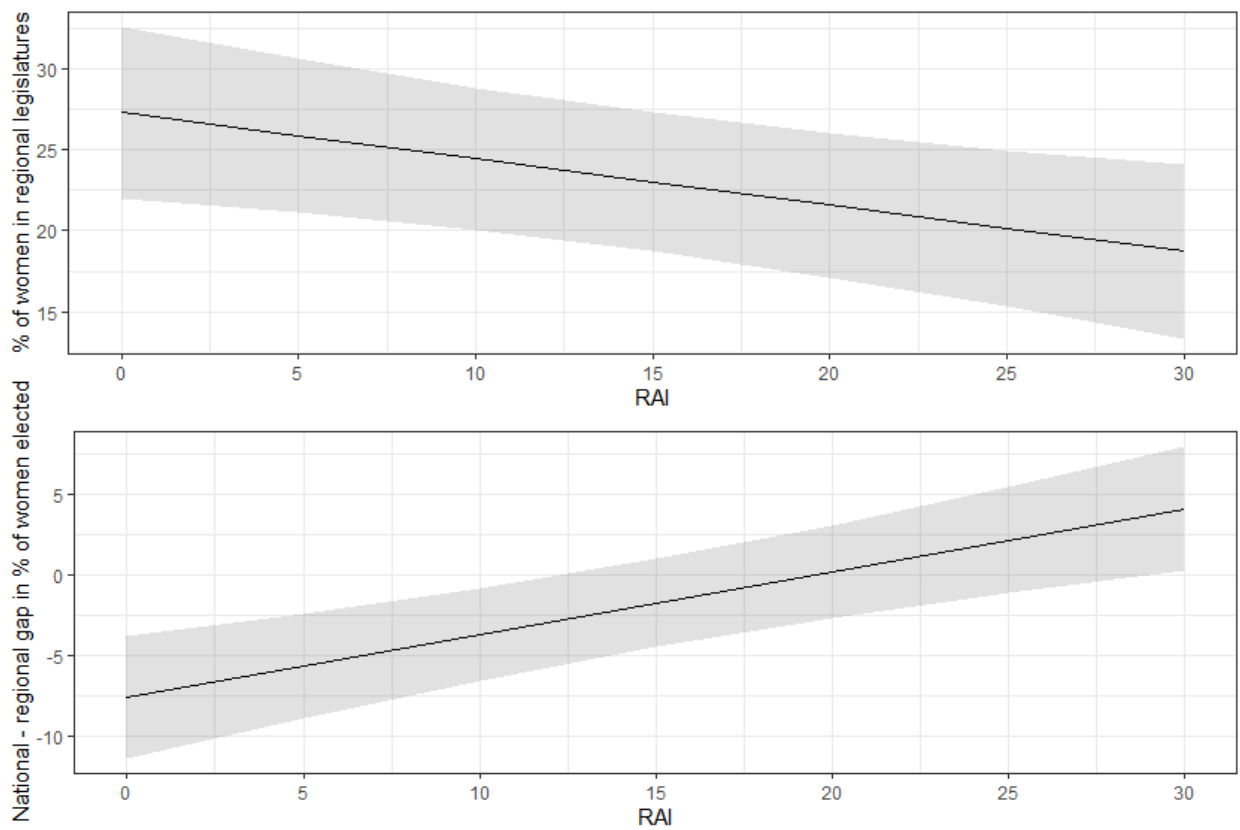
Shaded areas represent 95 percent confidence intervals

SM2.3 Empirical results – robustness checks

Table SM2.3.1. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation (with control for female labor force participation)

	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature	DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected
Intercept	-25.66*** (3.69)	11.41*** (3.34)
RAI	-0.39*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.10)
Time	0.28*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)
Regional electoral system (PR)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Gender quota	8.60*** (0.62)	-4.81*** (0.58)
GDP per capita (log)	6.24*** (0.97)	-6.52*** (0.91)
Female employment rate	0.33*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
N (regional legislatures)	1460	1460
N (regions)	273	273
N (countries)	18	18

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table SM2.3.2. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation (two-level model with country dummies; Austria as a baseline)

	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature	DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected
Intercept	-4.64	10.75**
	(5.45)	(3.87)
RAI	-0.42**	0.39***
	(0.15)	(0.10)
Time	0.43***	0.16***
	(0.04)	(0.02)
Regional electoral system (PR)	-0.03	0.05**
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Gender quota	5.22***	-5.48***
	(0.60)	(0.55)
GDP per capita (log)	7.60***	-7.36***
	(1.22)	(0.86)
Country dummies:		
Belgium	-2.38	3.37
	(3.83)	(2.61)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-2.22	-12.70***
	(5.97)	(3.73)
Croatia	-10.15**	-2.01
	(3.40)	(2.32)
Czech Republic	-12.01***	-0.66
	(3.50)	(2.32)
Denmark	2.62	5.39**
	(2.84)	(1.94)
France	2.05	-15.75***
	(3.08)	(2.16)
Germany	2.87	-2.97
	(2.59)	(1.82)
Hungary	-15.77***	-4.04
	(3.47)	(2.37)
Italy	-14.19***	5.98**
	(2.51)	(1.79)
Netherlands	2.56	2.71
	(3.18)	(2.01)
Norway	11.22***	-3.12
	(2.96)	(2.01)
Poland	-11.73**	0.77
	(3.57)	(2.40)
Slovakia	-16.69***	4.07

	(4.48)	(2.98)
Spain	4.22	-5.35**
	(2.36)	(1.67)
Sweden	17.60***	-3.73
	(2.71)	(1.90)
Switzerland	-3.07	0.06
	(2.26)	(1.63)
UK	4.34	-10.87***
	(4.25)	(2.76)
N (regional legislatures)	1807	1807
N (regions)	276	276

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table SM2.3.3. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation (with Russia)

	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature		DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	-3.73 (3.36)	-3.23 (3.17)	2.30 (2.57)	6.85** (2.22)
RAI	-0.07 (0.11)		0.25** (0.10)	
Time	0.45*** (0.02)	0.43*** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)
Regional electoral system (PR)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Gender quota	7.28*** (0.60)	10.22*** (0.61)	-4.55*** (0.61)	-5.35*** (0.56)
GDP per capita (log)	3.79*** (0.54)	4.49*** (0.54)	-2.56*** (0.52)	-3.39*** (0.52)
Federation		-4.51 (4.95)		2.39 (2.99)
N (regional legislatures)	2292	2307	2292	2307
N (regions)	362	362	362	362
N (countries)	19	19	19	19

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table SM2.3.4. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation under different specifications of variance-covariance matrix

	Compound symmetry error covariance matrix		Exponential error covariance matrix	
	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature	DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected	DV 1: % women elected to the regional legislature	DV 2: national–regional gap in % women elected
Intercept	-16.25***	8.19**	-14.24***	8.70**
	(3.70)	(3.08)	(3.90)	(3.24)
RAI	-0.26*	0.37***	-0.21	0.34***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Time	0.42***	0.16***	0.41***	0.15***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Regional electoral system (PR)	0.02	0.04**	-0.00	0.05**
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Gender quota	10.28***	-5.75***	7.14***	-4.37***
	(0.61)	(0.55)	(0.61)	(0.59)
GDP per capita (log)	8.36***	-7.01***	8.27***	-6.97***
	(0.87)	(0.82)	(0.95)	(0.86)
N (regional legislatures)	1807	1807	1807	1807
N (regions)	276	276	276	276
N (countries)	18	18	18	18

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table SM2.3.5. Multilevel governance and women's legislative representation (dummy variable as DV 2. Three-level mixed effects logistic regression)

	DV 2: 0 – national–regional gap in % women elected is negative; 1 - national–regional gap in % women elected is positive
Intercept	6.39*** (1.23)
RAI	0.07* (0.04)
Time	0.04*** (0.01)
Regional electoral system (PR)	-0.01 (0.01)
Gender quota	-1.34*** (0.28)
GDP per capita (log)	-2.39*** (0.35)
N (regional legislatures)	1807
N (regions)	276
N (countries)	18

Significance: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

SM3 Pathways to Power: Women and Men in Post-Communist Parliaments

SM3.1 Summary statistics

Table SM3.1.1. Number of parliamentarians by gender, term, and country

	Name of the lower / single house of parliament	Term	Number of MPs		
			Women	Men	Total
Belarus	Palata Predstaviteley / House of Representatives	2012 – 2016	30	80	110
		2016 - present	38	72	110
Estonia	Riigikogu / Parliament	2015 – 2019	24	77	101
		2019 – present	29	72	101
Georgia	Sakartvelos Parlamenti / Parliament	2012 – 2016	22	149	171
		2016 – present	22	128	150
Latvia	Saeima / Parliament	2014 – 2018	17	83	100
		2018 – present	30	70	100
Lithuania	Seimas / Parliament	2012 – 2016	35	121	156
		2016 – present	32	106	138

SM3.2 Additional results

Table SM3.2.1. Age of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	48.59	5.28	4.25	176.3	0.00
Men (n=152)	52.32	7.41			
Estonia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	48.53	11.3	0.92	96.44	0.36
Men (n=149)	50.22	11.9			
Georgia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	43.39	10.4	2.38	57.80	0.02
Men (n=277)	47.40	10.5			
Latvia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	48.60	9.53	0.02	95.08	0.99
Men (n=153)	48.63	12.0			
Lithuania					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	50.37	11.6	1.18	100.19	0.24
Men (n=227)	52.24	10.5			

Welch two-samples t-test

Table SM3.2.2. Number of parliamentarians' children (by country)

Belarus					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	1.51	0.66	3.25	117.57	0.00
Men (n=152)	1.82	0.64			
Estonia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	1.76	1.52	2.86	80.67	0.01
Men (n=149)	2.46	1.42			
Georgia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	1.5	0.53	2.57	27.21	0.02
Men (n=277)	2.08	1.22			
Latvia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	2.17	1.37	0.46	33.34	0.65
Men (n=153)	2.32	1.17			
Lithuania					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	1.65	0.98	3.20	111.87	0.00
Men (n=227)	2.11	1.14			

Welch two-samples t-test

Table SM3.2.3. Family status of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus			
	Gender		X^2
Family status	Men	Women	
Married	145	54	
Domestic partnership	0	0	7.75
Single	0	2	p = 0.02
Divorced	0	1	
Widowed	0	0	

Estonia			
	Gender		X^2
Family status	Men	Women	
Married	101	29	
Domestic partnership	32	2	28.32
Single	7	7	p = 0.00
Divorced	2	8	
Widowed	2	1	

Georgia			
	Gender		X^2
Family status	Men	Women	
Married	121	23	
Domestic partnership	0	0	5.30
Single	0	1	p = 0.30
Divorced	1	0	
Widowed	0	0	

Latvia			
	Gender		X^2
Family status	Men	Women	
Married	74	18	
Domestic partnership	1	0	5.34
Single	5	3	p = 0.24
Divorced	9	3	
Widowed	0	1	

Lithuania			
	Gender		X^2
Family status	Men	Women	
Married	204	53	
Domestic partnership	0	0	13.52
Single	9	6	p = 0.00
Divorced	11	4	
Widowed	0	3	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

Table SM3.2.4. Family status of parliamentarians by category in Belarus

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=57)	0.95	4.57	0.03
Men (n=145)	1.00		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=57)	0.04	2.18	0.14
Men (n=145)	0.00		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=57)	0.02	0.24	0.62
Men (n=145)	0.00		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.5. Family status of parliamentarians by category in Estonia

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.62	0.81	0.37
Men (n=144)	0.70		
Domestic partnership			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.04	6.64	0.01
Men (n=144)	0.22		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.15	3.88	0.05
Men (n=144)	0.05		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.17	14.44	0.00
Men (n=144)	0.01		
Widowed			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=144)	0.01		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.6. Family status of parliamentarians by category in Georgia

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=24)	0.96	0.11	0.74
Men (n=122)	0.99		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=24)	0.04	0.83	0.36
Men (n=122)	0.00		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=24)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=122)	0.01		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.7. Family status of parliamentarians by category in Latvia

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=25)	0.72	0.92	0.34
Men (n=89)	0.83		
Domestic partnership			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=25)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=89)	0.01		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=25)	0.12	0.44	0.51
Men (n=89)	0.06		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=25)	0.12	0.00	1
Men (n=89)	0.10		
Widowed			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=25)	0.04	0.46	0.50
Men (n=89)	0.00		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.8. Family status of parliamentarians by category in Lithuania

Married			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=66)	0.80	4.84	0.03
Men (n=224)	0.91		
Single			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=66)	0.09	1.74	0.19
Men (n=224)	0.04		
Divorced			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=66)	0.06	0.00	0.96
Men (n=224)	0.05		
Widowed			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=66)	0.05	6.33	0.01
Men (n=224)	0.00		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.9. Occupational background in law (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.09	0.00	1
Men (n=152)	0.10		

Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.09	0.93	0.34
Men (n=149)	0.16		

Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.55	6.86	0.01
Men (n=277)	0.33		

Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.21	0.81	0.37
Men (n=153)	0.14		

Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.19	0.75	0.39
Men (n=227)	0.14		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.10. Occupational background in business and economics (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.16	1.16	0.28
Men (n=152)	0.24		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.17	0.25	0.62
Men (n=149)	0.22		
Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.02	3.83	0.05
Men (n=277)	0.14		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.23	0.03	0.87
Men (n=153)	0.21		
Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.13	1.33	0.25
Men (n=227)	0.21		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.11. Occupational background in education (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.43	19.39	0.00
Men (n=152)	0.15		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.04	0.00	1
Men (n=149)	0.03		
Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=277)	0.00		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.09	0.00	1
Men (n=153)	0.09		
Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.21	0.93	0.34
Men (n=227)	0.15		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.12. Occupational background in social work (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X²	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=152)	0.01		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X²	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.08	3.29	0.07
Men (n=149)	0.01		
Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X²	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=277)	0.00		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X²	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.04	1.19	0.28
Men (n=153)	0.01		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.13. Occupational background in health care and medicine (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.06	4.54	0.03
Men (n=152)	0.18		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=149)	0.01		
Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.09	0.00	1
Men (n=277)	0.10		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.04	0.42	0.52
Men (n=153)	0.09		
Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.11	0.43	0.52
Men (n=227)	0.07		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.14. Academic degree of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus			
Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	0	0	0.08
Higher (BA or MA)	125	57	p = 0.86
PhD	27	11	
Estonia			
Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	8	2	1.36
Higher (BA or MA)	131	44	p = 0.62
PhD	10	6	
Georgia			
Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	0	0	0.35
Higher (BA or MA)	211	36	p = 0.71
PhD	60	8	
Latvia			
Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	7	1	0.90
Higher (BA or MA)	116	35	p = 0.70
PhD	29	11	
Lithuania			
Degree of education	Gender		X^2
	Men	Women	
Secondary	4	0	1.66
Higher (BA or MA)	171	54	p = 0.49
PhD	52	13	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

Table SM3.2.15. Independent candidates by gender (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=65)	0.88	2.27	0.13
Men (n=150)	0.95		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=149)	0.01		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.13	0.35	0.56
Men (n=153)	0.09		
Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.02	1.22	0.27
Men (n=227)	0.06		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.16. Party family of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus			
Party family	**Gender**		X^2
	Men	Women	
Agrarian	1	0	
Liberal	0	1	7.53
Socialist	7	7	p = 0.07
Independent	142	57	
Estonia			
Party family	**Gender**		X^2
	Men	Women	
Conservative	28	6	
Liberal	79	37	
Nationalist	23	3	6.51
Social democratic	18	7	p = 0.16
Independent	1	0	
Georgia			
Party family	**Gender**		X^2
	Men	Women	
Conservative	1	0	
Liberal	273	41	6.95
Nationalist	3	3	p = 0.11
Latvia			
Party family	**Gender**		X^2
	Men	Women	
Agrarian	26	6	
Conservative	33	10	
Ethnic-regional	5	2	
Liberal	7	6	6.92
Nationalist	30	10	p = 0.44
Social democratic	18	4	
Socialist	21	3	
Independent	13	6	
Lithuania			
Party family	**Gender**		X^2
	Men	Women	
Agrarian	40	12	
Conservative	51	15	
Ethnic-regional	12	6	
Liberal	43	11	3.77
Nationalist	16	4	p = 0.81
Social democratic	45	16	
Special issue	7	2	
Independent	13	1	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

Table SM3.2.17. Ideology of parliamentarians' parties (by country)

Belarus					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	-5.27	23.8	-1.12	8.92	0.29
Men (n=152)	-15.31	8.88			
Estonia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	-6.64	11.3	1.66	103.28	0.10
Men (n=149)	-3.51	12.8			
Georgia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	-10.95	15.2	-1.42	53.85	0.16
Men (n=277)	-14.39	13.3			
Latvia					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	5.90	17.8	-0.16	55.45	0.88
Men (n=153)	5.42	14.1			
Lithuania					
Gender	Mean	St. Deviation	t	df	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	-6.81	11.8	1.16	110.71	0.25
Men (n=227)	-4.87	12.1			

Welch two-samples t-test

Table SM3.2.18. Incumbency of parliamentarians (by country)

	Belarus		
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.35	6.51	0.01
Men (n=152)	0.18		
	Estonia		
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.53	0.64	0.43
Men (n=149)	0.60		
	Georgia		
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.25	0.04	0.84
Men (n=277)	0.28		
	Latvia		
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.36	4.33	0.04
Men (n=153)	0.55		
	Lithuania		
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.46	0.03	0.86
Men (n=227)	0.49		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.19. Prior political experience of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.71	1.02	0.31
Men (n=152)	0.63		
Estonia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.79	2.13	0.14
Men (n=149)	0.89		
Georgia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.48	3.02	0.08
Men (n=277)	0.63		
Latvia			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.66	3.45	0.06
Men (n=153)	0.80		
Lithuania			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.75	2.27	0.13
Men (n=227)	0.84		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.20. Levels of prior political experience of parliamentarians (by country)

Belarus			
Political experience	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	
None	57	20	
Municipal	35	15	
Regional	19	4	
National	16	15	11.80
Mun. + Reg.	9	4	p = 0.10
Mun. + Nat.	7	8	
Reg. + Nat.	6	1	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	3	1	

Estonia			
Political experience	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	
None	17	11	
Municipal	31	8	
Regional	1	0	
National	15	9	9.69
Mun. + Reg.	2	0	p = 0.19
Mun. + Nat.	72	25	
Reg. + Nat.	1	0	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	10	0	

Georgia			
Political experience	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	
None	103	23	
Municipal	27	2	
Regional	13	1	
National	92	18	11.18
Mun. + Reg.	5	0	p = 0.16
Mun. + Nat.	17	0	
Reg. + Nat.	19	0	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	1	0	

Latvia			
Political experience	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	
None	30	16	
Municipal	20	9	
Regional	5	1	
National	57	14	7.15
Mun. + Reg.	5	1	p = 0.31
Mun. + Nat.	35	6	
Reg. + Nat.	1	0	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	0	0	

Lithuania			
Political experience	Gender		X²
	Men	Women	

None	37	17	
Municipal	51	13	
Regional	0	0	
National	59	25	15.48
Mun. + Reg.	2	0	p = 0.02
Mun. + Nat.	73	9	
Reg. + Nat.	0	1	
Mun. + Reg. + Nat.	5	2	

Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates)

Table SM3.2.21. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender in Belarus

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.29	1.02	0.31
Men (n=152)	0.38		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.22	0.00	1
Men (n=152)	0.23		
Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.06	1.55	0.21
Men (n=152)	0.13		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.22	4.25	0.04
Men (n=152)	0.11		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.06	0.00	1
Men (n=152)	0.06		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.12	2.75	0.10
Men (n=152)	0.05		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.02	0.30	0.58

Men (n=152)	0.04		
Municipal + Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=68)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=152)	0.02		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.22. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender in Estonia

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.21	2.13	0.14
Men (n=149)	0.11		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.15	0.49	0.48
Men (n=149)	0.21		
Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=149)	0.01		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.17	1.19	0.28
Men (n=149)	0.10		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.00	0.00	0.97
Men (n=149)	0.01		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.47	0.00	1
Men (n=149)	0.48		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.00	0.00	1

Men (n=149)	0.01		
Municipal + Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=53)	0.00	2.45	0.12
Men (n=149)	0.07		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.23. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender in Georgia

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.52	3.02	0.08
Men (n=277)	0.37		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.05	0.70	0.40
Men (n=277)	0.10		
Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.02	0.11	0.74
Men (n=277)	0.05		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.41	0.69	0.41
Men (n=277)	0.33		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	0.06	0.81
Men (n=277)	0.02		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	1.76	0.19
Men (n=277)	0.06		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	2.09	0.15

Men (n=277)	0.07		
Municipal + Regional + National			

Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=44)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=277)	0.00		

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.24. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender in Latvia

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.34	3.45	0.06
Men (n=153)	0.20		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.19	0.64	0.43
Men (n=153)	0.13		
Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=153)	0.03		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.30	0.58	0.45
Men (n=153)	0.37		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.02	0.00	1
Men (n=153)	0.03		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.13	1.68	0.20
Men (n=153)	0.23		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=47)	0.00	0.00	1

Men (n=153)	0.01

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

Table SM3.2.25. Prior political experience of parliamentarians by level and gender in Lithuania

No experience			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.25	2.27	0.13
Men (n=227)	0.16		
Municipal			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.19	0.13	0.72
Men (n=227)	0.23		
National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.37	2.72	0.10
Men (n=227)	0.26		
Municipal + Regional			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.00	0.00	1
Men (n=227)	0.01		
Municipal + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.13	8.11	0.00
Men (n=227)	0.32		
Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.02	0.42	0.52
Men (n=227)	0.00		
Municipal + Regional + National			
Gender	Proportion	X^2	p-value (2-tailed)
Women (n=67)	0.03	0.00	1

Men (n=227)	0.02

2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction

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Hiermit versichere ich an Eides Statt, dass ich die vorgelegte Dissertation selbstständig und ohne die Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Die aus anderen Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Aussagen, Daten und Konzepte sind unter Angabe der Quelle gekennzeichnet. Bei der Auswahl und Auswertung folgenden Materials haben mir die nachstehend aufgeführten Personen in der jeweils beschriebenen Weise entgeltlich/unentgeltlich (zutreffendes bitte unterstreichen) geholfen: Weitere Personen, neben den in der Einleitung der Dissertation aufgeführten Koautorinnen und Koautoren waren an der inhaltlich-materiellen Erstellung der vorliegenden Dissertation nicht beteiligt. Insbesondere habe ich hierfür nicht die entgeltliche Hilfe von Vermittlungs- bzw. Beratungsdiensten in Anspruch genommen. Niemand hat von mir unmittelbar oder mittelbar geldwerte Leistungen für Arbeiten erhalten, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt der vorgelegten Dissertation stehen. Die Dissertation wurde bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt. Ich versichere, dass ich nach bestem Wissen die reine Wahrheit gesagt und nichts verschwiegen habe.

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

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EDUCATION

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2018. Visiting researcher. Electoral Integrity Project. (University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia)

2014 – 2015. M.A., Diploma with merit. Central European University, Department of Political Science (Budapest, Hungary)

2010 – 2014. B.A., Diploma with distinction. St. Petersburg State University, Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences (Russia) / Bard College (USA). Major: International Relations, Political Science, and Human Rights

ADDITIONAL EDUCATION

2019. February 25 – March 1. ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques (University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany). Course: Multilevel Regression Modelling

2017. July 31 – August 11. 12th ECPR Summer School in Methods and Techniques (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary). Courses: Advanced Topics in Applied Regression; Intro to GLM: Binary, Ordered and Multinomial Logistic, and Count Regression Models

2017. March 3-10. 6th ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques (University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany). Courses: Introduction to R (for participants with some prior knowledge in command-line programming); Linear Regression with R/Stata: Estimation, Interpretation and Presentation

2016. June. Political Processes in Contemporary Russia (online course, in Russian). Certificate with distinction. European University at St. Petersburg (St. Petersburg, Russia)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2018 October – 2019 January. Teaching assistant (to Prof. Dr. André Kaiser). Course "Federalism, Decentralisation and Multi-Level Governance" (Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences, University of Cologne, Germany)

QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING

Computer Skills
R: experienced user
STATA: experienced user
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Languages
Russian: native
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German: B2
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PUBLICATIONS

2017. Gushchina, Kristina, and Pavel Kononenko. "Russian Local Self-Government: The Evolution Towards Its End." In *The Governance of Local Communities: Global Perspectives and Challenges,* edited by Thomas F. Reilly, 235-257. Nova Science Publishers.

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CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS

2019. August 29 – September 1. APSA (American Political Science Association) Annual Meeting (Washington DC, USA)

2019. July 4-6. European Conference on Politics and Gender (ECPG) (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

2019. June 23-26. Max-Planck Summer Conference on Economy and Society (Columbia University, New York, USA)

2019. June 20-22. EPSA (European Political Science Association) 9th Annual Conference (Queen's University, Belfast, UK)

2018. August 22-25. ECPR General Conference (Universität Hamburg, Germany)

2017. September 6-9. 11th ECPR General Conference (University of Oslo, Norway)

2016. June 12-14. First Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies. Europe under Stress: The End of a Common Dream? (University of Tartu, Estonia)

2016. April 19-22. XVII April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development. (Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia)

2015. September 24. Presentation at the regular seminar of the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research (Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg, Russia)

2014. April 18-19. 3rd student conference "Smol'ny Readings" on New Approaches in the Humanitarian and Social Sciences (Saint Petersburg State University, Russia)

PROJECTS

2014. January – May. Regionalism and Federalism as Alternative Models of Political Imagination in Russian History (Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia). Duties: qualitative and quantitative data analysis

2013-2014. February – January. From Empire to Multiculturalism and Multipolarity: Harmonization of Policies of Citizenship and Sovereignty with the Challenges of Cultural Diversity (Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia). Duties: data collection and data management

2013. February – May. Trainee in the Commission on Education, Culture and Science of the Legislative Assembly of Saint Petersburg (Russia)

AWARDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

2016-2020. IMPRS-SPCE Doctoral Scholarship (International Max Planck Research School on the Social and Political Constitution of the Economy: University of Cologne / Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Germany)

2015. January – June. Full CEU Fellowship package (Central European University, Hungary).

2015. January 1st. Departmental Award on Academic Excellence (Central European University, Hungary)

2014-2015. September – June. Partial CEU Fellowship package (Central European University, Hungary).