

**IS THE GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION CLOSING?
COMPARISON OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE**

By

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Abstract

The gender gap in political participation is studied in the social sciences for a long time. Contemporary studies show that this gap is closing among all modes of political participation. However, the subject of these studies is usually the United States or Western European countries with few of them focusing on Central and Eastern European countries. Theories indicate that the latter group of countries may show different results because of their different development. Therefore, this paper uses data from the European Social Survey to find out if the gender gap is closing in the Western European countries across all of the modes of political participation. The same data is subsequently used to analyze Central and Eastern European countries. Additionally, logistic regression with clustered standard errors is used to see if which of the predictors from previous research are relevant to explain the gender gap. The results show that the gender gap in political participation is small but still present within the Western European countries across most of the modes of political participation. On the other hand, in Central and Eastern European countries, this gap is closed across most of the modes of political participation. Concerning the predictors, the individual-level predictors seem to explain the gender gap more compared to country-level ones which do not seem to affect the gender gap in political participation.

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Introduction

The concept of political participation has long been studied in the social sciences. It is possible to date the first works on this issue to the 1930s (Tingsten, 1937). Therefore, a lot of research is available in this domain. In their seminal work from 1978 Verba et al. devote one chapter to the differences in political participation between men and women. They found out that there is indeed a difference in activity between men and women which may be caused by various predictors. This difference was not only within the classic mode of political participation – voting, but also within other activities such as contacting the political representative or contributing to the political campaign where this disparity even larger (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 235). However, this gender gap is said to be closing, especially when the voting is in focus, with other modes of political participation showing mixed results (Burns et al. 2018; Lowndes 2004). Nevertheless, research on the gender gap is usually conducted on data from the United States of America or countries from Western Europe. The volume of empirical work on Central and Eastern Europe is limited. These countries and people in them have a different history of development compared to the Western part of the world, with an experience of living under the totalitarian or authoritarian regime. Even though previous regimes in Central and Eastern European countries promoted gender equality, the way they wanted to assure it discredited the idea of women emancipation even after transition (Molyneux 1995, 638). Western European countries do not have such an experience. Thus, the dynamics in the political participation and gender gap within it might be different.

This thesis aims to map if the gender gap in political participation is indeed closing in Western European countries and what are the predictors which may explain it. Furthermore, preliminary results of this mapping are used to analyze the gender gap in political participation when Central and Eastern European countries are in focus. Therefore, the goal of this paper

is also to see if the gender gap is closing in this region and if the explanations that are used for analyzing the Western countries are applicable for research in a different region. The European Social Survey (ESS), which includes many variables on political participation serves as a dataset for individual-level data based on which I conduct the analysis for both groups of countries. Moreover, to have a complex picture of what may explain different levels of political participation, I use country-level variables in logistic regression models with clustered standard errors.

The analysis of the gender gap in political participation using all of the rounds of ESS reveals that the gender gap is still present in the Western European countries. However, the last years which are in focus show that it may be closed or may close gradually in the future. The situation for Central and Eastern European countries is different. The gender gap is not present across most of the modes of political participation with some such as voting showing the reversed gender gap. Concerning the predictors for the gender gap in political participation, it seems that country-level ones do not explain this phenomenon. Individual-level predictors show promising results, but more research is needed, especially within Central and Eastern European countries to understand them more.

1 Political Participation and the gender gap

1.1 Political participation: what is it and why is it important?

Political participation is crucial for a democratic society. Verba and Nie see political participation as a question of democracy when they say that if only a few people take part in taking and creating decisions, then there is something wrong with the democratic regime (1972, 1). Such a view on democracy omits its essential features such as elections, free speech, and other liberties, however, it points out the importance of why people should be involved in politics. What precisely the concept of political participation describes? The classical view of Verba and Nie was revolutionary at that time. They referred to the political participation as to “those activities of private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or actions they take” (Verba and Nie 1972, 2). This view of political participation broadened the concept to different activities and contributed to analyzing political participation not only in terms of voting. Milbrath and Goel added to this definition the micro and macro level dimension. They claim that it is not only citizens who may influence the government to act in a certain way, but the two are interconnected (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 5). Therefore, the citizens as a micro level are also influenced by the macro level represented by the government.

Teorell et al. reflect the definition of the political participation coined by Verba and Nie. They agree that the concept is multidimensional and consists of various activities, however, they see Verba and Nie’s definition still as a narrow one (Teorell, Torcal, and Montero 2007, 335). The reason for this is that the focus of the classical definition is only on how the political outcomes are arranged and defined by government whereas the political participation is not limited only to this relationship (Teorell, Torcal, and Montero 2007, 335). The activity

of an individual which defines the political participation may not be directed only to the government, and it may go towards the private sector as well as non-profit organizations (Teorell, Torcal, and Montero 2007, 336). Therefore, there is a need to widen the classic view on political participation. This also has consequences on how we think about political participation. It is not the only action towards the government which makes it political but the nature of activity which goes against the authoritative distribution of values in the society (Easton 1953, 134). Bearing this aspect of the political participation in mind, Toerell et al. (2007, 336) claim that the definition of political participation provided by Brady who sees it as a tool for citizens to affect the political actions and results (1999, 737) is the more suitable one for four reasons. Firstly, political participation comes with the action of an individual. Secondly, this individual is ordinary and not part of the elite. Thirdly, the action is used to influence the other party in order to show a demand for something. And finally, the subject of the influence does not necessarily need to be the government itself, but the results of the political decisions.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, political participation is the core of the democratic regime (Verba and Nie 1972, 3). Moreover, if done well, political participation has a significant role in forming the societal and political goals in the political regime (Verba and Nie 1972, 4). This is where the importance of political participation lies. Citizens may use it as a tool to take part in developing and forming the society in which they live. That is why this concept is important to democratic theory. Additionally, studying it, one gets a good picture of how the representative democracy works and what may be its successes as well as faults (Teorell, Torcal, and Montero 2007, 334).

1.2 Types and modes of political participation

Initially, the concept of political participation was treated as unidimensional one with the focus on elections and electoral behavior of the people. The seminal work of Verba et al. (1971) and later of Milbrath and Goel was a revolutionary approach to the concept. It defined it as a multidimensional one with modes which are different from each other and among which the activity of citizens varies (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 11). Such an approach also ignited the discussion on what types of political participation there might be. The first distinction is between legal and illegal participation. The main characteristics which differentiate between the two are usually the violence and limiting of freedoms of the others. Therefore, one may decide on to which category the participatory activity belongs based on the legal framework of the country. The actions such as voting or signing a petition are considered to be part of the legal participation. However, unlawful demonstrations belong to the second group. The second distinction is very similar to the previous one, and it focuses on the legitimacy of the participation. The problem is that this distinction compared to the legal-illegal one is harder to measure because there is no clear definition of what is legitimate participation and what is not. Therefore, it is dependent on the context in which the activities are conducted. Thirdly, another distinction can be drawn along the lines of institutional and non-institutional participation. Similarly to the mentioned types, this one also differentiates along the lines of what may be seen as a traditional way of participation (institutional) and on the other hand, a non-traditional one (non-institutional). Therefore, it is possible to distinguish the voting from a peaceful demonstration. The last distinction which also builds on distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional ways of participation and what many scholars mark as the most common one is conventional and non-conventional (Sabucedo and Arce 1991, 94). When the other typologies are considered

the conventional participation is connected to legal, institutional and legitimate types of activities. On the other hand, non-conventional participation is characterized by non-institutional activity which may have a low legitimacy as well as it may be either legal or illegal.

As Van Deth claims the distinctions usually presented seem to be divided along the same lines (1986, 263). Therefore, it is better to go beyond these distinctions and try to define modes of political participation in a different way. Verba and Nie, and Milbrath introduce the two most prominent approaches. As already mentioned, these two seminal works brought a new view on political participation when they showed that the concept is multidimensional and activities of people which may be defined as political participation are manifold. Verba et al. define four modes of activity which are determined by whether they are electoral or not, by conflict dimension, cooperative dimension, political outcome and how much initiative is required (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 17). Such an approach shows that there are differences between the modes of activity and that there may be a big variance when one analyzes the modes separately. The two electoral activities are voting and campaign activity. Even though they comprise an electoral group together, they are different when one considers the other aspects of it. Both of them belong to the conflictual dimension when the activity is oriented against the other actors as well as the outcome of both activities is collective (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 16). However, they differ in other dimensions because when one votes it is considered as acting alone as opposed to acting with others when one is involved in campaign activity as well as the initiative required is different when if one is voting, one does not have to produce a lot of initiative compared to campaign activity (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 16). The rest of the activities which are non-electoral are similar to the electoral ones concerning their similarities and differences. These two are the cooperative activity which happens when a citizen cooperates with others either formally or informally and citizen-initiated contact,

which is characterized by contacting an official (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 15-16). The differences between these two modes of activities are visible, however, I want to point out that the citizen-initiated contact is the activity for which there is a high level of initiative required, but more importantly one may get an outcome which would serve solely to the individual who contacted the official (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 15).

In a similar fashion, Milbrath and Goel define their seven modes of political participation creating a different role of citizens in the society. The basis around which is this approach built is Milbrath's theory on what type of people there are in the society with respect to their political activity. Milbrath uses the analogy of the Roman gladiator contests and defines three types of people: apathetic, spectators and gladiators (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 11). The apathetic are those people who do not care about the political process and do not take part in it, spectators are people who follow the process and vote when it is possible, and gladiators are people who are politically active, taking part in the campaigns and politics itself (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 11). The first two groups of people involve only two modes of participation, leaving the rest five to the group of gladiators (or active) citizens. The apathetic people are merely inactive, and it is not possible to talk about the real mode of participation there. The spectators (or passive supportive) vote regularly but do not take part in other activities (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 18–19). However, the group of active citizens is very heterogeneous, varying from protestors to contact specialists, going through community activists, party and campaign workers as well as communicators (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 18–19). For every mode of participation, there is a special role ascribed defining the position of the person in the political society. Moreover, the modes of participation are divided into conventional and unconventional where the only mode of protestors fits (Milbrath and Goel 1977, 18–19).

The types and modes of political participation vary tremendously. Therefore, when studying the political participation, one has to acknowledge the differences there might

be among different modes. One of them is different requirements for a person to choose the mode of participation which predicts the number of people using it. Other dimensions are concerned with different aspects which may define what people and how many of them are able to take the action. The resources may play a big part in the differences among people.

1.3 Political participation and gender gap

The political participation is not immune to the inequalities in the society which are the result of various reasons. Gender is not a difference. The gender gap in political participation was observed in the 1970s already. Verba et al. found out that there is a difference between men and women when it comes to political activity, with men being substantively more active (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 235). Moreover, the gap was growing larger when one moved from the modes of activities which are easier to conduct to the ones which require more initiative from a person (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 235). Verba et al. tried to analyze why there is such a discrepancy between the political activity of the men and women using three possible explanations. The first of them is socioeconomic resources. The resources such as education, income, and position on a labor market showed large differences between men and women in the 1970s and could be the reason why the men are more politically active than women (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 236).

Secondly, men were more expected to have higher levels of organizational and party affiliation which play a role in teaching them skills which are required for political participation. (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 236).

Lastly, to observe a relationship between the socioeconomic resources, organizational affiliation and political activity, the person has to be able to convert all of these to political activity (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 236).

These explanations proved to be right in causing the gender gap at a time. In the early 2000s, a seminal work on political participation and gender was published where the issue of gender gap was extensively studied. The effect of socioeconomic resources proved to be significant once again with education being a driving force for unequal political participation (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 366–67).

Other explanations such as income, involvement in the labor market, institutionally based civic skills still hold (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 365). Burns et al. differentiate between what they call gender differences in level and effect. The former is concerned with different levels between men and women when considering specific characteristics such as education or income and its relation to their political activity (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 365). The latter, on the other hand, depicts the effect of explanations which may be different or the same for both groups (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 365). The important finding concerning this distinction is that the effect of observed explanations is not different, they differ only in the level, and that is what affects the levels of political participation between women and men (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 364–65).

The discussed distinction is something different from what Gallego calls homogeneous and heterogeneous consequences of contexts (Gallego 2015, 42). She also claims that there is a difference between the effect of different explanation when one may affect all individuals in society in the same way, and other has a stronger or weaker effect on a specific group (Gallego 2015, 43). Therefore, she does not differentiate between the level and effect gender differences but sees them as the same while the explanations which affect the levels of political participation of people regardless of their characteristics are seen as different to those.

1.4 Different causes of the gender gap

One of the questions which had to be asked to understand the gender gap in political participation was if it was only apathy of the women which caused the gender differences or there were inhibiting factors that limited the political role of the women (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 267). This brought a psychological explanations into the picture with studying the political interest, information, knowledge, and efficacy to find out how these affect the different levels of political participation. In the 1970s, Verba et al. claimed that it seemed the gender gap is not caused by the apathy of the women but more likely because there are mentioned inhibiting factors which limit their involvement in the political activity together with different levels in socioeconomic factors (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 267). The political engagement seemed to be a crucial predictor for why there are differences between men and women when men showed to be more politically engaged and therefore more politically active as well (Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997, 1069). However, it seems that the explanatory power of the political engagement is not as strong as we thought when recent research shows mixed results with especially political interest boosting the political participation of women and political knowledge being important for increasing the political participation of women but not that of men (Cassese, Weber, and Khatib 2007, 30–31).

Other possible explanations for the gender gap in political knowledge are cultural ones. In this group, one might think about the role of women in society and within the family. Moreover, religion may be a factor affecting men and women in a different way. This is indeed a case when Cassese et al. found that greater religiosity leads to greater political participation among women (Cassese, Weber, and Khatib 2007, 31). Another such factor is children at the home of whom, traditionally a woman takes care, and this has been found as a negative factor towards political participation (Welch 1977, 715). Finally, the age of women plays a role

in a way that older women are raised and socialized in different environments than their younger counterparts who take a different role in the society which gives them more opportunities to be politically active (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 267).

Lastly, scholars often use marital status as the explanation for the political participation in general. The idea is that the partners who live together influence each other which may result to higher levels of political participation compared to people who live alone and solitude does not motivate them in any way to increase their activity. On the other hand, the effect of being married may be also different when it may depress the political participation of partners depending on how active the spouse of the person is (Stoker and Jennings 1995, 241). Concerning the gender gap in political participation the question is if the marital status has a different effect on men compared to women and if so, does the fact that women is married increase the possibility that she will be more involved in political participation? The answer to this question is not straightforward. Kingston and Finkel find out that there is a difference between married and single people in their voting activity with married people vote slightly more as well as being more involved in political campaigns (1987, 60). However, the test for differences between sexes show that there is no substantial difference (Kingston and Finkel 1987, 62). Nevertheless, marriage is still considered as a good control for political participation when some scholars even assume that there may be differences of its effect on political participation (Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007, 926).

1.5 Do country-level explanations come into the equation?

So far, I only discussed the predictors which are relevant on the individual level. However, there are some which affect the different level of political representation between men and women and which are observed on a country level. Firstly, it is a descriptive

representation of women. The research on how the number of women in parliament affects the political participation of women show that descriptive representation is a considerable factor in the research. The women in offices act as role models who inspire other women to be more politically active with this effect being visible among young women (Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007, 931–32). Moreover, it is not only the share of women in parliament which has an effect. The number of women in ministerial positions positively affects the political participation of all women when the mechanism stays the same as in the previous instance (Liu and Banaszak 2017, 153–54).

Secondly, Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer argue that what we should think of institutions and mechanism of power-sharing within them (2010, 990). The idea behind this is that women who were politically marginalized would engage in political activities more when there are institutions which are characterized by power sharing (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, 994). One of such institutions is proportional electoral system which includes as many people as possible by design (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, 994).

1.6 Closing the gender gap

While in the 20th century the gender gap in political participation was an indisputable fact; everything changed all of a sudden in the 21st century. The change is most visible when one looks at shares of men and women who are voting. At the time Verba et al. wrote their 1978 book, the gender gap in this mode of participation was the smallest one but still favored men. Nowadays, woman vote at a higher rate than men (Burns et al. 2018, 72). The change is also visible in different modes of political participation as well. The gender gap in different modes used to be very wide, however, it narrowed down in every mode as defined by Verba et al.

(Burns et al. 2018, 72). The differences are either small, or there are not any anymore. The puzzling question is, why this happened all of a sudden.

Burns et al. again use the approach where they differentiate between the gender differences in level and effect to analyze this question. The conclusion that political participation is better described by the explanations of differences in level when none of them affect the men or women in a different way. The explanation of why the gender gap is closing is not easy and straightforward. However, one of the predictors stand out compared to the others, and that is education (Burns et al. 2018, 79). The number of female graduates had risen continually when at some point the proportion of graduates among women became higher among women than among men (Burns et al. 2018, 79). Such a development has a significant effect on political participation when education provides people with the skills and knowledge required to be politically active. Moreover, two other developments may have contributed to narrowing down of the gender gap in political participation. Firstly, it is more women in the labor market. Burns et al. do not find a relationship between diminishing gender gap in political participation and more women on the labor market in the past (Burns et al. 2018, 85). However, it played a role in the 1990s when if there was not a higher proportion of women working, the gender gap would be even more extensive (Burns et al. 2018, 85). Similarly, the number of women in high-offices did not contribute directly to the closing of the gender gap in the past, but it kept it small in the 1990s (Burns et al. 2018, 85).

The individual-level analysis of Burns et al. shows that gender differences in level still play a role more than those which would have a different effect on men and women. In other words, predictors that have the same effect on both genders but only differ in proportions of men and women within it are more relevant than those which affect women or men differently. The education seems to be as the most consistent explanation of why there is a gender gap in political participation and why it diminishes. Additionally, the country-level

explanations may have a different effect on the rates of political activity for men and women which would show that there are explanations which show gender differences also in effect.

1.7 What about Central and Eastern Europe?

The research on political participation is usually based on the data for the United States of America (USA). Most of the explanations of the gender gap in political participation are connected to the social stratification which varies across Europe and the USA. Therefore, Gallego tests the assumption whether the explanations of the gender gap in political participation used for the data in the USA also apply for Western Europe. She uses the most common explanations of the gender gap in political participation which include age, social class, education, and income. The findings are more or less consistent with those in the USA showing that the gender gap is closing. Similarly, traditional predictors such as education have an effect due to the fact that within them the proportions of men and women do not differ anymore (Gallego 2007, 21). It seems that political participation, in general, is strongly affected by the resources one has available.

The test of data on Western European countries is a relevant one but what I see as even more pertinent question is to shift a focus of the research on the gender gap in political representation to the Central and Eastern Europe. There are various reasons why the findings may be different for this region. The first one is the legacy of communism which did not encourage people to be politically active. The regime provided people with political activities which were usually mandatory and without any alternative such as mandatory voting, engagement in the party or membership in youth organizations. However, these did not encourage citizens to develop certain skills of political participation especially because of the nature of the regime (Coffe 2013, 96). Therefore, the political participation in this region,

with the exception of the time period right after the revolutions which was characterized by higher turnout, is lower compared to the Western European countries (Coffe 2013, 96).

Secondly, when taking into the consideration gender gap in political participation and role of the women in the previous regime one may assume that the political participation of women from Central and Eastern Europe will be different to the one of women from Western Europe. The communist regime was designed as one where equality is a central value which influenced the decisions on gender as well. However, it is argued that the ideal of gender equality was not achieved in the regime (Coffe 2013, 97). There was a stress on full employment which applied for women as well, but the communist regime was not very interested in gender equality in the private space (Coffe 2013, 97). Therefore, men were not involved in household responsibilities where women had to take care of everything. Moreover, the number of women involved in the party and parliamentary politics have been decreasing since 1989 (Coffe 2013, 98).

Finally, the family played a strong role during the communism in these countries, and this also influenced the role of women during and after the democratic transition (Watson 1993, 484–85). Watson claims that women's dissatisfaction with state derived from not being able to take care of their families properly (1993, 484). This dissatisfaction, together with the different kind of it for men, lead to the fight against the regime but did not include women in power-sharing properly (Watson 1993, 484). Therefore, Central and Eastern European countries still show the traditional gender values which do not fade away easily (Watson 1993, 484–85).

These and similar reasons lead to what Molyneux calls “forced emancipation” which did not help in case of promoting women's rights during and after transitions in countries of Central and Eastern Europe (1995, 638). Therefore, this group of countries experienced different developments as their Western counterparts, the implications of which may be found

in empirical research. An example might be the study by Panayotova and Brayfield who observe continuing different attitudes towards gender compared to West when they find out that Hungarians are less supportive of women's employment compared to the people from the USA (1997, 642). Similarly, the discussed experience of Central and Eastern European countries with women's emancipation may affect the political participation and gender gap within it.

2 Methodology and hypotheses

2.1 Research questions, data

As previous sections showed, the concept of political participation is a complex one, and one has to be careful when analyzing it. Therefore, the focus of this thesis is on one of its aspects – the gender gap in political representation. The gender gap is thought to be closing in Western Europe where the number of women voting overpasses one of the men. This seems to be happening in other modes of political participation as well. However, the developments may be different for Central and Eastern Europe due to its historical experience and different role of women in the region. Thus, this paper aims to answer three questions.

RQ1 – Is the gender gap in political participation closing in the Western European countries?

What are its main predictors?

RQ2 – Is there a similar gender gap in Central and Eastern European countries? Does it follow the same trend as in Western European countries?

RQ3 – What are the main predictors which explain if there is a gender gap or not in Central and Eastern European countries?

The next sections of the paper are divided into two parts following the research questions. In the first one, all of the rounds of the ESS datasets (all of the relevant countries are chosen for each year) are used to analyze developments in the gender gap in political participation in Western Europe. Since the argument is that Central and Eastern European

countries had different historical experience which may affect the differences in political participation between women and men, the group of Western European countries contains all of the European countries that were on the Western side of the Iron Curtain¹. The focus in this section is on different modes of political participation in order to find out if there is a variance among them. The data is graphically presented to show how the gender gap changed over time. The main predictors are used to find out if they explain the developments in the gender gap. These are subsequently used for the analysis of Central and Eastern European countries as well.

The second section focuses on Central and Eastern European countries using the ESS dataset (all of the relevant countries are chosen for each year). This section aims to see if a similar gender gap is possible to observe in this region and if it follows the trend of Western European countries. Moreover, the main predictors are also used in logistic regression with clustered standard errors to find out if they affect the gender gap.

2.2 Gender gap

As have been discussed the gender gap in political participation was observed in the USA and Western Europe especially in the past (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 235). The differences between men and women were fairly visible and followed the trend which may be described as the more activity for political participation is required the larger the gender gap was (Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978, 235). However, during the time the trend has changed, and women have become more active which caused the gap to close (Burns et al. 2018, 72). Such a development is visible not only when the voting as one mode of political participation

¹ **Western European countries:** Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom

Central and Eastern European countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine

is considered, but also among other modes of participation such as working for a campaign or contacting politician which are seen as ones requiring more activity from a person to take part in it (Burns et al. 2018, 72). The data used for the analysis in this thesis cover the period of time from 2002 to 2016, the period when the gap is said to be closed in Western Europe. Following the previous findings in the research the first hypothesis is formulated as:

H1: The gender gap in the Western European countries is not present anymore across all of the modes of political participation.

The situation with Eastern European countries may be substantially different compared to the recent developments in Western Europe. Even though gender equality was proclaimed in the communist regimes of these countries, it was usually a mere façade which was present in the public life of people. However, the regime as discussed before did not involve itself in the private life of people that allowed for gender inequality being present there (Coffe 2013, 97). This also had its implication for women when they were seen as role models when they prioritized family before work (Coffe 2013, 97). Such a picture of the women leads to them preferring family before the work that had its implications on civic skills of the person. Such inequality may not be seen right after the regime change in these countries when the turnout was high as a result of granting the freedoms and rights to the people. However, this enthusiasm has gradually faded away.

Nevertheless, this thesis aims to map and analyze the gender gap in political participation. For the reasons stated above, I expect that the gender gap is still present in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe because of the different cultural development discussed before. In contrast to Western Europe, such a gap may be present across all the modes of political participation copying the situation of Western Europe in the past. Therefore, women

will not be only less active when the voting is considered but also when one analyzes the modes of political participation such as campaign activity, contacting politician but also unconventional ones such as attending a peaceful demonstration. Thus, the hypothesis for this group of countries is as follows:

H2: The gender gap in political participation is still present in Central and Eastern Europe but it is gradually closing. This gender gap is not limited for one mode of participation but may be observed among all of them.

2.3 Individual-level predictors of gender gap

The first group gender gap predictors may be observed on the individual level. These were vastly researched already in the 1970s by Verba, and others (Verba and Nie 1972; Verba, Kim, and Nie 1978; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). The most significant finding relevant for the research on the gender gap in political participation is that the predictors which may explain it differ in their character. The first group of them are predictors which explain the gender gap and its closing as an issue of the level (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001, 364–65). This means that these kinds of predictors do affect how the gender gap is changing, but their effect are not only limited for women themselves. Therefore, the effect of these is similar when men, as well as women, are considered, and the gender gap is closing because a higher proportion of women obtain values on these predictors that facilitate higher participation. The example of such a predictor might be the level of education.

The second group is different because the predictors from this group have a different effect when gender is considered (Gallego 2007, 43). Such predictors are difficult to find

and may include country-level ones such as share of women in parliament that affects the participation of women more (Liu and Banaszak 2017, 153–54).

The first two individual-level predictors which are to be presented mostly affect the political participation following the first principle. One of the most consistent predictors of the gender gap in political participation is education. Generally, people who are more educated are usually more active when political participation is in consideration. This works for men and women in a similar fashion. The only difference in Western Europe in the past was that there were significantly smaller proportions of women with higher education in these countries (Burns et al. 2018, 79). Therefore, as a share of women with higher education increased, the gender gap was diminishing as well. I do not expect that there is a difference in this matter when the Central European countries are analyzed. Therefore, concerning the analysis in this thesis the hypothesis which derives from discussed is as follows:

H3: Education increases the political participation of people. Even though it plays a role in closing the gender gap, this is caused by differences in level and not by different effect for women compared to men.

Similarly, employment may be defined as the predictor of the level. As the share of women with higher education risen, the share of them in the workforce also increased (Burns et al. 2018, 79). Moreover, in the past women were not gainfully employed because a certain share of them stayed home so they could take care of the household, which involved domestic chores as well as taking care of children. This resulted in their lack of civic skills development and subsequently lower rates of political participation. The situation has changed, and constantly more women are employed. This opens their way to gain the skills needed to be active. However, employment affects men similarly when being home deprives them

of a chance to gain new civic skills. The situation in Central and Eastern Europe in the past was different as I discussed above, but the effect of employment is possibly the same for women as it is for men in this part of Europe. The reason why employment affects the political participation of women is that they were more likely to stay home to take care of the household. Thus, the effect of employment is not different considering gender but is a predictor for the gender gap because the level of shares of women who are unemployed compared to men differed. Therefore:

H4: Employment has a positive impact on political participation. Even though it plays a role in closing the gender gap, this is caused by gender differences in level, and not by different effects for women compared to men.

Marital status is another predictor, which is often analyzed when one is interested in political participation. The results for this predictor from previous research show that the effect of this predictor may be mixed when it can either increase political participation of a person or decrease it (Stoker and Jennings 1995, 431). Its effect on the gender gap in political participation is also very moderate (Kingston and Finkel 1987, 62). Nevertheless, this variable is still used at least as control with different possible outcomes for men and women. One may look at this problem from a different perspective when the focus is not on the legal status of the people but rather on if they live together with their partner. Following the discussion on employment and the role of women in society, the fact that woman lives with a partner may cause that she becomes the one who is responsible for taking care of the household. Different effect of this predictor for men and women should not be present in Western Europe anymore. The developments in Central and Eastern European countries were different as discussed

before; therefore, I expect that the gender norms are less strong regulators of division of labor at home in this group of countries than in Western one.

H5: The different effect of living together with a partner on political participation for men and women will be visible in Central and Eastern Europe but not in Western Europe.

2.4 Country-level predictors

The first predictor from the country level is the share of women in the parliament. Mansbridge claims that the descriptive representation of women affects them in a way that they become more politically active (Mansbridge 1999, 651). The mechanism behind this is believed to be a role model effect (Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007, 936). Women in political office not only inspire the other member of their group to try to run for office but increase the political participation of women in general (Liu and Banaszak 2017, 151). However, the more activity is required for the mode of political participation the weaker the effect of this predictor is (Liu and Banaszak 2017, 151). This means that the effect is present when voting is considered, but fades away when other modes of political participation like attending peaceful demonstration are considered. These findings have their consequences for the subject of this thesis, and that is the gender gap in political participation. As can be seen, this predictor is not one of the level. The number of women in political office affects women differently than men when it increases the political participation of the former and has no effect on the latter. I assume that the effect is universal across the countries and will not differ when the Western and Central Eastern Europe is in question. The hypothesis concerning this predictor is as follows:

H6: The higher share of women in political office (parliament) will increase the political participation of women. This effect will fade away when more activity is required for the mode of political participation.

Another predictor from a country-level group is one which comes from the idea that political institutions affect the political participation of women and men in a different way. One of these institutions is the electoral system of the country. Women were excluded from the politically active life in the past when they did not have a right to vote, and this did not change even when they gained it because they were still marginalized socially and politically (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, 994). The proportional electoral system compared to majoritarian one acts as an inclusive tool which gives a chance for many groups to take part in political life and not to be marginalized anymore (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, 994). This effect is once again disproportional for men and women because the latter did not experience the same marginalization as women did (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2010, 994). Even though the effect of the electoral system on women's political participation is considered as positive in general since it is closely connected to voting, I assume that it will fade away similarly to the previous predictor when the more activity is required for mode of political participation.

H7: The proportional system will increase the political participation of women. This effect will fade away when more activity is required for the mode of political participation.

2.5 Dependent variables

There are eight variables in ESS datasets which measure political participation and are possible to compare over time. The first of them is voting which measures if the person voted the last election. All of the others measure if the person took part in a particular activity in the last 12 months. These variables are contacted politician or government official, worked in the party or an action group, worked in other organization or association, worn or displayed the campaign badge, signed a petition, taken part in a lawful public demonstration, and boycotted certain products. These variables were grouped following the groups of modes of political participation introduced by Verba, Nie and Kim (1971) as well as by Milbrath and Goel (1977). Verba, Nie, and Kim argue that there are four large groups of political participation when the characteristics as initiative required or political outcome are required (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 17). Moreover, they divide these two groups into two categories, electoral and non-electoral with voting and campaign activity being in the former group while cooperative activity and citizen-initiated contacts being in the latter (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 17).

Therefore, I also create four groups for variables of political participation from ESS dataset. In the first one, only voting stays which is coded as 1 if the person voted in the last election and 0 if not. In the second group which is campaign activity, I include two variables: worked for the political party and worn or displayed the campaign badge which are considered as representative of this group (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971, 20). In the third group which is a cooperative activity, I include worked in other organization or association and signed a petition. I include signed petition in this group because I believe that it is an activity which is done individually, but for the collective outcome in cooperation with others who signed it. The last group contains only the variable contacted politician, which is coded as 1 if the person

did and 0 if not. Verba, Nie and Kim's classification includes only conventional modes of political participation; therefore, inspired by Milbrath and Goel I create the fifth group of variables which will be the dependent one. It is an unconventional activity and includes taken part in a lawful public demonstration and boycotted certain products. The dependent variables which are grouped are coded as 1 if the person participated in at least one of the activities and 0 if h/she did not participate in any.

2.6 Independent variables

Data for the group of individual-level variables originate from the ESS datasets. The first variable within this group is education. There are two possibilities how to operationalize it with one being the ordinal variable which would follow the classification set by international standards. However, such an approach has its issues when the education system in the countries differ, and even though we have international standards describing the education level, it is difficult to assess what are the differences between the schools specific to countries. Therefore, I use years of education instead. There are problems with this variable as well when one does not know if the years refer to the same level of education, but I see it as a better option when the countries are analyzed together.

Secondly, to capture the impact of employment I create the variable that marks the unemployed and I work with it in the empirical part of the thesis. There is no direct question on current employment status in the ESS which would be comparable across the years except for the two questions asking if the person was unemployed in the last seven days and is either actively looking for a job or not. These two questions are merged together and coded as 1 if the person is unemployed no matter if she is looking for a job or not and 0 otherwise.

Thirdly, instead of the legal marital status of a person I include the variable which depicts if the person lives with somebody in a household or not. This variable is also coded as a binary one with 1 referring to the person living with husband, wife or partner and 0 if the person lives with none of them.

Moreover, in the individual-level variables, I include age in years as a control one. Additionally, following Gallego the age squared is added to the model to control for the fact that participation increases with age then hits the ceiling and decreases at the end of the life (Gallego 2007, 14).

Lastly, to see the effect of the gender, the female variable is involved in the model and is coded as 1 for a female and 0 for male.

On the country-level, the share of women in parliament is the first variable which is taken for every year from the World Bank dataset. The electoral system as the second variable is coded 0 when there is a majoritarian or mixed system in the country and 1 if the country uses a proportional one. Furthermore, I include controls on a country-level as well. These are the share of women in the workforce and the level of modernization of a country measured with human development index provided by the United Nations.

3 Gender gap in political participation in Western Europe and its predictors

This chapter of the thesis is devoted to the analysis of the gender gap in Western Europe. It is comprised of three parts. The first one maps the recent developments in the political participation gender gap. The graphical visualization is presented for every mode of political participation as was defined in the previous section to see if the levels of political participation between men and women change over time. Subsequently, every mode of participation is described according to the proportions of men and women taking part in it.

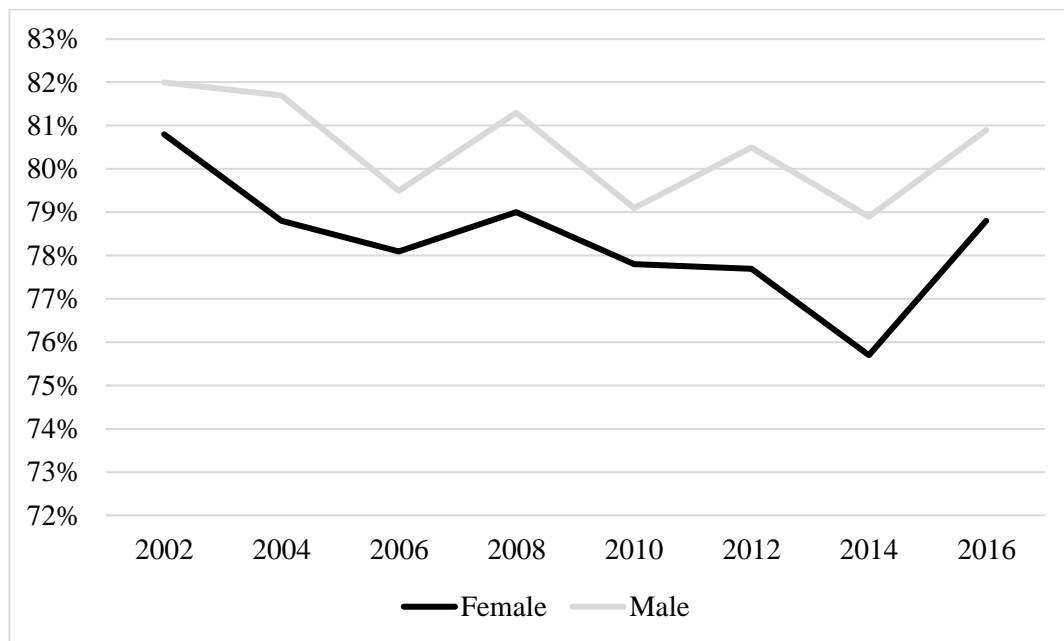
Because the dependent variable is always binary and the data is clustered either in countries or in country years, logistic regression with clustered standard errors is chosen to analyze the data. Firstly, this method is used for every year and mode of participation with countries as dummy variables to determine if the gender still has an effect on a particular mode and therefore, if the gender gap is present. Secondly, to find out what predictors have an effect on political participation the method is used again with dependent and independent variables described above. Interactions for variables in focus are allowed in the model to see if the predictors are one of the level or one that has different effect for men and women.

3.1 Mapping the gender gap in political participation in Western Europe

3.1.1 Voting

Figure 1 shows, what are the developments in this matter concerning the data from ESS for Western Europe. As may be visible, the gender gap is still present when voting is considered. However, as Appendix 1 shows differences between women and men are not very

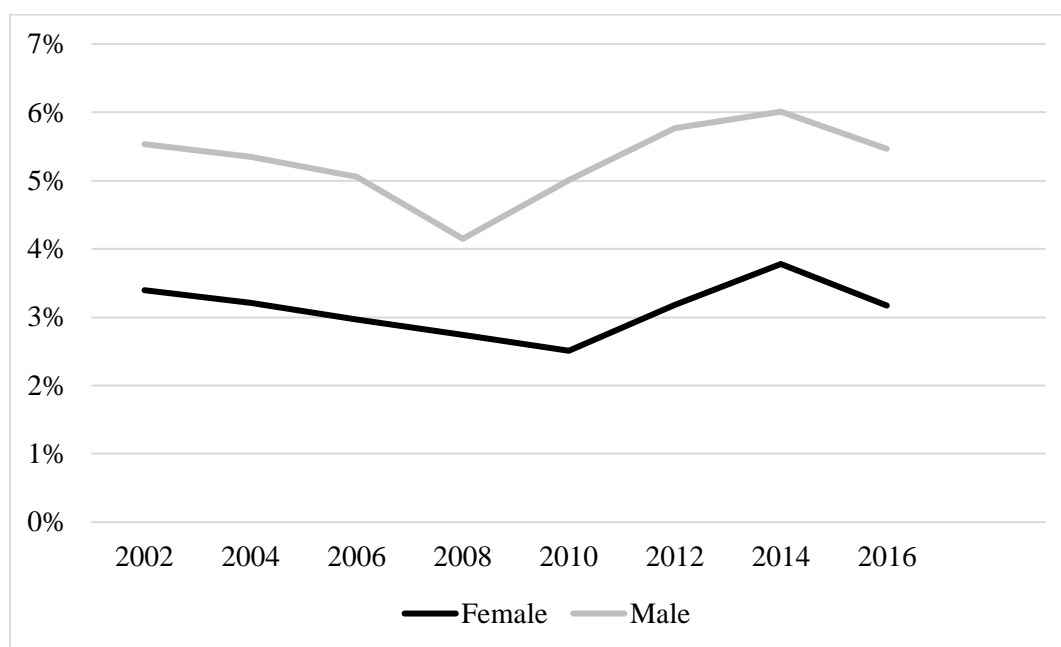
Figure 1: Political participation gender gap in voting over time in Western Europe



large with approximately 3% difference being the largest one and 1% the smallest. Nevertheless, the results from logistic regression with clustered errors with countries as dummies show that gender has no effect on voting across the countries only in 2010 and 2016 and in all of the other years where the effect is present, it is negative. Considering the recent past, it is possible to see that the percentage number of women who voted dropped more in 2014 compared to men, but in 2016 women seem to be catching up with men and closing the gender gap. The gender gap in voting in Western European countries is small, and gender has a significant effect on this mode across countries most of the time. Women do not report that they vote more than men in the researched period, which is surprising considering the initial assumption about the gender gap, which is closing in this group of countries. However, recent developments show that the difference between men and women when it comes to voting is smaller, and it may even close soon.

3.1.2 Campaign activity

Figure 2: Political participation gender gap in campaign activity over time in Western Europe

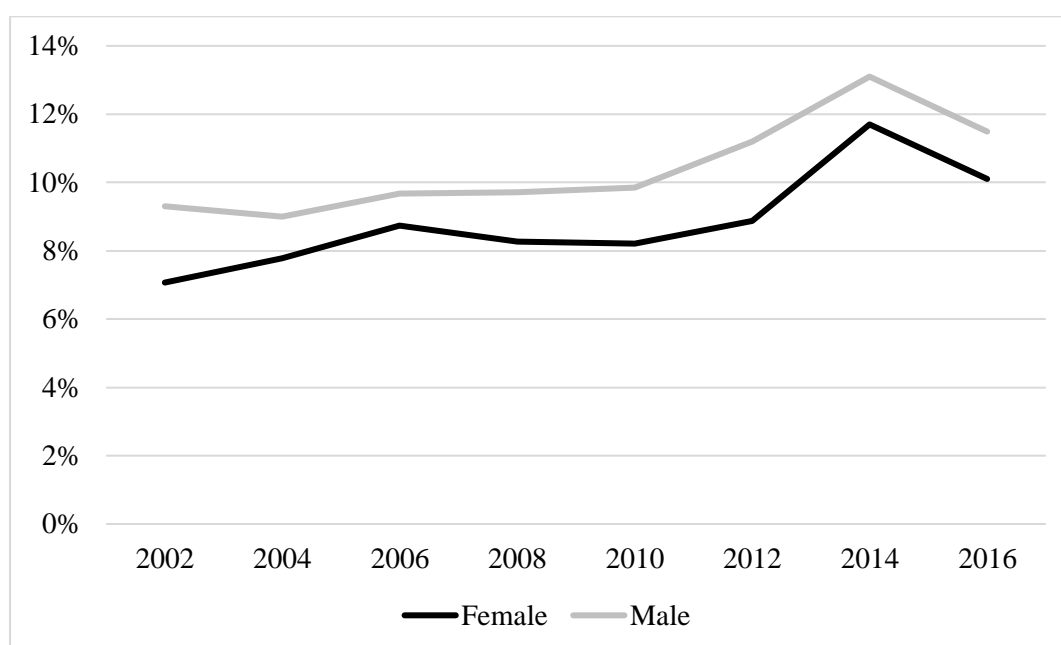


The index of campaign activity is comprised of two variables which ask if the person worked in the political party last 12 months or if h/she wore a campaign badge. Following the theory, the gender gap in this mode of political participation should not be visible anymore in Western Europe as well, and gender should not have a significant effect on it. Overall, the reported activity of respondents is much lower compared to voting. This is understandable because this mode requires more activity from a person. However, the differences between men and women are still present. They are small as in the case of voting with the largest being 2.6% and the smallest one being 1.4%. The smallest difference is the case of the year 2008, where it seems that the gender gap is closing, but only because men are less active since the campaign activity of women decreases from 2002 to 2010. Even when more women take part in this activity in the following years, the line for women tracks the one for men just at a different level. Moreover, the logistic regression with clustered standard errors shows that being a female has a significant negative effect when campaign activity is in focus. Previous research shows

that the gender gap in political participation in Western Europe is closing across all of its modes. However, ESS data reveal that it is not true for the campaign activity when the gap is still present in this mode even though it is small.

3.1.3 Cooperative activity

Figure 3: Political participation gender gap in cooperative activity over time in Western Europe

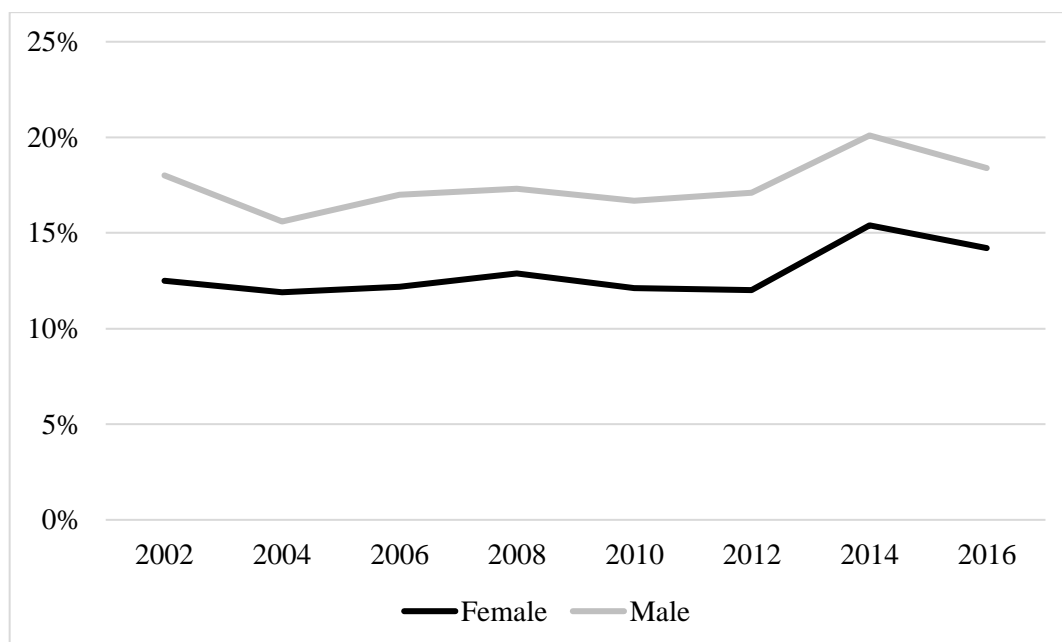


Cooperative activity is also a mode of political participation, including two variables from the ESS dataset. The shares of men and women taking part at least in one of them are higher compared to the campaign activity, which is quite surprising since according to theory, more activity is required for this mode. Considering the gender gap in cooperative activity, the results are mixed with this gap closing in recent years. The largest difference is still 2.2%, but over time, this difference is getting smaller with a small widening of the gap from 2006 to 2014. In 2006 the difference between men and women was the smallest so far, and in that year the levels of cooperative activity of men and women almost matched. Interesting is also how the negative effect of the gender on cooperative activity diminishes from

2014 to 2016. Appendix 1 shows clearly that gender had a significant negative effect in the first three years, which are in focus. However, in 2008, the negative effect of gender is not present. This changes for two following years but the effect of gender is not present in recent years. Even though the results are mixed, it seems that the gap is not present within this mode of political participation anymore, and it may not widen significantly in the following years. In contrast to the gender gap in campaign activity, the one within the cooperative activity partly follows the assumptions which derive from the previous research and shows that indeed at least in some modes of political participation women in particular years matched the activity of men with no significant difference between the two.

3.1.4 Contacting politician

Figure 4: Political participation gender gap in contacting politician over time in Western Europe



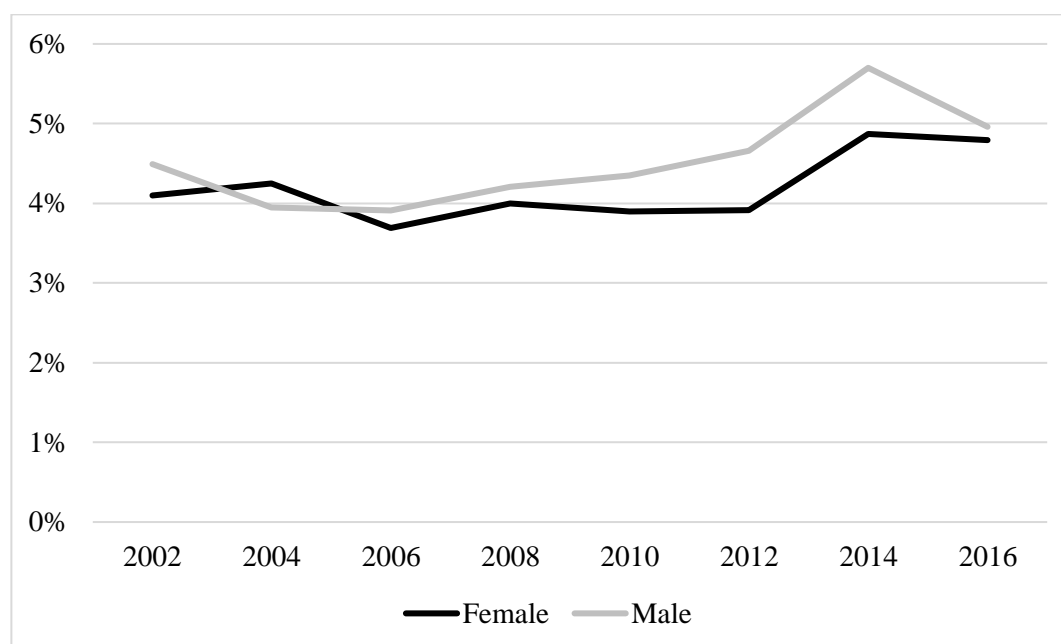
Contacting politician is according to theory seen as the mode of political participation for which a lot of activity is required. Therefore, it is surprising that both men and women use

this option fairly often compared to previously analyzed activities except for voting. Figure 4 shows a very similar picture to the one for campaign activity. The gender gap got smaller in 2004, but again only because men showed less activity compared to the previous year. The line which depicts contacting politician by women is almost flat from 2002 to 2012. The gender gap persists throughout time even though men do not take part in this mode of political activity in the same period of time as women. It is visible that in 2014, both women and men increased their activity in contacting officials, but the gap stays the same because women fail to be more active in this matter. This mode of political participation also shows the largest differences between men and women. The difference stays between 5% to 4% almost all of the time for which the data is available. Analyzing Appendix 1, one can see that every year, the effect of gender on contacting official is significant. This shows that there is no period of time when the gender gap closed or got to the point when it would be possible to say that the difference is not very large, and the gender gap is gone. Similarly to campaign activity, this goes against previous literature since the gender gap is assumed to be closing in every mode of political participation in Western European countries.

3.1.5 Unconventional activity

The last mode of political participation I want to describe is the unconventional activity, which is captured by an additive index based on attending the demonstration and boycotting the certain product. Overall, the activity within this mode of political participation is small and may be compared to campaign activity. This is understandable as some effort is required to take part in this mode. Concerning gender gap, Figure 5 shows somehow different pictures compared to the other modes which I described above. Already in 2002, the difference between men and women

Figure 5: Political participation gender gap in unconventional activity over time in Western Europe



was not very large. Moreover, this is the only analyzed mode of political participation where women were more active at some point. This happened in 2004 when the line showing the unconventional activity of women moved above the one for men. From that year, however, the gap was slightly widening with the years 2012 and 2014 being ones where gender had a significant negative effect on taking part in this mode of political participation. Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind the scale of Figure 5 because differences between men and women were not large when all of them fall into the range of approximately 1%. Moreover, the gap closed again in 2016, when the difference between men and women is only 0.2%. The logistic regression with clustered standard errors also confirms that gender does not affect unconventional activity in any year except for 2012 and 2014 as mentioned; therefore, the gender gap seems not to be present here. Thus, the unconventional activity is the one where there is no difference between men and women, and both genders take part in it similarly.

3.2 Predictors of gender gap in political participation

In Appendix 2, the results of the logistic model with clustered standard error for Western Europe are presented. The models work with the data collected for all of the rounds of ESS for every Western European country in the data. Since five modes of participation are in question as dependent variables, five models are constructed to analyze predictors of the gender gap. The first one works with voting as a dependent variable, in the second campaign activity is taken as a dependent variable, the third one is a model for cooperative activity, the fourth one works with contacting officials as a dependent variable and the last one with unconventional activity. The individual-level predictors are centered.

3.2.1 Individual-level predictors of gender gap in Western Europe

Concerning the individual level predictors, the first one of them which has been consistently important in predicting the gender gap in education. As can be seen in Appendix 2, the overall positive effect of education is present among all of the modes of political participation. This is something which was expected according to theory. The more important question is if this effect is different for the women. As I previously discussed, education is considered as a predictor of the level. Therefore, its effect is not different for women compared to men, but the share of women with higher education make a difference considering the political participation. In other words, people with higher education tend to be more politically active, and with a larger share of women with higher education, the political participation rises within this group, which closes the gender gap. Surprisingly, when one looks at the interaction of education and female, one can see that education has a different effect

on women when this effect is present among all modes of participation. This finding goes against the hypothesis about education.

The second predictor, which was tested in the model is unemployment. It was hypothesized that this is also one of the level when the effect for women and men stays the same. The analysis shows that unemployment has an overall negative effect on three modes – voting, cooperative action, and contacting politician. The relationship is negative for two other modes of political participation as well. However, these are not statistically significant anymore. Concerning the gender gap in political participation, the interaction between female and unemployment shows that the hypothesis was partly right when the analysis indicates that this predictor may be the one of level because there is no effect for most of the modes of political participation when the interaction is in place showing that there is not a difference of its influence on men and women. The exception is contacting politician when the coefficient for interaction is statistically significant and going in a positive direction, which is surprising.

Lastly, living with a partner is assumed as one of the predictors of the gender gap in political participation. As I previously discussed, the results for this predictor are mixed, sometimes showing that it has a positive effect on political participation in general, the other time that it has not. The same also applies when gender is considered with some research showing the difference between genders and other which does not. However, the hypothesis was that the effect would be visible in Central and Eastern Europe, but not for Western Europe because of different historical experience. The overall effect of living with a partner in a household is not consistent among all modes of political participation. It increases the political participation of a person for voting, cooperative activity, and contacting a politician. However, it decreases the activity in unconventional action. The more interesting thing is the fact that it has a different effect on women. In three modes except for voting,

for women who live with a partner, the political participation decreases. This may be connected to the hypothesis which was advanced for Central and Eastern Europe. The women who live with someone are seen as ones who should take care of the household, which deprives them of time and energy to be politically active. However, this finding goes against the original hypothesis that the effect of living with a partner will not be present for women in Western Europe.

3.2.2 Country-level predictors of gender gap in Western Europe

Two predictors for the gender gap in political participation were assumed as main ones with a positive effect on women's participation. The first one in the model is the share of women in the national parliament. According to theory, women who hold political offices may act as role models for women as citizens. The higher number of women in parliament does not have to turn all of the women into politicians, but it may encourage them to participate more. Interestingly, the analysis shows that a higher share of women in parliament increases activity in four out of five modes. However, the interaction term shows different results for women when the share of women in parliament positively affects women in one mode for which more initiative is required. This mode is cooperative action which does require more initiative than, for example, voting, but one could expect that a higher share of women may motivate women to work for the organization or to sign a petition. However, the unexpected finding is that for all of the other modes, there is no difference in participation between men and women. Therefore, the share of women in parliament may be treated as a predictor for closing the gender gap in political participation, but only for cooperative activity.

The second hypothesized country-level predictor for closing the gender gap is the electoral system. The assumption behind it is that the proportional system is more

inclusive that women appreciate more because they were marginalized in the past. When they feel more included in society, they participate more. The proportional system influences political participation in general. It has a positive effect on campaign activity. This is understandable as the proportional system gives a chance to everyone to be represented, and therefore, it makes sense work for a political party. The negative effect of the proportional electoral system on unconventional activity may also be explained by larger inclusiveness. However, its negative effect on cooperative action is unexpected. Moreover, when the gender gap is considered the conducted analysis shows that there is no relationship between women's political participation and proportional electoral system when the effect is not present across all of the modes of political participation but contacting official. In this case, the effect is even in a different direction, as was assumed.

3.3 Summary

Results of previous research consistently showed that the gender gap is closing in Western European countries. This is mostly visible for voting, but the gap is assumed to be closing in other modes of political participation as well. This research also points out what may be the predictors for the gender gap in political participation when one can define those, which consistently affect this phenomenon. In this picture, the results of my analysis show quite a different picture. Considering the closing of the gender gap, the data show that this is not happening in the recent past in Western Europe. The gender gap may be visible across four of five modes of political participation that I analyzed. Even though sometimes this gap is not very large, it is constantly present throughout all of the years in the focus. However, the most recent years that are analyzed show within voting and cooperative activity that this trend may change, and the gender gap may close. The only mode of political participation, which shows

that the gender gap has closed is unconventional activity, in which women were even more active than men in one year. In this mode, it seemed that the gender gap will appear again in the most recent year, but it seems that it was an exception rather than a trend.

Concerning the predictors of the gender gap, there were surprising findings as well. The education is considered as a predictor of the level. However, my analysis shows that it may have a different effect on women, which could mean that higher education motivates women to be active more compared to men. Unemployment has an overall effect as assumed, and the interaction shows that there is no difference of it on women except for when women contact politicians. In this case, the direction of an effect is even in the opposite direction. Nonetheless, overall, it seems that unemployment is a predictor of the level. The analysis for Western European countries also reveals that living with a partner has a negative effect on women in some modes of political participation and may create the gender gap. The results for country-level predictors are unexpected. In general, there is no different effect of the proportion of women in parliament and proportional system on women compared to men with an exception for one mode in each predictor.

4 Gender gap in political participation in Central and Eastern Europe and its predictors

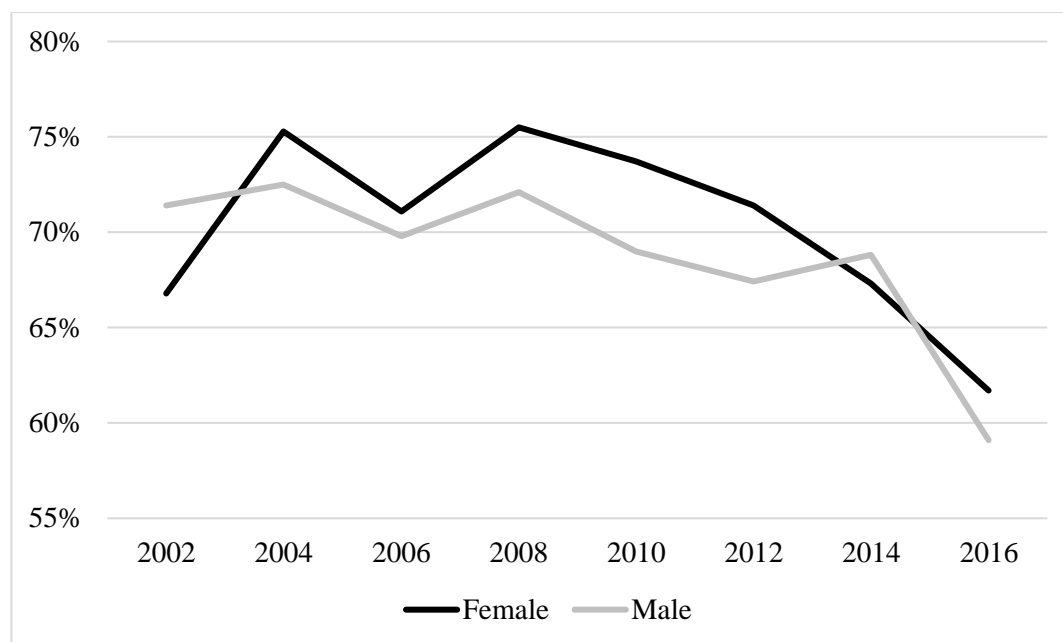
In this chapter, I will focus on the political participation patterns of Central and Eastern European countries. Like in the previous chapter, firstly, I will map the shares of women and men who take part in five modes of participation, which are in focus. Again, visualization for every mode of political participation helps to show what the levels of active men and women are and if there is a difference between them. To see if gender plays a significant role in participation within particular modes, logistic regression with clustered standard errors and countries as dummy variables is used for this group of countries as well. Logistic regression with clustered standard errors is also used in the second part of the analysis, which aims to reveal what are the predictors for the gender gap in political participation.

4.1 Mapping the gender gap in political participation in Central and Eastern Europe

4.1.1 Voting

The first mode of political participation, which is analyzed, is again voting. The assumption which derives from theory is that women from Central and Eastern European countries are less active, considering even this mode of political participation. However, the data show a different picture. In 2002 men are indeed more active when it comes to voting when the difference between them and women is 4.6%. Surprisingly, this changes in the following years. From 2004 to 2012, women vote more than men, and as Figure 6 shows, there is a gender gap, but, in this case, men are less active. This gender gap closes in 2014 when men report that they voted slightly more than women. Nonetheless, in 2016, women are again

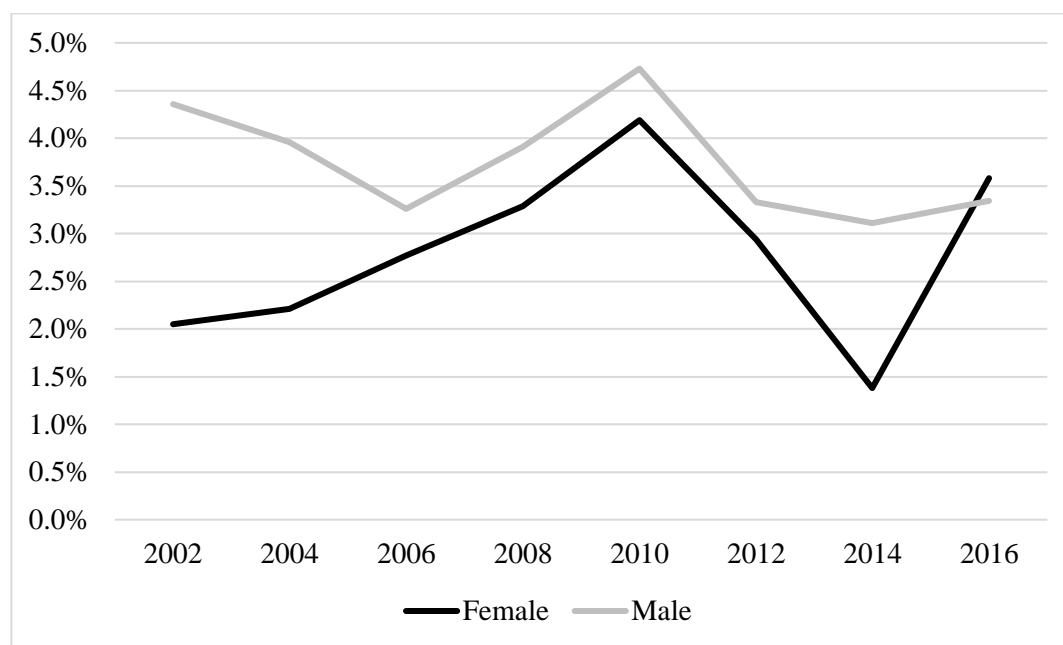
Figure 6: Political participation gender gap in voting over time in Central and Eastern Europe



more active concerning this mode of political participation. Appendix 3 also reveals that in the first analyzed year, being a female had a significantly negative effect on voting. Nevertheless, from 2006 to 2012, it was the other way round when being a woman had a positive significant effect on taking part in the mode of political participation in focus. This significance is not present for the years 2014 and 2016, which means that the gender gap in voting faded away. These findings are surprising concerning the theory discussed above. In Western European countries, it was visible that there is still a small gender gap when it comes to voting, which seems to be diminishing in recent years. This is not a case in Central and Eastern Europe, where women were even more active in particular years which follows the previous research conducted mostly in Western European countries and not the hypothesis stated in this thesis.

4.1.2 Campaign activity

Figure 7: Political participation gender gap in campaign activity over time in Central and Eastern Europe

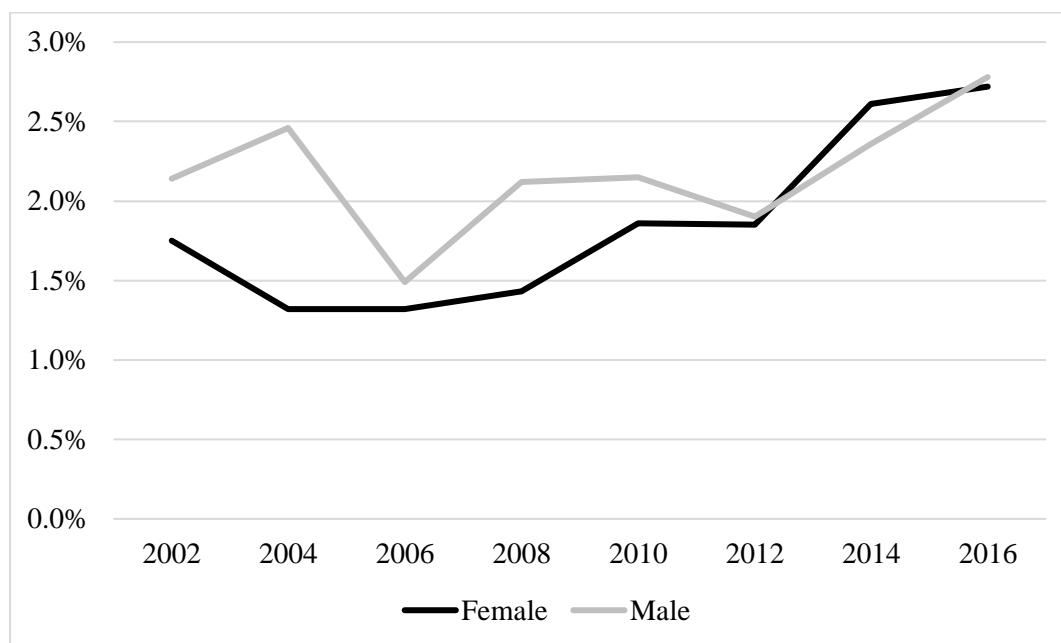


Campaign activity is an index comprised of two activities as previously discussed. The assumption is that in this mode of political participation, women are less active than men. Overall, respondents do not take part in this mode of political participation very much. The highest share of men who were active within this mode is only 4.73%. Considering the gender gap, it is indeed true that it exists in the first years, which are analyzed. The largest difference between men and women is in 2002, and its value is 2.3%. However, from that year on, women increased their activity steadily, which resulted in the closing of the gender gap when the difference between men and women is only 0.4% in 2012. The gap widened again in 2014, but it seems like an exception rather than a trend because women took part in campaign activity more compared to men in 2016. Appendix 3 again confirms what may be visible in Figure 7. The gender has a negative significant effect in the first two years when the gender gap was the largest. From 2006 to 2012 there is no significant difference between man and women which changes in 2014 again. However, as describe before the gender gap closed

once more in 2016, what Appendix 3 also shows. Considering this mode of political participation, the findings also go against the hypothesis stated in the previous part. Even though initially there was the gender gap in the first years and it also appeared in 2014, generally, it is not present within campaign activity anymore when women are approximately as active as men are.

4.1.3 Cooperative activity

Figure 8: Political participation gender gap in cooperative activity over time in Central and Eastern Europe

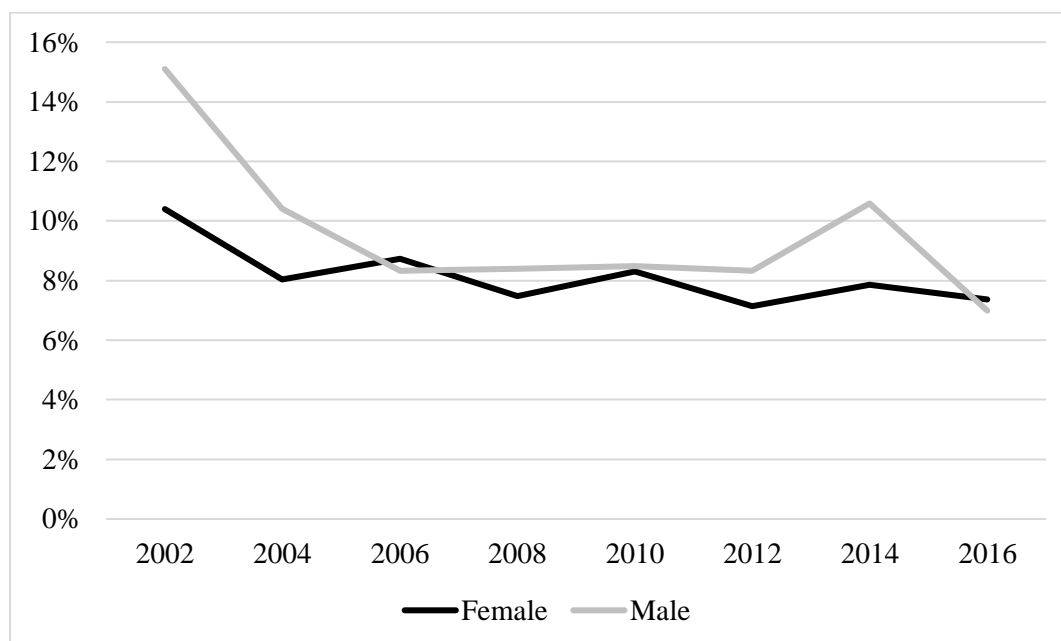


In contrast to Western Europe, people in Central and Eastern Europe take part in cooperative activity less compared to previously discussed modes of political participation. This is assumed by theory, when more activity is required if one wants to use this mode of political participation. Figure 8 reveals that there is a very small gender gap in cooperative activity from 2002 to 2010. It closes mostly because the activity of men decreases, however, this changes when women become more active in 2010. 2012 is a year when men and women are basically equal in cooperative activity when the difference between them is only 0.05%.

In 2014 women are even more active than men, but this changes in 2016 when the difference between groups comes to the values similar to the year 2012. The gender gap is indeed not very large throughout all of the years. It is also visible in Appendix 3, which shows that the significant effect of gender is present only for two years, 2004 and 2008, when the difference between men and women was the largest. Otherwise, it may be said that people in Central and Eastern Europe do not take part in cooperative activity widely, and there is not a gender gap considering this mode of political participation. Surprisingly, this again goes against the assumption about the gender gap in political participation in Central and Eastern Europe. This is the third mode of political participation where one cannot see substantial differences between men and women.

4.1.4 Contacting politician

Figure 9: Political participation gender gap in contacting politician over time in Central and Eastern Europe



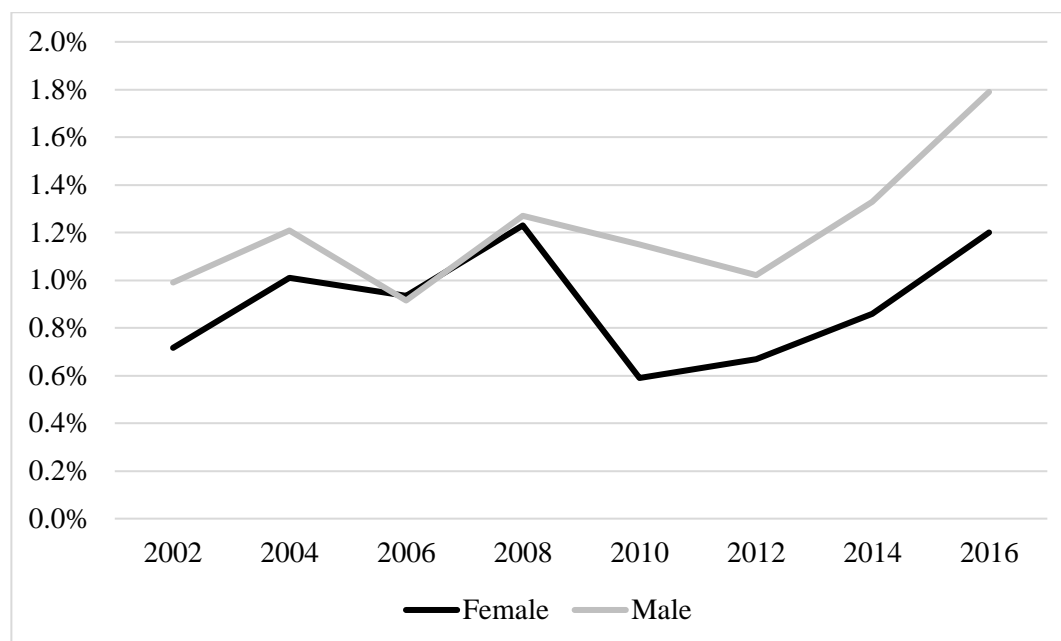
As in the case of Western Europe, people in Central and Eastern Europe are more active in contacting politician compared to the cooperative activity which goes against the theory

because the former is assumed to be a mode of political participation for which more activity is required. However, the overall activity in Central and Eastern Europe is slightly smaller than the one in Western Europe. Moreover, Figure 9 depicts the activity of both women and men in contacting a politician. Like in previously discussed modes, the largest difference, 4.7%, between men and women is in the first researched year. The gap is still visually present in the following year, but it closes in 2006. It stays like this for the next three years for which I have data. In 2014 the gender gap in contacting politician appears again when the difference between men and women increases to 2.7%. However, in the last analyzed year, it closes again when women become slightly more active concerning this mode of political participation. Being a female has a negative significant effect for contacting politician in the years when the differences between men and women are the largest. It is a case for three years, which I discussed above (2002, 2004, 2014). This is a completely different picture compared to one within Western European countries where the gender gap is present throughout all of the years and does not seem to close. Once again, I have to mention that my assumption about the gender gap in Central and Eastern European countries was wrong even for this mode of political participation when it is not present in contacting politician as well.

4.1.5 Unconventional activity

The last mode of political participation, which I analyze is an unconventional activity, which is comprised of two activities, attending the public demonstration and boycotting the certain product. This mode of political participation shows a different trend compared to the other ones described above. First of all, it is not widely used in general when the highest proportion of men taking part in it is 1.8%. As usual, there is a visible gender gap in the year 2002. However, the difference is only 0.3%. Gender gap gradually closes when in 2006

Figure 10: Political participation gender gap in unconventional activity over time in Central and Eastern Europe



and 2008, the proportions of men and women using this mode of political participation are approximately the same. Nonetheless, in 2010, the proportion of women participating in unconventional activity drops more than the one for men, which creates the gender gap again. This stays the same for all of the following years. Appendix 3 shows that indeed being a female did not play a role when the unconventional political participation was in focus until 2010. In this year, it is possible to see that being a woman has a negative significant effect on unconventional activity. This effect persists following years except for 2012 when the gap closes a little bit because of a slightly smaller proportion of men taking part in this activity. However, the differences are very small because of the small percentage numbers of people from both groups took part in this particular mode of political participation. Nevertheless, unconventional activity as the only mode of political participation within the Central and Eastern European countries group shows that there is a gender gap in political participation, but this gender gap is very small.

4.2 Predictors of gender gap in political participation

Appendix 4 presents the results of logistic regression with clustered standard errors for Central and Eastern European countries. This part of analysis also follows the pattern set in the previous chapter when data for all countries from Central and Eastern Europe and for all of the rounds of ESS are used to test what are the predictors relevant for the gender gap. Again, five modes of political participation are analyzed; therefore, also, five models are presented in Appendix 4. The first one depicts results for the model with voting as a dependent variable, the second one shows results for campaign activity. Model number three works with cooperative activity, the fourth one presents results for contacting politician as a dependent variable, and lastly, the fifth model has unconventional activity, which is the last mode of political participation in question, as a response variable. Also, in this case, all individual-level variables are centered.

4.2.1 Individual-level predictors of gender gap in Central and Eastern Europe

There are three individual-level predictors which are in focus of my analysis. The first one of them is education, which is the most consistent predictor for closing the gender gap in the extant literature, as discussed above. The research shows that this variable is usually one of the level when only different proportions of higher educated men and women widen or close the gender gap in political participation. The different effect on men and women is not usually observed within this predictor. However, in my analysis of Western European countries, it seems that education within this group also has a different positive effect for women within all modes of political participation. The question is if a similar relationship can be seen in Central and Eastern Europe. In general, as Appendix 4 shows, education has a significant

positive effect on all modes of political participation, which is as expected, and which occurred in Western European countries too. Concerning the gender gap and education as its predictor, one has to turn the attention to the interactions. As can be seen from Appendix 4, the different significant effect of education for women is present only within the cooperative activity. This effect is positive, which indicates that education increases the chances to take part in this activity more for women than men. For all of the other modes of political activity, this is not the case. This may mean that education still persists as an equally strong predictor for both sexes of the level of political participation within the Central and Eastern European countries.

The second predictor, which is analyzed in the models is unemployment. As for the previous group of countries, I hypothesized that this predictor has no different effect for men and women. Unemployment in my analysis has an overall negative significant effect on voting, but a positive one for cooperative activity, which is surprising. Considering the rest of the modes of political participation, the effect is negative with the exception of unconventional activity where it is other way round. However, these are not statistically significant differences. The effect of unemployment for women is somehow different. The only significant effect this predictor has is on campaign activity. Moreover, this effect is positive. This suggests that in this mode, we can consider unemployment as a predictor of effect, but it goes in the opposite direction. The effect of being an unemployed woman for all of the other modes is statistically insignificant, but except for unconventional activity, it is in a different direction than assumed. However, it may indicate that this predictor is one of level, but it needs more investigation to see the relationship.

Lastly, living in the household with a partner was tested in the models as an individual-level predictor for the gender gap. Even though the results from the previous research considering this variable is mixed, it was hypothesized that it would have a negative effect on political participation of women in Central and Eastern European countries because

of the history of these countries. Appendix 4 shows that this predictor has an overall positive effect across all of the modes of political participation except for unconventional activity, but this effect is statistically significant only for voting and contacting politician. Therefore, overall results are similar to the ones in Western Europe. Focusing on the gender gap, one may see that the picture changes. Living with a partner still increases the chances of a woman to vote, but for all of the other modes of political participation, it is other way round. The only mode of political participation for which it is not relevant because living with a partner is not statistically significant for it is unconventional activity. This finding seems to confirm the hypothesis set before to some extent when I assumed that this predictor will have a negative effect on the political participation of women. The surprising thing is that very similar results are for Western European countries.

4.2.2 Country-level predictors of the gender gap in Central and Eastern Europe

The second group of predictors is the one on a country-level. Both of analyzed predictors are assumed to have a different effect on women compared to men and therefore, closing the gender gap if there is one. These predictors should have the same positive effect on political participation, also in Central and Eastern Europe. First of them is the share of women in the parliament, which should increase the political participation of women. Looking at Appendix 4, there is no statistically significant overall effect in any of the modes of political participation with directions of coefficients being mixed for different modes. It seems that in general, this predictor does not play a role. The question is if it has a different effect on the political participation of women, which would show that this predictor is relevant for the gender gap. The interaction between variables female and share of women in parliament shows that the direction of the effect for almost all of the modes of political participation

becomes negative. This is surprising because I assumed that the political participation of women would increase if the proportion of women in parliament is higher because they would see those in office as role models. However, this result is relevant only for two modes of political participation (campaign activity and contacting politician). Nonetheless, it seems that the proportion of women in parliament may decrease the chance that women will participate compared to men, and therefore, the gender gap may widen.

The last of the analyzed predictors of the gender gap is the institutional one – electoral system. In theory, it is assumed that the proportional system may motivate women to take part in political activities more because it is more inclusive and affects women more because of their different role in society in the past. In contrast to Western European countries, in general, the proportional system has a positive effect, which is statistically significant only on voting. As I mentioned previously, this is understandable since it includes more people in the election when their voice is heard. For all of the other modes of political participation, this predictor is not relevant in the models. Considering the gender gap, I assumed that this predictor would have a different effect on women compared to men, especially for modes where less activity is required. The results of logistic regression with clustered standard errors shows that this is not a case when it seems that this variable is not a predictor of the gender gap in political representation at all.

4.3 Summary

The gender gap in political participation in Central and Eastern Europe is not widely researched. However, following the results of studies which tried to investigate it, it seems that this gap is present across all of the modes of participation because of the different historical experience of these countries compared to Western European counterparts. In this light,

the results of the analysis are also surprising. As can be seen from Figures 6-10, the gender gap was present only in the first years, which are in focus across most of the modes of political participation. However, it disappears in recent years and in some cases women's political participation is even higher than the one of men. The most visible example of it is voting, which shows that there is a significant difference between men and women but with women voting more. The only mode of participation where the gender gap occurred and persisted is unconventional action. This gender gap is not very large in absolute numbers because not many people in Central and Eastern Europe take part in this mode of political participation, but it is nevertheless present. The data show that developments in political participation gender gap are different than assumed concerning Western and Central and Eastern Europe. Whereas in Western Europe the gap is visible across most of the modes of political participation with last analyzed years showing that it may possibly close, in Central and Eastern Europe this gap is already closed.

Considering predictors for the gender gap, the results for Central and Eastern Europe are different compared to Western Europe. Education as the most consistent predictor has an overall positive effect, but in contrast to Western Europe, the effect for women is not different than the one for men with the exception of one mode of political participation. It may indicate that this predictor is indeed one of the level within this group of countries. The overall effect for unemployment is not present across all of the modes of political participation, and the interactions show that it has a different effect on women only in one mode of participation and this effect is even in a different direction. More investigation is needed for unemployment to see if there are changes in level. Additionally, when a woman lives with a partner, the chances of her participating are smaller within two modes for which more activity is required what is similar to Western European countries, but this effect was assumed to be present across most of the modes. Surprisingly, country-level predictors are not relevant

for the political participation of women in Central and Eastern Europe. Even when the share of women in parliament has an effect on two modes of political participation, this effect is negative.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to map the gender gap in political participation of Western and Central and Eastern European countries. This phenomenon has been extensively researched before, but the focus was mostly on the USA and Western European countries. In these, research shows that the gender gap is gradually closing. Therefore, the first goal of this thesis was to analyze all of the Western European countries, which took part in the ESS and see if the gender gap is indeed closing. Moreover, theory shows that the developments in the political participation of men and women may differ in Central and Eastern Europe. These countries are also analyzed using the same dataset to see if the gender gap is present in this part of Europe. Additionally, to have a better picture of what may be the reason why there is a gender gap or not, the predictors for both groups of countries are tested in logistic regression with clustered standard errors.

The first analysis dealt with Western European countries. Like I already mentioned, these were the ones where the gender gap should not be present across all of the modes of political participation. However, the analysis showed that it is not a case. The gender gap in political participation is still present in four out of five modes of political participation. Women match the activity of men only when the unconventional activity (peaceful demonstrations and boycotting product) are considered. However, in the last years, which were the part of the analysis, the gender gap seems to be fading away in most of the modes. Concerning predictors for the gender gap, it appears that the country-level predictors do not explain this phenomenon very well. On the other hand, the individual-level predictors have more power with education, not having the only effect on the level but also a different one for women compared to men.

The focus of the second analysis was on Central and Eastern Europe. The gender gap in this group of countries was assumed to be still present. This is the case only for the first

years, which are in focus. However, in the following ones, women match the activity of men across all modes of political participation, even being more active in some of them. Especially voting shows that women were so active that the gender gap was still present but with proportions of men reporting that they voted being smaller. The only exception to this is again unconventional activity. People in Central and Eastern Europe do not take part in this mode a lot, and the differences between men and women are small. But these differences are consistent in recent years showing that a small gender gap is still present within this mode. Concerning the predictors, again country-level ones do not explain why there is a gender gap between men and women. The results for individual-level predictors are more promising but not decisive, and they would need some more investigation to decide if they play a role as the ones of the level.

Nevertheless, the results of this analysis should be read with caution for several reasons. The analyzed period is not that large and all of the developments from the past (but also from recent years) may contribute to understanding the gender gap in political participation even more. The decision to divide countries into two large groups may also play a role in the results of the analysis. Especially in the Western European group, the countries may be divided into the regions (such as Scandinavian countries, etc.) which would show if there are differences between them. Moreover, the deeper analysis of predictors would be needed to decide if they are ones of level or effect. The ideas for future research are also connected to these limitations. The focus of future research may be on different regions within both groups of countries with a deeper analysis of developments and predictors of the gender gap. Moreover, case studies based on various countries may be conducted for a better understanding of the phenomenon. Lastly, deeper investigation of predictors could be a subject of future research when especially for Central and Eastern European countries I see a potential to find different predictors explaining the gender gap.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – The share of men and women taking part in particular modes of political participation over time (Western Europe)

	Female	Male
Voted (N)		
2002	80.8%* (16138)	82.0% (14389)
2004	78.8%** (16536)	81.7% (14377)
2006	78.1%* (13642)	79.5% (11955)
2008	79.0%* (13630)	81.3% (12093)
2010	77.8% (13485)	79.1% (12019)
2012	77.7%*** (13404)	80.5% (12202)
2014	75.7%*** (12373)	78.9% (11680)
2016	78.8% (12334)	80.9% (13083)
Campaign Activity (N)		
2002	3.40%*** (17371)	5.53% (15645)
2004	3.21%*** (18043)	5.35% (15816)
2006	2.97%*** (14924)	5.06% (13098)
2008	2.74%*** (15008)	4.15% (13460)
2010	2.51%*** (12598)	5.01% (13243)
2012	3.18%*** (14662)	5.77% (13401)
2014	3.78%*** (13647)	6.01% (12962)
2016	3.17%*** (14536)	5.47% (13782)
Cooperative Activity (N)		
2002	7.07%*** (17381)	9.30% (15651)
2004	7.79%** (18054)	9.00% (15831)
2006	8.74%* (14935)	9.67% (13106)
2008	8.26% (15014)	9.72% (13462)
2010	8.21%** (14789)	9.86% (13245)

2012	8.88% ^{**} (14672)	11.20% (13413)
2014	11.70% (13651)	13.10% (12974)
2016	10.10% (14543)	11.50% (13788)

Contacting Politician (N)

2002	12.5% ^{***} (17365)	18.0% (15643)
2004	11.9% ^{***} (18051)	15.6% (15818)
2006	12.2% ^{***} (14909)	17.0% (13097)
2008	12.9% ^{***} (15003)	17.3% (13451)
2010	12.1% ^{***} (14780)	16.7% (13235)
2012	12.0% ^{***} (14663)	17.1% (13394)
2014	15.4% ^{***} (13641)	20.1% (12958)
2016	14.2% ^{***} (14529)	18.4% (13774)

Unconventional Activity (N)

2002	4.10% (17372)	4.49% (15650)
2004	4.25% (18050)	3.95% (15831)
2006	3.69% (14936)	3.91% (13102)
2008	4.00% (15013)	4.21% (13463)
2010	3.90% (14787)	4.35% (13245)
2012	3.91% [*] (14673)	4.66% (13409)
2014	4.87% ^{**} (13652)	5.70% (12973)
2016	4.79% (14544)	4.96% (13789)

*Note: The asterisks depict the significance value of female variable in logistic regression with clustered standard errors with countries as dummy variables. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$*

Appendix 2 – Effect of the predictors on gender gap in political participation (Western Europe)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Intercept)	0.29	-3.49	-6.88 ^{***}	-6.15 ^{***}	0.92

	(1.89)	(2.17)	(1.72)	(1.74)	(2.85)
Individual-level predictors					
Female	-0.34***	-0.63***	-0.64***	-0.36***	-0.59***
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Living with partner	0.28***	0.03	0.07*	0.21***	-0.19***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.09***	0.05***	0.05***	0.08***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age ²	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education	0.11***	0.10***	0.12***	0.09***	0.11***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Unemployment	-0.51***	-0.04	-0.19***	-0.10**	-0.07
	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Country-level predictors					
Human development index	2.57	-0.01	4.50	4.42	-3.75
	(2.18)	(2.85)	(2.53)	(2.33)	(3.48)
Share of women in parliament	0.02**	0.01*	0.03***	-0.01	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Share of women in workforce	-0.04**	-0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.02
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Proportional system	0.27	0.25*	-0.26*	0.09	-0.60**
	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.21)
Interactions					
Female*Living with partner	0.07*	-0.26***	-0.16***	-0.15***	-0.08
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Female*Education	0.02***	0.03***	0.03***	0.01**	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female*Unemployment	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.18**	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Female*Share of women in parliament	0.00	-0.00	0.01**	0.00	0.00

	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female*Proportional system	0.00	0.04	-0.07	-0.17***	0.08
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Num. obs.	208984	229432	229540	229376	229528
L.R.	18799.77	3276.97	8713.53	8661.68	3950.84
Num. of groups	121	121	121	121	121

*** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05

Appendix 3 – The share of men and women taking part in particular modes of political participation over time (Central and Eastern Europe)

	Female	Male
Voted (N)		
2002	66.8%** (3292)	71.4% (3020)
2004	75.3% (6809)	72.5% (5371)
2006	71.1% (7472)	69.8% (5544)
2008	75.5%* (11938)	72.1% (8799)
2010	73.7%*** (11252)	69% (8340)
2012	71.4%* (11609)	67.4% (8569)
2014	67.3% (5666)	68.8% (4184)
2016	61.7% (6877)	59.1% (5482)
Campaign Activity (N)		
2002	2.05%*** (3429)	4.36% (3190)
2004	2.21%*** (7242)	3.96% (5806)
2006	2.77% (7847)	3.26% (5876)
2008	3.29% (12597)	3.91% (9370)
2010	4.19% (11957)	4.73% (8964)
2012	2.94% (12318)	3.33% (9194)
2014	1.38%** (6211)	3.11% (4704)
2016	3.58% (7420)	3.34% (5975)

Cooperative Activity (N)

2002	1.75% (3431)	2.14% (3193)
2004	1.32% ** (7246)	2.46% (5810)
2006	1.32% (7857)	1.49% (5884)
2008	1.43% *** (12612)	2.12% (9381)
2010	1.86% (11967)	2.15% (8968)
2012	1.85% (12333)	1.90% (9206)
2014	2.61% (6218)	2.36% (4715)
2016	2.72% (7428)	2.78% (5981)

Contacting Politician (N)

2002	10.4% *** (3425)	15.1% (3194)
2004	8.03% * (7245)	10.40% (5801)
2006	8.73% (7848)	8.33% (5870)
2008	7.48% (12592)	8.39% (9377)
2010	8.31% (11951)	8.48% (8966)
2012	7.14% (12309)	8.32% (9197)
2014	7.87% * (6211)	10.60% (4709)
2016	7.36% (7423)	6.99% (5977)

Unconventional Activity (N)

2002	0.72% (3428)	0.99% (3188)
2004	1.01% (7244)	1.21% (5803)
2006	0.94% (7854)	0.92% (5879)
2008	1.23% (12605)	1.27% (9375)
2010	0.59% *** (11963)	1.15% (8964)
2012	0.67% (12315)	1.02% (9196)
2014	0.86% * (6213)	1.33% (4709)
2016	1.20% * (7426)	1.79% (5976)

*Note: The asterisks depict the significance value of female variable in logistic regression with clustered standard errors with countries as dummy variables. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$*

Appendix 4 – Effect of the predictors on gender gap in political participation (Central and Eastern Europe)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Intercept)	8.34*** (2.33)	-2.52* (1.16)	-11.74** (4.24)	-3.59 (2.15)	-8.90* (4.07)
Individual-level predictors					
Female	0.37** (0.13)	0.03 (0.18)	-0.41 (0.22)	0.46** (0.15)	-0.67* (0.32)
Living with partner	0.27*** (0.03)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.15 (0.09)	0.12* (0.05)	0.13 (0.11)
Age	0.08*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.08*** (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)
Age2	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.10*** (0.01)	0.17*** (0.01)	0.18*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)
Unemployment	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.12 (0.10)	0.31* (0.13)	-0.06 (0.09)	0.14 (0.18)
Country-level predictors					
Human development index	-5.67 (3.24)	-4.19* (2.01)	5.94 (5.62)	2.86 (3.08)	3.83 (5.12)
Share of women in parliament	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)
Share of women in workforce	-0.06*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Proportional system	0.36* (0.15)	0.09 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.33)	0.07 (0.14)	-0.12 (0.24)
Interactions					
Female*Living with partner	-0.05	-0.08	-0.27**	-0.14**	0.08

	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.12)
Female*Education	-0.01	0.02	0.03*	-0.01	0.04
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Female*Unemployment	0.11	0.52**	0.27	0.13	-0.30
	(0.07)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.34)
Female*Share of women in parliament	-0.01	-0.03*	0.00	-0.02*	-0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Female*Proportional system	0.06	-0.10	-0.10	-0.11	0.25
	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Num. obs.	110212	117725	117844	117721	117763
L.R.	9821.72	1494.64	1209.38	2313.58	284.45
Num. of groups	65	65	65	65	65

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05