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Analysis of lists of candidates for election to the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic 2006 in term of women and men participation

This study comprises a detailed analysis of the lists of candidates of five biggest political parties for this year's election to the Chamber of Deputies in term of women and men participation. It provides clear charts enabling easy comparison of the parties. The election results are assessed in term of gender.

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1. Introduction

In the Czech political system political parties have the fundamental influence on the composition of the Chamber of Deputies. It is them that compose the lists of candidates from which voters later choose whom to support. Preferential votes are the only possibility to influence the order of the women candidates. These, however, have very low significance in our voting system. Even though the Senate is formally voted in direct voting by all citizens of the Czech Republic its election is secondary and its the political parties that in fact take the main decisions. Composition of lists of candidates is crucial for the subsequent politicians' representation in the lower house of the Parliament; voters cannot influence that in any manner.

Thus the representation of women on the lists of candidates is a fundamental step for them to participate in the Parliament. The only way to increase their number is to provide them enough opportunities to be nominated on the ballots. Otherwise the current situation will never change despite the public support. It is the political parties in particular that hold the key, or in other words they act the role of so called "gatekeepers".

Unfortunately, the given paper shows that Czech political parties with some exceptions are still lacking such a will for change. Traditionally, participation of women on the ballots for this year's election to the Chamber of Deputies was very low, some parties even lowered the number of women candidates in comparison with previous elections. Therefore to no surprise the number of

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women deputies in the Chamber has decreased. This fact, however, could already be predicted before the ballots had been made public.

Let us look at the opportunities given to women by each political party, the difference in their participation according to the party and the development of this phenomenon within last few years. We will focus on five biggest political parties that obtained seats in the Parliament as this is impossible for us to assess all the groupments that candidated in the elections. It means that the analysis only assesses ODS, ČSSD, KSČM, KDU-ČSL, and SZ (in the order of number of votes obtained in the elections).

2. Lists of candidates of each political party in term of women representation

2.1 Civic Democratic Party

Civic Democratic Party had on average 24.3 % of women on their ballots; women politicians formed less than a third of all candidates. Total percentage of women in the party's membership is 38.2 %. We can state that women politicians were underrepresented on the ballots. With respect to its ideology ODS refuses any kind of preferential attitude therefore women appear on its ballots in very low numbers. Despite the slight increase in their participation in past years there are no radical changes. 10 years ago, ie in 1996 the percentage of women candidates was only 15.1 %. In the election in 1990 this number slightly increased to 17.8 % but in 2002 slightly decreased to 16.9 %². The biggest leap showed this year's election when the representation of women politicians increased by 7.4 %. in past ten days the number of women candidates on ODS's ballots increased by 10 %.

The order on the ballot is rather important when considering the possibility of getting a vote. In case of big parties like ODS approximately first five places are eligible depending on the size of the electoral district. It is a general rule that women obtain posterior, ie ineligible places. It also applies to ODS. Number of women candidates within the five leading places was the lowest out of all assessed parties: only 8 women politicians. In percentage they formed 11.4 % of all eligible positions. Only every tenth eligible place was given to a woman.

This allocation was reflected in the election results: 9 women deputies were elected in behalf of ODS out of which one moved up from iligible place thanks to preferential votes. (It was Alena Páralová in Pardubický region). Civic female democrats are now forming 11 % of the party's parliamentary club which is the lowest percentage from all parliamentary parties.

Only two women were nominated in leaders' positions out of fourteen regional ODS's candidates: Miroslava Němcová in Vysočina and Zdeňka Horníková in Královéhradecko. Generally speaking the situation significantly differed in every region. Whereas women obtained three places within the first five in Vysočina region there were none in eight other regions. The below chart outlines the situation in all regions.

Women on ODS's lists of candidates for elections to Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

Region	Total number of women candidates	Percentage of women candidates	Number of women on first 5 places (ranking)	Number of women on first 10 places (ranking)
Olomoucký	4 (out of 23)	17,4 %	0	2 (6, 9.)
Vysočina	6 (out of 30)	20 %	3 (1., 4., 5.)	4 (1., 4., 5., 6.)
Moravskoslezský	9 (out of 45)	20 %	0	2 (7., 10.)
Ústecký	8 (out of 30)	26,7 %	0	1 (9.)
Královéhradecký	5 (out of 20)	25 %	1 (1.)	1 (1.)
Pražský	10 (out of 36)	27,8 %	1 (3.)	1 (3.)
Liberecký	6 (out of 22)	27 %	0	2 (7.,9.)
Zlínský	4 (out of 22)	18,2 %	1 (5.)	1 (5.)
Jihomoravský	5 (out of 34)	14,7 %	0	1 (8.)
Jihočeský	5 (out of 22)	22,7 %	0	3 (7., 9., 10.)
Středočeský	13 (out of 42)	30,9 %	1 (2.)	1 (2.)
Plzeňský	4 (out of 20)	20 %	0	1 (8.)
Pardubický	5 (out of 19)	26,3 %	1 (5.)	2 (5., 6.)
Karlovarský	4 (out of 14)	28,6 %	0	2 (7., 10.)
Total	83	24,3 %	8	24

2.2 Czech Social Democratic Party

Women politicians made 23.2 % of candidates on the ballots which is less than a quarter of all the candidates. This does not correspond to the percentage of women in the party's membership which equals 30.4 % in ČSSD. Women candidates were disadvantaged like in ODS. Even though the percentage of women on the lists of candidates has increased in past ten years by 8 % (in the election in 1996 it was 14.9 %³) but in comparison with last election in 2002 it dropped from 24.5 % down to the current percentage, ie by 1.3 %. Social Democratic Party was the only one out of the assessed ones which gave fewer opportunities to women in this year's elections. This is contradictory to the party's ideology which like other left-wing parties proclaims active assertion of equal opportunities.

Let us move on to representation of women on the list of candidates. ČSSD nominated 13 women politicians in the first five eligible places which is 18.6 %. Social Democrats show much better approach than ODS. Nevertheless, only every fifth or sixth place was given to a woman. In the end only nine women deputies were elected, their percentage is thus only 12 %. This is the lowest number – after ODS - of presented women within all the Parliamentary parties. The main reason women were represented in such a low number in the Parliament is the fact that their presentation on the top five places on the ballots was quite low; six from them (ie almost a half) obtained the last fifth place which was eligible in many regions. Only one woman nominee lead the ČSSD ballot (Hana Orgoníková in Královéhradecko) which is the lowest number out of all the given parties. For further reference see the below chart divided according to the regions.

Women on ČSSD's lists of candidates for elections to Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

Region	Total number of women candidates	Percentage of women candidates	Number of women on first 5 places (ranking)	Number of women on first 10 places (ranking)
Olomoucký	8 (out of 30)	26 %	0	3 (6., 9., 10.)
Vysočina	4 (out of 25)	16 %	0	1 (6.)
Moravskoslezský	12 (out of 36)	33 %	1 (5.)	1 (5.)
Ústecký	7 (out of 37)	19 %	0	3 (6., 9., 10.)
Královéhradecký	7 (out of 28)	25 %	3 (1., 3., 5.)	4 (1., 3., 5., 6.)
Pražský	9 (out of 42)	21 %	1 (5.)	2 (5., 9.)
Liberecký	3 (out of 18)	16,6 %	2 (3., 4.)	3 (3., 4., 7.)
Zlínský	8 (out of 27)	29,5 %	0	1 (9.)
Jihomoravský	8 (out of 34)	23,5 %	0	1 (10.)
Jihočeský	4 (out of 22)	18 %	1 (2.)	2 (2., 9.)
Středočeský	9 (out of 45)	20 %	1 (5.)	2 (5., 7.)
Plzeňský	4 (out of 20)	20 %	1 (5.)	1 (5.)
Pardubický	5 (out of 22)	22,7 %	2 (3., 5.)	4 (3., 5., 7., 10.)
Karlovarský	3 (out of 14)	21 %	1 (4.)	1 (4.)
Total	79	23,2 %	13	29

2.3 Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia

Women formed 26.5 % of candidates on KSČM's ballots that means a little bit more than a quarter of all candidates. For comparative purposes I include percentage of women membership which equals 43.3 %. There is great disproportion between this number and representation of women Communists on lists of candidates even within this party. Their presentation on the ballots was under numbered. It applies even to KSČM that the proportion of men and women nominees has been equaling in recent years. As an example there are some numbers: women communists obtained 21.1 % of places on ballots in election 1998, in 2002 their percentage dropped by approximately 1 % to 19.2 % but in this year's election it raised by 7.3 % to the present value.

If we focus on the number of women within the first five candidates we can see that the women communist politicians scored more points than those of ODS and ČSSD: altogether 22 women candidates. It is approximately twice as much as in the two biggest parties. What causes this considerable difference? KSČM applies intraparty recommendation for forming the list of candidates which sets the rule that there must be at least one woman nominee within the first five candidates. Even though it is only recommendation not a binding quota all regional organizations stuck to it. The result is self-explanatory: women formed 31.4 % of first five places on all lists of candidates. They were given approximately every third eligible place. Their representation in eligible places was higher than their average representation on the lists of candidates which is exactly the opposite of ODS and ČSSD. This fact got reflected in the representation of elected women communists who form 31 % of the deputy club. KSČM is represented by eight women deputies at the present. Two of them were elected only thanks to the preferential votes.

Regarding women holding lead on the ballots the situation does not differ at all in KSČM in comparison with other parties. Communists nominated only two women leaders: Ivana Levá in Plzeň and Soňa Marková in Kralovéhradecký region. See below the chart.

Women on KSČM's lists of candidates for elections to Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

Region	Total number of women candidates	Percentage of women candidates	Number of women on first 5 places (ranking)	Number of women on first 10 places (ranking)
Olomoucký	2 (out of 23)	8,7%	2 (4., 5.)	2 (4., 5.)
Vysočina	3 (out of 20)	15%	1 (3.)	2 (3., 8.)
Moravskoslezský	13 (out of 36)	36%	1 (2.)	2 (2., 6.)
Ústecký	7 (out of 26)	27 %	1 (5.)	2 (5., 8.)
Královéhradecký	4 (out of 20)	20 %	2 (1., 5.)	3 (1., 5., 9.)
Pražský	9 (out of 36)	25 %	1 (4.)	2 (4., 6.)
Liberecký	6 (out of 17)	35,3 %	1 (4.)	5 (4., 6., 7., 9., 10)
Zlínský	6 (out of 22)	27,3 %	2 (2., 4.)	3(2., 4., 9.)
Jihomoravský	7 (out of 34)	20,6 %	1 (2.)	4 (2., 6., 7., 10.)
Jihočeský	6 (out of 22)	27,3 %	2 (3., 5.)	3 (3., 5., 7.)
Středočeský	10 (out of 34)	29,4 %	2 (2., 3.)	3 (2., 3., 6.)
Plzeňský	7 (out of 20)	35 %	3 (1., 4., 5.)	4 (1., 4., 5., 8.)
Pardubický	8 (out of 19)	42 %	2 (2., 4.)	5 (2., 4., 7., 8., 10.)
Karlovarský	3 (out of 14)	21,4 %	1 (4.)	2 (4., 6.)
Total	91	26,5 %	22	42

2.4 Christian and Democratic Union – Czech People's Party

The percentage of women on KDU-ČSL's lists of candidates was the lowest from all the assessed parties: 19.8 %. Christian Democrat women politicians got less than a fifth of the places on ballots. But at the same time their percentage in the party's membership is the highest out of all assessed parties: 52.9 % of members are women. Women form more than a half of the membership, however, there is less than a fifth of them on the lists of candidates. The disadvantage of status of women in Czech People's party is striking. Yet the representation of women has risen in past years even though in the slowest pace from all the given parties. In 1998 their percentage was 14.4 %, in the following elections in 2002 it increased by almost one per cent to 15.2 %. The biggest increase was recorded in this year's elections when the representation of women leaped by 4.6 % to the current number.

Ten women obtained a place in the first five nominated, they were appointed every seventh place on top on the list of candidates. Their percentage was 14.3 %. Two KDU-ČSL's female deputies were elected to the Chamber in the end as in the last election; their percentage in the parliamentary club forms 15 % at the moment.

People's party nominated three women in the top of the ballots in total which is considerably good in comparison with other parties. They were Vlasta Parkanová in Středočeský region, Michaela Šojdrová in Zlínský region and Jana Křížová in Plzeňský region. The latter replaced ex-football

coach Františel Straka in the last moment. Please see below the chart showing the situation in all regions.

Women on KDU-ČS's lists of candidates for elections to Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

Region	Total number of women candidates	Percentage of women candidates	Number of women on first 5 places (ranking)	Number of women on first 10 places (ranking)
Olomoucký	4 (out of 23)	17,4 %	1 (4.)	3 (4., 6., 8.)
Vysočina	4 (out of 20)	20 %	0	2 (6., 10.)
Moravskoslezský	6 (out of 36)	16,7 %	1 (4.)	2 (4., 7.)
Ústecký	9 (out of 26)	34,6%	0	2 (9., 10.)
Královéhradecký	3 (out of 20)	15 %	0	2 (8., 9.)
Pražský	9 (out of 36)	25 %	1 (4.)	3 (4., 7., 8.)
Liberecký	2 (out of 9)	22,2 %	0	2 (8.,9.)
Zlínský	5 (out of 22)	22,7 %	1 (1.)	3 (1., 7., 10.)
Jihomoravský	6 (out of 34)	17,6 %	0	2 (8., 10.)
Jihočeský	3 (out of 22)	13,6 %	1 (4.)	2 (4., 9.)
Středočeský	5 (out of 34)	14,7 %	2 (1., 3.)	3 (1., 3., 9.)
Plzeňský	5 (out of 20)	25 %	1 (5.)	2 (5., 7.)
Pardubický	6 (out of 19)	31,6 %	1 (4.)	3 (4., 9., 10.)
Karlovarský	3 (out of 14)	21,4 %	1 (1.)	2 (1., 9.)
Total	68	19,8 %	10	33

2.5 Green Party

The last party to be assessed is the Green Party. Percentage of women candidates on their ballots was the highest: 33.8 %. This is surprisingly high for the Czech environment: more than a third of the places on ballots were appointed to women. There is no data regarding the percentage of women in the membership at disposal for Green Party there fore we are unable to compare the proportion of their representation with respect to their representation in the party. There are data regarding percentage of women nominees in the previous elections either which prevents us from assessing development in last years. We can, however, assume that the number of women candidates within the Green Party has risen.

Number of women politicians in the first five nominations on the ballots is also high: in total 27 were nominated. It is 38.6 % which means that from every second up to every third place was appointed to a woman. There is an explanation for the above stated, Green Party operates with intraparty quotas establishing the lists of candidates. It is the first party in the Czech political environment that initiated positive measures for women. According to the quota applied for intraparty bodies one third of places is reserved to women. It is formulated as gender neutral because it states that there must be at least one person of the opposite sex within each three candidates. Unlike with KSČM it is not sole recommendation but a binding quota that was included in the party's code of rules.

The effectiveness of this measure is reflected in the composition of the deputy club of the Green Party where women politicians form 50 % out of all elected candidates. The party holds the first place in the number of female nominated in the top of the regional ballots: the party had women

leaders in four regions. They were Dana Kuchtová in Jihočeský region, Eva Tylová in Plzeňský region, Věra Jakubková in Moravskoslezský region and Olga Zubová in Středočeský region. Below we provide a chart divided into regions. It is worth pointing out that women formed more than a half of the ballot in Liberecký region: 59 %, their percentage reached beyond 40 % in two other regions: in Jihomoravský region it was 47 % and in Plzeňský region 40 %.

Women on Green Party's lists of candidates for elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

Region	Total number of women candidates	Percentage of women candidates	Number of women on first 5 places (ranking)	Number of women on first 10 places (ranking)
Olomoucký	8 (out of 25)	32 %	1 (3.)	3 (3., 6., 9.)
Vysočina	7 (out of 23)	30 %	2 (3., 5.)	3 (3., 5., 8.)
Moravskoslezský	12 (out of 36)	33,3 %	3 (1., 4., 5.)	3 (1., 4., 5.)
Ústecký	9 (out of 26)	34,6 %	2 (2., 4.)	3 (2., 4., 9.)
Královéhradecký	4 (out of 20)	20 %	1 (2.)	3 (2., 6., 9.)
Pražský	10 (out of 36)	28 %	2 (2., 5.)	4 (2., 5., 7., 9.)
Liberecký	10 (out of 17)	59 %	2 (3., 5.)	6 (3., 5., 6., 7., 8., 10.)
Zlínský	8 (out of 22)	36,4 %	2 (3., 5.)	3 (3., 5., 7.)
Jihomoravský	16 (out of 34)	47 %	2 (2., 4.)	5 (2., 4., 6., 8., 10.)
Jihočeský	7 (out of 22)	32 %	2 (1., 5.)	3 (1., 5., 9.)
Středočeský	7 (out of 34)	20,6 %	2 (1., 5.)	3 (1., 5., 8.)
Plzeňský	8 (out of 20)	40 %	2 (1., 5.)	4 (1., 5., 6., 9.)
Pardubický	7 (out of 19)	37 %	2 (2., 5.)	3 (2., 5., 7.)
Karlovarský	4 (out of 14)	28,6 %	2 (2., 5.)	3 (2., 5., 8.)
Total	117	33,8 %	27	49

3. Mutual Comparison of the Political Parties

Having analyzed the lists of candidates of each party we can now proceed to their detailed comparison. We will also assess the election results with respect to the representation of women in the newly elected Chamber of Deputies.

When comparing the lists of candidates of all five assessed parties it is obvious that there is a great difference between ODS, ČSSD a KDU-ČSL on one side and KSČM a Green Party on the other. On the basis of political studies it is known that the participation of women in left-wing parties is traditionally better as the equal opportunities practice is closer to their ideology. On the contrary right-wing parties refuse any kind of advantage for women as their ideology states that every person has the same opportunity to win his or her recognition in politics and in society regardless the gender. Their concept of politics is "gender-blind".

This explains low representation of women on ODS and KDU-ČSL's lists of candidates, taking into consideration the traditional view of woman's role within the society in the concept of People's Party, but according to this theory ČSSD should have high percentage of women politicians as its members. There is a clear contradiction between the party's rhetoric and reality. Their election programme stresses out the necessity of greater participation of women in the decision making process and moreover states that the party wants to serve an example but in fact it is the only

party that nominated fewer women candidates than in the last elections. Despite the leftist orientation of ČSSD in reality it is not reflected in higher number of representation of women on the ballots nor in the leadership.

Both the parties that applied some kind of equal opportunities for ballots, ie KSČM and SZ had significantly higher percentage of women on their ballots than other analyzed parties. Especially their representation on the top, ie eligible places of the ballots was distinctively higher, approximately twice fold. These results clearly show that intraparty quotas or recommendations are very effective way to increase the percentage of women on ballots. The fact that there are parties within our political scene where the opposition to quotas prevails like in other post communist states breaks through the stereotype. Let us hope that other parties will have enough courage to make these steps. The experience from abroad shows that if there is a party introducing intraparty quotas the other will follow in the course of time.

The below chart provides clear outline of representation of women on this year's election ballots and comparative calculation of the first three nominated in the last and this year's elections.

Representation of women on lists of candidates for all 14 regions in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic 2006

	Number of women on the 1 st place ⁱ	Number of women up to the 5 th place ⁱⁱ	Number of women up to the 10 th place ⁱⁱⁱ	Average percentage of women on the ballots
ODS	2	8	24	24,3 %
KDU-ČSL	3	10	33	19,8 %
Zelení*	4	27	49	34 %
ČSSD	1	13	29	23,2 %
KSČM*	2	22	42	26,5 %

1 - Out of the total of 14 candidates

2 - Out of the total of 70 candidates

3 - Out of the total of 140 candidates

* Party applies quotas or recommendations for making up lists of candidates

Women on first three places on the lists of candidates: Comparison of last and upcoming election to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

	Election 2002	Election 2006
ODS	4	4
KDU-ČSL	2	4
Zelení	7	15
ČSSD	5	5
KSČM	11	10

In conclusion we will focus on this year's election results in term of representation of women. As we have stated above the chances of being elected is closely related to the placement on a ballot. Therefore it was obvious that women would deteriorate their positions after party nominations were made public. These pessimistic expectations became unfortunately true: percentage of women in the Chamber of Deputies dropped from 17 to 15.5 %. Instead of 34 female deputies there are only 31 of them in the newly elected Parliament.

This situation was caused by two biggest political parties, ODS and ČSSD where the number of elected women was the lowest. The percentage of women politicians in the deputy club of ODS is only 11 %, in ČSSD it is 12 %. The percentage of the elected women representatives has dropped in comparison with previous periods in both parties; by 3 % in ODS and by 2 % in ČSSD. KDU-ČSL shows slightly better numbers, their women deputies form 15 % which is by almost 5.5 % more than in the previous period. Representation of women is much higher in KSČM and predominantly in SZ. Female communists form 31 % of the party's deputy club and Green Party's female representatives even its half, ie 50 %. The election results are stated below.

Representation of women in the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic: comparison of the election results from 2002 and 2006

Party	Election 2002		Election 2006		Increase/Nárůst/p Increase / decrease
	Number of women	Share of women	Number of women	Share of women	
ODS	8	14 %	9	11 %	+1
KDU-ČSL	2	9,5 %	2	15 %	0
SZ*	-	-	3	50 %	+3
ČSSD	11	14 %	9	12 %	-2
KSČM*	12	29 %	8	31 %	-4

* Party applies quotas or recommendations for making up lists of candidates .

The difference between parties taking positive measures and those that are not is evident in the newly elected Chamber of Deputies. The decrease of women representation in the lower house is disturbing and it implies that the situation has to be solved with some kind of positive proceeding. The example of Green Party and KSČM demonstrates that the applied method is efficient. The problem lies in the lack of political will within Czech parties to take such measures.

4. Conclusion

From the analysis of the lists of candidates for this year's election to the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic we can conclude that the representation of women was low despite the growing trend of last years. Female nominees of five biggest parties that were assessed, ie ODS, ČSSD, KSČM, KDU-ČSL and SZ formed one quarter of all candidates on average. Average percentage of women on ballots was 25.6 %. Considering quite high number of women party members, approximately 41 % we can state that they were underrepresented in the election to the Chamber of Deputies.

Representation of women politicians on eligible places on the lists of candidates was even lower which was later revealed in the election results. Percentage of women deputies dropped from 17 to 15.5 %. Every party differed in number of female candidates on the top of the ballots. ODS, ČSSD and KDU-ČSL placed women predominantly on the posterior, ineligible places. Percentage of women politicians in the first five places was very low, much lower than their total percentage on the lists of candidates. Average percentage of women on first five places of these three parties was 14.8 %. On the contrary KSČM and SZ nominated more women in the top places than there altogether were on the ballots. Representation of women on the eligible places was higher than its total percentage on the ballots. Women formed 31.4 % of first five places on KSČM's ballots and SZ's ballots had 38.6 % leading female nominees. Both of these parties applied positive proceeding when composing the lists of candidates which also serves as an explanation for the remarkable difference between them and the other three assessed parties. Communists introduced

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recommendations that there should be at least one woman within the first five nominated. Green Party applied quota as a part of its code of rules; it assures minimal of a third representation of women on both the ballots and in the intraparty bodies.

Significantly higher percentage of women on the lists of candidates and subsequently their higher representation of elected women politicians from Green Party and Communists demonstrates that application of intraparty positive measures is an effective means to increase number of women in politics. Let us hope that other parties will follow their example as well and they will provide more opportunities to their women politicians they deserve in next election.

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