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The representation of women in the government decision making in Hungary. Woman's participation at the middle-level

Abstract: The goal of this paper to examine women's participation in Hungarian government decision making not only at ministerial level but also at state secretary level because political and bureaucratic state secretaries play important role in decision making process, too. The only place in the political decision making in Hungary where women can appear larger number is a deputy state secretary position. There are two reasons in the background: Hungarian political culture and political tradition and gate-keeper role of parties in recruitment process of powerful positions in cabinets. The paper covers the 1990–2014 period and shows changing of women's participation at different governments and in varying government structure. The results are based on an empirical database which concludes data about top ministerial executive bodies. The database includes all political and bureaucratic leaders of governments from 1990 to June 2006 and from 2010 to June 2014.

Key words: women, participation, representation, government decision making, Hungary

Introduction

Politics in Central-Europe is the world of men. It is true also in Hungary: the representation of women in the political decision making is very low. The rate of women among Members of Parliament's is approximately 10% (Kelemen, 2008, p. 69; Ilonszki, 2013, p. 51) and among ministers is average only 8% (Ványi, 2015, p. 126).

The goal of this paper to examine women's participation in Hungarian government decision making not only at ministerial level but also at state secretary level because political and bureaucratic state secretaries play important role in decision making process, too.

The only place in the political decision making in Hungary where women can appear larger number is a deputy state secretary position. The main research questions of this chapter are:

- which positions are open for women in cabinets,
- why can they be visible at the middle-level,
- and whether are there woman-specific policy field in governments.

The paper covers the 1990–2014 period and shows changing of women's participation at different governments and in varying government structure. My results are based on an empirical database which concludes data about top ministerial executive bodies. The database includes all political and bureaucratic leaders of governments from 1990 to June 2006 and from 2010 to June 2014. Between 2006 and 2010 based on the law which regulated secretaries legal status there were not any administrative state secretaries at ministries and deputy state secretaries had other legal status at ministries than earlier.¹

¹ Data were collected from civil servants biographies that were published in Hungarian Government Almanacs (Kajdi et al., 1994; Kiss et al., 1998; Kovács n.d, Ughy, 2006) and on the Internet. Database

Based on the Hungarian Constitution and Fundamental Law government is formed by appointment ministers and is governing until the new election or until the end of the prime minister's mandate. The scholarly literature understands government cycles in a different way. New government is formed after the new election, changes the prime minister or change a party composition of government (Müller, Strom, 2000; Woldendorp et al., 2000). In this sense there were ten governments in the examined period in Hungary.

Hungarian political and institutional framework

Political framework

The renewal of the Hungarian Constitution (Law XX/1949) after regime change and later The Fundamental Law (The Fundamental Law of Hungary, 2011) declares the Prime Minister's very powerful role in the political system. The mandates of government and positions of ministers depend on the Prime Minister. The constructive no confidence vote stabilizes Prime Ministers because they can only be removed by parliament if parliament agrees on an alternative prime ministerial candidate; also, individual ministers cannot be made accountable by parliament, the Prime Minister holds responsibility for government. The mandate of government ends when the Prime Minister leaves his or her office. Ministers are appointed by the Head of State but suggested by Prime Minister. The Prime Minister can propose removal of ministers to the Head of State.

Last decades the concept of leader democracy has been formulated (Körösényi, 2005) meaning that Prime Minister – party leaders dominate formal and informal politics as well. The framework of chancellor democracy has been formed and when the Prime Minister's Office developed into a "real" ministry in 1998 this elevated role of the PM was confirmed. The impact of presidentialisation (Körösényi, 2001) of politics and leader democracy has changed the style of governance. Ferenc Gyurcsány in 2006 and Viktor Orbán in 2010 have declared 'political governance' meaning that the policy of government is defined by Prime Minister. The law which regulated the status of government members and state secretaries (Law LVII/2006 and Law XLIII/2010) states that "The Prime Minister defines the general direction of policy within the framework of the government's program.", and "minister heads ministry within the framework of government's general policy".²

Institutional framework

1. Government structure

After the regime change the first government did not change the system of government fundamentally. In the last one-party cabinet there were 13 ministries and The National

includes ministerial leaders' gender, age, filled position, number of days in position, profession before and after ministerial appointment, party membership and nomenclature position before regime change.

² Translated by author.

Plan Office which was responsible to implement the Five Years Plans which were also mentioned as ministry in law (Law 1987/VII). From 1990 to 2010 the government consisted of ministry with its own portfolio regarding the economic and social structure of the country. There was the Prime Minister's Office in all cabinets but until 1998 it was not a ministry and it was led by administrative state secretary during the Antall, the Boross and the Horn cabinets. In the 2nd Orbán government there were 5 integrated ministries from 8 that included more portfolios within one ministry. The status of the Prime Minister's Office was changed in this cabinet, it was led by political secretary.

2. Laws

The appointment and de-selection of members of government and state secretaries are regulated laws in Hungary. Based on status laws politicians play role in appointing executive state secretaries.

Parties had goal after systemic change to separate political and expert decision-making and competencies on the government level. These original goals have been influenced by political reality and the legal-constitutional and the political have not developed in harmony. The first law (Law XXXIII/1990) was accepted in 1990. Political and executive secretaries tasks and rights were clearly separated in law. Administrative state secretary and deputy state secretary were delegated as executive leaders of ministries. Administrative secretary guided bureaucracy of the Ministry under the direction of the Minister, the legal and professional requirements. The exact task of deputy state secretary has not been stated in this law. The appointment of executive secretaries was regulated different way: administrative state secretary was appointed by the Head of State based on the nomination of the Prime Minister which happens before the Prime Minister gets the portfolio minister's opinion. Deputy state secretary was appointed by minister suggested by administrative state secretary. Duration of the two positions was indefinite.

In 1997 a general regulation was put in place concerning both the members of government (cabinet ministers) and state secretaries (Law LXXIX/1997). The Prime Minister, the ministers and the political state secretaries were regarded as political, while the administrative state secretary and the deputy secretaries as administrative leaders. The ways of the appointment of executive secretaries were the same as in the first 1990 law. The second law regulated the conditions of nomination and removal of executives in detail. Only those ones could be appointed in these positions who graduated and had a special administrative exam. The law provided possibility of more public service career for executives if they were removed from their positions with offering a new administrative top position or paying some monthly severance. This rule would have guaranteed continuity of secretaries in their positions after government changed.

With regards to the above laws meant a change of attitude the newest status law for members of government and secretaries (Law LVII/2006). The new rationale of the law was that government's work is fundamentally political. The ministers became both the political and administrative leaders in their ministry and became responsible for both areas. The administrative state secretary position was terminated and was nominated to special state secretaries. Based on law they had the same rights and tasks as former deputy secretaries and they could be appointed by the same educational conditions. However it was two important changes regarding special state secretaries' positions in law. They

term in office was adapted to government's term i.e. the special state secretaries were nominated for defined time until the government cycle. Connected to political governance attitude of Ferenc Gyurcsány the special state secretaries were appointed by the Prime Minister. Having this authority the Prime Minister had influence over all levels of government: ministers and political secretaries were personally recommend to the Head of State by the Prime Minister and special secretaries shall be appointed by him based on the suggestion of the portfolio minister.

The Law XLIII/2010 old-new ways regulated the legal status of members of government. On one hand the law distinguished again political and administrative levels of ministerial leaders (see in law 1997). But on the other hand it incorporated the changed system of appointing from the 2006 status law. Administrative secretary and deputy secretaries were nominated again in all ministries for indefinite time with special education conditions. (Ilonszki, Ványi, 2011; Ványi, 2011)

3. Session of Administrative State Secretaries

In the Hungarian governmental decision making a special body of administrative state secretaries plays important role. The Session of Administrative State Secretaries (SASS) was the highest level of administrative conciliation about governmental decisions before cabinet meeting until 2006 and is the same from 2010 again. All of the administrative secretaries are the members of SASS and it is led by administrative state secretary of the Prime Minister's Office until 2006 and from 2014 again. Between 2010 and 2014 it was led by administrative secretary of Ministry of Public Administration and Justice because the scope of bureaucratic authority was delegated to this ministry.

The task of this body control proposals that ministers suggested to discuss in cabinet meetings. If proposals were not prepared properly based on laws and former negotiations in ministries they would not be presented in cabinet meeting. In this gate-role administrative secretaries are between politics and neutral civil service because they have to weigh up based on also political interest not only on clear bureaucratic consideration (Pesti, 2000). Due to special role in political decision making process of administrative state secretaries their positions are important in cabinets.

Women's representation in the Hungarian government decision making

Between 1990 and spring of 2014 ten cabinets served in Hungary. The Table 1 shows the number of cabinets in political and bureaucratic leader positions. In Hungarian governments served 7 prime ministers, 140 ministers, 195 political state secretaries, and 100 administrative state secretaries and 453 deputy state secretaries in the examined period. (Ványi, 2015).

However Table 1 shows not only these numbers because the members of governments served many cases not only one position in the government. One can filled in more office in the same cabinet (e.g. political state secretary and minister, more secretary positions etc.). Due to this fact the numbers in following tables refer to members of cabinets in each positions.³ The number of bureaucratic leaders of ministries does not include

³ Cf. all double-positioned person is counted in each position in all government but the number of double positions less than 10% so this variance does not influence disfigure results.

special state secretaries between 2006 and 2010 based on status law 2006 in which this group was declared as a part of political appointment connected to theory of political government.

Table 1

Hungarian cabinets 1990–2014

| Number of cabinet | Term and Prime Minister | Number of Ministries | Number of Ministers* | Number of (Political) State Secretaries | Number of Admin. Secretaries | Number of Deputy Secretaries | Number of members of cabinets |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | Political leaders | Bureaucratic leaders | | |
| 1. | Antall, József 05.1990–12.1993 | 13 | 30 | 29 | 27 | 90 | 176 |
| 2. | Boross, Péter 12.1993–07.1994 | 13 | 18 | 17 | 14 | 54 | 103 |
| 3. | Horn, Gyula 07.1994–07.1998 | 12 | 26 | 20 | 20 | 102 | 168 |
| 4. | Orbán, Viktor 07.1998–05.2002 | 16 | 29 | 37 | 31 | 127 | 224 |
| 5. | Medgyessy, Péter 05.2002–09.2004 | 15 | 25 | 31 | 24 | 97 | 177 |
| 6. | Gyurcsány, Ferenc 10.2004–06.2006 | 15 | 22 | 29 | 22 | 92 | 165 |
| 7. | Gyurcsány, Ferenc 06.2006–04.2008 | 12 | 19 | 30 | <i>not relevant data</i> | <i>not relevant data</i> | 49 |
| 8. | Gyurcsány, Ferenc 05.2008–04.2009 | 13 | 17 | 24 | <i>not relevant data</i> | <i>not relevant data</i> | 41 |
| 9. | Bajnai, Gordon 04.2009–05.2010 | 13 | 18 | 22 | <i>not relevant data</i> | <i>not relevant data</i> | 40 |
| 10. | Orbán, Viktor 05.2010–05.2014 | 8 | 13 | 53 | 13 | 142 | 221 |

* – included Prime Ministers.

Source: Author's research dataset.

Gender composition of governments

Gender composition of Hungarian cabinets is similar as in the Parliament. Women are filled in government positions low proportion. Women has been appointed only 12.9% in examined period. There is also difference between political and bureaucratic leader positions. Table 2 shows that the average of total government rate is increased by women in deputy state secretary positions. Number of women in political leader positions and in the administrative state secretary positions in cabinets is the same that number of women among Members of Parliament. The rate of women in Hungarian parliament was 9.5% between 1990 and 2006 (B. Kelemen, 2008, p. 69) and approximate proportion of women is parliament elected in 2014. At the present time there are 20 women from 199 MPs (10.05%).⁴

⁴ Data's source: Hungarian National Assembly Official Webpage, <http://www.parlament.hu/>, 14.11.2015.

Hungary has never had woman Prime Minister yet and women filled in larger number the second rather top positions in government except in the Medgyessy cabinet. Women ministers served in all governments except Boross and Bajnai government, although their rate – just 17 person (8.21%) is low in important decision-making positions.

Table 2

Women in Hungarian cabinets 1990–2014

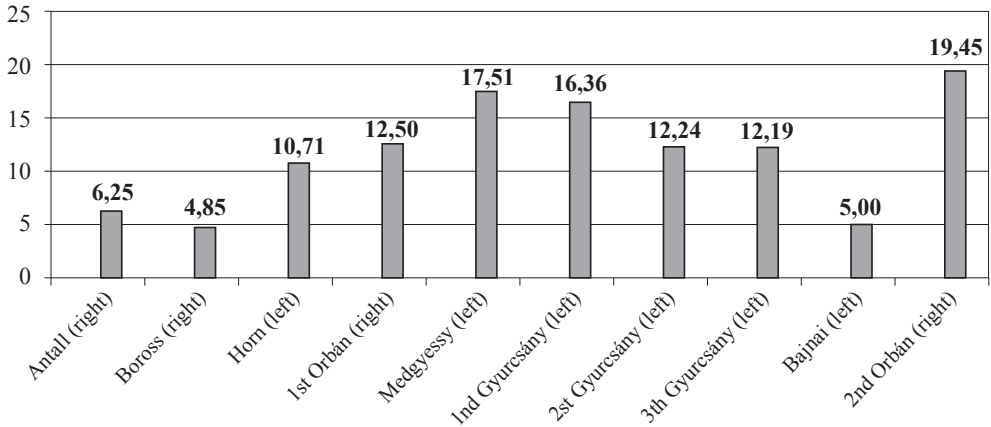
| | | Prime Minister | Minister | (Political State Secretary | Administrative State Secretary | Deputy State Secretary | Male/Female |
|---------------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Antall government | Male | 1 | 28 | 25 | 26 | 85 | 165 |
| | Female | – | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 11 (6.25%) |
| Boross government | Male | 1 | 17 | 15 | 13 | 52 | 98 |
| | Female | – | – | 2 | 1 | 2 | 5 (4.85%) |
| Horn government | Male | 1 | 23 | 17 | 18 | 91 | 150 |
| | Female | – | 2 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 18 (10.71%) |
| I. Orbán government | Male | 1 | 27 | 31 | 28 | 109 | 196 |
| | Female | – | 1 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 28 (12.5%) |
| Medgyessy government | Male | 1 | 19 | 29 | 22 | 75 | 146 |
| | Female | – | 5 | 2 | 2 | 22 | 31 (17.51%) |
| I. Gyurcsány government | Male | 1 | 19 | 28 | 20 | 70 | 138 |
| | Female | – | 2 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 27 (16.36%) |
| II. Gyurcsány government | Male | 1 | 15 | 27 | not relevant data | not relevant data | 43 |
| | Female | – | 3 | 3 | | | 6 (12.24%) |
| III. Gyurcsány government | Male | 1 | 14 | 21 | not relevant data | not relevant data | 36 |
| | Female | – | 2 | 3 | | | 5 (12.19%) |
| Bajnai government | Male | 1 | 17 | 20 | not relevant data | not relevant data | 38 |
| | Female | – | – | 2 | | | 2 (5.0%) |
| II. Orbán government | Male | 1 | 11 | 47 | 9 | 110 | 178 |
| | Female | – | 1 | 6 | 4 | 32 | 43 (19.45%) |
| Men: | | 10 | 190 | 260 | 136 | 592 | sum men 1188 |
| Women: | | 0 | 17 (8.21%) | 32 (10.95%) | 15 (9.93%) | 112 (15.9%) | sum women 176 (12.9%) |

Source: Author's research dataset.

Larger participation of women in political decision making is raised by parties several times since the regime change so far without result. The bill made by liberal MPs about compulsory gender equality quota has not been accepted by parliament in 2007. So parties have right to decide about proportion of women representation in offices (Ilonszki, Várnagy, 2007; Ilonszki, 2009). Hungarian Socialist Party has volunteer gender quota: 20% from MP candidates must be female. Two new parties the “Politics Can be Different” and the “Dialogue for Hungary” use parity norm in party leadership: both of them has one woman and one man.

Data in table 2 shows that politics is still world of men in Hungary. There is not relevant different among left-wing and right-wing parties.

Figure 1. Women in the left-wing and right-wing cabinets 1990–2014



Source: Author’s research dataset.

Women were appointed the largest proportion at Medgyessy and 2nd Orban cabinet exceeding 10% rate of political elite. Comparing this data to data in Table 2 clearly shows that larger rate of women in governments is caused by larger number of women in deputy state secretary positions. Proportion of political leaders of ministries after regime change is correspond with women’s rate among MPs. Only in Medgyessy cabinet between 2002 and 2004 were number of woman ministers significantly higher (5 woman ministers, 20%) because of upcoming accession to the European Union in this period. The equal opportunity criteria and expectations were influenced on government structure (Ilonszki, 2013) and composition of cabinet. There were special EU focused positions in the cabinet like minister without portfolio to organize EU Affairs and minister without portfolio for Equal Opportunity that was filled in by women.⁵

Representation at middle level

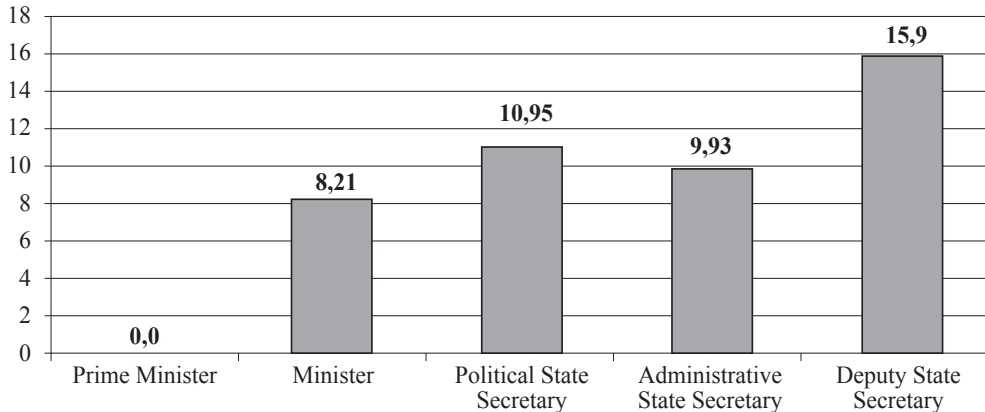
Data confirms that women are appointed larger number in second, deputy positions both on politics-and bureaucratic-leader level in ministries

As it was mentioned above Hungary has never had woman Prime Minister yet. The proportion of women is the lowest among ministers except in Medgyessy cabinet (see Table 2). The European experiences shows that successful woman politicians are often who represent special women issues e.g. women in labor market, political representation etc (Kiss, 2005). However in case of Hungarian woman ministers is less discovered this special “female issues-female politicians” context. Woman ministers their own positions have not to thank for representing woman issues but for professional skills in their own job or for their own leader-position in coalition parties. The most of woman ministers were appointed in portfolio fitting their career-path before ministerial office. Two aspects

⁵ At the beginning of Medgyessy cabinet Katalin Lévai filled in this position. After she was elected as MEP in 2004 position was filled in by Kinga Göncz.

of appointment are linked also several times. Ibolya David minister of justice in first Orbán government was nominated to this position less than she was a female politicians but she represented Hungarian Democratic Forum one of coalition parties in this cabinet. However her portfolio matched with her previous professional lawyer career.

Figure 2. Women among politicians and bureaucrats in Hungarian cabinets



Source: Author's research dataset.

Katalin Levai minister of equal opportunity in Medgyessy cabinet had a special in-between political career. She dealt with women's equality issues before her ministerial appointment, she published also articles in this policy field. As MEP after ministerial position she dealt with women issues in European Parliament from 2004 to 2009. However her political career could not be considered typical female political career path because of her sort political job. Before and after her ministerial and MEP positions Katalin Lévai did not participate in political life.

Special woman political career could not take into consideration in case of nomination of political state secretary positions. This position in the Hungarian political system is obviously political position due to political character of persons who filled in these positions. The most of them were in other political positions before ministerial appointment (e.g. (MP and/or member of local committee, major, party leader) (Ilonszki, Ványi, 2011; Ványi, 2015, p. 184). But career studies made among woman political state secretaries show clearly that women were recruited in these positions based on political and professional career path, too. Degree of woman political state secretaries had impact on portfolio where they were appointed. They hold political leader position in ministries in which policy field they had competence by their professional career before appointment.

In summary base of recruitment of woman political leaders (ministers and political state secretaries) in Hungarian governments is professional skills, party leader positions or execution a political program like in case of Medgyessy cabinet. Nomination and appointment to top leaders cabinets position in Hungary is up to decision of parties and Prime Ministers and it less based on gender-aspects.

Administrative state secretary and deputy state secretary positions of ministries are bureaucratic leader position based on Hungarian status laws. Although women are the

largest number in deputy state secretary positions career studies made among woman bureaucratic state secretaries confirm that gender aspects do not play role their appointment. The most of woman administrative and deputy state secretaries had previous bureaucratic experience before their appointment (60% of administrative state secretaries and 58.9%⁶ of deputy state secretaries) and it can be generally said that they were appointed in degree-compatibility policy field in cabinets.

Which level of positions?

Based on Jacob-Scherpereel and Adams’s article (2014) I was very interested in the level of positions what women could reach in cabinets. The mentioned paper investigated the impact of international gender norms on the cabinet members between 1979 and 2009.⁷ One of their hypothesis was that gender balanced norms adopted by the most of countries in the world have a larger impact to representation of women in cabinets and less at parliamentary level. The second hypothesis of article was that the gender norms have stronger impact on appointments at low-prestige positions of cabinets. Since both of examined gender norms (CEDAW, 1979 and Beijing Platform for Action, 1995⁸) which offer average 30% women’s participation in politics were ratified by Hungary I tested in my own research which level of cabinet positons are opened for women in Hungary.

Basis of separation of cabinet positions was the method used by quoted authors (Jacob, Scherpereel, Adams, 2014, p. 326). Positions in Ministry of Interior, Defense, Economic Affairs, Finance and Foreign Affairs were coded as high-prestige positions and others like social affairs, culture, education, health were low-prestige positions.

Table 3

Women in high-prestige and low-prestige positions in Hungarian cabinets 1990–2014

| | | Minister | (Political) State Secretary | Administrative State Secretary | Deputy State Secretary |
|---------------------|---------------|----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Antall government | high-prestige | 1 | 1 | – | 1 |
| | low-prestige | | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Boross government | high-prestige | – | – | – | 2 |
| | low-prestige | – | 2 | 1 | – |
| Horn government | high-prestige | 1 | 1 | – | 5 |
| | low-prestige | 1 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| I. Orbán government | high-prestige | – | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| | low-prestige | 1 | 4 | 2 | 9 |

⁶ Biography data connected to 2nd Orban government is deficient. 13 biography is missing now from 32 woman deputy state secretaries.

⁷ Author’s data come from the CIA’s *Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments* report 1979–2009 in five-year intervals (1979, 1984, 1989, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009) (Jacob, Scherpereel, Adams, 2014, p. 327).

⁸ CEDAW convention was ratified in 1982, and an action plan based on Beijing Platform for Action was accepted in 1997. <http://szmm.gov.hu/main.php?folderID=996&articleID=31405&ctag=articelist&iid=1>.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---------------------------|---------------|---|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| Medgyessy government | high-prestige | 1 | – | – | 8 |
| | low-prestige | 4 | 2 | 2 | 14 |
| I. Gyurcsány government | high-prestige | 1 | – | 1 | 8 |
| | low-prestige | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| II. Gyurcsány government | high-prestige | 2 | 2 | not relevant data | not relevant data |
| | low-prestige | 1 | 1 | | |
| III. Gyurcsány government | high-prestige | 1 | 2 | | |
| | low-prestige | 1 | 1 | | |
| Bajnai government | high-prestige | – | 1 | | |
| | low-prestige | – | 1 | | |
| II. Orbán government | high-prestige | 1 | 4 | 3 | 29 |
| | low-prestige | | 2 | 1 | 3 |

Source: Author's research dataset.

The Table 3 shows that participation of women in low-prestige cabinet positions is significant larger than high-prestige positions both at political and bureaucrats level. High-prestige positions filled by women are various. Women were represented at all of mentioned high-prestige field in cabinets. The most of low-prestige positions filled by women are social affairs, health, equal opportunity and education and culture. This picture is similar than other countries in the world. Based on data collected by Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2010 and 2015⁹ women are represented the larger proportion in following portfolios.

Table 4

Portfolios held by women 2010, 2015*

| 2010 | 2015 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Social Affairs | Social Affairs |
| Family/Children/Youth Affairs | Environment/Natural Resources/Energy |
| Environment/Natural Resources/Energy | Woman's Affairs/Gender Equality |
| Woman's Affairs/Gender Equality | Family/Children/Youth Affairs |
| Employment/Labour/Vocational Training | Culture |

* – Table refers just only 1–5 portfolio/year.

Source: Inter-parliamentary Union Survey.

However data represent some interesting exception. Traditionally there is an opinion in European society and especially in Central Europe that right-wing parties represent the idea that women do not want to take part in politics and world of politics is not world of women. However it seems on the table that in the first Orbán-government was the number at deputy state secretary position equal in high-and low-prestige positions, and the number of women at political state secretary position and deputy state secretary position is larger than low-prestige positions.

⁹ Women in Politics: 2010, Map includes data about 188 countries, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmmmap10_en.pdf; and Women in Politics: 2015, Map includes data about 191 countries, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmmmap15_en.pdf.

These data are very important regarding change of government structure in 2010. The government decision making process has fundamentally changed in the new integrated ministry structure. The political state secretary is responsible for making public policy in her or his own special policy field and based on law (Law XLIII/2010) minister heads ministry within framework of the general policy of the government. This task and responsibility of political state secretaries in political decision making throw new light upon the status and number of women at this position in the second Orban government.

Another noteworthy fact is that second and third Gyurcsany government where bureaucratic leaders of ministries were in political position based on 'political governance' theory of prime minister in, women were appointed larger number at high-prestige position. These not average proportion of women in some Hungarian cabinets tones the picture about representation of women in politics in Hungary although the overall picture shows that status of women in Hungarian cabinets similar than the most of countries in the world. Proportion of women in Hungarian cabinets is lower than offered by International Organizations and they are rather low-prestige positions like social affairs and education and culture.

Conclusion

The final question is why is this situation in Hungary? What is the reason the women's underrepresentation in the political decision making in Hungary after the regime change? Based on offers of international organizations the proportion of women in politics would have been approximately 30%. Even so the number of women is significant lower both at parliamentary and at governmental level from 1990.

Although the rate of representation of women in this period was determined by state communist party and ideology the proportion of women was nearly 20%¹⁰ at the last parliament from 1985 to 1990 and there were only one woman minister¹¹ in the last cabinet immediately before regime change. Data show the politics is not was and not is opened for women in large number.

I think there are two reasons in the background: Hungarian political culture and political tradition and gate-keeper role of parties in recruitment process of powerful positions in cabinets.

Attitudes of Hungarian society to women's participation in public life are less supportive than in Western Europe. This comes on one hand from traditionally agricultural society roots of the country and other hand from child-and family-oriented values of society (Pongrácz, 2005) which suggest the unspoken norm that tasks of women connect rather in private than public life.

Hungarian parties cannot break through or do not want to break through this attitude of society. Cabinet positions are patronage positions so parties have a strong impact on recruitment process. Although based on status laws bureaucratic leaders at ministries

¹⁰ The number of women were 80 from 386 MPs at the last parliament (Jónás, 1990, p. 8).

¹¹ There were all together 6 women ministers at 11 cabinets from 1945 to 1990 in Hungary. Some of them served not only one cabinet. More than two ministers were not in each cabinet at the same time in this period.

would have filled in their positions continuous between new governments since the regime change people who filled in this positions were changed all government (Ványi, 2015).

As shown by data above women could reach rather second leader positions larger number both political and bureaucratic level in cabinets. And this positions were less powerful positions. Women represented woman-specific policy fields in cabinets like social affairs, family-and child affairs, equal opportunity. It is the reason larger representation of women at deputy state secretary level. This position is one of the higher leader positions at ministries that could reached through bureaucratic career path. Administrative positions are women positions in modern society and to achieve higher positions in bureaucratic level is a real career path for women at ministries. Most of women at deputy state secretary level had long former ministerial career.

The proportion of women in government decision making was larger only in Medgyessy cabinet. This cabinet served during Hungary's accession process to European Union and this process had impact government composition.

Women's representation in government decision making in Hungary shows a double image. On one hand fitting the international standards women are in woman-specified positions and other hand underachieving in proportion of women in political decision making.

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Udział kobiet w procesie podejmowaniu decyzji rządowych na Węgrzech

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszego artykułu było zbadanie udziału kobiet w podejmowaniu decyzji rządowych na Węgrzech. Zarówno na poziomie ministerialnym, jak i na poziomie sekretarzy stanu. Albowiem to właśnie sekretarze stanu na Węgrzech, na płaszczyźnie politycznej oraz biurokratycznej, odgrywają również istotną rolę w procesie podejmowania decyzji. Co więcej zaobserwowano, że jedynym miejscem, w procesie podejmowania decyzji politycznych na Węgrzech, gdzie może realnie pojawić się większa liczba kobiet są stanowiska zastępców sekretarzy stanu. Wynika to z zaistnienia dwóch głównych powodów: węgierskiej kultury politycznej i tradycji politycznej oraz funkcjonowania partii politycznych, jako swego rodzaju gate-keeperów, w procesie rekrutacji na najważniejsze stanowiska w gabinecie rządowym. Praca swym zasięgiem obejmuje lata 1990–2014, wskazując zmiany w zakresie udziału kobiet w różnych rządach oraz w ich strukturze wewnętrznej. Wyniki oparte są na badaniach empirycznych, które analizują kluczowe organy ministerialne oraz władzy wykonawczej. Analiza obejmuje wszystkich przywódców politycznych i administracje rządów od 1990 do czerwca 2006 r., a także od 2010 do czerwca 2014 r.

Słowa kluczowe: kobiety, partycypacja, reprezentacja, proces podejmowania decyzji w rządzie, Węgry

