

List and Abstracts of Publications

1. Boris Gurov and Emilia Zankina. 2013. "Populism and the Construction of Political Charisma: Post-transition Politics in Bulgaria", *Problems of Post Communism*, Vol. 60 (1): 3-17. [*Problems of Post-Communism* is a **peer-reviewed** journal indexed in the Web of Science with an Impact Factor of 0.441 © 2015 Thomson Reuters]

The article examines the rise of populism in Bulgarian post-communist politics and the shift to leader-dominated populist parties, relying on a charismatic relationship with voters. The article argues that the transformation from classical political parties to personalism is not a "dysfunction" of democratic politics or the product of electorate discontent and transition fatigue, but a consequence of a change in the incentive structure, as personalist parties significantly reduce the transaction cost for investment in the political process. Using the Bulgarian case to illustrate our argument, we propose a general model that can help understand the boom of personalist populist parties across Europe.

2. Emilia Zankina. 2016. "Theorizing the New Populism in Eastern Europe: A Look at Bulgaria". *Czech Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 23 (2): 182-199. [**Peer-Reviewed** Non-Impact Periodical]

This article offers a new theoretical approach to populism that allows for a better understanding of the rise of populism in Eastern Europe and its appearance from across the political spectrum. It argues that populism is a political strategy utilized by personalist parties to reduce the transaction costs of politics by increasing the use of informal political institutions, which have an association with direct and immediate action, and decreasing the use of formal political institutions, which have connotations of slow or non-action. This approach allows for better understanding of voter behavior and voter support for populist parties and introduces a dynamics-based component which helps understand the rise and evolution of populist parties and changes in their voter support, further linking them to changes in the political and economic context. Moreover, highlighting the strategic aspect of populist political behavior, this approach allows for examining the effects of populism on institutions (the transaction cost framework constituting the core of institutional economics), business, and the functioning of democracy. The Bulgarian case is used to illustrate and substantiate this theoretical proposition and to stipulate on the effect of populist movements and parties on democracy.

3. Boris Gurov and Emilia Zankina. 2011. "A King and a Premier: Construction of Political Charisma and the Return of Simeon II to Bulgarian Politics", *Sociology and Economy*, Vol. 1 (1): 21-36.

This article examines the return of former king Simeon II to Bulgaria as a prime minister. Despite its almost anecdotic nature, this event brought about profound transformation in Bulgarian political life by legitimizing the construction of charisma, the use of populist discourse and the establishing of personality-driven parties as a new formula for political success. Applying the concept of synergistic charisma (a combination of external factors and the qualities of the leader), we examine Simeon's strategy in constructing charisma and argue that his short-lived appearance

in Bulgarian post-communist politics has left a lasting mark on political developments in the country.

4. Emilia Zankina. "Backdoor Politics: Politicisation through Restructuring in the Bulgarian Civil Service". *East European Politics*, forthcoming. [**peer-reviewed**; Impact Factor:0.437, Ranking: Area Studies 32 out of 66, Political Science 114 out of 161, 5-Year Impact Factor:0.509, 5-Year Ranking: Area Studies 34 out of 66, Political Science 113 out of 161]

The article examines politicisation in the Bulgarian public administration by looking at the restructuring of administrative bodies. In the presence of a civil service law and continued EU monitoring of the public sector, restructuring becomes the main instrument for politicians to fill the administration with politically loyal cadres both with the goal of control and reward, thus bypassing institutional mechanisms that intend to guarantee a professional and apolitical civil service. The paper makes a case for adopting restructuring as an additional proxy measurement of politicisation next to already existing methods. Using this approach, the article examines variations in the level of politicisation across sectors and across time and links specific instances of restructuring to concrete political events and the general political context. The article demonstrates the utility of this new approach and argues that politicisation of the Bulgarian civil service is pervasive, legal restrictions often prove ineffective in uprooting politicisation, while external monitoring and control contribute to lower levels of politicisation.

5. Rashkova Ekaterina and Emilia Zankina. 2013. "Does Parity Exist in the 'Macho' World? Party Regulation and Gender Representation in the Balkans", *Representation*, 49 (4): 425-438. Special Issue on Gender Representation and Party Regulation. [Representation is a **peer-reviewed** journal. All submitted manuscripts are subject to initial appraisal by the Editors, and, if found suitable for further consideration, to peer review by independent, anonymous expert referees. Peer review is double blind and submission is online via ScholarOne]

Recent work on the regulation of political parties looks at the question of whether increasing regulation promotes democracy, or whether it creates barriers to entry and thus damages at least one of the rights guaranteed by democratic political systems – the right to be represented. How regulation affects representation is particularly important to underrepresented groups – ethnic, religious, or gender. Focusing on the representation of women, we examine the effect of party regulation, as seen in the Constitution and the Party Law, on gender representation. We look beyond quotas, and study the effect that rules about the setting up, the existence, and the competition of parties have on female representation. To do so we examine changes in the descriptive representation of women across parties, districts and over time in Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia. We are particularly interested in the development of women representation in the Balkans as this is a region which combines the East and West politically, yet shares patriarchic cultural traits and historic characteristics, which may prove crucial for the gender balance in the political sphere. We find that while regulation of political parties has important indirect consequences for women representation, gender-specific regulation proves to be the most powerful tool for the inclusion of women in politics.

6. Ekaterina Rashkova and Emilia Zankina. 2014. "When Less Means More: Influential Women of the Right – the Case of Bulgaria", in Sarah Childs and Karen Celis (eds.), *Gender, Conservatism and Political Representation*, ECPR Press, pp. 103-120. [The European Consortium for Political

Research Press is the top publisher in Europe for political science research. All proposals are rigorously **peer-reviewed** before being accepted for publication, preserving the high editorial standards for which the Press has become known]

This chapter investigates the commonly accepted belief that women's presence in parliament furthers the substantive representation of women. This conventional wisdom is challenged within the context of Bulgaria due to the historical legacy of the Communist Party which has included a large number of women among its ranks, yet women with no particular voice. Such legacy distorts the traditional meaning of Left (as progressive and reform-oriented), which has failed to carry over to the post-communist context, and has had an impact on women's representation in politics, both descriptive and substantive. The chapter shows that after the fall of the regime, parties of the Right were staging as many women as the former Communist party dominating the Left, and have also borne out several influential female politicians. While we cannot argue for party feminization in Right parties, it is those parties that bear the kernels of real female political influence in post-communist Bulgaria. The chapter argues that while substantive representation is still in the making, the substantive presence of women (meaning women with real influence over political processes and outcomes) is a necessary factor for achieving better female political representation and greater gender equality in the future.

7. Ekaterina Rashkova and Emilia Zankina. 2015. "Women in Politics in Eastern Europe: A Changing Outlook", in Wilhelm Hofmeister, Megha Sarmah, and Dilpreet Kaur (eds.), *Women Policy and Political Leadership*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, pp.87-94. 94 [solicited contribution, **reviewed by the editors**. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung is a political foundation and think-tank that supports democratic values]

The dramatic transformations that have marked East European countries, namely the imposition and then collapse of communist regimes, followed by an uneven and troubled transition towards democracy and European integration, have defined the role of women in politics. Change is what best describes gender representation in Eastern Europe.

Former communist countries are often described as patriarchic in culture and a place where women face discrimination, are underrepresented in politics, and are expected to have superior credentials in order to be granted access to political positions (Matland 2003: 326). East European women are often accused of "gender blindness" (Fuszara 2010) and aversion towards Western feminist agenda (Matland 2003), while political parties are blamed for lack of interest in promoting women or gender equality (Chiva 2005). While such view is not inaccurate in comparative terms, it prevents us from seeing the fast and dramatic changes that are taking place in the region and that are reshaping women's political representation. If communist regimes staged women in large numbers but with no power, today female politicians are claiming the highest political posts. Representation in parliament is steadily growing, in many places due to the reintroduction of gender quotas, whereas the presence of women in government is growing at an even faster rate. EU's influence is evident not only in legal transposition, but in the gradual adoption of norms and values that bring increased gender awareness and change of mentality.

We offer a brief account of the changing nature of gender representation in Eastern Europe, emphasizing the positive trends in the last decade, while accounting for still existing gaps and past legacies. Gender representation in the region has undergone three major transformations – the forced and hollow emancipation of women during communist rule, the almost complete neglect of women's issues and sharp drop in women's political representation following the

collapse of communist regimes, and the gradual increase in the number and status of women in politics as a result of European integration. To illustrate the change of women's political representation, we briefly examine each.

8. Ekaterina Rashkova and Emilia Zankina. Forthcoming. "How Radical, How Much for Women? Examining the Gender Question in Radical Right Parties in Bulgaria", *West European Politics*. [Peer-reviewed journal, 2014 Impact Factor: 1.576 / 5-Year Impact Factor: 1.692]

This article focuses on the representation of women in radical right parties and examines the often assumed relationship between the radical right and gender, namely that radical right parties are overwhelmingly run, supported by, and representing the male part of the population. Using data from elections, party platforms, and parliamentary committees the paper answers the question: are PRR parties in Bulgaria Männerparteien? Using the case of Bulgaria, where both radicalism in parties and the strive for gender equality are relatively new phenomena, we suggest that the Männerparteien argument is too simplistic. We argue, that in order to make a claim about representation, one needs to study the behavior of both male and female MPs and across all party families. By doing that, we conclude that while in descriptive representation terms, radical right parties are still primarily composed of men, an examination of the substantive representation of women's issues, puts this relationship into question. Furthermore, we show that while men outnumber women in all political parties, both radical right women and men have been more active in women's issues than their gender counterparts from other political parties. These findings suggest two things: one, we cannot study gender equality matters without comparing the activity of both men and women; and two, the classification of radical right parties as Männerparteien based on descriptive representation only, is too simplistic and to an extent, misleading.

9. Emilia Zankina. Forthcoming. "Politicians Are All Crooks! Everyday Politics in Bulgaria," in David Montgomery (ed.), *Everyday Life in the Balkans*, Indiana University Press, expected publication 2017. [IU Press is an internationally recognized publishing enterprise that exists to serve the needs of the scholarly community. All titles are subject to **peer review**]

Politics in Bulgaria is eventful and in some ways even unique. Between 2013-2014, Bulgaria witnessed continued political instability and public discontent: mass protests toppled two governments; two early parliamentary elections failed to produce a stable majority in parliament; and four governments (two of which care-taker) struggled to address pressing issues in the energy, banking, and social sectors, resulting in inconsistent policy and reform efforts. Despite continued EU monitoring, Bulgaria continues to struggle with endemic corruption (the highest among EU-member states) and a dysfunctional judicial system.

The early years of the transition were in no way any better. Bulgaria went through nine governments between 1990-1997 and was one of the two countries where the former communists won the first free elections (the other being Romania). Bulgaria is also the country where a former king was elected prime minister, who subsequently formed a coalition with the very same party that dethroned him.

This chapter attempts to make sense of politics in Bulgaria by looking at the political engagement and attitudes of ordinary Bulgarians. How do Bulgarians view politics and politicians? Is politics a significant part of their everyday life and to what extent does it impact them? How much and in what way do Bulgarians engage politically and what are the main

motivations behind their political action or inaction? Are new generations different than generations raised under communist rule in their political behavior and outlook? Following a brief account of political developments and political engagement in post-communist Bulgaria, the chapter makes use of focus group research to address these questions.

10. Veneta Andonova, Emilia Zankina and Yana Shaleva. 2014. "Determinants of Bulgarian Outward Foreign Direct Investment," in Ekaterina Turkina and Mai Thai (eds.), *Internationalization of Firms from Economies in Transition: The Effects of a Politico-Economic Paradigm Shift*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.145-173. [Edward Elgar Publishing is a leading international academic and professional publisher with a strong focus on the social sciences and legal fields. All titles are **peer-reviewed** by subject specialists to ensure its books are of the very best quality]

This study investigates the determinants of Bulgarian outward foreign direct investment and the extent to which well-established theoretical explanations (capital market imperfections, special ownership advantages and institutional factors) complement with contingent political factors such as political risk and the intensity of bilateral foreign relations. While guided by free-market forces, foreign investment decisions by a new democracy, that experienced a complex and prolonged transition are arguably subject to political influences. The erratic pattern of the early and even later years of the Bulgarian economic and political transition has been accompanied with a search for external legitimacy and speculations about the economic implications of political commitments. This exploratory study looks at possible determinants of the Bulgarian outward foreign direct investment among which the influence of bilateral foreign relations and political risk. The reported evidence is consistent with the predictions of the general theory of foreign direct investment. For the case of Bulgaria the contingent political factors studied here do not appear to correlate with the stock of Bulgarian outward direct investment. Below we briefly describe the relevant economic and political dimensions of the Bulgarian transition. In the next section we present the empirical data, the methodology and the findings of the study. Finally, we discuss the implications of the research findings.