

**Winter Term 2016/17**

**Prof. Dr. André Kaiser**

**Hauptseminar Comparative Political Institutions: The Political Representation of Women**

**Class Time: Fri 12:00 – 13:30 h**

**Classroom: Hörsaal des Forschungsinstituts**

**First session: 21 October 2016**

**Course description:**

Although women make up more than half of the population they are underrepresented in legislative and executive politics in democratic political systems. Why is this the case? What are the consequences of female underrepresentation for politics and policy making? Are cultural attitudes fixed or do they change once a “critical mass” of female representation is achieved by using institutions such as quotas? Since we find enormous differences in the representation of women between countries a comparative perspective focusing on political institutions is a pertinent approach to giving answers to these research questions.

**Logistics:**

Enrolment will take place in the first and second session. After that, no further enrolments will be accepted. Students are expected to:

- attend sessions regularly
- actively contribute to classroom discussions
- complete assigned readings according to schedule
- give oral presentations based on assigned readings and hand in a research paper of about 15 pages in length on 15 March 2017 at the latest (late assignments will be penalized, unless prior arrangements are made!). You are free to hand in individual research papers or group research papers.

Since most reading assignments are in English, this will be the general classroom language as well. Participants therefore must know enough English to be able to participate actively. Perfection is not required – you just need to understand and make yourself understood.

### **Office Hour:**

Appointments can be arranged via email ([André.Kaiser@uni-koeln.de](mailto:André.Kaiser@uni-koeln.de))

### **Reading assignments:**

A reader with the required texts will be made available to participants in the first and the second session.

### **Course Schedule:**

#### **21 Oct 2016 Course Introduction**

#### **28 Oct 2016 The Concepts of Gender and Representation**

- Required: Philipps, A. (1994). Dealing with Difference: A Politics of Ideas or a Politics of Presence? *Constellations* 1, 74-91.
- Lovenduski, J. (1998). Gendering Research in Political Science. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, 333-356.
- Pitkin, H. (1989). Representation. In Ball, T., Farr, J. & Hanson, R. (Eds). *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967). Representing as “Acting For”: The Analogies. In *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Additional: Philipps, A. (1995). *Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2006). Gender as an Analytic Category. In *Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, pp. 145-175.
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapters 4-5.

#### **4 Nov 2016 Culture and Social Structure**

- Required: Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.
- Ross, M. (2008). Oil, Islam, Women. *American Political Science Review* 102, 107-123.
- Additional: Paxton, P. & Hughes, M. (2007). *Women, Politics, and Power – A Global Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, Chapter 4.

#### **11 Nov 2016 Voting Mechanisms**

- Required: Studlar, D. & McAllister, I. (2002). Electoral Systems and Women's Representation: A Long-Term Perspective. *Representation* 39, 3-14.
- Fortin-Rittberger, J. & Eder, C. (2013). Towards a Gender Equal Bundestag? The Impact of Electoral Rules on Women's Representation. *West European Politics*. DOI: 10.1080/01402382.2013.796702
- Kaiser, A. & Hennl, A. (2008). Wahlsysteme und Frauenrepräsentation – Ein Vergleich der deutschen Landesparlamente. *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 2, 167-184.
- Additional: Matland, R. (1998). The Effect of Electoral Systems on Women's Representation. Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems. In: Karam, A. (Ed.) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm, pp. 65-88.
- Salmond, R. (2006). Proportional Representation and Female Parliamentarians. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31, 175–204.

#### **18 Nov 2016 Political Structure and the Role of Political Parties**

- Required: Matland, R. (1998). Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23, 109–25.
- Caul, M. (1999). Women's Representation in Parliament. The Role of Political Parties. *Party Politics* 5, 79-98.
- Additional: Kittilson, Caul, M. (2006). *Challenging parties, changing parliaments: women and elected office in contemporary Western Europe*. The Ohio State University Press.

Kunovich, S. & Paxton, P. (2005). Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation. *American Journal of Sociology* 111, 505-552.

## **2 Dec 2016 Quotas**

Required: Krook, M. (2006). Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide. *Politics & Gender* 2, 303-327.

Franceschet, S. & Piscopo, J. (2008). Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics & Gender* 4, 393-425.

Additional: Dahlerup, D. (2006). *Women, Quotas, and Politics*. New York, Routledge.

Goetz, A. & Hassim, S. (Eds) (2003). *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. New York: Zed Books.

Davidson-Schmich, L. (2006). Implementation of Political Party Gender Quotas. Evidence from the German Länder 1990-2000. *Party Politics* 12, 211-32.

Hennl, A. & Kaiser, A. (2008). Ticket-balancing in mixed-member proportional systems. Comparing sub-national elections in Germany. *Electoral Studies* 27, 321-336.

Kittilson, Caul, M. (2001). Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Study. *Journal of Politics* 64, 1214-29.

## **9 Dec 2016 Critical Mass**

Required: Studlar, D. & McAllister, I. (2002). Does a Critical Mass Exist? A Comparative Analysis of Women's Legislative Representation since 1950. *European Journal of Political Research* 41, 233-253.

Childs, S. & Krook, M. (2006). Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes. *Politics & Gender* 2, 522-530.

Grey, S. (2002). Does Size Matter? Critical Mass and New Zealand's Women MP's. *Parliamentary Affairs* 55, 19-29.

## **16 Dec 2016 Women's Legislative Behaviour**

Required: Thomas, S. (1991). The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies. *Journal of Politics* 53, 958-976.

Taylor-Robinson, M. & Heath, M. (2003). Do Women Have Different Policy Priorities than Their Male Colleagues? A Critical Case Test. *Women and Politics* 24, 77-101.

Additional: Bratton, K. (2005). Critical Mass Theory Revisited: The Behavior and Success of Token Women in State Legislatures. *Politics & Gender* 1, 97-125.

### **13 Jan 2017 Women's Interests/Case Studies on Women's Interest and Legislative Behaviour**

Required: Celis, K., Childs, S., Kantola, J. & Krook, M. L. (2009). *Constituting Women's Interests through Representative Claims*. Paper presented at the APSA Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada, 3-6 September.

Campbell, L., Childs, S. & Lovenduski, J. (2010). Do Women Need Women Representatives? *British Journal of Political Science* 40, 171-194.

Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2006). Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators. *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 570-585.

Childs, S. (2002). Hitting the Target: Are Labour Women MPs 'Acting for' Women? *Parliamentary Affairs* 55, 143-53.

Additional: Bratton, K. & Ray, L. (2002). Descriptive Representation, Policy Outcomes, and Municipal Day-Care Coverage in Norway. *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 428- 43

Murray, R. (2010). Second Among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's "Quota Women" are Up to the Job. *Politics and Gender* 6, 93-118.

Kittilson, Caul, M. (2008). Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective. *The Journal of Politics* 70, 323-334.

Chappell, L. (2002). *Gendering Government: Feminist Engagement with the State in Australia and Canada*. Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.

### **20 Jan 2017 Does Women's Presence Increase a Legislature's Legitimacy?**

Required: Mansbridge, J. (1999). Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'. *Journal of Politics* 61, 628-657.

Schwindt-Bayer, L. & Mishler, W. (2005). An Integrated Model of Women's Representation. *Journal of Politics* 67, 407-428.

Additional: Burnet, J. (2011). Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda. *Politics & Gender* 7, 303-334.

### **27 Jan 2017 Effect of Women's Presence on the Perceptions of Voters**

Required: Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2000). The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective. *International Political Science Review* 21, 441-463.

Campbell, D. & Wolbrecht, C. (2006). See Jane Run: Women Politicians as Role Models for Adolescents. *Journal of Politics* 68, 233-247.

### **3 Feb 2017 Women as National Leaders/Importance of Role Models**

Required: Davidson-Schmich, L. (2011). Gender, Intersectionality, and the Executive Branch: The Case of Angela Merkel. *German Politics* 20, 325-341.

Hellmann-Rajanayagam, D. (2009). Durga Amma ans St. Sonia, the Redeemer – Images of Women Politicians in India. In Ayaz, A. & Fleschenberg, A. (Eds). *The Gender Face of Asian Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 119-137.

Gilardi, F. (2015). The Temporary Importance of Role Models for Women's Political Representation. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4), 957-970.

Additional: Jalalzai, F. (2008). Women Rule: Shattering the Executive Glass Ceiling. *Politics & Gender* 4, 205-231.

Jalalzai, F. & Krook, M. L. (2010). Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women's Political Leadership Worldwide. *International Political Science Review* 31, 5-21.

Thomas, G. & Adams, M. (2010). Breaking the Final Glass Ceiling: The Influence of Gender in the Elections of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Michelle Bachelet. *Journal of Women Politics & Policy* 31, 105-131.

### **10 Feb 2017 Female Agency in Re-gendering State Processes and Institutions**

Required: Morgan, K. (2013). Path Shifting of the Welfare State: Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe. *World Politics* 65, 73-115.

Barnes, T. & Burchard, S. (2013). "Engendering" Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Political Studies* 46, 767-790.