# Women in European Politics 

Instructor: Jens Wäckerle

Time: Thursday 12:00-13:30
Room: 211 Seminarraum S103
First Session: 12 October 2023

## Email

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## Office hours

Monday 10:00-12:00 (starting 11. September, 2023). Book through this link:
https://calendly.com/cccp chair_european_politics/office_jw

## Office

IBW Building, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2

## Registration

Registration for the course and the exam separately in KLIPS2.
Please also regularly check the CCCP information on teaching:
http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/en/public/teaching/

## Course description

Women are underrepresented in parliaments across the world. While the last decades have seen a considerable rise in the number of women elected to office, differences between countries are large: While some countries have introduced quotas and raised the share of women to around $50 \%$, others struggle to catch up.
This seminar will have three parts: In the first, we will discuss the foundations of representation, how representation is conceptualised, how it is and was understood and what implications we can draw for politics today. In the second, we will look at determinants of women's numerical representation, the role of voting, quotas, parties, and careers. Finally, in the third part we will look at the effects of women's underrepresentation on issues, outcomes and democracy more broadly.

## Course Objectives

The course will:

- Give students an understanding of the important debate on representation in the political science literature.
- Introduce students to a key question of equality in society today: Who is represented in politics and who is not.
- Guide students to critically examine the literature and develop their own research ideas.
- Connect theory and literature with real-world examples, reforms, and current affairs.


## Prerequisites

Basic knowledge of concepts and methods in political science is required. Students should be able to understand academic papers written in English. Lectures and the exam will be in English.

## Class Structure

The 90-minute seminar will be roughly divided in three parts: 1) Introduction to this week's topic by the lecturer, discussion of current issues (e.g. elections, governments, media reports), 2) Discussion of the literature for that week, 3) Connecting literature with current research, current affairs or the larger context of the seminar in group work or discussion.

## Course Materials

All readings will be made available through ILIAS.

## Weekly survey and bonus points

Every week, students can participate in a survey by Wednesday evening. In this survey, they can submit discussion questions on the readings of that week. For each week, students can submit one question and will receive up to one bonus point. Throughout the semester, students can earn up to three bonus points, which will be added to the total number achieved in the term paper. Bonus points cannot be used to pass the course, they will only be added when at least 30 points are reached in the term paper.

## Term paper

After the end of the semester, a final paper of max. 5000 words (+/-5\%) has to be submitted. References do not count against the word limit. The term paper will be an extended review of one of the readings in the course. Some introductory readings are excluded from this, these are marked with an asterisk in the course plan below. The term paper will have four parts: 1) analysing the reading, 2) connection to the course and other literature, 3) critical discussion, 4) development of follow-up study. More details will be given in the first and last weeks of the course. The term paper has to be handed in through ILIAS, the deadline is $\mathbf{0 1}$. March 2024, 23:55.

## Total number of points and final grade

| Points | Grade |
| :--- | :--- |
| $0-29,5$ | 5,0 |
| $30-32,5$ | 4,0 |
| $33-35,5$ | 3,7 |
| $36-38,5$ | 3,3 |
| $39-41,5$ | 3,0 |
| $42-44,5$ | 2,7 |
| $45-47,5$ | 2,3 |
| $48-50,5$ | 2,0 |
| $51-53,5$ | 1,7 |


| $54-56,5$ | 1,3 |
| :--- | :--- |
| $57-60$ | 1,0 |

## Schedule

## I. Representation

Week 1 (12.10.2023): Introduction and Course Outline
Week 2 (19.10.2023): What is representation?

- Mansbridge, J. 1999. Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes". The Journal of Politics, 61(3), 628-657.*
- Pitkin, H. (1967). The Concept of Representation. University of California Press. Introduction.*

Week 3 (26.10.2023): How is representation organised?

- Manin, B. (1997). The Principles of Representative Government. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4 (A democratic aristocracy).*


## II. Sources of Women's (Under-)representation

Week 4 (02.11.2023): Voting for Women

- Schwarz, S., \& Coppock, A. (2022). What have we learned about gender from candidate choice experiments? A meta-analysis of sixty-seven factorial survey experiments. The Journal of Politics, 84(2), 655-668.
- Pitkin, H. (1967). The Concept of Representation. University of California Press. Chapter 4 (Standing For: Descriptive Representation).*

Week 5 (09.11.2023): Party Nomination and Quotas

- Krook, M. L. \& O'Brien, D. Z. (2011). The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide. Comparative Politics, 42(3), 253-272.

Week 6 (16.11.2023): Stereotypes, Qualifications

- Bauer, N. M., \& Santia, M. (2022). Going feminine: Identifying how and when female candidates emphasize feminine and masculine traits on the campaign trail. Political Research Quarterly, 75(3), 691-705.
- Bauer, N. M. (2020). Shifting standards: How voters evaluate the qualifications of female and male candidates. The Journal of Politics, 82(1), 1-12.

Week 7 (23.11.2023): Women's careers in political parties

- Valdini, M. E. (2019). The inclusion calculation: Why men appropriate women's representation. Oxford University Press. (Chapter 1 and 2)

Week 8 (30.11.2023): Women in leadership positions

- O'Brien, D. Z. (2015). Rising to the top: Gender, political performance, and party leadership in parliamentary democracies. American Journal of Political Science, 59(4), 1022-1039.
- Goddard, D. (2021). Examining the appointment of women to ministerial positions across Europe: 1970-2015. Party Politics, 27(4), 631-643.


## III. Effects of Women's (Under-)representation

Week 9 (07.12.2023): Intersectionality, class, and experience

- Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T., \& Rickne, J. (2017). Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man: Theory and evidence from Sweden. American economic review, 107(8), 2204-2242.
- Rosette, A. S., Koval, C. Z., Ma, A., \& Livingston, R. (2016). Race matters for women leaders: Intersectional effects on agentic deficiencies and penalties. The Leadership Quarterly, 27(3), 429-445.

Week 10 (14.12.2023): Substantive effects of women's representation

- Betz, T., Fortunato, D., \& O'Brien, D. Z. (2021). Women's descriptive representation and gendered import tax discrimination. American Political Science Review, 115(1), 307-315.
- McEvoy, C. (2016). Does the descriptive representation of women matter? A comparison of gendered differences in political attitudes between voters and representatives in the European Parliament. Politics \& Gender, 12(4), 754-780.

Week 11 (21.12.2023): Topics and Speaking Time in parliament

- Bäck, H., \& Debus, M. (2019). When do women speak? A comparative analysis of the role of gender in legislative debates. Political Studies, 67(3), 576-596.
- Wäckerle, J. (2023). A bill of their own: collaboration of women in European parliaments. European Journal of Politics and Gender, 1(aop), 1-20.

Week 12 (11.01.2024): Democracy

- Hinojosa, M., \& Kittilson, M. C. (2020). Seeing women, strengthening democracy: How women in politics foster connected citizens. Oxford University Press, USA. (Chapter 1 and 2)

Week 13 (18.01.2024): Legitimacy

- Amanda Clayton, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy. American Journal of Political Science, 63:113-129, 2019

Week 14 (25.01.2024): Wrap-up, final paper discussion, outlook
Week 15 (01.02.2024): Buffer

