



MA Seminar Comparative Politics
Summer term 2019 (2SSt)
Tuesday, 08:15-09:45 am
Raum: Ernst-Lohmeyer-Platz 3 - Raum 3.28

The Politics of Gender (In-)Equality

SYLLABUS



Photo credits: Harm Bengen

Seminar description

When Angela Merkel became German chancellor in 2005, she was the first female head of government. This makes her one of few women who managed to surpass the glass ceiling and get to the top of a political system. In the 21st century, the lion share of political officeholder is still male in most states around the globe. During this seminar, we will study the role of gender stereotypes for democratic decision-making. We will look at the role of women in different political institutions (executive and legislature) as well as the electorate. The participants will discuss questions such as: Why are women still less likely to participate in politics? Do male and female candidates have the same chances to win when running for office? Which barriers hinder gender-equal representation? And do large proportions of women in parliament cause change in the debates and policies?

The seminar will be organized around four substantial blocks: First, we study the role of women in the executive. We look at the small number of women who became either minister or head of government to identify barriers to women's selection into executive office. Second, we look at women in the legislature. On the one hand, we study explanations for continuingly low proportions of women in parliaments worldwide. On the other hand, we look at the difference women make through presence in parliaments, both for politics and policies. In the third substantial block, we study women's participation. Focusing mostly, but not exclusively, on electoral behavior, we identify the gender gap in voting and established explanations. Additional sessions are concerned with the gender gap in support for populist and extreme parties and the historical explanations for variation in the timing of the introduction of women's suffrage. Fourth, a final block is concerned with students' own research and a final reflection and discussion of avenues for future research.

Each session will be characterized by a mixture of descriptive statistics (are there gender differences?), theoretical explanations for the phenomena (why are there gender differences?), and the research design used in scholarly works to address related questions (how to find out?).

At the end of the term, students will

1. know about commonly used theories and potential explanations for continuing patterns of gender inequality in the political sphere and the empirical evidence for these hypotheses.
2. understand how in particular political institutions such as electoral systems, gender quotas, recruitment mechanism, or the political system enhance or address problems of gender equality.
3. have developed solid expertise about women's presence in governments and parliaments worldwide.
4. have strengthened their capacity to understand, communicate, and evaluate research in the field of comparative politics.

Schedule

Tuesday, April 2	Session 1:	Introduction and basics
Tuesday, April 9	Session 2:	Women as ministers
Tuesday, April 16	Session 3:	Women as prime ministers and presidents
Tuesday, April 23	Session 4:	The politics of presence
Tuesday, April 30	Session 5:	Recruitment
Tuesday, May 6	Session 6:	Critical mass theory
Tuesday, May 13	Session 7:	The difference women make
Tuesday, May 20	Session 8:	Tutorial on academic writing
Tuesday, May 27	Session 9:	Women as voters
Tuesday, June 4	Session 10:	Women as voters of populist and extreme parties
Tuesday, June 11	no session	
Tuesday, June 18	Session 11:	Historical perspective: Women's suffrage
Tuesday, June 25	Session 12:	Self-study phase
Tuesday, July 2	Session 13:	Presentation of students' research topics
Tuesday, July 9	Session 14:	Discussion and conclusion

Workload

The total workload for this seminar is 150 hours. This includes 30 hours of attendance in class, circa 60 hours for class preparation and about 60 hours for the term paper.

Attendance regulations

Discussions in class increase your chances to study successfully. The professor intends to create a productive, interactive, and learning-oriented atmosphere in class. In return, she expects students to read the weakly readings carefully, attend class and participate actively. Students' thoughts and comments concerning the organization of the class are highly welcome at any time.

Term paper

Students will have to prepare a term paper and present their research agenda in class. They can choose any topic related to politics and gender. However, students shall also draw on literature relating to their second seminar in the Comparative Politics module. The paper should be no longer than 25 pages. The deadline for term paper submissions is 1st of September 2019.

Students will prepare a brief outline until 30th of June 2019. This outline will be presented in session 13. In additional, each student will function as a discussant for another student's term paper.

Detailed guidelines on the term paper and presentation will be provided in session 8.

Session content and readings

Session 1

Topic *Introduction and basics*

Date Tuesday, 2 April 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description In the first session, we discuss the schedule of the seminar and how to pass successfully. We further start by introducing some key concepts and discussing why gender matters in politics.

Readings Ferree, M. M. (2010). Gender Politics in the Berlin Republic: Four Issues of Identity and Institutional Change. *German Politics and Society* 28 (1), 189-214.

Women in the executive

Session 2

Topic *Women as ministers*

Date Tuesday, 9 April 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description The first topic we will cover are women as government ministers. Students will learn about the share of female ministers in democracies worldwide and which women are most likely to become part of the government. Beyond explanations for office-holding, we further discuss the type of resorts women tend to hold and the explanations for these gendered selection patterns.

Readings Goddard, D. (2018). Entering the men's domain? Gender and portfolio allocation in European governments. *European Journal of Political Research* (online first).

Barnes, T. D., & O'Brien, D. Z. (2018). Defending the Realm: The Appointment of Female Defense Ministers Worldwide. *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (2), 355-368.

Session 3

Topic *Women as prime ministers and presidents*

Date Tuesday, 16 April 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description The second session on women in the executive covers women as head of governments. We identify the conditions that enable women to shatter the glass ceiling and reach the highest executive office. A particular focus will be on the en-/disabling function of political institutions such as the political system and recruitment mechanisms. However, we also include contextual factors such as the role of pioneer women or political culture.

Readings Jalalzai, F. (2008). Women rule: Shattering the executive glass ceiling. *Politics and Gender* 4, 205-231.

Verge, T., & Astudillo, J. (2019). The gender politics of executive candidate selection and reselection. *European Journal of Political Research* (online first).

Women in the legislature

Session 4

Topic *The politics of presence*

Date Tuesday, 23 April 2019, 08:15-09:94h

Description The „Politics of Presence“ will be the topic of this first session on women in the legislature. We start by summarizing information about the share of women in parliaments worldwide and how it changed over time. We further identify variation by economic development, geographical area and level of democracy. Afterwards, we discuss theoretical arguments as to why women's presence in parliaments is perceived a relevant topic in politics and how female legislators should make difference.

Readings Hughes, M.M., & Paxton, P. (2019). The political representation of women over time. In Franceschet, S., Krook, M.L., & Tan, N. (eds.) ,*The Palgrave handbook of women's political rights*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 33-51.

Phillips, A. (1998). *The politics of presence*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 28-57.

Session 5

Topic *Recruitment*

Date Tuesday, 30 April 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description This session focuses on party recruitment strategies as a key barrier and opportunity for women's selection into political office. We discuss different steps of the recruitment process, how they influence women's chances in electoral races and to what extent these mechanisms vary by electoral system. In addition, we look at the role of voluntary and legislated gender quotas as a mean to increase women's descriptive representation.

Readings Matland, R.E. (2005). Enhancing women's political participation: Legislative recruitment and electoral systems. In International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (ed.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers*, Stockholm, IDEA, 93-111.

O'Brien, D., & Rickne, J. (2016). Gender quotas and women's political leadership. *American Political Science Review* 110 (1), 112-126.

Session 6

Topic *Critical mass theory*

Date Tuesday, 7 May 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description The critical mass theory is at the heart of many studies arguing for larger shares of women in parliaments and gender quotas. We discuss the meaning of critical mass and how it might impact politics and policies. In addition, we make use on the more recent literature on critical actors to question the relevance of critical mass.

Readings Dahlerup, D. (1988). From a small to a large minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11 (4), 275-298.

Childs, S. & Krook, M.L. (2006). Should feminists give up on critical mass? A contingent yes. *Politics and Gender* 2, 522-530.

Session 7

Topic *The difference women make*

Date Tuesday, 14 May 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description In this session, we evaluate empirical evidence for the difference women make in parliaments. We start by looking at the behavior of female legislators in parliament, the committees they join and the topics they speak about. Afterwards, we move on to the outcomes of the political process and ask whether increasing shares of women in parliaments lead to a more accurate reflection of women's policy preferences by legislatures.

Readings Bäck, H., & Debus, M. (2018). When do women speak? A comparative analysis of the role of gender in legislative debates. *Political Studies* (Online first).

Dingler, S.C., Kroeber, C. & Fortin-Rittberger, J. (2018). Do parliaments underrepresent women's policy preferences? Exploring gender equality in policy congruence in 21 European democracies. *Journal of European Public Policy* (online first).

Session 8

Topic *Tutorial on academic writing.*

Date Tuesday, 21 May 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description The session is reserved to discuss and reflect on questions related to writing strategies. We discuss the key characteristics of good academic writing and how to structure texts reader friendly. We also reflect on how to avoid gender bias in academic writing in both English and German. Students will further have the opportunity to ask all questions related to the term paper.

Readings Hacker, D. (2007). A writer's reference, Boston, Bedford, ch.1-6.

Women's participation

Session 9

Topic *Women as voters*

Date Tuesday, 28 May 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description Moving on to women's participation, we start by studying women's electoral behavior. We study empirical evidence showing the existence or absence of gender gaps in turnout and vote preferences. The explanations for varying gender gaps in voting behavior worldwide will be discussed.

Readings Kittilson, M.C. (2019). Gender and electoral behavior. In Franceschet, S., Krook, M.L., & Tan, N. (eds.) *The Palgrave handbook of women's political rights*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 21-32.

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 (4), 441-463

Session	10
Topic	<i>Women as voters of populist and extreme parties</i>
Date	Tuesday, 4 June 2019, 08:15-09:45h
Description	Given the latest development in European democracies, this session is dedicated to women as voters of (right-wing) populist and extreme (right) parties. We identify a gender gap in voting behavior with men being more likely to support this type of parties. We afterwards ask for explanations, elaborating on both, the role of women's distinct policy preferences and attitudes.
Readings	<p>Immerzeel, T., Coffé, H., & van der Lippe, T. (2013). Explaining the Gender Gap in Radical Right Voting: A Cross-National Investigation in 12 Western European Countries. <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 13 (2), 263-286.</p> <p>Spierings, N. & Zaslove, A. (2017). Gender, populist attitudes, and voting: explaining the gender gap in voting for populist radical right and populist radical left parties. <i>West European Politics</i> 40 (4), 821-847.</p>

Session	11
Topic	<i>Historical perspective: Women's suffrage</i>
Date	Tuesday, 18 June 2019, 08:15-09:45h
Description	This session is dedicated to the historical explanations for the emergence of women's suffrage. We start by reviewing the four waves of women's suffrage worldwide and their explanations. Afterwards, we focus on social cleavages as a key explanation for variation in the timing of women's right to vote in Europe.
Readings	<p>Towns, A. (2019). Global patterns and debates in the granting of women's suffrage. In Franceschet, S., Krook, M.L., & Tan, N. (eds.), <i>The Palgrave handbook of women's political rights</i>, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 3-19.</p> <p>Palm, T. (2012). Embedded in social cleavages: An explanation of the variation in timing of women's suffrage. <i>Scandinavian Political Studies</i> 36 (1), 1-22.</p>

Own research and conclusion	
Session	12
Topic	<i>Self-study phase</i>
Date	Tuesday, 25 June 2019, 08:15-09:45h
Description	<p>Students make use of this session to get started on their term paper. After this session, the students prepare a handout including the following information:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Research question the aim to answer (2) Three most important pieces of related literature (3) Hypothesis they aim to test (4) Research design they want to use. <p>They will sent the handout their discussant and the instructor in preparation of the presentations in session 13.</p>
Readings	Hacker, D. (2007). <i>A writer's reference</i> , Boston, Bedford, ch.7-14.

Session 13

Topic *Presentation of students' research topics*

Date Tuesday, 2 July 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description In this session, students have the opportunity to present their term paper projects. Each student aiming to write a term paper will prepare a brief presentation. The whole class will comment on the projects.

Readings No readings.

Session 14

Topic *Discussion and conclusion*

Date Tuesday, 9 July 2019, 08:15-09:45h

Description The final session reflects on the overall seminar. We summarize the empirical evidence for patterns of inequality and barriers to women's inclusion into the different stages of the political process. We further reflect on avenues for future research.

Readings Celis, K. & Lovenduski, J. (2018). Power struggles: Gender equality in political representation. *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1 (1-2), 149-166.
