

Gender & Politics

Seminar in Social Science BA Curriculum, University of Cologne
Module: "Representation and Voting" – 14335.0707

Winter Semester 2024-2025

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Office hours: By appointment

Course Description

This course serves as an introduction to the role that gender plays in contemporary comparative politics. We will begin with discussions on how social scientists can and do study gender as a concept and how gender differences appear in society in general. We then turn to the sphere of public office and discuss what it means to represent the interests of an entire gender as an elected official. We will review the ways political institutions are and are not built to acknowledge gender and what society imagines a "good leader" to look like. After a discussion on the function of quotas to enforce greater gender equality, we will turn to several policy areas that have particularly gendered outcomes (though one could argue that all policies are gendered to some degree). Finally, we will end the semester with a discussion of the modern "anti-gender movement" and the backlash to feminist gains over the last century.

Schedule

This seminar will take place in double sessions on select Thursday afternoons from 14:00 - 17:30, concluding before the Christmas holiday break. Each week will be broken into two sessions with a 30 minute break at approximately 15:30. The days we will meet are:

October 10, 17, 24, 31; November 7, 21; December 5

We will meet in the IBW Building (Building 211, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2) on the third floor in room 3.40. The classroom is accessible by elevator.

Objectives

After participating in the course, students will be able to:

- Notice the way that gendered expectations and norms appear in their daily lives
- Articulate different theories about the "best" way to represent a group: descriptively, substantively, or a combination of both
- Discuss why women continue to be underrepresented in elected office, based on the institutional rules, stereotypes and expectations, and the experience of women who have succeeded in reaching prestigious offices
- Analyze how certain policies have stronger gender impacts on society than others do and describe potential changes to these policies that would increase gender equality
- Draw connections between subtopics of gender in politics and explain how they are all opposed by united conservative social movements

Requirements

This is an introductory seminar at the bachelor's level. Some general knowledge of political and social systems is assumed, but no specialist knowledge is required. Students are required to be able to read academic texts in English and articulate themselves in English during the class discussion, though perfection is not expected.

This course is evaluated via portfolio examination, meaning there will be multiple assignments that comprise the final grade. Students must complete all assignments to receive a passing grade. Students are also expected to complete the readings each week.

In-class presentation (25% of final grade)

Each student will prepare a 10-minute presentation on one of the assigned readings. The presentation should include a few powerpoint slides that summarize the key arguments of the text, how the study was conducted or what the article's theoretical innovation is, and a final slide reflecting on any questions the student still has after reading the article. Students are required to **submit their powerpoint slides to the instructor via Ilias at least 48 hours before the seminar (Tuesday afternoon at 14:00)**. The slides will be shared on Ilias for all students to reference. Presentations will be graded on clarity of expression, time management, and correctly identifying the most important aspects of the text.

Presentations will be assigned during the first meeting of the seminar, so attendance at this session is necessary if you wish to receive a presentation slot and pass the course! If you are not able to attend the first session, please contact the instructor as soon as possible! Students who neither attend the first session nor contact the instructor in advance cannot be guaranteed a presentation slot.

Term Paper (75% of final grade)

Each student will write a short term paper of approximately 3500 words (plus or minus 10%) on a topic related to gender and politics. Students are free to propose a topic that interests them in the realm of gender and politics, or they may choose to combine one of the session's themes with one specific country and analyze the chosen topic in that location (e.g. gender quotas in Belgium; women heads of government in Pakistan; care policies in Türkiye).

Term papers should engage with and cite some readings covered in the course. The papers should also introduce new data sources (reports, comparative statistics, etc.) and additional literature (scholarly articles or chapters from academic books) specific to the topic and evaluate them critically.

Students must **propose a topic to the instructor by December 1st** via email. There will be a penalty for students who do not propose a topic on time or who write a paper on an unapproved topic. **Final papers are due January 26, 2025 at 23:55** and should be uploaded to Ilias. There will be time in class to discuss the term papers in greater detail, and students are welcome to contact the instructor with questions. The instructor is not able to review a draft before submission.

Grading Scale

With 25 points for the presentation and 75 for the term paper, grades will be awarded as follows:

Points Earned	Grade	Points Earned	Grade
95 - 100	1.0	65 - 69.5	3.0
90 - 94.5	1.3	60 - 64.5	3.3
85 - 89.5	1.7	55 - 59.5	3.7
80 - 84.5	2.0	50 - 54.5	4.0
75 - 79.5	2.3	0 - 49.5	5.0 (fail)
70 - 74.5	2.7		

Participation

The seminar will be held in English. Please note that the instructor is a native English speaker and is not fluent in German. Students are not expected to speak English perfectly; please consider this your opportunity to practice expressing complex ideas in English if this is new to you. Accordingly, students who are already comfortable in English are expected to contribute to this warm environment where the goal is to understand one another, not to police each other's grammar.

While we cannot mandate attendance, please consider that attending the seminar shows respect to your classmates and the instructor. Our assignments throughout the semester build upon each other, so it is important to participate from the beginning and continue attending sessions to gain the information required to complete all assignments. Please take note of the registration deadlines for the course and the examination (two procedures!) and register in KLIPS 2.0 in a timely fashion.

It is the joint responsibility of instructors and students to create a respectful and inclusive atmosphere in our sessions together. The instructor wants to help you succeed in this course. If you encounter problems during the semester, either with the contents of the course or personally (e.g. illness, family, visa, etc.), and you need an extension or assistance, please contact me as soon as possible. Should you require accommodations for a disability, please also bring this to my attention.

In the spirit of respectful and mutually beneficial participation in the course, it is inappropriate to use online artificial intelligence tools like ChatGPT without citation. You are welcome to use whatever tools help you organize your ideas, find information, and improve your writing, but you should not use ChatGPT or similar tools to generate text for your assignments. This commonly results in citations to references that do not actually exist, and it can impair your learning. Please do not disrespect your classmates and instructors by trying to pass off AI-generated writing as your own work. For more information, you may consult the University of Cologne's statement on the use of AI tools: https://verwaltung.uni-koeln.de/stabsstelle02.1/content/faq/data/chatgpt/index_ger.html

Course Outline

October 10

Session 1: Introduction to studying gender

- Lovenduski, Joni (2002) "Feminizing Politics." *Women: a cultural review* 13(2): 207-220, DOI: 10.1080/09574040210149004
- Htun, Mala. (2005). "What it means to study gender and the state." *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 157-166.

October 17

Session 2: Dichotomies as conceptual tools

- Okin, Susan Moller. (1998). "Gender, the Public, and the Private" In Anne Phillips (ed.), *Feminism and Politics*, 116-141.
- Knijn, Trudie, and Monique Kremer. (1997). "Gender and the caring dimension of welfare states: toward inclusive citizenship." *Social Politics* 4 (3): 328-361.

Session 3: Equality and Difference

- Pateman, Carole. (2005). "Equality, difference, subordination: the politics of motherhood and women's citizenship." In *Beyond equality and difference* (eds. Gisela Bock and Susan James), pp. 22-35. Routledge.
- Lister, Ruth. (1998). "Citizenship and difference: Towards a differentiated universalism" *European Journal of Social Theory* 1(1): 71-90.

October 24

Session 4: The Meaning of Representation

- Jane Mansbridge. Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes". *The Journal of Politics*, 61(3):628–657, 1999
- Pamela Paxton, Melanie M. Hughes, and Tiffany D. Barnes. *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, MD, 4 edition, 2020
Chapter 1: Introduction to Women in Politics

Session 5: Gendered Institutions

- Joan Acker (1992). "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions". In: *Contemporary Sociology* 21.5, pp. 565–569. doi: 10.2307/2075528
- Louise Chappell (2006). "Comparing Political Institutions: Revealing the Gendered "Logic of Appropriateness"". In: *Politics & Gender* 2.2, Only the first essay, p. 223-234.

October 31

Session 6: Qualifications and Stereotypes

- Eagly, Alice H., and Steven J. Karau. 2002. "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice toward Female Leaders." *Psychological Review* 109(3): 573–98. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.109.3.573.
- Nichole M. Bauer (2020). "Shifting Standards: How Voters Evaluate the Qualifications of Female and Male Candidates". In: *The Journal of Politics* 82.1, pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1086/705817

Session 7: Women as heads of state and government

- Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Michelangelo Vercesi (2017). "Prime ministerial careers in the European Union: does gender make a difference?" In: *European Politics and Society* 18.2, pp. 245–262. doi: 10.1080/23745118.2016.1225655
- Diana B. Carlin and Kelly L. Winfrey (2009). "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage". In: *Communication Studies* 60.4, pp. 326–343. doi: 10.1080/10510970903109904

November 7

Session 8: Women in parliaments

- Castanho Silva, Bruno, Danielle Pullan, and Jens Wäckerle. 2024. "Blending in or Standing out? Gendered Political Communication in 24 Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12876>.
- Jessica Fortin-Rittberger and Christina Eder (2013). "Towards a Gender-Equal Bundestag? The Impact of Electoral Rules on Women's Representation". In: *West European Politics* 36.5, pp. 969–985. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2013.796702

Session 9: Gender Quotas

- Mona Lena Krook and Diana Z. O'Brien (2010). "The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide". In: *Comparative Politics* 42.3, pp. 253–272. doi: 10.5129/001041510X12911363509639
- Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Political Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia is No Longer the Model." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (1): 26-48.

Note! No meeting on November 14!

November 21

Session 10: Care Responsibilities

- Walby, Sylvia. 2020. "Varieties of Gender Regimes." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 27(3): 414–31. doi:10.1093/sp/jxaa018.
- Htun, Mala. 2022. "Women's Equality and the COVID-19 Caregiving Crisis." *Perspectives on Politics* 20(2): 635–45. doi:10.1017/S1537592721003133.
- Ellingsæter, Anne Lise. 2021. "Conflicting Policy Feedback: Enduring Tensions over Father Quotas in Norway." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 28(4): 999–1024. doi:10.1093/sp/jxaa027.

Session 11: Body and sexuality

- Briggs, Laura. 2017. *How All Politics Became Reproductive Politics: From Welfare Reform to Foreclosure to Trump*. Oakland, California: University of California Press. Introduction, p. 1-18
- hooks, bell. 2015. *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. New York, NY London: Routledge. Chapter 5: Our bodies, ourselves: Reproductive Rights, p. 25-31

Note! No meeting on November 28!

December 1: Deadline to propose a topic for your term paper via email

December 5

Session 12: Backlash to feminism and the anti-gender movement

- Verloo, Mieke, and David Paternotte. (2018). "The feminist project under threat in Europe." *Politics and Governance* 6 (3): 1-5.
- Guasti, Petra, and Lenka Bustikova. 2023. "Varieties of Illiberal Backlash in Central Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism* 70(2): 130–42. doi:10.1080/10758216.2022.2156889.
- Lavizzari, Anna. 2024. "The Anti-Gender Movement and the Populist Radical Right in Italy: A Symbiotic Relationship." *European Journal of Politics and Gender*. doi:10.1332/25151088Y2024D000000047.

Session 13: Concluding discussion and time for catch up / questions

January 26: Deadline to submit final term papers