

## **Gender quotas around the world: political dynamics and policy challenges**

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**Course Time:** Wednesdays, 10:15AM-12PM

**Location:** AND-3-44

**Office Hours:** By appointment.

### **Course Description**

When we look at women's levels of representation in politics, why do girls not "run the world" as Beyoncé so vigorously claims?

How do Rwanda and Bolivia top the world in terms of women's presence in legislatures?

If male legislators are interested in staying in politics, why would they adopt a policy that seems to go against their interest?

Are international organisations backing a policy that is "undemocratic"?

These are some of the questions we will explore throughout the year. Through the lens of the "policy cycle," this course will seek to introduce students to one of the most controversial, yet widely spread, policy innovations of the last decades: gender quotas. Gender quotas for legislative office are mechanisms with the stated purpose of accelerating the process of women's integration into the political system. The policy has been adopted in some form in over 100 countries in the world. More recently, gender quotas have also moved beyond the public sphere and into the boards of corporations.

The policy has traditionally been conceived as addressing two main gaps: the gap in women's descriptive representation—that is, the physical presence of women in areas in which they are underrepresented; as well as the void in women's substantive representation—or, the action of female office holders as representative of women's interests, by addressing "women's issues" or enacting "women-friendly" policies. But quotas have also been found to have impacts beyond these—or no impact at all.

Following the steps of the policy cycle (from problem identification to policy evaluation) students will be exposed to the process that underscores policy-making, as well as the politically-oriented challenges that otherwise well-designed public policy may face.

### **Learning Outcomes**

Throughout the course, students will: 1) identify all steps of the policy cycle; 2) learn the major findings of the scientific literature on gender quotas; 3) act as policy advisers to produce material that justifies or goes against the policy; 4) play the role of a stakeholder in the negotiation of a gender quota, and reflect upon the policy and political challenges of gender quota formulation, adoption, and implementation; 4) test and employ qualitative and quantitative research methods; and, 5) use the literature and data presented in class, as well as external material, to produce an original research essay, employing some of the theoretical and methodological frameworks learned throughout the course.

### **Course Structure and Assessment**

The course will comprise of weekly seminars lasting 1.5-hours each (a total of 14 classes); it is organised roughly around the stages of the policy process: 1) problem identification/agenda setting; 2) formulation; 3) adoption; 4) implementation; and, 5) evaluation. The course will be structured in seminar format, meaning that student participation is crucial. As such, weekly readings and activities

should be completed **before** class. Assessment will be based on three components: two activities, and a final essay.

Classes should provide a safe space for all students to express their views. Note that I will be monitoring and participating in discussions and disrespectful behaviour will not be tolerated.

**Activity 1 (20%) – due on 13/03 (midnight) via OLAT (or in class depending on format, to be pre-arranged with me by e-mail before the deadline)**

Opponents of gender quotas often argue that the policy is “undemocratic”. What arguments would you use to challenge or support this claim? For this assignment, produce policy promotion material that develops your argument to support or go against the policy. This can take any form: a short policy memo; a brief podcast; a piece meant for popular consumption in a media outlet; a poster ad; a jingle; a plan for community outreach projects; etc.

Evaluation will be based on whether projects: 1) identify target audience; 2) take a clear position; 3) present argument in a persuasive manner, supported by data, literature, and/or briefings from internationally acclaimed organisations/governments; 4) depict critical thinking/analysis; and, 5) illustrate original material that would engage target audience.

**Activity 2 (20%) – due on 01/05 (midnight) via OLAT**

As other public policies, gender quotas are susceptible to the influence of various stakeholders, some of which may have different interests. The design, adoption, and implementation of gender quota policies are therefore a consequence of negotiations between these actors. In week 8, each student will be assigned the role of a stakeholder potentially involved in the negotiation of a gender quota policy in a given country.

For this assignment, students will have to: 1) identify the potential interest of their assigned actors; 2) conduct research to evaluate the potential institutional and non-institutional obstacles preventing assigned actors to achieve their goals; 3) prepare and submit a report outlining and justifying recommendations that support their actors’ preferences and identifying strategies to achieve goals (i.e., how to align/contest other potential actors with similar/opposing goals); and, 4) negotiate with other stakeholders in the drafting of a gender quota bill, that should be agreed upon by the end of class 10.

**Essay (60%) – question due on 16/05 (midnight), final essay due on 16/06 (midnight) via OLAT**

Students are required to write a final analytical essay. All essays should: provide conceptual definitions; discuss theoretical and methodological approaches to answering the question at hand; and, analyse cross-regional policy examples.

Essay topics are open and the question students choose to explore will be due on week 12 (essay questions represent 5% of your essay mark).

Essays will be evaluated in regards to: 1) originality and cohesiveness of the question and argument; 2) coverage of relevant literature; 3) appropriate use of examples; 4) discussion of theoretical and methodological frameworks and policy application; 5) writing and structure.

Essays should be no longer than 4,000 words, excluding bibliography. Essays must be double-spaced, typed with font Times New Roman, size 12. Citation styles are open as long as consistency is maintained.

### **Plagiarism and Late Submissions**

Plagiarism will not be tolerated and plagiarised work will be given a mark of 0. Please refer to the University of Zürich’s guide on plagiarism and academic ethics. All work submitted must be your own. Late submissions will not be accepted unless otherwise agreed with me well in advance (e.g., 48 hours) of the deadline.

## Assigned Readings

When framing the gender quota policy process, the course will draw on the following texts:

- Birkland, Thomas. 2014. *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. New York: Routledge.
- Knill, Christoph, and Jale Tosun. 2012. *Public policy: A new introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Although the above texts are not required reading, they are suggested as a means of further delving into the policy process beyond gender quotas.

The below texts are ALL required reading.

### STAGE I. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION/AGENDA SETTING

#### Class 1 (22/02): Introduction

Birkland, Thomas. 2014. *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. New York: Routledge. Ch. 1.

Dahlerup, Drude. 2008. "Gender Quotas: Controversial but Trendy." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 10(3): 322-328.

#### Class 2 (01/03): What's the problem? And how are gender quotas addressing it?

Matland, Richard E. 1998. "Women's representation in national legislatures: Developed and developing countries." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(1): 109-125.

Franceschet, Susan, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. New York: Oxford University Press. Ch. 1.

#### Class 3 (08/03): How do gender quotas get to the policy agenda?

Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2010. "When do governments promote women's rights? A framework for the comparative analysis of sex equality policy." *Perspectives on Politics*. 8(1): 207-216.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. "Reforming representation: The diffusion of candidate gender quotas worldwide." *Politics & Gender* 2(3): 303-327.

For a snap-shot of the role of the UN in the process, see: "Review and appraisal of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action"

### STAGE II. POLICY FORMULATION

#### Class 4 (15/03): Classifying gender quotas

**Note: Assignment 1 is due this week (on 13/03). Class will be dedicated to presentations and discussion. The following are helpful sources:**

- Dahlerup, Drude. 2014. "Increasing women's political representation: New trends in gender quotas," in Ballington, Julie, and Azza Karam. *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (A Revised Edition)*, International IDEA.
- Campbell, Rosie, and Sarah Childs. 2012. "Quota rules would be more effective than proportional representation in moving towards greater gender equality in the Commons." *LSE Politics and Policy Blog* (15 May 2012). <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/quota-rules-pr-cambell-childs/>

- Also, visit: <http://www.quotaproject.org> and explore the types of quotas in different countries.

Class 5 (22/03): How can we differentiate between “good” and “bad” gender quota designs?

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2009. “Making Quotas Work: The Effect of Gender Quota Laws on the Election of Women.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 34(1): 5-28.

Gatto, Malu. 2016. “Gender Quotas, Legislative Resistance and Non-Legislative Reform,” in *Latin American Law and Policy: Transforming Courts, Institutions and Rights*, eds. Pedro Fortes et al. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Class 6 (29/03): From gender quotas to parity regimes

Piscopo, Jennifer. 2016. “Democracy as Gender Balance: The Shift from Quotas to Parity in Latin America.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 4(2): 214-230.

Jenson, Jane, and Celia Valiente. 2003. “Comparing Two Movements for Gender Parity,” in *Women’s Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*, eds. Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hirsch, Afua. 2012. “Has Senegal’s gender parity law for MPs helped women?” *The Guardian* (15 November 2012). <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/nov/15/senegal-gender-parity-law-mps-women>

### **STAGE III. POLICY ADOPTION**

Class 7 (05/04): Why are quotas adopted? The role of political parties

Caul, Miki. 2001. “Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis.” *Journal of Politics*. 63(4): 1214-1229.

Kenny, Meryl, and Tània Verge. 2013. “Decentralization, Political Parties, and Women’s Representation: Evidence from Spain and Britain.” *Publius*. 43(1): 109-128.

Murray, Rainbow, Mona Lena Krook, and Katherine Opello. 2012. “Why are Gender Quotas Adopted? Party Pragmatism and Parity in France.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 65(3): 529-543.

Class 8 (12/04): Why may there be resistance to adoption and why does this matter?

Gatto, Malu. 2016. “Gender Quotas, Legislative Resistance and Non-Legislative Reform,” in *Latin American Law and Policy: Transforming Courts, Institutions and Rights*, eds. Pedro Fortes et al. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baldez, Lisa. 2004. “Elected bodies: The gender quota law for legislative candidates in Mexico.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(2): 231-258.

### **STAGE IV. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

Class 9 (26/04): Challenges to gender quota implementation

Christensen, Skye, and Gabrielle Bardall. 2016. “Gender Quotas in Single-member District Electoral Systems.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 4(2): 246-267.

Sabbagh, Amal. 2014. "The Arab States," in Ballington, Julie, and Azza Karam. *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (A Revised Edition)*, International IDEA.

Class 10 (03/05): Gender quotas in multi-player scenarios

Krook, Mona Lena. 2004. "Gender quotas as a global phenomenon: actors and strategies in quota adoption." *European Political Science* 3(3): 59-65.

Birkland, Thomas. 2014. *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. New York: Routledge. Chapters 4-6.

**Note: The class will be dedicated to conducting the last part (negotiation) of Activity 2. Note that reports are due in the beginning of class.**

**STAGE V. POLICY EVALUATION**

Class 11 (10/05): How to evaluate policy success?

Gertler, Paul J., et al. 2001. *Impact evaluation in practice*. World Bank Publications, 2011. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2550> Chpts 1-2.

Dahlerup, Drude, and Lenita Freidenvall. 2010. "Judging gender quotas: predictions and results." *Policy & Politics* 38(3): 407-425.

**Note: Class will also cover essay assignment.**

Class 12 (17/05): Assessing the impact of the policy: experimental and quasi-experimental evaluation

Bhavnani, Rikhil R. 2009. "Do electoral quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a natural experiment in India." *American Political Science Review* 103.01: 23-35.

De Paola, Maria, Vincenzo Scoppa, and Rosetta Lombardo. 2010. "Can gender quotas break down negative stereotypes? Evidence from changes in electoral rules." *Journal of Public Economics* 94.5 (2010): 344-353.

Class 13 (24/05): Assessing policy impact when experimental methods aren't an option

Folke, Olle, Lenita Freidenvall, and Johanna Rickne. 2015. "Gender quotas and ethnic minority representation: Swedish evidence from a longitudinal mixed methods study." *Politics & Gender* 11(2): 345-381.

Burnet, Jennie E. 2011. "Women have found respect: Gender quotas, symbolic representation, and female empowerment in Rwanda." *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 303-334.

Class 14: Conclusions and Takeaways (31/05)