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Addressing Supply-Side Hurdles to Gender-Equal Representation in Germany

LOUISE K. DAVIDSON-SCHMICH

The Problem: Male Overrepresentation in Politics

In January 1919 German women first received the right to exercise both passive and active suffrage at the national level. Three hundred women acted on their right to run for the Weimar Republic's National Assembly and thirty-seven were elected. The

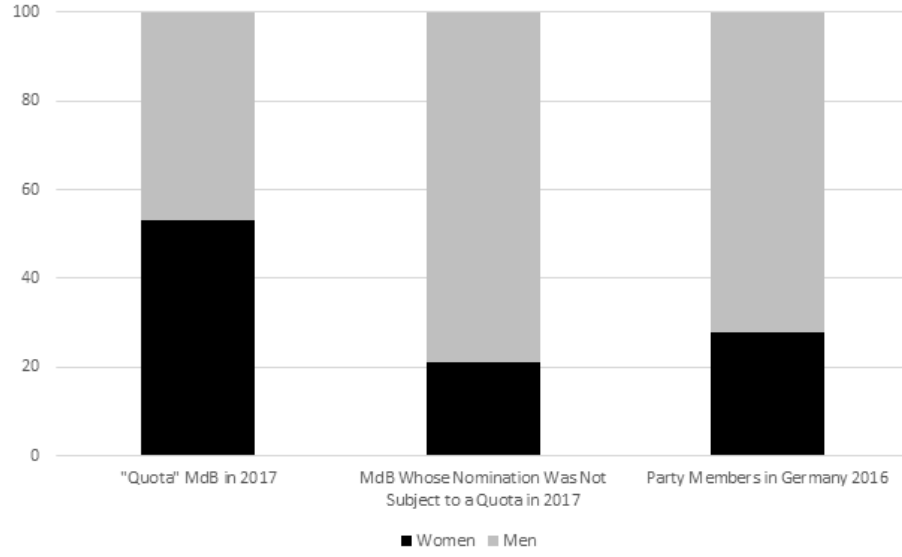
other 91% of the members elected were men (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). In 2017, 1400 women ran for the Bundestag and 219 were elected (Bundeswahlleiter 2017, 16). While men's share of seats fell to 69%, after a century of suffrage women still have not achieved political parity; in fact, the Bundestag contained a higher percentage of men in 2017 than it did in 2013. This lack of gender-balanced descriptive representation is not unique to Germany, however. In 2017, men occupied 77% of legislative seats worldwide (Interparliamentary Union 2017).
Political scientists have long investigated male political overrepresentation seeking both "demand-side" and "supply-side" explanations (e.g. Norris and Lovenduski 1993). Demand-side factors include both the formal and informal institutions that shape the actions of the "gatekeepers" who select candidates for the ballot. Supply-side discussions focus on the availability of men and women qualified and willing to run for office. This extensive body of research indicates that while both demand- and supply-side factors play a role in women's political underrepresentation, formal institutions – particularly electoral gender quotas – can be created to solve demand-side barriers to gender-equal descriptive representation by requiring gatekeepers to nominate a balanced slate of candidates. However, quotas do not address the supply-side of the equation. It is possible to increase women's descriptive representation in national legislatures – comprised of only a few hundred members in countries with millions of citizens – without solving the problem of male overrepresentation in the earlier phases of the political recruitment process in which candidates are identified and groomed for elective office. Below I elaborate upon these findings and their normative implications. I then turn to extant attempts to address supply-side hurdles to gender-balanced political representation in Germany, problematizing efforts to date and suggesting alternatives.

The Causes: Supply- and Demand-Side Factors

Extensive empirical evidence indicates that demand-side factors play a primary role in women's political underrepresentation in settings like Germany where politically ambitious individuals cannot self-nominate as candidates but instead must be selected by gatekeepers to appear on the ballot. Gatekeepers are often men who are prone to selecting other men from their social networks to run for office; this informal reliance on homosocial capital inflates the number of male candidates (Bjarnegård 2015). Formal mechanisms such as quotas were developed to constrain such demand-driven causes of women's exclusion from politics by requiring gatekeepers to select female candidates; globally, quotas have successfully increased gender balance in elective offices (Franceschet/Krook/Piscopo 2012).
In Germany too, voluntary party promises to include women on party lists have helped curb – but not eliminate – male overrepresentation (Davidson-Schmich 2016). The Greens, Social Democratic Party (SPD), and Left Party all promise gender parity on candidate lists for the Bundestag; the Christian Democratic Union's

(CDU) quorum calls for women to hold at least one third of list places. In contrast, the Christian Social Union (CSU), Free Democratic Party (FDP), and the Alternative for Germany (AfD) do not use quotas for their federal lists; no party utilizes a quota for directly-elected Bundestag seats. The results of the 2017 national election clearly demonstrate quotas' effectiveness (see Figure 1). While gender parity has been reached among Members of the Bundestag (MdB) elected from party lists drawn up using quotas, men make up 79% of the MdB who reached the Bundestag via quota-less lists or by winning a direct mandate.

Figure 1: Demand and Supply Side Factors and Bundestag Representation



Sources: Bundestag 2018; Niedermayer 2016.

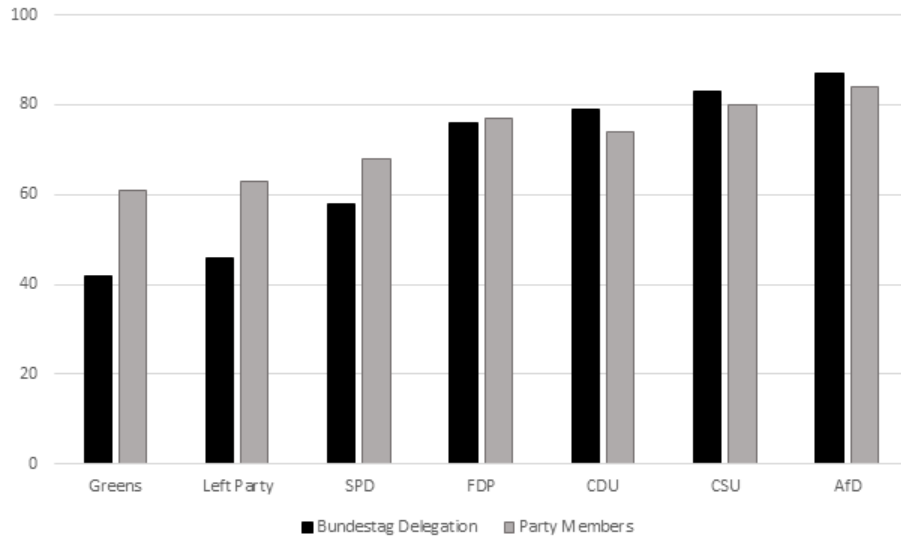
One way to eliminate this remaining gender imbalance in the Bundestag would be to expand the use of quotas. For example, the CDU could raise its quorum to 50% and the CSU, FDP, and AfD could voluntarily adopt affirmative action policies (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.4.2018). Alternatively, as has been proposed by leading women in the CDU and SPD, Germany could adopt an electoral law quota such as that employed by Belgium, under which gender-imbalanced candidate lists are not permitted to appear on the ballot (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8.3.2018). Achieving gender parity in the other 299, directly elected, Bundestag seats poses more of a challenge given that each district only elects one MdB, but it is not impossible. Skye Christensen and Gabrielle Bardall (2016) identify several quota mechanisms compatible with plurality electoral systems, such as rotational quotas under which parties must replace a retiring incumbent with a candidate of the opposite sex.

Even if proposals to expand the use of quotas could generate gender-equal descriptive representation in the Bundestag, however, it would not address the parties' imbalanced supply of male and female candidates. Across the long-term democracies, research often finds that there are far more men than women in the pool of potential candidates (Wolbrecht/Campbell 2007, Preece/Stoddard 2015). In order to establish whether supply-side factors hinder gender equal participation in Germany it is first necessary to identify the "candidate pool" from which elective office holders are selected.

The Federal Republic has been termed "the party state" for the important role the Basic Law gives to political parties in terms of interest aggregation and candidate selection (Langenbacher/Conradt 2017, 137). Parties control most nominations for European Parliament, federal, and state legislative seats; while non-partisan lists are more common at the local level, individuals aspiring to a political career beyond the local level require a party affiliation. German electoral law grants local party members final say over candidate selection for directly-elected seats and their delegates' approval for party list candidates. Their primary preference is for a candidate who will advocate for their party, and the most common way for an aspiring politician to demonstrate such party loyalty is to join the party and become active within it. As a result, local party organizations represent the bottom rungs of the political career ladder in Germany. The vast majority of Members of the Bundestag have held local-level inner-party offices and worked their way up the organization's hierarchy; importantly, such a party background is required for moving into positions of influence within the Bundestag once elected (Ohmura/Bailer/Meissner/Salb 2018).

Thus in order to evaluate the gender balance among potential candidates in Germany, it is necessary to examine the membership of German parties. Figure 1 clearly demonstrates that a pronounced supply problem indeed exists in the Federal Republic, despite over three decades of quota use. In 2016, 72% of German party members were men (author's calculation based on Niedermayer 2016).[1] Even political parties sending roughly equal percentages of men and women to the Bundestag, such as the Greens, do not have gender parity among their rank and file (see Figure 2). For example, men still make up 61% of all Green party members (the lowest percentage of all major parties) and this figure has only decreased 3% since 2000. Parties such as the FDP that send very male-dominated parliamentary party groups to Berlin, therefore, are more representative of their candidate pools. While changing demand-side factors and adopting gender quotas has improved women's descriptive representation in elected bodies, these policies have not altered an underlying supply-side problem in the Federal Republic.

Figure 2: Male MdB and Party Members in Percent



Sources: Bundestag 2018, Niedermayer 2016.

A century after suffrage, then, men remain overrepresented not only in parliament but also in the pipeline funneling citizens into positions of political power. Women's exclusion from this side of the political recruitment process has important implications for democracy. First, Article 21 the Basic Law charges parties with performing interest aggregation in a manner consistent with democratic principles. Parties' consistent failure to attract women, however, means not only that more potential candidates are men than women, but also that men have more of a say in developing party platforms and selecting candidates than do women. For example, the current "GroKo" government was placed into office after being approved by the SPD's rank and file – 68% of whom are men. A national election with such a gendered imbalance in suffrage would certainly not be considered consistent with democratic principles. Second, a lack of competition from women interested in running for office inflates the chances of "mediocre men" appearing on the ballot (Besley et al. 2017). Gender imbalance in the candidate pool thus reduces the quality of available candidates. Third, because very few Germans join political parties, and those that actually do are not typical of the underlying population as a whole (Davidson-Schmich 2016), citizens' representatives are drawn from a very narrow subset of society. Women's underrepresentation in this small pool narrows the diversity of options even further. To ensure that German democracy in the twenty-first century is more representative of the citizenry than it is now, then, the supply-side problem must be addressed.

Fixing the Supply-Side Problem by "Fixing" Women

The recognition of a gendered candidate pipeline has not gone unnoticed, and in countries across the world efforts have been undertaken to encourage women to develop political ambitions and the qualifications needed to run for elective office. Most efforts have focused on changing women themselves, rather than the institutions through which candidates are recruited. Foremost among these initiatives have been efforts to boost women's candidacies by implementing training programs; these initiatives are now found in nearly every democratic or semi-democratic country around the world and have been sponsored by parties, government programs, and NGOs (Piscopo 2017).

In the Federal Republic, most efforts to fix the supply-side problem have come from political parties. It is not lost on these organizations that they lack female members and, for organizations employing quotas, that they require a pool of female candidates to comply with their own affirmative action policies. Over the years most major German parties have undertaken efforts to attract more women to local branches of their parties. The FDP has made multiple attempts to do so, beginning with their 2003 Women's Campaign (Davidson-Schmich, 2016, 32) and continuing through April 2018 (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.4.2018). In 2012, the Left Party founded a "Bundesrat LINKE Frauen" in order to coordinate the party's relationships with feminist groups outside the party in hopes of gaining more female members (Die Linke 2011). That same year the Greens started a "Project Fifty Fifty" to increase female membership (Bündnis 90/die Grünen 2012). The Berlin-based "More Women in the SPD" initiative has placed postcards and buttons featuring slogans such as "bitch" and "diva" in women's restrooms across the city in an attempt to drum up their female membership (SPD Berlin 2018). The CDU's You Tube Channel features multiple videos in which women are encouraged to emulate Angela Merkel and get involved in politics (e.g. CDUTV 2013).

In addition to such campaigns, in the late 1990s parties employing quotas began formal mentoring programs pairing interested women with female office holders in their area in order to encourage the former to join the party, become active in it, and run for office (McKay 2004). The FDP and CSU followed in 2008 and 2011 (Bundesvorstand der FDP 2007, Frauen Union 2016). Mentoring offers women a chance to shadow female politicians as they carry out their duties. Parties have also developed training programs to help women develop the skills, such as public speaking or presenting oneself in the media, needed to be successful in party politics. Parties also hold feminist consciousness raising style discussions for women to share examples of sexism in politics. One study of female local party leaders in Germany found that over half of them were aware of party-sponsored training programs for women (Davidson-Schmich, 2016, 179).

Since the turn of this century, however, the percentage of female party members has barely budged as a result of the above efforts. In 2016, women made up 42% of new Green party members and less than a third of the new entrants to Germany's other

major parties (Niedermayer 2016, 30). These German efforts to correct supply-side problems, as is the case elsewhere, have sought to both entice women into existing male-dominated party organizations and to "fix" women by improving their ability to navigate existing party political structures and engage in the behaviors required by these institutions.

Yet feminist institutionalist analysis tells us that political institutions such as parties, their political recruitment practices, and elective office itself, are highly gendered, and based on masculinized characteristics, preferences, and life courses (Abels/Mushaben 2012, MacRae/Weiner 2017). Rather than submitting to being "fixed" by the above training programs, women are voting with their feet and devoting their energies to organizations other than parties. Post-industrial democracies such as the Germany have large populations of well-educated, civically engaged female citizens who do not shy away from participation in more feminized institutions. Women cross-nationally, including the Federal Republic, participate more often in informal social movements or activities like boycotts than they do in formal political organizations such as parties (Coffé/Bolzendahl 2010; Hess-Meining 2005, 395). In Germany, women are just as likely to vote and sign petitions as men and even more likely than men to be active in charitable or education-related groups (Hess-Meining 2005, 395). These organizations do not require extensive years-long membership campaigns or reeducation programs to convince female citizens to join. In contrast, political parties across the ideological spectrum consistently fail to attract gender-equal memberships despite efforts to do so.

Fixing the Supply-Side Problem by Fixing Parties: Identifying Gendered Informal Institutions

While formally parties welcome female membership, their informal institutions, work to deter gender-balanced participation. Despite quotas, joining a German party means signing up for a club containing mostly men; the more thinly populated a region is, the more pronounced this problem becomes, a local branch organization may literally only contain three women (Davidson-Schmich 2016, 93-95). Because local party groups contain mostly men, informal party norms are highly masculinized, creating an atmosphere in which, on average, men feel more comfortable than women.[2] Changing parties' masculinized rituals, rather than attempting to alter women, represents a more fruitful avenue for promoting gender-equal participation in public life. Reforming the informal institutional structures inhibiting a broad range of potential candidates from coming forward should in turn address the supply-side problem.

Data and Methods

The empirical basis for identifying supply-side barriers comes from 41 semi-structured, in-person interviews with men and women who were (or could have easily

become) party members or candidates for elective office by virtue of their active contributions to party or public life in Germany. In practice, interviewees' experiences ranged from never having joined a party despite an interest in politics, to serving multiple terms in the Bundestag. Investigating civically-engaged people who consciously decided not to pursue party membership allows me to better understand supply-side problems than would concentrating only on those people who are party members. One section of the interview focused on respondents' own decision to join, or not join, the local branch of a political party. For those interviewees who had gone on to become an active member, the interview also discussed any attempts they had made to recruit other Germans to become party members. Quotations from interviewees appearing in this article were selected because they were representative of arguments made by a number of respondents. Interviewees came from all age groups and an array of rural and urban locations across the country. Some interviewees were not members of any political party; others had joined the CDU, CSU, FDP, Greens or SPD. All interviewees were generous with their time and insights. In order to protect their privacy, I do not use their names here, but other identifying characteristics have not been altered. A list of interviewees' backgrounds is available from the author upon request.

Respondents identified a number of reasons for becoming active in their political parties. The most common was a desire to address a particular policy issue or improve the community; other frequent reasons for joining included being inspired (or asked) by prominent politicians, family members or friends, a desire to have fun and meet new people, and the belief that joining a party would be career-enhancing. The analysis below, in contrast, focuses on reasons interviewees gave as to why they decided against becoming a party member or why, in their experience, others had decided not to do so. Some commonly mentioned reasons – for example, a generalized lack of trust in parties and politics – are helpful in explaining declining party membership overall, but less helpful in explaining the gendered imbalance in participation.

However, interviewees living across Germany and representing a range of parties also consistently identified several informal aspects of party life that they believed deterred women in particular from joining or participating more fully in these critical, grassroots-level party organizations where political careers begin. The informal institutions most frequently identified included the groups' masculinized ethos, discourse, and time management – in other words, the "who, when, where, what and how" of local political party life. These practices in turn create a vicious cycle, deterring a gender balance among local party members that could change informal rituals and attract a more diverse membership. Below I discuss these informal norms in turn and then theorize how these practices could be addressed in order to achieve gender-equal participation in German democracy.

Male-Dominated Organizations

Who: One in ten female interviewees mentioned a male-dominated atmosphere as a reason they were (initially) reluctant to join a party. Because they were the only woman, or one of few women, present at party meetings, and often considerably younger than others present, many women reported that they felt out of place and uncomfortable. One seventy-year old Social Democrat recalled that she had been active in politics as a student, but after she got married and moved to her husband's rural hometown, she went to a meeting of the local SPD and found only older men present. Then, in her words, "I thought to myself, no way" and did not return to the party for years. A 2009 study observed similar reactions to Left Party organizations in eastern Germany (Holtkamp/Wiechmann/Schnittke 2009, 54). A state legislator remembered the first time she went to a meeting of the CDU's youth wing in the 1980s, "there were only young men there in pin stripe suits" leading the gathering. A female Free Democrat recalled going to an FDP working group meeting in her city in the early 2000s to encounter only older men. A 50-year-old CDU member described her current fellow party members as "men with beer bellies."

Some women interviewed also reported outright sexism in their male-dominated party organizations. A Christian Democrat remembered being one of two women at a meeting of the party's youth wing when officers were chosen in the 1980s; when the other woman, a dental hygienist, volunteered to become the organization's treasurer, the men told her she should "stick to drilling teeth" because women didn't know about accounting. A 55-year-old Green state legislator currently in office noticed that, because she is quite petite, men often simply talk over her head at each other, ignoring her altogether. Prior to being elected she was employed in a male-dominated technical field where she encountered such behavior less often. A female Free Democrat in her 30s recounted going to an FDP economics working group meeting and having older men ask her what a "little miss" (Fräulein) like herself was doing at a meeting about economic issues. Given that many interviewees joined a party in order to have fun and make friends, such experiences are likely to have a strong deterrent effect.

When and Where: In addition to who is at party meetings, when party groups choose to meet also creates a masculinized ethos. Over one third of interviewees cited when and where party organizations met as hindering women's participation. Because parties are volunteer organizations whose members generally work outside the home, meetings usually occur on the evenings and weekends, outside paid working hours. Due to the gendered division of labor in society, however, these are times when women pursue unpaid domestic responsibilities, cooking dinner, putting children to bed, cleaning or doing laundry. One SPD leader noted,

> In the younger years it's the same (for girls) as boys in school and at the university… but (later) it becomes difficult to activate them and get them involved. … In general it is so that in the biography of women politics is unattractive because the political parties conduct

> their activities in the classic old times in the evenings. That often creates a big hindrance for those in their middle years to take part in politics.

Moreover, where parties choose to get together may also serve as a deterrent to some women. One member interviewed by Isabelle Kürschner described going to CSU meetings as, "you go into these smoky rooms." Another recalled, "the first thing that shocked me when I went to my first party meeting, held in a back room in my town, was that the members, who seemed like very old men to me, looked at me strangely and said I had mistakenly come into the wrong room" (2009, 135; trnsl. LKDS). A third observed, "you have to be able to tolerate alcohol.... Political decisions are also made at night at the bar" (quoted in Kürschner 2009, 204; trnsl. LKDS).

This type of politicking is not limited to quota-less parties such as the CSU, however. One northern German woman interviewed said her teenage daughter had recently decided against joining the local youth wing of the Social Democrats because the meetings were too "smoky and macho." One woman from southwestern Germany who heads a state-wide women's organization but who is not an active party member, suggested that the timing and location of party activities had deterred her too from further involvement with the SPD. She noted, "important agreements are reached over beer or wine" at times when she is at home with her family; gaining political influence under such circumstances appears to her to be a "Sisyphean task." The leader of the SPD's women's auxiliary organization in a northern state recalled a plan she had to hold breakfast meetings at a restaurant rather than an evening meeting in a bar, but lamented, "that's the kind of thing that men reject quickly; they say, you'll just get together and eat, but that's not true. Women would really like to have a different atmosphere. That doesn't mean that they aren't just as political or not getting down to business, just that the atmosphere really makes a difference." If women are unable to attend a party meeting due to the time it takes place, or feel uncomfortable if they are able to attend, they are unlikely to return.

What – The Type of Discourse and Substantive Focus: In addition to off-putting meeting times and locations, over a quarter of interviewees argued that the substantive content of party meetings were alienating to many women. One Green state legislator argued that while women viewed such occasions as a time to discuss policy substance (Sachfragen), men considered meetings an opportunity for self-presentation (see also Kürschner 2009). One Left Party member sighed, "men are superb self-promoters;" an SPD member concurred and believed this behavior was less frequent among women (Holtkamp/Schnittke/Wiechmann 2009, 56; trnsl. LKDS). An interviewee concluded women prefer interest groups and social movements to political parties, as the former tackle problems directly. A CDU state-level Minister argued that women in her party simply wanted to make good policies, but men "want to become this (position) or that (position)." A woman who ultimately decided not to join the SPD recalled attending a party meeting to discuss environmental issues in the early 2000s. One female member made an impassioned speech about local environmental problems, urging her fellow party members to take up these concerns;

some men present argued that the party should focus on other, non-environmental issues more likely to win votes. When she disagreed, a male colleague argued, "do you want to be right or do you want to win?" The interviewee maintained that women "had a different relationship to power" than men and, were more concerned about being substantively "right" whereas men were more concerned with winning and "self-affirmation." She concluded that party meetings like these had deterred not only herself but other women as well. A woman who studied political science and began a career working for non-profit development agencies agreed. While she had wanted to become a Green party member to make development-related policies based on the merits of particular ideas, she instead found party members' reasoning dominated by "tactical reasons and gaining political influence." She found this tendency "rather off-putting" and decided not to join the party, echoing the findings of experimental research that finds men to be more motivated by power-related goals than women, who are driven by more communally focused goals (Preece/Stoddard 2015). Given that the most frequent reason interviewees gave for becoming active in a political party was a desire to promote a particular policy or solve societal problems, discourse that focuses on tactics and status rather than substance is especially alienating.

Interviewees also noted that if women desired to get ahead in politics, and in turn make the substantive policy changes they favored, they were required to engage in the same jockeying for power and self-promotion, even if they were uncomfortable with it. Otherwise, as one male party leader observed, even a hard-working, talented woman will "get lost in the shuffle." One 51-year-old Christian Democrat from southern Germany argued that to develop the public visibility required for a career in party politics, she had to frequently appear in the local newspaper, which required running to the front of any group about to have its picture taken. While she claimed her male counterparts were quite willing to stand front and center, regardless of how good looking they were, "I do not like to do this; it's uncomfortable to be in the foreground but it comes with the territory." A northern Green state legislator agreed, lamenting that as a prominent party member, "you have to read about yourself in the newspaper. And not on the back pages either, but on page one, and if you are unlucky, with a picture too."

Obtaining a leadership position within the local party group and ultimately a ballot nomination to run for office requires not only self-promotion but also competition with fellow party members, another behavior that experimental research indicates is more attractive to men than to women (Preece/Stoddard 2015). One 50-yearold mother who became an SPD state legislator reflected, "My predecessor decided not to run again and then the county party organization began to look for a successor. … At first I thought, no, I can't do that. ... I was a little scared of getting into a competition (for the nomination) with people with whom I was friends. … That seemed like it would be uncomfortable …" Another state legislator had pondered calling all her friends in the party and asking them to come to the nominating meeting during

which candidates were selected, but she decided against it, not wanting to appear to be a "solicitor." A female CDU state legislator described the process of visiting all the local party groups in her electoral district to shore up support for her candidacy as akin to "streetwalking."

How – Time Management: Self-promoting discourse and inner-party competition creates externalities that cause parties to further alienate some women. As each party member endeavors to call attention to him or herself, meetings drag on and become redundant. Fifteen percent of female interviewees criticized this aspect of political party life as a deterrent to gender equal participation. One Christian Democratic woman who was a doctor before entering a full-time state legislative position mourned, "When I worked as a physician, I saw thirty patients a day and accomplished something for each of them. (In party politics) I can sit all day in a meeting and nothing will have gotten decided." While of course not all men enjoy sitting through long-winded speeches, because of the gendered division of labor in society places more domestic responsibilities on women, men simply have more time available to devote to such long meetings than do women. As a female Green state legislator and mother of two put it, "sometimes you also have to make sure that there's something in the fridge or that maybe you do a load of wash" and it would be nice "if you didn't get home again at 11:30 PM."

Gender quotas do not appear to have altered this problem, which was also noted in Bärbel Schöler-Macher's 1994 study of CDU, SPD, Green, and FDP women across Germany. One female party member she interviewed remarked, "how, and at what times, party meetings take place, with what length and what intensity people are sometimes just blabbing on and on. When this eternal yakking starts, then I think to myself, 'My God, you could be running the washing machine right now. You could be doing this or that. it's really disgusting the time that is wasted (in party meetings.)' (quoted in Kürschner 2009, 223; trnsl. LKDS)." Over a decade later, a study of local party members in the CDU, Greens, Left Party, and SPD found that "virtually all interviewees, regardless of party" complained about this redundant type of discussion in which "everything has already been said, but not by everybody" (Holtkamp / Wiechmann/Schnittke 2009, 56; see also Kürschner 2009, 222).

These hurdles create a vicious cycle: because women are less likely to join political parties than men, parties remain male-dominated and continue to require time consuming, self-promoting behavior often at the expense of substance. This perpetuates long meetings, further deterring time-strapped women and continuing the cycle.

Solving the Supply-Side Problem: Policy Recommendations

Over the past several decades all German parties have undertaken multiple national-level campaigns to increase their female grassroots membership and have tried to train women in self-promoting, competitive behaviors such as public speaking and media presentation. While these efforts may appeal to some women and inspire

others to look into attending a meeting of the local party organization, if such get-togethers are held in masculinized spaces filled mainly with men, or if they drag on and on as male members jockey for position or repeat each other's comments, it is unlikely that once-interested women will continue attending local party functions. Below I address in turn ways in which the masculinized ethos, discourse, and time usage discussed above could be altered in a way to make parties more welcoming not only to women, but to a broader array of men as well.

Before turning to these suggestions, it is important to consider another solution to the supply-side problem: selecting candidates from outside the party rank and file where a more gender-balanced candidate pool could be found. Nominating such "Seiteneinsteiger" does indeed occur and about 10% of Bundestag deputies are "career changers" without extensive party political involvement. Perhaps because political parties are searching for women to fulfill gender quotas, women are common among these "career changer" deputies. However, members of parliament lacking party experience and connections are less likely to obtain legislative positions of power and influence than deputies than "party animal" deputies who have deep roots within the party (Ohmura et al. 2018).[3] Making parties more attractive to women, rather than recruiting marginalized candidates, would better achieve gender parity in politics.

Who: For parties currently without quotas, adopting affirmative action regulations for inner-party offices may be a partial solution. If quotas propel women into leadership posts, they may be able to alter the time, location, or tenor of party meetings to become more conducive to other women's participation. Several female party leaders interviewed argued that as soon as they became head of their precinct organization, they had tried to make their group more female-friendly; such efforts may indeed inspire more women to join that particular branch of the party. One politically ambitious college student described her selection criteria for choosing a party, "#1: "What does the party stand for? Where do I fit best (ideologically) and #2: What's this party like in my town? What do they offer? How is the party group composed?" She ultimately decided to join the SPD's branch organization, led by another woman. Older women reported that instances of blatant sexism had declined over the years and indeed, female members of parties with quotas currently in their late 20s and early 30s recounted fewer negative experiences with overtly sexist party organizations than older women or women in parties without quotas. Quotas like the Greens' which mandate that women are equal co-chairs of local party groups are best suited to placing women in positions of power where they may alter informal norms and, indeed, Green interviewees problematized male-normed party practices less often than members of other parties.

Both the Green and the Left parties' statutes also recognize the problems of child-care conflicts and masculinized discourse, and they require that child-care be provided at national-level party meetings and that discussions there end when no further female speakers can be identified. These two parties in turn do have the highest percentage of women members in Germany. However, both organizations still con-

tain a majority of men. The above-mentioned rules regarding child care and gender-balanced discussions only apply to infrequently-occurring, high-level gatherings. They do not pertain to the low-level, day-to-day interactions that shape whether or not politically-interested individuals decide to become involved in a party in their own community, taking the first step needed for a successful political career. Even parties employing quotas remain male-dominated, especially outside of large cities, and female interviewees from the Greens and SPD were still conscious of being in the minority decades after quota adoption.

Because local-level party groups (Ortsvereine) are small in size, these groups are particularly prone to being almost exclusively male. In thinly-populated regions, or where a specific party organization has very few members, it may be preferable to encourage politically-interested women away from their local party group toward engagement with a county-level branch with more members instead. There the likelihood that female newcomers find themselves the only woman – or one of few – in the room is decreased; moreover, the county level is still local enough to serve as a solid base for a future political career. Encouraging existing female members to be sure to attend as many meetings as possible, and to bring a female friend when they do, could also help feminize party organizations.

What: However, efforts designed to attract generic party members are not the most fruitful way in which to solve the supply-side problem. Because women report dissatisfaction with precinct-level party meetings and since women in Germany and elsewhere (Dow 2009, Westle 2009) remain on average less interested than men in politics in general – but not in certain issue areas – parties would better endeavor to recruit women for their substantive working groups (Arbeitskreise) on specific political topics. These bodies' primary function is to develop policy stances on issues of concern to many women such as education, health, poverty, gender inequality, and foreign policy. Experimental evidence indicates that women are more likely to become politically ambitious when the nature of political life is reframed from focusing on competition and self-promotion to involving collaborative efforts to fulfill communal goals (Preece/Stoddard, 2015) – the point of working group discussions. Indeed, many interviewees who decided to become active in their parties decided to do so despite the drawbacks because they felt it was the best way to address substantive issues of concern to them. One Christian Democratic member of a state legislature maintained, "In my opinion, a part of yourself has to be involved. If there's not something that affects you personally, that you can advocate on behalf of, then I don't think you go into party politics. … I think without that politics are not worth pursuing." One 30-year-old Social Democrat elected to her local council noted that while people involved in social movements could lobby elected officials, only those sitting on the council could make decisions about policy; she was glad she had stayed active in her party because, "I'm now actually in a position to do something for the community." To the degree that working group events attract more women than do "party" meetings, the "who" problem may be more easily addressed in this context as well.

Given that parties have such groups devoted to issues of interest to women currently underrepresented in parties – such as low-income women, businesswomen, or female immigrants (Davidson-Schmich 2016) – this strategy also appears particularly useful in helping broaden the diversity of female party members. Party membership may follow, rather than precede, involvement with a policy-related group.

When and Where: Changes to make party meetings – especially working group sessions – more female-friendly could include organizing activities in locations other than pubs or back rooms, such as community or youth centers, cafes, public places of business, or parks. Organizing breakfast meetings, perhaps immediately following the start of the school day or other times when child care is readily available, could also create a less-masculinized ambiance than a late-evening session. Shifting party work or decision-making away from in-person meetings held evenings and weekends, and into cyberspace instead would allow women to participate from home or at times more conducive to their schedules. For example, e-votes could be taken to decide issues, conversations could be held via conference call, or work could be performed by smaller groups of party members meeting during the day when childcare is available. These changes would be especially helpful to rural women (and men) who otherwise find party life overly time consuming as it often requires travel from one end of a large precinct to another. Critical to the success of such endeavors, however, is also the presence of women in virtual party life. Germany's Pirate Party, famed for its use of social media, has difficulty attracting female members in part because of its highly-masculinized, conflictual, at times openly sexist, on-line discourse (Meiritz 2012).

How: Women are often deterred from participation in face-to-face party groups due to the long-winded, self-promoting nature of discourse in party meetings. Calling members' attention to this habit and consciously trying to limit sexism or verbosity can be done in a humorous manner, and streamlined meetings would give all members more time to pursue other interests. Doris Bucholz, the head of the FDP's Liberal Women auxiliary organization recounted her efforts to this end, "One time in a (county-level) Board Meeting someone said in making a point, 'Let's pretend we are as dumb as a woman….' After that we put a 'punishment piggy bank' (Strafschwein) on the table. You had to put in a Euro if you took a cell phone call during the meeting and two Euros if you made a sexist comment. It helped" (Schulte 2013). Such piggy banks could be used to deter repetitive comments as well. In addition, parties could develop programs, based on extensive existing business expertise, to train local party leaders on how to more efficiently conduct meetings.

Conclusion

The above-outlined suggestions would not only make grassroots political parties more welcoming to women, they are unlikely to deter men. In fact, they may in turn welcome a broader array of men to these vital institutions that serve as the

first rung of the political career ladder in the Federal Republic. Women are not the only underrepresented group in German parties; single parents and parents of young children are less likely to be found among active party members than within the general population (Davidson-Schmich 2016, 82-3). One Social Democratic father interviewed stressed he was limiting his involvement with his local party group because, "I want to be the one to raise my children and (party activities) cause me to be away from them too often ... when I should be home putting them to bed." Moving toward virtual decision making or daytime meetings would mitigate this barrier to political involvement for all parents regardless of sex. Holding events in smoke-free public buildings rather than pubs would benefit all members' health and attract people dissuaded by drinking and smoking. Running more efficient meetings with less repetition would free up party members to pursue other activities of interest. One study of local politicians found that all party members surveyed, regardless of sex, identified needlessly time-consuming discussions as their least-liked aspect of political debate (Holtkamp/Wiechmann/Schnittke, 2009, 56).

In sum, altering the informal norms of party life by changing where and when grassroots organizations meet, who is present, and what and how they discuss – rather than trying to persuade women to adopt to masculinized institutions – would go far to address the still gaping supply-side hurdles to gender-equal political participation decades after quota adoption and a century after suffrage.

Notes

1 Figure includes membership in all parties represented in the 19. Bundestag.

2 The membership figures above clearly indicate that some women do feel comfortable participating in male-dominated local party organizations; low rates of party membership overall also suggest that many men may not feel comfortable in these bodies. On balance, however, more women seem to be deterred from joining than men.

3 Moreover, career changers are also usually elected via party lists; they rarely have the connections to become candidates for directly-elected seats.

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Muslimische Politikerinnen in Deutschland: Erfolgsmuster und Hindernisse politischer Repräsentation

ANNE JENICHEN

Einleitung

In westlichen Debatten über den Islam werden muslimische Frauen meist als passive Opfer männlicher Unterdrückung porträtiert (Dhamoon 2009; Ehrkamp 2010). Politisch aktive Musliminnen kommen hingegen kaum vor, weshalb sich der vorliegende Beitrag mit genau dieser Gruppe beschäftigt.

In der deutschen Politik gibt es bisher nur wenige muslimische PolitikerInnen. Im Bundestag hat ihr Anteil in den letzten Legislaturperioden zwar kontinuierlich zugenommen, liegt aber weiterhin unter ihrem Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung (Hughes 2016).[1] Im 19. Bundestag sind etwa 1,3% der Abgeordneten muslimischen Glaubens (sechs Frauen, drei Männer)[2], während ihr Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung auf 5,4-5,7% geschätzt wird (BAMF 2016). Angesichts dieser quantitativen Unterrepräsentanz geht der Beitrag vor allem zwei Fragen nach: Welche Hindernisse erschweren

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