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PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ANGELA MERKEL AND  
OTHER FEMALE POLITICIANS IN GERMANY:  
A MIXED SURVEY APPROACH

A Thesis Project Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree Bachelor of Arts  
With Honors College Graduate Distinction at  
Western Kentucky University

By  
Erin S. Woggon

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Western Kentucky University  
2019

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to understand public perceptions of women politicians in Germany, specifically Chancellor Angela Merkel, and evaluates these perceptions based on gender, region, and representation of CDU/CSU female legislators in the Bundestag. While literature suggests that there are benefits of greater female representation in legislatures, there is a lack of research regarding how this representation impacts perceptions held by the citizens these women represent. Important to the study is also the difference in perceptions according to gender and the former East/West divide in order to understand the gender gap in Germany and the extent of the social impact left by the Communist regime. Using bivariate and multivariate tests of an original survey and data from the 2017 Pre-and-Post Election German Longitudinal Election Study, I find significant distinctions across genders toward female legislators in Germany but limited geographical influence. Further data analysis suggests that while greater presence of CDU female legislators negatively impacts perceptions among CDU women of Merkel, the extent or strength of that relationship is unclear. Analysis of interviews of German female politicians provides overall support of the gender bias findings, providing first hand insight into role of gender in German politics.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese Abschlussarbeit versucht, öffentliche Wahrnehmungen über Politikerinnen, speziell Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel, in Deutschland zu verstehen. Sie bewerten diese Wahrnehmungen nicht nur aufgrund von dem Geschlecht und der Region der Umfrageteilnehmer, sondern auch in Zusammenhang mit dem Anteil der CDU/CSU Politikerinnen im Bundestag. Die Forschungsliteratur weist darauf hin, dass es Vorteile von einem großen weiblichen Anteil im Bundestag gibt, aber es gibt wenig Forschung darüber, wie dieser Anteil die Wahrnehmungen von Bürgern, die diese Politikerinnen repräsentieren, beeinflusst. Diese Studie untersucht den Wahrnehmungunterschied bezüglich Geschlecht und Region, um das Geschlechtergefälle in der deutschen Politik und der gesellschaftliche Einfluss der Teilung Deutschlands zu verstehen. Meine Abschlussarbeit nutzt bivariate und multivariate Untersuchungen von einer eigens entwickelten Umfrage sowie Daten von der 2017 Vor- und Nachwahl-Querschnitt German Longitudinal Election Study. Die Analyse der Daten ergibt deutliche Geschlechtervorurteile gegenüber Politikerinnen in Deutschland, aber wenig geographischen Einfluss. Weitere Analyse suggeriert, dass der Anteil von CDU/CSU Politikerinnen die Meinungen von CDU weiblichen Umfrageteilnehmern über Merkel negativ beeinflusst, aber das Ausmaß und die Stärke der Beziehung ist unklar. Analyse von Interviews mit deutschen Politikerinnen liefert eine allgemeine Stärkung der Geschlechtervorurteileergebnisse und liefert einen Einblick in die Funktion des Geschlechtes in der deutschen Politik.

Dedicated to my parents for their constant support, encouragement, and dinner conversations that taught me to think critically and passionately. Ich widme dieses Projekt auch meinem Opa und meiner Oma, die ich hoffe, stolz auf mich sein wurden.

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## FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field 1: International Affairs  
Major Field 2: German  
Minor Field: Political Science

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

While women in office and political positions may seem to be a normal occurrence, the reality of women holding political office is a relatively new phenomenon. Despite the longstanding political actions and opinions of women around the world, it was not until 1954 that the UN passed the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, creating a standard for women's political rights around the world. Specifically, the Convention recognized

“that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives, and has the right to equal access to public service in his country, and desiring to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights ...”

Despite this goal of gender parity set forth almost 60 years ago, very few countries worldwide have reached gender parity in their legislatures. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union database, women comprise roughly 24.5% of legislatures worldwide (“Women in National Parliaments”). These averages vary greatly by region. Nordic countries lead the world with an average of 44% followed by the Americas, coming in at 30.6%, while the regions with the lowest proportions of women in the legislatures are the Middle East and North Africa and the Pacific, having 17.7% and 16.7% of women, respectively<sup>1</sup> (“Women in National Parliaments”). Of the 190 countries listed in the Inter-Parliamentary Union’s database, as of October 2019, only 4 had reached total gender parity in their national legislatures: Rwanda, Cuba, Bolivia, and

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<sup>1</sup> Because not all countries have a bicameral legislature, these comparisons are made using data representing women's representation in the single or lower house.

Andorra (“Percentage of women in national parliaments”). Notably, only two are democracies: Bolivia and Andorra.

In contrast, many state legislatures do not even represent women to the same proportion as they make up in the population. According to the World Bank, almost all countries have a population of at least 46% women (“Population, female”)<sup>2</sup>. In contrast only 10 countries in the world have a national legislature with women’s representation reaching 46% (“Percentage of women in national parliaments”). Clearly, the issue of women’s political representation is not isolated to a certain region or government structure. Women are noticeably absent from legislatures around the world, democracies, autocracies, and theocracies alike.

While some countries are leading in women’s representation in national legislatures, others are leading in representation of women in the top political leadership positions possible: as head of state or as head of government. Over 70 countries in the world have had a female serve as head of government or state. (Geiger & Kent 2017). As of June 2019, 11 countries had a female head of state and 12 had a female head of government (United Nations). Germany is one of those countries. With a female Head of Government who has been in power for almost 15 years, a national legislature that proportionally underrepresents women, and a history of a divided state led by two different regime types, Germany poses as an interesting case study for female representation in government.

Similar to many other states worldwide, the rights of women in Germany to vote or run for office are fairly recent. Many democracies, especially in Europe, granted

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<sup>2</sup> Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Bahrain, Maldives, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Equatorial Guinea all have a population of less than 45% women.

women the right to vote in the 20<sup>th</sup> century after WWI. In 2018, Germany celebrated its 100-year anniversary of women's suffrage, given by a law that also gave women the right to be elected to government office, with the first woman breaking the glass ceiling of the Bundestag in 1919 (Inter-Parliamentary Union). Despite the new law, women in Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> century did not experience complete political freedom. The vague wording of the Constitution written during the Weimar Republic left room for interpretation of the law, thereby allowing significant exceptions to be made to the newly given rights (Breuer 2018). After World War II, a new German constitution was written, awarding men and women equal political rights. However, this constitution represented only the Federal Republic of Germany, a democracy, while the German Democratic Republic was governed under a communist system and constitution. During this period of a divided state, women in the West and the East enjoyed different political and social rights and norms, with a specific focus in the GDR on women's roles in the family and in the workplace (Kranz 2005). The article in the constitution addressing women's rights was further amended in the 1990s under a united German democracy to call for steps to be made to eliminate disadvantages facing women (Breuer 2018).

Using representation of women in the Bundestag as a broad way to measure such efforts, one can conclude that Germany has overall been successful. The state has, after all, had a female head of government for the last 15 years. The representation of women in the Bundestag has also overall increased. In the December 1990 federal election, right after unification, women held 20.5% of the seats in the Bundestag (*Women in Parliaments*). By 2017, that percentage had increased to 37%; however, that proportion significantly decreased after the 2017 federal election, declining to 31.7% ("Proportion of

Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%).") In a mixed system such as Germany's, voters have significant power not only in directly electing representatives to government positions but also electing parties that place priority in putting women in these roles if given the opportunity.

As such, it is important to research public opinion in order to understand the current political climate and the desires of the voters. While voters in Germany are partially responsible for electing women into government positions on their first vote, the political parties are also responsible for putting women on the ballot for those positions that voters can choose for their second vote. The first vote is for directly elected district races, and the second vote is for proportional seats. If women's representation in the Bundestag is important for a voter, they could be more likely to cast their second vote in a federal election for a party that has more women listed on the ballot. Ideally, if the public wants more women in office, the parties will respond. So, in order to address underrepresentation of women in the Bundestag, it is important to understand the opinions of the citizens voting these elected officials into office through the party listings. These opinions can change based on many factors, including but not limited to gender, region, political party, age, education level, and income.

Because of the contradictory circumstances in Germany of a female Chancellor but a declining proportion of women elected to the Bundestag along with the natural experiment setting for investigating the lasting impact of a communist regime, I asked this question: How are female politicians perceived in Germany? Specifically, is there a difference in perceptions based on the gender<sup>3</sup> and region of the voter? In addition, are

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<sup>3</sup> For this study, I am defining gender by sex, only controlling for respondents who identify as male or female.

these perceptions impacted by greater representation of women in the Bundestag? In essence, my research is three pronged, seeking to understand the impact of gender, a communist legacy, and greater women's representation on public opinion. I seek to answer these questions through quantitative analysis of survey data and provide further support of my findings, in addition to existing literature, through qualitative analysis of interviews with female political leaders in Germany.

In order to address these research questions, I will first explain the existing literature regarding the factors that influence perceptions of female politicians, limiting my discussion to personal, cultural, and institutional factors. I will then go on to explain my first quantitative findings, using data from an original survey and the German Longitudinal Election Study to understand the difference in perceptions of hypothetical candidates and Angela Merkel based on gender and region of the respondent. My second quantitative chapter will focus on the influence of greater representation of CDU women on perceptions of Angela Merkel in addition to political interest, limiting my sample to CDU respondents. Finally, I will provide additional data and further support through analysis of 19 interviews conducted via email with female members of the Bundestag and female party leaders. In the conclusion, I will review the findings of my study, finding a clear gender bias in German voters that extends into party borders. I will also suggest ideas for future research, including expanding the study to look at other parties and other candidates, particularly within die Grünen and the Social Democratic Party<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> In German, known as die Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands or the SPD

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will be focusing on the various factors that lead to overall perceptions of female politicians in Germany. These include personal (of the politicians in addition to the voters), cultural, and institutional factors. Cultural factors include the lasting impact of a communist history, while institutional factors include discussion of quotas and their use in Germany. Due to the language barrier and the prolific amount of research done on the American political system, much of my literature is limited to studies of the United States. Despite this, I use this literature to still make broader connections and inferences to how these factors also impact perceptions of female politicians in Germany.

#### *Personal Determinants*

The literature regarding gender stereotyping of political candidates and politicians is extensive, especially in regards to American elections. Scholars have found that women politicians often are seen as more compassionate, honest, and better able to deal with constituents, while men are seen to be better suited emotionally for politics and more ready to handle issues such as military and business (Dolan 2014; Alexander & Andersen 1993; Huddy & Terkildsen 1993). This difference in evaluations extends to type of media coverage during elections. A US study found that when women run for governor, there is more trait coverage as opposed to the issue coverage more popular when just two men run (Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose, & Weber 2013). While much of the literature agrees that these gender stereotypes are present in the evaluations of politicians,

research varies in the impact these gender stereotypes make on vote choice in comparison to other influences, such as political party.

A 2002 study by Sanbonmatsu suggests the idea of a subliminal preference among voters that is determined by the gender of the voter and the gender stereotypes held by the voter. Individuals who are confident in the superiority of a male candidate to handle stereotypically male issues were more likely to prefer the male candidate, while individuals who thought women are superior in handling women's issues were more likely to support the female candidate (Sanbonmatsu 2002). Dolan found similar results in a 2010 study of the impact of gender stereotypes. Dolan concluded that the probability of voting for a woman increased when the voter is more confident in the woman's ability to handle stereotypical male policy issues, such as terrorism and economics (Dolan 2010). While these studies found a difference in the probability of voting for a male candidate versus a female candidate, both used survey questions regarding hypothetical candidates, not actual candidate profiles.

Within political parties, the gender divide persists; however, it is not yet clear if held gender stereotypes are more often used to make voting decisions compared to other held beliefs or preferences. Dolan (2014) found that people more often vote for the candidate of their party, whether or not that candidate is female. A 2011 study by Hayes found similar results, concluding that in the United States party stereotypes seemed to be more influential than gender stereotypes. After analyzing survey data, Hayes found no significant evidence of sex stereotyping within the political parties. This study supports the idea that voters are more likely to use party stereotypes than gender stereotypes when making inferences about candidates (Hayes 2011). These studies were limited to the

United States, yet they suggest interesting relationships between the prevalence and impact of gender stereotypes on voting patterns within political party lines.

However, both Dolan and Sanbonmatsu suggest that even within the Democratic and Republican parties, there are still gender gaps regarding competency to handle certain issues (2009). According to the study, Democrats are more likely to think that women of both parties are better able to handle issues regarding education; however, these gender stereotypes have a stronger negative effect on Republican women. The findings suggest that Republican women benefit less from the more positive stereotypes about women's competency and instead experience more consequences from the stereotypes that negatively portray a woman's competency (Dolan & Sanbonmatsu 2009). Due to the similarity of the United States and Germany in terms of democratic values, development, and economic strength, I would expect to see similar gender stereotypes for female politicians in Germany.

Where these stereotypes develop is another question. Are they inherent or are they encouraged by society and the media? These gender stereotypes are present in media coverage of political figures and extremely effective in influencing the image of politicians or potential candidates. Even the tone and focus of a message from the media can impact the perceptions of qualities a certain female candidate holds. Bligh, Schlehofer, Casad, and Gaffney (2012) found that a message regarding a female senator's leadership abilities is analyzed by viewers for competence, and if the message contains a negative tone, viewers are more likely to see that senator as cold. However, when the message is focused on the personality of the senator, she is analyzed for warmth, and

when the message is negatively framed, viewers associate her with more negative characteristics such as cold or unlikable (Bligh, et. al. 2012).

This literature all assumes, however, that female politicians are perceived similarly to the way women in general are perceived. A study by Schneider and Bos addresses this assumption and finds that in fact, female politicians are evaluated differently than women in general. Using a sample of American university students, they find that female politicians were perceived more as a subgroup of women and were more likely to be rated higher on negative female leadership traits and male positive personality traits than women (Schneider & Bos 2014). Not only were female politicians viewed differently in comparison with women, but they were also rated lower than male politicians on leadership and competence (Schneider & Bos 2014). This adds further support to the idea of gender stereotypes influencing perceptions of politicians in the United States.

While much of the literature above is limited to the US, it can be used as a foundation to understand the possible gender dynamics and gender stereotypes in Germany as well. As the two countries are very similar in terms of development, they are also similar in terms of gender role structures (Ebert, Steffens, and Kroth, 2014). While not testing perceptions of politicians, Ebert, Steffens, and Kroth studied groups of students to understand gender stereotypes of warmth and competency in Germany and found that respondents were more likely to show a self-favoritism when rating the genders for competence. In other words, men and women were more likely to have an implicit association of competency to their own genders, respectively (Ebert, et al. 2014). However, this varied for the warmth evaluation. Respondents showed an implicit bias

toward rating women higher on warmth compared to men (Ebert, et al. 2014). This is largely in agreement with the personality gender stereotypes found in research regarding gender stereotypes in the United States, thereby showing that these differences in general gender stereotypes are not confined within US borders.

Despite women in Germany being viewed as “warmer” than men, “cold” is a criticism sometimes thrown to German Chancellor Angela Merkel. A scientist from the former East, Merkel has been a leading figure in the Christian Democratic Union<sup>5</sup> party for over 20 years. She successfully led the German government into a coalition between the CDU and the SPD in 2009 and was reelected after, evidence of her high popularity among voters. Not only has Merkel been a leading figure in German politics, but she has also been a leading politician in world politics as well, receiving a particularly large amount of attention during the 2015 Syrian Refugee Crisis after allowing Germany to receive the most refugees of any EU country. Sometimes referred to as cold, sometimes referred to as a strong leader, Merkel’s personal background and long standing influence in German politics poses an interesting study for the relationship between gender, region, and politics in German, especially as all of those relate to public opinion.

Public critiques of Merkel vary within German society and the media. One critique of Merkel is that she lacks the ability to represent the women and their true interests when she has not had any children herself, which largely comes from West German expectations of true womanhood and served as a way to discredit her (Ferree

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<sup>5</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, I am pairing respondent data from the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union together. The CSU is the Bavarian version of the CDU. While slightly more conservative, the CSU is in essence the Bavarian portion of the CDU and campaigns nationwide with the CDU.

2006). However, this critique is interesting in itself because of the way the German media has created a mother-like image surrounding Merkel. In addition to commonly referring to Merkel using the terms “pastor’s daughter” and “Helmut’s Mädchen”, the European media commonly refers to Merkel as “Mutti”, a word often used in East Germany to refer to a mother (Van Halsema 2019). However, this reference to motherhood does not have a positive connotation. According to a media analysis by Van Halsema, “Mutti” does not reference Merkel’s strengths as a leader, but it instead connects her reliability to her appearance through the domestic connotations that word invokes (2019). While these studies are limited specifically to Angela Merkel due to her overarching presence in Germany politics, it is possible that these gender stereotypes are present with other female politicians in Germany.

### *Cultural Determinants*

Perceptions of female politicians in Germany may not be necessarily influenced by the personal characteristics of the politicians or the voters, but instead by the gender roles or norms established in the culture. While individual women may be perceived very positively or face little personal criticism, they may receive the most backlash due to the fact that they are attempting to enter a historically male-dominated career field that may not be seen as an acceptable avenue for rising through the ranks of society for women. As West Germany refined to democracy and East Germany was Communist for forty years, cultural norms of careers and the space women take up in society could take slower to adjust than expected.

Similar to women in politics in Germany, women in the German military also face a certain level of backlash to their presence, but instead of by voters, they face this backlash from their male colleagues. In interviews of male German soldiers in 2000, sixty-five percent agreed that more women in the Bundeswehr<sup>6</sup> would create “more problems in the military’s everyday life” (Kümmel 2015). While 76% of men agreed that they could imagine working with a woman in their own unit, sixty-nine percent agreed that the integration of women would improve the image of the Bundeswehr (Kümmel 2015). Men were surveyed again in both 2005 and 2011 to test if the integration of women did in fact change perceptions, and the results showed interesting contrasts. In 2005 and 2011, men were more likely to agree that they could imagine working with women in their unit as compared to responses in 2000; however, that percentage declined from 2005 to 2011, meaning that as more women entered the Bundeswehr, men were more likely to perceive that negatively. In contrast to the 69% of men who agreed that more women in the Bundeswehr improved perceptions of it within German society, only 54% of male soldiers agreed in 2011.

This study relates to the culture in Germany of women integrating into male-dominated careers and areas of society. As more women entered the military, they faced greater amounts of resistance among some of their male colleagues. The author sites several possible reasons for such increases attention and resistance, including the women being seen as “tokens” and thus observed more greatly and held to higher standards, women in the Bundeswehr not challenging the conventional gender roles, and the polarization between men and women in the military (Kümmel 2015). While unavailable,

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<sup>6</sup> The German military

further data would explain if the women still face integration resistance or if consistent presence led to an eventual improvement of perceptions. While the military is an extreme example of a career field that was until very recently male-dominated, this study provides cultural context to perceptions of female politicians entering German politics and the resistance they could face from their colleagues as well as the German citizens.

A less extreme example of differences in perceived gender roles can be seen between the German regions. The differences between East and West Germany pose an interesting topic to researchers because the country serves as a natural experiment. Before and after the country was split into the East and West and experienced a difference in regime, the two regions were for all practical purposes the same. Linguistically and culturally the regions were almost identical. As a result of being united, then split with one side experiencing communism, and then reuniting again, meaningful distinctions understandably occur. Forty years of a difference in regime will result in societal differences. In relation to women's rights and equality, these came about within the two regions in different ways. While in the West, developments were encouraged by social forces and feminist movements, in the East the state and party were the main actors (Rueschmeyer and Schissler 1990). If the feminist advancements in the East were made by the party, one can infer that the women placed in party or government positions may have been placed there not due to greater public support or the qualifications of the women, but instead based on the motivations of the party. This could lead to the women being seen as tokens. In a study of post-socialist societies, Cruise found that the communist legacy left a distrust among women towards the government, partly because women put in positions of power served as political these tokens (2011).

These cultural differences in perceptions of females in East and West Germany stem from the gender norms perpetrated by the communist regime in the GDR. While women in the West experienced democratic emancipation, women in the East experienced emancipation on the terms of the socialist party. This meant that women's policy came in the form of "Mutti Politik," or Mommy policy, and enforced and strengthened the roles of women in labor, the house, and the family, thereby reinforcing traditional gender roles in East Germany and discouraging feminist movements (Kranz 2005). Despite the intense focus of the socialist party on women in the workforce and as mothers, women in the GDR were politically interested and involved, holding about a third of deputy spots in the East German legislature and serving in local and regional government offices (Rueschemeyer 2009).

The literature also seeks to understand the impact or longevity of the societal differences created by a communist history. Studies have confirmed that there are regional differences in perceptions regarding women and gender roles in Germany. Not only are East Germans more likely to hold egalitarian views of the role of women compared to West Germans, they are also more likely to support women to continue to hold jobs while being mothers (Banaszak 2006, Bauernschuster and Rainer 2012). These lasting differences in perceptions extend as well to female Bundestag members. To these women, the Eastern identity and past experiences in the job market and in receiving social support for families all influence what they see as policy priorities for united Germany now (Rueschemeyer 2009). The literature sets up a debate of whether the communist history would lead to more acceptance in the East of female politicians or a backlash toward them due to their appointments into government positions as a mere

show of the party's commitment to gender equality. If that regional divide is still present in recent survey data and polling, it begs this question: How long will these differences in perceptions of women remain in Germany?

### *Institutional Determinants*

An extended body of research focuses on women's symbolic, descriptive, and substantive representation. This research is grounded in the idea of understanding the impact of women in government on themselves, their actions in government, and on the citizens they are representing. While this literature is broad, the research available to me is lacking in studies examining the impacts of representation between the state and federal levels of government, particularly Germany. While there is more literature regarding women in German politics available in German, I could not find access to it. However, my review gives me sufficient context to develop my hypotheses. The literature I did find showed that women and gender issues in German politics is important not only on the national level but also on the state and local levels.

While some parties in Germany implement their own quotas for recruiting women into party positions, they also use non-quota methods in various states, suggesting that for several parties, recruiting women into the party is also important at the local level. A study of parties in the German state of Baden-Württemberg elaborated on the various strategies parties used to recruit women on the local levels, including financial support, mentorship opportunities, and training programs. The study concluded that these non-quota recruitment methods and the party gatekeepers are essential to increasing representation of women on local party lists (Ruf 2019). According to this idea, parties

who may not employ as many or as effective non-quota strategies may experience lower representation as a result, which could have an impact on female voters within that state. As the parties are the actors largely choosing who has the opportunity to represent the party at the Bundestag level, it is an important opportunity to be elected at the local level to possibly rise through the party ranks.

Connected to the topic of women's representation is women's political ambition. Often described as the interest in and act of running for office, political ambition is researched in relation to the recruitment of both males and females by party elites. Studies by both Fox and Lawless explore various components of this issue. In a 2011 study the researchers used data from the Citizen Panel Exhibition Study to analyze the gender gap in political ambition. They found that this gender gap is strong; specifically, the average woman is five times more likely than the average man to think she is unqualified to run for office (Fox & Lawless 2011). This strong difference in self efficacy is, according to Fox and Lawless, largely to do with the traditional gender roles that the American culture holds and socializes into our culture. This socialization is even present when deciding to run for office. Using a mail survey, Fox, Lawless, and Feeley (2001) analyzed responses of both men and women in occupations similar to those held by US House of Representatives members. This survey found that that women are increasingly more interested in running for office and that men and women were more likely to run if encouraged by someone; however, women were much less likely compared to men to receive this external motivation (Fox, Lawless, & Feeley 2001). This socialization can have a large impact on gender representation. Studies of both American and German elections found that women are just as likely as men to be elected (Rule 1981, Fortin-

Rittenberger & Eder 2013). If women are equally as likely to get elected once they are on the ballot, the underrepresentation is likely due to social or economic barriers preventing women from getting to that point of running for office (Fortin-Rittenberger & Elder 2013).

A 2010 study by Fox and Lawless supported this finding regarding the importance of recruiting on political ambition. Using the 2008 version of the Citizen Panel Exhibition Study, the researchers found that women are much less likely to be recruited by electoral gatekeepers and when they are recruited, they are recruited a lot less intensely (Fox & Lawless 2010). This study seconded their earlier one by confirming that both men and women who receive encouragement to run are more likely to run, thereby increasing political ambition. However, it is important to note that all of these studies were conducted in the United States. While these findings are important, the results could be different in a democracy like Germany, in which there are more than two large parties and several of the parties follow gender quotas they have chosen and self-enforce.

In contrast to the results by Fox and Lawless, Davidson-Schmich found that in Germany, political ambition in women decreased within parties with higher gender quotas. A 2008 study by Davidson-Schmich surveyed 1000 rank and file members of German political parties to understand this topic. The study found that 91.1% of the women surveyed had been encouraged by someone to run for office, and of those women, eighty-four percent had been encouraged by their political party. However, only 79% of men who had answered yes to that question had been encouraged by their political party. Interestingly, Davidson-Schmich found that higher gender quotas are associated with lower levels of political ambition (2008). As the gender quota increases, the political

ambition of female and male potential candidates' decreases. Davidson-Schmich also found that women in leadership positions of parties with higher quotas are less ambitious than women in parties of lower or no quotas.

However, this gender gap in ambition occurs when ambition is measured by the candidate's willingness to accept a hypothetical run for office by the party. When ambition is measured by having run for a party's nomination for the ballot, there is no significant gender difference. Davidson-Schmich concludes that gender quotas have been successful in bringing more women into politics in Germany not by raising the interest of women but instead by "forcing parties" to encourage unambitious women to run for office "while limiting opportunities for more politically ambitious men" (Davidson-Schmich 2008). In addition to quotas affecting the political ambition of candidates, they could also lead voters to assume that female candidates are somehow less qualified than male candidates and were put on the ballot in order to meet a quota rather than based on their own merit.

Despite the mixed findings regarding the effects of quotas on political ambition, they have been found to have an influence on the attention given to and spoken about "female" issues in speeches within Bundestag committees. A study by Xydias unsurprisingly found that women legislators spoke more than men on discussions related to women's issues (2007). The relationships were not limited to gender. The study also found that the presence of a gender quota seemed to enhance the attention women legislators give to women's issues, and this influence extended across the party, not just the women elected under the quota (Xydias 2007). This provides further evidence of the

substantive impact women's quotas and representation can have, particularly within Germany.

Political parties in Germany began using these gender quotas in the 1980s, with die Grünen being the first party to implement them. Now, die Grünen and die Linke<sup>7</sup> follow a 50% gender quota and alternate between men and women on the ballot. The SPD has also adopted a 50% quota, and the CDU has a "soft" one-third gender quota when enough qualified females can appear on the ballot (Reiser 2014). While these gender quotas apply to both the state and party legislature ballots, they have been implemented differently across the states. Despite parties significantly helping bring women in state legislatures and the national legislature, Davidson-Schmich found a difference in how gender quotas were met by political party. The left-leaning parties were more likely to set higher quotas and meet them compared to the more conservative parties (Davidson-Schmich 2006). A cross-national study by Caul also found that parties holding more leftist values were much more likely to adopt gender quotas sooner (Caul 2001).

In summary, there are many factors that influence perceptions of female politicians around the world and specifically in Germany. These factors range from personal, such as perceptions of capability of leadership within certain political realms, to institutional, such as the presence of gender quotas among political parties. These factors and perceptions are investigated further in the following chapters through both quantitative and qualitative analysis. I expect to see similar personal factors present in the study that are elaborated on in the American literature, particularly in terms of different expectations of women's and men's competency and characteristics to work in politics. I

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<sup>7</sup> The translations of these parties are the Greens and the Left. Both are on the more liberal, left end of the political ideology spectrum, with the Greens being slightly more moderate compared to the Left.

expect that in the unique case of Germany, I will see the communist legacy making an impact of perceptions on gender roles, thus influencing perceptions.

# CHAPTER 3

## OVERALL PERCEPTIONS OF FEMALE POLITICIANS

### AND ANGELA MERKEL

In order to understand how female politicians, Angela Merkel specifically, are perceived in Germany, I divided my research into multiple stages. This first stage is an analysis of an original survey and of the 2017 German Longitudinal Election Study completed with the help of my advisor Dr. Timothy Rich.

#### **Methods**

Through a web survey of 406 respondents conducted by a survey company called Cint in September of 2017, I asked a series of demographic questions and then a series of questions aimed at understanding perceptions of female politicians in the state. The demographic questions included questions about age, gender, education level, location of birth, current location, political party affiliation, and the level at which respondents identify with that political party.

I also used public survey data available through the 2017 German Longitudinal Election Study. The respondents were German citizens above the age of 16 currently residing in Germany. The survey used random sampling and oversampled the respondents in East Germany in order to receive more accurate results. The survey I used was the Pre- and Post-election Cross Section, meaning that the questions included responses from both before and after the last federal election in Germany. The pre-election responses were collected from July 31, 2017 until September 23, 2017. The post-election responses were collected from September 25, 2017 until November 30, 2017.

However, for the first part of this chapter, I am only analyzing the data from my original survey.

In this survey, I first asked an experimental design question focused on prerequisites for Chancellor. Each respondent received one of the following statements and was asked to respond on a five point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Statements A & B are comparable and test for difference in education level by gender, and C & D are comparable and test for experience by gender. The questions were designed with the hypothesis that men would expect higher qualifications for female candidates.

- a. **A man without a college degree is unfit to be Chancellor**
- b. **A woman without a college degree is unfit to be Chancellor**
- c. **A man without experience in government is unfit to be Chancellor**
- d. **A woman without experience in government is unfit to be Chancellor<sup>8</sup>**

Based on the literature and previous evidence, my hypotheses were that females will have more favorable perceptions than males of female candidates. I also hypothesized that there will be a regional deviation in perception of candidates. Specifically, Eastern respondents will have more egalitarian views toward female candidates than Western respondents.

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<sup>8</sup> The German version of these questions as they appeared on the survey are as follows.

- 1. Ein Mann ohne Universitätsabschluss ist ungeeignet, Bundeskanzler zu sein.
- 2. Eine Frau ohne Universitätsabschluss ist ungeeignet, Bundeskanzler zu sein.
- 3. Ein Mann ohne Regierungserfahrung ist ungeeignet, Bundeskanzler zu sein.
- 4. Eine Frau ohne Regierungserfahrung ist ungeeignet, Bundeskanzler zu sein.

## **Results and Analysis**

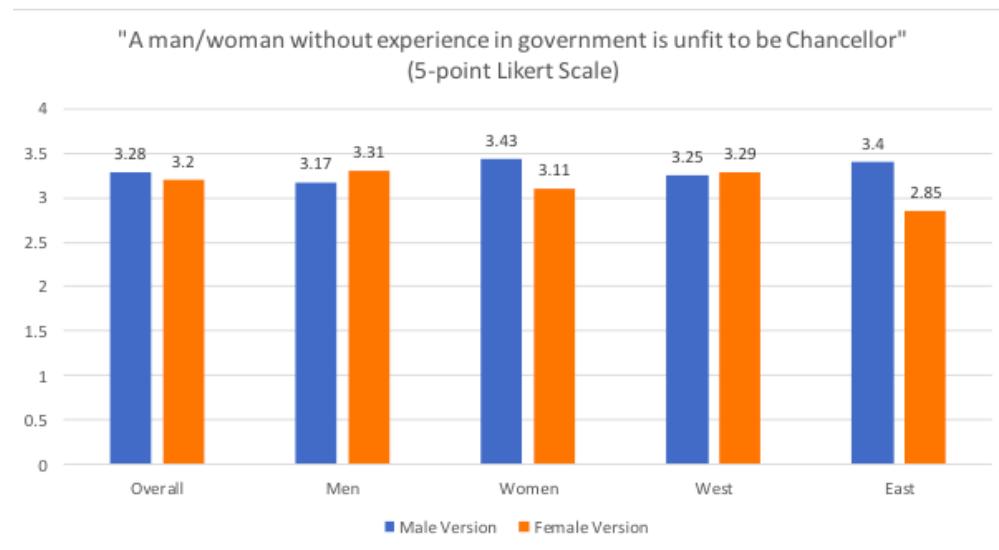
The results of this experimental design question are in the two figures below.

While not significant, the question produced interesting results. The people who received the statement “A man/woman without experience in government is unfit to be Chancellor” were overall more likely to agree with that statement than were those who received the statement “A man/woman without a college degree is unfit to be Chancellor.” Based on that result, one can understand that to respondents, experience is important to voters. The women who received the statement about a college degree were more likely to disagree when they received the male version of the statement than the female version of the statement, meaning they believed women more than men need a college degree to be Chancellor. This trend also occurred in the answers of the male respondents; however, it was to a slightly smaller degree. The greatest variation within the answers to this statement of the experimental design question were in the respondents from the East and the West. Respondents from the East of both genders were more likely to agree that a man or woman without a college is unfit to be Chancellor, suggesting that education credentials could be more valued in for candidates in the East than in the West. Overall, at least in regards to hypothetical candidates, gender does not generate much difference in perceptions of male and female candidates and men and women view candidates and their competencies similarly.

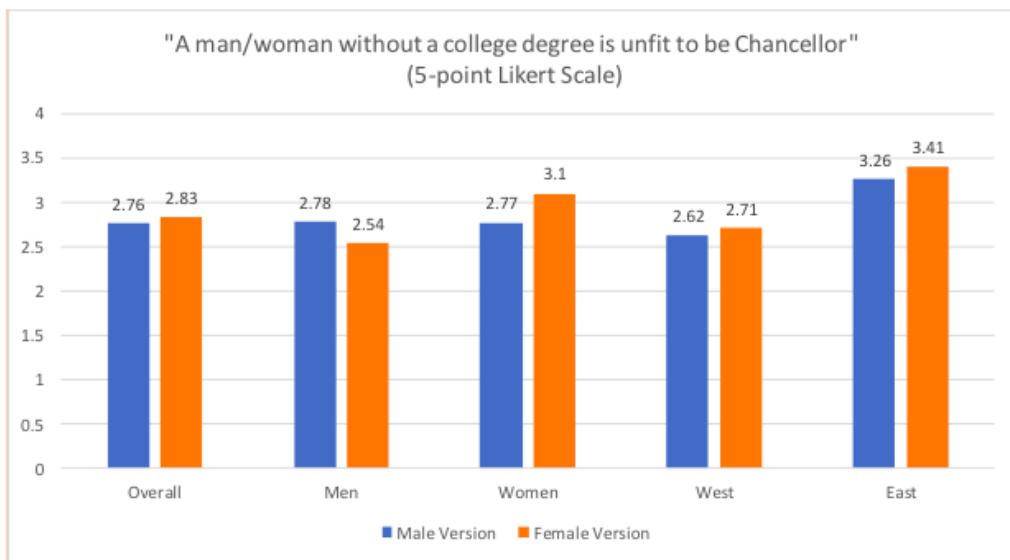
The results from the respondents who received the statement about government experience were overall pretty similar. Respondents who received this statement were more likely to agree with it than respondents to the other statement. Respondents from the East to this statement were more likely to disagree with this statement when the

statement was referencing a woman rather than a man. Because of the lack of statistical significance, this suggests no bias in perceptions of baseline qualifications for female candidates.

**Figure 1: Perceptions of Experience**

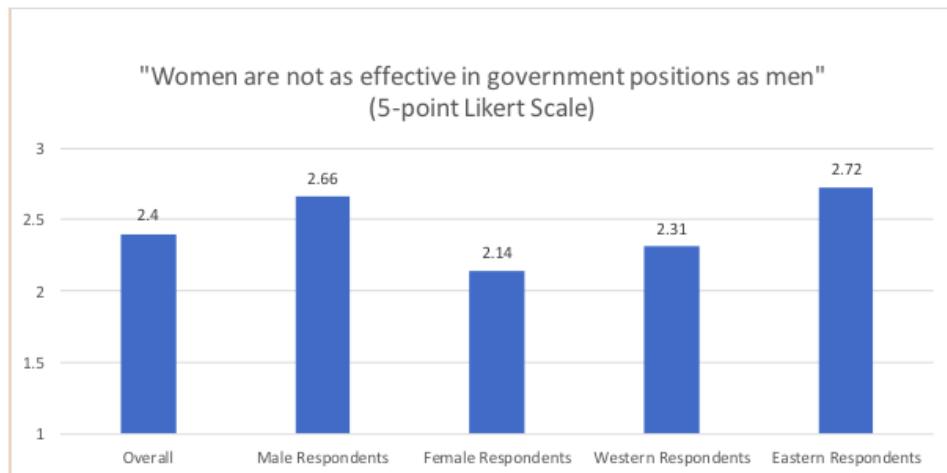


**Figure 2: Perceptions of Education Level**



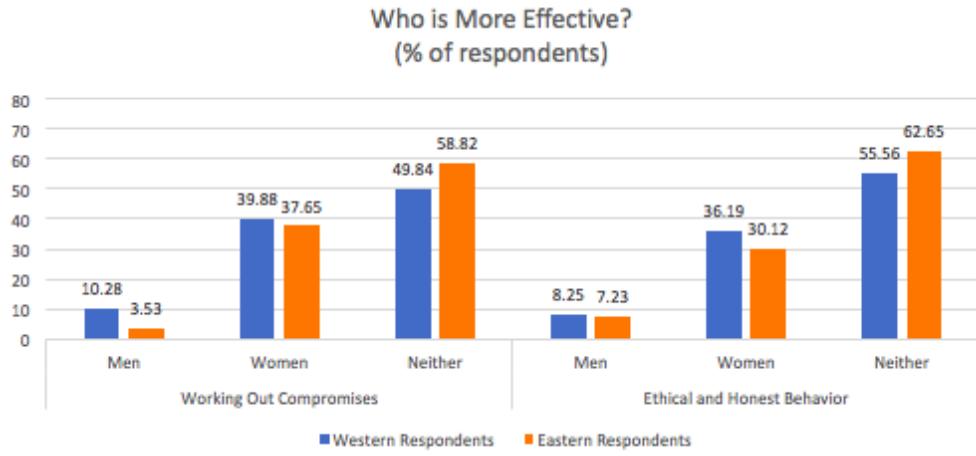
While the experimental design question did not produce significant results, I did find interesting data results on non-experimental questions. One such question was to answer on a 5-point Likert scale one's agreement with the following statement: Women are not as effective in government positions as men. The answers to that question are displayed in the figure below. Overall, respondents to this first question were relatively neutral in their responses. Unsurprisingly, men were more likely than women to agree that women are not as effective as men in government roles. The difference between genders is significant. Respondents from the East were also more likely to agree with this statement compared to respondents from the West. This difference is large but not significant, with the average score of respondents from the West being a 2.31 while the average of respondents from the East was 2.72. The average score from Western respondents was even lower than the overall average score. This suggests that Easterners are more likely to believe that women are not as effective in government as men, implying less egalitarian views in the East, which could be due to backlash toward government-appointed women from the GDR era. The higher average among the Eastern respondents than Western respondent's contrasts with my original hypothesis.

**Figure 3: Evaluations of Women's Effectiveness**

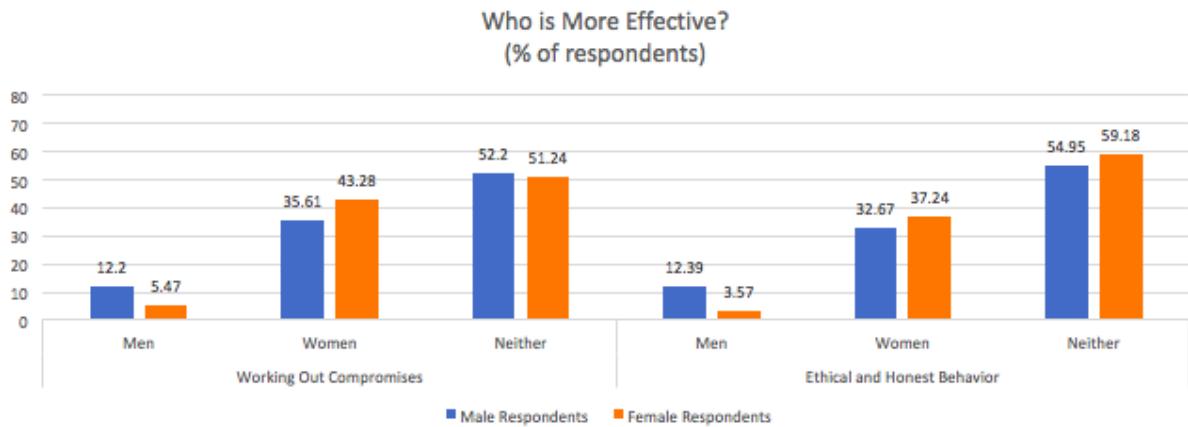


I also asked respondents about their expectations regarding characteristics of politicians. The data is shown on the graphs below. Unsurprisingly, male respondents were more likely to say that men are better at making compromises, and female respondents were more likely to say the same about women, although the majority of respondents saw neither as better. These margins varied differently when asked which is better at more ethical and honest behavior. Male and female respondents were almost equally as likely to say women. When these answers were varied to divide East and West respondents, the results differed. When asked about making compromises, respondents from the East were much less likely than Western respondents to choose men. For both questions, Eastern respondents were much more likely to choose neither. This poses an interesting contrast with the question asked earlier in the survey. The findings suggest candidates are viewed differently based on gender and region of the respondent.

**Figure 4: Perceptions of Effectiveness of Men vs. Women by Region of Respondent**



**Figure 5: Perceptions of Effectiveness of Men vs. Women by Gender of Respondent**



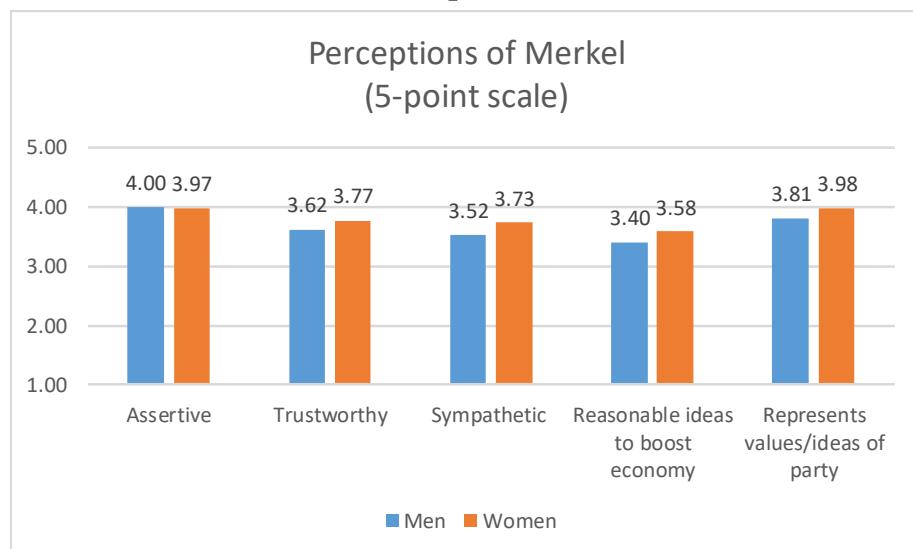
While my original survey data supported the idea of differences in perceptions of female politicians, the results were limited. The data showed differences in perceptions based on region; however, these results were not significant enough to conclude that the region of the respondent influences perceptions of female politicians. Based on the data from my survey, I can conclude that there is a gender difference in perceptions of female politicians, with women showing more favorable views compared to men. It is important to note, however, that this experimental design is based on hypothetical/abstract candidates, and while the results give an overall view into the role of gender and politics in Germany, they do not provide specific evidence related to actual elections of politicians. Because of this, I chose to analyze existing survey data of an actual German politician to see if the patterns I observed hold.

To test whether perceptual differences emerge, I used the German Longitudinal Election Study Pre-and Post-Election Cross Section 2017. In this survey were various questions about Angela Merkel and her primary opponent in the last election, Martin Schulz, head of the SPD. Similar to the characteristic questions I asked in my survey, this

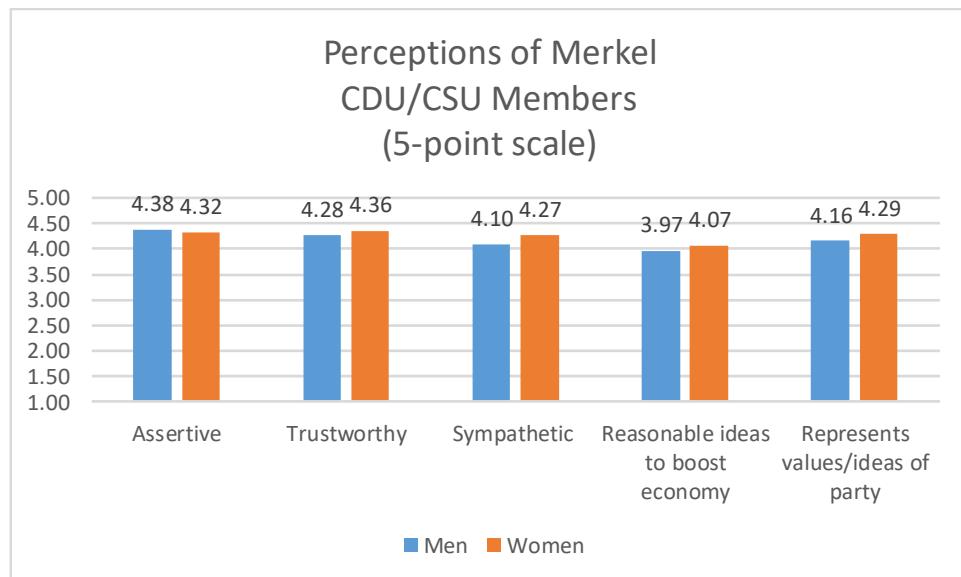
survey asked respondents to rate these qualities of Merkel: assertiveness, trustworthiness, sympathy, reasonable ideas to boost economy, and represents values/ideas of the party.

When evaluating all of these characteristics, men were almost always more likely to rate Merkel more negatively compared to women. Out of all of the characteristics, men were slightly more likely to rate Merkel's assertiveness more positively. This trend continued even when results were controlled just for members of Merkel's party. Unsurprisingly, overall ratings of her characteristics were higher among members of the CDU. The results of that question can be found on the figures below.

**Figure 6: Evaluations of Merkel's Characteristics According to Gender of Respondent**



**Figure 7: Evaluations of Merkel's Characteristics Among CDU/CSU Members**



After noting the consistently high rankings of Merkel by her fellow party members, I performed a Pearson Chi-square test to understand the difference in rankings by gender within the CDU. The results of the Chi-square test showed that among members of the CDU, men were always more likely to give Merkel lower scores on the five characteristics listed. When used to evaluate the overall rankings of Merkel on a scale from -5 to 5, the Chi-square test also revealed that in almost every subgroup, men are more likely to rank Merkel lower.

To further analyze the data while testing for a wide variety of factors, I performed a series of OLS regressions with a dependent variable of overall perceptions of Angela Merkel. The first test was limited to basic demographics, such as gender, region, age, and income. The next test included political parties. The parties are limited to the largest six: CDU, SPD, FDP, Grüne, Die Linke, and AfD. The final test included the ratings of Merkel based on attributes previously mentioned.

**Table 1: Regressions of Evaluations of Merkel**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Female	0.68****	0.10	0.52****	0.09	0.26****	0.07
East Germany	-0.44****	0.10	-0.03	0.09	-0.08	0.07
Age	0.02****	0.00	0.01****	0.00	0.00	0.00
Household Income	0.19****	0.02	0.11****	0.02	0.04***	0.01
CDUCSU			2.52****	0.12	1.01****	0.10
SPD			0.56****	0.13	0.32***	0.10
FDP			1.19****	0.22	0.35**	0.17
Greune			1.19****	0.16	0.46****	0.13
Die Linke			-0.33	0.17	-0.06	0.13
AFD			-3.15****	0.23	-1.53****	0.18
Merkel-Assertive					-0.03	0.04
Merkel-Trustworthy					0.79****	0.04
Merkel-Sympathetic					0.57****	0.04
Merkel-Economics					0.44****	0.04
Merkel-Values					0.09***	0.04
Constant	-0.82****	0.23	-0.69****	0.21	-5.56****	0.22
N	3290		3290		3037	
Adjusted R2	0.06		0.27		0.59	

Y=Overall Satisfaction of Angela Merkel

\*\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < .10

The regression of the data produced significant results. In the first model I control only for basic demographic variables. Each reaches p<0.001, while gender had a positive correlation and East Germany has a negative correlation. Once I controlled for party and Merkel's ratings, significance of region disappeared. In the second model I control for party, and I can see that members of the CDU were always much more likely to rate Merkel higher, while members of AfD were always significantly more likely to rank Merkel lower. Each party but die Linke reach of significance level of p<0.0001. Membership in Merkel's party made a significant difference when asked about her trustworthiness; CDU members were more likely to rank her almost an entire point higher. The third model introduces controls of the questions regarding rating of Merkel's

characteristics. Of these, the only control that is not significant and has a negative coefficient is her assertiveness, which poses an interesting question of the role of respondent gender in this control. In other words, do men and women perceive Merkel's assertiveness differently?

When controlling just for party, I saw that members of die Grünen also were more likely to rank her almost a point higher. This strong support from a left party towards a conservative Chancellor is significant. With the declining support for the SPD around the country and the need of the CDU to find other possible coalition partners, some experts predicted that Angela Merkel would seek a coalition with die Grünen after the 2017 federal election; however, experts also believed the thought that die Grünen would form a coalition with the CDU would turn the more left leaning "traditional" Greune voters away from the party (Chase).

This greater support could also be due to Merkel's proven history fighting for climate change and environmental protection policy. In addition to being nicknamed the "Climate Chancellor" in the mid 2000s, during the German G7 presidency, she focused primarily on encouraging members to significantly reduce their carbon dioxide production and worked toward creating a comprehensive Paris Climate Agreement (Thalman & Wetterngel 2019). While Merkel's environmental track record is not entirely consistent, her efforts and leadership in Europe to create an overarching goal system for carbon dioxide emission reductions could be seen very favorably among the die Grünen, a party focused on environmental protection.

These regressions are very telling of the variety of support and how much support Merkel receives from German voters. Based on the regressions, once can tell that

females, controlling for party, are almost always more likely to give Merkel higher scores. While there was a present regional difference, it was not as distinct or significant overall as the difference in perceptions by gender. The factor that makes the most difference in perceptions of Merkel in this survey is party membership. Across all questions, members of her party displayed higher levels of support while the right wing AfD party displayed the lowest levels of support of any group. As evident by the models, the impact of gender endures, despite political party or approval of Merkel's values or policy actions, specifically related to the economy. This suggests that the factors of gender and political party are more influential than region on perceptions of Angela Merkel. While it is hard to conclude with the current analysis if it is women giving Merkel higher scores or men giving Merkel lower scores, the data seems to suggest a gender bias. In other words, respondents tend to favor their own gender.

## CHAPTER 4

### IMPACT OF PRESENCE OF CDU WOMEN IN THE BUNDESTAG

The previous chapter showed that there is a gender bias among Germans against hypothetical female politicians and Angela Merkel. Acting under the assumption that political parties in Germany would want to change this pattern, I was interested in understanding if the presence of women in the legislatures makes a positive impact on perceptions of women. Due to the limitation of resources, I was only able to test this using the same 2017 GLES data from the last chapter. Therefore, this research question is limited to perceptions of Angela Merkel and no other female politicians. Does presence of women normalize perceptions of them? Specifically, does exposure to more women in Bundestag improve perceptions of Angela Merkel?

My last chapter provided evidence of the strong influence political party affiliation has on overall perceptions of Merkel. Because my question is limited to perceptions of her, I am really only interested in looking at the responses from people of her own party to see if higher proportions of women CDU members leads to overall improved perceptions of Merkel. Acting under the assumption that the proportion of CDU women, not CDU members in general, in the Bundestag has no impact on respondents of members of other political parties, I am limiting my sample to only respondents to the GLES who identified with the CDU or CSU.

In addition to using the approval scale of Merkel as the dependent variable, I also tested political interest as a dependent variable in order to test for broader impact of women's representation. Even if my results using the Merkel scale proved significant, I cannot make a broader conclusion if perceptions of all women CDU politicians are

improved by more representation. Merkel is a prominent politician worldwide, and thus, is subject to challenges and triumphs specific to her role as Chancellor. A dependent variable testing for political interest, however, is relevant to all CDU respondents and is not useful only in the context of perceptions of a certain politician. Using these two variables as dependent variables, I hypothesize that respondents from states with higher proportions of female CDU members will have higher ratings of Merkel, and female respondents will be more politically interested compared to respondents from states with lower percentages of female CDU legislators.

## Methods

This chapter uses multivariate analysis to understand public perceptions in Germany of Angela Merkel and in particular seeks to understand if higher representation of women of her party in the Bundestag leads to improved perceptions of Angela Merkel by citizens within those states. I am using the same 2017 GLES data to for the quantitative analysis in this chapter. Because I am comparing the region of the respondents to their Bundestag representatives, it is important to be as accurate as possible to the number of women in the Bundestag when that survey was completed in 2017. The current members of the Bundestag were elected on September 24, 2017, so the current proportions of women in the Bundestag can still be used with the survey data.

Using the Bundestag official website<sup>9</sup>, I was able to see exactly which legislators represented each state and to which political party they belong. With this data, I could easily identify how many CDU women represented each state. I quickly realized that there were two different ways to create these proportions in order to measure impact of

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.bundestag.de/abgeordnete>

these women. I could measure it as proportion of women in the Bundestag from that state who are CDU (CDU women in that state divided by total number of women in that state) or proportion of CDU members from that state who are women (total women CDU members from that state divided by total CDU members from that state). While the former looks at how dominant the CDU is among women, the latter looks at how dominant women are among the CDU. I created both variables and inputted each percentage from the various states as separate values next to the corresponding responses. The values of the variable measuring the percentage of Bundestag women in that state who are CDU range from 0 to 50. The values of the variable measuring the percentage women in the CDU within that state range from 0 to 100<sup>10</sup>.

### **Results and Analysis**

The results of my first OLS regressions with the dependent variable as overall perceptions of Merkel can be seen below. Both of these regressions are only using CDU/CSU respondents in the sample, and they are identical except that they have different control variables as measuring the number of CDU women in the Bundestag. As evident by the regressions, when the number of CDU women in the Bundestag is measured out of the total number of women representing that state (Model 1), the relationship is negative and significant at the .01 level. This finding contrasts with my original hypothesis that greater representation of women in the CDU would improve perceptions of Merkel and could be explained by the idea that women in the CDU face the backlash in response to Merkel's actions, so the more women present, the greater the

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<sup>10</sup> There are no CDU female representatives from Hamburg, and there is only one CDU member in Bremen, who is a woman.

dissatisfaction. It is possible that by introducing other control variables into the model, the significance could go away and be explained by other variables.

In addition to controlling for the proportion of CDU women in that state among all women in the Bundestag, I introduced the control variable measuring women's presence by the proportion of women among the CDU representatives of that state (Model 2). However, this variable was insignificant. This implies that when women are seen as dominating among the CDU, perceptions of Angela Merkel are not significantly affected. The difference in significance based on how I created the proportions could possibly be explained by other control variables. It could also be that CDU women dominating the proportion of women in the Bundestag is more obvious to voters than women dominating within the party. In other words, the CDU being seen as pro female representation negatively influences views of Merkel. For the purpose of this paper, I will be further analyzing the control variable that did produce significance.

**Table 2: Regression of Evaluations of Merkel Among all CDU Respondents**

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Female	.374****	0.1	0.366****	0.1
Age	.014****	0.003	.014****	0.003
Household Income	0.025	0.022	0.027	0.022
% women in Bundestag who are CDU	-.022***	0.008		
% CDU who are women			-.002	0.006
Constant	3.001****	0.353	2.476****	0.311
N	1262		1262	
Adjusted R2	0.036		0.03	

Y=Overall Satisfaction of Angela Merkel

\*\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < .10

Because the relationship between overall perceptions of Merkel and the percentage of women in the Bundestag who belong to the CDU have a negative relationship, I was interested to see how those performed separated by gender of respondent. Just including gender as a control variable still leaves responses combined and does not allow me to see how the model performs when looking specifically at each gender. I ran the regressions again, this time separating the genders and only included in my sample respondents who identified as men and with the CDU or CSU parties. The results of the regression can be seen below. Model 3 is only CDU male respondents, and Model 4 is only CDU female respondents. Interestingly, the regression showed that the proportion of CDU women had a negative relationship with overall perceptions of Merkel, but it was insignificant. This suggests that among men who identify with the CDU party, a larger number of female CDU members as measured out of the total share of women legislators has very little impact on overall perceptions of Angela Merkel.

**Table 3: Regression of Evaluations of Merkel Among all CDU Respondents by Gender**

	Model 3 (Male)		Model 4 (Female)	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Age	.012**	0.004	.017****	0.003
Household Income	-.004	0.034	0.056**	0.028
% women in Bundestag who are CDU	-.015	0.012	-.031***	0.011
Constant	3.195****	0.516	3.197****	0.463
N	621		641	
Adjusted R2	0.013		0.05	

Y=Overall Satisfaction of Angela Merkel  
\*\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < .10

Interestingly, this differs greatly when running the regressions with a sample of only women CDU respondents. As evident by the Model 4, women from states with a higher percentage of women in the Bundestag who belong to the CDU are more likely to give Merkel lower overall ratings, reaching a significance level of .01. While the substantive impact is not large (it impacts the ratings only by 3% of a point) it still proves noteworthy. Not only does this fail to support my hypothesis, but this result seems to imply the exact opposite. Instead of greater representation of CDU women among women in the Bundestag improving perceptions among women of Merkel, it harms them. In other words, the greater the proportion CDU female politicians of female Bundestag members, the more CDU female members backlash against Angela Merkel. However, this relationship is comparatively weak and has little substantive influence. This could be, as explained earlier, that women are more critical of the performance of other women, thus letting the performance of more women impact their perceptions of a single woman. This finding would need to be researched further, but it does suggest that while increasing the number of women in legislatures can, according to other literature, have a positive influence on voters, perhaps that influence does not spread to improving perceptions of specific female politicians.

My interest in understanding the impact of women's presence has on actual voters was not limited to just perceptions of individual politicians. In order to test if the proportion of women in the Bundestag positively influenced political actions or interests of voters, I used the same regression model as in the previous test but used political interest as the dependent variable. Before running this regression only among women, however, I ran a version using all CDU/CSU respondents as my sample and added gender

as a control variable. This would allow me to see if women or men are more likely to be politically interested when including limited control variables. That regression can be seen below. Model 5 has a sample of all CDU respondents, and Model 6 has a sample of only female CDU respondents. As seen in the regression below, female CDU respondents are much less likely to be politically interested, earning almost half a point lower than their male peers. This relationship is highly significant. When controlling for the percentage of women in the Bundestag who belong to the CDU, there showed no relationship, suggesting that, at least among all CDU respondents, the presence of more CDU women among women in the Bundestag has no impact on political interest.

**Table 4: Regression of Political Interest Among CDU Respondents**

	Model 5		Model 6	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Female	-.443****	0.059		
Age	.011****	0.002	.013****	0.003
Household Income	0.111****	0.013	.102****	0.019
% women in Bundestag who are CDU	0	0.005	0.004	0.008
Constant	1.985****	0.208	1.395****	0.31
N	1262		641	
Adjusted R2	0.122		0.065	

Y=Political Interest

\*\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < .10

Because I would expect that women's representation has more impact on the political activities of other women, I ran the regression again just among female CDU respondents. As seen above, age and household income both prove significant in positively influencing political interest among CDU women while the percentage of

women in the Bundestag who belong to the CDU does not. This relationship is also not significant when controlling for the other variable measuring women's presence. This suggests that the presence of more CDU women represented in the Bundestag does not influence women voters enough to impact some political behavior or interests.

In summary, within this chapter, I found that, first, the way I measure the proportion of CDU women in the legislature makes an impact on the data. When framed as women dominating among the party members of that state, there is little impact; however, when framed as the party dominating among all female Bundestag members of that state, perceptions of Merkel are affected. Interestingly, the perceptions of male CDU respondents are not impacted significantly, but the perceptions of Merkel among CDU female respondents worsen among states with larger proportions of female CDU members. However, this relationship is weak and has a very small substantive effect, signaling that the significance could change once other control variables are introduced. This lack of a strong relationship could be explained by the fact that the dependent variable only measures perceptions of one candidate, which could be strongly connected to other factors. If the presence of females in government makes an impact on voters, it could be on the political interest of women. However, when I ran the regressions with this as the dependent variable, there was no significant relationship between the proportion of CDU women in the Bundestag and political interest of all CDU respondents and just female respondents. This suggests that in contrast to my original hypothesis, there is not a contagion effect on female voters of seeing women in office.

## CHAPTER 5

### INTERVIEWS WITH FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> BUNDESTAG

While survey data can give unique insights into the perceptions of voters, it does not give any indication of the opinions and experiences of those running for or already in legislative positions. The data analyzed in the chapters before suggests that perceptions of female candidates, both hypothetical and specifically in regard to Angela Merkel, differ by various demographic variables, including gender and political party identification. While this gives me a view into the opinions of the voters, I wanted to understand how female politicians understood their role and presence in politics in Germany. I specifically wanted to question women in the Bundestag. Women in these roles have been voted in through the mixed electoral system in Germany and are likely well known or leaders within their own party.

Because of the limited availability of Bundestag politicians during the summer (when the Bundestag is not in session), I conducted my interviews via email. I contacted the office of each female member of the Bundestag with a translated letter asking for responses to the following questions:

1. Where did you grow up?
2. How does the party recruit women into leadership positions and is this a priority?
3. Are these methods effective?
4. In your opinion, how are female politicians in Germany perceived?

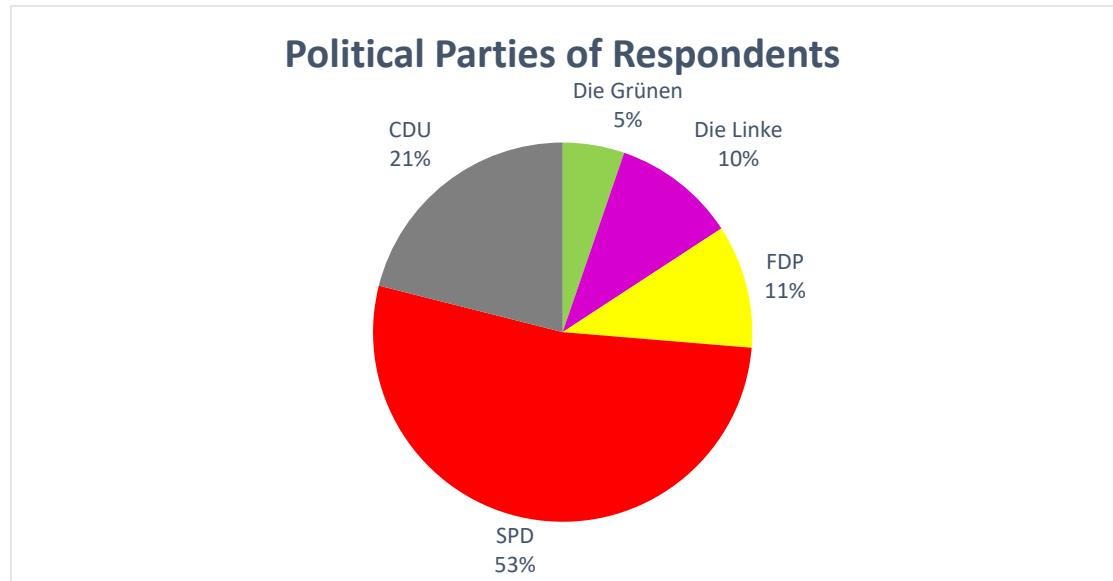
I limited the number of questions in order to maximize the likelihood of receiving responses. The first question was included to understand if there would be any clear

patterns in responses based on if the respondents grew up in the former East or West Germany. Due to the limited answers I expected to receive, I expected that most of the patterns I would see in responses would be more connected to party and not region. The second and third questions were designed to help me identify differences among opinions within and across parties. Within responses for these questions, I expected to see relative consistency overall, but especially within the responses from members of the same party. I expected to receive answers that aligned with the official actions of the parties with little personal opinion or disagreement with the actions and results of the parties' efforts. I expected the opposite for the last questions. By framing the question with "In your opinion" and taking out any verbiage relating to party opinion or treatment, I expected to receive more candid answers that would vary more greatly in content. The inclusion of question 4 was meant to see if any observed stereotypes of discriminatory experiences persisted across party lines. Overall, I expected the answers of the women to be focused on perceptions by the public not by their political peers; however, by not specifying this in the question, I left more room for personal interpretation and connection. The representatives were assured of name anonymity with connection to their answers if they participated in the study.

Currently, there are 211 women in the 709-member Bundestag. I contacted the offices of all 211 women between April and May of 2019. In addition to answering my questions, some offices put me into contact with state or former Bundestag legislators. In total, my data set includes the answers of 16 members of the Bundestag, one former member, one state legislator, and the representative for equality for one of the leading political parties. In total, I received responses from 19 women representing 9 of the 16

federal states. Respondents had the opportunity to elect to participate in the study by responding to my email to their office. Due to availability of German legislators during the end of their legislative period, many offices responded that while they appreciated my interest, the representative did not have the time to participate by answering my questions. While I received many no's, most offices did not answer. If I had the financial, time, and language resources, I would attempt to set up in person interviews in order to receive more in depth data. However, my study was limited by these factors. Because of the limitations of the research design, political parties are not proportionally represented. As such, this data analysis is simply meant as further support for my thesis about the presence of a gender difference in perceptions of politicians in Germany. In the current Bundestag, the proportions of females in the political parties are as follows: 60.9% in die Grünen, 53.6% in die Linke, 41.8% in the SPD, 23.8% in the FDP, 19.9% in the CDU, and 10.9% in the AfD (Bierbach 2017). The makeup of responses by political party can be seen in the chart below.

**Figure 8: Party Breakdown of Interview Respondents**



After analyzing the answers to each question, I found that for question number 2, answers remained largely consistent, especially among respondents from the same party. Almost all respondents of parties with gender quotas (SPD, CDU, die Grünen, die Linke) mentioned this as a method of bringing women into elected positions. Many referenced statistics as evidence of the effectiveness of these gender quotas. For example, according to an SPD representative, the enforcement of the 40% women quota by the party has increased the proportion of women in the party from 15% to 42% since 1988. Another SPD representative explained that the quotas and other measures, such as a specific program aimed at women in the region, have brought the proportion of women in the Bayern SPD fraction to 50%, making it the only one to reach that mark. A CDU representative supported the helpfulness of the quotas as well, mentioning that the proportion of women in the state legislatures, the Bundestag, and political leadership positions continues to increase.

In addition to the quota system, many respondents referenced ways the parties reach out directly to women to support them and encourage them to run for office. Representatives from the CDU cited the use of mentorship programs and an active women's union as ways to support women interested in growing their role in the party and politics. One prominent CDU member explained the importance of women who can serve as examples and share their stories with other women, adding that while there are some women doing this, there are not enough. Members of the SPD and die Grünen also cited role models as important resources for the encouragement of women into politics. However, representatives differed in the explanations of the effectiveness of such role models. While some did not answer if this method was effective, and some simply said

yes, a member of the CDU did not believe such mentoring programs were effective methods. Respondents of the FDP, a party that does not enforce gender quotas, explained that instead of using quotas to encourage women into politics, they create a political agenda every year that provides measures in order to achieve their representation goals. While one respondent was confident of the effectiveness of the measures to bring women into politics and the other is hopeful, neither one provided evidence that there are more women involved in the party as a result of measures the party has enforced.

Even though not requested, some respondents answered question two with their own perspectives of the current representation of women in German politics and offered ideas as to why this is the case and the challenges women in these positions face. One representative of die Linke said that while women may formally have the same rights as men, they may not have the same opportunities to make use of those rights and that political organizations often close women out of opportunities. Similarly, a member of the SPD said that the culture of an organization can create barriers for women's engagement. This same representative explained that attempts to incorporate women into the party and change company culture are only effective when genuine, not when resorting to "Purple Washing." This term, often used in feminist language, refers to the tendency of putting token women in positions as a means of dismissing claims of gender bias. Several representatives mentioned the gender roles that limit women's' political engagement, including a member of the CDU, who mentioned that appointments on weekends and lack of childcare provided at party meetings can both serve as barriers for political participation. A German study on women in Baden-Württemberg concluded something similar, explaining that women are often having to choose between children

and full-time employment and between political participation and full-time employment (Blättel, Mischau, & Kramer 1998). These barriers to women's participation are observed by representatives across parties of my interview respondents. A member of die Linke commented that not only are women limited in time resources, but they are also lacking the money resources necessary to be politically active and engage in political parties/institutions. As mentioned in the literature, some parties in Germany provide financial assistance in the form of free child care at party events or meetings, but this does not spread into campaign funding (Ruf 2019).

While answers were largely consistent across respondents, these explanations provide unique insight into the lesser-known methods of recruitment in Germany. Within these responses, support for quotas from the parties that use them were abundant; however, not many representatives commented on or provided support for the effectiveness of the other various methods mentioned. There could be several reasons for this lack of elaboration. In one case, it can be difficult to quantify the number of women being recruited into the party from just one method, such as mentorship programs or the zipper-listing election method. While parties that implement a variety of recruitment strategies might see an increase in the number of women joining the parties and being elected, the parties might not be able to know which method, besides quotas, are the most effective. Another reason could be the desire to stay diplomatic and in support of the party. If a member is already in a minority of the party, speaking out against the actions of the party can be uncomfortable or looked down upon. It is also easier to identify someone within a smaller party. Only two of the 19 respondents felt that the party's

efforts were not completely effective. This overall lack of critique did not surprise me and followed the pattern of party loyalty I expected to see.

In contrast to question two and three, I received greater variation and personal opinions in the answer to question 4 regarding perceptions of female politicians in Germany. While many of the respondents commented about the negative ways women are perceived, I received a greater number of responses than I expected saying there were not necessarily differences or that treatment has improved, especially with a woman as chancellor. Below is a word cloud of the patterns in responses. The larger the word the more often it was mentioned in the responses. For optimal visual representation, I removed words only mentioned once and repetitive words mentioned in the prompt that did not necessarily correspond with the meaning of answers, such as “Wahrnehmungen” (perceptions) or “Deutschland” (Germany).

**Figure 9: Word Frequency in Interviews**



As evident by this visual, there were several patterns in the responses of the women. The most noteworthy pattern to me is the prominence of words that reference qualities, such as “Aussehen” (appearance), “Kleidung” (clothing), and “Stimme” (voice). The prominence of “Stereotypen” (stereotypes) is also striking. This echoes the literature regarding stereotypes and different evaluations of politicians based on gender. While most of the literature explained is limited to the United States, these interviews confirm that these stereotypes and evaluations for women’s qualifications are also present in German politics. Just based on the visual and the connection of these words, one can infer that the respondents likely are commenting on the stereotypes of a woman’s qualities that are perceived in certain ways or maybe more critiqued than other qualities, such as her experience (Erfahrung). The adjective “männlich” (male, manly) was also mentioned enough in three different variations to be very prominent in the visual. This tells me that many of the respondents are speaking in terms of comparison between the sexes.

When examining each response, I found that the largest pattern seen in the responses is that female politicians in Germany are still evaluated on different characteristics than their male colleagues. Respondents explained that women are often critiqued on their appearance, voice, clothing, age, family status, hair, smile, or other details instead of their experience or policy actions. Even the respondents who believed that overall treatment and perceptions of female politicians in Germany has improved agreed that women are often evaluated by the public and media by these characteristics, while it is unusual for men to be critiqued on such circumstances. One CDU representative went so far as to say that women are critiqued on the most minuscule

details, such as the height of her heel or the color of her lipstick. However, despite the difference in perceptions of appearance, one of the women expressed optimism of improvement, stating, “But the more women are visible, the more the perceptions will be normalized. That is what we are working on.”<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the physical characteristics mentioned, respondents explained that female politicians often are criticized on their personal characteristics as well; qualities perceived as assets in men are perceived negatively in the women. According to a representative of the SPD, characteristics such as dominance, confidence, and autonomy imply strong leadership abilities when seen in men; however, when these characteristics are held by women, they are perceived as moody or arrogant. Another SPD member explained that while it is positive for a man to be seen as assertive, an assertive woman is often described as scheming or vindictive. A member of Die Linke agreed and said “That is a dilemma. When women aggressively fight for their political goals, they are characterized as ‘unfeminine’, but when they are a more reserved, people doubt their assertiveness in ‘hard political business.’”<sup>12</sup> The double standard regarding female assertiveness and emotionality has been studied and documented. One researcher found that perceptions of female leaders can be negatively impacted with minor to moderate displays of dominant emotions, but they can also worsen when women are unemotional in ways that align with typical gender roles (Brescoll 2016). These stereotypes among voters even extend to body language. In an evaluation of speeches of both male and

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<sup>11</sup> This translation was completed by me. The original quote is as follows: Aber je mehr Frauen sichtbar sind, desto mehr wird es auch in der Wahrnehmung zur Normalität.Daran arbeiten wir.

<sup>12</sup> Translation by me. The original quote is as follows: Das ist ein Dilemma. Wenn Frauen kühl bis aggressive für ihre politischen Ziele kämpfen, werden sie als “unweiblich” charakterisiert, wirken sie eher zurückhaltend, zweifelt man an ihrem Durchsetzungvermögen im “harten politischen Geschäft.”

female political candidates, women who appeared calm and collected were more likely than more assertive women to receive support from male voters (Everitt, Best, & Gaudet 2016).

In addition to women being seen as having different personal characteristics, according to the responses I received, they are also viewed in various ways connected to family. While several respondents acknowledged the wide variety of political leadership positions women have held in Germany despite critiques of their characteristics, other respondents mentioned that often women are assigned to the policy areas seen as more relevant to them, such as family, environment, or education. Several studies of other state legislatures confirm this, finding that there is a gender divide in assignments to political committees, with women more likely to find themselves on committees that deal with women or family issues (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, & Taylor-Robinson 2005, Baekgaard and Kjaer 2002). However, this could also be explained that these committee assignments are due to preference of the women to be on these committees (Baekgaard and Kjaer 2002). One respondent of the SPD said issues such as construction or the economy are perceived as more manly issues. Even though women are often assigned to family-related policy projects, their ability to parent and work can sometimes be questioned. An SPD member commented that a male politician with young children is seen positively, while a female politician with young children is often confronted with the question of how her political seat can be handled with children. A member of die Linke agreed, saying that there is often the question of what will happen to the family when ambitious women want careers. In contrast, a member of the CDU commented that she believes conditions for

women are improving and that she no longer has to explain how she can handle her position while also having a family.

An interesting recurring comment I was not expecting to see, especially across party lines, was about the presence of male networks in politics and the barriers such networks create for women. Calling these networks “Old Boys Networks” one SPD representative explained that the men involved in such connections regard women as objects and tend to overlook their accomplishments, influencing the career prospects and opportunities of women. Analyses have shown that these networks have extensive influence in both the CDU and the SPD within multiple levels of the electoral system (Holtkamp & Schnittke 2010). A member of die Linke also mentioned such networks and explained that because of the career development opportunities these networks provide to men, women need to support each other professionally and through opportunities in response.

Overall, responses varied but were similar across most parties. Members of the CDU, SPD, die Grünen, and die Linke all mentioned various negative ways female politicians in Germany are perceived. Only one however mentioned a personal story, explaining that she was one in a group of men who suggested she be the one to go pick up the beer for the group. She acknowledged that while this could have been a reference to her experience as a waitress, it struck her that this experience could have also been because of her gender. While some members of all of these four parties expressed how women are perceived negatively, some also believed differently, saying that there really is not much difference in perception due to gender of the politician and that perceptions have largely improved, as evident through Angela Merkel serving in the highest

governmental role. Of the 19 respondents, only four did not mention ways that female politicians are negatively perceived. While they did not necessarily say that women are not perceived differently, they did not offer the same commentary and examples that the other representatives did.

Interestingly, responses were largely consistent within only one party: the FDP, likely because there were only two respondents. Both respondents from the FDP offered little commentary to question 4. One said that an overall answer to the question is not possible, and the other commented that she hoped women are perceived similarly to their male colleagues. My sample of FDP members is relatively representative of the proportion of FDP members in the women of the Bundestag (10.5% compared to 9% in the Bundestag). Because the FDP is one of the only major parties that has not adopted a gender quota, the lack of commentary about whether women are perceived positively or not did not necessarily surprise me. It is also in agreement with a 2011 German study of female Bundestag representatives. When asked about the importance of the representation of women's interests in the Bundestag, no female FDP representatives agreed that it was "very important", in contrast to the 43-44% of SPD and CDU/CSU female representatives and 70% of die Grünen female representatives (Brunsbach 2011). While these two respondents to my interview questions cannot speak for the party as a whole of the citizens that support the FDP, it can give insight into the possible attitudes and priorities the party holds in comparison with other major parties in the country.

This qualitative portion of my larger thesis question regarding perceptions of female politicians in Germany was enlightening as a way to hear the perspectives of the women I am studying. While my sample was not representative of the women in the

Bundestag due to study time, monetary, and feasibility limitations, the answers from representatives of five of the major political parties gave insight into the methods of recruitment the parties use and the ways in which these women personally think women in their positions are perceived. Many of these answers largely backed up the literature regarding stereotypes of female politicians. For future studies, I would expand this further to pursue in-person interviews as a way to receive more detailed responses from the politicians. I would also be interested in asking male Bundestag members these questions and understanding their points of view to determine if there can be clear comparisons made.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This multi-method thesis project utilizing quantitative and qualitative data analysis contributes to the literature regarding perceptions of female politicians in Germany and how these perceptions vary based on gender, region, and political party of respondent, in addition to the impact of proportion of females in the Bundestag. Due to time or resource limitations, this study was limited to perceptions of hypothetical candidates and Chancellor Angela Merkel specifically.

Using data from an original survey and the 2017 German Longitudinal Election Study, I found support for my hypothesis that women in Germany are more likely to have better perceptions of female politicians. My experimental data showed a gender difference in perceptions but lacked overall significance, suggesting a difference in questions about hypothetical candidates versus actual politicians. Based on this, I can infer that few German respondents think they have a gender bias, but when asked about an actual politician that bias is clear. The results of the 2017 GLES survey are limited due to the fact that the question was only regarding perceptions of Angela Merkel; however, even among members of her own party, Merkel receives more support from female respondents. This supports the idea of a clear gender bias in German voters. This differences in perceptions of politicians is also clear through my qualitative analysis of 19 female German politicians, most of whom are current members of the Bundestag. While their answers differed in terms of severity of the differences they perceive or have experienced, almost all cited clear ways in which female legislators in Germany are

evaluated or treated differently than their male counterparts, including critique of appearance and personality.

At this point with the data we have, I cannot say that region impacts perceptions of female candidates and politicians. While not significant, the data did show that Eastern respondents were more likely to say “Neither” when asked about the strengths of male vs. female candidates. When asked to rank the qualities of Angela Merkel, Eastern respondents were significantly more likely to give her a higher rating on just two of the five. This data tells us that while there is a slight regional difference, the main divide in perceptions of female candidates comes from gender. Even within Merkel’s party, we see male members consistently giving her lower ratings. These findings are noteworthy because they suggest that there is an inherent gender bias when evaluating political figures in Germany. This could be that men are consistently giving female politicians lower ratings because of a gender bias, or it can be explained by women consistently giving other women higher ratings. Making a conclusion on the motivation behind these ratings would be too presumptuous at this point, therefore further research may investigate public perception ratings by gender of other female politicians compared to male politicians. If this trend holds true, future studies could investigate further into understanding if this gender bias is seen more in males or in females. Further research could also look at East/West differences in opinions of economic or business policies. This could tap more into the true lasting differences of a communist regime.

While my research provides clear support of a gender difference in evaluations of politicians in Germany, it does not provide as clear of support on the impact of greater female legislative representation on these perceptions. I first found that the way of

measuring this representation impacts its influence on the data. When dividing the number of CDU female representatives from a state by the total of CDU representatives of the state, the regressions did not provide a suggestion of a strong relationship. However, when creating the variable by dividing the number of CDU female representative from a state by the total of female representatives of that state, I did find evidence of a relationship between representation of CDU women and perceptions of Merkel. This could imply that the party appearing dominant among women is more influential than women seeming dominate among the party. For future work, I would like to see if calculating this variable just as a whole number instead of percentage would produce different results. If so, I would extend the study to investigate how the presence of CDU women at the state level impacts perceptions of Merkel or other politicians.

When using the proportion measured out of all Bundestag women, the data showed that among CDU respondents, women from states with greater proportion of female CDU members in the Bundestag were significantly more likely to evaluate overall satisfaction of Merkel lower. With the limited control variables and resources available, I am unable to conclude the reason for this interesting finding. One possible explanation could be that Merkel is receiving the backlash of critical evaluations of the performance of other female politicians. It is also possible that, despite having overall better perceptions of Merkel than CDU men, women who identify with the CDU respond more negatively to greater numbers of women representing the party in the Bundestag.

However, this relationship is not influential when testing political interest of respondents. Contrary to my hypothesis, the proportion of female CDU members in the Bundestag does not influence overall political interest of female CDU members, no

matter which proportion to measure this representation is used. This suggests that in order to increase political interest among CDU women, party leaders should not merely recruit more women to run for office at the national level. Instead, other methods should be considered.

This finding, in addition to the lack of strong evidence regarding a causal relationship between representation of women in the Bundestag and perceptions of Angela Merkel, could be due to the unit of measurement. It could be that instead of voters paying attention to the legislators in their party who represent their state, overall number of women in the party in the Bundestag is influential. This means that instead of measuring differences in women's representation by state, it should instead be looked at as change over time and measured as total proportion of women party members in the Bundestag. Future studies could measure use the proportion of CDU/CSU female representatives in the Bundestag in order to see if there is a relationship between increases in total women in the party over time to perceptions of female legislators and/or political interest. This could be expanded to other parties as well.

While my second quantitative chapter does not support the idea of increasing representation of women in the Bundestag as a way of improving perceptions of female politicians or increasing political interest, that does not mean increasing women's representation should not be pursued by parties in Germany. As evidenced by my interviews with German female Bundestag members and party leaders, gender stereotypes and roles are still prevalent in German politics, and as one of the interviewees said, it could be that greater representation will lead to normalization of perceptions over time. Even though the impact of these stereotypes on the success or challenges of women

in German politics varied according to respondent, many provided examples of different ways in which female politicians are evaluated or treated differently than their male colleagues, such as being more likely to be evaluated based on appearance, voice, and/or clothing. The interviews also provided indicators of a double standard for male and female politicians regarding assertiveness and competency. Seen as being effective methods of increasing the number of women in political office, quotas were often cited as examples of a method used by the parties to improve gender representation in state and national legislatures. Among other methods mentioned were mentorship programs, role models, goal systems, personal encouragement, and the zipper technique for ballot listings. In contrast to quotas, enthusiasm for these methods and their effectiveness was not as abundant.

This research contributes to a gap in the literature on perceptions of female politicians in regards specifically to Germany. However, the quantitative findings suggest that further research needs to be done in order to understand public opinion. Specifically, such studies could expand the research question to include perceptions of other CDU female leaders in order to understand if these perceptions overall stay consistent despite subject. This can also be expanded to include female leaders of other parties in order to understand this gender difference in perceptions varies among parties.

I would also, with more time and greater resources, expand this project to investigate further the impact of representation of women in the Bundestag on perceptions of individual party members or female political leaders overall. This would be particularly interesting to extend to die Grünen and the SPD. Die Grünen has the highest proportion of female Bundestag members, while the SPD is the other traditional

people's party apart from the CDU and is currently being led by a coalition of three SPD leaders, two females and one male. Aside from this, more controls need to be added in order to understand why the way representation is measured makes a difference in the relationship between it and perceptions. In addition to expanding the study to include greater variables for control, I would also expand it to include more individual politicians from other both the CDU and political parties in order to understand if greater representation of women negatively impacting perceptions of female politicians is a consistent phenomenon or if it is limited to Angela Merkel.

As Germany continues to develop and strengthen its democratic institutions, it is important to understand the role of gender in evaluating, recruiting, and electing the women who represent the people. While the women in the Bundestag are more influential in terms of national policy compared to other female politicians in Germany, the political parties are extremely influential in helping bring these women to this national stage. Therefore, understanding the role of gender in politics on the local levels as well is critical in understanding how to help bring women into the parties, and thus, into power. In other words, the role of gender in politics in Germany is not limited merely to the national stage, and it is likely that many of these women saw the beginnings of their success in the local levels. I hope to expand my research to include studies of perceptions of female politicians at multiple levels of the German government, thereby creating a more inclusive and representative story of the role of gender in German politics.

## APPENDIX

### INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

#### **SPD Member**

- Ich bin in Iserlohn aufgewachsen – eine Stadt mit (aktuell) rund 93.000 Einwohnern im Bundesland Nordrhein-Westfalen.
- Frauen können durch Motivation, Ansprache und verbindliche Regularien (Quote) für Führungspositionen in der Partei gewonnen werden. In der SPD ist dies eine Priorität.
- Ja, in der SPD schon. Im Jahr 1988 beschloss die SPD als erste Volkspartei eine verpflichtende Frauenquote einzuführen. Seitdem sollen 40 Prozent aller Spitzenpositionen mit Frauen besetzt werden. Aktuell sind 42 Prozent der SPD-Bundestagsabgeordneten Frauen.
- Meiner Meinung nach werden Politikerinnen in Deutschland ernst genommen. Deutschland hat eine Frau als Regierungschefin, die national und international Anerkennung genießt.

#### **SPD Member**

- Ich bin in einem Dorf in der Nähe von Worms (Rheinland-Pfalz), Hamburg und Bremen aufgewachsen.
- In meiner Partei, der SPD, werden Frauen durch eine Quotenregelung (bei Listenwahlen bzw. bei Listenaufstellungen für öffentliche Wahlen sollen beide Geschlechter mit 40-60% vertreten sein) gefördert. Außerdem gibt es seit 1973 eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialdemokratischer Frauen in der SPD (ASF), die sich mit frauen- und gleichstellungspolitischen Themen befasst. Dazu gehört auch die Förderung und Unterstützung von Frauen, die in der Partei oder in Parlamenten und Regierungen Führungspositionen anstreben.
- Die Zahl der Frauen, die in der SPD Führungspositionen einnehmen, ist in den letzten 40 Jahren deutlich gestiegen. Auch wenn es nach wie vor mehr männliche Vorsitzende auf den verschiedenen Ebenen der Partei gibt: es gibt inzwischen auf Bundes- und Landesebene Frauen als Vorsitzende oder als Fraktionsvorsitzende in den jeweiligen Parlamenten, es gibt sozialdemokratische Ministerpräsidentinnen und nicht mehr wie bis in den 80er Jahren höchstens eine Ministerin pro Kabinett, sondern oft gleich viele Ministerinnen wie Minister unter den von der SPD gestellten Regierungsmitgliedern.
- Die Wahrnehmung von Politikerinnen in Deutschland ist insgesamt positiver geworden. Es gibt aber - vor allem von Männern - noch Angriffe mit frauenfeindlichen Stereotypen. Das gilt auch und gerade in den sozialen Netzwerken, in denen es immer wieder zu sexistischen Angriffen auf prominente Politikerinnen kommt. Männer werden "nur" bedroht und beleidigt (was Frauen auch passiert).

## **SPD Member**

- Wir wollen mehr Frauen davon überzeugen, dass sich politisches Engagement insbesondere in der SPD lohnt. Selbstverständlich geht es auch darum, dass mehr Frauen wichtige Positionen besetzen, wie zum Beispiel Andrea Nahles, als unsere erste weibliche Vorsitzende. Vorbilder schaffen ist wichtig.
- Wir haben als SPD verschiedene Instrumente:
  - Unsere Satzung schreibt vor, dass die Aufstellung der Landeslisten für die Wahl zum Deutschen Bundestag und die Europawahl alternierend, also eine Frau, ein Mann, wie bei einem Reißverschluss erfolgt. Für alle Aufstellungen und Wahlen innerhalb der Partei gilt, dass Männer und Frauen zu mindestens je 40 % vertreten sein müssen.
  - 2018 wurde die Stabsstelle Gleichstellung eingerichtet, deren Aufgabe ist, Vielfalt in der SPD zu stärken und insbesondere die Repräsentanz von Frauen in unseren Strukturen und unserer Kommunikation weiter zu verbessern.
  - Das Präsidium muss paritätisch besetzt sein. Inzwischen sind Frauen im Präsidium in der Mehrheit.
  - Wir erproben gerade die Möglichkeit, dass Ortsvereine eine gleichberechtigte Leitung erproben, die sogenannte Doppelspitze. Damit werden wir die Vereinbarkeit von Beruf, Privatleben und Engagement vor Ort besser vereinbaren. Das kommt insbesondere bei Frauen und jungen Menschen gut an.
  - Wir streben an, dass bei unseren Veranstaltungen und Diskussionen immer Frauen und Männer gleichberechtigt vertreten sind.
  - Außerdem haben wir Bildungsprogramme, die sich speziell an Frauen richten wie „Frauen an die Macht“. In einigen Landesverbänden der SPD gibt es Mentoringprogramme für Frauen, um den Weg in Führungspositionen zu erleichtern.
  - Viele Gliederungen der SPD achten auf die Vereinbarkeit von Ehrenamtlich und Privatleben/Beruf.
- Wir haben in der SPD auf der Bundesebene deutliche Erfolge erzielt: eine weibliche SPD-Parteivorsitzende, eine weibliche Spitzenkandidatin zur Europawahl, mehr Frauen im Präsidium. Außerdem beobachten wir seit Jahren, dass unsere Regeln zu Geschlechterquoten zu mehr Frauen in Ämtern und Funktionen führen. Der Frauenanteil der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion beträgt aktuell rund 42%. Dennoch haben wir noch keine Parität überall erreicht und müssen weiter machen.
- Obwohl immer mehr Frauen in der Politik sichtbar und in Machtpositionen sind, wird Politik immer noch sehr männlich gesehen. Frauen werden auch in den Medien und in Gesprächen anders wahrgenommen. Es wird häufiger nach Aussehen, Kleidung oder Stimme bewertet als bei Männern. Aber je mehr Frauen sichtbar sind, desto mehr wird es auch in der Wahrnehmung zur Normalität. Daran arbeiten wir.

## **Die Grünen Member**

- In Emsbüren, Deutschland (8000 Einwohner); katholisch, konservativ.
- Man gewinnt Frauen durch Quote (führt zur aktiven Ansprache von Frauen) und durch Mentoring-Projekte.
- Ja.
- Immer noch sind Aussehen, Stimme und Körpersprache von Politikerinnen Quelle von kommunikativen Fallen wegen des harten Abgleichs mit Stereotypen und Rollenbildern.

## **SPD Member**

- Geboren bin ich in München, seit meinem 5. Lebensjahr lebe ich in Pfeffenhausen, eine Marktgemeinde mit ca. 5.000 Einwohnern in Niederbayern, Landkreis Landshut.
- Bei der SPD gibt es bei den Listenaufstellungen das Prinzip des „Reißverschlusses“, was bedeutet, dass Frauen und Männer jeweils abwechselnd gereiht werden. Insofern haben Frauen bei der SPD sehr gute Chancen, politische Mandate zu erringen. In den Rechenschaftsberichten der SPD wird explizit ausgewiesen, in welchem Verhältnis Männer und Frauen in Führungspositionen (Vorsitzende, stv. Vorsitzende) sind, sodass auch dadurch Bewusstsein geschaffen wird. Bei der Wahl der Delegierten wird ebenfalls darauf geachtet, dass ein Geschlecht mit mindestens 40% vertreten ist. Über verschiedene Fortbildungsangebote gibt es auch immer wieder spezielle Seminare für Frauen, um sich weiterzubilden und weiterzuentwickeln und mit anderen Frauen auszutauschen.
- Der Anteil von Frauen in den Parlamenten ist steigerungsfähig, allerdings ist die SPD im Bayerischen Landtag die einzige Fraktion, die zu 50% aus Frauen besetzt ist. In der Partei sind die Frauen - auch bei der SPD - noch nicht mit 50% der Mitgliedszahlen vertreten. Generell erreicht man über die persönliche Ansprache mehr, als mit theoretischen Papieren. Die BayernSPD führt das Programm „SoFIA“ durch, - das bedeutet: „Sozialdemokratische Frauen interessieren und aufbauen“.
- Im Vorfeld der letzten Kommunalwahl (2014) habe ich persönlich in den Jahren 2012 - 2014 einige Frauen bei ihrem Weg in die Politik begleitet und ihnen die Möglichkeit gegeben, Politik auf verschiedenen Ebenen kennenzulernen. Fast alle, die an dem SoFIA-Projekt teilgenommen haben, haben bei der Kommunalwahl 2014 ein kommunalpolitisches Mandat erreichen können.
- Auf alle Fälle anders als Männer, da häufig andere Kriterien bei der Bewertung eine Rolle spielen. Beispielsweise die Kleidung, das Alter, der Familienstatus. Insbesondere kleinere Kinder werden bei Politikern als positiv wahrgenommen (Familievater), während eine Politikerin mit kleinen Kindern immer wieder mit der Frage konfrontiert wird, wie das politische Mandat mit Kindern vereinbar sei. Häufig erhalten Politikerinnen bevorzugt die „soften“ Themen, wie Sozialpolitik, Bildungspolitik, Gesundheitspolitik, während Bauangelegenheiten, Wirtschaftspolitik u. ä. eher männlich besetzte Themenfelder sind.

## **SPD Member**

- Ich bin in Finnentrop im Bundesland Nordrhein-Westfalen geboren und im Sauerland, einer Region im Westen Deutschlands aufgewachsen.
- Meine Partei, die SPD hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, Gleichstellung in Deutschland aktiv zu fördern und voranzutreiben. Seit einem Beschluss in den 1980er Jahren setzt sich die Partei das Ziel, die männlich dominierte Gesellschaft zu überwinden, um echte Gleichberechtigung für alle zu schaffen. Innerhalb der Partei soll die Förderung von Frauen über Quotenregelungen gelingen. In allen Vorständen und Delegationen (auf Parteitagen) gilt eine 40%-Geschlechterquote, d.h. jedes Geschlecht muss zu mindestens 40% vertreten sein. Seit den Bundestagswahlen 2013 wird innerhalb der SPD bei den Aufstellungen der Kandidatinnen und Kandidaten ein sogenanntes Reißverschlussprinzip angewandt, d.h. auf der Parteiliste für die Wahl werden immer im Wechsel Frauen und Männer besetzt. Das hat dazu geführt, dass der Frauenanteil innerhalb der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion auf immerhin 40% angehoben werden konnte. In der Bundesregierung hat sich die SPD auch verpflichtet, die Hälfte der ihr zustehenden Ministerposten mit Frauen zu besetzen. Die SPD besitzt außerdem eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft, die Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen (ASF), die sich um die Stärkung der Frauen innerhalb und außerhalb der SPD kümmert. Diese Maßnahmen sind durchaus effektiv, aber reichen noch nicht aus meiner Meinung nach. Die SPD hat derzeit zum ersten Mal eine weibliche Parteivorsitzende. Dennoch sind weiterhin die meisten Vorsitzenden der Landesverbände der SPD (also der Untergliederungen) Männer, auch die meisten Ministerpräsidenten, die die SPD stellt(e), sind Männer.
- In den vergangenen Jahren haben wir Frauen in Führungspositionen gefördert, indem beispielsweise eine Quotenregelung von 30% Mindestanteil von Frauen für Aufsichtsräte deutscher Unternehmen durchgesetzt wurde. Dies hat dazu geführt, dass sich der Anteil von Frauen in Aufsichtsräten leicht erhöht, er ist aber noch weit entfernt von den angestrebten 30%. Noch schlechter sieht es in den Vorständen großer Unternehmen aus. Daher fordert sie SPD die Ausweitung von Quotenregelungen, die wir als einzige Möglichkeit sehen, die Förderung von Frauen auch per Gesetz durchzusetzen. Freiwillige Zielvorgaben der Unternehmen wurden in der Vergangenheit nie eingehalten.
- Die Rolle von Frauen in der Politik hat sich in den vergangenen Jahren zum Positiven gewandelt. Es ist heute vielfach selbstverständlicher, dass Frauen in Deutschland alle Spitzenpositionen in der Politik besetzen, bis hin zur Bundeskanzlerin. Dennoch bin ich der Meinung, dass Frauen weiterhin zu oft anders beurteilt werden als Männer in der Politik. Sexistische Bemerkungen oder Kommentare, die stärker Aussehen oder äußere Details und weniger politische Inhalte in den Fokus gibt es weiterhin regelmäßig. Auch werden Frauen Verhaltensweise oft negativ ausgelegt. Während zum Beispiel bei männlichen Politikern als durchsetzungskraft gelten, wenn sie sich um Posten bewerben, werden Frauen häufiger als intrigant oder rachsüchtig beschrieben. Insofern müssen sich Frauen in der Politik oft stärker anstrengen. Dabei spielt auch eine

Rolle, dass weiterhin viel mehr Männer in politischen Spitzenpositionen wahrnehmen als Frauen.

### **FDP Member**

- Ich bin im Markt Velden im Landkreis Landshut, einer ländlich geprägten Region in Niederbayern , aufgewachsen.
- Als FDP haben wir vor Kurzem entschieden, dass das Thema Diversity für uns sehr wichtig ist, weil für uns Liberale Chancengerechtigkeit von höchster Priorität ist, wollen wir in Zukunft Vielfalt in unserer Parteikultur leben. Das beginnt bei der Steigerung des Frauenanteils, bei dem wir noch Potential haben. Das wollen wir auch in Zukunft über unterschiedliche Herkunft, sexuelle Orientierung, Religion etc. weiter ausbauen.
- In einer Arbeitsgruppe der Partei haben wir ein 4-Säulen-Modell als Strategie entwickelt. Dies beinhaltet unter anderem
  - ein Zielsystem für Mitglieder und Funktionsträger auf den verschiedenen Ebenen,
  - ein Empowerment- und Mentoringangebot für Netzwerke(n),
  - eine politische Agenda, die wir in Form eines umfangreichen Antrags auf dem diesjährigen Parteitag beschlossen haben
  - einen Code of Conduct für ein faires Miteinander und vielem mehr.
- Das wird sich erst noch zeigen, wir sind optimistisch!
- Keine pauschale Antwort möglich;

### **SPD Member**

- Ich bin in Bayerisch-Schwaben, im Donau-Ries, geboren und in der kleinen Stadt Wemding aufgewachsen. Dort habe ich mich auch zuerst als Jugendliche politisch engagiert.
- Frauen sind aufgrund ihrer Sozialisation oft zurückhaltender als Männer. Streben nach Macht, auch eine gewisse Aggressivität, wird bei Frauen weniger gern gesehen. Darum brauchen sie oft mehr Ermutigung als Männer, um politische Ämter anzustreben. Parteinahme, Kampf und Leidenschaft sind aber genauso gut weiblich. Ermutigung und Ermunterung sind die Anstrengungen meiner Partei, mehr Frauen zu gewinnen, z.B. über Quoten (quotierte Listen), Mentorinnen, Ansprechpartnerinnen für Gleichstellung und letztlich ein Paritätsgesetz. FrauennetzweQuoterke können dazu beitragen, den weiblichen Nachwuchs zu ermutigen und zu stärken. Auf der Ortsvereinsebene gibt es inzwischen die Möglichkeit, mit männlich-weiblichen Doppelpitzen zu arbeiten. Das sehe ich durchaus kritisch, in manchen Konstellationen ist es aber auch hilfreich.
- Bislang waren die Anstrengungen auf der Ebene einzelner Parteien in Deutschland (SPD, auch GRÜNE und LINKE) schon erfolgreich. Bei der SPD sind immerhin 42% der Abgeordneten weiblich, LINKE und GRÜNE haben sogar mehr weibliche als männliche Abgeordnete. Mandate sind dabei nicht unbedingt gleichbedeutend mit Führungspositionen, aber in der SPD achten wir z.B. auch bei der Verteilung von Regierungämtern auf ein ausgewogenes Verhältnis von Männern und Frauen.

- Nach fast 14 Jahren mit einer Kanzlerin habe ich den Eindruck, dass es kaum noch grundsätzliche Vorurteile gegen Frauen in der Politik gibt. Kaum eine Partei kann mehr darauf verzichten, Frauen aufzustellen und in wichtige Ämter zu wählen, auch wenn traditionelle Parteien sich mit Quoten schwer tun. Trotz dieser grundsätzlichen Akzeptanz gibt es aber immer noch viele Einzelfälle, in denen Frauen mit abwertenden Bemerkungen, herablassender Behandlung und männlicher Überheblichkeit umgehen müssen. Auch die Parteivorsitzende der SPD, Andrea Nahles, erfährt nach meinem Eindruck mehr Kritik und Abwertung als ein Mann in vergleichbarer Situation. Dagegen helfen dann nur kompetente und kontinuierliche Arbeit und ein dickes Fell.

### **Die Linke Member**

- Ich werde versuchen, Ihre Fragen zu beantworten, obgleich ich als Bundespolitikerin vielleicht noch einen anderen Blick habe. Ich selber bin in Dresden aufgewachsen und habe in Halle studiert. Dort habe ich mich auch ab 1990 der Landespolitik gewidmet und war viele Jahre Abgeordnete im Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt und zugleich auch lange Zeit Fraktionsvorsitzende meiner Fraktion.
- Ihre Frage nach Frauen in Führungspositionen lassen sich für meine Partei und Fraktion folgendermaßen beantworten: in der Bundestagsfraktion gibt es mit Sahra Wagenknecht und Dietmar Bartsch eine Doppelspitze der Fraktionsführung. Durch die quotierten Listen bei der Aufstellung der Kandidatinnen und Kandidaten für Wahlämter auf kommunaler, Landes- und Bundesebene haben wir es als Fraktion und Partei erreicht, einen hohen Frauenanteil zu etablieren. So arbeiten in der Bundestagsfraktion DIE LINKE. 37 weibliche und 32 männliche Abgeordnete. Damit beträgt der Frauenanteil rund 54 Prozent. Wie auch schon in der vergangenen Legislaturperiode bilden die Frauen also die Mehrheit. Die Beschlusslage zu den quotierten Listen finden Sie hier:[https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.die-linke.de%2ffileadmin%2fdownload%2fgrundsatzdokumente%2fbundessatzung%2ffruehere\\_fassungen%2fdie\\_linke\\_bundessatzung\\_leipzig2018.pdf&c=E,1,s-biaQXPMK\\_3V7fUhkSvSQyz\\_rGRsUmMrmwA3CMQ6OM4AdDHqT7f0ZxfM77ANteMjzmTa\\_HePIHTyLMxFdUi5YAdf7OAIdb78OlyHrcalIL9Fg.,&typo=1](https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.die-linke.de%2ffileadmin%2fdownload%2fgrundsatzdokumente%2fbundessatzung%2ffruehere_fassungen%2fdie_linke_bundessatzung_leipzig2018.pdf&c=E,1,s-biaQXPMK_3V7fUhkSvSQyz_rGRsUmMrmwA3CMQ6OM4AdDHqT7f0ZxfM77ANteMjzmTa_HePIHTyLMxFdUi5YAdf7OAIdb78OlyHrcalIL9Fg.,&typo=1) In dieser ist auch geregelt, dass unsere Partei zwei Parteivorsitzende haben muss, von denen mindestens eine Person weiblich ist.
- In der Bundestagsfraktion haben wir mit dem Frauenplenum ein hervorragendes Instrument, um Frauen in der Fraktion zu vernetzen und gemeinsame feministische Initiativen zu besprechen und zu planen. Mehr darüber können Sie hier erfahren:  
[https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.linksfraktion.de%2ffraktion%2ffrauenplenum%2f&c=E,1,b0LYye024asJdD7ORPbhVj80kRzF2aoYE9kG-YSEOpXdexwxEYtiLo34zJbT\\_JNSowcY1XgibHdo0PzCLI-TVl0bIVXyJKG9CzSs6Fj&typo=1](https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.linksfraktion.de%2ffraktion%2ffrauenplenum%2f&c=E,1,b0LYye024asJdD7ORPbhVj80kRzF2aoYE9kG-YSEOpXdexwxEYtiLo34zJbT_JNSowcY1XgibHdo0PzCLI-TVl0bIVXyJKG9CzSs6Fj&typo=1)
- Abschließend kann ich Ihnen die Frage nach der Wahrnehmung von Frauen in der Politik nur aus einer sehr persönlichen Sicht schildern. Ich habe bei all meinen Vorhaben (bis heute) stets auf umfassende eigene Kompetenzbildung gesetzt.

Wenngleich ich persönlich keine (wahrnehmbare) Diskriminierung erfahren habe, so habe ich immer wieder Strukturen feststellen müssen, die der Kompetenzentfaltung von Frauen Grenzen gesetzt haben. Netzwerke männlicher communities haben verdeckte Förderungen bzw. Karrierentwicklungen ermöglicht. So glaube ich nunmehr, dass sich auch Frauen gegenseitig stärken müssen - fachlich und bei Chancen, besser Einfluss nehmen zu können. Ginge es tatsächlich nach Leistung und Kompetenz, wären Frauen NICHT benachteiligt. Leider ist das nicht Realität. Aus diesem Grund halte ich das Mittel einer Quote für richtig. Soweit von meiner Seite.

### **SPD Member**

- In Kleve am Niederrhein (Nordrhein-Westfalen)
- Die Förderung von Frauen ist in der SPD durchaus eine Priorität. So gilt in dieser Partei eine Geschlechterquote, die besagt, dass alle Parteigremien sowie Parteilisten zu mindestens 40 % durch Männer und Frauen besetzt sein müssen. Darüber hinaus bietet die Partei auf allen Ebenen Seminare und Fortbildungen speziell für Frauen an, in denen es darum geht, den Teilnehmerinnen wichtige Werkzeuge mit auf den Weg zu geben. Darüber hinaus ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil, dass das Thema kontinuierlich in das Bewusstsein der Partei gebracht wird, Aufklärung betrieben wird und zumeist eine aktive Auseinandersetzung statt-findet. Insbesondere auf kommunaler Ebene ist meiner Meinung nach die effektivste Methode jedoch nach wie vor die persönliche und individuelle Förderung durch erfahrene und einflussreiche Parteimitglieder. Wer durch gute Leistungen überzeugt und sich die Fürsprache dieser Personen sichern kann, hat gute Chancen, schnell in Führungspositionen zu gelangen.
- Die Versuche sind nicht durchweg effektiv. Für eine Partei, die die Parität anstrebt, ist die Situation nach wie vor unbefriedigend. In der Breite gewährleistet die Geschlechterquote eine weitestgehend ausgeglichene Repräsentation von Frauen. Nichtsdestotrotz ist die Quote kein Allheilmittel: Zum einen ist es immer noch vielerorts schwierig, genügend Frauen zu finden um die Gremien und Listen zu besetzen. Zum anderen schürt die Quote oftmals auch Ressentiments, da sich viele Frauen der – oftmals unausgesprochenen – Unterstellung ausgesetzt sehen, dass sie nur aufgrund der Quote in ein Gremium gewählt wurden (und so besser qualifizierten Männern den Platz genommen haben).
- In der Spitze ist die Situation für Frauen mit Ambitionen auf Führungspositionen nach wie vor schwierig. Dies hat mehrere Gründe: Insbesondere auf kommunaler Ebene, wo Partei- und öffentliche Ämter bis auf wenige Ausnahmen (Bürger- und Oberbürgermeister) ehrenamtlich sind und somit neben dem Beruf ausgeübt werden, besteht deutlicher Nachholbedarf, was vor allen Dingen strukturelle Gründe hat. Sitzungen finden in der Regel abends und teilweise bis spät in die Nacht hinein statt, um nicht mit den normalen Arbeitszeiten der Ehrenamtlichen zu kollidieren. Für Frau-en, die immer noch den größten Teil der Hausarbeit, der Kindererziehung und der Pflege von An-gehörigen tragen, sind solche Termine nur schwer wahrzunehmen. Größere Flexibilität und Rück-sicht wären an dieser Stelle hilfreich. Gleiches gilt für die Besetzung von öffentlichen Ämtern: ein Landtags- oder Bundestagsmandat erfordert einen großen zeitlichen Aufwand und

ständiges Reisen. Für Frauen mit kleinen Kindern ist dies nur schwer zu kombinieren, während Männer mit kleinen Kindern dies seltener als Hindernis empfinden. An dieser Stelle stehen der Partei jedoch kaum Handlungsoptionen zur Verfügung. Hier ist ein gesellschaftlicher Wandel notwendig, der die gleiche Verantwortung von Frauen und Männern bei der Kindererziehung und der Pflege fordert.

- Hinzu kommt, dass die Förderung von Frauen hin und wieder zwar auf dem Papier umgesetzt wird, in der Praxis aber doch Ungleichheit herrscht: So bekommen Frauen häufiger den schwieriger zu gewinnenden Wahlkreis, während sich Männer den aussichtsreicheren Wahlkreis sichern. Dies gilt sowohl auf kommunaler als auch auf Landes- und Bundesebene.
- Auf Landes- und Bundesebene gibt es durchaus Frauen in Führungspositionen, jedoch warne ich davor, dies als Indiz dafür zu sehen, dass die Gleichberechtigung vollends umgesetzt ist und kein Handlungsbedarf mehr besteht. Auch in der SPD gibt es Stimmen, die Frauen für Führungspositionen weniger geeignet halten und weniger qualifizierte Männer einer Frau allein aufgrund des Geschlechts vorziehen. So hat die SPD in ihrer langjährigen Geschichte noch nie eine Frau als Kanzler-kandidatin aufgestellt, und auch die Posten den Partei- und Fraktionsvorsitzenden sind erst seit 2017 erstmals von einer Frau besetzt.
- Politikerinnen in Deutschland werden bedauerlicherweise immer noch nicht ausschließlich auf Basis ihrer Leistung bewertet. Aussehen, Kleidung, Sprechweise und viele weitere Aspekte, die bei der Bewertung männlicher Politiker eine geringere Rolle spielen, stehen oft noch im Vordergrund und haben Einfluss auf die öffentliche Wahrnehmung. Ebenfalls spielt bei Frauen der Faktor „Sympathie“ nach wie vor eine größere Rolle als bei Männern.
- Dennoch hat sich die öffentliche Wahrnehmung insofern gewandelt, als dass eine mangelnde Re-präsentation von Frauen mittlerweile stärker auffällt und bemängelt wird. Was früher noch gang und gäbe war (beispielsweise die Besetzung von Führungsämtern innerhalb eines Ministeriums ausschließlich durch Männer) wird heute als rückständig angeprangert. Demnach ist zu hoffen, dass der gesellschaftliche Wandel auch in der Politik weiter voranschreitet und Politikerinnen künftig genauso selbstverständlich sind wie Politiker.

### **CDU Member**

- Ich bin in 1958 in Brüssel geboren und habe dort bis 1971 gelebt. In der Zeit von 1964 bis 1971 besuchte ich die Europäische Schule in Brüssel. 1971 bin ich dann in die Region Hannover, Deutschland, gezogen. Dort habe ich in Lehrte mein Abitur absolviert.
- Die Grundvoraussetzung für Frauen in Führungspositionen sind ausreichend Frauen an der Basis, unter den Parteimitgliedern. Hier mangelt es an Frauen. Allein aus diesem Grund ist das Angebot qualifizierter Kandidatinnen beschränkt. Nur bei genügend großem Angebot aber werden wir es erreichen, dass die Auswahl oft besser qualifizierter Frauen zur Normalität wird.
- Damit das gelingt, müssen Gremiensitzungen und andere Parteiaktivitäten mehr Rücksicht auf die Bedürfnisse von Frauen nehmen, die mehrere Pflichten in

Einklang bringen wollen. Aber auch Frauen müssen sich eher kümmern und einbringen. So fühlen sich diejenigen, die es in ein Amt oder Mandat schaffen, oft allein und müssen zudem mit der Unterstellung der „Quotenfrau“ kämpfen.

- Ein solches partiinternes Quorum haben wir bei uns in der CDU für die Aufstellung von Wahllisten. Bei drei aufeinander folgenden Listenplätzen muss jeweils mindestens eine Frau nominiert werden. Das ist ein richtiger, erster Schritt. Denn wir wissen, dass sich strukturelle Nachteile nicht von selbst auswachsen und dass freiwillige Selbstverpflichtungen nicht genügen. Wir brauchen Vorbilder, die Ihre Geschichte erzählen und Erfahrungen teilen. Und davon gibt es viele, aber immer noch zu wenige.
- Aus der Politik sind weibliche Führungsfiguren nicht mehr wegzudenken. Dennoch zeigt die Frauenanteil in den Landtagen, im Deutschen Bundestag und in politischen Führungspositionen, dass wir nach wie vor großen Nachhol- und Verbesserungsbedarf haben.
- Noch immer gibt es große Unterschiede in der Wahrnehmung zwischen Politkern und Politikerinnen in Deutschland. Die Gesellschaft fremdelt mit Frauen in Führungs- und Machtpositionen. So werden Frauen in Machtpositionen häufiger als kalt und ehrgeizig beschrieben.
- Vielmehr als bei Männern wird bei Frauen das äußerliche Erscheinungsbild betrachtet, indem die Höhe der Absätze oder die Farbe des Lippenstifts thematisiert werden. Allerdings haben sich einige Aspekte auch in die richtige Richtung entwickelt. Ich muss mich heute viel weniger erklären und rechtfertigen, warum und wie ich als Politikerin mit so vielen Kindern arbeiten kann.

### **CDU Member**

- Cottbus
- Frauen gewinnt man durch Vorbilder! Wir wollen in Führungspositionen mehr Frauen, aber sie müssen es auch wollen (Parteimitgliedschaft). Hocharbeiten muss sich jeder selbst.
- Es gibt Mentoring-Programme, aber die sind eigentlich nicht effektiv.
- Es gibt zu wenige. Männer sagen, Politikerinnen seien kampfeslustiger und zielstrebig als andere Frauen.

### **SPD Member**

- Aufgewachsen bin ich in Wiesloch, einer Stadt mit etwa 22.000 Einwohnern in der Nähe von Heidelberg. Dort habe ich auch damit begonnen Politik zu machen. Mein Einstieg war auf der kommunalpolitischen Ebene. Mein erstes Wahlamt war Stadträtin im Wieslocher Gemeinderat. Die ehrenamtliche Tätigkeit habe ich neben meinem Studium ausgeübt. Zur Politik kam ich, weil ich vorher in verschiedenen Initiativen, wie der Friedensinitiative oder Initiative gegen eine Müllverbrennungsanlage, aktiv war.
- Für die SPD hat das Thema Priorität. 2019 beträgt der Frauenanteil im Deutschen Bundestag gerade mal 30,7 Prozent. Damit ist er so niedrig wie seit knapp 20 Jahren nicht mehr. Freiwillige Maßnahmen reichen da nicht aus. Auch bei der Frauenquote von Führungspositionen in der Privatwirtschaft zeigte sich, dass

Freiwilligkeit kein ausreichendes Mittel zur Umsetzung von Gleichstellung ist. Deswegen setzt sich die SPD für eine Quote sowohl im Bundestag, als auch in der EU ein. In unserer Partei gilt eine Geschlechterquote, das heißt in einem Vorstand oder auf einer Wahlliste müssen immer mindestens 40 % Männer und 40% Frauen stehen. Bei Wahllisten stellen wir die Kandidierenden üblicherweise im Reißverschlussverfahren, also Frau/Mann/ Frau/Mann abwechselnd auf. Frauen in Führungspositionen zu bringen, gelingt immer dann, wenn ihnen gute Rahmenbedingungen geschaffen werden und sie sich den Themen annehmen können, die sie bewegen und die für sie in ihrem Alltag wichtig sind. Und damit, dass man Ihnen etwas zutraut. Wichtig ist es auf Frauen aktiv zu zugehen und Ihnen Angebote zu machen und sie zu ermutigen. Denn oft stellen Frauen an ihr eigenes Können viel höhere Ansprüche, während Männer meist glauben sie können alles.

- Quote hat viel gebracht. Bei allen Parteien in Deutschland, bei denen es keine Quotierung gibt, ist der Frauenanteil deutlich geringer und es werden nicht annähernd so viele Frauen beteiligt, als in den Parteien mit einer verbindlichen Quotierung. Die Quotierung bringt alle dazu, sich gezielt um Frauen zu bemühen. Männer geben Macht nicht freiwillig ab, warum sollten sie auch? Und bei uns führt die Quote inzwischen auch dazu, dass sich mehrere Frauen in Konkurrenz um ein Amt bemühen.
- Politikerinnen sind in Deutschland keine Seltenheit mehr. Ob Kanzlerin oder Ministerinnen, Parteivorsitzende oder Abgeordnete - es gibt kein Amt, bei dem wir uns eine Frau nicht vorstellen können. Die Frauen haben auch Autorität und setzen sich durch. Trotzdem muss eine Frau nach wie vor mehr leisten, um anerkannt zu werden und sie wird auch stärker kritisch begleitet. Fehler, die bei einem Mann manchmal einfach sportlich genommen werden, werden bei einer Frau viel kritischer diskutiert und vor allem wird über Politikerinnen viel persönlicher/privater gesprochen. Ob Kleidung, Frisur, Auftreten, Lachen oder Ausdrucksweise und Stimme - oft steht all dies bei Frauen im Vordergrund bevor über ihre inhaltlichen Anliegen geredet bzw. geschrieben wird.

## Die Linke Member

- Ich bin in Emsdetten aufgewachsen, einer Stadt mit etwa 35.500 Einwohnern im nördlichen Münsterland.
- Zunächst einmal muss Frauen der Weg in das politische Engagement erleichtert werden.  
Zwar besitzen Frauen formal gleiche Rechte, das heißt aber nicht, dass sie auch die gleichen Möglichkeiten haben, diese in Anspruch nehmen zu können. Der Politikbetrieb mit seiner Diskussions- und Arbeitskultur schließt Frauen immer noch aus oder verlangt ihnen zumindest einen deutlichen Mehraufwand ab, um als gleichberechtigte Politikerin auf Augenhöhe wahrgenommen zu werden.  
Außerdem fördern Männer noch immer eher andere Männer.
- Die strukturelle Benachteiligung von Frauen ist ein wichtiger Aspekt: Vor allem die schlechtere Bezahlung von Frauen auf dem Erwerbsarbeitsmarkt und die geschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung, die Frauen noch immer den Großteil der unbezahlten Haus- und Sorgearbeit zuweist, führen dazu, dass es Frauen oftmals

sowohl an finanziellen als auch zeitlichen Ressourcen mangelt, um politisch aktiv zu werden und sich in Parteien und Institutionen zu engagieren. Wenn DIE LINKE gegen Lohndiskriminierung und für höhere Löhne kämpft, um die Umverteilung von Sorgearbeit und Zeit durch bessere Kinderbetreuungsangebote und eine sozial gerechte Pflegeinfrastruktur, dann sind diese Kämpfe auch immer Kämpfe um gesellschaftliche Teilhabe und politische Partizipation von Frauen.

- Und es gibt noch viel zu tun: In Deutschland liegt die Politikerinnen-Quote in den Landtagen allgemein zwischen 24,5 (Baden-Württemberg) und 40,6 Prozent (Thüringen) (1), im Bundestag ist der Frauenanteil in der aktuellen Wahlperiode gegenüber der letzten sogar von 36,5 auf 30,7 Prozent geschrumpft. (2)
- Um hier entgegenzuwirken, handelt DIE LINKE auf zwei Ebenen: Meine Partei hat auf ihrem Parteitag im Jahr 2011 ein „Konzept zur Herstellung von Geschlechtergerechtigkeit in der LINKEN“ beschlossen, in dem festgestellt wird, dass die Gewinnung von Frauen für die politische Arbeit innerhalb der Partei, in den Parlamenten und in Führungspositionen dringend notwendig ist. Das Gleichstellungskonzept macht konkrete Vorschläge, die die innerparteiliche Gleichstellung sichern sollen. (3) Es gibt nun auch jährliche Gleichstellungsberichte, u.a. mit einer jeweiligen Statistik über den Frauenanteil in Leitungsgremien. Auf Länderebene liegt der Anteil von Frauen als Vorsitzende aktuell bei 53,6 Prozent, bei den Geschäftsführerinnen bei 52,7 Prozent. Die Bundestagsfraktion DIE LINKE hat einen Frauenanteil von 53,6 Prozent, auf Länderebene liegt der Anteil zwischen 42,9 (Saarland) und 62,5 Prozent (Bremen). (4) Meine Partei ist in drei Länderparlamenten an der Regierung beteiligt, in Thüringen, Brandenburg und Berlin. Im Durchschnitt sind 44 Prozent der Regierungsmitglieder (Ministerinnen, Staatssekretärinnen, Senatorinnen) Frauen, nur in Thüringen sind sowohl die Minister\*innen als auch die Staatssekretär\*innen quotiert. (Ebd.)
- Man gewinnt Frauen für Führungspositionen, indem man dem Ziel der Gleichstellung in der Partei selbst Priorität einräumt und Frauen gezielt dazu ermutigt, Spitzenpositionen zu übernehmen. DIE LINKE versucht das mit einer engagierten Gleichstellungspolitik, die praktisch (von quotierten Redelisten bis zu quotierten Wahllisten) und faktisch (viele Frauen in Leitungspositionen) nach innen und außen kommuniziert, dass Frauen willkommen sind und unterstützt werden.
- Die zweite Ebene ist die politische Umsetzung des im Grundgesetz (Art. 3, Abs. 2) verankerten Gleichheitsgrundsatzes, „Männer und Frauen sind gleichberechtigt. Der Staat fördert die tatsächliche Durchsetzung der Gleichberechtigung von Frauen und Männern und wirkt auf die Beseitigung bestehender Nachteile hin“.
- Unter anderem mit Bezug auf „der Staat fördert die tatsächliche Durchsetzung“ kämpft DIE LINKE für ein Parité-Gesetz. Auf Länderebene sind SPD, Linke und Grüne in Brandenburg Vorreiter: Sie haben im Januar 2019 ein Gesetz verabschiedet, das alle Parteien verpflichtet, ab 2020 bei der Aufstellung von Landeslisten für Landtagswahlen eine Frauenquote von 50 Prozent einzuhalten. (5) Aus meiner Sicht birgt dieses Gesetz zwei Chancen: Zum einen werden alle Parteien so in die Pflicht genommen, Frauen gezielt als Führungskräfte

aufzubauen und zu fördern; zum zweiten wird erreicht, dass die bisher deutlich unterrepräsentierte Hälfte unserer Gesellschaft, die Frauen, mit ihren politischen Themen, Forderungen und Zielen die Gestaltungsmacht erhalten, die ihnen zusteht.

- Natürlich bildet das „Image“, das Politikerinnen haben, auch immer die herrschenden Geschlechterverhältnisse ab. Das ist ein Dilemma. Wenn Frauen kühl bis aggressiv für ihre politischen Ziele kämpfen, werden sie als „unweiblich“ charakterisiert, wirken sie eher zurückhaltend, zweifelt man an ihrem Durchsetzungsvermögen im „harten politischen Geschäft“. Eine immer noch weitgehend männlich dominierte Gesellschaft gibt der ersten Bundeskanzlerin in Deutschland den Spitznamen „Mutti“, also eine Verniedlichung, die - davon ist auszugehen - auch kompensatorische Ursachen hat. Auch werden Frauen in der Politik immer noch gerne die vermeintlich „frauenspezifischen“ Ressorts zugewiesen: Familie, Soziales, Gesundheit, Umwelt, Kultur und so weiter. Und es schwingt immer noch der indirekte Vorwurf mit, ‘wenn Frauen ehrgeizig sind und Karriere machen wollen ... was wird dann aus der Familie?’ Hier sind wir, was die Rollenbilder von Politikerinnen betrifft, noch sehr weit von einer Normalisierung entfernt.
- Andererseits nimmt die Sensibilisierung für die Geschlechterfrage in der Politik zu; als Horst Seehofer (Minister des Innern, für Bau und Heimat, BMI) im März 2018 mitteilen ließ, "Führungsmannschaft des BMI komplett", gab es in den Social Media umgehend einen Sturm der Entrüstung, weil auf dem dazu veröffentlichten Foto nur Männer präsentiert wurden. (6)
- Damit Frauen in der Politik irgendwann nicht mehr nur als „buntes Kostüm“ in einer großen Gruppe dunkler Anzüge wahrgenommen werden, muss weiter für die Geschlechtergerechtigkeit gekämpft werden: im gesellschaftlichen Alltag und in den Parteien. Die Erfahrung lehrt uns, dass das ein langwieriger Prozess ist und einzelne Fortschritte verteidigt werden müssen: „Die größte Gefahr für die Gleichstellung ist die Annahme, wir hätten sie schon.“ (Grethe Nestor, 2006)

1. <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/741909/umfrage/frauenanteil-in-den-landesparlamenten-in-deutschland/<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/741909/umfrage/frauenanteil-in-den-landesparlamenten-in-deutschland/>>
2. [https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frauenanteil\\_im\\_Deutschen\\_Bundestag\\_seit\\_1949<https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frauenanteil\\_im\\_Deutschen\\_Bundestag\\_seit\\_1949>](https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frauenanteil_im_Deutschen_Bundestag_seit_1949<https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frauenanteil_im_Deutschen_Bundestag_seit_1949>)
3. [https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2fwww.die-linke.de%2fthemen%2ffeministische-politik%2fherstellung-von-geschlechtergerechtigkeit%2f&c=E,1,mb4niRPTEVWkfaExNvDDUkxn3FFIXr9yQr0KaATY\\_njjdQOs30qlE4Z632JsABCwaCtfCgxVn79HBRMoa4GYo1BC57Mq3sY7bXdWytYcOhTo6Eg4vw,,&typo=1<https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.die-linke.de%2fthemen%2ffeministische-politik%2fherstellung-von-geschlechtergerechtigkeit%2f&c=E,1,RGu6WdGgqMmFUwgHQ4iZpYFx3Lt61u\\_zz8-](https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2fwww.die-linke.de%2fthemen%2ffeministische-politik%2fherstellung-von-geschlechtergerechtigkeit%2f&c=E,1,mb4niRPTEVWkfaExNvDDUkxn3FFIXr9yQr0KaATY_njjdQOs30qlE4Z632JsABCwaCtfCgxVn79HBRMoa4GYo1BC57Mq3sY7bXdWytYcOhTo6Eg4vw,,&typo=1<https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.die-linke.de%2fthemen%2ffeministische-politik%2fherstellung-von-geschlechtergerechtigkeit%2f&c=E,1,RGu6WdGgqMmFUwgHQ4iZpYFx3Lt61u_zz8-)

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NnmMhoKbdCA\_vbdVpdQijGW1uxZtjf4M7GNCOs2p59OA,&typo=1>  
 4.   
 6. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/horst-seehofers-maennerministerium-foto-loest-shitstorm-aus-a-1200212.html>

## CDU Member

- In Berlin
- Egal ob Mann oder Frau, es kann eine Führungsposition innerhalb einer Partei nur dann attraktiv sein, wenn sie zum eigenen Lebensmodell passt. Dennoch kann man sagen, dass es innerhalb der Union teilweise noch Strukturen und Verfahren gibt, die das Engagement von Frauen für die Partei einschränken können (z.B. Termine an den Wochenenden, fehlende Kinderbetreuung bei Parteiveranstaltungen). Hierfür gibt es bereits auf vielen Ebenen Initiativen und Kampagnen, die genau diese Thematiken adressieren. Prinzipiell sehe ich in der Pluralität unserer Mitglieder und Führungspersönlichkeiten einen großen Gewinn. Daher sollte unsere Partei weiter daran arbeiten, die Abläufe innerhalb der Partei so zu gestalten, dass sie für Jung und Alt, Männer und Frauen und eben Menschen in vielfältigen Situationen ansprechend sind.
- Die Politik in Deutschland baut zwischen den demokratischen Parteien auf Sachargumenten und einem politischen Diskurs auf. Eine Reduzierung auf das Geschlecht nehme ich hier nicht wahr.

## SPD Member

- Ich bin in der Stadt Saarbrücken im Saarland aufgewachsen.
- Die Gleichstellung von Männern und Frauen in allen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen ist ein ursozialdemokratisches Thema. Als Mitglied der Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen und als Bundestagsabgeordnete der SPD ist die Förderung von Frauen in der Politik für mich persönlich ein Kernanliegen.
- Die SPD hat schon seit 1988 eine Frauenquote. Damals betrug der Frauenanteil in der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion nur 15 Prozent, heute sind es 42 Prozent. Zusätzlich zu einer allgemeinen 40% Quote werden in der SPD auch die Listen für Landtags - und Europawahlen paritätisch besetzt.
- Leider gelten nicht in allen Parteien Quotenreglungen, mit dem Ergebnis, dass der Anteil von Frauen im deutschen Bundestag so gering ist wie seit knapp 20 Jahren nicht mehr. Auch auf Landes - und Kommunalebene sind Frauen unterrepräsentiert.
- Deshalb fordern wir als SPD-Bundestagsfraktion ein Paritätsgesetz. Im Bundestag müssen endlich zu gleichen Teilen beide Geschlechter vertreten seien. Mit verbindlichen gesetzlichen Vorgaben können wir die strukturelle Benachteiligung von Frauen beseitigen - das hat sich in anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen gezeigt und das gilt auch für die Politik.
- Die Quotenregelung der SPD oder auch das Paritätsgesetz in Frankreich zeigen, dass Quoten eine sehr effektive Maßnahme darstellen, um Frauen in die Politik zu bringen. Freiwillige Maßnahmen hingegen scheinen nicht viel zu erreichen. Zahlreiche Studien belegen, dass eindeutig strukturelle Benachteiligungen in den Nominierungsprozessen, insbesondere um Direktmandate, bestehen, die auf Alt-Männer-Netzwerken und Seilschaften beruhen. Dem können wir nur mit einem Paritätsgesetz begegnen. Im Bundesland Brandenburg wird auf Landesebene bereits vorangeschritten, jetzt brauchen wir auch eine nationale Regelung.
- Es gibt keinerlei wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse darüber, dass Politikerinnen in Deutschland ein schlechteres Ansehen genießen als ihre männlichen Kollegen. In der SPD habe ich starke Frauen kennengelernt, die mutig für ihre Sache einstehen. Allerdings zeigt meine persönliche Erfahrung als Bundestagsabgeordnete auch, dass die Kompetenz von Frauen häufiger in Frage gestellt wird als die von Männern. Zum Beispiel wird Rednerinnen im Bundestag oft nicht die gleiche Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wie Rednern. Es ist auch schon vorgekommen, dass ich als einzige Frau in einer Männerrunde saß und zum Bier holen aufgefordert wurde - wohl eine Anspielung auf meine Erfahrungen in der Gastronomie aber auch eindeutig eine Reduzierung auf mein Geschlecht. Diese männlich dominierte politische Kultur können wir nur durch ein Paritätsgesetz nachhaltig verändern.

### **CDU Member**

- Ich bin in einer Handwerksfamilie in Nordhorn, Niedersachsen, geboren und aufgewachsen.
- Seit 1996 gilt ein parteiinternes Frauenquorum, d. h. eine im Statut verankerte Regel, die besagt, dass Frauen an Parteiämtern in der CDU und an öffentlichen Mandaten mindestens zu einem Drittel beteiligt sein sollten (§15 Statut der CDU). Zudem ist es ein Ergebnisquorum, das bei nicht entsprechendem Resultat zu erneuten Wahlen führt. Darüber hinaus sind die Vorstände der zuständigen

Organisationseinheiten dafür verantwortlich, für entsprechende Anteile auf CDU-Wahlen auf allen Ebenen zu sorgen, wobei unter drei aufeinander folgenden Listenplätzen jeweils mindestens eine Frau bei der Aufstellung der Wahllisten sein sollte. Die Gleichstellung von Frauen wird in der Partei im Auge behalten und berücksichtigt. In der CDU leistet die Frauenunion eine aktive Arbeit dafür, dass die Position der Frauen in der CDU gestärkt wird.

- Die CDU wird auch von Frauen geprägt. Seit dem Jahr 2000 bis Ende 2018 war Frau Angela Merkel Vorsitzende der CDU, seit 2005 ist sie die amtierende Bundeskanzlerin. Die Wahl von Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer als ihre Nachfolgerin für die Führung von CDU beweist, dass es kein Einzelfall war, sondern dass die Partei bereit ist, Frauen in ihren Führungspositionen anzuerkennen. Trotzdem kann leider von einer vollen Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern in der Partei noch keine Rede sein. Ein geringer Anteil an Frauen unter Mitgliedern der CDU, sowie in der CDU/CSU-Fraktion im Bundestag, ist immer noch eine Herausforderung, die es zu lösen gilt. Das oben erwähnte Frauenquorum wirkt nicht immer effizient, da es sich mit weiteren Wahlgängen umgehen lässt (denn das Quorum gilt nur beim ersten Durchgang). Die wichtigste Aufgabe, die wir in der CDU immer noch weiter vorantreiben müssen, ist jedoch, bereits auf kommunaler Ebene Frauen direkt zu fördern um ihnen zu ermöglichen, sich und ihre Kompetenzen selbstbewusst zu präsentieren und einzusetzen. Damit werden sich immer mehr Frauen zutrauen, selbst politisch (auch parteiintern) aktiv zu werden und die politische Landschaft mitzugestalten.
- Die Einstellungen gegenüber Frauen in der deutschen Politik ändern sich. Es wird immer seltener als eine überraschende Ausnahme gesehen, wenn eine Frau ein Amt übernimmt oder in ein Gremium gewählt wird. Als Politikerin muss man Ausdauer zeigen, um sich durchzusetzen. Frauen werden zusätzlich auch nach ihrem Äußeren beurteilt und nicht nur nach ihren professionellen Kompetenzen. Daneben stehen sich Frauen gelegentlich selbst im Weg, wenn sie anstatt Konkurrenz und Persönlichkeit mit ihren Stärken aus Kooperation, Kommunikation und Kompromissfindung zu kombinieren, sich nur für letzteres Entscheiden. Frauen, die beide Sphären kombinieren, stehen sowohl in der Wirtschaft, als auch in der Politik alle Möglichkeiten offen.

### FDP Member

- In Grevenbroich-Wevelinghoven und Düren.
- Das kann ich nur für meine Partei bzw. für mich beantworten. Ja, mehr Frauen als Mitglieder und Wähler für die Partei zu gewinnen ist eine Priorität für uns. Wir Freien Demokraten haben deshalb auf unseren letzten Bundesparteitag im April einen ganzes Maßnahmenbündel beschlossen, dass sowohl Frauen in der Gesellschaft und im Berufsleben, aber auch innerhalb der Partei bessere Chancen auf das Mitmachen und den innerparteilichen Aufstieg einfacher machen soll. Im Kern gilt: Der Aufstieg in einer Partei soll in erster Linie eine Frage der Durchsetzung im Wettbewerb sein. Eine starre Frauenquote lehnen wir Freien Demokraten ab.
- Die Links zu den Beschlüssen finden Sie hier:

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[https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.fdp.de%2fsites%2fdefault%2ffiles%2fuploads%2f2019%2f05%2f02%2f2019-04-28-bpt-freiheit-durchemanzipation-liberale-agenda-fuer-selbstbestimmung-und-vielfalt.pdf&c=E,1,4-ZhCxPpaPNjlZ4R8mZOflctgjC8fHw2eYyINaSrdoAx\\_1O6QfT7CdctdzfRzxLIE7EK6X9ezcN-7LMiuyv5vZsh7VlZJ2DZcMUY-hAvJoVEFKKprdCxtHgUlRhe&typo=1](https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.fdp.de%2fsites%2fdefault%2ffiles%2fuploads%2f2019%2f05%2f02%2f2019-04-28-bpt-freiheit-durchemanzipation-liberale-agenda-fuer-selbstbestimmung-und-vielfalt.pdf&c=E,1,4-ZhCxPpaPNjlZ4R8mZOflctgjC8fHw2eYyINaSrdoAx_1O6QfT7CdctdzfRzxLIE7EK6X9ezcN-7LMiuyv5vZsh7VlZJ2DZcMUY-hAvJoVEFKKprdCxtHgUlRhe&typo=1)

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[https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.fdp.de%2fsites%2fdefault%2ffiles%2fuploads%2f2019%2f05%2f06%2f2019-04-28-bpt-eine-partei-fuer-die-offeneGesellschaft-vielfaeltig-innovativ-und-engagiert.pdf&c=E,1,yILxF5XG\\_L05ogJ7rHRy3PStn\\_N\\_nc7LxenWmorM1Ja0byZJwvbAbyJjHDW08My5\\_8XL5Q0xOmVs7UtkhHV1nD03M\\_H6\\_j8Q4-AVg3ckFZw3ug,,&typo=1](https://linkprotect.cudasvc.com/url?a=https%3a%2f%2fwww.fdp.de%2fsites%2fdefault%2ffiles%2fuploads%2f2019%2f05%2f06%2f2019-04-28-bpt-eine-partei-fuer-die-offeneGesellschaft-vielfaeltig-innovativ-und-engagiert.pdf&c=E,1,yILxF5XG_L05ogJ7rHRy3PStn_N_nc7LxenWmorM1Ja0byZJwvbAbyJjHDW08My5_8XL5Q0xOmVs7UtkhHV1nD03M_H6_j8Q4-AVg3ckFZw3ug,,&typo=1)

- Da bin ich zuversichtlich. Beweisen muss sich das erst im Laufe der Zeit, beispielsweise wenn bei neuen Wahlen auf den unterschiedlichen Ebenen in der Partei und im Land neue Wahlen anstehen.
- Ich hoffe, Politikerinnen werden ähnlich wie ihre männlichen Kollegen wahrgenommen. Da ist, unabhängig vom Geschlecht, alles dabei.

## SPD Member

- Die Kindergartenzeit und die ersten Schuljahre verbrachte ich in Rheinland-Pfalz. Danach bin ich nach Niedersachsen gekommen, wo ich bis heute lebe. Ich lebte überwiegend in ländlichen Regionen.
- Veränderungen in Kommunikation, Strukturen und Angeboten können Frauen für Führungspositionen gewinnen und damit gleichberechtigte Teilhabe von Männern und Frauen in der Partei verwirklichen. Um das zu erreichen, ist es zunächst notwendig, die eigene Organisationskultur mit ihren Traditionen, Werten und Routinen zu analysieren.

Dies wird dazu beitragen, Barrieren zu erkennen und abzubauen. Dabei muss geklärt werden, wo es Unterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern in unserer Organisation gibt; welche sichtbaren/unsichtbaren, offiziellen/inoffiziellen Regel, etc. gibt es; welche Maßnahmen können dabei hilfreich sein.

Vorurteile gegenüber Frauen und ungleiche Verteilung von Familienarbeit müssen auch in diesem Zusammenhang überwunden werden.

- Diese Versuche sind nur dann erfolgreich, wenn die Partei ihre Unternehmenskulturfrauenfreundlich gestalten will und nicht, wenn sie zu einem "Purple Washing" verkommt.

- Meine Partei, die SPD, hat seit langem eine Geschlechterquote, d.h. dass mindestens 40% der Partei mit dem geringer vertretenen Geschlecht besetzt werden müssen. Dass das konkrete Auswirkungen hat, zeigt sich zum Beispiel an der Zusammensetzung der Bundestagsfraktionen. In den Fraktionen mit Quote ist der Frauenanteil deutlich höher als in denen ohne.
- Stereotypen und die daraus resultierende gemeinsame Diskriminierung beeinflussen immer noch die Wahrnehmung von Frauen in der Politik. Außerdem sind Frauen nicht gut in die männlichen Netzwerke integriert, die die Politik dominieren, und Geschlechterstereotype behindern Frauen immer noch bei ihren Versuchen, diese Barrieren zu überwinden. "Old Boys Networks" z.B. haben nicht nur Einfluss auf die Wahrnehmung von weiblichen Führungskräften, sondern auch auf deren Karriereaussichten.
- Frauen sind generell bereit, sich in politischen Netzwerken zu engagieren. Aber manchmal sind es die "Old Boys Networks", die unter sich bleiben wollen. Diese Netzwerke neigen auch dazu, Frauen als Objekte zu betrachten und ihre Leistungen zu übersehen.
- Selbst in unseren demokratischen Gesellschaften werden Führungskräfte mit typischen "männlichen" Eigenschaften wie Dominanz, Selbstsicherheit, Autonomie etc. assoziiert. Dies hat zur Folge, dass Führungspositionen und Führungsverhalten als erstes eher mit Männern in Verbindung gebracht werden als mit Frauen.
- Wenn Frauen, die Eigenschaften haben, die bei Männern positiv gewertet werden, werden Frauen die so agieren, negativ gesehen (zickig, überheblich).

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