

## DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

### POLI 31351 POLITICS OF GENDER

Weeks 1-12 2006-07

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#### THE UNIT

This unit examines the contemporary literature on women and politics, with a particular focus on women's participation and representation in British politics. It explores the gender gap in voting patterns and mass political participation; the under-representation of women in national legislatures and strategies for increasing women's descriptive representation. It also considers why the number of women in parliaments might matter and what difference women representatives might make to the policy process. Finally, it explores the concept and practice of gender mainstreaming and the role of gender machineries.

#### METHODS

The teaching method for this unit will be seminar discussion guided by student presentations and tutor led seminar tasks. Students will deploy the following methods in their study for the unit:

- Directed research and reading as detailed in this syllabus, using the library, Blackboard and the internet
- Assessment of theoretical debates based on independent reading and seminar discussions
- Listening and learning through student presentations
- Giving oral presentations to develop communication, Powerpoint and organization skills
- Group deliberation and communication (tutor-led seminar debates and small group activities)
- Individual essay-writing
- Observation: there is the opportunity to observe 'women and politics' in action by attending the Conservative Women's Organization Annual Conference.

#### OBJECTIVES

- To convey key contemporary research in relation to women's elite and mass political participation
- To compare and contrast explanations for women's numerical representation
- To evaluate various strategies for increasing women's numerical representation and facilitating gender mainstreaming
- To critically consider the extant literature on the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation
- To undertake analysis of gender mainstreaming and the role of gender machineries in feminizing policy.
- To encourage the application of theoretical gender debates to practical political issues
- To provide the opportunity for students to attend a 'women and politics' event

#### LEARNING OUTCOMES

- An understanding of debates about the nature of women's political participation and representation
- A detailed knowledge of the various explanations for women's under-representation and proposals to increase levels of women's numerical representation
- An ability to apply theoretical and normative frameworks to evaluate the above
- An ability to engage constructively in focused deliberation on theoretical issues
- An ability to give effective oral presentations to one's peers
- An ability to write clearly and analytically, making use of the relevant material

- An ability to research political events by analyzing information from different sources, including observation of a 'women and politics' event
- An ability to express, justify and defend orally and in writing a personal opinion about political issues

## TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

- This unit is taught via a weekly two-hour seminar
- You are expected to attend all seminars. If you cannot make any seminar you should email Sarah Childs on [s.childs@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:s.childs@bristol.ac.uk) *prior to the seminar*. Absences from seminars may mean that you do not receive credit points for this unit.
- Each seminar will examine a particular topic debated by the seminar group.
- Each seminar opens with either a single or pair of students giving an oral presentation that addresses a specific question. The presentation should last for 15 minutes for a single student and 20 minutes for a paired presentation and will be followed by 20 minutes of questions. You **are expected to use PowerPoint** for your presentation and should provide the rest of the seminar group with a *one-page handout* summarizing your presentation. The aim of these presentations is not to summarize the core set reading for the week. Rather it is to address the specific question set, drawing on your own readings, including texts listed under 'Further Reading'. You should present information clearly, develop your own perspective and directly answer the presentation question posed, and be prepared to answer questions in the debate to follow.
- For further information on seminar presentation consult the Departmental Handbook.
- After the oral presentation everyone will be expected to take part in a discussion of the presentation through raising questions derived from the presentation and students' reading.
- The second section of the seminar will involve small group and whole seminar group discussion. Everyone participates and must therefore be prepared for all seminars.
- Each seminar has core readings. This is available in either the 'required purchase' book, is a journal article available from the library/online or is contained in the small coursepack. For some online journal articles you will need to use your Athens Password. You must read the core readings in preparation for the seminar: you will be expected to answer questions based upon them.
- Students' participation in seminars is an important transferable skill.
- As indicated above, in addition to these seminars on the 30<sup>th</sup> November 2006 students are invited – at their own cost – to attend the Conservative Women's Organization Conference in London.

## LEARNING HOW TO LEARN

Under the regulations of the University of Bristol you should spend around 13 hours 20 minutes a week studying for this unit. The minority of that time will be spent in seminars. You must direct your own activities for the rest of that time. You should engage in the following activities:

- Reading core material for seminar;
- Accessing the Blackboard site prior to the seminar;
- Preparation and planning for seminars;
- Consolidation of notes and material after seminar;
- Reading for the essay;
- Planning, organizing, drafting and redrafting essay;
- Consideration of points raised in feedback on essay;
- General reading of relevant literature;
- Preparation for the examination.

In this unit you need to cover the core readings we will be using for each seminar and to read more widely, and in greater depth for your seminar presentation, essay and exam. You should also be exploring the library holdings for additional recent and relevant journal articles and publications.

## BLACKBOARD VIRTUAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The Department of Politics encourages the use of this package for all of its units. Most course material is posted on this website. There are useful links to electronic sources. Announcements and email messages also come through this route. It is essential that you register to use this learning tool. <http://www.bbd.bris.ac.uk>

Newly published articles, additional material, and interesting links will be posted throughout the semester. You should check the site each week before seminars. With student agreement Powerpoint presentations will also be uploaded after each seminar.

## READING

### REQUIRED TEXTS FOR PURCHASE

- Lovenduski, J. (2005) *Feminizing Politics* (Polity: Cambridge)
- Childs, Lovenduski and Campbell (2005) *Women at the Top* (Hansard Society) this is also available for free to download from [www.hansard-society.org](http://www.hansard-society.org)
- Coursepack (available for purchase during the first week of term, check noticeboards for details)

### RECOMMENDED TEXTS FOR PURCHASE

- Childs, S. (2004) *New Labour's Women MPs* (Routledge; London) – for those of you interested in British politics
- Phillips, A (1998) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) – A Reader that includes some key theoretical/conceptual work.
- Stokes, W. (2005) *Women in Contemporary Politics* (Cambridge: Polity) HQ1236 STO - this is an introductory textbook suitable for those who want a broad introduction and both UK and global coverage. NB, because of the breadth of this book, it is less 'deep'.

### SPECIAL EDITIONS OF JOURNALS TO DOWNLOAD ELECTRONICALLY

- *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6,1 February 2004.
- *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1, January 2002
- *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1, January 1996

### NB, in the list of reading attached to each seminar topic:

- \* Refers to key reading for seminar presentations, essays and the exam *and which has been put into short loan*
- ^ Refers to additional key texts for seminar presentations, essays and the exam

## REQUIRED WORK

### Written requirements: one 2,000 word essay

Work will be assessed according to the criteria laid out in the Departmental Handbook. These criteria include your ability to analyze and evaluate relevant material (theoretical and empirical) and the way in which your essays and presentations are structured. Plan and draft your essays carefully, paying particular attention to directly answering the question. Make sure you leave plenty of time for editing.

### Non-written requirements: Seminar presentation

- See above under 'Teaching Arrangements' and also section below on Seminar Presentation
- Seminar presentations should be made in accordance with the guidelines laid out in the Departmental Handbook.

## Examination: CLASSIFICATORY EXAMINATIONS

This unit will be examined in a single two-hour examination. The examination questions will reflect the breadth of the unit. You will be required to write two answers.

- See also section below on 'Requirements for Credit Points' (pg 9)

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE I

All participants must, at the minimum, read the core reading listed below for each week. This is essential reading. Further reading is provided below the core reading for those doing the presentations and for the essays and the exam.

### WEEK

1. Introduction
2. Women's Numerical Representation I: Political Recruitment
3. Women's Numerical Representation II: Quotas
4. The Gender Gap: Women's Voting and Mass Political Participation
5. The Concept of Representation I
6. The Concept of Representation II
7. Making a Difference: Substantive Representation
8. CWO Annual Conference Trip
9. The Concept of Critical mass
10. Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Machineries

## SEMINAR PRESENTATION QUESTIONS

### WEEK

1. There are no student presentations in week 1.
2. Why do women constitute 50% of the National Assembly for Wales, 40% of the Scottish Parliament but only 20% of the House of Commons?
3. Are sex quotas the panacea for women's under-numerical representation?
4. How should each of parties target the 'women's vote', at the next general election?
5. Do you agree with each of Anne Phillips' arguments in favour of women's political presence?
6. Should 'women should represent women' as Jane Mansbridge suggests?
7. Do women make a difference in politics? and, if so, how do you know?
8. CWO Annual Conference Trip - no classes/no presentations
9. Critically review Rosabeth Moss Kanter's 1977 article, 'Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life'.
10. Should the UK move to a single equalities body?

## REQUIREMENTS FOR CREDIT POINTS

For Students studying for a University of Bristol Degree:

Students must:

- ◆ complete all required work, whether written or not
- ◆ have no more than 25% unexcused absences from seminars
- ◆ complete the examination (or dissertation) relevant to this unit. The examination will normally require answers to 2 questions in 2 hours. This is the mark that will be recorded on your transcript as the unit mark.

Please note you may be required to submit coursework electronically using Blackboard, the University of Bristol's Online Learning Environment.,

***For further information on failure to complete work, poor attendance, resits and reassessment, students should consult their Faculty Handbook. Penalties for late or overlength essays are set out in the Politics Undergraduate Handbook.***

For Non-degree students (ie, Erasmus and Study Abroad)

As above, expect that the unit mark will be based on coursework as well as the examination mark. Where students are unable to sit the examination (for example, those who plan to attend during Teaching Block 1 only), extra coursework may be set.

## **PROCEDURES FOR ESSAYS:**

The written requirements for this unit are one 2,000 word essay. **The essay is due on or before 12 Noon, Friday, Week 12.** Essays should be handed in **both electronically and in hard copy.** They should be submitted electronically directly to Blackboard via the unit site. Should you submit late, the site will mark the essay as late and you will be penalised.

**You should also submit a hardcopy** either to your tutor's pigeon hole, in seminars or during their office hour.

*Essay questions are listed at the end of this document.*

The Departmental Handbook gives further details on the length and organisation of essays. Marks for all written work are recorded by the Department. Students who fail to complete written work by the set deadlines will automatically be reported to the Faculty Board and may place in jeopardy the award of credit points for these units.

## **DEADLINES**

Deadlines must be adhered to in the Department of Politics. You must plan your work so as to meet all deadlines.

Without an extension late essays are subject to penalties. An essay that is handed in AFTER 12 noon but BEFORE midnight on the due date will have 5 marks deducted from the total. An essay that is submitted AFTER midnight on the due date will be awarded a maximum mark of 40 and may not be given feedback. An essay submitted more than two weeks after the due date will receive a mark of zero.

An essay that is over length (more than 2000 words) will have 5 marks deducted for every 100 words (OR part thereof) exceeding the word limit. For example, an essay of 2001 words will have 5 marks deducted from the total. Word length includes all text, footnotes and references. Students must also complete the coversheet and checklist for essays. Essays which do not meet the criteria laid down on the cover sheet and in the Departmental Handbook will face penalties: essays that either do not contain a bibliography, or fail to cite sources, or do not reference the material used will be penalised. An essay with no referencing will be marked no higher than 40. Inadequate referencing will result in marks being deducted. Students who are uncertain about the standards of adequate referencing should consult the Departmental Handbook.

Plagiarised essays will be marked at 0. Students will be required to resubmit the essay (unplagiarised) within two weeks. If the resubmitted essay is acceptable and of a passing standard, the student will receive a mark of 40 and a note will be placed in the student folder explaining the mark. Further penalties may be imposed in cases involving plagiarism (see the Departmental Handbook, Examination Regulations and Student Disciplinary Regulations).

## **EXTENSIONS**

Extensions will only be granted by the Undergraduate Coordinator, Beth Hammond. Requests should be made directly to her. Extensions will only be allowed in exceptional circumstances and they must be

accompanied with supporting documentation, for example medical certificates. The standard extension will be for a maximum of seven days but this may vary according to circumstances.

Note: Corrupt computer disks and exhausted printer cartridges do NOT qualify as exceptional circumstances and, in the event of these misfortunes occurring, you will not be granted an extension. Remember to give yourself time to cope with such eventualities

## **ESSAY COVER SHEET**

For hardcopies, essay cover sheets will be distributed by seminar tutors. It is also available in the Departmental (UG) Handbook and from the office. For electronic submission, a cover sheet will be available on Blackboard. You must download this and include it as the first page of your file.

## **ESSAY BANKS, ESSAY SHARING ETC.**

The *unreferenced* use of any work that is not your own, including essays from essay banks, essays written by other students and notes provided by tutors is *plagiarism*, and the penalties outlined in the paragraph above apply. The rule is a straightforward one: any work you use in drafting your own essay must be referenced. All sources must be clearly identified. The Department has at its disposal sophisticated ways of identifying plagiarism (including newly developed software). If in doubt on any of these points, check with your tutor.

## **MOCK EXAM**

Each third year unit in TB1 will issue a mock paper at the end of week 10. This mock is NOT a required assessment for the unit. It is a 'take home paper'. Students should return their exam scripts to SC's pigeon hole (Basement staff room in 10 Priory Road) on the first Monday of term, week 11 (15 January 2007). These will be marked and returned to students in SC's office hours in week 12.

## **EXAMINATION**

The unit will be examined in one two hour paper in May-June 2007. You will be required to answer two questions drawn from a choice of eight questions. Past papers are available on the Department web page.

## **FEEDBACK**

You will have feedback from the tutor as follows:

- feedback sheet returned to you relating to the essay
- oral feedback relating to your oral presentation
- oral/written feedback relating to your mock examination
- informal comments from the tutor on your oral performance in seminar discussions and your preparation for weekly seminars

The essays will be returned to the students in SC's Office Hours in week 14 – you should sign up for a particular slot.

## **Office Hours**

All academic tutors, including teaching assistants and staff not based at the University of Bristol, have at least one office hour a week during the teaching year, weeks 1-24. The office hour is an opportunity for students to raise both specific issues about a unit and more general matters as appropriate. Students who wish either to discuss their performance on a unit or to receive more feedback should make use of this office hour.

Members of staff who are personal tutors have two office hours per week during the teaching year. Those who are not personal tutors have one office hour per week during the teaching year.

Office hours are advertised near staff offices and on the main noticeboard on the ground floor of the Department of Politics.

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE II

### 1. Introduction

In this seminar we will focus on the unit objectives and requirements, allocate seminar presentations, and get to know one another. SC will provide a general overview of the issues to be explored during the unit and give advice about book purchase and use of the library.

*Learning outcomes: to familiarize ourselves with each other; to gain a clear understanding of the unit's objectives, structure and procedures; to understand what is required of each student throughout the unit; to gain an initial understanding of the central issues to be explored during the unit.*

### 2. Numerical Representation I: Political Recruitment

In this seminar we will focus on political recruitment and numerical representation of women in national legislatures. We will consider global trends in the levels of female representation and the possible barriers to entry faced by female candidates. We will assess competing possible explanations for the under-representation of women and evaluate their relative significance.

#### Core Reading

- Lovenduski, J. (2005) *Feminizing Politics*, chapter 3
- Hansard Society (2005) *Women at the Top*, chapter 1. available in pdf for free at [www.hansard-society.org.uk](http://www.hansard-society.org.uk)

#### Further Reading:

##### UK

Brooks, R. (1990) *Quotas Now: Women in the Labour Party* (London: Fabian Society) Pamphlet HQ1236.5.G7 BRO

^Campbell, R. and Lovenduski, J. (2005) 'Winning women's votes?' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58, 4,

Chaney, P. and Fevre, R. (2002) Is There A Demand For Descriptive Representation? Evidence From The UK's Devolution Programme, *Political Studies*, 50: 897–915

^Childs, S. (2005) 'Feminizing British Politics', in Geddes, A. and Tonge, J. (Ed) *Britain Chooses* (Basingstoke: Palgrave). BLACKBOARD

Childs, S. (2004) *New Labour's Women MPs* (Routledge: London) Chapter 3.

The Electoral Commission (2002) 'Candidates at a General Election Factsheet' ([www.electoralcommission.org.uk](http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk)).

The Equal Opportunities Commission (2004) *Sex and Power: Who Runs Britain?* (Manchester: EOC). [http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic\\_WomanDecisionMaking.asp](http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic_WomanDecisionMaking.asp)

Elgood, J., Vinter, L. and Williams, R. (2002) *Man Enough for the Job? A Study of Parliamentary Candidates* (Manchester: EOC).

[Http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic\\_WomanDecisionMaking.asp](http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic_WomanDecisionMaking.asp)

Lovenduski, J. (2001) 'Women and Politics: Minority Representation or Critical Mass?' in \*P. Norris (ed) *Britain Votes 2001* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) JN956 BRI. Also published in *Parliamentary Affairs* 54, 4: 565 – 830.

^Lovenduski, J. (1997) 'Gender Politics: A Breakthrough for Women?', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 50, 4: 708-17

- Lovenduski, J. and Randall, V. (1993) *Contemporary Feminist Politics: Women and Power in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236.5.G7 LOV
- ^Lovenduski, J. (1996) 'Sex, Gender and British Politics', in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds.) *Women in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). HQ1391.G7 WOM. 3-18 *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1, January
- \*Mackay, F. (2001) *Love and Politics: Women Politicians and the Ethics of Care*. (London: Continuum) HQ1236.5.G7 MAC Chapter 2, pp.23-51
- Norris, P. (1993) 'Comparing Legislative Recruitment' in \*J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds) *Gender and Party Politics* (London; Sage) HQ1236 GEN.
- ^Norris, P. and Lovenduski, J. (1995) *Political Recruitment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) JN673 NOR
- Randall, V. (1982) *Women and politics* (London: Macmillan) HQ1236 RAN
- Shepherd-Robinson, L. and Lovenduski, J. *Women and Candidate Selection* (London: Fawcett Society, 2002). Pamphlet JN673 SHE
- Squires, J. and Wickham-Jones, M. (2001) *Women in Parliament: A Comparative Analysis* (Manchester; Equal Opportunities Commission). JN673 SQU. Also available to download from the EOC website: ([http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic\\_WomanDecisionMaking.asp](http://www.eoc.org.uk/EOCeng/dynpages/researchTopic_WomanDecisionMaking.asp))
- Studlar, D. T. and McAllister, I. (1998) 'Candidate Gender and Voting in the 1997 General Election: Did Labour Quotas Matter?' *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 4,3: 72-91. SerialJF501.J6
- Studlar, D. T. and McAllister, I. (2002) 'Does a Critical Mass Exist?' *European Journal of Political Research*, 41, 2: 233-53. SerialJA1.E9

### Globally

- Inter-parliamentary Union (2000) *Women in National Parliaments* [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org)
- Inter-parliamentary Union (1999) *Participation of Women in Political Life*. IPU Reports and Documents No 35. (Geneva: IPU)
- Karam, A. (1998) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (Stockholm: International IDEA) <http://www.idea.int/women/parl/toc.htm>
- Norris, P. (1993) 'Comparing Legislative Recruitment' in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds.) *Gender and Party Politics* (London: Sage) HQ1236 GEN.
- Norris, P. (1997) *Passages to Power* (Cambridge: CUP) JF2081 PAS
- Norris, P. (2003) *Rising Tide* (Cambridge: CUP) HQ1075 ING
- Norris, P. (2004) *Electoral Engineering* (Cambridge: CUP) JF1001 NOR

*Learning outcomes: to gain a detailed empirical knowledge of the levels of women's representation in the UK and an understanding of women's representation in Parliaments throughout the world; to evaluate the various explanations for women's under-representation.*

### 3. Numerical Representation II: Quotas

In this seminar we focus on the strategies adopted to increase the numbers of women in parliaments, namely, equality rhetoric, equality promotion and equality guarantees: considering how each strategy works, where it has been adopted and to what degree of success. Finally, we explore the normative desirability of each of the strategies.

#### Core Reading:

- Lovenduski, J. (2005) *Feminizing Politics*, chapters 4 & 5
- Mansbridge, J. (2006) 'Quota Problems' in *Politics and Gender*, 1, 4,
- Mikki Caul Kittilson (2006) 'In Support of Gender Quotas', *Politics and Gender*, 1, 4

#### Further Reading:

- Barkman, K. (1995) 'Politics and Gender: The Need for Electoral Reform', *Politics*, 15, 3: 141-146
- Childs, S. (2002) 'Competing Conceptions of Representation and the Passage of the Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Bill', *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 8, 3:90-108



- ^Childs, S. (2003) 'The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act and its Implications', *Representation*, 39, 2. Available via Blackboard
- ^Dahlerup, D. (1998) 'Using quotas to increase women's political representation', in *IDEA: Women in Politics Beyond Numbers* (Stockholm: IDEA) <http://www.int-idea.se/women/>
- Chaney, P. and Fevre, R. (2002) Is There A Demand For Descriptive Representation? Evidence From The UK's Devolution Programme, *Political Studies*, 50: 897–915
- Gaspar, F. (2001) 'The French Parity Movement' in \*J. Klausen and C. Maier (eds) *Has Liberalism Failed Women?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 HAS
- \*Norris, P. 'Breaking the Barriers: Positive Discrimination Policies for Women' in J. Klausen and C. Maier (eds) *Has Liberalism Failed Women?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave)
- Russell, M. (2000) *Women's Representation in UK Politics: What can be done within the Law?* (London: The Constitution Unit). Pamphlet HQ1236.5.G7 RUS
- ^Krook, M. L. and Squires, J. (2006) 'Gender Quotas in British Politics', *British Politics*. 1,1.
- Russell, M. (2003) 'Women in Elected Office in the UK 1992-2002' in \* A. Dobrowolsky, A. and V. Hart (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM
- Skejie, H. (2001) 'Quotas, Parity and the Discursive Dangers of Difference' in \*J. Klausen and C. Maier (eds) *Has Liberalism Failed Women?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 HAS
- ^Squires, J. (1996) 'Quotas for Women: Fair Representation?' in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds) *Women in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1

*Learning outcomes: understand what is involved in the strategies of equality rhetoric, equality promotion and equality guarantees; understand when and where these strategies have been adopted; develop an awareness of how normative commitments relate to practical objectives in politics.*

#### 4. The Gender Gap: voting and mass political participation

This week we focus on the nature and extent of a gender gap in voting patterns and mass political participation. It also looks at how we might explain gender gaps, and what implications such gaps might have for politics and for women.

##### Core Reading:

- Norris, P., Lovenduski, J. and Campbell, R. (2004) *Gender and Political Participation* (London: Electoral Commission). This is available to download <http://www.electoralcommission.gov.uk/about-us/gender.cfm>
- Bourque, S. and Grossholtz, J. (1998) 'Politics, An Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female Participation', in \*A. Phillips (eds) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 FEM
- Campbell, R. (2004) 'Gender, Ideology and Issue Preference', *BJPIR* 6, 1: 20-44.

##### Further Reading:

- ^Campbell, R. and Lovenduski, J. (2005) 'Winning women's votes?' , *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54, 4
- Childs, S. (2005) 'A British Gender Gap?' *Political Quarterly*, 75, 4 (This is a book review of Norris et al 2004).
- Childs, S. (2005) 'Feminizing British Politics', in Geddes, A. and Tonge, J. (Ed) *Britain Chooses* (Basingstoke: Palgrave). BLACKBOARD
- Fraser, E. and MacDonald, K. (2003) Sex Differences in Political Knowledge in Britain', *Political Studies* 51, 1: 67-83
- \*Mattinson, D. (2000) 'Worcester woman's unfinished revolution: what is needed to woo women voters?' in A. Coote (ed.) *New Gender Agenda* (London: IPPR) Q1154 NEW
- ^Norris, P. (1996) 'Mobilizing the Women's' Vote: The Gender Generation Gap in Voting Behaviour', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 2

- Inglehart, R., Norris, P. and Welzel, C. (2003). '[Gender equality and democracy.](#)' *Comparative Sociology*. 1, 3-4: 321-346. Available from [www.pippanorris.com](http://www.pippanorris.com)
- Parry, G., Moyser, G. and Day, N. (1992) *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). JN906 PAR
- \*Stephenson, M. (1998) *The Glass Trapdoor* (London: Fawcett) JN956 STE
- Welch, S. (1977) 'Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences', *American Journal of Political Science*, XXI, 4:711-729.
- Ward, R. (2002) 'Women Representatives and Women Voters', in A. Geddes and J. Tonge (eds) *Labour's Second Landslide* (Manchester: MUP). JN956 LAB

*Learning outcomes: understand what is meant by the 'gender gap'; review current data on the existence of the gap in women's voting and mass political participation; and evaluate critically what sort of response political parties ought to make in relation to the gender gap.*

## 5. The concept of representation I

This week we will examine the concept of political representation by looking at the work of Anne Phillips. The discussion is informed by the question of whether the sex of our representatives matters.

### Core Reading:

- Phillips, A. (1998) 'Democracy and Representation: Or, Why Should it Matter Who our Representatives Are?' in \*A. Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 FEM and COURSEPACK
- Lovenduski, J. (2005) *Feminizing Politics*, chapter 2
- \*Childs, S. (2004) *New Labour's Women MPs* (London: Routledge) Chapter 2

### Further Reading:

- Diamond, I. and Hartsock, N. 'Beyond Interests in Politics' in \*A. Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 FEM
- Pitkin, H. (1967) *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press) JF 1051PIT
- ^Phillips, A. (1993) *Democracy and Difference* (Cambridge: Polity). HQ1190 PHI
- \*Phillips, A. (1995) *The Politics Of Presence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) JF1061 PHI
- Pringle, R. and Watson, S. (1998) 'Women's Interests and the Poststructuralist State' in \*Anne Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 FEM
- ^Sapiro, V. (1998) 'When are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women' in \*A. Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 FEM
- Squires, J. (1996) 'Quotas for Women: Fair Representation?' in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris, (eds) *Women in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1391.G7 WOM or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1

*Learning outcomes: to understand typologies of representation; to evaluate critically different arguments for women's political presence; to contextualize normative political theory in contemporary political practice.*

## 6. The Concept of Representation II

Building on last week's reading and seminar discussion we look in more depth at feminist debates regarding women's substantive representation. In particular we consider whether women can and should represent women.

**Core Reading: (NB you will be assigned reading for this week, ie, each student will be asked to undertake a close reading of only one of these articles)**

- Mansbridge, J. (1999) 'Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'', *The Journal of Politics*, 61, 3: 628-657.

- Dovi, S. (2002) 'Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black or Latino Do?', *American Political Science Review*, 96, 4: 729-743.
- Laurel Weldon, S. 'Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking' *The Journal of Politics* 64, 4: 1153-74.

### Further Reading: (in addition to last week's reading)

Cockburn, C. (1996) 'Strategies for Gender Democracy', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 3:7-26. Serial HQ1101.E8

^Dahlerup, D. (1988) 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11, 4: 275-298. COURSEPACK

Fraser, N. (1997) *Justice Interruptus. Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition* (New York & London, Routledge) JC578FRA

Squires, J. (1999) *Gender in Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press) HQ1190 SQU

Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton University Press) JC578 YOU

Young, I. M. (2002) *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford: OUP) JC423 YOU

*Learning Outcomes: an appreciation of the varied and sophisticated ways in which feminist scholars have conceptualized and considered women's substantive representation.*

## 7. Making a Difference: Substantive Representation

Having focused on the theoretical debates surrounding the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation this seminar examines whether female politicians 'make a difference' *in practice*. It explores, in particular, whether the presence of women in politics affects the policy agenda and the way in which politics is conducted. Our case study is the UK although students may choose to focus on another country.

### Core Reading:

- Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics*, Chapter 6
- Childs, S. (2004) *New Labour's Women MPs* (London: Routledge). esp chap 7
- Mackay, F. (2004) The State of the Discipline', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6, 1: 99-120.

### Further Reading:

Bochel, C. and Briggs, J. (2000) 'Do Women Make a Difference', *Politics*, 20, 2: 63-68.

Breitenbach, E. and Mackay, F. (2001) *Women and Contemporary Scottish Politics* (Edinburgh: Polygon) JN1290 WOM

Brown, A. (1996) 'Women and Politics in Scotland', in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds) *Women in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1

Brown, A. and Galligan, Y. (1993) 'Views From the Periphery: Changing the Political Agenda For Women in the Republic of Ireland and in Scotland', *West European Politics*, 2, 165-189. Serial JN94.W3

Chaney, P. (2003) 'Increased Rights and Representation', in A. Dobrowolsky and V. Hart (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM

Chaney, Paul. (forthcoming) "Critical Mass, Deliberation and the Substantive Representation of Women: Evidence from the UK's Devolution Programme." *Political Studies*.

Childs, S. (2002) 'Hitting the Target: Are Labour Women MPs 'Acting For' Women?', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1

Childs, S (2001) 'In Their Own Words: New Labour Women MPs and the Substantive Representation of Women', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3, 1

Childs, S. (2001) "'Attitudinally Feminist?'" The New Labour Women MPs and the Substantive Representation of Women', *Politics*, 21, 3

^Childs, S. and Withey, J. (2004) 'Women Representatives Acting for Women: Sex and the Signing of Early Day Motions in the 1997 British Parliament', *Political Studies* 52: 552-64.

- ^Childs, S. and Withey, J. (2006) 'A Simple Case of Feminist Cause and Feminist Effect? Reducing the VAT on Sanitary Products in the UK', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59, 1.
- ^Cowley, P. and Childs, S. (2003) 'Too Spineless to Rebel? New Labour's Women MPs', with Philip Cowley, *British Journal of Political Science*, 33, 3.
- Diaz, M. Mateo (2005) *Representing Women: Female Legislators in West European Parliaments* (ECPR) on order
- ^Lovenduski, J. and Norris, P. (2003) 'Westminster Women', *Political Studies* 51, 1.
- \*Mackay, F. (2001) *Love and Politics: Women Politicians and the Ethics of Care* (London: Continuum) HQ1236.5.G7 MAC
- Mackay, F. et al (2003) 'Towards a new Politics' in A. Dobrowolsky and V. Hart (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM
- ^Norris, P. (1996) 'Women Politicians: Transforming Westminster?' in J. Lovenduski and P. Norris (eds) *Women in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49, 1
- Puwar., N. (2004) 'Thinking about making a difference', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6, 1, 65-80

Learning outcomes: to understand the concepts of descriptive and substantive representation in relation to political practice; to gain detailed knowledge of the impact of women in Westminster and the devolved institutions.

## 8. Trip to CWO annual Conference

This is in London and is at student's own cost.

## 9. The Concept of Critical Mass

This week's seminar focuses its attention to the widely used concept of critical mass. Often uncritically used to explain the difference women representatives make (as we will have seen in the previous seminar), this seminar investigates the ways in which the 'theory' of critical mass has been applied in the study of gender and politics. In particular we consider whether it is time for feminists to 'give up' on critical mass and what implications this might have for future study of the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation.

### Core Reading

- Kanter, R. Moss (1977a) "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, 5: 965-90. (via Jstor)
- Dahlerup, D. (1988) 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11, 4: 275-298. COURSE PACK
- Childs, S. and Krook, M. L. (2005) 'The Substantive Representation of Women: Rethinking the Critical Mass debate', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the APSA, Sept BLACKBOARD

### Further Reading

- ^Childs, S. (2006) 'The Complicated Relationship between Women's Descriptive and Substantive Representation' *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13, 1: 7-21
- Chaney, P. (forthcoming) "Critical Mass, Deliberation and the Substantive Representation of Women: Evidence from the UK's Devolution Programme." *Political Studies*.
- ^Grey, S. (2002) "Does Size Matter?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 55, 1: 19-29.
- \*Kanter, R. Moss (1977b) *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books) HD4904 KAN
- ^Lovenduski, J. (2005) *Feminizing Politics* (Cambridge: Polity). Pages 141-4.
- Lovenduski, Joni. 1997. "Gender Politics: A Breakthrough for Women?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 50, 4: 708-19
- Lovenduski, Joni (2001) 'Women and Politics', pp.179-194 in \**Britain Votes 2001*, Ed. Pippa Norris (Oxford: OUP). JN956 BRI
- Lovenduski, Joni and Norris, Pippa. 2003. "Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence." *Political Studies* 51, 1: 84-102.

^Sawyer, M., Tremblay, M. and Trimble, L. (2006) *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study* (Basingstoke: Palgrave). JN673 REP

### See also previous week's further reading

*Learning Outcomes: students will gain an appreciation of how critical mass has been used in gender and politics research; be able to discuss in some depth the ideas of Kanter and Dalherup from their original works in the 1970s and 1980s.*

## 10. Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Machineries

This week explores the concept of 'gender mainstreaming' in both theoretical terms and as alternative sites for the representation of women. In particular, we examine the role of gender machineries and 'femocrats' in advancing women's substantive representation in the UK.

### Core Reading:

- Squires, J. and Wickham-Jones, M. (2004) 'New Labour, Gender Mainstreaming and the Women and Equality Unit', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6: 1, 81-98.
- Squires, J (2005) 'Is Mainstreaming Transformative?' *Social Politics*, 3: 366-388
- Weldon, S, Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking." *The Journal of Politics* 64, 4: 1153-74.

### Further Reading:

#### UK

- Beveridge, F., Nott, S. and Stephen, K. (2000) 'Mainstreaming and the Engendering of Policy-Making: A Means to an End', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7, 3:385-405. [SerialH97.J6](#)
- Chaney, P. (2003) 'Increased Rights and Representation', in Dobrowolsky, A. and Hart, V. (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM
- ^Booth, C. and Bennett, C. (2002) 'Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union', *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9, 4: 430-46
- Chaney, P. (2004) 'The Post-Devolution Equality Agenda: The Case of Welsh Assembly's Statutory Duty to Promote Equality of Opportunity', *Policy and Politics*, 32, 1: 37-52. [SerialJA1.P46](#)
- Childs, S. and Withey, J. (2006) 'A Simple Case of Feminist Cause and Feminist Effect? Reducing the VAT on Sanitary Products in the UK', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59, 1.
- Footitt, H. (2002) *Women, Europe and the New Languages of Politics* (London: Continuum) not in library
- Freedman, J. (2002) 'Women in the European Parliament' in K. Ross (ed) *Women, Politics and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1, January 2002
- Mackay, F. and Bilton, K. (2000) *Learning from Experience: Lessons in Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities* (Edinburgh: Governance of Scotland Forum) on order
- Mazur, A. (2002) *Theorizing Feminist Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) HQ1236 MAZ
- Nott, S. (1999) 'Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities: Succeeding where all else failed?' in A. Morris and T. O'Donnell (eds) *Feminist Perspectives on Employment Law* (London: Cavendish Publishing) KN190 FEM
- Wills
- Rees, T. (2002) 'The Politics of 'Mainstreaming' Gender Equality' in E. Breitenbach (ed) *The Changing Politics of Gender Equality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236.5.G7 CHA
- ^Special issue of *Social Politics* 2005, 3,
- ^Special issue of *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2005, Dec,
- ^Squires, J. (2003) 'Reviewing the UK Equality Agenda', in A. Dobrowolsky and V. Hart (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM
- ^Squires, J. and Wickham-Jones, M. (2002) 'Mainstreaming in Westminster and Whitehall: From Labour's Ministry of Women to the Women and Equality Unit' in K. Ross (ed) *Women, Politics and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1

## Europe

Cohen, S. (1998) 'Body, Space and Presence, Women's Social Exclusion in the Policies of the European Union', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 5, 367-380.

Hart, V. (2003) 'Redesigning the Polity: Europe, Women and Constitutional Politics in the UK', in A. Dobrowolsky and V. Hart (eds) *Women Making Constitutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) HQ1236 WOM

Rees, T. (1998) *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and Labour Market Policies* (London: Routledge) KN190 FEM Wills

Stetson, D. and Mazur, A. (1995) *Comparative State Feminism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press) HQ1236 COM

Vogel-Polsky, E. (2000) 'Parity Democracy – Law and Europe' in M. Rossilli (ed) *Gender Policies in the European Union* (New York: Peter Lang) KW130.3 GEN

Chappell, L. (2002) 'The Femocrat Strategy: Expanding the Repertoire of Feminist Activists' in K. Ross (ed) *Women, Politics and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) or *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1

Lovenduski, J. (1986) *Women and European Politics* (Brighton;Harvester Press) HQ 1236.5 E38 LOV

*Learning outcomes: to appreciate the various conceptions of gender mainstreaming; to apply these ideas to the particular gender mainstreaming strategies in the UK; and to gain a detailed knowledge of the operation of equality units in post-devolution UK.*

## ESSAY QUESTIONS for POLI 31351 POLITICS OF GENDER

1. Critically explore Joni Lovenduski's three equality strategies in respect of hers and Pippa Norris' (1995) supply-and demand-side theories of women's political recruitment. Make reference to either the UK or another country case study.
2. Should the UK Government extend the Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act? or should it introduce prescriptive legislation?
3. Does the gender gap in women's mass political participation matter?
4. Is Phillips' justice argument the only defensible one upon which to base women's political presence?
5. Compare and contrast Jane Mansbridge's argument in 'Should Women represent women?' with *either* Suzanne Dovi's in 'Preferable Descriptive Representatives' *or* Laurel Weldon's in 'Beyond Bodies'.
6. Critically explore the impact of the presence of women political representatives in a particular parliament or political institution.
7. How does the substantive representation of women occur?
8. Should advocates of gender mainstreaming be concerned about the creation of a single equalities body in the UK?