This course explores the interrelationship and mutual dialogue of feminism as a many-stranded and evolving movement and body of thought, politics as a concept and as a process, and political science. The first part of the course (Weeks 1-13) introduces feminism as a movement and examines the original main strands of liberal, Radical and Marxist feminism through a consideration of their implications for a number of key policy issues for women. In the second part of the course (Weeks 14-16) we look at further developments in feminist thinking, eco-feminism, black women’s critique of white feminism and post-modern feminism. The third section (Weeks 17-21) considers the feminist critique of mainstream political science, how concepts of ‘masculinity’ can be applied to the political sphere, women’s role in the political process and the implications for women and feminism of New Labour. The final session returns to issues raised at the outset concerning the nature and continuing relevance of feminism. All these issues will mainly be discussed in a British context, but cross-national comparative perspectives are not excluded.

Overall, the educational aims of the course are:

1. to extend students’ awareness of political institutions and issues, by demonstrating how these have been viewed from a feminist perspective
2. to extend the span of students’ theoretical knowledge by familiarising them with feminism as a body of theory
3. to encourage and enable students to adopt a critical approach to political analysis
4. to stimulate students’ interest in politics and feminism
5. to enable students to improve their levels of intellectual performance in learning, analysis and written presentation
6. to develop further generic skills in using information technology, problem solving, oral presentation, and critical thinking and argumentation

The corresponding objectives are that by the end of the course, students should:

1. be familiar with the broad features of feminism as a movement, of women’s participation in the political process and of policies towards women
2. have an understanding of the central debates and developments within feminist thinking, about sex and gender difference, patriarchy and the state and their implications for feminist strategy
3. be able to apply feminist perspectives to politics and policy issues and to compare and contrast differences between them
4. have some understanding of the ways in which feminism and the public political sphere have influenced one another
5. have improved their levels of intellectual performance in learning, analysis and written presentation, with the aid of constructive feedback from their teacher
6. be able to demonstrate skills in using information technology (through word processing, library searches and accessing on-line journals), problem solving, oral presentation and critical thinking (for instance through textual analysis) and argumentation.
Eligibility There are no specific prerequisites for this course but non-degree (Socrates/JYA) students can only be admitted with prior approval and all students should preferably should have some background in politics or a cognate social science.

Course organisation and administration. Teaching consists of a two-hour session each week. Generally this takes the form of a relatively informal lecture in the first hour and class discussion in the second. This format is sometimes modified, particularly towards the end of the course, with a more central role for student presentation and discussion. Julie Harrison, in the Government Undergraduate Office (Room 5B.310, open 10am-1pm. and 2-4pm, phone extension 2737) is responsible for course administration.

Workload and assessment Students are expected to read for classes, participate actively in class discuss and make at least one class presentation. Formal assessment is based on essays and examination, each counting for 50% of the overall mark.

Essays, submission and deadlines During the course students must submit three essays of approximately 2,500 words each. The first essay must be handed in no later than Friday, December 1, the second essay must be handed in no later than Friday, February 16 2005 and the third no later than Friday, April 27. The general guidelines for submission of undergraduate coursework apply. That is to say that all essays must be submitted electronically, to be received by 8am on the due date – failure to do so results in a mark of zero. Students must also submit a watermarked paper copy of the essay to me at the seminar held in the week of the deadline. Again failure to do so will result in a zero mark.

Plagiarism It is a very serious academic offence to submit written work in which text has been taken from the work of someone else, whether another student or from a book or article, without acknowledgement. The University regards this as cheating, for which the penalties are very severe. For details of what constitutes cheating and the penalties imposed, see the relevant section of the Undergraduate Handbook.

Basic reading There is no single text which covers all of the issues addressed in this course. However many of the topics are covered in

Valerie Bryson, Feminist Debates Macmillan 1999


Another important text will be

Sarah Childs, New Labour’s Women MPs, Routledge 2004

Otherwise useful background reading includes:

Wendy Stokes, Women in Contemporary Politics, Polity 2006

Joni Lovenduski, Feminizing Politics, Polity 2005

Lynda Burns (ed) Feminist Alliances, Rodopi 2006


Carol Bacchi, *Women, Policy and Politics*, Sage 1999


Anne Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford University Press 1998

Judith Squires, *Gender in Political Theory*, Polity 1999 (This is quite demanding, so best approached later in the course)

In addition you should regularly consult the following journals:

- Feminist Review (recent issues available on line)
- Trouble and Strife
- Women’s Studies International Forum
- Signs
- Feminist Theory
- Women and Politics (which has recently become Politics and Gender)

The course outline below indicates the lecture topic, together with suggested reading, for each week (items marked with an asterisk * are considered particularly relevant). Whilst you are not expected to read all the suggested reading, you are expected to do some reading in preparation for each week. For presentations and written assignments you are expected to have read a number of the recommended texts. Making use of material available on the internet shows initiative but is a supplement to, not a substitute for, reading the recommended texts.

[In addition to this programme, class programmes will be handed out in weeks 2, 7 and 14 setting out the discussion topic for each class. Students will be able to make suggestions about the specifics of these topics, before they are finalised.]
Week 1  Introduction: the Feminist Movement

Objective : to consider feminism as a movement, its origins and the character of its ‘second wave’


[Weeks 2-5 LIBERAL FEMINISM ]

Week 2  Mary Wollstonecraft and Early Liberal Feminism

Objective : to explore the premises of early liberal feminism through an examination of the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft

* Mary Wollstonecraft  *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Penguin, Introduction and Chaps.1,2,5,6,12,13


Week 3  Contemporary Liberal Feminism

Objective : to explore the development of contemporary liberal feminism, focusing on the extent to which it has retained or modified traditional liberal assumptions about human nature, the individual as the basis of society and the public-private divide, with particular reference to liberal feminist arguments about social justice and women’s political representation.


Susan Moller Okin, 'Gender, the Public and the Private', in David Held (ed.) Political Theory Today Polity 1991. [This is also available in Anne Phillips (ed) Feminism and Politics, Oxford University Press 1998.]

Susan Moller Okin, Justice, Gender and the Family (Basic Books 1989). See especially chapters 1, 5 and 6


Anne Phillips, Democracy and Difference Polity Press 1993, Chapter 6 ( ‘Must Feminists Give up on Liberal Democracy?’). [This is also available in David Held (ed) Prospects for Democracy, special issue of Political Studies Vol 40 1992] and Chapter  2 ‘So What’s Wrong with the Individual?’


**Week 4 Equal Employment Opportunities**

Objective: to examine strategies and problems in the field of equal employment opportunity, focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of a liberal feminist approach.

* Joni Lovenduski and Vicky Randall, Contemporary Feminist Politics, Oxford University Press, 1993 chapter 6

* Jean Gardiner Gender, Care and Economics Macmillan 1997, chapter 7

* Carole L Bacchi, Women, Policy and Politics Sage 1999, chapters 4 and 5


See also Evans (cited above) and Radcliffe Richards (cited above)

Elizabeth Meehan and Selma Sevenhuijse (eds) Equality, Politics and Gender Sage 1991. See especially 'Introduction' and C. Bacchi, 'Pregnancy, the law and the meaning of equality'.

Vicky Randall, Women and Politics op cit, Chapter 6 pp.283-314.

And EOC (Equal Opportunity Commission) website: http://www.eoc.org.uk/

**Week 5 Gender Quotas**

Objective: to take the example of the gender quotas controversy in the Labour Party to explore further implications of a liberal feminist approach to women’s political representation.

C Barrett, 'The Labour Party and Positive Discrimination in Candidate Selection', Case Studies for Politics, Case Study 16, University of York.


M L Krook and J Squires, ‘Gender Quotas in British Politics’, *British Politics* forthcoming


Judith Squires, ‘Quotas for Women: Fair Representation?’, *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol 49 No 1 1996


Inter-Parliamentary Union (2001) website on Women in National Parliaments - [www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm](http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm)

Website of International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance’s Gender Quotas Project – [www.idea.int/quotas.htm](http://www.idea.int/quotas.htm)

[ See also Politics and Gender, December 2005, for three articles on quotas by Mansfield, Caul Kittilson and Mark Jones. ]

[Weeks 6-11 RADICAL FEMINISM]

**Week 6 Early Radical Feminism**

Objective: to examine the arguments of the ‘founding’ Radical feminists, with particular attention to Firestone’s Dialectic of Sex


Kate Millet *Sexual Politics*, Sphere 1971.


**Week 7 Contemporary Radical Feminism**

Objective: to trace the more recent development of Radical feminism, with particular focus on the emergence of a cultural or pro-woman strand


Special Issue on 'Radical Feminism in the 1990s', *Trouble and Strife*, no.27 (c1993), p.3-15 and 21-5.

**Week 8 The Concept of Patriarchy**

Objective: to critically explore the concept of patriarchy and its implications for the way that politics is conceptualised, as it was originally developed by Radical feminists and subsequently modified.


* Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, Polity 1988, Chapters 2 and 4


Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* Sphere 1971.

**Week 9 Male Violence**

Objective: to examine how far and in what ways Radical feminist arguments about male sexuality and violence and feminist campaigning around the issues of domestic violence and rape have been reflected in the development of public policy in these areas.


and Lynne Segal *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, revised edition, Virago, 1997, chapter 9

C L Bacchi, *Women, Policy and Politics* Sage 1999, chapter 9


Sue Lees *Carnal Knowledge: Rape on Trial*, second edition, Women’s Press 2002
Week 10 Motherhood

Objective: taking as the point of departure the negative views of early Radical feminism, to analyse conflicting feminist attitudes to motherhood and to consider their policy implications and impact, with particular reference to the issue of child daycare.

* Lovenduski and Randall, op cit, Chapter 8.
* Segal, Is the Future Female? op cit, Chapter 4.
* Carol Smart, 'Deconstructing Motherhood', in Elizabeth Bortolaia Silva (ed.) Good Enough Mothering?, Routledge 1996.


Vicky Randall, The Politics of Child Daycare in Britain, Oxford University Press 2000


Melissa Benn, Madonna and Child: Towards a new politics of motherhood Vintage 1999

Week 11 Women: A Different Voice?

Objective: to critically examine arguments that women have a distinctive perspective on politics and policy issues, as embodied in feminist standpoint theory and the notion of an ‘ethic of care’

*Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice, Harvard University Press, 1982


Judith Evans, Feminist Theory Today, Sage 1995, Chapter 7

Judith Squires, Gender in Political Theory, Polity 1999, Chapter 5


Joan Tronto, Moral Boundaries: the political argument for an ethic of care, Routledge, 1993
Week 12 Marxist Feminism

Objective: to consider the development of Marxist feminism through and beyond a ‘dual systems’ approach, examine Marxist assumptions that informed early Marxist feminist accounts of gender oppression, with particular reference to Engels’ Origin of the Family.

Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

Rosemarie Tong, op cit, chapter 2


Week 13 Theory and Practice of the State

Objective: to critically examine the early Marxist feminist conception of the state, its development, and alternative feminist approaches

* Michele Barrett, *Women’s Oppression Today*, op cit


Wendy Brown, 'Finding the Man in the State', Feminist Studies 1992

John Hoffman, Beyond the State, Polity, 1995, Chapter 5.

Mary McIntosh, 'The state and the oppression of women' in Kuhn and Wolpe, Feminism and Materialism op cit.

Elizabeth Wilson, Women and the Welfare State Tavistock, 1977 Chapter 1

Sylvia Walby, Theorising Patriarchy op cit.

[Weeks 14-16 DEVELOPING DEBATES WITHIN FEMINISM]

Week 14 Eco-feminism

Objective: to explore the encounter between feminism and ecological thought in eco-feminism, focusing in particular on the similarities and contrasts between cultural and socialist feminist variants


*Mary Mies and Vandana Shiva, Eco-feminism, Zed Books, 1993, pp1-20


Andrew Dobson, Green Political Thought, Chapters 1, 2 and 5. (For a general introduction to green thought.)


http://www.enviroweb.org/eve/index.html/

Week 15 Black Women's Critique of White Feminism

Objective: to examine the early critique of (white) feminism developed by (black) feminists, the debates about difference that it helped to trigger and the more recent development of black British Feminism


* S H Mirza, (ed.) *Black British Feminism*, 1997, Introduction and Chapters 3,4,5,6,7, and 21-2. (This book contains most of the seminal interventions in this debate.)

(Another important reader is Kum Kum Bhavani (ed) *Feminism and Race*, Oxford University Press, 2000.)


Chandra T Mohanty, 'Feminist Encounters: Locating the Politics of Experience' in M. Barrett and A. Phillips (eds) *Destabilizing Theory op cit*. [Also available in A Phillips (ed) *Feminism and Politics, op cit*]


**Week 16  Feminism and Post-Modernism**

Objective: to trace the emergence of feminist post-modernism, with particular reference to conceptions of women/gender and to consider its political implications


Judith Squires, *Gender in Political Theory*, Polity 1999, chapter 2


**[Weeks 17-21 POLITICS AND WOMEN]**

**Week 17  A Feminist Critique of Political Science?**

Objective: to examine how far feminists have succeeded in elaborating an effective critique of ‘malestream’ political science.

Week 18  Masculinity in Politics and Political Science

Objective: to consider how the question of masculinity could be developed, and has been explored in practice, in political science.

*R W Connell, Masculinities, Polity, 1996

Lynne Segal, Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men’, Virago, revised edition 1997

Jeff Hearn, From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men’, Feminist Theory, Vol 5 No 1 2004, pp49-72

Kim E Nielsen, ‘What’s a Patriotic Man to Do? Patriotic Masculinities of the Post WW1 Red Scare’, Men and Masculinities, Jan 2004


Week 19  Women in British Politics
Objective: to assess the extent of, and continuing barriers to, women’s participation within the different arenas of British politics and to consider how far and in what ways they have made a difference to public politics

* Sarah Childs, *New Labour’s Women MPs*, Palgrave 2004


* Joni Lovenduski, ‘Sex, Gender and British Politics’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, January 1996


Vicky Randall, *Women and Politics*, Macmillan 1987, chapters 2 and 3

Lizzie Thynne, ‘Women in television in the Multi-Channel Age’, *Feminist Review* No 64. 2000


**Week 20  State Feminism**

Objective: to introduce the notion of state feminism and to evaluate its different forms through a cross-national comparison

* Dorothy M Stetson and Amy G Mazur (eds) *Comparative State Feminism*, Sage, 1995 Introduction and Conclusion


Marion Sawer, ‘“Femocrats in Glass Towers?”: The Office of the Status of Women in Australia’ in Stetson and Mazur (eds)


Sonia Mazey, *Gender Mainstreaming in the EU*, European Dossier series, Kogan Page 2001

Shirin Rai (ed) *National Machineries for the Advancement of Women: Mainstreaming Gender, Democratising the State?*, Manchester University Press 2002


**Week 21  Feminism, Politics and Policy under New Labour**

Objective: to assess the implications for feminism and for women of developments in politics and policy under the Labour government of Tony Blair


D Cameron, ‘Barking back’, *Trouble and Strife*, No 35, summer 1997


Angela McRobbie, ‘Feminism and the Third Way’, *Feminist Review*, No 64 2000


See also ‘After modernisation: gender, the third way and the new politics’, in Anna Coote (ed).


Judith Squires and Mark Wickham Jones, ‘New Labour, Gender Mainstreaming and the Women and Equality Unit’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol 6 No 1, Feb 29004


(Michael Freeden, ‘The Ideology of New Labour’, *Political Quarterly* 1999.)

Women’s Unit website - www.womens-unit.gov.uk

**Week 22 Do We (Still) Need Feminism?**
Objective: 1. to review the recent development of feminism and reassess its meaning 2. to consider how far feminism retains its relevance as a means of analysis and political programme

* Lynne Segal, *Why Feminism?* Polity 1999, especially Introduction and concluding chapter (See also Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion* revised edition (op cit), 1997 Introduction)

* Rosalind Coward, *Sacred Cows: Is Feminism Relevant to the New Millenium?*, Harper Collins, 1999


Jenny Somerville, ‘Germaine Greer versus the New feminism’, (review article) *Social Politics* 2001 Vol 8 No 3

Ruth Lister, ‘Being a Feminist’, *Government and Opposition* 2005

Redfern, Catherine. 2002b. ‘A Third Wave?’ Available at http://www.thefword.org.uk/features/2002/09/a_third_wave


F-word web-site : - www.thefword.org.uk/