

<b>Institution:</b> University of Sheffield		
<b>Unit of Assessment:</b> D-28 History		
<b>Title of case study:</b> The feminisation of politics after suffrage in civic spaces and national memory		
<b>Period when the underpinning research was undertaken:</b> 2013–2020		
<b>Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:</b>		
<b>Name(s):</b> Julie Gottlieb	<b>Role(s) (e.g. job title):</b> Professor in Modern History	<b>Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:</b> 2003–present
<b>Period when the claimed impact occurred:</b> 2017–2020		
<b>Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014?</b> N		
<p><b>1. Summary of the impact</b> (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>Julie Gottlieb's exploration of the meaning and the practices of British women's citizenship and activism across the political spectrum before and after suffrage has underpinned high-profile heritage projects, informed political debate, and motivated activism. She has been a consultant on several public art and creative projects, ensuring the accurate representation of suffrage in these. Her work has supported women in the Conservative Party to consider the role of the Conservative Women's Association, enabling them to better articulate its past, relevance to its future and revitalise the organisation. She has worked with the Conservative Party Archive to make the case for its retention and expansion.</p>		
<p><b>2. Underpinning research</b> (indicative maximum 500 words)</p> <p>Gottlieb's research on the inter-war gender order in Britain challenges the dominant narrative of feminist retreat in the period between women's enfranchisement and the Second Wave in the 1960s-70s, and of the reversal of women's emancipatory gains under the pressure of socio-economic crisis and the rise of the dictatorships. It has initiated new debates in the following areas: first, her in-depth study of a range of women's groups and her tracking of divergent individual political trajectories have promoted a rethinking of the diaspora from the Edwardian suffrage movement across the political spectrum and across borders [R1]. Second, Gottlieb's focus on women's engagement with and their representation in international affairs and foreign policy debate, especially at the height of the Munich Crisis in 1938, fundamentally challenges the androcentrism of the scholarship and of the public memory of the 1930s. It writes these women back into history [R2]. Third, her conceptualisation and categorisation of Tory and 'nationalist feminism' has included and resituated Conservative women in the story of the women's movement, a vital point considering that the Conservatives had one million women members, substantially more women members than other political parties or explicitly feminist organisations [R4]. Her research has destabilised the neat narrative of the retreat of women from political life by emphasising women's efforts in the international sphere across party lines, the feminisation of the Conservative Party after women's enfranchisement, women's prominence in peace movements, and the rearming of feminism to enable women to fight a feminist 'war on fascism'.</p>		

In 'Guilty Women', *Foreign Policy and Appeasement in Inter-war Britain* (2015) [R2], Gottlieb reveals how the fruition of post-suffrage careers and the deeper engagement with international affairs did not occur exclusively on the liberal and left-wing of the spectrum. Conservative women, elite and middle-class, took an abiding interest in both feminism and international relations (e.g. Edith Lady Londonderry, Lady Nancy Astor MP, and Florence Horsbrugh MP). Further, a number of noteworthy suffrage campaigners shifted their own allegiances to the right (e.g. Emmeline Pankhurst, Flora Drummond and Annie Kenney), and others even migrated from suffragette militancy to fascism (e.g. Mary Richardson, Mary Allen, and Norah Elam). These individualised political trajectories and the particular feminised form of post-suffrage politics are considered in the edited volumes *The Aftermath of Suffrage* (2013) and *Rethinking Right Wing Women* (2018), both of which Gottlieb organised and contributed to [R1, R4] and in further mono- and co-authored articles [R3, R5]. Her research has restored Conservative women to the story of post-enfranchisement politics, and helped define a powerful strand of 'nationalist feminism'. This has informed the public understanding of how the Conservative Party, and not Labour, has already produced two women Prime Ministers [R6].

An overarching research finding of Gottlieb's excavation of the immediate post-suffrage period is that the apparent feminisation of politics with the rise of Britain's second woman Prime Minister in 2016 was not as unprecedented as claimed, nor were the ambivalent and sometimes violent reactions by persons and groups who sought to curb these emancipatory achievements. The feminisation of British politics, in a formal sense starting a century ago with the passage of the Representation of the People Act, is, in fact, an ongoing and a cyclical process. Gottlieb's research deepens understanding of how fleeting and impermanent gender equality has been and remains.

### 3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- R1.** Gottlieb, J.V. and Toye, R. eds (2013). *The Aftermath of Suffrage: Women, Gender and Politics in Britain, 1918-1945*. Palgrave. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137333001>
- R2.** Gottlieb, J.V. (2015). *'Guilty Women': Foreign Policy and Appeasement in Interwar Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan. REF2
- R3.** Gottlieb, J.V. (2016). Eleanor Rathbone, the Women Churchillians and Anti-Appeasement. *Women's History*, 2(6), 15-18. <http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/111408>
- R4.** Gottlieb, J.V. 2017. 'Introduction' and 'Modes and Models of Conservative Women's Leadership in the 1930s' in Berthezene, C. & Gottlieb, J.V. eds. *Rethinking Right-Wing Women: Women, Gender and the Conservative Party, 1880s to the Present*. Manchester University Press. Available on request.
- R5.** Gottlieb, J.V. & Szapor, J., with Lintunen, T. and Wernitznig, W. (2017). 'Suffrage and Nationalism in Comparative Perspective: Britain, Hungary, Finland and the Transnational Experience of Rosika Schimmer' in Stibbe, M. & Sharp, I. eds. *Women Activists between War and Peace*. Bloomsbury. Available on request.
- R6.** Gottlieb, J.V. (2020). 'Does the right hon. Gentleman mean equal votes at 21?' Conservative women and equal franchise, 1919–1928' and 'The Iron Ladies revisited: Julie Gottlieb interview with journalist, writer and political activist Beatrix Campbell' in Berthezene, C. & Gottlieb, J.V. eds. *Considering Conservative Women in the Gendering of Modern British Politics*. Routledge. Available on request.

#### 4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

The centenary of women's partial suffrage in 2018 led to the emergence of a new wave of feminist consciousness. Gottlieb's work has influenced how this consciousness has been expressed in the arts, in the Conservative party and in political activism.

##### Shaping the portrayal of women's political history in public space

Gottlieb's recognised expertise in women's political history demonstrated by [R1] led colleague Professor Ingrid Sharp to recommend her to 14-18NOW in 2017 to act as historical consultant to Turner-prize winner Gillian Wearing. Wearing had been commissioned to design the statue of suffragist leader Millicent Fawcett, the first statue of a woman in Parliament Square. Gottlieb worked closely with Wearing to select the 59 historical figures featured on the plinth and was *"key in choosing the names and making [Wearing] think about the options,"* [S1] compiling a list that offered a balanced representation of suffrage activism across generational, ideological, ethnic, national, class and gender lines, including, but not limited to the suffragettes. Gottlieb *"underpinned the rigour of the list of names", as "she had the historical knowledge that the project team working directly on it did not have"* [S2]. The Fawcett statue is now a permanent memorial in one of the most visited tourist destinations in the world. Wearing's execution of the brief was described by BBC Arts Editor, Will Gompertz as ['exceptional'](#).

Working with mosaic artist Coralie Turpin on her mural in Sheffield honouring the founder of the first women's suffrage society, Anne Knight, Gottlieb suggested the idea of the cyclical nature of emancipation. The work now contains ideas of cycles and waves, explained in Gottlieb's accompanying text. Gottlieb also guided the selection of feminist milestones to be represented on a timeline, which Turpin indicated she included because *"Julie ...suggested we try to show where Anne Knight got her inspiration from at the beginning"* [S3]. For choreographer Freddie Garland, working with Gottlieb on her 'Women's Movement 100' dance project *"clarified and to some extent reoriented my thinking about the dance piece. Hours of discussion with Julie made me want to express the peaks and troughs, the cresting and crashing of waves in women's story of emancipation."* Gottlieb even suggested the title, which, as Garland says *"worked on many levels to convey the sense that the struggle is perpetual. It doesn't stop just because we have reached and passed the centenary of suffrage."* [S4] It was this that she wanted to convey in her dance piece. Dancers have reported that the project *"showed me how history, as an academic subject, can resonate in spheres beyond those I'd previously considered."* [S5]. Playwright Nicola Baldwin wrote 'We the Young Strong' based on Gottlieb's work citing that *"the essential insights of Julie's work infuse every mouthful. Her research created a path to understanding that made the journey of this play possible"* [S6]. She wrote 'We the Young Strong' because *"I needed to understand how young women were drawn to fascism"*. For Baldwin, Gottlieb's work provided a 'beacon of light' and her research *"created a path to understanding that made the journey of this play possible."* The play was performed at UCL's Bloomsbury Theatre in October 2019 and has been seen, in development and performance by c.1,500 people. Audience members noted that they learned more about women's prominence in British fascism, and called it *"powerful and pertinent" and 'scarily relevant"* [S7].

##### Making the case for the importance of the Conservative Party Archive (CPA) for women

Gottlieb's research for and organisation of the collaborations around Rethinking Right Wing Women [R4] led Jeremy McIlwaine, archivist at the CPA, to *"seek out new material which might be relevant to the study of right-wing women, and re-evaluate sources already held."* He

maintains that working with Gottlieb had “*a transformative impact on my professional practice*” as academic interest generated from the Conference has enabled the archive to prioritise cataloguing material relating to women and the Conservative Party [S8]. Working with Gottlieb to demonstrate the significance of the archive in explaining how to this day the Conservative Party is the most successful political party in British history enabled McIlwaine to make the case for further funding from the Conservative Party, at a time when this funding, and therefore the archive, was at risk [S8]. McIlwaine introduced Gottlieb to Anne, Baroness Jenkin, co-founder with Theresa May of the Women2Win campaign, an organisation that encourages women to stand as Conservative MPs. Jenkin was invited to be a keynote speaker at the Rethinking Right-Wing Women conference, and this further influenced her to deposit the Women2Win papers in the CPA.

### Motivating right-wing women

The Conservative Women's Association and Women2Win both found motivation and inspiration in Gottlieb's work. Membership of the CWO had been falling, and despite increases in the 2019 election, only a quarter of Conservative MPs are women. The Director of Women2Win Virginia Crosbie, and Fleur Butler, Chair of the CWO in Yorkshire and the Humber, who was tasked with saving the ailing organisation, were introduced to Gottlieb by Baroness Jenkin. Co-hosted events with Women2Win such as the launch of [R6] have inspired women to come forward as activists. Virginia Crosbie, Director of Women2Win and since 2019 MP for Ynys Môn, acknowledges that ‘*I feel much more grounded in my role as Director of Women2Win and I really understand the significance of campaign organisations such as Women2Win*’ [S9]. Fleur Butler acknowledges that reading Gottlieb's research [R4, R6] ‘*allowed me to reclaim my historical past as a conservative woman and to understand why CWO was dying*’ [S10]. Since reading Gottlieb's articles, she has published two articles ‘exploring the ideas of a new Conservative Feminism.’ Gottlieb's work inspired confidence in articulating the value system of the CWO and the restating of its aim to get more women into policy-making roles. This has led to a halt in the decline of the CWO and ‘...more Conservative MPs...claiming to be right-wing feminists. The #march4women was warmly embraced by Conservative feminists, despite not being great marchers or protesters’ [S10].

### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

- S1. Confirmation from Gillian Wearing, artist, May 23rd 2018 of the impact the research had on the creation and why it was vital.
- S2. Confirmation from Senior Policy Officer, Visual Art, Mayor of London's Office, 23 May 2018. This testimonial states that the research underpinned the choices and that it is important for informing the equality policies and strategies implemented by the Mayor of London.
- S3. Confirmation from Coralie Turpin, artist, on the influence of the research on the mosaic.
- S4. Confirmation from dancer-choreographer Freddie Garland on Gottlieb's role as historical advisor to the ‘Women's Movement 100’ project that involves 100 women across the North of England.
- S5. Angels of the North dancer statements confirming new understanding.

- S6.** Statement from Nicola Baldwin, playwright, describing the contribution of Gottlieb's research to the play.
- S7.** Twitter responses to 'We the Young Strong'.
- S8.** Confirmation from the Conservative Party Archivist February 5th 2018. [This details the beneficial impact that the conference had on the archive and that the Conference and the encouragement to deposit at the archive has helped the archive gain funding].
- S9.** Testimonial from Director of Women2Win February 28th 2018. [This describes the Conference on 'Rethinking Right-Wing Women,' and the impacts on the Women2Win initiative and cross-party collaboration.
- S10.** Statement from Chairperson, Conservatives Women's Organisation Yorkshire and Humber March 2018. [This testimonial states that being introduced to Gottlieb's research helped to focus her efforts and reclaim the narrative of right-wing feminism.]