

**AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

**WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK**

**April 1997, Issn: 1171-9273**

**In This Issue:**

**WOMEN AND THE 1996 ELECTION**

**ARTICLES**

- MARGARET CLARK**      **Women in Parliament**      **p 1**
- ELIZABETH MCLEAY**      **Where are the Women? The 1996 National/  
New Zealand First Coalition Government**      **p 3**

**BOOK REVIEWS**

- JEAN DRAGE**      **'Elizabeth Yates: The First Lady Mayor in the  
British Empire' by Judith Devaliant**      **p 7**
- ELIZABETH SHANNON**      **'Living Generously: Women Mentoring Women'  
by Jocelyne Scutt**      **p 9**
- ELIZABETH SHANNON**      **'International Review of Women and Leadership  
- Special Issue: Women and Politics',  
Marian Sawyer (ed)**      **p10**

**CONFERENCE REPORTS**      **p12**

**ROBIN'S NEWS**      **p17**

**RESEARCH NEWS**      **p18**

**NOTICES**      **p19**

## **AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK**

**ISSN: 1171-9273**

**The idea** was born out of meetings of the NZ Political Studies Association Conference.

**The aim** is to promote communication between women teaching, researching or interested/involved in politics/public policy (in paid or unpaid work).

Newsletters are published three times a year.

### **FORTHCOMING ISSUES OF THE NEWSLETTER**

Some themes to be covered in forthcoming issues are: women and the media, welfare, development, collective action, elites, management, history and feminist teaching and feminist postmodernism. We are interested in receiving articles, information for our teaching and research news section, book reviews, information about relevant conferences, and letters commenting on articles printed in the newsletter. We are eager to have student input - essays on the above, or any other, topics would be welcomed.

Please forward material to:

Jane Scott, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
email: [j.scott@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.scott@auckland.ac.nz)  
Telephone: 3737 599 ext 8090

### **BACK COPIES OF THE NEWSLETTER**

The following issues of the Aotearoa Women and Politics Network Newsletter are available at a cost of \$5 each from Heather Devere:

- 'Electoral Reform and Women' - August/September 1992
- 'The New Right and Women' - November/December 1992
- 'Reflecting on Suffrage' - May/June 1994
- 'Researching Women and Politics' - February 1995
- 'Women and International Relations' - July 1995
- 'Maori Women and Politics' - December 1995
- 'Women and Trade Unions' - April 1996
- 'Women and the Law' - July 1996
- 'Body Politics' - December 1996

If anyone has any other issues which they can let us have for photocopying and for our archive, please could they send them to Heather Devere.

Dr Heather Devere, School of Social Sciences, Auckland Institute of Technology  
Private Bag 92006, Auckland  
Fax (64) (09) 307 9853, Tel (64) (09) 307 9999 ext 5367  
Email: [heather.devere@ait.ac.nz](mailto:heather.devere@ait.ac.nz)

\*\*\*\*\*

## WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

\*\*\*\*\*

by **MARGARET CLARK**

Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington

The *Report of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System* (1986) recommended the adoption of the Mixed Member Proportional electoral system in the belief that it would facilitate greater parliamentary representation "of significant groups and interests within our society" (p 50). The outcome of our first MMP general election has in many ways justified their hopes.

There are fifteen Maori MPs (three of them in Cabinet). There are three Pacific Islanders, one Chinese, and a Dalmatian. Certainly we have a more ethnically variegated House of Representatives than formerly, and all the parties who won representation made some effort in this respect.

Unarguably, the single most interesting feature of the election was what in fact happened within Maoridom. For the first time that I can think of, an indigenous minority people have won numerically appropriate representation in the central government of a nation state. Maori voters supported parties right across the political spectrum so that ACT, the Alliance, Labour, National, and New Zealand First all have Maori MPs, and Labour lost its fifty year stranglehold on the Maori constituencies. The first MMP election saw more Maori on the rolls and more of them voting than ever before. With Peters, Henare, and Delamere full cabinet Ministers Maori have three strong voices in the Executive. And in order to justify their coalition choice to Maoridom, New Zealand First will obviously want to be able to show that it can deliver the goods.

So, MMP seems set to be good for Maori, and probably for other ethnic minorities too. When, however, one comes to judge the outcomes of the first MMP election for women the assessment must be rather more mixed. To start with - the media hype of election night notwithstanding - we don't have our first woman Prime Minister. And, although thirty five women made it into parliament (36 with the addition of Annabel Young), women as a segment of the population are still distinctly underrepresented with just 30% of the seats. But the fact of most concern is that Jenny Shipley is still the sole woman in a Cabinet of twenty. The Prime Minister expressed his "disappointment" at this, as if he had nothing to do with the result. "Disappointment" under the circumstances seems to me a somewhat inadequate response. It demonstrates, too, that something more than a change in the electoral system is needed if women are to receive anything like proportional representation in our power bastions. It will need a change of heart by the parties, and they will only experience a change of heart if women remind them forcefully that they do have the vote, and that they will give it to those they feel are most responsive to them and their concerns.

Looking back at the party lists is an interesting exercise. Keep in mind that ACT, the Alliance, and New Zealand First only have women in parliament by way of their lists, whereas both Labour and National have both electoral and list women MPs. For the sake of comparison and simplification I shall look at just the top ten on the list of each party (again in alphabetical order).

ACT had four women in its top ten and three of them got in. On paper, at least, they look a strong and able trio who should make their mark in the House and on Select Committees. In the Alliance's top ten there were five women, all of whom got in. In the event, the Alliance's caucus has a majority of women which must surely be an historical first. Labour's top ten on the list also had five women. They all got in (some by way of electoral seats) as did seven others in the party's top twenty. Labour, like ACT and the Alliance, were serious about the appropriate representation of women.

New Zealand First had three women in the top ten of its lists and all got in. Deborah Morris, at number nine, went on to become the youngest Minister (outside Cabinet) in the Commonwealth since William Pitt the Younger. She passed on this obscure piece of information at my Department's Christmas lunch at which she and several other distinguished former students were honoured guests. In the business of Cabinet making, too, Winston Peters has done marginally better proportionately than Mr Bolger vis-a-vis women, for, although as yet, there are no New Zealand First women inside Cabinet, Robyn McDonald is second New Zealand First woman Minister outside Cabinet.

Radio commentators describing the official opening of parliament described the colourfulness of the opposition ranks in parliament, and remarked that the ranks of the Coalition benches were still overwhelmingly populated by men in dark suits.

I suppose one must ask the question "did women voters get what they voted for?" - in terms of party representation if not executive power.

My colleagues Stephen Levine, Jonathan Boston, Elizabeth McLeay, and Nigel Roberts, conducted a survey in the week before the election to determine, among other things, voters intentions by gender. What they discovered was fascinating. It will be published in due course in suitable detail, but I have their permission to summarise their findings here.

New Zealand First and the Alliance had the least statistically significant gender differences in their voting. Of those intending to vote for New Zealand First, 49.5% were men and 50.5% women, and for the Alliance 49.2% were men and 50.8% were women. Male/female voting preferences for National were only marginally more significant, viz, 53.7% to 46.3%.

However, when we look at who intended to vote Labour a huge differential is found; only 38.6% were men while 61.4% were women. Am I alone in suspecting that this reflects not just the enthusiasm of liberal-minded women for Helen Clark (and the possibility of our first woman Prime Minister), but the aversion of working class blokes to a woman leader?

Finally, when we look at who intended voting for ACT, the gender gap becomes a yawning chasm. Of those who stated their preference for ACT, 83.6% were men and only 16.4%

were women. Richard Prebble and his team have a job on their hands to convince women they are gender friendly.

In other countries, politicians seem to have become much more aware than many of our home-grown products of gender slippage in voting patterns. For instance, both Bob Hawke and Bill Clinton owed their elevation to power to women voting disproportionately for them rather than their opponents. When our party bosses have finished reading the entrails of our first MMP election - and when they stop congratulating themselves on having done better in terms of ethnic diversity than hitherto - they might well stop to ask themselves if they could have done better by way of gender equity. If they don't ask the question, they might well get an answer they don't like from future women voters.

\*\*\*\*\*

## WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? THE 1996 NATIONAL/NEW ZEALAND FIRST COALITION GOVERNMENT

\*\*\*\*\*

by **ELIZABETH MCLEAY**  
Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington

In December 1996, the National and NZ First negotiators agreed that the larger party would have 15 ministers inside cabinet and two outside, while the smaller one would have five inside and four outside.<sup>1</sup> The new cabinet as from 16 December included one woman. How was it possible for the first general election under proportional representation to produce a Parliament comprising 29 percent women whilst only one woman would sit at the cabinet table? Even when the ministers outside cabinet are included, women comprised only 15 percent of the National NZ First ministry. No Maori women were in the Coalition Government.

---

<sup>1</sup>In a highly unusual coalition agreement, the ratio would change in October 1998, giving eight seats inside cabinet and three outside to NZ First. See J. Boston and E. McLeay, 'Forming the First MMP Government: Theory, Practice and Prospects', in J. Boston, S. Levine, E. McLeay, and N.S. Roberts, *From Campaign to Coalition: New Zealand's First General Election Under Proportional Representation*, forthcoming, 1997. This paper is part of a three year research programme, *The New Zealand Political Change Project*. The other researchers are Stephen Levine (Director), Jonathan Boston, and Nigel S. Roberts. The researchers wish to thank the Foundation for Research on Science and Technology for their financial support, and Leigh Ward for her assistance with the data. Thanks are also due to Margaret Cousins and Rae Nicholl for their helpful comments.

## The National Ministers

The National Party caucus totalled 44, only eight of whom were women. Jim Bolger had a problem - how to shrink the National ministry from 24 (including four outside cabinet) to 17 while also promoting backbench MPs. Bolger's predicament was eased by the retirement from Parliament of three ministers (all male) and the resignation from cabinet (but not Parliament) of John Banks. Peter Dunne, the only United minister in the National/United coalition, was predictably not reappointed and Doug Kidd took the Speakership. Four ministers were not reappointed, including Katherine O'Regan, a minister outside cabinet. Jenny Shipley, by 1996 a very senior minister, remained in cabinet where she had been the sole woman since Ruth Richardson's departure after the 1993 election. Two new National ministers appeared in cabinet, both men, and two ministers were appointed to outside cabinet positions. One of these was Christine Fletcher, who took over Women's Affairs from Shipley. This meant that women's interests were excluded from direct representation at cabinet, a very real disadvantage for the small Ministry.

Thus National's contribution to governing under MMP was to retain the status quo insofar as the male/female composition of the ministry was concerned, and worsen the situation in terms of the position of Women's Affairs. The question to ask on the former issue is whether or not Bolger had any real choice. Whilst Fletcher's elevation was not unexpected, the dismissal of O'Regan, a much less outspoken and rather more loyal member of the National team, was surprising.<sup>2</sup> Were there other women who might have been promoted? The only other contenders were Marie Hasler, who had returned to Parliament having served between 1990 and 1993, and Joy McLauuchlan, a relatively strong candidate who was passed over.<sup>3</sup> Although National had three new women in Parliament who came in at the 1996 election, there were no other women MPs with parliamentary experience. (The only woman elected in 1993 had been Pauline Gardiner who had shifted to United during 1993-1996, to be defeated in 1996). Unless Bolger was to emulate Peters and promote brand new parliamentarians (Georgina Te Heu Heu, a coalition negotiator, for example, or Pansy Wong), he did not have a wide choice of women for his ministerial team. Given the fierce competition for places, it was scarcely conceivable that Bolger would have ignored one of the few unarguable criteria for selection: seniority. Furthermore, as pointed out below, there was no established principle of gender representation in National cabinets that would have worked towards promoting more women. Indeed, for many years there were no women in National cabinets (see the Table).<sup>4</sup>

## The New Zealand First Ministers

The seniority rule for the NZ First selector, Winston Peters, was simpler. Everyone in his caucus of 17 who had *any* experience, whatever their past political affiliation or executive experience (or lack of it), would take one of the five NZ First cabinet posts. This took care

---

<sup>2</sup>Katherine O'Regan had stood unsuccessfully for the Waipa mayoralty, however, perhaps an indication that she had become less interested in central government.

<sup>3</sup>Hasler became an Assistant Speaker; McLauuchlan took the chair of a select committee.

<sup>4</sup>Another factor might be the National Party culture which has not been supportive of women either outside or inside Parliament.

of Peters himself, his Deputy Tau Henare (and in any case the obvious contender for Maori Affairs), Peter McCardle, and Jack Elder. John Delamere was catapulted directly into cabinet without prior backbench experience. The four positions outside the cabinet were allocated equally to males and females: two each, all parliamentary notices. One of the women, Deborah Morris, was the youngest minister ever to serve in a New Zealand administration. The other woman was Robyn McDonald. Out of the caucus of 13 men and four women, seven men and two women became ministers. Peters had promoted women and men in rough proportions to their numbers in the NZ First caucus. But no woman went into cabinet itself. And as the NZ First Maori contingent were all male, there was no opportunity for that party to contribute a Maori woman to the new administration.

### **Women in a Labour/New Zealand First Ministry?**

Would women have done better in a Labour/NZ First government? I shall assume (a) that a ministry would have been the same size as the agreed National/NZ First one;<sup>5</sup> (b) that Winston Peters would have chosen the same people as above; and (c) that women would have been elected as ministers by the Labour caucus in roughly the same proportion as they were present in the parliamentary caucus. This last assumption is a fair one, since it is based on Labour's 1984-1990 record in government.

The first two places in Labour's complement of fifteen seats in cabinet would have been taken by the Leader, Helen Clark, and the Deputy, Michael Cullen. There were 37 MPs in the Labour caucus, including thirteen women (disappointing, given Labour's record). Of course, we cannot know exactly who would have been elected to the remaining thirteen places in cabinet and appointed to the two outside.<sup>6</sup> Excluding Clark and Cullen, there were nine women and 19 men eligible for cabinet posts by virtue of having spent at least three years in Parliament. (It would not have been impossible for a new MP to have been promoted, especially one of the Maori MPs, a man or a woman, but I have not included them in the calculation.) Several of the women had previously been ministers and/or prominent spokespersons, including Annette King, Lianne Dalziel, and Dianne Yates. The competition for ministerial posts would have been intense, but women would surely have filled at least one third of Labour's ministerial positions. Of course, the final proportion of women in a Labour/NZ First ministry would have been lower, diluted by the NZ First contingent.

As a footnote to this latter scenario, had Labour gained more seats than they did at the 1996 election and formed a single party minority government, women would have been represented strongly in the ministry. But our representation would have been no stronger than in a Labour contribution to a Labour/NZ First government because, although the proportion of women in caucus would have been higher, the seniority criterion would have ruled out most of them. However, if there had been (improbably) a Labour/Alliance government, women would have been fairly represented in the political executive. The Alliance had easily the most gender-balanced list of all the parties which contested the 1996 general election.

---

<sup>5</sup>During the negotiations, Labour agreed to a cabinet of 15, in accordance with NZ First's election manifesto policy.

<sup>6</sup>Although in Labour the cabinet is elected, the Prime Minister appoints the ministers outside cabinet.



Indeed, women gained seven of the thirteen seats which Alliance actually won. As a new party the Alliance, like NZ First, would have been unconstrained by the criterion of prior parliamentary experience.

### **Cabinet and Women's Representation**

The 1996 coalition cabinet shows just how much women's representation in government depends on fair and equal selection promotions at the candidate level stage of the political 'opportunity structure'. Until women are selected for safe constituency seats and high list places in comparable numbers to men they cannot effectively challenge men for promotion to high political office. The NZ First women ministers who went straight into cabinet, like the men lacking in parliamentary experience, must be viewed as historical aberrations. Once the relatively new parties become institutionalised into Parliament, with the resulting established career paths of years of legislative service, women, again like the men, will scarcely ever be able to move directly from the hustings into a position as a Minister of the Crown. Women will continue to need safe seats to acquire seniority and, hence, eligibility for promotion.

Historically, there have been marked differences between the Labour and National parties' treatment of women. Plainly, from the 1970s onwards, National was slower to adapt to the demands from women for political equality than was Labour. This pattern persisted for the first MMP election, as is shown elsewhere in this issue of the *Newsletter*.<sup>7</sup> The difference has also been evident when parliamentary careers are considered, for the pool of female talent available to National prime ministers, although smaller than the Labourites have produced, has certainly produced women of ministerial calibre who have not made it into cabinet, whereas men of equivalent or less experience have been promoted. So, although the supply of experienced women MPs is obviously the most important factor in understanding women's parliamentary promotion, party attitudes towards gender issues have also been influential. In the years when there was only a handful of women in the House of Representatives, Labour believed that, in order to represent women in society, there should be at least one woman in cabinet. There is no evidence that this attitude was present in National.<sup>8</sup>

Representativeness can easily be decried as 'mere tokenism', but this underestimates the extent to which the criterion of representativeness can work on behalf of women's equality. First, when parties believed that there must be female representation, women gained the opportunity to prove themselves. Second, the representativeness criterion can establish valuable expectations that serve to shape politicians' behaviour so that able women, as they enter the legislature in increasing numbers, are less easily discriminated against and deterred from going to the top. It is (or was) an important route to the destination of full and fair political representation. This is why it is always a mistake to belittle the representative criterion - whether relating to sex or ethnicity - as 'merely symbolic'. Symbolic

---

<sup>7</sup>This is also the topic of research in progress by Margaret Cousins, Elizabeth McLeay, and Rae Nicholl.

<sup>8</sup>E.M. McLeay, 'Parliamentary Careers in a Two-Party System: Cabinet Selection in New Zealand', PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1978; and *The Cabinet and Political Power in New Zealand* (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1995).



representation, although of course insufficient in itself, has had an important role to play in changing cultural and institutional expectations.

Party processes might also impact on cabinet composition, for when one person chooses, that person is (a) likely to be less aware of representative criteria outside the immediate political necessities and (b) intent on gathering together loyal supporters and mates. Furthermore, when caucuses vote, women have the opportunity (which of course they might not take) of supporting women for cabinet posts. Patterns of cabinet selection are the products of institutional and party culture and processes, as well as being influenced by the type of electoral system. But when caucuses are evenly comprised of women and men it will be impossible to deny women their cabinet places.

It would of course be ludicrous to suggest that cabinets should be constructed of men and women in precise proportions to the composition of the caucuses from which they are drawn. Men and women perform variously in legislatures and there are disappointing performances amongst the members of both sexes in every intake. It is vitally important, however, that women are represented in cabinet, and that cabinets represent women much better than they do at present.

(For table related to this article, please turn to back of Newsletter)

\*\*\*\*\*

## BOOK REVIEWS

\*\*\*\*\*

**Judith Devaliant, *Elizabeth Yates: The First Lady Mayor in the British Empire*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing Ltd, 1996**  
 reviewed by JEAN DRAGE, Wellington

We live in times when increasing numbers of women are being elected to political office at both central and local government levels and when the possibility of New Zealand having its first woman Prime Minister could almost become a reality in the not too distant future. To date, we have had 64 women MPs in New Zealand, 36 of whom are in parliament in this 1996-99 term.<sup>1</sup> In local government there have been 42 women mayors so far, 15 of whom are presently in office. And we have 306 women councillors in office in the 1995-98 local authority electoral period, this being 27% of the total number of councillors. Such times invite comparisons with the past and this we can do with Judith Devaliant's recently published book on Elizabeth Yates, the first elected woman politician in this country.

---

<sup>1</sup>This number includes Annabel Young, a National party list candidate, who has become an MP since the 1996 election due to Jim Gerard's resignation.

As New Zealand's first woman mayor and the first woman ever elected to a local government seat, Elizabeth Yates is a significant figure in our political history. Elizabeth was elected mayor of the Onehunga Borough Council in the Auckland area in 1893, the same year in which women gained the right to vote in parliamentary elections. In fact, she was elected mayor on 29 November, one day after women had voted for the first time in a parliamentary election. Women who owned property had been able to both vote and stand as candidates in local authority elections since 1876. Through a detailed account of Elizabeth's time in office, Devaliant provides us, on the one hand, with a rarely seen insight into the local government scene in the latter part of the last century, and on the other, with a clear description of the intense antipathy of the time towards women in public positions.

Devaliant approaches her subject in an engaging way by initially providing us with background detail on Elizabeth's family origins as well as the beginnings of the Onehunga borough. She shows how the issues that developed over time in this community set the scene for Elizabeth's time in office. Having grown up in Onehunga and inherited money from her mother, Elizabeth invested in property. This enabled her to participate in local government elections which, at that time, were held annually. She stood for mayor in 1893 after having been mayoress for four years. With her husband, Michael, she was actively involved in the community and had strong views on local issues.

The two major issues that focused the minds of those governing this small borough, almost from the times of its establishment, centred on public health - a safe water supply and a new cemetery to counter problems of overcrowding. Much of the debate that surrounded these issues focused on whether large loans should be taken out to cover the costs of these major works or not and whether ratepayers should have a say in such decisions. The level of debt that should be entered into stimulated much public debate; not too dissimilar to debate within local communities today. Those arguing for the immediacy of projects included John Jackson and Dr Erson, both of whom had been involved in borough affairs for a long time, while Yates advocated saving for major works, with the consequence that they were portrayed as obstructing Onehunga's progress. Thus, a pattern of controversy was well established between these two camps by the time Elizabeth became mayor. This controversy, coupled with the often stormy commentary that resulted from a woman being elected to this position, set the scene for Elizabeth's year as the presiding member of this local authority.

Devaliant walks the reader through this year, detailing first the election, the council meetings, the issues debated and the decisions made. What is clear is that everything Elizabeth did drew a reaction. As Devaliant puts it "[s]he had to assert her authority and establish a good relationship with the councillors, but she was working in a blaze of publicity which made no allowance for her inexperience or the novelty of her position" (p 58). She set out to contain spending and this, coupled with the continued opposition from Jackson and others on council, led to her being labelled "dictatorial" and "arrogant", the focus being on her performance as a woman rather than on council business. Although women politicians have gained greater acceptance one hundred years later, we can still see some parallels. Former mayor of Wellington, Fran Wilde, was often called a "bully" by a media that also speculated on the difficulties she would have in working alongside a woman general manager. As Fran said, "if two men had to work together like we do, would anyone have asked how they'd get on? I think that attitude is pure sexism because of our gender, not our

personalities. People just assume that men will hold these jobs".<sup>2</sup> Helen Clark, leader of the Labour party, is another woman who since becoming the leader of a major political party has faced much criticism of her leadership style. As Devaliant points out, Elizabeth "was a businesslike person who wanted to get on and get things done" (p 91) and history has shown that she achieved many of her goals, but these achievements occurred in the face of many inside and outside the council using her gender to continually point to the perils of having a woman in such a position.

Unfortunately for Devaliant, her sources for this research were limited by the lack of personal historical material. Therefore much of this book has had to be based on newspaper reports of council business and, as she points out, the bias in many of these sources is strong. Many published centennial histories of local authorities show early council meetings were often treated as sources of public entertainment by local communities with large audiences turning up to hear the debate. Clearly the attraction of having a woman mayor added to this.

The significance of this book is in the view we get of representation and governance within a political institution. By taking this approach, Devaliant has broadened the picture of Elizabeth Yates as more than a mayor who was subject to many trials while in office because she was a woman, to put her in a context in which the issues of the time were as significant as the way in which she governed.

This is an interesting book to read. I recommend you put it on your reading list.

Jocelyne Scutt, *Living Generously: Women Mentoring Women*, Melbourne, Artemis, 1996.

reviewed by ELIZABETH SHANNON (in WAPSAnews)  
Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania

"Traditionally, mentoring is seen as involving a person in a position of power in the 'public sphere' (the world of paid work and public office) encouraging one further down the hierarchy, 'showing the ropes' to the person positioned at a lower status... It is about the mentor always remaining in the more powerful position. It is about the mentored always remaining in a 'beholden' position to the mentor."

Jocelyne Scutt challenges this definition and offers an alternative vision: that of 'Living Generously'. This 'new way' is illustrated through example in this collection of stories from 25 women. Some of these women are well known to you (such as Joan Kirner, Natasha Stott Despoja and Kay Saunders) and this is a fascinating glimpse into their personal processes of growth. Some are less well-known, but still touch familiar chords with their stories.

"That women live generously is worth celebrating, for there is so much in patriarchal social organisation that is designed to drive wedges between women and to make mean souls of us all... Every woman who works collectively and individually for women's rights and the betterment of humanity will also have faced, at one time or another, that gulf that yawns before us - the trench of petty meanness into which we might so easily fall".

---

<sup>2</sup>Rosemary McLeod, 'Wilde about Wellington', *North and South*, May 1993, p 106.

I have to say that I enjoyed some of the stories more than others. Some of the women are skilled writers or 'born' story tellers and their lives are vividly drawn upon the page. Others tend to list their accomplishments (or that of their group) like it was some sort of shopping list or Dole Diary... More than anything I bought this book because I needed a 'lift', some inspiration to get me through what seemed a particularly tough week in the emotional landscape. It certainly did that! I'll leave you with some of Scutt's closing essay:

"All women in positions of power stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before them. All stand on the shoulders of women of the past who fought (most often without reward or recognition) for their own rights and the rights of all women. All stand on the shoulders of women of the present who continue the struggle".

"All women who survive in a patriarchal world do so by our own strength, through the strength of the women who have marched before us, and by the strength of the women marching alongside us".

"Women who recognise this, who understand and appreciate it, cannot but develop a drive to emulate those earlier women and their compatriots. Women who do so are, in turn, women who live generously. Generous women are the women who provide, as far as they are able, room on the steps of the ladder, space on the stairs. They are women who work toward the goal of ensuring that there are so many spaces on the steps and the stairs that we will stand on tiers that stretch for miles".

*International Review of Women and Leadership* 2(1), Special Issue: Women and Politics, Marian Sawyer (ed) (Orders can be forwarded to Edith Cowan University: contact Ali Crooke, Churchlands Campus, Pearson Street, Churchlands, Western Australia 6018, tel (09) 273 8136, fax (09) 273 8181, email: irwl@cowan.edu.au)  
 reviewed by ELIZABETH SHANNON (in WAPSAnews)  
 Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania

"When women lead, when they contribute and articulate their purposes in society, it seems to me increasingly that the individual woman and the community of women work together in a fresh and radical way. This method of dialogue and co-operation blurs the old distinctions and heals the old divisions. Women may well be establishing a new kind of leadership. One which does away with the old traditional relation between the individual and the group. One that is enabling and powering of the individual and the group" (Mary Robinson, President of Ireland).

Mary Robinson is one of the few self-identified feminists to ever achieve the highest office of their country. She follows in the footsteps of earlier Irish feminists such as Constance de Markievicz who, in 1918, was elected to British Parliament and, in 1919, became Minister for Labour in the Irish government of 1919-1921. The *International Review of Women and Leadership* has recently released a special issue on Women and Politics, to commemorate another trail-blazer for women. This year is the 75th anniversary of the election of the first woman to an Australian Parliament: Edith Cowan. Guest Editor Marian Sawyer introduces six papers and several shorter articles and reviews which explore women's political leadership in a thoughtful, and thought-provoking manner. This review will use some of the

themes identified by Sawer, in her introductory essay, to provide an overview of the issue's contents.

Sawer points to a number of contradictions which have structured the discourse of women's political representation in historical and contemporary times. Historically, there was a perception that the issues which brought Australian women into parliament were above party politics: women represented their sex and their independent consciences (the 'non-party idea'). This conflicted with the very pragmatic need for political women to build partnerships within the existing system. In contemporary times this may have turned almost full circle; at least this is what Manon Tremblay found when comparing the perceptions of male and female mayors in Quebec, Canada. Tremblay identified very few feminist sympathisers amongst mayors of either sex, leading to the conclusion that women's 'substantive representation' requires more than mere, numerical improvements.

Numerical improvements of another sort was the subject of Kate Sullivan's article on the American EMILY'S List project. Launched in 1982, this ground-breaking scheme has enabled increasing numbers of women to gain political office. EMILY'S List targets "viable pro-choice Democratic women candidates who are campaigning for key federal and statewide offices" thus avoiding the dilemma identified by Tremblay. In Australia, we have not yet established a similar strategy, and women in politics remain a minority. Yet, as Sawer indicates, there is a strong expectation that those women will transform the political culture of parliament. This 'double bind' is specifically referred to by Sharon Broughton and Di Zetlin in their article on women in the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in Queensland. They underline the minority status of women by pointing out that even though women make up less than 20 percent of current politicians, this is more than half the total number of women ever elected in Australia. Unlike Tremblay they found that women did 'make a difference'. The women in their study held 'reformist', rather than 'adaptive' orientations, affecting their legislative and parliamentary roles. This feminist and transformational approach reflects the 'overt policy agenda' of the ALP which has instituted formal internal mechanisms to close the 'gender gap' in representation and 'achieve organisational change'.

Sawer states that the concept of women and politics in Australia has gone far beyond formal representation in parliament. Australian feminists have gone into the public sector and out into the community to express political action. Sawer's comments echo the points made by Mary Robinson at the conference of women leaders in 1992 and these are investigated more fully in the article by Wendy Weeks. This examines the leadership 'aspirations, styles and practises' of the coordinators of feminist women's services in Australia. Weeks' evidence suggests that this is an overtly political process by which these women were 'breaking new organisational development ground' and 'initiating new practices, processes, and structures which were women-friendly'. Eileen Baldry makes similar points in her article. Tracing the role of particular women leaders, she suggests that 'women's community activism' has fundamentally affected the values, processes and outcomes of the consumer movement'. Defined as 'a social movement concerned with the rights of people who purchase and consume products and services' this is politics at grass roots level.

The effect of feminism on ostensibly non-feminist issues and organisations relates to another conflict identified by Sawer. Women in politics are often faced with the choice between representing 'women as women' and representing women as members of a class,

race/ethnicity, or ideological grouping. Yet the greater the intensity of this conflict the more debilitating for elected women caught, as they say in Ireland, between 'the womb and the border'. In Hanna Herzog's discussion of the political culture of gender in Israel, she argues that while Israeli women are treated by their society as a 'social category', this is not seen as a valid basis for political action in a system dominated by religious nationalism.

The constraining effects of 'maternal feminism', where women were seen to take their traditional domestic roles into the public sphere, is also commented on by Sawer. The physical difficulty of the real-life 'double burden' falls heavily on the shoulders of political women. The fight for 'family-friendly' sitting hours and child care facilities in state and national parliaments has not yet been won. Although this review started with the inspiring example of women like de Markievicz, who was probably the first woman to hold a cabinet position, Ireland did not see another female minister until Maire Geoghegan-Quinn took up the Ministry for the Gaeltacht in 1979. Politics has been constructed as a 'man's game' and few women have managed to get past the gate-keepers to reach the final goal and score a few points.

But what of the women who do? Chilla Bulbeck provides a short historical note on what might be called 'the politics of memorials to women in politics'. The Edith Cowan clock tower, outside Kings Park in Perth, Western Australia is one of the relatively small number of Australian monuments dedicated to women. It was the result of some heated debate in 1932 and an interesting example of cultural iconography in 1996. On a more contemporary note, Judith Homeshaw and Marian Sawer finish this special issue with some reviews of recent books on women in politics.

\*\*\*\*\*

## CONFERENCE REPORTS

\*\*\*\*\*

### **POLITICAL WOMEN FROM THE PACIFIC AND ASIA MEET IN FIJI**

by **RAE NICHOLL** and **MARGARET COUSINS**,

Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington.

About 60 women from throughout the Pacific and parts of Asia gathered in Fiji for two back-to-back international conferences in November 1996. The countries attending were Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Tonga, Cook Islands, Palau, Western Samoa, Vanuatu, Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Fiji, Bangladesh, India, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Korea, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan and Nepal. The second WIPPAC Congress and the third CAPWIP Congress were held in a Fijian resort hotel on the beautiful Coral Coast.

For those of us who don't have an inbuilt dictionary of acronyms - a virtual necessity when you are dealing with the Pacific - the meanings are:

**WIPPAC** stands for **Women in Politics Pacific Centre**. This is the project for which the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Suva is, for an interim period, the regional focal point. Beneath WIPPAC each Pacific country has, or is in the process of establishing a WIP (Women in Politics Project). The Fiji WIP is supported by the National Council of women, Fiji. This year, Fiji WIP campaigned vigorously and succeeded in getting a number of women elected to local government.

**CAPWIP** stands for **Congress for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics**. Women who come from a wide range of sectors from countries in the Asia/Pacific region meet annually. Their agenda is to work for gender equality in politics. Established in 1992, CAPWIP is based in the Philippines. It operates through a network of national affiliates which are clustered into five sub-regional groupings. WIPPAC is CAPWIP's sub-regional grouping of Pacific affiliates.

The theme of both of the 1996 congresses was "Why Women? What Politics? The Power of the Women Electorate".

The WIPPAC Congress began with a review of National WIP activities for each Pacific country. This was followed by a presentation by Jean Drage, an independent researcher from Wellington. Jean has been working for four years on documenting the political fortunes of women in the Pacific and is now compiling an extensive database which will be of immense value to everyone interested in the advancement of women in the Pacific. Her presentation was followed by a paper given by Rae Nicholl and Margaret Cousins from Victoria University, Wellington. Their work analysed the effect of New Zealand's change of voting from first-past-the-post to a mixed-member proportional system on the political representation of women in Parliament. Other key New Zealand participants were ex-parliamentarian and cabinet minister, the Hon. Margaret Shields, and ex-parliamentarian, Dr Marilyn Waring.

The WIPPAC Congress broke into working groups to undertake a Pacific assessment of the UN Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. All of the Pacific countries attending were signatories so it was important for WIPPAC to seek to develop strategies to further the political empowerment of women in Pacific countries.

These strategies were developed during workshop training, which covered negotiation skills, gender awareness, political organisation and campaign strategies and making parliamentary procedures more gender responsive.

At the first WIPPAC Congress in July 1995, it was envisaged that WIPPAC would rotate three yearly on a sub-regional basis: Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia. However, at the 1996 Congress it became clear from the country reports that WIPs are developing more slowly than originally envisaged, mainly due to a lack of resources, and were not in a position to undertake such an obligation. This became apparent when the Western Samoan National Council of Women, who had agreed to host WIPPAC for the next three years, decided that it was not yet developed sufficiently to do so. In the meantime, WIPPAC will remain as a UNIFEM project, headquartered in Fiji.



It was recommended that WIPPAC act as a regional co-ordinator of WIP activities, disseminating information, developing training opportunities for women interested in politics at all levels and maintaining the database, developed by Jean Drage, on Pacific women's political participation.

Also suggested was the idea that WIPPAC, in conjunction with WIPs, investigate the need for a constitution, particularly if drafting one would assist with future funding and stability. A further issue requiring clarity was the future WIPPAC/CAPWIP relationship.

New Zealand's Ambassador to Fiji, Suzanne Blumhardt, gave the closing address to WIPPAC and opened CAPWIP. Like WIPPAC, CAPWIP assessed its progress and strategies over the past year in relation to the political empowerment of women.

CAPWIP's broad objectives are to:

- provide a broad-based forum on women in politics for sharing experiences and insights, discussing issues, analysing the situation of women in the region vis-a-vis women's rights and generating ideas that are relevant to Asia/Pacific women's programme for transformative politics;
- serve as the regional body to formulate policies, platforms for action, and strategic objectives for the advancement of women in politics;
- increase women's participation in political leadership and governance;
- affirm the commitment of a critical mass of competent women in politics, especially among women public officials who are either elected or appointed into office and the women electorate as a whole, to promote transformative politics and to achieve gender balance in the regional political leadership and governance.

Considerable time at CAPWIP was spent on developing their vision statement which is:

**The Overall Vision:**

- a world of ideals and dreams for both women and men
- a world of "Aroha" - happiness, compassion, dignity and mutual respect
- a world which facilitates environments based on gender sensitive laws
- a world of opportunity whereby sharing resources, rich with poor, men with women, at all levels are not only possible but real
- a world where women and men are aware of mutual needs and continually informed
- a world of cumulative co-operation, universal understanding and knowledge, equal opportunity, free and fearless environment, access to education and literacy
- a world of gender equality achieved by getting equal representation to women, with continuing support of just, gender-balanced social political order
- a world of democracy for all based on equitable distribution of resources
- a world where political culture is based on economic independence and free choice
- a world of transparent linkage in the political system and its economic system
- a world of motivation and conviction for all women working for change

CAPWIP also developed a vision statement on the women electorate envisaging a commitment to the advancement of women along with a women oriented agenda for that electorate.

**'WOMEN IN THE 90S AND BEYOND' - NEW ZEALAND WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE - 7-9 FEBRUARY 1997, MASSEY UNIVERSITY, PALMERSTON NORTH**

by JANE SCOTT

Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland

A beautiful garden setting provided by the Massey University campus and a well-run, relaxed conference organised by women from Palmerston North's Books for Women and Massey's Women's Studies department - that's the general impression I have of my attendance (for the first time ever) at a NZWSA conference. I went along as an observer, not a paper-giver, to see what is happening in New Zealand feminism vis women's groups and activists, teachers, and creative women. Well, a lot is happening, and I only managed to see a miniscule amount - there were an abundance of papers, workshops, and talk between the Friday night and the Sunday afternoon.

We all gathered together in the Humanities auditorium on Friday evening for a mihi by Ephra Garret (Te Ati Awa), Mina McKenzie (Ragitane), Margaret Walsh (Ngati Raukawa), women from the Maori Women's Welfare League, and Lynne Alice (Women's Studies). It was a warm welcome. This was followed by a keynote panel, comprising 'young' women who in varied ways addressed that seemingly perennial and worrying issue: feminism is passe; daughters of the 'second wave' are simply not interested, or, if they are, then just not in the 'right' way. We know the story - 'I'm not a feminist but...', 'do-it-yourself' feminism, 'post-feminism', etc, etc. Well, these young women put paid to all this - optimistic, enthusiastic, motivated - these women (and there are more where they come from) are politically active and radical and devote their time and energy to a broad range of issues. Aside from being impressed with the determination and courage of these women, I found the discussion to be extremely uplifting, and a partial antidote to my own sense of pessimism over the prospects for social change.

Saturday morning, again altogether in the auditorium, Mina McKenzie and Ephra Garrett gave moving presentations - they had worked so hard in their long lives and remained committed and full of vitality throughout. Both Mina and Ephra had worked for the Maori Affairs Department in the early days. Mina was the first woman to direct a museum in the early 1970s and Ephra developed the first Women's Studies courses. Mina spoke of media stereotyping of Maori and the downgrading of Maori art from colonisation to the present. She spoke of the high status of elderly women historically in Maori culture. And she spoke of the need for a unique Aotearoa identity, a shared culture - Maori are already bicultural, they enter the Pakeha world every day and are aware of doing so; Pakeha, too, are touched by Maori presence/society, they just need to recognise it. Ephra spoke of hostility to the elderly, especially women - we recognised immediately what she meant when she reeled off a list of keywords - 'wrinklies', 'greedies', 'old bags', 'burdens', 'useless', 'using up welfare', etc. She spoke of ageism as a key women's issue, given that women live longer than men, but are likely to have fewer resources for retirement. She spoke of the particular problems faced by Maori women - lower life expectancy, fewer resources. Yet Maori women are valued if they are active in the Maori community; their roles actually expand (while those of elderly Pakeha women contract) in terms of leadership and support. They are seen as useful, as contributing to the continuity of Maori society. Ephra said that 'we're

often referred to as the Aunties' and 'our presence gives Mana and grace' to any occasion. She ended with the request that research be conducted NOW on the situation of the elderly - on health, adequate incomes, social contacts, and bi-cultural resthomes.

Phillida Bunkle's critique of New Zealand's market model, Prue Hyman's critique of orthodox economics, and Anne Else's summary (presented by Alison Carew) of her book *False Economy* pointed to issues which must be further explored in any subsequent focus on 'Women in the 90s and Beyond'. It is often noted that contemporary feminist research paradigms have shifted from exploring the sexual division of labour and the world of work to analyses of identity and culture. I would argue that the former should not be deemed passe. The themes referred to in the papers by Phillida, Prue, and Anne suggest that it is time (long overdue) to revisit the structural causes of poverty, in particular the political economy of the work/welfare interface - remembering that we have been witnessing in the last decade in New Zealand an assault on those in receipt of social welfare assistance, and changing patterns and conditions (dualisation and casualisation) of women's paid work. A plurality of critiques, activities, and visions were displayed at the conference - and this is healthy. At the same time, I don't think we should be averse to proposing an organising theme for future discussions, since this might assist the process of carrying ideas through to action. Speaking of action, Susan Hawthorne (Communication and Language Studies, Victoria University, Melbourne) presented a fascinating paper on Cyberfeminism. Involved in feminist publishing (Spinifex), she took part in the establishment of a home page on the internet to connect globally with feminists. Susan pointed to both the radical possibilities and the disturbing limits of electronic politics. She argued that activism could be promoted via an 'electronic community', but that a real world local community must remain.

Selection of papers presented (not including workshops; conference proceedings will be available from WSA, PO Box 509, Palmerston North):

'Voice and the Burden of Representation'(Maori women's voices under postcolonialism) Donna Matahaere, Community and Family Studies, Otago University

'Living in the Worst of Both Worlds'(women with partners in prison), Lesley MacGibbon, Christchurch

'Older Women in Early Childhood Education', Margaret Nicholls, Early Childhood Studies, University of Waikato

'The Uses and Limits of Orthodox Economists Concepts of Value: A Preliminary Feminist Evaluation', Prue Hyman, Economics, Victoria University of Wellington

'What did Margaret Mead really do in Samoa?', Hilary Lapsley, Women's and Gender Studies, University of Waikato

'Difference: the way sisters perceive this aspect of their relationship', Jenny Neale, Applied Social Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington

'Androgyny or Continuing Colonisation? A study of similarity/difference issues for male and female New Zealand Managers', Su Olsson, Human Resource Management, Massey University

'Fly Away Home: Why Women Leave Organisations and form Home-based Businesses', Nicola Jose Freitas Armstrong, Sociology, Massey University

'Feminism and the Child Sexual Abuse Debate', Annabel Cooper, Women's Studies, University of Otago.

'Women and NZ Divorce Laws: what have we got? What do we want? How do we get it?', Lynne Dempsey, Divorce Equity, Rotorua

'Healing the Wounds of War in El Salvador: a lesson for gender and development practice in post-conflict environments', Helen Leslie, Development Studies, Massey University

'Cinema of Rebellion: is there a tradition of challenge in women's film in Aotearoa/New Zealand?', Deborah Shepard, Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland

'What Price Post-colonialism - Women in Sub-Saharan Africa?', Ruth Margerison, Lincoln University, Canterbury.

'Women's Grassroots Horizons: strategies for success in empowerment with case studies from selected countries', Wilhelmina Drummond, Human Development Studies, Massey University.

'Dilemmas of Difference in Pakeha Feminist Collective Organising', Jane Vanderpyl, Women's Studies, University of Auckland.

'Feminist Methodology', Gail Spence, Havelock North High School, Havelock North

'The Films of Annie Goldson: fragments and cyberconversations', Lynne Star, Media Studies, Massey University

'(Hetero)sexualities in postmodern worlds: some reflections', Rosemary Du Plessis, Sociology, University of Canterbury.

'Breaking the Rationalist Knowledge Stranglehold: futurist feminist research strategies for social change', Ngaire Lewis, Dunedin.

'Teaching Post Structuralist Feminist Theory in Education: Student Resistances', Alison Jones, Education, University of Auckland

'Menopause: Making Multiplicity Meaningful', Elizabeth Cornford, Sociology, Massey University, Palmerston North

'Someone Else's Gender? Searching for the woman in transsexual autobiographies', Denise J Bates, Women's Studies, University of Waikato.

'Hot Property 3: cancer as spectacle, an analysis of illness as art', Lynne Alice, Women's Studies, Massey University.

'Television's Intervention in the Campaign to Prevent Domestic Violence in New Zealand', C Kay Weaver, Film and Television Studies, University of Waikato.

'(Re)Presentations of Whiteness/Control and Pakehatanga', Jenny Collett, Department Studies, Massey University.

'Cyberfeminism: theorising the immaterial', Susan Hawthorne, Communication and Language Studies, Victoria University, Melbourne.

'Three Passionate Women: experiences of learning and educating about violence against women', Catherin Bray, Women's Studies, Massey University, Pamela Cordes, Manawatu Women's Learning Group, Julie Cuttance, P.N. Women's Refuge.

'From Vision to Reality, a thirteen year journey creating and sustaining a feminist health centre', Palmerston North Women's Health Collective'.

'Sexism in the Sex Change Industry? The case of the female to male transsexual', Sylvia Baynes, Auckland.

'A Crack in the Imperial Text: Constructions of 'White Women' at The Intersections of Feminisms and Colonialisms', Jenny Coleman, Women's Studies, Massey University.

'Cyberfiction: a Fictional Journal into Cyberspace', Beryl Fletcher, Rotorua.

'Romancing the Millennium: Representations of identity in popular scientific theory', Louise Allen, Film and Television Studies, University of Waikato.

'For Her Eyes Only: male strippers, women's pleasures and feminist politics', Sheryl Hann, Sociology, Massey University.

'Queer(y)ing the Family', Marti Hartley, Women's Studies, Massey University.

'Why do employers discriminate against women?', Celia Briar, Social Work & Social Policy, Massey University.

'Tohunga and Witches: gendered representations of Maori healing', Tricia Laing, History, Victoria University of Wellington.

'False Economy: the post-election reality check', Alison Carew offering Anne Else's paper.

'A Guide to Women in Politics for the 90s and Beyond', Jo Fitzpatrick, Women's Co-ordinator, NZ Labour Party. Resisting Market Paradigms in the 1990s', Phillida Bunkle, MP.

\*\*\*\*\*

## RESEARCH NEWS

\*\*\*\*\*

Completed theses:

Fiona McLaren, 'Ms Representation or Misrepresentation? The Ministry of Women's Affairs and Women's Interests, MA Research Essay, Auckland, 1995.

Sally Simmonds, 'A Critical Social and Feminist (Re)vision of the Political', MA Thesis, Auckland, 1997.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ROBIN'S NEWS

\*\*\*\*\*

This poor columnist has been suffering a bit of her own angst lately, so that she's hardly got the energy to string a single smart statement together. Herewith an angst-ridden column. And after all, it looks like a lot of people out there are suffering angst too! Helen Clark surely is. She made it to the cover of Time magazine, but didn't make it to Prime Minister, despite being touted as the first female, etc... Interestingly, last year she said there was 'something Freudian' about criticisms of her performance. She has been criticised for being too feminist, too radical, too intellectual, not connecting emotionally with people, and not having children. Do these people have 'a problem with their mother or something', she wondered?

Since this publication is a special election issue, let's take a backward glance. The new parliament has 35 women, up from 20, including New Zealand's first Asian MP, Pansy Wont (National). Prominent losers were Labour's Whetu Tirikatene Sullivan, Suzanne Sinclair, United's Pauline Gardiner, and Margaret Austin.

**Biggest winners of the election:** Deborah Morris, who became a policy analyst for New Zealand First in 1994 and has been closely involved in shaping policy issues for the Party ever since. She arrived in parliament as a list MP for New Zealand First and was then promoted over the top of Party Vice President Jenny Broxham and number 3 list candidate Ann Batten to a ministerial position (an outside Cabinet portfolio, Youth Affairs).

Christine Fletcher, who got the biggest ever majority in a New Zealand election at 20,642, was first elected in 1990 and is a National Party maverick, which is probably why she didn't get a cabinet post. As a minister outside parliament, she has the portfolios of Women's Affairs, Cultural Affairs, and Local Government. Rumour has it that she's planning to run for the Auckland mayoralty somewhere down the track.

Jenny Shipley, the only woman in cabinet and touted yet again from within the Party as Bolger's likely successor. Although she has been given a load of portfolios including State Services, SOEs, Transport, ACC, and Radio New Zealand, and is ranked fifth in cabinet, there's a downside. None of these portfolios are in areas that are likely to be contentious between the coalition partners. One would guess that Bolger has sidelined her, as a concession to New Zealand First's view of her as a diehard ideologue. This neatly puts her in a position where she will be least able to aggravate New Zealand First, and also unable to benefit from National supporters who are opposed to the coalition with New Zealand First.

**Most cretinous statement of the election:** 'Indeed, I would go as far as to say Mrs Shipley seems determined, as are so many liberal feminist politicians, to turn New Zealand into some sort of vast fornicatorium at the taxpayers' expense' - Gael Donoghue, Christian Coalition candidate, talking about Jenny Shipley and the Family Planning Association.

**Biggest losers of the election:** Katherine O'Regan would surely be one unhappy lady. As a hard working member of the National Party, she lost the electorate vote to Winston Peters, but as a frontsperson for the Party campaign, National won the party vote quite substantially. She tried and failed to break into local body politics as Waipa mayor. After the election, she lost all ministerial responsibility, to make way for New Zealand First MPs, and publicly stated she believed a coalition deal had led to her demotion. She's now confronted with rumour that National, as part of the coalition deal, have agreed not to contest Tauranga in the next election.

Whetu Tirikatene Sullivan is probably also feeling a bit of angst. Historically, she is the longest sitting female politicians, having taken over Southern Maori after the death of her father in 1967. She was also the first Maori woman cabinet minister, the first commonwealth cabinet minister to have a baby in office - and one of the first two women to drink in Bellamys Bay! She believes that behind-the-scenes machinations of Ngai Tahu politics seems to have contributed to her downfall. In a speech in Christchurch after the election, she said she was defeated in part as a result of the plotting of Ngai Tahu leaders. She suggested her work for Ngai Tahu beneficiaries had upset the

tribal leadership because it threatened their 'autocratic tribal government'. She also questioned whether Ngai Tahu tribal resources were used in the campaign against her. Meanwhile, she's now planning to record her life's experiences - should be interesting.

**Most politically powerful women in New Zealand following the election:** surely that would have to be Marie Shroff, the public servant who holds the position of Cabinet Secretary, a position she has held for nearly 10 years and leaves her privvy to every ministerial take and double take that has occurred in those ten years.

As a 'while we're at it', **the most positically powerful New Zealand woman in the world:** my vote goes to Dunedin born and bred employment lawyer Ms Judith Mayhew who in January was appointed chairwoman of the City of London's policy and resources committee. The City of London contributes about 15% of Britain's total GNP, and Ms Mayhew's position is effectively that of political leader of this enormous, revenue generating one square mile financial capital of the world. Any other candidates out there?

**Silliest behaviour before, during, or after the election** (amongst the women, that is, overall the guys win hands down!): no, no, not Robyn McDonald's boring trip to Paris and subsequent rapid learning curve when she arrived back in New Zealand, but ACT MP Muriel Newman's tedious proclivity to rend all and sundry a copy of her co-authored book 'How to live off the smell of an oily rag'. Incidentally, amongst many other recipients, happy or otherwise, she sent a copy to Robyn McDonald, just in case that unfortunate lady hadn't already got the message. Dr Newman is ACT's social welfare spokeswoman, but when she sent extracts of the book to a 59 year old widow who had written to Dr Newman concerning financial problems, suggestions such as becoming a nude model and selling edible nickers were not well received.

**New MPs most likely to create a substantial public impact:** surely there can only be two candidates here. Phillida Bunkle, Alliance list MP, who, along with Sandra Coney, published the article that led to the cervical cancer enquiry. And Tariana Turia, Labour list MP, a leader of the Moutoa Gardens occupation and stirrer extraordinaire. We look forward to their future contributions.

**Historical first as a result of the election:** New Zealand First list MP Ann Batte, who has the position of junior whip for the Party, believes she is the first Anglican Minister to become an MP. The three new Alliance MPs from the Green Party, including Alliance Deputy Leader Jeanette Fitzsimons, are the first Green Party members to be elected to a national parliament in the southern hemisphere.

And Annabel Young, Wellington lawyer and accountant, makes history as the first substitute MP to be appointed from a party list when she takes over from MP Jim Gerard, new high commissioner to Canada.

And, finally, **best news concerning nothing to do with the election:** Researchers and dieticians say that pre-menstrual cravings for chocolate are perfectly normal, and that we should acknowledge and recognise the cravings rather than fight them. Chocolate lovers fight back!

\*\*\*\*\*

## NOTICES

\*\*\*\*\*

<b>WOMEN AND POLITICS PRIZE</b>
---------------------------------

The Women's Caucus of the Australasian Political Studies Association established the Women and Politics Prize in 1981 as part of a Caucus objective 'to promote the study of women and politics'. This prize of \$1,000 is sponsored by the Australian Political Studies Association and the ACT Division of the Institute of Public Administration

Australia. It is presented for the best essay on the topic of women and politics broadly defined (including political practice, public administration/public policy and political theory). The criteria used in judging entries are as follows:

- Originality of argument and/or material;
- Usefulness to women involved in political practice or in relation to teaching;
- Quality of presentation;

The conditions of entry are as follows:

- Competition is open to residents of Australia and New Zealand who are undergraduate or postgraduate students;
- Essays should be circa 5,000 words (7,000 words absolute maximum);
- Work should be unpublished, although entries which have been accepted for publication are eligible;
- Five copies of the MS should be submitted; all should have a title page. The author's name should not appear on the MS. The entrant's covering letter must include name, address, contact phone number and should clearly identify the MS by title.
- Entries must be received by 30 July 1997. They should be addressed:  
Attention: Elizabeth Van Acker, Women and Politics Prize  
School of Politics and Public Policy  
Faculty of Commerce and Administration  
Griffith University, Nathan, Qld 4111

Winning or highly commended entries are normally published in either the Australian Journal of Political Science or the Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration. The decision of the Judging Panel is final and no correspondence will be entered into. Contact: Elizabeth Van Acker, Griffith University  
Phone: (09) 3875 7722 Fax: (07) 3875 7750 Email: E.vanAcker@cad.gu.edu.au

## ELECTRONIC DISCUSSION

[www.feminist.com/wwmonth.htm](http://www.feminist.com/wwmonth.htm)

Articles from the Womensword newsletter, a monthly publication for feminist activists.

[brenda@cwa.co.nz](mailto:brenda@cwa.co.nz)

Brenda Leeuwenberg is the Wellington based organiser of webgrris, a movement providing women of all ages interested in the internet with a non-competitive environment in which to get together.

<http://www.newsroom.co.nz>

Virtual press gallery for New Zealand parliament - political press releases, speeches, and articles.

<http://www.rnc.org/>

American politics, Republican platform

<http://democracyplacc.org/democrats.html>

American politics, Democratic platform

Women on the Web:

Go to any search engine and use keywords such as 'women's resources', 'women's magazines', 'women AND business', 'feminist OR lesbian OR grrl', and a diversity of women-oriented Web sites is revealed. For even quicker access to this new section of the Web, go to the Femina (<http://www.femina.com>) or WWWoman (<http://www.wwoman.com>) search engines, which return only women-made and women-oriented Web sites, or tap into the randomiser starting point for the World Wide Women's Webring (<http://www.webring.org/cgi-bin/webring?random&ring=women>), and take a magical mystery tour of female cyberspace.

Grrl sites:

Heartless Bitches International (<http://www.heartless-bitches.com/heartless/>) and Brillo (<http://www.virago-net.com/brillo>).

Anyone out there who happens to find interesting political/feminist/sites can pass this info on to us via Heather Devere e-mail: [heather.devere@ait.ac.nz](mailto:heather.devere@ait.ac.nz).

## CONFERENCES

### THE 1997 NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

The Department of Political Science and Public Policy invites you to the New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference - 6-8 June 1997 at the University of Waikato.



Conference streams in: New Zealand and Comparative Politics, International Relations, Political theory, Public Policy.

Papers for special sessions have been sought on: Pacific Politics, Women and Politics, Political Economy, Environmental Politics, Ethnic Politics.

Registration, together with a welcoming reception, will take place from 5-7pm on Friday 6 June in The Station at the University, Hillcrest Road. Late registrations on Saturday morning in the Foyer between Blocks I & J (entrance from Gate 1, Knighton Road).

Registration Fees: \$100 by 5 May 1997  
\$120 from 6 May 1997

Full-time students: \$40

Conference Dinner: \$25 (drinks extra)

Cheques payable to NZPSA Conference

Completed forms and enquiries to: Dr Ann Sullivan, Conference Organiser, Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand 2001, email: a.sullivan@waikato.ac.nz

There are a range of papers and panel discussions about women to be given/held at this conference. Rae Nicholl and Margaret Cousins from Victoria University are giving a paper entitled 'Hot Air: What the Campaign Rhetoric of 1996 Meant for Women'. The paper scrutinises the 1996 manifestos to identify policies which have a direct bearing on women, looking at areas such as poverty, employment, health, education, and the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The paper is to be followed by a panel discussion on the topic 'Policy versus Practice - What the Next Three Years Could Mean for Women'. The panel will be composed of one woman politician from each of the five main political parties. Elizabeth McLeay, and one other, as yet unconfirmed woman academic, will be acting as commentators on the panel, and Rae Nicholl as Chair will be inviting questions from the floor. Jean Drage, also from Victoria, is in the process of organising a panel discussion on current feminist research, and research about women in politics in New Zealand, which ideally will follow the above discussion. Heather Devere will be presenting a paper entitled 'Love, friendship, and the invisible women: personal politics in Ancient Greece and Rome'. It will be an overview of some of the important philosophical writings on friendship and love during the period from the Homeric myths to the end of the Roman Empire, examining the role which women have played or have been allocated.

## PUBLICATIONS

*SPEAKING OUT: A submission from 50 Community Organisations in Aotearoa to the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, addressing the performance by the Government of Aotearoa of its international obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*

A comprehensive discussion covering such issues as Maaori Self Determination, Employment, Training, Education, Health, Poverty, Income Support, and ACC. *Speaking Out* is an alternative to the National Government's report on its performance of its obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - to be presented to the United Nations Council. For your copy send \$12.50 to the Women's Justice Service, PO Box 4468, Christchurch or phone 0800 115 512, Fax 03 377 3864.

### SADLY, NOT A PUBLICATION

The 25th birthday of Broadsheet will be celebrated in the feminist magazine's next issue. Unfortunately, this will be Broadsheet's last. The Collective announced (Issue 213, Autumn/Ngahuru) that it had reluctantly concluded that publishing the magazine was no longer feasible. Aside from the usual problems faced by radical publications (exacerbated by the New Right environment and the stretched finances of the magazine's readers), the few women who produced the magazine did not have the time, energy, and resources to engage also in marketing.

## ADVERTISING IN NEWSLETTER

Full page ads \$30.00. Half page ads \$18.00. Please contact Heather Devere.

### Women in Parliament, 1960-1996: by Political Party

Party in Government	No of Women MPs	Labour	National	New Zealand First	Alliance	Act
1960 - 1963 National	4	Howard McMillan Ratana	Tombleson			
1963 - 1966 National	5	Howard McMillan Ratana	Stevenson Tombleson			
1966 - 1969 National	6	Howard McMillan Ratana Tirikatene-Sullivan	Stevenson Tombleson			
1969 - 1972 National	4	McMillan Tirikatene-Sullivan	Stevenson Tombleson			
1972 - 1975 Labour	4	Batchelor Jelicich McMillan <del>Tirikatene-Sullivan</del>				
1975 - 1978 National	4	Batchelor Tirikatene-Sullivan	Waring Dewe			
1978 - 1981 National	4	Batchelor Hercus Tirikatene-Sullivan	Waring			
1981 - 1984 National	8	Batchelor Clark Hercus Shields Tirikatene-Sullivan Wilde	Waring Richardson			
1984 - 1987 Labour	12	Austin Batchelor Clark Fraser <del>Hercus</del> Keall King <del>Shields</del> Tirikatene-Sullivan Wilde	O'Regan Richardson			

1987 - 1990 Labour	14	<u>Austin</u> Clark Davies Fraser Keall <u>King</u> Kirk <u>Shields</u> Tennet Tirikatene- Sullivan <u>Wilde</u>	O'Regan Richardson Shipley			
1990 - 1993 National	16	Austin Clark Dalziel Davies Tennet Tizard Tirikatene- Sullivan *Wilde	Fletcher Hasler McIntosh McLauchlan Moir <u>O'Regan</u> <u>Richardson</u> <u>Shipley</u>			
1993 - 1996 National (1996- National/ United)	21	Austin Clark Dalziel Dyson Keall King Mackey Pettis Sinclair Tennet Tirikatene- Sullivan Tizard White Yates	Gardiner Fletcher McLauchlan <u>O'Regan</u> * <u>Richardson</u> <u>Shipley</u>		Lee	
1996 - National/ NZ First Coalition	**35	Clark Dalziel Dyson Hobbs Keall King Mackey Mahuta Pettis Tizard Turia White Yates	<u>Fletcher</u> Hasler McLauchlan O'Regan <u>Shipley</u> te Heu Heu Vernon Wong	Batten Bloxham <u>McDonald</u> <u>Morris</u>	Bunkle Corkery Fitzsimons. Gordon Harre Kopu Lee	Awatere Huata Newman Schnauer

\* These MPs left Parliament before the end of their term.

\*\* This number increased to 36 in early 1997 with Annabel Young entering Parliament due to Jim Gerard's resignation and appointment as High Commissioner to Canada.

Note: This Table begins in 1960 rather than 1935 because there were only four women in Parliament between 1935 and 1960 who left Parliament before 1960: Catherine Stewart, 1938-43 (Labour); Mary Dreaver, 1941-43 (Labour); Mary Grigg, 1942-43 (National); and Hilda Ross, 1945-59

(National). The underlined names are those MPs who were ministers (inside and outside cabinet) at that time (or who became ministers during that term of Parliament).

**SUBSCRIPTION RENEWAL NOTICE**

**AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK 1996**

Kia Ora!

Subscriptions for 1997 are now due. Please complete the attached form and forward it with your subscriptions of \$10 (for individuals) or \$35 (institutions) to:

Heather Devere  
School of Social Sciences  
Auckland Institute of Technology  
Private Bag 92006  
AUCKLAND  
Email: heather.devere@ait.ac.nz

\*\*\*\*\*

**AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK  
1997 SUBSCRIPTIONS**

NAME:.....

ADDRESS:.....

.....

Enclose \$10/\$35

Please make cheques payable to: Aotearoa/New Zealand Women and Politics Network, and send to: Dr Heather Devere, School of Social Sciences, Auckland Institute of Technology, Private Bag 92006, AUCKLAND

\*\*\*\*\*