

**AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

**WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK**

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

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**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 1996 Election' and 'Women in the Media'. If you are interested in writing an article, have information for our teaching and research news section, a book you would like to review, or information about relevant conferences, please contact:

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We would also be pleased to receive and print letters commenting on articles contained in the newsletter.

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## PREGNANCY MISCONCEIVED?

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by **CLAIRE GALLOP**

Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland

At the beginning of the year I finished a thesis on the morality of commercial surrogacy. It examined the major moral objections that opponents have to contract pregnancy. These are that: 1) the consent surrogate mothers give to surrogacy arrangements is invalid because it is not informed and not voluntary; 2) commercial surrogacy involves the economic exploitation of women; 3) pregnancy contracts rely on the manipulation of women's altruism; and 4) commercial surrogacy involves baby selling and is harmful to children. In the thesis I argued that none of the objections to parenting through contract were strong enough to condemn the practice as immoral or to justify banning it. I showed that if we accept parenting we must logically accept commercial surrogacy.

Commercial surrogacy, parenting through contract, and contract pregnancy are all names for the same pregnancy agreement. These terms refer to an arrangement where a woman conceives, gestates, and surrenders her parental rights to a child for an infertile individual or couple in return for financial reward. The woman who conceives the child is commonly called the 'surrogate mother' and the couple or individual who hires the surrogate mother are commonly called the 'commissioners'. Commercial surrogacy also generally involves a 'broker' who acts as an intermediary bringing the other parties together and working out the terms of the arrangement.

Much of the literature on commercial surrogacy starts with the intuition that contract pregnancy does not seem right. My thesis started with the claim that having freedom of contract is generally a good thing: it helps make people's lives go better. It is true that in any contract there is potential for regret and exploitation. This is not unique to surrogacy and does not render it immoral: it is simply the price we pay for autonomy. Potential bad effects on surrogate mothers can be avoided by regulation of the industry. It is legitimate to extend freedom of contract to pregnancy arrangements.

Also central to the commercial surrogacy debate is the claim that the practice is harmful to children. There is a lack of evidence to support this claim. There is no reason to think that surrogacy *has* to make children's lives go worse. The objection that contract pregnancy is baby selling is wrong. Commercial surrogacy does not involve full property rights over children. It is true that it involves something that looks like property rights but this is true of all parenting. This revelation may be startling but if we are to regard having children as a legitimate human endeavour then it has to be seen to be morally unobjectionable. The criticisms made of contract pregnancy can be levelled at all forms of pregnancy. Any suspicions about the dishonourable nature of parenting through contract are actually suspicions about parenting *per se*. If we are to base a ban of surrogacy on a harm to

children principle then we are left with a consistency problem which requires a ban on all procreation as being potentially harmful.

In my work I concluded that the intuitions that commercial surrogacy is bad are wrong. The objections that are raised against commercial surrogacy can be raised against nearly all contracts, forms of employment, and any family structure. Surrogacy opponents argue using emotive language, red-herrings and scare tactics. Spectres of the emergence of a class of women being condemned to exist as baby breeders in reproductive brothels are used to play on people's fear of a 'Brave New World'. Opponents claiming that surrogacy will make a free and unfettered trade in babies and body parts inevitably base their claims on pessimism rather than reason. Many of the anti-surrogacy arguments are reminiscent of the reactionary arguments used against giving women the vote, property rights, access to contraception and the right to divorce. For centuries women have had their rights denied because it would supposedly destroy the fabric of society or because women's biology precluded them from being able to make a rational decision. Opponents of contract pregnancy are drawing on old sexist myths to legitimise their position. When the exaggerated and unlikely worst case scenarios are removed from the debate the commercial surrogacy issue becomes much clearer: contract pregnancy is not immoral. By calling for a complete ban of the practice, opponents of commercial surrogacy are undermining women's rationality and stripping them of their autonomy. This can only be an unjustified invasion of the bodily integrity of women.

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## **INTRODUCTION TO CENSORIOUS NEW ZEALANDERS: PORNOGRAPHY, CORRUPTION, AND HARM TO WOMEN**

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by **DIANA GARDNER**

Nuffield College, Oxford University email: [diana.gardner@nuffield.oxford.ac.uk](mailto:diana.gardner@nuffield.oxford.ac.uk)

The following is the introduction to Diana Gardner's MA Thesis (1995), which can be borrowed through the University of Auckland library.

This is a thesis about arguments for censoring pronography and, in particular, about some of the justifications that governments and pro-censorship lobby-groups in New Zealand have advanced over the period from 1892 to 1993 for suppressing material of an overtly sexual nature. The thesis is by no means intended to represent comprehensively *all* of the arguments that have been used to justify censorship during this period. It is, however, intended to provide an overview of the various types of deleterious effects that legislators have alleged such material to have and to discuss what seem to have been (or have become) the most prominent arguments for suppressing 'indecent' films and publications.

The arguments I look at here will be those taken from New Zealand's parliamentary debates, since that is where legislators defended and criticised the various pieces of censorship legislation that came to control what New Zealanders would be allowed to see or read. Parliamentary speeches, however, particularly when delivered on a topic so controversial as censorship, are often incomplete and sometimes depend for their moral persuasiveness more upon the power of political rhetoric than upon any great philosophical cogency. Because this is so, I will borrow from philosophical debate in order to fill in some of the gaps between the premises and conclusions of MPs' arguments, and will show that their premises frequently do not justify their conclusions--however persuasive the arguments initially appear and however sympathetic one may be to the concerns expressed. The philosophy that will most inform this thesis is that set out in the first two volumes of Joel Feinberg's comprehensive work on liberty-limiting principles, *The Moral Limits of the Criminal Law*. The practice of censorship in New Zealand and certain legal precedents will occasionally be discussed too, in order to illustrate the consequences of particular justifications for censorship. This thesis, then, will be both historical and philosophical in scope.

The descriptive content of what should be and has been classified as indecent under censorship legislation has, of course, changed over the years. If anything, the question of what constitutes censurable content is more hotly contested now than ever before. My first two chapters will describe some of these changes in attitudes, briefly placing them in their historical and social context and assessing the philosophical value of the various positions adopted. Chapter One, which discusses two of the groups that supported the *Films, Videos, and Publications Classification Act 1993* and some of the legislation's defects, will outline the historical transition away from a common acceptance that all erotic and explicit depictions of human sexuality should be deemed indecent (except in the hands of certain trained professionals), and will point to some of the causes for the greater liberalisation of censorship legislation and practice in 1970s New Zealand. The emergence of pro-censorship feminism at this time will also be discussed, and feminist motives for advocating censorship contrasted with the motives of moral conservatives; some of the differences between the types of material each group wants proscribed will be highlighted. I will also suggest that, while justifications, there are good grounds for doubting that the *Films, Videos, and Publications Act 1993* owes its existence to the persuasive power of a feminist case in favour of censorship, despite the fact many MPs allied themselves, where political rhetoric is concerned, with some pro-censorship feminist premises. Chapter Two will discuss the principles terms around which legislative and philosophical arguments about censorship have been built. In particular, I will examine recent feminist attempts to redefine the word 'pornographic' so that it comes to describe only sexual material that feminists object to.

The next four chapters of the thesis will discuss the various types of harm that legislators have alleged indecent films and literature cause. I will argue that none of these arguments from harm provides a compelling justification for censorship, and that censorship itself may have bad consequences.

Chapters Three and Four are both concerned with arguments claiming that censorship is necessary in order to protect the moral health of New Zealanders. In Chapter Three, I will consider whether the government should legislate to protect people from moral harm if they are willing to be corrupted or are somehow abnormally susceptible to the harmful influences of indecent material. Of central importance to this chapter is the question of whether a

person can, indeed, be said to be harmed if she willingly allows herself to be corrupted. I will argue that she *is* harmed, since her life is made worse insofar as she becomes, willingly or not, a worse person. Nevertheless, it does not follow from this that the government is always justified in denying people the freedom or opportunity to harm themselves. I will also argue that it is not the business of the government to legislate to protect those who have an abnormal susceptibility to moral harm, and that doing so could see New Zealanders denied many of their harmless pleasures just so that unusually vulnerable people will be protected from harming themselves. Chapter Four will examine the argument that, since the government may be justified in legislating to prevent children from harming themselves and in imposing age-restrictions on products that might be harmful to them, the government should deny everyone access to such material in order to prevent the material somehow falling into children's hands. My claim will be that the costs to adults in general of such a restrictive policy could be tremendous. Moreover, I will also suggest that advances in telecommunications technology may mean that the government will be unable to prevent children gaining access to inappropriate material and that education rather than insulation may more effectively protect a child's moral health.

Chapters Five and Six will discuss the more recent and now more common arguments that pornography should be censored because it has harmful consequences for women. The first such argument that I will look at is the argument that pornography should be proscribed because it causes sexual violence against women. I will argue that there is no convincing empirical evidence to show that pornography is causally implicated in such acts of violence and that it seems unlikely that pornography could cause someone to rape unless that person was already somehow predisposed to be a rapist. The chapter will also suggest that, if triggering someone already predisposed to violence to act violently were a sufficient reason for censorship, much more than pornography would have to be banned: including much that is socially valuable or that provides harmless pleasure to many people. The claim that a rape victim should be able to sue the producers or distributors of pornography if she can show that their product was causally implicated in her being attacked will also be investigated.

Chapter Six will consider the claim that pornography should be suppressed because it defames women. I will argue that pornography is not, strictly speaking, defamatory, although it may still have harmful consequences for women's reputations. Whether the possibility of these consequences justifies censorship will also be questioned.

In my seventh and final chapter, I will examine what seems to me in many ways to be the strongest feminist argument for censorship; namely, that misogynist pornography is highly offensive to women and the government should intervene to protect people from being subjected to intense offence. I will argue that it is not reasonable for others to expect to be allowed to cause such serious offence to women. This argument from pornography's offensiveness, however, while justifying restrictions on the display of pornography, does not justify completely suppressing the material.

My overview of the main arguments and appeals made for greater censorship, then, has led me to the conclusion that, while arguments based on purported harm and offence are not without merit, they do not as a whole justify depriving New Zealanders of access to indecent material. As a feminist, my sympathies have often been deeply engaged by feminist objections to misogynist pornography. Even the moral conservative objections to indecent

material, while (I believe) often confused or dubious in their social and moral assumptions, cannot be simply dismissed out of hand. Nevertheless, as I hope to show, objecting to something and proving that something should be banned are not the same thing. I will argue that, while many pro-censorship advocates may have good grounds to be critical and wary of many pornographic depictions of women, the arguments for denying everyone access to such material are not compelling.

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## BOOK REVIEW

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by **HEATHER DEVERE**  
Auckland Institute of Technology

Shannon Bell, *Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1994.

Prostitution is not the most obvious topic to be looked at by a reading group of women teaching on an integrated business studies degree, but our interest in the postmodern debate and the overlap between the disciplines of politics, sociology, law, economics and philosophy were well catered for in Shannon Bell's book. This book is interesting not only for its content which is a fascinating account of the discourse on prostitution, but also as a work which explains its methodology in an accessible way. As the title *Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body* indicates, the approach incorporates a postmodern analysis and techniques of deconstruction. The methodological explanation is covered in the first chapter and the remainder of the book is structured according to five different discourses - those of ancient Greece, modern Europe, contemporary feminism, postmodern prostitute feminism and postmodern prostitute performance art.

Bell argues that prostitution has been marginalised as a topic for discussion and explanation over thousands of years. The modern and feminist constructions of prostitution as 'the other of the other'<sup>1</sup> are examined or 'deconstructed' in light of discourses from two historical periods - the pre-modern pagan philosophy of Greece and postmodern prostitute discourse and performance art mainly in North America. These discourses, it is suggested, can be read as being from the subject position of the prostitutes themselves.

The techniques of poststructural analysis which Bell uses are described succinctly in Chapter 1. She identifies where she has applied the different techniques - Derrida's textual deconstruction; Foucault's genealogical project; Mouffe and Laclau's concept of radical democracy; materialisation of deconstruction theory in the performance medium.

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<sup>1</sup>The other within the category of the other - 'woman'.

Deconstruction or 'retrospective reconstruction' is used most obviously in Chapter 2 'Reading the *Hetairae* in Plato's Texts'. This is the chapter with which I had the most problem. In his dialogue, *The Symposium*, Plato uses the device of the reported speech of a woman, Diotima, probably a sacred priestess, to make final pronouncements on love. There has been a debate in the literature about why Plato should give this important speech to a woman, when all the other speeches are made by the male-only participants in a discussion which focuses on homosexual love. Some analyses attribute feminist sentiments to Plato, whereas others interpret the use of a woman as an indication that this part of the *Symposium* must not be taken too seriously. Bell wants to reclaim Diotima as a prostitute or *Hetaira* acting as a spiritual leader and whore to Plato's Socrates. Bell's reading goes beyond the text and is not a search for the author's intention. She portrays Diotima not as a desexualised sacred priestess teaching of spiritual love which transcends the contaminated body as is the traditional reading, but as a sexual hetaira or prostitute through whose sacred body "one came to the gods". Bell is unconcerned about the 'faithfulness' of her reading and uses her analysis for the purpose of 'the pleasure of carnival' and to suggest a moment when prostitutes were 'spiritually and politically powerful'. Ancient Greek society did accord a status to the *Hetairae* which is rather different from current attitudes to prostitutes, however it is very doubtful whether Diotima was in fact (or even in myth) a prostitute and the implication of Bell's interpretation has major ramifications for the whole of Plato's theory of love which she doesn't really explore. But although I have these reservations about a method of analysis which can allow any meaning to be attributed to a given text, Bell's deconstruction does give an imaginative and fascinating picture which serves as a starting point for the historical analysis to which she returns in her last chapter.

Foucault's genealogical project informs the next two chapters which give an historical account of the construction of the 'prostitute' by 19th and 20th century writers and social commentators - and the dichotomy established between the virtuous woman and the whore. The 19th century has been identified by Foucault as the period in which sexual behaviour became characterised as either normal or deviant. The prostitute body was constructed as diseased and filthy, coarse and uncontrolled - a danger to society. The feminist debate from the 1970s continued this analysis of prostitutes as 'the other'. Liberal feminists such as Pateman define prostitutes as sexual slaves; socialist feminists like MacKinnon use prostitution as a metaphor for the misuse of female sexuality, and postmodern feminists such as Irigaray see prostitutes as 'woman-as-commodities'.

Laclau and Mouffe's work on new democracy is applied to Chapter 5 in which prostitutes themselves give an analysis which seek to re-establish prostitute rights and aim to reconstruct their identity as political subjects, sex workers and sexual educators.

In the final chapter, prostitute performance art is used to demonstrate these various theoretical frameworks in action. These frameworks are used to confront, expose and erode the dichotomies between empowerment/exploitation; feminists/whores; sluts/goddesses; good girls/bad girls; therapists/prostitutes through performance of prostitute artists, Candida Royalle, Annie Sprinkle, Veronica Vera, Gwendolyn, Janet Feidel and Scarlot Harlot. Bell describes how this prostitute performance work destabilises our conceptions of theatre and theory and creates for themselves a new social identity - 'the prostitute as sexual healer, goddess, teacher, political activist, and feminist - a new social identity which can trace its genealogy to the ancient sacred prostitute'. The cover of the book portrays Annie Sprinkle's



theatrical performance of 'New Ancient Sex' in which, surrounded by burning candles, she reconstructs the legend of the sacred prostitute and recreates a masturbation ritual which she attributes to the ancient sacred prostitutes. Shannon Bell, who describes herself as a postmodern *hetaira*, thus links her reconstruction of the sacred prostitute of ancient Greece to postmodern prostitute performance art to complete the circle of historical analysis.

As a postmodern text, therefore, its strengths are in the clear exposition of applying poststructural analysis to provide a stimulating, imaginative, usually informative, and provocative account of how the language surrounding prostitution has constructed prostitutes in a way which sets them apart from the rest of society. The challenge to feminism is clear in the description of feminist attempts to 'understand' and redescribe prostitution, taking into account its exploitative nature. The self-reading by the prostitutes themselves is intriguing and disturbing.

My main concern, as a political scientist, is that while a postmodern analysis provides an empowering discourse, it seems to leave little room for action or policy and in that way the postmodern project seems to act as a conservative framework which can serve to protect the status quo.

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## CONFERENCE REPORT

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**New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference, Auckland, 8-10 July 1996**  
 by **RAE NICHOLL** and **MARGARET COUSINS**,  
 Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington.

As two mature PhD students, Margaret and I sometimes take a more philosophical look at our academic undertakings than our more impatient-to-be-finished colleagues. This being so, we decided to take some time out from our gruelling timetables and turn our journey to Auckland for the New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference into a *Thelma and Louise* adventure. After the usual flurry of nearly-forogotten but crucial last minute arrangements, we sped out of Wellington in Margaret's little red sports car, determined to have A Good Time. And we did, in many ways, enjoy the week away. We lolled in hot spas in Taupo, North Auckland and New Plymouth, chilled glass of champagne at the end of our damp, but overheated, outstretched arms. We shopped 'til we dropped at North Auckland's factory outlets, not skimping on politically incorrect flimsy pieces of lacy nonsense in the lingerie stores. In Auckland, we enjoyed the generous hospitality of the conference organisers. We joined in welcoming and farewelling parties, the official dinner, sumptuous morning and afternoon teas, and marvelled at the efficiency and enthusiasm of the unflappable Chan Dixon (Auckland University), the principal conference organiser. Thanks must go also the ever-competent Heather Devere (Auckland Institute of Technology) who was also a conference organiser, along with Raymond Miller (Auckland University).

But for women wanting to take home something serious from the conference, the academic outcome was, to our minds, not as successful as the social aspects of the event. To give readers some idea of female input this year, 66 people officially registered as participants. Of these, 23 were women. Although women formed a critical mass of participants (just over one third), when it came to giving papers, the level of participation dropped heavily. Of the 28 papers presented, only five and one half were given by women, about one sixth. None of the papers, including those presented by women, were specifically on women's issues although a couple on citizenship (Marian Sawyer, in particular) did include mention of gender bias. Out of 14 sessions, four, or less than one third, were chaired by women: Helena Catt, Elizabeth McLeay, Marian Sawers, and Margaret Clark. Maybe these dismal figures are not altogether surprising when it is realised that full time women academics employed in political studies departments in New Zealand universities number about 10.

Elizabeth McLeay (Victoria University) opened the proceedings, presenting a lively paper entitled 'Who Do We Blame? Some Problems in Democratic Accountability'. She discussed the concept of ministerial responsibility and, to the great enjoyment of her audience, illustrated her speech with lavish examples of ministerial lapses and gaffes from the mouth of Sports Minister John Banks. Previously, at the opening cocktail party, Elizabeth had mentioned her forthcoming publication, a tribute to her teacher and mentor, Robert Chapman. Her book is entitled *New Zealand Politics and Social Patterns: Selected Works by Robert Chapman* and will be published shortly.

Bronwyn Hayward (Lincoln University) spoke on 'Exploring Theories of Deliberative Democracy, Public Participation in Environmental Management', in which she reviewed the sustainable development debate and argued that a viable 'green' political arrangement would need to address questions of environmental rationality, social justice, accessibility and political efficacy.

The identity of both the 'crown' and 'Maori', as concepts relating to the Treaty of Waitangi, was discussed by Janine Hayward (Victoria University). The purpose of her paper was to review the fundamental problems which arise from the way the Treaty partners in New Zealand are presented and perceived. In particular, Janine investigated the implications of the problem of identity of both Maori and the Crown with regard to upcoming constitutional issues.

Arguably the most entertaining presentation at the conference was given by Janet McLean (University of Auckland). Delivered in an enthusiastic manner her paper, 'Judicial Review of Private Associations and Theories of the State', considered the courts' role in supervising the conduct of private associations and located judicial practice within constitutional theory.

Marian Sawyer (Australian National University) spoke about 'The Duties of Democratic Citizens: Current Australian Debates' and argued that official versions of citizenship duties are currently minimalist and gender-biased, with less emphasis being placed on community service, which undervalues the citizens' (usually women's) activities as carers. Marian said another way of assessing the engagement of all sectors of society in citizenship duties was to gauge "the way in which people with severe disabilities are enabled to participate in society".

The most ambivalent news for women came from Les Holmes (University of Melbourne). His paper, 'The Democratic State or State Democracy?', focused on the problems of democratisation in the post-communist world. Les argued that, while in the post-communist world women were doing far worse than previously with regard to their numbers as legislators, it could be that the few who are elected have a stronger voice than those who were present in legislatures in communist times.

Not gender specific, but of wide interest, was an MMP Discussion Workshop. Chaired by Peter Aimer, this session proved to be entertaining and lively. Considerable discussion centred on the issues of tactical and strategic voting and the vulnerabilities of the main parties to both. Also meriting some attention was how the cultural differences between Germany and New Zealand will affect voter response to the electoral system.

### **Heather Devere reports on the Women's Caucus meeting**

On the first day of the conference, 8 July 1996, a Women's Caucus Lunch was held in conjunction with a meeting of the NZPSA's Women's Caucus. Women attended from the Universities of Waikato, Victoria, Canterbury, Australian National University in Canberra, Auckland and the Auckland Institute of Technology.

The Women and Politics network was discussed. The network newsletter has been subsidised by Auckland University Politics Department and the Communication Studies Department of the Auckland Institute of Technology. Although we now have funds raised by subscriptions (circulation is currently 100 per issue), this does not always cover the cost of the newsletter. It would be appreciated if other departments would consider subsidising the newsletter. Agreement was reached that the format of the newsletter will remain the same. Finding material to publish can become onerous and the call went out for new writers to submit articles, reviews or reports to the newsletter. It was unanimously decided that the first issue for 1997 should focus on the 1996 election and several people expressed an interest in contributing articles.

The possibility of holding a one-day or half-day conference on Women and Politics in conjunction with the next NZPSA Conference was discussed. This could include both practitioners and academics, as well as academics from different disciplines. It was decided to set up an email group to keep in touch and coordinate arrangements. The next conference will be at Waikato University on 6-8 June 1997. Anyone who is interested in being included in the email group, please contact Helena Catt at [h.catt@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:h.catt@auckland.ac.nz)

Marian Sawyer (Australian National University) announced that there was to be the launch, in October 1996, of a publication commemorating 75 years of women parliamentarians in Australia.

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## RESEARCH NEWS

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by **ELIZABETH SHANNON**

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I am passing on a message the AUSFEM-POLNET list recently received from Clare Burton. In it she calls for comments on EEO/gender equity in universities and curriculum formulation. I thought readers may have something valuable to contribute. I suggest either replying to Clare directly (c.burton@qut.edu.au) or joining the Australian Feminist Policy Network list (contact me on E.Shannon@polsci.utas.edu.au).

I am involved in two main things at the moment: presenting papers on EEO - where to from here? and trying to work through some of the dilemmas in front of EEO managers/co-ordinators, as well as thinking about what women's groups might be able to contribute, including an alliance with other progressive groups (and/or the type of pressure that might be put on opposition parties and the trade union movement, for the present and the future).

The other area I am working on relates to gender equity in universities, for academic and general staff. The ANU succeeded in getting DEETYA funding (Evaluation and Investigations Program) with me as the principal researcher to survey gender equity review activity that has taken place over the last several years within universities, and the main findings arising from this activity, the type of recommendations made and the problems/successes in implementation. The emphasis of my overview of this activity is on the qualitative, especially the culture-merit links that might or might not have been established. I am drawing on the half-dozen or so reviews I have conducted myself, other reviews that have been carried out, as well as the literature that is available (including the 'chilly climate' reports from some US universities). I would be interested to explore with others the implications of Joan Eveline's proposition that we have focused on women's disadvantage at the expense of men's advantage. We have and we haven't, since much writing has been on the cultural context of merit, and the 'mobilisation of masculine bias' in structural arrangements, policies and practices. But, still, it helps to be reminded of the alteration to how one perceives the field, if this is constantly in one's mind. An extension of what Joan suggests is to focus on how men advantage each other and I am particularly interested in the emotional investments men make in work organisations and their relationships with other men there. This has really emerged as a significant feature of organisations in work I have done in, particularly, male dominated domains.

The other thing I wish to pursue, with respect to universities, is the issue of curriculum. We have tended to think equity (for students) separately from EEO (for staff), but I am fascinated with the women in science literature, and now the reviews of the engineering profession, both of which show clearly how the demographics of the student body shift when subjects

are constructed as having socially useful applications (I know none of this is new, and I know it is even more complex than that, but I am putting it in a simple way, as I will need to do in a brief report: the main point being that the EEO field has to be extended somewhat beyond the frame within which most EEO plans/programs are managed).

I am more inclined than previously, too, to speak confidently (instead of privately only to women) of women's and men's different dispositional tendencies - without oversimplifying the concept of women's 'choices' (about which I wrote in a chapter in the recently published book *Gender, Politics, and Citizenship*, edited by Barbara Sullivan and Gillian Whitehouse, UNSW Press), but in order to acknowledge a difference which provides a different set of arguments for the importance of women's representation in areas where they are lacking - ultimately, for the sake of the planet to cut a long story short! But, again, there is nothing new in this, except that I wish to incorporate these ideas more explicitly into the EEO field.

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## NOTICES

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### ELECTRONIC DISCUSSION

The following New Zealand feminist electronic discussion lists are available.

#### FMST-Talk

A talk facility for FMST subscribers only, augments the electronic journal. Post a message containing:  
subscribe fmst-talk  
to: majordomo@massey.ac.nz

#### WS-L (Women's Studies at Massey University)

WS-L is a discussion list specifically for Massey University students and staff. Members outside Massey with an interest in Aotearoa's largest Women's Studies Programme and its various activities may also join WS-L. However, principally WS-L is used to discuss assignments, distribute news and views about Women's Studies courses and get advice. It operates as an ongoing bulleting board or tutorial for both internal and extramural students.

To subscribe to WS-L:

Send an email message to: MAJORDOMO@MASSEY.ACT.NZ

Type the following as the message: SUBSCRIBE WS-L

FMST invites submissions of short articles (up to 30K), to:

FMST@STONEBOW.OTAGO.AC.NZ

Try out your ideas, comment on FMST, debate your research, review feminist books, films or issues relevant to women and feminist studies in Aotearoa and the Pacific

Women's Studies Programme, Massey University, PO Box 11-222, Palmerston North, Aotearoa (New Zealand)  
<http://cc-server9.massey.ac.nz/~wwwms>

Australia - The main WEL site is at: <http://www.pcug.org.au/other/wel/> - and it has links to other OZ politics and feminist sites. The address for federal parliament (with access to Hansards and searching) for House of Representatives and Senate is: <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/trialhom.html>

AUSFEM-POLNET - since it began in February it has grown to almost 100 women and women's organisations around Australia and has helped organise a co-ordinated feminist response on a range of issues this year. To subscribe send a message to: [majordomo@postoffice.utas.edu.au](mailto:majordomo@postoffice.utas.edu.au)  
 Your subject line should be blank and your message should read: subscribe AUSFEM-POLNET your full name.  
 If you have any trouble contact: [E.Shannon@polsci.utas.edu.au](mailto:E.Shannon@polsci.utas.edu.au)

Anyone out there who happens to find interesting political/feminist/sites can pass this info on to us via Heather Devere e-mail: [hdevere@chaln1.ait.ac.nz](mailto:hdevere@chaln1.ait.ac.nz).

<b>CONFERENCES</b>
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**BEYOND DEPENDENCY CONFERENCE: TU MANA MOTUHAKE  
 A WATERSHED FOR WELFARE**

The unique international overview of successful and innovative solutions to the problem of welfare dependency.

16-19 March 1997, Sheraton Auckland Hotel & Towers, Auckland

**Goals of the Conference:**

Welfare dependency is a growing, long-term and cyclic problem with high human and economic costs. New directions in thinking and realistic solutions are now emerging in many different countries. No one has all the answers, but many have a contribution to make and so much work is being done it's hard to keep up to date. This is where the Beyond Dependency Conference has a role to play. The Conference will be a forum for sharing ideas and practical solutions, as well as discussing progress made so far.

The Conference will bring together people from many different areas who share a commitment to fighting welfare dependency. They include: public policy advisers and decision makers at the local and national levels; researchers into welfare dependency; practitioners in the welfare field; leaders in mobilising change from the community, media, and business sectors.

As part of its From Welfare to Well-Being initiative, the Beyond Dependency Conference is organised by New Zealand's Department of Social Welfare in association with the Department of Labour. The Conference is endorsed by the OECD.

For more information: Convention Management, PO Box 2009, Auckland, New Zealand  
 Telephone: 64 9 360 1980, Facsimile 64 9 376 1980  
 email: [beyond@conventionmgmt.co.nz](mailto:beyond@conventionmgmt.co.nz)  
 Visit our Web site at <http://www.beyond-dependency.org.nz>

**THE 1997 NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE**

The Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato is hosting The New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference, 6-8 June 1997. Papers and panel proposals to Jack Vowles by 14 February 1997 (email - [j.vowles@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:j.vowles@waikato.ac.nz)). Enquiries to Ann Sullivan (email - [a.sullivan@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:a.sullivan@waikato.ac.nz)), Postal address: Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand (ph. 64 7 856 2889, fax 64 7 856 2158). Those women interested in holding and organising a women's session could also contact Ann Sullivan.

**WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE**

'Women in the 90s and beyond', Women's Studies Association Conference, Humanities Building, Massey University, Palmerston North, February 7-9, 1997.

*Books for Women* and women in the Manawatu community and tertiary institutions are delighted to invite you to participate in the 1997 Women's Studies Association Conference. The venue for the conference is the gracious Humanities Building and surrounds of Massey University.

## PROGRAMME

Friday, February 7

Women's Studies Teachers Gathering

Each day's sessions begin in HB 2.17 (Auditorium, Humanities Building) 10.00am/4.00pm.

An opportunity for teachers of women's studies/feminist studies to meet and discuss aspects of teaching, curriculum planning and research around the themes: what are we doing, what are we doing well, what can we do better.

There will be time to exchange information about specific courses and to compile a national database of women's studies/feminist studies research and supervision resources.

Morning and afternoon tea/coffee and a light lunch will be provided by Women's Studies.

Women's Studies Association Conference

Registration from 5.00pm inside foyer of the humanities building

7.00 pm opening mihi

7.30 pm keynote panel 'Women in the 90s and beyond' with speakers from community groups, tertiary institutions, young women's groups, Maori women, and the business community.

9.30 pm supper and review of the weekend's activities

Saturday, February 8

9.00 key note address 'Women in the 90s and Beyond'

10.00 refreshment break

10.30 workshops, panels, papers by activists, academics, community groups and workers. Two sessions of 45 minutes each, running parallel

Lunch at noon: picnic, wander through the gardens, play, catch up with friends.

1.30 workshops, panels, papers

3.30 refreshment break

5.00 annual general meeting

6.30 periwinkles for dinner

8.00 the evening's entertainment music, theatre and fun by women

Sunday, February 9

9.00 keynote address 'Women in the 90s and Beyond'

10.00 refreshment break

10.30 workshops, panels, papers

Lunch at noon: picnic, wander through the gardens, play, catch up with friends

1.30 workshops, panels, papers

3.30 plenary with refreshments

Registration forms available from Books for Women, PO Box 509, Palmerston North

Please arrange your own accommodation, we suggest the following:

Massey University halls of residence, tel. under \$40

King Street Backpackers, tel 06 358 9595, under \$40

Consolidated Motel, tel 06 357 2184 \$50-70

Quality Hotel, tel 06 356 8059, around \$140

Coachman Hotel/Motel, tel 06 357 3059, around \$90

Emmas, tel 06 357 5143, \$60-80

Rose City Motel, tel 06 356 5388, around \$80

Kauri Court, tel 06 356 6040, around \$80

Conference fees: registration - \$80 waged, \$60 unwaged/students, \$30 one day

Dinner at periwinkles \$35

Please note refunds will not be available after January 10.

Women's Studies Programme, Massey University, PO Box 11-222, Palmerston North, Aotearoa (New Zealand)  
<http://www.massey.ac.nz/~wwwms/>

## PUBLICATIONS

### **The Full Picture: Guidelines for Gender analysis**

The Ministry of Women's Affairs' new publication *The Full Picture: Guidelines for Gender Analysis* provides a framework for integrating gender analysis into policy development and service design, with case studies and implementation advice. Gender analysis is a critical component of quality policy advice which assists in ensuring the effectiveness and efficiency of both policy development and service design. This publication provides a useful tool for those wishing to undertake gender analysis in either the public or private sectors. Copies are available from: the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Corporate Relations Unit, P O Box 10049, Wellington.

### **Women in Consumer Culture**

Just a reminder about the proposed book on women in consumer culture. It's still open for offers of contributions and we'd love some from New Zealand. I'll need an abstract of about 250 words, and a short biography (Mary and Bryan Talbot, details of the original call for articles can be accessed at: [talbot@brainstm.demon.co.uk](mailto:talbot@brainstm.demon.co.uk)).

## ADVERTISING IN NEWSLETTER

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

## BACK COPIES OF 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

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.

## FORTHCOMING ISSUES

Some of the themes to be covered in the next issues are, 'The 1996 Election and Women', and 'Women in the Media'. Anyone who would like to contribute to these themes please contact Heather Devere, Communications Studies Dept, Auckland Institute of Technology, Private Bag 92006, Auckland, fax 64 09 307 9853, tel 64 09 307 999 ext 5367, email: [hdevere@chain1.ait.ac.nz](mailto:hdevere@chain1.ait.ac.nz) or Jane Scott, Political Studies Department, University of Auckland, PO Box 92019 Auckland, tel 64 09 3737 599 ext 8090, fax 64 09 373 7449, email: [j.scott@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.scott@auckland.ac.nz)



## CONFERENCE DIARY 1996

Date	Title	Place	Contact	Details
30-31 January	Public Policy Network Annual Conference	The Centre for Public Policy, University of Melbourne	Dr John Chesterman, Centre for Public Policy, email: j.chesterman@politics. unimelb.edu.au	
7-9 February	Women's Studies Association Conference	Humanities Building, Massey University, Palmerston North	Women's Studies Programme, Massey University, PO Box 11-222, Palmerston North <a href="http://www.massey.ac.nz/~wwwms/">http://www.massey.ac.nz/ ~wwwms/</a>	
16-19 March 1997	Beyond Dependency Conference/ Tu Mana Motuhake	Sheraton Hotel, Auckland	Convention Management, PO Box 2009, Auckland, tel 64 9 360 1980, fax 64 9 376 1980, email: beyond@ conventionmgmt.co.nz	
6-8 June	New Zealand Political Studies Association	Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato	Jack Vowles: j.vowles@waikato.ac.nz Private Bag 3105, Hamilton	Enquiries to Ann Sullivan a.sullivan@waikato.ac. nz

