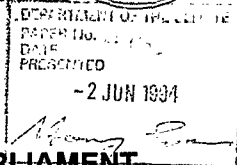
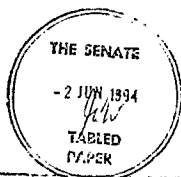




The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia



WOMEN, ELECTIONS AND PARLIAMENT

Report from the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters

May 1994

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May 1994

CANBERRA

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JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL MATTERS

37TH PARLIAMENT

MEMBERS

Chairman	Senator D Foreman
Deputy Chairman	Mr D Connolly
	Senator C Chamarette
	Senator C Evans ¹
	Senator M Lees ²
	Senator N Minchin ³
	Senator J Tierney ⁴
	Mr M Cobb
	Mr A Griffin
	Mr D Melham
	Mr S Smith ⁵
	Mr W Swan

STAFF

Secretary	Ms J Middlebrook (until 29 November 1993) Ms A Stewart (until 14 February 1994) Mr D Nairn
Research Officer	Mr R Chafer
Executive Assistant	Mrs A Lamb

TERMS OF REFERENCE

INQUIRY INTO WOMEN, ELECTIONS AND PARLIAMENT

On 27 May 1993 the Senate passed a resolution on the above subject which included the reference of an Inquiry to the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters (JSCEM). The preamble to the resolution noted that:

- (i) women are severely under-represented in Australian parliaments and in parliaments all over the world, and
- (ii) this is a great injustice to women and leads to poorer parliamentary processes and decisions;

The resolution concluded with the reference of the following matter to the JSCEM:

to inquire into and report ... on women, elections and Parliament, with particular reference to:

- (i) the reasons for the gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament,
- (ii) strategies for increasing the number and effectiveness of women in political and electoral processes, and
- (iii) the effect of parliamentary procedures and practices on women's aspirations to, and participation in, the Australian Parliament.

¹ Replaced Senator G Maguire (discharged 27 May 1993)

² Replaced Senator S Spindler (discharged 19 August 1993) who had replaced Senator K Sowada (discharged 27 May 1993)

³ Replaced Senator R Kemp (discharged 19 August 1993)

⁴ Appointed 28 October 1993

⁵ Appointed 17 November 1993

REPORT OF THE JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE

ON ELECTORAL MATTERS

ON

WOMEN, ELECTIONS AND PARLIAMENT

RECOMMENDATION

The Committee recommends that the Minister authorise the Committee under para (1) of its resolution of appointment to monitor developments in the area of the participation by women in the electoral process and to report on this matter from time to time.

The Reference

1. On 27 May 1993 the Senate, on the motion of Senator Chamarette, resolved that it should suggest to the Committee that it conduct an Inquiry with the proposed terms of reference, and that it should report on these matters by the first sitting day in December 1993. Leave has since been sought and granted by the Senate to extend the reporting date to "on or before the first sitting day in September 1994".

Research Service Paper

2. To help it determine its response to the Senate's resolution, the Committee commissioned a paper from the Social Policy Group of the Parliamentary Research Service of the Parliamentary Library. The Research Service was asked to review the literature relating to women, elections and parliament and advise on the work being done in Australia and overseas, relevant to the topic. It was also invited to comment on the proposed terms of reference.

3. The Social Policy Group responded to the Committee's request with a paper *Women Elections and Parliament* which is the Appendix and which includes: the Current list of Women Members of the Federal and State Parliaments as at May 1994 (Attachment 2) and *Women in Politics: Relevant Research* (Attachment 3).

4. The Committee has also noted *Towards a Plan of Action to Correct Present Imbalances in the Participation of Men and Women in Political Life*, a paper prepared by the Social Policy Group for submission by the Australian National Group to the Parity Working Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). This paper was submitted as part of the proceedings of the Parity Working Group during the 90th IPU Conference in Australia in September 1993.¹

¹

Inter-Parliamentary Union - Series 'Reports and Documents' Geneva, 1993

5. The Committee commends the Social Policy Group paper to the Senate and the House of Representatives, and notes the conclusions of the paper that:

- (a) On many issues Australia can claim to be amongst the leading countries in the world in terms of its commitments and action to promote the status of women.²
- (b) Australia's major political parties, having recognised the electoral advantages of having women candidates, are now developing strategies to increase the proportion of women in their parliamentary parties.³

6. The Committee notes, however, that despite (a), at 30 June 1993 Australia ranked 35th out of 60 countries on the percentage of women's parliamentary representation with 8.2% in the House of Representatives, in contrast to the leading countries like Finland (39%), Norway (35.6%) and Sweden (33%).⁴

7. In regard to (b), the conclusions of the paper also suggest that "although action by the parties is planned, the outcomes are still far from clear" and that an ongoing advisory and supervisory role could well be fulfilled by the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters.⁵

Reasons for the Gender Imbalance

8. In regard to the first proposed term of reference, ie the reason for the gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament, the Committee notes the observation of the Research Service paper that a great deal of research has occurred in Australia and overseas and that the reasons for the imbalance are well known.⁶

9. The Committee further notes the conclusion of the Research Service paper that devoting further resources to a study of the reasons for gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament would be unlikely to result in different findings from those now widely agreed.⁷ The outcomes of these researches is summarised in the Research Service's paper *Women In Politics: Relevant Research* which is at Attachment 3 of the Appendix.

² Appendix P24

³ Appendix P24

⁴ See Attachments 1 & 2 to the Appendix

⁵ Appendix P25

⁶ Appendix P25

⁷ Appendix P9

10. Consequently, the Committee has concluded that an Inquiry such as that suggested by the Senate is not warranted to establish the causes of the gender imbalance, as these are already well established.

Strategies for Increasing the Participation of Women in the Political Process

11. The Research Service paper describes various initiatives and strategies that have been proposed in relation to the goal of equal representation of men and women in parliament⁸. These include official action such as the appointment or rotation of women; modifying institutional structures to reflect and facilitate participation on the basis of parity and promoting women's participation in political parties.

12. The paper notes that not all of these measures are appropriate to Australia's federal constitutional system of government. However, it goes on to note several initiatives designed to increase the participation of women in public life such as quotas (the ACTU has a quota of 25% of women for executive positions) and initiatives within the well established political parties to pre-select more women for winnable seats.

13. The issue of enhanced participation by women in parliament is under investigation by the Commonwealth-State Ministers' Conference on the Status of Women, and has been examined by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The Parity Working Group of the IPU was set up to consider the issue. It met in Canberra during the 90th Conference in September 1993 and reconvened in Paris in March 1994. At the 91st Conference the Inter-Parliamentary Council of the IPU adopted the *Plan of Action to Correct Current Imbalances in the Participation of Men and Women in Political Life*⁹ proposed by the Parity Working Group.

14. The matter has also been the subject of recent investigation by this Parliament. It was considered in the 36th Parliament by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs (LACA) in its *Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women in Australia*. In its April 1992 report *Half Way to Equal*,¹⁰ the LACA Committee in a section entitled *Women in Political Life*¹¹ recommended:

⁸ Appendix PP 16-24

⁹ IPU - *Plan of Action to Correct Present Imbalances in the Participation of Men and Women in Political Life* - Geneva, 1994.

¹⁰ Parliamentary Paper No. 98/92

¹¹ Ibid P160

that all political parties examine their selection procedures for systemic discrimination against women and develop appropriate affirmative action programs which would give women equal opportunity to take a greater role in the political process.¹²

15. It is apparent therefore that there is a considerable amount of work in progress which has the objective of improving the participation of women in the political and electoral processes. The Committee does not believe that it would be helpful for it to embark on an Inquiry that would merely traverse issues already well covered or which are already the subject of investigations by other bodies.

16. The Committee has concluded that the most valuable role it can perform in light of this on-going activity is to monitor developments on behalf of the Parliament so far as they relate to the electoral process.

17. It is the intention of the Committee to distribute the Parliamentary Research Service paper inviting comments and responses from within the community. These community responses will be collected and, where appropriate, reported to the Parliament.

The Effect of Parliamentary Procedures and Practices on Women's Aspirations to, and Participation in, the Australian Parliament

18. It was noted in *Half Way to Equal* that the current pattern of preselection and election to parliament is more suited to a man's life style and career than it is to a woman's¹³ and that the dominant ethic in politics is still overwhelmingly male. This is reflected in factors such as the hours and times of sittings which are not conducive to domestic felicity. This sentiment is increasingly being acknowledged. Both Houses have recently set more civilised hours of sitting.

19. This Committee, however, has been appointed to inquire into and report on such matters relating to electoral laws and practices and their administration as may be referred to it by either House or a Minister.¹⁴ It is not among its functions to investigate matters concerning parliamentary procedures as term of reference (iii) invites it to do.

20. The Committee concludes that it is not a function of the Committee under its resolution of appointment to inquire into the practices and procedures of the Parliament and their affect on the participation of women in political life.

¹² Ibid Recommendation 41

¹³ Ibid P163

¹⁴ Resolutions of Appointment of the Committee - Votes and Proceeding No. 7 May 1993.

Recommendation

21. The Committee recommends that the Minister authorise the Committee under para (1) of its resolution of appointment to monitor developments in the area of the participation by women in the electoral process and to report on this matter from time to time.

SENATOR DOMINIC FOREMAN
CHAIRMAN
MAY 1994

THE APPENDIX

Department of the
Parliamentary
Library

Parliamentary Research Service

Prepared for the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters

Women, Elections and Parliament

Consie Larmour
Social Policy Group

2 May 1994

This paper makes use of publicly available information and was written to the specifications of the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters.

Views expressed should not be attributed to the Parliamentary Research Service, which, as an organisation, does not promote particular approaches to issues.

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3. McInnis, Shelley. <i>Women in Politics: Relevant Research.</i> Prepared for JSCEM, November 1993.	55

Executive Summary

Marked gender imbalances in the Australian Parliament and in most world parliaments are well documented. A great deal of research and writing exists on the numbers of women in parliaments, on the countries which have higher and lower participation of women and on the reasons for gender imbalances. This research is reviewed for the JSCEM in the accompanying Parliamentary Research Service paper, *Women in Politics: Relevant Research*. Devoting further resources to a study of the reasons for gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament would be unlikely to result in different findings from those now widely agreed.

Studies on women and the political process began, in the 1980's, to canvass strategies to counter the gender imbalance, and many of these were adopted in Australia through the National Agenda for Women and through legislation to combat discriminatory practices affecting women.

Strategies such as improving the education and socio-economic status of women have translated into only slow progress in increasing the participation of women in political and decision making processes. With widespread acceptance of the need for more women in political life, new strategies are being sought and suggested. The parliaments of some countries have systems of reserved seats for women or quotas in place, although a quota system is very much more common within party structures than for legislative elections. Proportional voting systems appear to result in more women in parliaments.

Proposed strategies in Australia range from cautious objectives for parties, such as encouraging more women to try for pre-selection, to the radical Carlton proposal for equal numbers of men and women in parliament produced through two lists of candidates. Great scope exists for a parliamentary committee such as JSCEM to evaluate and oversee suggested strategies and to initiate an on-going monitoring of the resulting progress. Such an overseeing and monitoring process could benefit from community input and consultation.

Scope exists also for the JSCEM (or other parliamentary committee) to extend the 1993 work of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Procedure to consider further how parliamentary lifestyles can be adapted more to fit the needs of families. 1994 is, after all, the International Year of the Family.

Introduction

On 27 May 1993 the Senate passed a resolution on the subject of Women, Elections and Parliament which included the reference of an inquiry to the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters (JSCEM). The preamble to the resolution noted that:

- (i) women are severely under-represented in Australian parliaments and in parliaments all over the world, and
- (ii) this is a great injustice to women and leads to poorer parliamentary processes and decisions;

The resolution concluded with the reference of the following matter to the JSCEM:

to inquire into and report... on women, elections and Parliament, with particular reference to:

- (i) the reasons for the gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament,
- (ii) strategies for increasing the number and effectiveness of women in political and electoral processes, and
- (iii) the effect of parliamentary procedures and practices on women's aspirations to, and participation in, the Australian Parliament.

The JSCEM decided at its meeting of 30 September 1993 that the Parliamentary Research Service should complete by December 1993:

- a. a review of work in the subject area which had been completed or was being undertaken by other individuals or organisations; and
- b. an expansion on the terms of reference, which might in turn be used for considering possible amendments to the current terms of reference.

A review of Australian and international research on gender imbalance in the parliaments of the world, the reasons for this, and the strategies suggested to date to redress the balance, appears as a separate paper, *Women in Politics: relevant research* (Attachment 3). This review is presented chronologically, in two sections, 'Australian' and 'International', in the present tense, thus summarising the development in theories and research in this area. A paper prepared by the Parliamentary Research Service for submission to the Parity Working Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Towards a plan of action to correct present imbalances in the participation of men and women in*

political life is also drawn upon in this discussion of the terms of reference and possible action or amendments.¹

The under-representation of women in parliaments

Over the last twenty years, and especially following the UN (Nairobi) Conference in 1985 which marked the closure of the international decade for women, there has been an increasing international focus on the participation of women in political life. The status of women has been a particular focus also of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Since 1985 national groups have been invited to report every three years on the progress of initiatives and mechanisms employed to promote equal rights and responsibilities of men and women, and the Inter-Parliamentary Council has monitored the distribution of seats between men and women in national parliaments.

A 1991 IPU survey showed that in that year women made up 11 per cent of the world's parliamentarians and men 89 per cent (using as a base single or lower chambers of national parliaments). By the 1993 survey, the figure for women had dropped to 10.1 per cent. State or provincial parliaments, or upper houses, were not taken into account for these figures, but world-wide it was indicated that the inclusion of upper houses would reduce rather than increase the percentage. The percentage of women in the lower house of the Australian Federal Parliament was 6.7 per cent at the time of the 1991 survey - well below the world figure. In 1993 the IPU listed Australia's proportion of women in the Federal Parliament's lower house as 8.2 per cent, just behind El Salvador at 8.3 per cent. By April 1994 women made up 10.2 per cent of the members of the Australian House of Representatives. (See Attachment 2).

Reasons for gender imbalance

In Australia, the gender gap in mass political participation has been shown to be small, but an acute gender imbalance remains in participation at the elite level, such as in political party hierarchies and representation in parliament. Although for most political parties women make up less than half of the membership, their representation within the parties is still much higher than their representation within parliaments. Within the major political parties also, women do not hold office or decision making positions in proportion to their membership.

¹ Parliamentary Research Service, Canberra 1993

Recent attention in Australia has consequently focused on the important party pre-selection process, and on the need for long-established political parties to identify and remove barriers and develop strategies to attract and support more women candidates.

Reasons which have been advanced for the greater representation of women in Scandinavian countries include electoral systems based on proportional representation (which favours the inclusion of women and minority groups) rather than single member electorates, the lack of long established male-dominated political parties, and the application (as early as the 1950s) of affirmative action policies. Explanations for the under-representation of women have included political socialisation and a lack of interest or willingness of women to put themselves forward as candidates, associated with their lower social standing and over-representation in lower socio-economic groups generally, and, in some countries, their lesser educational opportunities.

Benefits of increased participation of women

Political parties have long realised the value of the women's vote (women first gained the vote federally in Australia at the turn of the century: voting is compulsory and women make up 51 per cent of the electorate). More recently parties have accepted that women as political candidates advantage rather than disadvantage their electoral chances.

Basic arguments put forward in support of women's increased representation in politics and in positions of political leadership² are concerned with democracy and egalitarianism (women constitute at least half of any population and should be represented proportionately); challenges to the validity of all-male decision-making; the idea that women are more aware of their own needs and are therefore better able to press for them³; the broadening of the political agenda to include such issues as child care, domestic violence, sexual harassment, women's health and suburban isolation⁴; and the question of the efficient use of human resources.

2 See *Women in Politics: Relevant Research* (attached) p.27. Chapter 5 of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women and Political Power: Survey carried out among the 150 National Parliaments* in 1992 details these measures.

3 Described in Randall, V. *Women and Politics: An International Perspective*. London, Macmillan Education, 1978.

4 Sawyer, M & Simms, M. *op cit*.

Public attitudes

The gender imbalance in Australian political life is now widely viewed as a problem which must be redressed by the long-established political parties. The issue has received a good deal of media coverage in recent years, and particularly surrounding the last federal election in March 1993:

After preaching equal opportunity and affirmative action for years, Federal Parliament has got one of the worst scores in Australia for putting women into power..... Throughout the campaign, both parties threw money at the women's vote but experience shows the major parties have terrible track records promoting women... By comparison to Parliaments, the outside world has made far greater gains: 42 percent of professionals are women; 26 percent of managers and administrators are women; 25 percent of GPs are women. Even the ACTU, a traditional boys' club, has eight women on its thirty-eight-member executive. In Canberra, Paul Keating's Ministry of thirty includes just three women, one in the Cabinet. In the House of Representatives, it is worse - 9 percent are women. Only in the Senate is there some improvement - 21 percent of Senators are women, and how coincidental is it that the real power and privilege is in the Lower House?⁵

And another comment:

...While women have made giant strides in many professions - including the law and medicine - they are still grossly under-represented in our parliaments. Given that it is in parliament that some of the fundamental decisions about the shape of our society are made, this is a serious problem..... Although the root of the problem is with the parties, some women are discouraged because they see politics as a dirty business in which principles often have to be sacrificed..... It is time for our political parties to take a long, hard look at the way they treat women with political aspirations. Not enough are being chosen as candidates.....⁶

Media commentators and social researchers have noted high levels of cynicism regarding male politicians among the Australian electorate, and a growing lack of respect for traditional adversarial parliamentary styles. Opinion poll research has suggested that, rightly or wrongly, women politicians are viewed to be more motivated by altruism and concern for community welfare.⁷ It would appear to be now widely recognised by the Australian public and by parliamentarians that

5 O'Brien, Kerry, on 'Lateline', ABC TV, 25 March 1993.

6 Editorial. 'More Women are needed in politics'. *The Melbourne Age*, 19 March 1993.

7 ANOP survey of a Queensland electorate. Discussed in Sawyer, M. and Simms, M., *op. cit.*:25.

issues such as situational and procedural constraints to women's political participation, and the disincentives posed by the traditionally confrontationalist parliamentary style and male dominated atmosphere, and perhaps even the electoral system, need to be addressed.

After wide community consultation for its reference into equal opportunity and equal status for women in Australia, the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs stated in its report *Half Way to Equal* (the Lavarch Report) of April 1992:

The Committee believes that it is incumbent on political parties to redress the gender imbalance where it currently exists so that it more accurately reflects the constituency.

Its recommendation was:

...that all political parties examine their selection procedures for systemic discrimination against women and develop appropriate affirmative action programs which give women equal opportunity to take a greater role in the political process.⁸

Government commitment

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, said recently:

This is a country which prides itself on its democratic institutions - yet in the most important of those democratic institutions, the nation's parliaments, men outnumber women 7 to 1, in the House of Representatives more than 10 to one.

No doubt the aberration can be explained: but it can't be justified. There are reasons but we shouldn't call them excuses.

The ruling body of the nation should be representative of the people it serves. At present it is not.

Parliaments make laws for all the people and its composition should as far as possible reflect that. At present it does not.

In fact it has been calculated that at the present rate of increase it would take another 60 years to achieve equal representation of men and women in the Commonwealth Parliament.

In the meantime Australian democracy is the loser... It is less that women have a right to be there than we have a need for them to be there ...

8 House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, *Half Way to Equal: Report of the Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women in Australia*, Canberra. AGPS, April 1992.

Equal representation of women and men strengthens the legitimacy of our decision making process. More than that, it strengthens our capacity to make the right decisions.⁹

Ideas and strategies

Possible measures that have been put forward in the international context have included official action such as the implementation of quota systems and the official appointment or rotation of women; modifying institutional structures to reflect and facilitate participation on the basis of parity; promoting women's participation in political parties; and ensuring the equal participation of women in areas of the private sector which have a direct effect on the public. Not all of these measures are appropriate to Australia's federal constitutional system of government whereby powers are shared or distributed between the Commonwealth and the States, or to our Westminster system of parliamentary democracy.

Other recommended community-based strategies have included stimulating public awareness of women's right to participate and the benefits they bring to the quality of decision-making; using the ballot box as a means of promoting women's rights, interests and concerns; encouraging incentives for equality through national and international public policy; calling upon experienced women leaders to contribute actively as important role models; reinforcing cooperation between women through information exchange, mutual support and the development of tactics to identify and realise common objectives; removing demeaning stereotypes and ensuring that the portrayal of women by the media is fair and objective; implementing all United Nations recommendations to increase the proportion of women in leadership positions; promoting research on women and women's issues; and reflecting women's contributions through curriculum reform in education.¹⁰

These strategies are being pursued in Australia - through the implementation of equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation; through programs delivered through government departments and agencies or specially appointed women's committees and monitored by

9 Hon. P.J. Keating, Prime Minister, Speech at opening of the Conference on *Women, Power and the 21st Century*, Melbourne, 3 December 1993.

10 Division for the Advancement of Women, United Nations Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. 'Women in Public Life' *Women 2000* No.2. 1992.

the Office of the Status of Women and State women's units; through women's community organisations such as the Women's Electoral Lobby, and through the major political parties.

Proposals for electoral reform

Quotas

Increasingly the call for a quota system is gaining momentum as the failure of so-called 'appointment on merit' procedures to produce equal outcomes for women has become apparent. This was highlighted in the claim of the Premier of New South Wales that his Olympic Games Committee was almost entirely male because appointments were made 'on merit'. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), for example, now has a rule of a 25 per cent quota of women for executive positions. As has been pointed out, the women now in those executive positions should have been there anyway under any real 'merit' principle.¹¹

A number of countries, or political parties in a number of countries have already adopted quota systems to improve the representation of women in parliament. An Inter-Parliamentary Survey carried out among the 150 National Parliaments existing as of 31 October 1991 revealed 'positive action measures to facilitate women's access to parliament'. At least five countries have, in various forms and to differing degrees, included a quota device in their legislation to ensure the presence of women in the national parliaments, and 56 political parties in 34 countries have established a quota system either for legislative elections (22 parties) or for elections to posts in the executive structures of the party (51 parties). Women may also sometimes sit in Parliament as a result of the system of reserved seats, filled by means of a separate election, although this is "...a very uncommon mechanism". The phenomenon of appointment to parliament is fairly widespread and has accounted for the appointment to parliament of women in several countries, most notably in Dominica, Indonesia, Mexico, Norway, Saint Lucia and Uganda.¹²

The Carlton proposal

Before retiring from parliament, Liberal MP the Hon. Jim Carlton proposed that the Commonwealth of Australia's Electoral Act be changed to allow voters to elect equal numbers of men and women to both the House of Representatives and the Senate. As it is unlikely that the Australian public would accept twice as many parliamentarians he proposed also halving the number of electorates (thereby requiring many existing male parliamentarians to lose their seats). While the proposal has been rejected by non-Liberal women parliamentarians as unrealistic (and by Liberal women on the grounds that women should succeed on merit, not by quota), it received a good deal of media attention. Commentator Paddy McGuinness supported the proposal as an idea 'almost of genius',¹³ and Robert Macklin labelled it as an idea whose time has come.¹⁴

The Carlton proposal is opposed strongly by both government and coalition women members of parliament. However, although to require half of the Parliament to be constituted of women may not have any special merit at some time in a utopian future, certainly it is now recognised that women have a claim to positive action to provide a political system which will serve both sexes.

Political parties

While the Carlton proposal is well worth investigating, it is widely understood that the root of the problem of gender imbalance in Australia's political life lies with Australia's long-established political parties. While political philosophies and ideologies obviously differ, all parties view the gender imbalance as a serious and electorally damaging issue, and the larger parties are developing strategies to address it.¹⁵

11 Ideas expressed at the Affirmative Action Agency and RIPAA Conference, *The Glass Ceiling: Illusory or Real?* 4 & 5 November 1993.

12 See for example UN Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. *op. cit.*, and Sawyer, M. & Simms, M. *A Woman's Place: Women and Politics in Australia*. Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1993.

13 McGuinness, Padraic. 'System ought to serve both sexes'. *The Australian*, 19 May 1993.

14 Macklin R. 'An idea whose time has come', *Canberra Times* 22 October 1993.

15 Note that the Democrats and Greens have had at least equal representation of Women in Federal Parliament. The National Party at present has no women in either House. The paper prepared for the IPU Parity Group *Towards a plan of action to correct present imbalances in the participation of men and women in political life* has sections on each of the parties.

The Australian Labor Party

Specific targets of the ALP 1981-1991 Affirmative Action plan included a target of one third of party positions to be held by women. In 1991 a National Labor Women's Conference endorsed a target of one half women representatives in parliament by the year 2000. However, Labor women have acknowledged that these targets are unlikely to be reached. Despite the affirmative action targets, existing power structures and factional allegiances have determined who wins preselection and important party positions. Women are disadvantaged by their under-representation in affiliated unions and in those professions and businesses at levels where most MPs are recruited. They are also disadvantaged by their lack of 'mateship' networks, and their more limited access to traditional funding sources.

The Labor Women Parliamentarians' Conference in Perth in November 1993 issued a Resolution stating:

This Conference believes that the appropriate method for achieving equal representation of women in state and federal Parliaments is change to ALP rules rather than gradual social change.

The Resolution called for a rule change to:

require the state branches to achieve 50 per cent representation of women in State and Federal Parliaments in both upper and lower houses by the year 2000 or the election immediately following;

require state branches to adopt rules changes to achieve this within 12 months of the next National Conference; and

provide for the sanction of federal intervention in preselections to achieve the 50 per cent objective by the year 2000.¹⁶

At the Victorian State Conference in March 1993 the Victorian Branch of the ALP decided to adopt new pre-selection rules to guarantee women 35 per cent of winnable seats by the year 2003. A winnable seat is defined as follows:

- 1 If a swing of more than 5% is required to attain government:
- half of the total Lower House seats and any Upper House seat that would be won with the required swing.

¹⁶ Labor Women Parliamentarians' Conference, Perth 14 November 1993. Conference Resolution.

- 2 If the swing required to attain government is less than 5%, or the ALP is in government, whichever is the lesser of:

- (a) those seats held and those that would be won with a swing of 5%;
- (b) those seats that constitute 55% of Lower House seats and any Upper House seat that would be won with the required swing.¹⁷

The rule change was promoted by the Opposition Leader in the Victorian parliament, John Brumby, and former Premier Joan Kirner. According to Mr Brumby:

The Victorian branch will become the first ALP branch in Australia to have an affirmative action rule.

He promised to take this to the federal party and to seek a national rule change. Interim pre-selection targets will be set. Under the rule change the minimum of 35 per cent will apply to women and to men.¹⁸

All State branches are considering moves to gain more women representatives. The NSW system at present is one of rank and file pre-selections, and such affirmative action measures as proposed by Victoria are being debated. The NSW State conference will be held in June. However, the need for more women candidates to be pre-selected is accepted and will be prominent on the agenda at the national conference in September this year.

The national Labor Women's Conference, held in Adelaide on 23-24 April 1994, carried a resolution that the Party should guarantee that women make up a minimum of 40 per cent of MPs in State and Federal parliaments after the next two rounds of elections. Former Victorian Premier Joan Kirner said delegates at the conference hoped that the 40 per cent minimum would be confirmed at the ALP national conference in Hobart in September, and that if state branches failed to implement the resolution the party's national executive would be called on to intervene and enforce the necessary rule changes. Mrs Kirner said merit would always remain the key objective when preselecting candidates, and indicated the resolution might meet with opposition from within traditional male strongholds in the ALP, such as unions

¹⁷ Definitions supplied by Mr Alan Griffin MP, federal member for Corinella

¹⁸ *The Age*, 25 Mar.1994.

which represented male-dominated professions. Although ALP women 'had not abandoned their previous national conference resolution to ensure women made up 50 per cent of MPs by the year 2000', they saw the latest resolution as a more realistic short-term objective which would pave the way for equity in federal and state parliaments.¹⁹

A note of caution on the new objectives has been recorded by the Federal president of the ALP, Hon Barry Jones, MP:

The ALP needs to devote much more effort to recruiting more women who would be attracted to a political career. It is essential that we avoid any appearance of tokenism. Should we, for example, have quotas for the aged, or the young? Or for representatives of specific ethnic groups?

... Ideally, the growth in female participation should be part of an evolutionary process... Women make up 50.08 per cent of Australia's population. They are not a minority and they must throw off the habit of thinking of themselves as such and conceding power to male hegemony.²⁰

The Liberal Party of Australia

On 29 August 1993 the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Hewson, announced the establishment of a national Liberal Women's Candidates Forum to attract female candidates for parliament. The Forum is to be chaired by a former federal minister, Dame Margaret Guilfoyle.

The federal women's committee and its president, Joan Hall MP, a South Australian member of parliament, have promoted the targeting and training of potential women candidates. State women's councils have been working to support this policy. Joan Hall says that the party is now focussing on gender imbalance and considers the use of this term within the party as an encouraging sign of change.²¹

Strategies developed within the party to redress gender imbalance have focused on the provision of training, support and community education to encourage women candidates and potential candidates. In recent years a range of publications has been produced to provide practical advice to women candidates, and to raise the public profile of women parliamentarians and the interest of women in the community in politics. Special training courses, aimed at developing confidence in

19 *The Canberra Times*, 25 Apr.1994.

20 Jones, Barry. 'The glass ceiling in politics', *The Canberra Times*, 2 April.1994.

21 Brough, Jodie. *op cit*.

women to nominate and re-nominate, are being implemented. They cover such areas as personal presentation, policy, handling the media, the Party organisation, the selection process and problems faced by women in parliament. Curriculum materials have been developed to assist women parliamentarians and party members who talk to school children and students to provide positive role-models and stimulate interest in political careers.

In accepting the challenge to gain more Liberal women parliamentarians, the women's councils stress the need for support and networks. Chris McDiven, NSW Liberal Women's Council President, believes that:

... it is better to run a number of women in a single preselection because it is extremely unusual for a woman to come through and win in a big field of men... even if you can't win yourself, you'll help another woman win just by running.

Joan Hall has agreed with this concept, seeing it as building momentum:

Every time we get another woman elected, it makes it 100 times easier for the next woman to get elected.²²

Bronwyn Bishop MP, the federal member for MacKellar, also agrees. Acknowledging that there are sometimes added difficulties for women she has said:

At the end of the day, if I am successful in overcoming certain obstacles, it will make it easier for the next person.

Proposals to reform parliamentary sitting patterns

A recent focus in Australia has been on the constraints caused by women's family responsibilities (despite their high workforce participation Australian women still shoulder most of the burden of responsibility for caring for children and other domestic duties)²³ and the disincentives posed by parliamentary procedures such as long hours and late-night sittings. Thus women who do serve in Parliaments are likely to have adult children or reduced family commitment. It has been pointed out that the only woman federal parliamentarian to manage coping with babies and a parliamentary

22 Brough, Jodie. *op cit*.

23 See *Half Way to Equal* - *op cit* Chapters 3 and 4 *passim*.

career has been the Hon Ros Kelly MP the member for Canberra. Australia's vast distances and the travelling time from many electorates to Canberra place enormous strains on family life for both male and female parliamentarians. This point may be highlighted even more in 1994, the International Year of the Family.

Disincentives to women posed by the confrontational style and atmosphere of male-dominated parliaments, and unsympathetic treatment of women parliamentarians by the media have also been noted.

The House of Representatives Standing Committee on Procedure, chaired by Dr Blewett, reported in October 1993 on its inquiry into 'the practices and procedures of the House generally with a view to making recommendations for their improvement or change and for the development of new procedures'.²⁴ The Committee has recommended changed procedures and hours of sitting which, although not particularly 'family friendly' or radical, could result in a healthier lifestyle for Members at least.

Proposed consultancy on Women and Government in Australia and New Zealand

Following a decision of the Commonwealth-State Ministers Conference on the Status of Women, Mr John Howard and Dr Kate Grenot of the Government Services Division of Coopers and Lybrand Consultants have been engaged 'to produce a Discussion Paper on Women and Government in Australia and New Zealand to recognise the significance of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand (1893) and Australia (1894), and include research to obtain information on related issues'. The final discussion paper is for wide distribution in the community, directed in particular to women and girls (at school), to encourage open debate, so as to improve women's participation in public life both as candidates for election to public office and as voters.²⁵ The paper is to focus on two themes - 'women's candidature and election to public

office' and 'women as voters'.²³ The terms of reference for this paper state:

'On Women's Candidature, the Discussion Paper to be issued will, among other things:

- present existing data on women's success in being elected to office;
- present data on Australia, New Zealand and selected overseas countries;
- compare strategies used to improve women's representation;
- research the issues identified in terms of barriers to women's entry and under-representation;
- examine these issues and the adequacy of existing policy responses;
- recommend strategies for women in the community to facilitate change for improved representation of women in public life;

On Women as Voters, the Discussion Paper will, among other things:

- utilise overseas research on women's voting patterns as well as that from Australia and New Zealand;
- present evidence regarding the so-called, 'gender gap';
- research the perceived difference in women's voting patterns;
- research 'myths' regarding women as candidates and whether women will vote for women;
- research whether women vote in certain ways on particular issues.²⁴

An objective of the consultancy will be to explain why women are not being elected to positions of political decision-making. The brief for the consultancy lists as possible reasons:

- 'the way political systems operate and women's access to and participation in them;
- cultural and social constraints;
- women's family responsibilities and supports available;
- how women themselves perceive the political/election process;
- the relevance of that process to their lives;
- access and participation in selection processes;
- level of awareness/information on political processes;
- women's socio-economic status.²⁵

One part of the paper is to be on structural reforms and how women in the community can bring about change to these structures. Some individual examples could be used to highlight the discussion, including women's experience, once elected, of serving in parliaments.

24 House of Representatives Standing Committee on Procedure, *About Time, Bills, Questions and Working Hours, Report of Inquiry into reform of the House of Representatives*, October 1993.

25 Commonwealth/State Ministerial Conference on the Status of Women, Consultancy Brief for a paper on Women and Government in Australia and New Zealand, December 1993

23 *ibid*

24 *ibid*

25 *ibid*

In addition, strategies are required to be presented for women seeking public office and/or improvement in the representation of women in public life, and strategies for women as voters wishing to influence the political agenda.

The paper is to be presented firstly to the Steering Committee and then to the next Commonwealth-State Ministers Conference on the Status of Women in July 1994. The project is being oversighted by the NSW Ministry for the Status and Advancement of Women.

Conclusion

On many issues Australia can claim to be amongst the leading countries in the world in terms of its commitment and action to promote the status of women. The policies and programs co-ordinated and described through the National Agenda for Women reflect the significant social and attitudinal changes which have accompanied the large-scale movement of women into the labour market and, despite the continuing existence of a 'glass ceiling', into professional, managerial and leadership positions in this country. That the status of women in Australian society is closely linked to their access to resources, opportunities and decision-making processes is widely realised.²⁶

Australia's major political parties, having recognised the electoral advantage of having women candidates, are now developing strategies to increase the proportion of women in their parliamentary parties. The question of whether quotas are necessary is being asked more frequently. Mr Carlton's revolutionary proposal to achieve almost instant parity has generated great interest, if not support. The issues of changed hours and procedures have often been debated and have been considered again recently by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Procedure. The Commonwealth/State Ministers for the Status of Women Conference is to commission a wide-ranging discussion paper for consideration at the next conference in October 1994 and for widespread distribution.

The issue of gender imbalance in the Federal Parliament has been referred for examination by the JSCEM. It is not planned that this reference will be addressed at this stage by any other Parliamentary Committee.

Concerning the first reference, the reasons for the gender imbalance, a great deal of research both in Australia and overseas has been undertaken over many years. The reasons are now well known. There does not seem to be a need for JSCEM to further seek to identify reasons for the gender imbalance. The review of research (Attachment 3) demonstrates that this area has been well researched and there is wide agreement internationally. Australia has already taken action in some areas such as the lower economic and social status of women generally. Although raising the education, economic and labour status of women in Australia has raised in turn political awareness, progress is slow and equal representation by the year 2000 will not result, it has been shown, through these measures alone.

The pre-selection processes of the major political parties have been shown to be responsible in a large part for the gender imbalance. Although action by the parties is planned, the outcomes are still far from clear.

Parliamentary sitting hours, procedures and style have been cited as deterrents to women in seeking election.

There would seem to be a very positive role for the Committee in considering, against the goal of equal representation by the year 2000, the various strategies proposed by the political parties and the Commonwealth and State Ministers on the Status of Women.

How do these strategies measure up in terms of advantages and disadvantages and likely outcome against the proposals of Mr Carlton or the quota systems already being applied in some overseas parliaments? If reforms of parliamentary procedures were to have the objective of encouraging greater political participation of women, what other measures could or should be considered? Could these include greater use of a proportional voting system?

In view of the interest of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and of the United Nations in monitoring the political participation by women in all countries and in view of Australia's slow achievements to date, advisory, co-ordinating and overseeing action within the Parliament appears necessary and this role could be well fulfilled by the JSCEM.

²⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Women in Australia*, Canberra, ABS Catalogue no.4113.0 1993

Recommendations:

That the JSCEM devote no further resources to inquiring into the reasons for gender imbalance in the Australian Parliament in view of the substantial research already undertaken.

That the JSCEM adopt a co-ordinating role in seeking to identify strategies being proposed in the context of the Australian Parliament for increasing the number and effectiveness of women in political and electoral processes, and the likely interactions and outcomes of these strategies. Such a role could benefit from community consultation.

That the JSCEM seek to monitor parliamentary procedures and practices, taking into account present proposals and the likely effects on women's participation in Australian political life.

ATTACHMENT 1

IPU Survey 91 AND 93: Women in Parliament

In 1991 the Inter-Parliamentary Union made a study of the representation of women in the Parliaments of the world. As at 30 June 1991 women made up 11 per cent of the world's parliamentarians and men 89 per cent. By 30 June 1993 the figure for women's participation had dropped to 10.1 per cent. For its study, the IPU looked at the composition of the single or lower chamber of the parliament of each country. State or provincial parliaments or upper houses of parliament are not taken into account. In Australia women represented 6.7 per cent of parliamentarians in the House of Representatives in 1991 and 8.2 per cent in 1993. They currently represent 10.2 per cent.

	30 June 1991	30 June 1993
Afghanistan	3.0%	
Angola	14.5%	9.5%
Argentina	4.7%	5.0%
Australia	6.7%	8.2%
Austria	21.8%	21.3%
Bangladesh	10.3%	10.3%
Belgium	8.5%	9.4%
Bolivia	6.9%	?
Brazil	6.0%	6.0%
Bulgaria	8.5%	12.9%
Canada	13.2%	13.2%
China	21.3%	21.0%
Costa Rica	12.3%	12.3%
Cuba	33.9%	22.8%
Denmark	33.0%	33.0%
Ecuador	5.5%	5.2%
Finland	38.5%	39.0%
France	5.7%	6.1%
Germany	20.4%	20.5%
Greece	5.3%	5.3%
Hungary	7.0%	7.3%
Iceland	23.8%	23.8%
India	7.1%	7.3%
Indonesia	12.4%	12.2%
Iraq	10.8%	10.8%

Ireland	7.8%	12.1%
Israel	6.7%	9.2%
Italy	12.8%	8.1%
Japan	2.3%	2.3%
Malaysia	5.0%	5.0%
Mexico	12.4%	7.6%
Netherlands	21.3%	29.3%
New Zealand	16.5%	16.5%
Nicaragua	16.3%	16.3%
Norway	35.8%	35.8%
Papua New Guinea	0.0%	0.0%
Philippines	9.0%	10.6%
Poland	13.5%	9.6%
Portugal	17.6%	8.7%
Rep. of Korea	2.0%	1.0%
Romania	3.6%	3.5%
Rwanda	17.1%	17.1%
Singapore	4.9%	3.7%
Solomon Islands	0.0%	?
South Africa	2.6%	2.8%
Spain	14.6%	16.0%
Sri Lanka	4.9%	4.9%
Sweden	38.1%	33.5%
Switzerland	14.0%	17.5%
Syrian Arab Republic	8.4%	8.4%
Thailand	3.8%	4.2%
Turkey	1.3%	1.8%
U.S.A.	6.4%	10.8%
Uganda	12.2%	12.6%
United Arab Emirates	0.0%	0.0%
United Kingdom	6.3%	9.2%
USSR	15.3%	
Vietnam	17.7%	18.5%
Yemen	3.3%	0.7%
Yugoslavia	17.7%	3.0%
Zimbabwe	12.0%	12.0%

Margaret Healy
Information Services
May 1994

Information Resources and Services

Current List of Women Members of Federal and State Parliaments

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTS -1994 EVENTS

COMMONWEALTH

House of Representatives

The number of women Members increased from 13 to 15 as a result of two by-elections.

The former Premier of Western Australia, and Opposition Leader from February 1993 to February 1994, Dr Carmen Lawrence, was the ALP candidate for the seat of Fremantle, WA. The by-election was held on 12.3.94, and Dr Lawrence was elected. On 25.3.94 she was appointed Minister for Human Services and Health. She is also a member of the Cabinet. Dr Lawrence is only the fifth person to be appointed to the Ministry immediately after being elected as a Member of the Commonwealth Parliament.

Senator Bronwyn Bishop (LIB-NSW) resigned from the Senate on 24.2.94 in order to nominate as the Liberal Party candidate for the seat of Mackellar, NSW. The by-election was held on 26.3.94, and Mrs Bishop was elected.

Senate

The number of women Senators fell from 17 to 16 with the resignation on 24.2.94 of Senator Bronwyn Bishop (LIB-NSW). It rose to 17 again when the casual vacancy in the Senate which was caused by the resignation of Senator Kerry Sibraa (ALP-NSW) was filled on 8.3.94 by Ms Belinda Neal.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Legislative Assembly

Jillian Skinner (LIB) won the North Shore by-election on 5.2.94, thus increasing the number of women in the Assembly to 10, and increasing the number of Liberal Party women members to 4. 10.1% of Assembly members are female.

Legislative Council

The Australian of 31.3.94 reported that Judith Walker (ALP) would retire because of ill- health.

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VICTORIA

Legislative Assembly

Ms Joan Kirner, the former Premier, announced on 26.3.94 her intention to resign from Parliament in May, after the autumn session of Parliament.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Legislative Assembly

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Carmen Lawrence, resigned on 14.2.94. The by-election for Glendalough was held on 19.3.94, and the ALP candidate, Michelle Roberts, was elected. The number of women members of the Legislative Assembly is therefore unchanged.

Kay Hallahan was elected as Deputy Leader of the Opposition on 7.2.94.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

House of Assembly

A by-election for the seat of Elizabeth was held on 9.4.94. The vacancy was caused by the resignation of Mr Martyn Evans (ALP), who won the Bonython by-election on 19.3.94 for the House of Representatives. Ms Lea Stevens (ALP) won the Elizabeth by-election with 55.8% of the vote after distribution of preferences. There are now 7 female members out of 47.

TASMANIA

House of Assembly

Sue Napier was appointed Assistant Minister with responsibility for Youth Affairs and the Status of Women on 14.2.94. She will attend Cabinet meetings, but will not vote. She is the first woman in the history of Tasmanian Liberal Governments to be appointed to any ministerial position. The position of Assistant Minister does not attract a salary, but only reimbursement of expenses.

CURRENT WOMEN MEMBERS OF FEDERAL AND STATE PARLIAMENTS

COMMONWEALTH (Election held 13.3.93. Second Keating Ministry appointed on 24.3.93)

House of Representatives (147 members - 15 women, 132 men)

Women represent 10.2% of total members

** Bishop, Bronwyn Kathleen	LIB	Mackellar, NSW	26.3.94
Spokesperson for Public Administration, Federal Affairs and Local Government from 12.5.89 to 11.4.90; Urban and Regional Strategy from 17.1.94			
Crawford, Mary Catherine	ALP	Forde, Qld	11.7.87-
Crosio, Hon. Janice Ann	ALP	Prospect, NSW	24.3.90-
NSW: Minister for Natural Resources from 5.4.84 to 6.2.86 Minister for Local Government from 6.2.86 to 25.3.88 Minister for Water Resources from 4.7.86 to 25.3.88 Assistant Minister for Transport from 26.11.87 to 25.3.88 Federal: Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Arts and Administrative Services from 24.3.93 to 25.3.94 Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Security from 25.3.94			
Deahm, Margaret (Maggie) Joan	ALP	Macquarie, NSW	13.3.93-
Easson, Mary Louise	ALP	Lowe, NSW	13.3.93-
Fatin, Hon. Wendy Frances	ALP	Canning, WA Brand, WA	5.3.83 until elected for Brand 1.12.84-
Minister for Local Government from 4.4.90 to 27.12.91 Minister for Arts and Territories from 27.12.91 to 24.3.93 Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women from 4.4.90 to 24.3.93			

COMMONWEALTH continued

Gallus, Christine Ann Shadow Minister for the Environment from 7.4.93	LIB	Hawker, SA Hindmarsh, SA	24.3.90 until elected for Hindmarsh 13.3.93 - 13.3.93-
Henzell, Marjorie Madeline	ALP	Capricornia, Qld	13.3.93-
Kelly, Hon. Roslyn Joan Parliamentary Secretary for Defence Science and Personnel from 24.7.87 to 18.9.87 Minister for Defence Science and Personnel from 18.9.87 to 6.4.89 Minister for Telecommunications and Aviation Support from 6.4.89 to 4.4.90 Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories from 4.4.90 to 27.12.91 Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment and Territories from 27.12.91 to 24.3.93 Minister for the Environment, Sport and Territories from 24.3.93-1.3.94	ALP	Canberra, ACT	18.10.80-
* Lawrence, Hon. Dr Carmen Mary State: Minister for Education from 25.2.88 to 28.2.89 Minister for Education and Aboriginal Affairs from 28.2.89 to 19.2.90 Premier, Minister for Public Sector Management and Women's Interests from 12.2.90 to 16.2.93; also Treasurer, Minister for the Family, Aboriginal Affairs, and Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs from 19.2.90 to 16.2.93 Federal: Minister for Human Services and Health, and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women from 25.3.94	ALP	Freemantle, WA	12.3.94
McHugh, Hon. Jeannette Minister for Consumer Affairs from 27.5.92	ALP	Phillip, NSW Grayndler, NSW	5.3.83 until elected for Grayndler 13.3.93- 13.3.93-
Moylan, Judith Eleanor	LIB	Pearce, WA	13.3.93-

COMMONWEALTH continued

Smith, Silvia Joy	ALP	Bass, Tas	13.3.93
Sullivan, Kathryn Jean Assistant Opposition Whip in the Senate from 8.4.75 to 11.11.75 Assistant Government Whip in the Senate from 22.12.75 to 22.2.77 Spokesperson on Home Affairs and Administrative Services from 16.3.83 to 14.12.84 Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Leader of the Opposition from 7.4.93	LIB	Moncrieff, Qld (formerly Senator for Qld 1974-84)	1.12.84-
Worth, Patricia (Trish) Mary	LIB	Adelaide, SA	13.3.93-
DATE	MEMBERS	FEMALE MEMBERS	%
from 26.3.94	147	15 10 ALP 5 LIB	10.2%
after 13.3.93	147	13 9 ALP 4 LIB	8.84%
before 13.3.93	148	10 7 ALP 3 LIB	6.76%
before 24.3.90	148	9 8 ALP 1 LIB	6.08%
* By-election 12.3.94 vice Hon. J Dawkins MP, who resigned on 4.2.94			
** By-election 26.3.94 vice Hon. J J Carlton MP who resigned on 14.1.94 Mrs Bishop was a Senator for NSW from 1.7.87 to 24.2.94			

COMMONWEALTH continued

Senate (76 members - 17 women, 59 men)

Women represent 22.37% of total members

Half-Senate election held 13.3.93. New Senate term commenced on 1.7.93.

	Bourne, Vicki Worrall	AD	NSW	Term expires 30.6.96
	Australian Democrats Whip in the Senate from 3.9.91; Spokesperson for the Australian Democrats on Foreign Affairs; Energy and Resources; Housing; Arts (including Heritage) from 1.7.90 to 8.10.91; on Administrative Services; Antarctica; Arts and Heritage; Foreign Affairs from 8.10.91 to 17.8.92; on Administrative Services; Antarctica; Arts and Heritage; Foreign Affairs; Transport and Communications from 17.8.92 to 30.6.93; on Administrative Services (excluding Electoral Matters); Arts and Heritage; Communications (including Media Ownership and the ABC); Foreign Affairs and Overseas Development; Human Rights; Immigration from 1.7.93			
#	Chamarette, Christabel Marguerite Alain	GRW	WA	Term expires 30.6.96
	Crowley, Hon. Dr. Rosemary Anne	ALP	SA	Term expires 30.6.96
	Temporary Chairman of Committees from 23.8.90 to 5.5.93; Minister for Family Services from 24.3.93 Minister assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women from 24.3.93 to 23.12.93			
*	Denman, Kay Janet	ALP	Tas	Term expires 30.6.99

COMMONWEALTH continued

	Kernot, Cheryl	AD	QLD	Term
	Leader of the Australian Democrats from 29.4.93; Spokesperson for Australian Democrats on Transport and Communications; Aboriginal Affairs; Consumer Affairs; Territories (Northern Australia) from 1.7.90 to 8.10.91; on Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation; Electoral Matters; Territories; Treasury and Finance from 8.10.91 to 30.6.93; on Treasury and Finance; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs; Women; Prime Minister and Cabinet; Small Business from 1.7.93			
	Knowles, Susan Christine	LIB	WA	Re-elected 13.3.93
	Deputy Opposition Whip from 14.9.87 to 7.4.93. Spokesperson on Multicultural Affairs from 7.4.93			Term commenced 1.7.93
	Lees, Meg Heather	AD	SA	Re-elected 13.3.93
	Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats from 2.10.91. Spokesperson for Australian Democrats on Arts, Sport, Tourism and Territories; Status of Women from 8.5.90 to 30.6.90; on Social Security (including Retirement Income); Community Services (including Aged Care); Sport; Tourism from 1.7.90 to 8.10.91; on Community Services; Health; Ethnic Affairs; Social Security; Sport; Women from 8.10.91 to 17.8.92; on Employment; Health and Community Services; Social Security; Sport; Women from 17.8.92 to 30.6.93; on Community, Family and Aged Care Services; Consumer Affairs; Electoral Matters; Health; Housing; Sport; Veteran's Affairs from 1.7.93			Term commenced 1.7.93

COMMONWEALTH continued

Margetts, Dee	GRW	WA	Elected 13.3.93 Term commenced 1.7.93 Term expires 30.6.99
** Neal, Belinda Jane	ALP	NSW	
Newman, Jocelyn Margaret Spokesperson on Defence Science and Personnel from 16.9.88 to 11.4.90; on Defence Personnel from 11.4.90 to 28.4.92; on Defence Science and Personnel from 28.4.92 to 7.8.92; on the Status of Women from 11.6.89 to 11.4.90; Shadow Minister Assisting the Leader of the Opposition on the Status of Status of Women from 11.4.90 to 7.4.93; on Veterans' Affairs from 11.4.90 to 7.4.93; on the Aged from 7.8.92 to 7.4.93; on Family and Health, and Shadow Minister Assisting the Leader of the Opposition on Family Matters from 7.4.93. Chair, Health, Welfare and Veterans' Management Group from 7.4.93	LIB	TAS	Term expires 30.6.96
Patterson, Dr. Kay Christine Lesley Parliamentary Secretary to the Chairman, Social Policy and Health Group from 11.4.90 to 28.4.92; Family, Social and Health Policy Group from 28.4.92 to 7.4.93; Shadow Minister for Senior Citizens and Aged Care, and Shadow Minister Assisting the Leader of the Opposition on Women's Affairs and the Arts from 7.4.93	LIB	VIC	Term expires 30.6.96

COMMONWEALTH continued

Reid, Margaret Elizabeth Deputy Government Whip in the Senate from 18.11.82 to 4.2.83. Deputy Opposition Whip in the Senate from 21.4.83 to 14.9.87 Opposition Whip in the Senate from 14.9.87.	LIB	ACT	Re-elected 13.3.93 Term expires on dissolution of House of Representatives
Reynolds, Hon. Margaret Parliamentary Secretary for Local Government from 24.7.97 to 18.9.97 Minister for Local Government from 18.9.87 to 4.4.90 Minister for Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women from 19.1.88 to 4.4.90	ALP	QLD	Re-elected 13.3.93 Term commenced on 1.9.93
Troeth, Judith Mary	LIB	VIC	Elected 13.3.93 Term commenced 1.7.93
Vanstone, Amanda Eloise Temporary Chair of Committees from 18.2.91 to 5.5.93. Shadow Special Minister of State and Spokesperson Status of Women, and the Australian Capital Territory from 14.8.87 to 16.9.89; Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Leader of the Opposition from 12.5.89 to 11.4.90; on Justice and Consumer Affairs from 7.4.93	LIB	SA	Re-elected 13.3.93 Term commenced 1.9.93
West, Suzanne Margaret Temporary Chair of Committees from 5.5.93	ALP	NSW	Term expires 30.6.96
Zakharov, Alice Olive Temporary Chair of Committees from 20.10.87	ALP	Vic	Re-elected 13.3.93 Term commenced 1.7.93

COMMONWEALTH continued

Total

17 6 ALP 6 LIB 3 AD 2 GREEN (WA)

(Previous total to 30.6.93 - 19 5 ALP 7 LIB 1 NPA 4 AD 1 WAG 1 (IND))

Appointed by WA Parliament on 12.3.92 under section 15 of the Constitution, and sworn in as Senator on 24.3.92, vice Sen. Josephine Vallentine, who resigned from the Senate on 31.1.92.

* Appointed by Tasmanian Parliament on 24.8.93 under section 15 of the Constitution, and sworn in as Senator on 30.8.93, vice Sen. Hon. Michael Tate, who resigned from the Senate on 5.7.93.

** Appointed by NSW Parliament on 8.3.94 under section 15 of the Constitution and sworn in as Senator on 14.3.94, vice Sen. Hon. Kerry Sibraa, who resigned from the Senate on 1.2.94.

NEW SOUTH WALES Election held 25.5.91. Reshuffle of Ministry on 2.7.92 following the resignation as Premier by Mr Nick Greiner, and appointment of Mr John Fahey as Premier on 24.6.92 Further reshuffle on 25.5.93, following retirement of National Party Leader and Deputy Premier Mr Wal Murray, on 20.5.93.

Legislative Assembly (99 members - 10 women, 89 men)

Women represent 10.10% of total members

Allan, Pamela Diane Shadow Minister for Environment, Women's Affairs	ALP	Blacktown
Chikarovski, Hon. Kerry Anne Minister for Consumer Affairs Assistant Minister for Education to 25.5.93; Minister for Industrial Relations and Employment, and Minister for the Status of Women from 25.5.93	LIB	Lane Cove
Cohen, Hon. Anne Margaret Chief Secretary, and Minister for Administrative Services, Minister assisting the Premier on the Status of Women to 25.5.93; Chief Secretary and Minister for Administrative Services from 25.5.93	LIB	Badgery's Creek
Grusovin, Hon. Deirdre Mary Shadow Minister for Housing	ALP	Heffron
Kernohan, Elizabeth Anne	LIB	Camden
Lo Po', Faye	ALP	Penrith
Machin, Wendy Susan Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees to 25.5.93; Minister for Consumer Affairs, and Minister for assisting the Minister for Roads from 25.5.93	NPA	Port Macquarie
Moore, Clover	IND	Bligh
Nori, Sandra Christine	ALP	Port Jackson
*Skinner, Jillian	LIB	North Shore
4 ALP, 4 LIB, 1 NPA, 1 IND		
*By-election 5.2.94		

NEW SOUTH WALES continued

Legislative Council (Election held 25.5.91)

(42 members - 15 women, 27 men. Reconstitution of Council from 45 to 42 members approved by referendum on 25.5.91)

Women represent 35.7% of total members

Arena, Hon. Franca, AM	ALP
Burgmann, Hon. Dr Meredith Anne	ALP
Burnswoods, Hon. Janice Carolyn	ALP
Chadwick, Hon. Virginia Anne Minister for Education and Youth Affairs; Employment and Training to 25.5.93; Minister for Education, Training and Youth Affairs; Tourism, and Minister assisting the Premier from 25.5.93	LIB
Evans, Hon. Beryl Alice	LIB
Forsythe, Hon. Patricia	LIB
Gardiner, Hon. Jennifer Ann	NPA
Goldsmith, Hon. Dr. Marlene Herbert Temporary Chairman of Committees	LIB
Isaksen, Hon. Dorothy May	ALP
Kirkby, Hon. Elisabeth	AD
Kite, Hon. Delcia Ivy	ALP
Nile, Hon. Elaine Blanche	CTA
Sham-Ho, Hon. Helen Wai-Har	LIB
Symonds, Hon. Elizabeth Ann	ALP
Walker, Hon. Judith Mary	ALP

7 ALP, 5 LIB, 1 NPA, 1 AD, 1 CTA

VICTORIA (Election held 3.10.92. Kennett Ministry appointed on 6.10.92)

Legislative Assembly (88 members - 10 women, 78 men)

Women represent 11.36% of total members

Elliott, Lorraine Clare	LIB	Mooroolbark
Garbutt, Sherryl Maree Shadow Minister for Community Services from 24.10.92.	ALP	Bundoora
Henderson, Ann Mary	LIB	Geelong
*Kirner, Hon. Joan Elizabeth, AM, Leader of the Opposition Shadow Minister for Women's Affairs; Shadow Minister for Ethnic Affairs from 7.10.92 to 22.3.93	ALP	Williamstown
McGill, Denise	LIB	Oakleigh
Marple, Carole Frances Shadow Minister for Natural Resources from 24.10.92	ALP	Altona
Peulich, Inga	LIB	Bentleigh
Tehan, Hon. Marie Therese Minister for Health Services from 7.10.92	LIB	Seymour
Wade, Hon. Jan Louise Murray Attorney-General; Minister for Fair Trading; Minister responsible for Women's Affairs from 7.10.92	LIB	Kew
Wilson, Janet Tindale Calder	ALP	Dandenong North
Shadow Minister for Local Government; Shadow Minister for the Aged from 24.10.92		

4 ALP, 6 LIB

*Mrs Kirner announced on 26.3.94 her intention to resign from Parliament in May 1994.

Legislative Council (44 members - 7 women, 37 men)

Women represent 15.91% of total members

Asher, Hon. Louise	LIB	Monash
*Gould, Hon. Monica May	ALP	Doutta Galla
Hogg, Hon. Caroline Jennifer Shadow Minister for Agriculture and Rural Affairs; Arts from 14.10.92	ALP	Melbourne North
Kokocinski, Hon. Licia Secretary of the Shadow Cabinet from 23.3.93	ALP	Melbourne West
McLean, Hon. Jean	ALP	Melbourne West
Varty, Hon. Rosemary Secretary to the Cabinet from 7.10.90	LIB	Silvan
Wilding, Hon. Sue de Carteret	LIB	Chelsea

4 ALP 3 LIB

* elected at by-election 18.9.93 vice Hon. J. Brumby (resigned 10.8.93 and elected MLA for Broadmeadows on 18.9.93)

QUEENSLAND (Election held on 19.9.92)

Legislative Assembly (89 members - 13 women, 76 men)

Women represent 14.6% of the total members

Bird, Lorraine Rita	ALP	Whitsunday
Clark, Dr Lesley Ann	ALP	Barron River
Edmond, Wendy Marjorie	ALP	Mount Coot-tha
Gamin, Judith Margaret	NPA	Burleigh
McCaughey, Diane Elizabeth Shadow Minister for Local Government	NPA	Callide
Power, Laurel Jean	ALP	Mansfield
Robson, The Hon. Molly Jess Minister for Environment and Heritage	ALP	Springwood
Rose, Merri	ALP	Currumbin
Sheldon, Joan Mary Leader, Liberal Party, from 11.11.91. Deputy Leader of the Coalition; Shadow Treasurer and Shadow Minister for the Arts	LIB	Landsborough
Simpson, Fiona	NPA	Maroochydore
Spence, Judith Caroline	ALP	Mount Gravatt
Warner, Hon. Anne Marie Minister for Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs	ALP	South Brisbane
Woodgate, Margaret Rosemary	ALP	Pine Rivers

9 ALP, 1 LIB, 3 NPA
(Previous Parliament 8 ALP, 1 LIB, 1 NPA,

Total 10 of 89 or 11.24%)

No Upper House

WESTERN AUSTRALIA (Election held on 6.2.93; Court Ministry sworn in on 16.2.93)

Legislative Assembly 57 members - 10 women, 47 men

Women represent 17.54% of total members

Constable, Dr Elizabeth	IND	Floreat
Edwardes, Cheryl Lynn (Attorney-General; Minister for Women's Interests; Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Affairs from 16.2.93)	LIB	Kingsley
Edwards, Dr. Judith Mary	ALP	Maylands
Hallahan, Hon. Elsie Kay Deputy Leader of the Opposition from 7.2.94	ALP	Armadale
Henderson, Hon. Yvonne Daphne	ALP	Thornlie
*Roberts, Michelle	ALP	Glendalough
Turnbull, Dr. Hilda	NPA	Collie
Van de Klashorst, June	LIB	Swan Hills
Warnock, Diane Muriel	ALP	Perth
Watson, Hon. Dr. Judyth	ALP	Kenwick

5 ALP, 2 LIB, 1 NPA, 1 IND
(Formerly 9 women or 16%)

*By-election 19.3.94, vice Carmen Lawrence (resigned 14.2.94)

WESTERN AUSTRALIA continued

Legislative Council (34 members - 4 women, 30 men)

Women represent 11.76% of total members

Davenport, Hon. Cheryl May	ALP	South Metropolitan
McTiernan, Hon. Alannah	ALP	East Metropolitan
Patterson, Hon. Muriel Grace	LIB	South West
Scott, Hon. Barbara	LIB	South Metropolitan

2 ALP, 2 LIB
(formerly 5 - 3 ALP, 2 LP)

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Election held on 11.12.93. Following the defeat of the ALP Arnold Government, the Brown Government (LIB) was appointed on 14.12.93.

House of Assembly (47 members - 7 women, 40 men)

Women represent 14.89% of total members

Greig, Julie	LIB	Raynell
Hall, Joan	LIB	Coles
Hurley, Annette	ALP	Napier
Kotz, Dorothy Christine	LIB	Newland
Penfold, Liz	LIB	Flinders
Rosenberg, Lorraine	LIB	Kaurna
*Stevens, Lea	ALP	Elizabeth

Total Party representation 37 LIB, 10 ALP: Women: 5 LIB, 2 ALP

(Total before election of 11.12.93 2 ALP 2 LIB

2 ALP women, Hutchison and Lenehan, defeated. 1 LIB, Kotz, re-elected, and 1 LIB, Cashmore, retired. Greig, Hall, Hurley, Penfold and Rosenberg are new members.)

*By-election 9.4.94

SOUTH AUSTRALIA continued

Legislative Council (22 members - 7 women, 15 men)

Women represent 31.82% of total members

Party representation 2 AD, 9 ALP, 11 LIB. women: 1 AD, 3 ALP, 3 LIB

Kanck, Hon Sandra Myrtho	AD
Laidlaw, Hon Diana Vivienne (Minister for Transport, the Arts and the Status of Women)	LIB
Levy, Hon. Judith Anne Winstanley	ALP
Pfitzner, Hon. Dr Bernice Swee Lian	LIB
Pickles, Hon. Carolyn Ann, J.P.	ALP
Schaefer, Hon. Caroline Veronica	LIB
Wiese, Hon. Barbara Jean	ALP

(Schaefer, Pickles and Wiese were re-elected. Laidlaw, Levy and Pfitzner were not due for re-election. 1 new woman, Kanck, elected)

Total for both Houses of South Australian Parliament 13 of 69, or 18.84%

TASMANIA (Election held on 1.2.92. Groom Ministry sworn in 18.2.92; reshuffle 2.3.93)

House of Assembly (35 members - 8 women, 27 men)

Women represent 22.86% of total members

Bladel, Hon. <u>Frances Mary</u> Shadow Minister for Education, Consumer Affairs and Women's Affairs	ALP	Franklin
Cains, Carole Susan	LIB	Braddon
Hollister, Dianne Lesley	TG	Braddon
Jackson, Hon. Judith Louise Leader of Opposition Business, Shadow Minister for Roads and Transport, Construction, and Parks and Wildlife	ALP	Denison
James, Gillian Hilma Shadow Minister for Community Services	ALP	Bass
Milne, Christine Ann	TG	Lyons
Napier, Suzanne Deidre (<u>Sue</u>) Assistant Minister for Youth Affairs and the Status of Women from 14.2.94	LIB	Bass
#Putt, Margaret (Peg) Ann	TG	Denison

3 ALP, 3 GI 2 LIB

Appointed on 26.2.93 to replace Dr Bob Brown who resigned on 12.2.93 to contest Denison at House of Representatives election on 13.3.93

Legislative Council (19 members - 1 woman, 18 men)

Women represent 5.3 of total members

* Moore, Jean Mary	IND	Hobart
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* Elected 22.4.92

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY (Election held 15.2.92)

Legislative Assembly (17 members, 6 women, 11 men)

Women represent 35 % of total members

Carnell, Kate Leader of the Liberal Party and Leader of the Opposition from 20.4.93; Shadow Minister for ACT and Regional Development; Health; Tourism; Status of Women; Youth from 23.4.93	LIB
Ellis, Annette	ALP
Follett, Rosemary Chief Minister, Treasurer, Social Justice including Women, People with Disabilities, Multicultural Affairs, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and Youth Affairs	ALP
Grassby, Ellnor Cabinet Secretary	ALP
McRae, Roberta Speaker (elected 27.3.92)	ALP
Szuty, Helen	Michael Moore Independent Group

NORTHERN TERRITORY (Election held 27.10.90)

Legislative Assembly (25 members - 2 women, 23 men)

Women represent 8% of total members

Padgham-Purich, Cecilia Noel

IND

Nelson

Hickey, Margaret Anne

ALP

Barkly

1 IND, 1 ALP

PARTY AFFILIATIONS

AD

Australian Democrats

ALP

Australian Labor party

GRW

The Greens (WA)

IND

Independent

LIB

Liberal Party of Australia

NPA

National Party of Australia

TG

Tasmania Greens

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTS
13.4.94

Last Election held

13.3.93
27.10.89

25.5.91 3.10.92 19.9.92/5.2.93 11.12.93 1.2.92 15.2.92

Commonwealth		NSW		VIC		QLD		WA		SA		TAS		ACT		NT	
HR	SEN	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	HA	LC	HA	LC	LA	LC	LA	NT
15/147	17/76	10/99	15/42	10/88	7/44	13/69	7/44	10/57	4/34	7/47	7/22	8/35	1/19	6/17	35%	2/25	8%
10.2%	22.37%	10.1%	35.7%	11.36%	15.91%	14.6%	17.54%	11.76%	11.76%	14.89%	31.82%	22.86%	5.3%	35%	35%	8%	8%
32/223		25/141		17/132		13/69	14/91	14/91		14/69		9/54		6/17		2/25	8%
14.35%		17.73%		12.89%		14.5%	15.38%	15.38%		20.29%		16.67%		35%		8%	

TOTAL

132/841
15.7%

Lower Houses

81/604
13.41%

Upper Houses

51/237
21.52%

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ATTACHMENT 3

Department of the
Parliamentary
Library

**Parliamentary
Research Service**

Prepared for the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters

Women in Politics: Relevant Research

Shelley McInnis
Social Policy Group

10 December 1993

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Australia

Wilson, P.R., and Western, J.S., 'Participation in Politics: A preliminary Analysis', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol 5, October 1969, pp. 98-110.

Interviews with a random sample (n=456) of Brisbane residents revealed sex differences in 'active' and 'passive' political participation rates; men were more likely to participate, both actively and passively, than women (p105). Explanations were not preferred.

Encel, S., MacKenzie, N., Tebbutt, M., *Women and Society: an Australian study*, Cheshire, Melbourne 1974.

Contains a chapter on 'Political Action' which has a section on 'The female vote', which refers to two surveys that distinguished between men's and women's voting behaviours. Authors elaborate on a survey in the Parkes electorate in 1958 which, they consider, revealed women's greater conservatism (in choice of party and attitudes to questions). Authors' interpretations of results are questionable, however: much reference is made to the work of Duverger,¹ who argues that women are more conservative, indecisive, insecure, and ignorant. Chapter also refers to a larger survey (n=1300) carried out in Sydney by D'Alton in 1968 (p259) which showed that more men (49 per cent) support Labor than women (41), and more women support the Liberals (52/43).

'Women in Party Politics - papers from the WEL seminar held in Sydney in July 1977, *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 49, no.3, September 1977, pp. 3-65.

Malcolm Mackerras's paper argued that women perform equally as well as men (in winning votes), when they are pre-selected, and that the reason there are so few women in Parliament stems from the fact that women are rarely pre-selected for winnable seats and not because of elector bias (p4).

One speaker (Pam Gorrington) referred to some research she did on WEL members in Queensland, which explored the relationships between adherence to traditional (mothering) roles and political activism; results showed an inverse relationship between 'homemaking' and

This paper makes use of publicly available information and deals with issues to meet the requirements of the client's request.

Views expressed should not be attributed to the Parliamentary Research Service, which, as an organisation, does not promote particular approaches to issues.

¹ see International section below, p.9.

political activism. The sample was not truly representative however and the results are not really 'generalisable'.

There was no consensus of opinion reached about how to improve the parliamentary representation of women. However, WEL argued that the onus was on parties to encourage women to consider nominating. It recommended that there was a need for a 'clear statement from the Parties on their attitudes towards women and women's issues'. (p4)

Mackerras, M., 'Do women candidates lose votes? Further evidence' *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 52 no. 4, Summer, 1980, pp. 450-455.

Reiterates that the attitudes of people running major political parties is a major reason that women account for only 4 per cent of membership of Australian Federal and State parliaments, while they account for 50 per cent of voters. But he states that the 'most important explanation' is that women have traditionally been conditioned not to take much interest in politics (p450).

Points out (p451) that where party list systems apply (eg as in for the Senate), women fare better than they do where single member constituency systems apply; three-quarters of women parliamentarians are in upper houses (p451).

Continues to illustrate his argument that women candidates do not lose votes, as male party pre-selectors seem to feel. He writes: 'Women are elected or defeated in cases where men of the same party would have been elected or defeated' (p453).

Aitkin, D. *Stability and Change in Australian Politics* (2nd ed), ANU Press, Canberra, 1982.

Discusses (pp279-282) the 'increased politicisation' of women from 1967-79 (determined from responses to survey questions about interest in politics, talking about politics with friends, and following politics in the news, etc). Womens' increased interest in politics appeared not to be related to changes in workforce status, but was partly attributable to higher levels of education. In this same period, there was a strong swing to Labor among women voters (33 to 42 per cent) (p327); women were still less likely than men to identify with the Labor Party, however (p305). Research discovered that high levels of education tend to minimise (but not totally eradicate) sex differences in interest in politics (p34).

Sawer, M., 'Women in Australian Parliaments', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol. 59, no.1, June, 1982, pp. 4-15.

Refers to 1981 research by Haavio-Mannila that discovered that 'issues raised solely by women or initiated by women and brought to the public agenda differed from those raised or initiated by men' (p4). Sawer notes that there was a gap of 41 years between when Australia achieved suffrage and elected women into Parliament, which compares unfavourably with other countries, even some that achieved suffrage much later. Argues (p7) that 'Australian evidence bears out the argument that multi-member constituencies are a necessary although not sufficient condition for the adequate representation of women in parliament'. Identifies some background differences between male and female politicians, and notes that 'a significant factor among successful women parliamentarians has been political persistence' (p9). Refers to 1979 ALP National Committee of Inquiry, set up to check out why the ALP did poorly in the 1977 federal elections, and which pointed to the male-dominated character of the ALP. Subsequently, Guidelines for Implementation of an Affirmative Action Program in the ALP were drawn up and endorsed at the July 1981 ALP National Conference (p11).

Clarke, J., and White, K., *Women in Australian Politics: a historical perspective*, Collins, Sydney, 1983.

A chapter on women and voting challenges women's supposed conservatism on issues; authors refer to opinion poll results from 1973-79 distinguishing between issues where women were more conservative or more radical than men (p40). Authors attempt to explain why therefore (if women aren't necessarily more conservative on issues than men) women do tend to prefer conservative political parties.

Authors surveyed all (n=49) women parliamentarians in federal State/Territories in 1981; they got an 82 per cent response rate (n=40) from women from a good range of parties, including Labor, Liberal, Democrat, and National Party. The questionnaire sought information about background, party affiliation, and party experience (p125). Bulk of information synthesised is personal; eg, proportion who identify as feminist, and/or who have been sexually harassed, and there are accounts of difficulties experienced, but the research is not particularly helpful in terms of understanding how to advance women's representation in parliaments.

Mackerras, M., 'Why women are getting elected', *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 55, no.4, Summer, 1983, pp. 375-387.

Reviewed 1983 election results and noted that '...the woman's handicap factor declined noticeably. One man in four was elected compared with one woman in fifteen. That women were still failing at a higher rate than men was due to the fact that women were still disproportionately running for minor parties or for major parties in hopeless seats' (p382). Concludes by reasserting the same proposition he put forward in 1977 and 1980

that there is no evidence to suggest that a woman candidate will lose votes for her party when she is selected to contest a single-member constituency for a lower house. This proposition is true of both the federal House of Representatives and the state lower houses (p385).

Simms, M., 'A woman's place is in the House and in the Senate: women and the 1983 elections', *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 55, no.4, summer 1983, pp. 364-374.

Author refers to a survey she conducted of 133 women candidates in the 1983 elections; 72 replies were received. The majority of candidates (n=55) ran for minor parties (including AD) or as independents, and 31 were fielded by the three major parties (Labor, Liberals, NP) in 'hopeless' seats (p367). Article is sprinkled with comments of women candidates, but there are no solutions. Candidates speak of their 'woman's' point of view, their special talents, the sexism they have encountered, the support of women's organisations. Simms concludes that 'based on the views of the majority of women candidates for the 1983 elections it appears that women's issues are defined more broadly now than a decade ago' (p373). She notes also how women candidates studiously avoided the subject of abortion (p374).

Sawer, M., and Simms, M., *A woman's place: Women and Politics in Australia*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1984.

Chapter six refers to a survey of 41 women candidates contesting the April 1982 Victorian state elections; there were 36 responses from a range of parties. Data is qualitative in nature, including reports of sexism within parties, lack of support from key groups, being put in unwinnable seats, the stress of multiple roles and unsupportive husbands (p125). Over one-third of candidates had been or were teachers (p127). Overall, women candidates believed there were issues affecting women more than men which would be neglected in the absence of women MPs (p128).

Chapter seven refers to authors' analysis of voter intentions from Age polls 1971-1982, which concludes that sex differences in intentions to vote Labor have been '...neither persistent nor substantial over time' (p158). Authors also refer to what they term the 'Authority Survey'

conducted in Melbourne in 1974; they do some cross-tabs with the data and ascertain that there is a strong positive relationship between acceptance of patriarchal/authoritarian values and conservative party identification (pp162-3). Age poll and Authority Survey data were analysed to explore sex differences in interest in politics and this revealed that men are more interested in politics than women; there were no sex differences in response to a question relating to 'desire for more influence in community affairs' (p165).

Simms, M. (Ed.), *Australian Women and the Political System*, Longman Cheshire, 1984.

Jocelyn Clarke points out (p51) that 'the phenomenon of low female participation, especially at the higher levels of political organisations, is remarkably stable over time'. Refers to psychoanalytic studies which reveal sex role confusion and anger in female-led groups (Mayes, 1979, Bayes and Newton, 1978) and argues that participants' accounts of political life (eg Moore and Zack, 1978) lend support to the psychoanalytic hypothesis that anger, disorder and sex role confusion occur when women move into leadership positions (p53).

Refers to Spender's work on sex and language (1980), Duverger's socialisation explanation for sex differences in political participation, and Kirpatrick's concept of 'cultural constraint' (where public opinion restricts the roles available to female politicians) (p54). Author argues that some responsibility (for women's lower levels of political achievement) must be accepted by political organisations (p55), and their 'discriminatory practices and attitudes'. Presents a case study of discrimination in the St Kilda Council 1976-82 (pp56-58), then puts forward the theory of tokenism '...to help explain some of the paradoxical features of women's participation in political organisations' (p58).

Simms, M., 'The 1984 Australian Elections: Find the Women?', *Politics: Journal of the Australasian Political Studies Association*, Vol 20 (1), May 1985, pp. 104-112.

Refers to two surveys of 1984 female election candidates, to which there were a total of 76 responses; one survey asked background questions of candidates who had not been surveyed previously, another asked previous respondents to compare previous elections with the 1984 election (p107). This division created a party bias, as most ALP candidates had experience of previous candidacies. Nevertheless there were some commonalities. There was a shared view that 'women have something different to contribute than men' (p108). Most (female) ALP candidates reported that it was easier being a candidate in 1984 than

it had been in previous years (pp108-9). In general, non-Labor women candidates voiced neither dissatisfaction with the preselection process, nor unhappiness with their treatment in the media or at the hands of opposing factions (p110). Author concludes that the majority of non-Labor women candidates in 1984 were not feminists (p111).

Bean, C., 'Gender and Political Participation in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, v. 26(4), November 1991, 276-293.

Author investigates gender differences in political participation, using 1984-85 Australian National Social Science Survey (NSSS) data (n=3012). Of 13 political activities, author discovered that there were significant sex differences (indicating greater male participation) in more than half (n=7); he notes, however, that '...the differences between men and women in rates of participation...are not all that large relative to many other countries' (p279). Author notes there were also significant sex differences in willingness to engage in a variety of 'political protest activities'; women were more likely to engage in low-level protest activities than they were, eg, to attend a public meeting or to go on a march (pp281-2).

Bean attempts to explain sex differences by controlling for various things, then says: '...the bottom line is that gender differences in orthodox political activity tend to reflect different degrees of interest in political affairs between men and women' (p286). Author found though that Australian women were as likely as men to convert political interest into political activity, despite international evidence that women are less likely to translate political interest into action (pp286-8).

Whip, R., 'Representing Women: Australian Female Parliamentarians on the Horns of a Dilemma', *Women and Politics*, Vol. 11(3), 1991, pp. 1-21.

Author collected data from 83 of 98 women who had served in Australian parliaments (Federal and State) between 1921-1981; 73 women were interviewed, and another ten were 'covered' by interviews with relatives. Qualitative data was gathered by use of semi-structured, lengthy interviews. One of her findings was that federal women parliamentarians were more likely to see their role as 'representing women as a special interest group' (p6). But the majority of women in the study (58 per cent) did not see their role as representing women as a special interest group (p10), even though most (83 per cent) 'saw some concern for women as part of their parliamentary role' (p6). There is some commentary on the general dilemma faced by women

parliamentarians: whether or not to 'risk' being seen as one-eyed feminists if they pursue a women's agenda; this dilemma can be exacerbated by the attitudes of some male politicians (p17). Author points to argument (of Sapiro's) that '...an increase in the number of women in positions of power is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the representation of women. They must be the "right sort of women", committed to the enhancement of women's position in the community and prepared to act on their behalf' (pp18-9).

Sawer, M., and Simms, M., *A woman's place: Women and politics in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, 2nd ed.

Refers (p36) to 1982 ANOP research commissioned by the ALP which found that '...a good woman candidate would often be more effective among swinging voters than a good man candidate'. Refers to other ANOP research showing the closing of the gender gap (higher male preference for the ALP) in the 1983 election (p37). Analyses Australia National Social Science Survey (NSSS) research data from 1984-85, 1986, 1987, and 1990 and says that this shows '...Labor's declining popularity with women...from 1986 onwards' (p38), an analysis supported by Morgan Gallop Poll data of March 1990. This doesn't necessarily prove, though, that women voters are straying from Labor, as an increasing number of women are indicating an intention to vote Democrat (p40), and most Democrat preferences go to Labor. Refers to an unpublished paper of Bean and Hayes which argued that Australian wives were not politically more conservative than their husbands (p41).

Refers to a study by Simms and Stone (funded by UNESCO, 1990) based on structured interviews with Australian state and federal women politicians (p57); 90 per cent of interviewees agreed that women were under-represented in Australian politics, but agreement ended there. Labor women politicians blamed existing structures and criticised preselection processes and factions, while Liberal women politicians blamed women themselves, and called for 'liberal' educational solutions, joining parties, etc. Most Liberal and National Party women opposed affirmative action initiatives as unhelpful or even counterproductive. Women politicians in the Senate were more optimistic about change than were those in the House of Representatives (pp57-58). Argues that in 1987, women were over-represented amongst those standing in unwinnable seats, and under-represented among those standing for winnable seats, but that the situation improved by 1990, though less so for Liberal Party women candidates (pp62-63).

Distinguishes between 'supply' and 'demand' models for the under-representation of women in politics. Supply-siders argue that there is

no supply of women because women do not come forward, while demand-siders maintain that there is little demand for women by the political elite. There is overlap, of course, eg, when women internalise 'structural' impediments, and take into account expected discrimination in their evaluation of whether or not to run for office (p64).

Refers to the Candidate Studies of 1987 and 1990 and the State Secretaries' Study of 1988, and argues that these enable comparisons to be made between male and female candidates and the processes of preselection (p65). State Secretary interviews revealed a depressing amount of sexism (p66), while candidate studies showed some improvements in preselection processes for both parties (p67). 'At least for the 1987 and 1990 federal elections there was little suggestion that women candidates had to jump through more hoops than their male counterparts. On important factors such as length of party membership, age, number of children and community involvement, male and female candidates of the Labor and Liberal parties looked very similar.' (p69) Author notes though that there were some interesting differences in attitudes; in general, women candidates were more likely...to believe that women do have a special role in parliament and that more women should enter politics (p69). ALP and Democrat women were more socially progressive than their male colleagues, but Liberal women candidates were not.

Millar, Ann, *Trust the Women, Women in the Federal Parliament*, Department of the Senate, Canberra. 1993.

Outlines the problems faced in this century by women who have tried to enter the Federal Parliament and the contributions of the 59 women who succeeded in doing so up to 1993.

International

Duverger, M., *The Political Role of Women*, UNESCO, Paris 1955.

A survey was undertaken by UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences in 1952 and 1953 at the invitation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. Four countries were chosen by UNESCO for detailed investigation: France, The German Federal Republic, Norway and Yugoslavia (p7). The author notes that the survey '...seems to have encountered...a certain degree of indifference'(p8). In the book's introduction, the author notes 'Public opinion as a whole...seems rather unfavourable to political activity by women' (p10). The author cautions that the survey results are 'fragmentary' and 'hypothetical', but nonetheless that 'One fact...seems beyond doubt - the existence of great inequality between both sexes in the actual exercise of political rights. Legally, women are on an equal footing with men; they are not so in practice' (p10).

The survey research had two parts: the first part was a comparative study of 15 countries (7 in Europe, 3 in the Americas, and 5 in the Middle and Far East); the next part was an in-depth study of four countries based on working hypotheses generated in phase one (p11). General conclusions regarding women and voting were that there were slightly more non-voters among women, women's vote is slightly more conservative and 'subject to religious influences', but that differences were small and applied only to a tiny fraction of the female electorate. He emphasised 'There is nothing here to suggest an essential peculiarity in women's nature or a fundamental difference in men's and women's behaviour' (p122).

As for being in government, which he distinguished from voting behaviour, 'The political role of women is extremely small and grows still smaller as we approach the centre of political leadership', and 'Those women that are in leadership positions tend to 'specialise' in women's interest areas' (p124). He attributes the small influence of women to 'male opposition' (p124). 'In the realm of politics, the promotion of women comes up against a barrier of male opposition' (p125). But there is also '...women's own inertia' (p126). 'There can be no denying that women are less interested in politics than men'; survey figures quoted showed that men were on average two times more interested (p126).

Author reflects on women's own anti-feminism, and acceptance of male justifications for the status quo. He speculates that women's economic dependence is partly responsible for this, but the general cultural

climate is '...based on the pre-eminence of man' (p129). He concludes that 'If the majority of women are little attracted to political careers, it is because everything tends to turn them away from them...' (p129). Women have come to believe in the myth of their own inferiority (p130).

Currell, M.E., *Political Woman*, Croom Helm, London, 1974.

The author attempted to survey (by questionnaire or interview) any woman who had, or was, serving as an MP; in the end information from forty MPs was obtained (in two inquiries in 1964 and 1973). Author was interested in exploring women's personal histories, motivations, attitudes; in particular, to see if they '...set limits to women's competence in terms of what Maurice Duverger has termed feminine ideology' (p5). The majority of respondents thought that there should be more women in Parliament, and 'encouragement' was the main method suggested for effecting this (p84). Nearly two-thirds of women from both sides of politics (Conservative/Labour) preferred sex-role-related reasons for the scarcity of women in Parliament (ibid), but a number also mentioned prejudice against women by, eg, selection committees (p85). About one-third of women (of both parties) accepted a limited view of women's political role, and specified a peculiarly feminine contribution to national level politics (p87). Half said that women parliamentarians tend to specialise in welfare-type areas, and some intimated that this was expected of them (pp87-88). When asked what sorts of qualities women MPs needed for success, qualities mentioned included perseverance, toughness, courage, resilience; no supposedly 'feminine' traits (pp88-89). By way of explanation as to why there are so few women in politics, and who these few women are, the author explores the following (pp158-181): women as the child-bearing sex, political socialisation, the politicised family, male equivalence, the 'minority' characterisation of women, and voting systems. She argues the advantages of proportional representation systems versus 'simple plurality' (first past the post) systems in terms of women being elected (p179).

Reid, E., and Goot, M., *Women and Voting Studies: Mindless Matrons or Sexist Scientism?*, Sage Publications, London, 1975.

Refers to the paucity of relevant research (p5). Prior to work by Amundsen (1971), the most recent monograph, entitled *The Political Role of Women*, was compiled (at the behest of UNESCO) in the early 1950s by a team led by Maurice Duverger.

Argues that sexism affects quality of political research conducted in the 1960s and 1970s; eg, sexist language and assumptions abound in

questionnaires, and samples are not necessarily representative (pp6-7). Mainly, though, women's voting behaviour is under-researched and, too often, 'where voting studies have actually looked at women voters, prejudice has posed as analysis and ideology as science' (p9). Authors expose sexist research assumptions/biases leading to political science myths that: (1) children adopt the party preference of their father, (2) wives follow their husbands' [politics], (3) women are more [politically] conservative than men, (4) women personalise politics, (5) women are apolitical and passive.

Verba, S., Nie, N.H., and Kim, J., *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison*, University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Contains a chapter on sex-related differences in the political activity of men and women, based on large-scale sample surveys conducted in participating nations (including Austria, the US, India, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Japan, and the Netherlands) from 1966-1971. Authors conclude that '...women are, on average, less psychologically involved than men, but that difference is reduced when women are educated and are affiliated with institutions. Among those women who are both educated and employed, the sex gap in psychological involvement in politics is minimal. The concern for politics among women, however, is not converted into political activity. These findings strongly suggest the existence of pervasive inhibiting factors that limit the political role of women. The major exception is found in the US' (p267). Authors did distinguish overall political activity from voting, noting that women do convert '...individual and institutional resources into voting activity as effectively as do men' (p251).

Lovenduski, J., and Hills, J. (Eds), *The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981.

This is a collection of essays on women's political/public participation in twenty 'industrial' or 'advanced industrial' (p5) countries, including Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, France, Spain, W. Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, the USSR, Japan, and Eastern Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia). The introduction and the conclusion are written by the editors, who also wrote individual chapters on USSR (Lovenduski) and Britain (Hills).

Authors write in conclusion:

- women have been more likely to penetrate the political sub-elites in the countries in which they have been most economically active (p321);
- there is no country in which women do not predominate in certain types of low status occupations (p322);
- the impact of the domestic burden upon women and the cultural attitudes which support her continuing responsibility for servicing the family...cannot be over-estimated; (p323)
- in none of the countries under consideration does women's active political participation take place in the proportions one would expect if the translation from economic to political activities were free from family constraints (p323);
- women are apparently more conservative than men, but when you control for occupation and education much difference disappears - and where they don't, females' greater conservatism is attributable to religion (esp Catholicism); (p324)
- it was difficult to draw conclusions about processes of candidate selection (and how these may exclude women) but there is no State in which parties select women candidates to stand for election to national legislative office in proportion to their membership of the population - or (except in State socialist societies) in proportion to their membership of political parties (p325);
- scrutiny of national electoral systems suggests that parties in simple plurality systems tend to nominate women for marginal or unwinnable seats and parties in systems of proportional representation often place women at less favourable positions on party lists (p325);
- women consistently appear to do marginally better in systems of proportional representation than in those based on simple plurality (p326);
- it is likely that a large part of the immediate explanation for low numbers of women in national office rests rather with the reluctance of political parties to promote women than with the mechanics of the electoral system (p326);

- nowhere does women's representation at parliamentary level lead to similar representation in the executive policy-making organs (p326).

Flanz, G.H., *Comparative Women's Rights and Political Participation in Europe*, Transnational Publishers, Inc., New York, 1983.

This book is a comparative study of the (then) contemporary status of women in thirty-four European countries; concluding 'comparative notes' offer '...an interim assessment of the achievements, to date... and of the roles of various international organisations' (p319). Text is generally descriptive and provides no incisive analysis.

Beckwith, K., *American Women and Political Participation: The Impacts of Work, Generation, and Feminism*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1986.

Explores sex differences in political participation and the relationships of women's lives and political behaviour, using data from American National Election Studies (1952-1976) which addressed: voting and electoral activism, conventional non-electoral participation, unconventional activism, political involvement/interest, and political efficacy.

Concludes that there are few mass-level differences in political participation between men and women, that what differences exist are modest and weak (p148), and that this has been consistently true since 1952 (p159). However, women have a poorer sense of political efficacy, even after controlling for factors such as education and occupational level, and they are more likely to agree with the statement: 'politics and government are too complicated for a person like me to understand' (p148). Having lots of children and being in blue-collar employment were found to be 'dramatically disabling factors' in terms of political participation (p151). Mass-level differences in political participation are greater among women than between women and men (p152). Very few women, regardless of life situation, approve of or engage in unconventional activism (p152). Authors found no important, unique sources of women's activism (p159), and note the 'puzzle' of the fact that, while male/female political participation differences are negligible, there are significant differences between the sexes on political efficacy (p162). Briefly refers to two possible explanations for the absence of women in the political elite (sex discrimination and political socialisation) but admits her book doesn't properly explore these (pp162-163).

Lovenduski, J., *Women and European Politics: Contemporary Feminism and Public Policy*, Harvester Press, Great Britain, 1986.

In Chapter Four, 'Patterns of Women's Political Behaviour', author writes '...Throughout Europe, then, survey evidence confirms that women's levels of interest in politics are lower than men's'. She notes however that the '...capacity of sample surveys to tap anything more than an interest in a very narrowly defined political world is ... open to dispute' (p124). 'And women have been found to be less knowledgeable about politics than men, less psychologically involved and less ideological in their thinking. In an analysis of data on five countries, Jennings and Farah found that women were less likely than men to understand, employ or utilise concepts associated with the political Left and Right'. Challenges women's supposed political conservatism, arguing '...what is supposed to be evidence that women are more conservative than men is in fact evidence that women in some countries used to be more likely to vote for parties of the centre Right, but not the extreme Right, than men. Such propensity as women have had to vote for the right has begun to disappear.' (p125). Re political activism, author reviews evidence then writes 'In the conventional political arenas, men are more likely to be present than women. However, women have been more attracted to less conventional political arenas.' (p126) Re activism generally, she writes '...women may be less reluctant to engage in the more informal political world of movements, campaigns and direct action of various kinds than in the formal political arenas of parties, elections and legislatures' (p127).

Refers to a 1983 survey of men and women in the EEC countries, which found that women felt themselves to be competent to discuss important social problems in similar proportions to men, but were significantly less likely than men to discuss politics (p128).

By way of explanation for sex differences, author points to work of Verba (et al) and highlights discovery that '...men convert resources (eg education and institutional affiliation) into political capital at a higher rate than women' (p131). Also refers to Carol Christy's analysis of data from nineteen surveys covering eleven nations, indicating that workforce participation in Western Europe has a variable effect on women's political participation which is affected by age, education, occupation, union membership, national culture and the type of political participation concerned (p131). Writes in conclusion that '...for whatever reasons, women have lower levels of access to important political resources than men, and this has an apparent political effect. What the studies have not been able to do is provide a basis for determining whether resource explanations explain the same degree of

women's political behaviour as men's. Enormous methodological difficulties would attend any such effort, and it is unlikely than an approach to empirical study could ever be designed which would resolve satisfactorily such a question'. And then she adds, 'If political scientists have been reluctant to take account of the explanatory theories of women's oppression produced by feminists, feminist theorists have on the whole been uninterested in explicitly questioning women's political participation and women's access to positions of power in society' (p133).

Randall, V., *Women and Politics: An International Perspective* (2nd Ed), MacMillan Education, Hampshire, 1987.

Qualifies the 'truism' that women have a tendency to not use their vote as frequently as men by arguing that: the differential has never been large, over time it has diminished to negligibility or disappeared altogether, and in developing countries, the differential narrows the longer women have had the vote, and with increasing urbanisation (pp52-53). As for political participation, Randall concludes: 'Overall, the evidence suggests that women's political participation, conventionally defined, is everywhere less than men's. Even so, a number of caveats are in order. The first is that political activism tends in any case to be a minority attribute. Second, ...sex differences are not constant but vary noticeably over time and across cultures... (they) are not fundamental and could eventually fade away' (pp57-58). Refers to a Barnes and Kaase study measuring 'protest potential' in Austria, Britain, West Germany the Netherlands and the US which indicated some women are more inclined to forms of 'direct action' political activity (p60). Provides examples on pages 60-61, and also of 'industrial militancy' on page 63. She summarises: '...women's participation in conventional political activities...is less than men's but the difference is often small or at least diminishing. Women also participate politically in other ways, directly through ad hoc campaigns, protest action and related forms of activity and indirectly through informal, personal influence and through women's associations' (pp67-68).

Discusses the generalisations made about women's political attitudes: that their political behaviour is male-dominated, that they are conservative, that they personalise politics, that they are moralistic, apolitical, and politically superior (pages 68-82). She concludes 'The overall conclusion of this survey of evidence and argument must be that few dramatic differences exist between the two sexes' political attitudes at grass-roots level. Women do appear more conservative in certain respects, less knowledgeable about and interested in politics, at least conventional politics, and perhaps more moralistic. But these differences should not be exaggerated and in many contexts they

dwindle to vanishing point' (p82). By way of explanation, the author explores the following 'determinants' of women's political behaviour (pages 83-94): the effects of childhood socialisation, the immediate constraints of women's situation, and structural explanations (ie role of education, age, socio-economic status. In conclusion, she writes 'The pattern of women's political participation cannot...simply be explained by reference to their personality, practical situation or even distribution within the social system. Features of conventional politics themselves act as deterrents. It is in this context that the appeal of women's associations, of unconventional political participation and...of women's liberation, becomes so easy to understand' (p94).

In addressing question of 'why so few' women in political 'elites', the author refers to 'supply side' and 'demand side' explanations (p122). Supply side arguments refer to principal factors determining the availability of women politicians; demand side arguments are to do with factors governing the recruitment and role assignment of political elites in general, and female politicians in particular. Supply side arguments are concerned with socialisation and situational constraints, demand side arguments with institutional barriers (pages 123-145). Refers to American survey research by Lynn and Flora (of delegates at 1972 US National Party Conventions) which characterised women delegates as 'amateurish' because they were more likely to perceive and engage in politics in terms of ideas and principles rather than competitive strategies (p124). Also refers to survey of leading New York politicians (Lee, 1976) which highlighted responsibility for children at home as 'the most serious and enduring obstacle' (p125). Author writes 'Lee's thesis has been explicitly echoed in a number of studies. More important, there is a wealth of evidence that she is right.' (p125) Cites recent research by Vallance and Davies in 1986 about women parliamentarians which supports thesis that parenthood is a significant inhibiting factor for women in their political career. Either they wait until children have grown up, or they have difficulty in coping with dual roles (pages 126-127). Dual role stress explains why most women working in 'intermediate range' (ie community, local) political activities tend to be either unemployed or part-time workers (pages 127-128). Also looks at relationship between women's employment/occupational status, and occupational recruitment grounds typical of certain countries, to illustrate another 'structural' impediment to women's entree into politics (pages 128-131).

Refers to women's under-representation in local government, on party committees and in 'high (party) office' as an example of an 'institutional barrier' to recruitment for the UK Parliament (pages 132-135). Refers to Hills' citation of a 1972 Labour Party survey of women activists, 45 per cent of whom felt that male contenders for party office

were 'always or often given preference over equally qualified women' (p134). Notes that 'the irrelevance of candidate's sex has...been demonstrated in studies of local government elections in Britain, the US and NZ...Yet, with the exception of Finland, in all these countries (Western democracies) the available evidence suggests that women candidates are less likely than men to be chosen for safe seats. It is not the electorate that does not want women, so much as the 'selectorate'...' (p140). Refers to a study of women candidates in 1980 congressional campaigns by Uhlaner and Schlozman, where campaigns receipts were analysed, which concluded that '...women candidates do not face any specific disadvantages as women, as opposed to substantial disadvantages as non-incumbents' (p142). Notes (p143) the resistance encountered by women parliamentarians, also the concentration of women on legislative committees concerned with 'softer' cultural, and traditional 'feminine' issues. Reviews studies on women politicians to see if their contribution is distinctive, and ends up concluding '...that women politicians do not behave very differently from men. Their differences in political style are at least partially attributable to their lack of power. Similarly, their apparent specialisation in feminine areas of policy-making largely reflects the roles assigned to them by male-dominated political institutions. Finally while...women politicians in Western democracies may be growing more sympathetic with feminist values, they will not usually risk their careers for them' (p156).

Christy, C.A., *Sex Differences in Political Participation: Processes of Change in Fourteen Nations*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1987.

Examined cross-national and within nation data from fourteen countries (and trend data from two) to examine the suitability of three models (development, generational, and diffusion) for explaining variations in sex differences in political participation. Only two countries could be described as 'developing' countries. Used national election study data, and data from an eight-country study of Barnes and Kaase (1973-76) and Verba, Nie and Kim's seven-nation study conducted between 1967 and 1971 (p16). Author concluded that, although data were limited, sex differences in political participation usually decreased; with respect to voting and partisanship, they have nearly disappeared almost everywhere (p121). However, trends are not well explained by the development, generational, and diffusion models; neither were the models able to explain variations across and within nations (p115).

Studlar, D.T., and Welch, S., 'Understanding the Iron Law of Andrarchy: Effects of Candidate Gender on Voting in Scotland', *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, July 1987, pp. 174-191.

The article explores some reasons for the paucity of women in elected office (in Britain) by examining voting records for over 2800 candidates for Scottish district elections in 1984. Authors found that women candidates were less likely to win election than male candidates and that they polled fewer votes. These differences were explained by the fact that women candidates were much less likely to enjoy personal or party incumbency, slightly more likely to be running against incumbents, and less likely to be unopposed. In areas of Labour Party strength, Scottish women candidates fared slightly worse than comparable men candidates.

Hickman-Maslin and American Viewpoint, *The New Political Woman Survey*, August 1987 (Prepared for National Women's Political Caucus. Funded by RJR Nabisco, Inc.).

Report is based on a survey of 1502 registered American voters; one thousand women and 500 men were interviewed by telephone from 26 May through 1 June, 1987 (p21). Survey aim was to 'explore differences between men and women voters, stereotypes voters have of women and men political candidates, and voter attitudes on issues of special interest to women' (p1). Key findings include: (1) that most voters believe women are as capable as men in handling the responsibilities of elective office, including the Presidency, (2) voters tend to side with candidates identified with the concerns of women, (3) voters have distinct images of male and female candidates, with female ones identified with areas of 'social concern' and males with 'technical' ones, and (4) female candidates are thought to be more compassionate, honest, upright, and compromising. (page 1)

Dalton, R.J., *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies: Public Opinion and Political Parties in the US, Great Britain, West Germany and France*, Chatham House, N.J., 1988.

Book compares public opinion in four nations: the US, Britain, West Germany, and France (p3); data sources were national election and cross-national studies (pp245-246). Argues that Americans and Europeans support gender equity principles, but '...Traditional images of the role of women are still entrenched in the minds of many European males (and)...we might find that the picture is not significantly different in the US. Attitudes toward women are

changing, but old stereotypes remain' (pp108-109). Book has very little to say about gender issues; is primarily interested in national-level comparisons.

Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Participation of Women in Political Life and in the Decision-making Process: A world survey as at 1 April 1988*, International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation (CIPD), Series 'Reports and Documents', No. 15, Geneva, 1988.

The publication reflects the data gathered from member Parliaments (n=108) and also (but more limited) information available on Parliaments not represented at the Union. Most material deals with developments since 1985 (pages 1-2). Information collated (and presented on pages 3-37) includes (for variable numbers of countries): the date on which women were given the right to vote and to stand for election, restrictions on the exercise of the right to vote and to stand for election, when women were first elected to Parliament, progress achieved in the representation of women in Parliament between 1975 and 1988, concrete measures taken or envisaged since July 1985 to ensure that as many women as men are nominated for election to Parliament, institutional mechanisms designed to ensure that women are represented in Parliament, percentage/number of women candidates in the last legislative elections, and obstacles to the access of women to Parliament. Similarly descriptive information is provided on posts held by women in national parliaments, and the role of women in national parliaments and in political parties (including what specific measures parties are taking to promote women's participation). Information is collated in tabular form at end of publication, with helpful 'explanatory notes'. Not an analytical, critical study.

Inter-Parliamentary Union, *The Participation of Women in the Political and Parliamentary Decision-Making Process: Reports and Conclusions*, Series 'Reports and Documents', No. 16, Geneva, 1989.

The Inter-Parliamentary Symposium 'allowed an extremely stimulating and enriching exchange of views between 150 parliamentarians from 66 countries, some thirty national experts and advisers, some thirty representatives of 17 international organisations and representatives of the media' (p63). In a synthesis of the Symposium debates (p65), the report states: 'There is no getting around the figures: while women represent more than one half of the world's population and have proved their ability in all human activities...even today they account for less than 13 per cent of the world's parliamentarians. Only 14 women have acceded to the presidency of the Republic or Government in this century. Likewise, women rarely become Speakers of

Parliament or Chairwomen of parliamentary committees and even though they represent a large share of militant members of political parties, women are equally scarce in the governing bodies of such parties'. Symposium agreed that '...by the year 2000, the current world average of 13 per cent (of women in parliaments) should be at least doubled, with the ultimate goal of reaching 50 per cent' (p70). Observation was made (p70) that '...for those countries where there is the lowest representation of women in national and local Parliaments, there is considerable enthusiasm for the concept of reserved seats...'. Question of compulsory quotas was discussed as '...supported by many, again as a temporary measure' (p70).

Pierce, P.A., 'Gender Role and Political Culture: The Electoral Connection', *Women and Politics*, Vol 9(1) 1989, pp. 21-45.

The study examined '...how women candidates for Congress in 1984 presented themselves to the electorate, and how that presentation was affected by the cultural and political context of the district' (p21). Study population (n=76) included '...all women running for the offices of US House and Senate in 1984' (p25); response rate (involving response to two interviews/ questionnaires) was 50 per cent, so the final sample size was n=38 (p26). Authors claim there were no significant differences between respondents and potential study population (p26). 'One interview/ questionnaire measured the candidate's gender role characteristics and perceptions of the relevant attitudes of her constituency, the other the way in which the candidate presented herself to the voters as a women candidate' (p25). In terms of self-role characteristics, the sample of women candidates for Congress in 1984 identified themselves as possessing both traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics (p33); their scores on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) indicated that they were individuals '...more able to engage in 'cross-sex behaviour' than more sex-typed individuals' (p33). In terms of campaign role characteristics, women candidates as a group do seem to be slightly less 'feminine' and just as 'masculine' as their self-role portrait; the more subservient 'feminine' characteristics are the ones that candidates de-emphasise (p33). The author writes in her discussion of results: '...candidates do adjust their gender characteristics when running for office. They do incrementally challenge the prevailing public image of the appropriate politician in terms of gender role. The campaign gender role characteristics that are emphasised are generally traditionally masculine characteristics. But among traditionally feminine characteristics, loyal and compassionate are also emphasised in the campaign' (p41). 'Candidates do present a different set of gender role characteristics to the electorate than their self-role characteristics' (p41). 'Women candidates in individualistic political cultures emphasise 'argentic' characteristics more than

candidates in other cultures, particularly compared to those in traditional political cultures' (p41).

Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Distribution of Seats between men and women in national parliaments: statistical data from 1945 to 30 June 1991*, Reports and Documents Series No. 18, Geneva, 1991.

The survey reflects with mathematical accuracy how the number of women in Parliament has evolved over the years, both in individual countries and at the regional and world levels (p1). In his introduction to the report, the Secretary General writes: 'With a few exceptions, women are gaining ground in politics. This is obvious but...at a terribly slow pace and sometimes with severe setbacks, as can be seen from the results of the latest elections held in various Central and Eastern European countries...' (p2). This publication is essentially a compendium of tables and graphs; apart from the introduction, no overview, discussion or analysis is presented.

Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, (United Nations, Office at Vienna) *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century: A UN Study*, United Nations, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Netherlands 1992.

In September 1989 the Division for the Advancement of Women (of the UN Commission on the Status of Women) organised an Expert Group Meeting on Equality in Political Participation and Decision-Making in Vienna. The meeting brought together scholars and parliamentarians from 16 countries, and involved the preparation of background papers and national case-studies. The book is primarily based on the information prepared for the Expert Group Meeting; some post-1989 supplementary information has been included where appropriate. Data has been organised around 5 regions: Africa, Asia-Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America-Caribbean, Western industrialised countries (including Western Europe, Australia, Canada, NZ, and the US). The focus of the work is on women's participation in formal decision-making at the national level, not in so-called 'alternate' political participation channels, including local government and informal lobbying (pXIV).

Chapter Two on Women in Parliament reviews global IPU data and summarises that: '...the representation of women in parliament, although increasing slowly, is still low...If progress were to continue at the present rate, it would be well into the twenty-first century before even the 1995 targets (30 per cent, set by the Economic and Social Council of the UN) were met' (p18). Case-study data from 16 countries represented at the Vienna meeting is presented. The comparative

perspective notes that 'In most of the countries studied, the representation of women in the upper house is on average lower than that in the lower house' (p27). Report seeks to explain women's 'vanishing act', ie, the fact that '...throughout the world, women are either absent or very poorly represented at the top of the political pyramid' (p29). Looks at eligibility for office and the processes of recruitment, selection and election (pages 29-56), using case-study data from 16 countries as a basis for (occasional) generalisation and illustration. On selection procedures, for example, the report states: 'In general, a decentralised selection process has tended to be more disadvantageous for the selection of women than a more centralised nomination process' (p43).

Chapter Three on 'Women in Governmental Decision-Making' looks at numbers of 'women at the top' (Presidents and Prime Ministers), women in Ministerial and Senior-Level Decision-Making (analysed by region), in Cabinet, and the Civil Service; data was gathered from a variety of sources, including the World-wide Government Directory of 1987-88 (p61), the 16 country case studies, and WISTAT (the UN 'Women's Indicators and Statistics database') (p73). The chapter concludes (pp84-85) that: (1) women constitute a disproportionately low number of top-level decision makers in public administrations everywhere, (2) occupational segregation is a feature of most public administrations, (3) many countries have adopted policies designed to assist women to rise to the upper levels of the civil service, to counter discrimination, to create equal opportunities for men and women and to strengthen women's status in the workforce, and (4) despite the great cultural, ideological and economic differences between countries, women in public administration around the world appear to face similar problems.

Chapter Four, 'Equality in Political Decision-Making: An Empirical View' seeks to examine '...some of the factors associated with higher or lower levels of women's participation in decision-making' by relating UN demographic, political and economic statistics relevant to the status of women to women's participation in parliament and high-level decision-making in the 155 countries covered in the study (pp87-88). Conclusions include: (1) the percentage of women in parliament correlates positively with numbers of women in cabinet or in high level government positions, signifying that general political advancement of women carries over to government decision-making (p90), (2) there is a positive statistical correlation between a low rate of population growth and a relatively high proportion of women in parliament (p92), (3) the more money allocated to the public sector (eg education), the more women there are in high-level positions (p93), (4) there is a moderate positive correlation between the ratio of girls to boys in

primary, secondary, and tertiary education... and the percentage of women in parliament and in government decision-making (pp93-94), (5) there is a clear, positive correlation between numbers of women in paid work and women in decision-making: the higher the employment rate, the higher is women's participation in government (p97), (6) the more women in professional employment, the more women there are to be found in governmental decision-making, (but not in parliaments) (p99), (7) there is a strong correlation between the number of years that women in a country have had the right to vote and the percentage of women in parliament, and the percentage of women at ministerial levels (p99), (8) the highest proportions of women in parliament are found in those places where women had the right to vote before 1940 (p100), (9) there are higher proportions of women in parliament in countries with a single party system, or no parties at all (p100), (10) however, multi-party systems have, on average, higher proportions of women involved in government decision-making (p101), suggesting that in systems with little or no inter-party competition (and where women are better represented), parliaments have a less decisive role, (11) the better women's overall status (in terms of health, education, employment and social equality), the likelier her participation in parliament and government decision-making (p102).

United Nations, *Women: Challenges to the Year 2000*, New York, 1991.

Chapter 5 is called 'Women in Politics: More Votes, More Voices' (pp 51-63). Page 53 records that in 1989 the IPU reported that '...55 countries ...increased their representation of women between 1975 and 1989, 15 decreased it, and three...remained the same...female members of cabinets appeared to have risen in 23 countries, stayed the same in 18, and decreased in 21'. And '...Norway distinguished itself by being the only country to exceed 20 per cent female representation at the ministerial level in four areas: social, economic, law and justice, and political affairs'. Economic power does not necessarily translate into political power for women, and comparative analysis discredits economic development as an indicator of women's empowerment even further (p56). Refers to a 1984 Council of Europe poll that revealed that: 39 per cent of women felt that too few of their kind offered themselves as candidates, 46 per cent of women preferred to vote for men, and 36 per cent of women thought that higher female representation in parliament would make no difference at all in public policy (p56). Nordic countries '...provide a model of integration of women into political decision-making and public life, where high levels of education and involvement in women's organisations have been coupled with affirmative action by governments' (p60). In final section 'Political Challenges to the Year 2000', one recommendation made is to

'Increase the number of women in leadership positions in public and private enterprise to at least 30 per cent by the year 2000, with a view to achieving future parity with men' (p63).

Norris, P., 'Gender Differences in Political Participation in Britain: Traditional, Radical and Revisionist Models', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 26 (1), Winter 1991, pages 56-74.

Data for the article was derived from the 1987 British Election Study cross-national survey (directed by A. Heath, et al); it also employed data from the 1986 British Social Attitudes Study, provided by Social and Community Planning Research (p56). The paper considers how far gender differences have changed in Britain in four modes of participation: voting turn-out, campaign participation, contact activity and communal participation (p57). It critically re-examines the traditional, radical and revisionist perspectives (on sex differences in political participation) in the light of British trends, indicating a closing of the gender gap in voting, contact and campaign activity in recent years. The traditional and radical perspectives are evaluated as inadequate, and the revisionist perspective is judged the most plausible. The author writes: 'We can conclude that the traditional view, that women are more passive and uninvolved in conventional political life may have had some validity in the past, although much of the evidence in previous studies is open to criticism, and there has often been a tendency to exaggerate the extent and significance of the gender gap. nevertheless the conventional view is no longer valid today as women and men are remarkably similar in their mass behaviour and attitudes across all modes of participation... (but) if gender is so unimportant in mass political activity then why are there so few women at the apex of power?' (p74). The question is purely rhetorical, though, as the question is the last sentence of the article.

Megyeri, K., (Editor) *Women in Canadian Politics: Toward Equity in Representation*, (Volume 6 of the Research Studies), Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1991.

A Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing was established in November 1989, with a mandate to inquire into and report on the appropriate principles and process that should govern the election of members of the House of Commons and the financing of political parties and candidates' campaigns. Extensive public consultations were held, and a research program was devised. The research program involved over 200 specialists (in political science, law, economics, management, computer sciences, ethics, sociology and communications) from 28 Canadian universities, the private sector, and abroad. The research program included the preparation of research studies as well as a series of research seminars, symposiums and workshops.

The Commission's report includes a chapter on 'Women's Participation in Political Parties', written by Sylvia Bashevkin (pages 61-79). She analyses federal and provincial (Ontario) data and reports that '...large numbers of Canadian women continue to fulfil primarily secretarial functions in local party executives' (p62), but (comparing data from the early 1980s with that from the early 1990s) that '...more women hold federal and provincial party executive positions, serve as convention delegates, campaign managers and candidates' (p76). Despite this latter, '...few win election to provincial and federal legislatures...(and) elite cabinet positions are only rarely held by women...' (p76). However, despite these 'depressing and predictable' figures, the author writes that studies from the UK, USA and Australia '...suggest that (women's) participation in Canada is relatively high' and '...many of the limitations affecting women's party participation in Canada are not country-specific and can be identified in most comparable political systems' (pp76-77). She concludes that '...internal party reform is critical to increasing both the quantity and quality of women's political engagement in all of these systems' (p77). 'Opening up systems of party nomination, challenging the dominant role of money in party life, and questioning the packaging of elites can all help to widen the recruitment base of party organisations and make them more attractive to people with diverse identities' (p77).

Matland, R.E., and Brown, D.D., 'District Magnitude's Effect on Female Representation in US State Legislatures', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, XVII, 4, Nov. 1992, pp. 469-492.

The article gives reasons why multimember districts should give women an advantage, reviews the empirical literature, proposes several hypotheses to reconcile the inconsistent results in the literature, and then tests these hypotheses in two States over a 22-year period. The results provide strong confirmation of the effect of district magnitude and cast serious doubt on those studies showing little effect. The authors suggest that their findings have important public policy implications for women's representation in state legislatures. In concluding they write '...We agree with (another researcher) who argues that there have been significant changes in the factors influencing women's access to state legislatures and that social scientists need to re-evaluate theories of access. We would argue that re-evaluation should place greater emphasis on institutional factors' (p489).

Asbjornsen, N., Vogt, O.G., 'Measuring Political Competence: An Analysis with Reference to the Gender Gap', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1992, pp 61-78.

The purpose of the article is to test statistically the assumption of similarity between the sexes in the relationship between subjective political competence ('internal political efficacy') and voting turnout. Authors' findings, based on data from the Norwegian Election Studies program from 1969-1985, show that subjective competence has different significance for men and women. For men, it has an expected substantive meaning. For women, it seems to be irrelevant with respect to expected sources and consequences. Given this apparent incomparability in measurement, authors conclude that it is inappropriate to use identical models for men and women. Authors argue that political competence should be conceived as containing a cognitive element, objective political competence; this construct does not focus on the 'affective element of personal political competence' (p75) and it is 'gender neutral', meaning that its relationship with political involvement does not vary with sex. Authors' main conclusion is that '...more work should be devoted to developing more and better indicators of political competence, both subjective and objective' (p75).

Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women and Political Power: Survey carried out among the 150 National Parliaments existing as of 31 October 1991*, Series 'Reports and Documents', No. 19, Geneva, 1992.

A questionnaire was sent out by the IPU to '...the 150 Parliaments then existing in the world. The questionnaire was drawn up by men and women politicians and was designed to bring in information both objective (with facts and figures) and subjective (with opinions and

reflections) which, taken together, would make it possible to take stock of the situation. No fewer than 97 Parliaments responded to the survey...over a period of eight months (from Feb. to Nov. 1991)...' (p3). Replies came from MPs as well as from parliamentary or Governmental officials.

Chapter 1: Table I (pages 9-15) shows the dates on which women secured recognition of their rights to vote and to be elected and the dates on which a women entered Parliament for the first time in the 150 countries surveyed. Table 2 (pages 17-20) shows the historical sequence by region in which these rights were included in domestic legislation (p5). Author notes timelag between the right to be elected and first actual election of a women; this varies from 3-42 years, and Australia is an example of the longest time gap, at 42 years (p8).

Chapter 2: Table 3 (pages 25-28) shows for male as well as female electors the automatic, compulsory or optional character of registration on the electoral rolls; it reveals that today, the same legal conditions apply to men and women as far as registration on the electoral rolls is concerned (p22). Table 4 (pages 29-33) shows for male as well as female electors the compulsory or optional nature of voting in the 150 countries in question; it indicates that, from a strictly legal standpoint, there exists no discrimination between men and women in regard to modalities for voting (p22). Also, in the vast majority of cases, the same modalities obtain for registration on the electoral rolls and for voting (p23). Provisions in relation to voting by proxy are noted: 16 countries have made provision for this practice, which can work to the detriment of women (p23).

Table 5 in Chapter 3 (pages 47-62) indicates the existence (or lack) of a ministry or any other governmental body for the status of women, including specialised parliamentary committees (p37). This table (which reflects information from 96 countries) '...provides a fairly clear overview of official attention to questions directly relevant to the status of women and...the special efforts of national authorities to persuade women to become active political partners' (p37). Eighty-one percent of respondent countries had a governmental body specially responsible for questions relating to the status of women (p37). 'However, non-government organisations (ngo) appear to have been the most active in making women aware of their political rights and the need to exercise these'; ngo activities of respondent countries are outlined on pages 38-45.

Chapter 4 contains information on: women founders of political parties, the proportion of women members and women militants in political parties, some information on women's representation in

parliaments by political party, some information on the proportion of women in the governing bodies of political parties, women leaders of parties/parliamentary groups/in key posts, measures taken by the parties to facilitate women's participation in party activities, women's branches in political parties, and the views generally held (by 'militant' females) on the attitude of party leaders to women; in respect of the latter, views were neither particularly negative or positive.

Chapter 5 contains Table 6 (pages 103-113), informing of 'positive action measures to facilitate women's access to parliament', and showing that '...at least five countries have, in various forms and to differing degrees, included a quota device in their legislation to ensure the presence of women in the national parliament' (p97), and 56 political parties in 34 countries have established a quota system either for legislative elections (22 parties) or for elections to posts in the executive structures of the party (51 parties) (p98). Table 7 (on pages 115-122) '...shows that women may also sometimes sit in Parliament as a result of the system of reserved seats, filled by means of a separate election or through co-optation', although this is '...a very uncommon mechanism' (p98). Table 7 shows that the phenomenon of appointment to Parliament is fairly widespread (p99), and that it has accounted for the appointment to Parliament of women in 'several countries', most notably in Dominica, Indonesia, Mexico, Norway, Saint Lucia and Uganda (p99).

Table 8 (on pages 131-139) in Chapter 6 gives the number and percentage of women candidates against the total number of candidates in the most recent elections (up to 30 June 1991). While the information is incomplete, '...the data...leave no room for doubt: with rare and relative exceptions, the percentage of women contesting elections remains low' (p123). Table 9 (pages 153 to 156) in Chapter 7 '...provides a visual projection of the main functions performed by women in the context of Parliament' (p141). The point is made that '...it is in committees concerned with these matters (the family, social affairs, health, education) that women are the most numerous, not necessarily in relation to the men on the committees but compared with their own numbers on other committees' (p144). Table 10 (on pages 163-166 in Chapter 8) provides information on 'women in government', including numbers of women who are: heads of state/government, ministers and senior ministerial functionaries. Data in relation to the latter was not comprehensive, but what there was not particularly encouraging, eg, '...there can be no doubt that the proportion of women Ministers is still very low in the countries of all regions' (p161). Chapter 9 contains comments ('essentially subjective by nature') on the image of women politicians, 'as projected by themselves, by political groups and by the media' (p167). Annex 1 of

the report contains the survey questionnaire, and Annex 2 lists respondent parliaments, response date, and authors of replies.

Nicholson, B., 'From Interest Group to (Almost) Equal Citizenship: Women's Representation in the Norwegian Parliament', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol 46 (2), April 1993, pp255-263.

Article addresses the questions: '...why, in the movement towards greater equality for women over the past two decades, have... systems (of proportional representation) proved less of a barrier than others to the achievement of equality in the political sphere? and, why has women's representation increased faster under some of these systems than others?' (p255). In concluding, the author writes (in relation to proportional representation systems): 'The most important characteristic of this system is its responsiveness to political opinion, and consequently to change. Not only is it fair, but ... voters insist that it is seen to be fair. The position of women in society as a whole is therefore more accurately reflected in parliament than under other electoral systems. In times of transition, the system accommodates change by allowing it to be made gradually. Parties are not forced to reject men candidates outright if they select women, still less to unseat men in order to elect women, even when implementing gender quotas. This characteristic of the electoral system, along with the rate of turnover, has been of much greater importance than the quotas themselves in improving women's chances of election. Within this system, the open, democratic and accountable process of nomination for parliamentary elections has ensured fairer treatment of women. ...Local autonomy within the parties and local recruitment of candidates have also been important, because they enable women at the grass-roots to influence selection and enhance their chances of becoming candidates. On the basis of the Norwegian evidence, one must conclude that the most fundamental influence on the representation of women is the prevailing conception of democracy and representation, how it relates to the position of women in society and how that relationship evolves over time. However, though the mechanics of the electoral system cannot of themselves effect change, they are an essential framework within which the democratic process is played out. Norway has an electoral system which does not impose structural discrimination over and above the continuing bias against women in society, and this has been decisive in increasing women's representation'. (pp262-263).