Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 1/20

CHAPTER 33

Australia: Uneven Progress Toward Equality in Women's Political Rights

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Australia was at the forefront of women's political rights at various times during the twentieth century. South Australian women were amongst the first in the world to win the right both to vote and to stand for parliament (in 1894), while in the 1970s Australia established the world's first whole-of-government policy framework in order to advance gender equality. However, these pioneering achievements have been slow to translate into parliamentary and political representation. Whilst many strong and capable women have served in parliament and in political leadership roles, women still comprise less than one-third of Australia's national, state and territory lower or single houses where government is formed. Meanwhile, governments across the political spectrum have retreated from a broad strategic policy framework on gender equality in favour of specific domestic and international objectives with bipartisan support, reinforcing the public perception that gender equality has been achieved.

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Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 2/20

The Slow Road to Parliament

South Australia, one of Britain's six Australian colonies, was a world leader in women's political rights. Women gained the right to vote in South Australian local government elections from 1861[1] and in 1894, seven years before the colonies federated, the South Australian Parliament voted for women to have the right both to vote and to stand for election in the colony's House of Assembly (lower house).[2] The Act received Royal Assent on 2 February 1895. Shortly after Federation in 1901, most Australian women who were British subjects and over the age of 21 years, won the right to vote in Australian national elections as a result of the passing of the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*.[3] However, it was to be another four decades before the first women were elected to the Commonwealth Parliament, a longer gap than in any other democracy.[4]

Their absence was not for lack of trying. Four women stood as candidates at the first national election held in 1903 and, whilst none succeeded, they represented the first female candidates to stand for any national parliament in the British Empire. The prominent Victorian suffragist Vida Goldstein was the most famous example of that new political phenomenon—the woman candidate. She stood as an Independent for the Senate and urged newly enfranchised women not to waste their votes by following the old party lines that would render them "camp followers to a corrupt system of party politics".[5] Goldstein argued that only women parliamentarians could effectively protect women's interests:

> I have always maintained that wherever there are women's and children's interests to be considered, women should be there to consider them; because owing to the difference in sex, men cannot understand such questions from the woman's point of view.[6]

By 1908, all Australian women (except Aboriginal women in some jurisdictions) were enfranchised and had won the right to stand for election to lower houses in the Commonwealth and state parliaments by 1923 (see Table 33.1). The first woman to be elected to any Australian parliament was Edith Cowan, who won the state seat of West Perth in the Western Australian Legislative Assembly in 1921. Nevertheless, in the first four decades after gaining political rights, only a small number of women stood for the Commonwealth Parliament, and 75% of those stood as Independents or for minor parties. No women would enter the hallowed chambers of the Commonwealth Parliament until 1943 when Dorothy Tangney became the first woman to win a seat in the Australian Senate (upper house) as Senator for Western Australia, while Enid Lyons, widow of former Prime Minister Joseph Lyons (1932–1939) was elected to the seat of Darwin (Tasmania) in the House of Representatives (lower house).

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 3/20

Table 33.1 Timeline of women's political rights in Australia's national, state and territory elections

Jurisdiction	*Right to vote*	*Right to stand for election (lower or single house)*	*First woman elected*
South Australia	1894[a]	1894[a]	1959
Western Australia	1899	1920	1921
Australia (Commonwealth/ federal)	1902	1902	1943
New South Wales	1902	1918	1925
Tasmania	1903	1921	1948
Queensland	1905	1915	1929
Victoria	1908	1923	1933

[a]The legislation was passed in 1894 and received Royal Assent in 1895

The number of women elected to the Commonwealth Parliament gradually increased after 1943, but progress was excruciatingly slow. The established political parties effectively played a gatekeeping role in keeping women out of parliament. When they did preselect women, it was usually for seats that the party had never previously won. The belief that women's domestic responsibilities had primacy over political ambitions and the desire to protect entrenched interests within political parties all contributed to the exclusion of women from Australian parliaments. This situation was exacerbated by a general distrust of male party politics amongst feminist activists.[7] By 1980, women still represented only a tiny proportion of the Commonwealth Parliament (three percent of the House of Representatives and 10.9% of the Senate). The story was similar for state and territory parliaments. Women did not reach the threshold of 10% of membership in lower houses across Australia until the 1990s, when they began to enter parliament in unprecedented numbers.

At the national level, the proportion of women in the House of Representatives—the chamber where the nation's government is formed—has risen by around 10% over the past two decades, but remains well below the minimum level of representation considered by international experts as the 'critical minority' necessary for women to influence decision-making (see Fig. 33.1).[8] In this context, Australia's world ranking for women in national parliaments has steadily declined over the last two decades (see Fig. 33.2).[9] Australia's parliaments have also been notable for their low level of Indigenous representation until very recently.[10]

Parties and Strategies

Australia's party system has played a key role in determining women's political representation. The preselection of candidates is governed by party rules, which naturally seek to maximise the number of seats the party might win. However, as Fig. 33.3 illustrates, where women are competing for

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 4/20

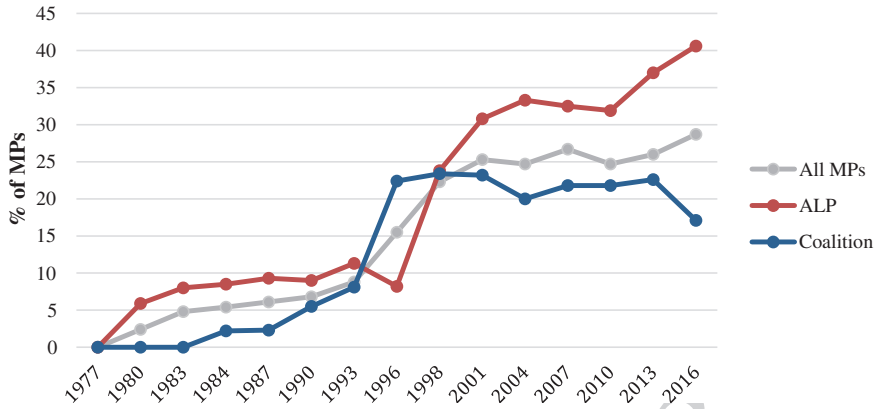

Fig. 33.1 Representation of women in the House of Representatives, 1977–2016 (*Source* Commonwealth Parliamentary Library)

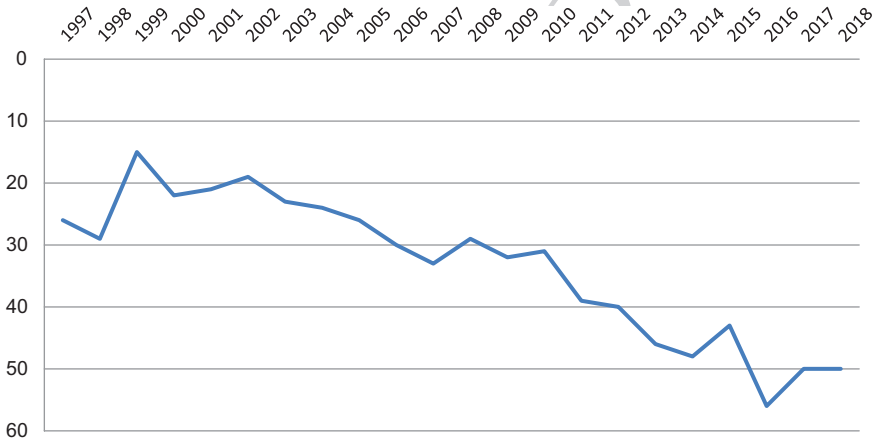

Fig. 33.2 Women in national parliament: Australia's world ranking 1997–2018 (*Source* Inter-Parliamentary Union, May 2018)

preselection for a single-member electorate, as in House of Representatives elections, they have generally been less successful than in the Senate, which uses proportional representation involving multi-member electorates.[11] Australian political scientist Scott Bennett has observed that, where the PR system is used, "parties feel they can afford to allocate more places on candidate lists to female candidates".[12] In addition, as election analyst Tony Smith notes, the PR system used for Senate elections favours minor parties such as the

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 5/20

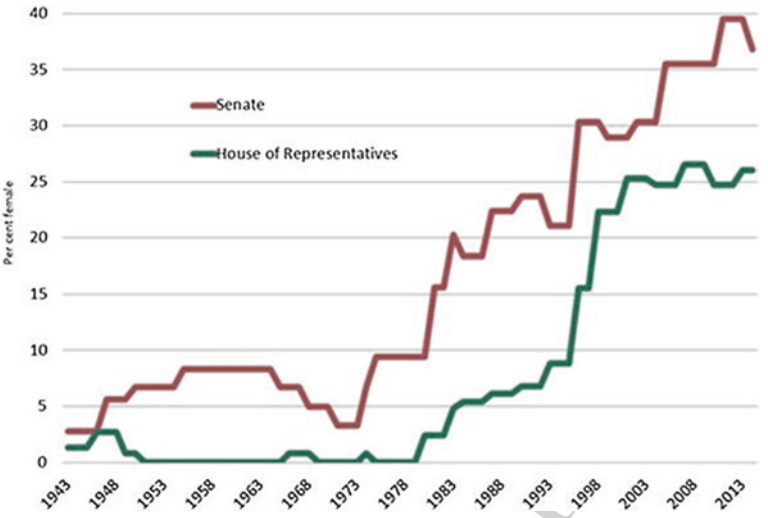

Fig. 33.3 Women senators and members in the Commonwealth Parliament in election years, 1943–2013 (*Source* McCann and Wilson, *Representation of Women*, p. 15)

Australian Democrats and the Australian Greens which are in turn younger and:

> … less prejudiced against women than Labor and the Coalition, whose longer histories created traditions in times when the public and private spheres were sex-differentiated. It might also reflect the fact that most ambitious men aim for the lower house where government is formed, and regard upper house seats as career backwaters.[13]

In 1995 the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women recognised that electoral systems posed one of the major barriers to women's political representation internationally, and called on national governments to review the impact of their electoral systems and to undertake necessary reforms.[14] In Australia, this issue was already being acknowledged. In 1992, the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs completed a parliamentary inquiry into equal opportunity and equal status for women in Australia. In its final report, the Committee recommended a raft of reforms including that "all political parties examine their selection procedures for systematic discrimination against women and develop appropriate affirmative action programmes which would give women equal opportunity to take a greater role in the political process".[15] One measure of prevailing cultural attitudes to women in political office in Australia can be seen in the results of three World Values Surveys conducted in 1995, 2005 and 2012, respectively. The overwhelming majority of respondents in each survey (72, 74 and 76% respectively) disagreed or strongly disagreed with

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 6/20

the proposition that "on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do", reflecting the trend in advanced industrialised societies more generally.[16] Nevertheless, as Thomas and Wilcox have noted, such attitudes towards women's leadership are not sufficient in themselves to shift deep-rooted institutional beliefs about gender roles.[17] Below, we examine how Australia's political parties have incorporated women and addressed women's demands for political representation.

Australian Labor Party (ALP)

The ALP's traditional affiliation with blue-collar trade unions meant that the party was founded on the principle of protecting its members against competition from cheap labor and upholding the 'family wage' for male breadwinners. While the party sought to empower working-class men in Australia, its fraternal ethos, strong factional system and Irish Catholic heritage served to exclude women from decision-making roles or elected office.[18] Nevertheless, individual women did succeed in entering parliament and initiating legislative reforms to benefit women, particularly where they were supported by strong women's organisations. At the national level, Senator Susan Ryan played a crucial role in changing Labor Party policy. In 1979, she wrote an article noting the role of party culture and structure in deterring women's political participation:

> … one of the major obstacles in gaining women's support for the Labor Party has been its traditional structure: machines, steering committees, complicated trade union connections. These antiquated, unrepresentative, male-dominated hierarchies with their mysterious and indirect ways of getting the numbers for preselections and the election of Party officers deter many women who are otherwise attracted to Labor policies.[19]

Ryan commissioned research showing that Labor voters were not likely to change their allegiance because of women candidates, and convinced the party to adopt a comprehensive women's policy, which it implemented following its win at the 1983 national election. Australia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1983 and introduced the Commonwealth *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*, the *Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act 1986*, and related legislation, establishing affirmative action as a core principle to achieve gender equality. However, whilst these reforms to address barriers to equal opportunity gained momentum, the matter of women's parliamentary representation was left to the political parties.

Internally, the ALP adopted a voluntary affirmative action program in 1981 and also required that women form 25% of state delegations to ALP National Conference. Then in 1994, after intense factional negotiation, the National Conference adopted a rule change to ensure women would make up

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 7/20

35% of Labor parliamentary parties by 2002. The rules required that they had to be preselected for Labor-held or winnable seats (requiring a swing of 5% or less to win). The 35% quota, which applied at national, state and territory levels, was backed up by the power of the National Executive to cancel preselections in the case of non-compliance. Factional dynamics led to compliance with the new rules in order to avoid such intervention and risk losing a seat to another faction. Yet compliance did not imply acceptance. As one senior factional leader put it, the "bitches have won."[20]

The party's national quota policy was increased in 2002, requiring that women candidates be preselected for at least 40% of winnable seats from 2012. The proportion of Labor women candidates more than doubled, from 14.5% at the 1994 national election to 35.6% at the 2010 national election.[21] The proportion of Labor women elected to parliament rose accordingly. By February 2017, women represented 42.9% of Labor parliamentarians around Australia, over half (54.6%) of all women in Australian parliaments and, at the national level, 58.1% of all Commonwealth parliamentarians.[22] Nevertheless, some Labor women considered that the party's 40/40/20 rule still fell short of gender equality and continued to pursue a 50–50 policy.[23] They succeeded, and in 2015, delegates at the ALP national conference agreed to lift the quota to 45% in 2022 and 50% in 2025, with quotas to be enforced by the party executive.[24]

Coalition Parties

The conservative Coalition parties, comprising the Liberal Party of Australia and The Nationals, did not adopt quotas for their parliamentary parties based on their belief that candidates should be preselected on merit. Their strategies for addressing the underrepresentation of women were aimed at developing women's networks within the party and providing support to women who sought preselection.[25] In 1993–1994, for example, Chris McDiven, then President of the Liberal Women's Council in NSW, introduced a Liberal Women's Forum to provide women with training in preselection processes as well as mentoring and networking. According to McDiven:

> Many were keen to break down factionalism as neither side were supporting women. There were so few women in parliamentary or party positions, and hardly any standing for preselections, when I started the NSW Forum I was actually accused of starting a third faction – women.[26]

The Forum became a national initiative propelling unprecedented numbers of Liberal women into the Commonwealth Parliament in 1996, but the momentum soon faded. In contrast to the trajectory of ALP women candidates, the proportion of Liberal women in the Commonwealth Parliament remained stubbornly below 25% over subsequent elections, fanning the flames of internal dissent amongst senior Liberal women. Several began

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 8/20

speaking out about the need for reform within the party's processes in order to promote more women. In 2010, for example, Liberal Senator Judith Troeth presented an argument for a 40% party quota for women candidates in the Victorian Division, increasing to 45% within five years.[27] Her proposal was not adopted, but three years later Margaret Fitzherbert (later elected to the Victorian Parliament) called on the Liberal Party to end its 'blind faith' in merit and adopt new strategies to tackle the problem.[28]

In 2015, a review of the Liberal Party's policies on *Gender and Politics* by the conservative Menzies Research Centre explicitly rejected the ALP's "rigid, top-down quota system," calling instead for a target to correct the gender imbalance within the Liberal Party.[29] An internal report followed, noting that the party's culture and preselection processes had contributed to the decline of female representation and a corresponding decrease in electoral support for the party. While it stopped short of recommending a gender quota on the basis that it was inconsistent with the merit principle, the report urged the executive to support a "national aspirational target" of 50% female representation in Australian parliaments by 2025 and a ten-year national gender diversity reform program.[30] Nonetheless, the proportion of Liberal women elected to the federal parliament continued to decline and after the federal election less than a year later, women represented just 17% of all Coalition MPs in the House of Representatives—the lowest level of female representation in two decades.

Women in Cabinet

If women were few and far between in Australia's parliaments until the 1990s, they were even fewer in ministries. The handful of women appointed to ministries demonstrated a capacity for hard work and achieving results, although they were invariably allocated to so-called 'nurturing' portfolios in health, education and welfare.[31] In Western Australia, Liberal parliamentarian Florence Cardell-Oliver became Australia's first female Cabinet Minister in 1947 when she was appointed, first as a minister without portfolio, then as an "honorary minister," and finally in 1949 was given the health portfolio which she held until the government changed in 1953. As Minister for Health, she succeeded in introducing free milk for school children and compulsory chest X-rays. Another Liberal woman to break into the all-male Cabinet preserve was Senator Margaret Guilfoyle who, in 1975, became the first woman Cabinet Minister with portfolio in the Commonwealth Parliament when she became Education and then Social Security Minister in the Fraser Coalition Government.[32]

A similar pattern of allocating 'soft' issues to women MPs was also evident in parliamentary committees. Those committees considered as having higher status—for example foreign affairs, economic and financial matters and security and terrorism—were generally dominated by men. Women were typically

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 9/20

allocated the less prestigious or powerful committees, although some were able to demonstrate their leadership and political credentials by serving as chair.[33] Liberal Senator Ivy Wedgwood, first elected in 1949, was one of the first women to chair a Commonwealth parliamentary committee—the Senate Select Committee on Medical and Hospital Costs (1968–1970), then the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare (1970–1971), which tabled the first committee report on the health needs of people with mental and physical disabilities. She was also instrumental in lobbying for removal of the Commonwealth marriage bar that caused women to lose their public service jobs on marriage.[34] The first all-woman committee in the Commonwealth Parliament was the Senate Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes, established in 1981 and chaired first by Liberal Senator Shirley Walters and then, after a change of government, by Labor Senator Pat Giles. The number and range of House of Representatives committees chaired by women 'improved significantly' after the 1980s, reflecting the increasing number and experience of women entering the Commonwealth Parliament.[35]

Women's Organisations

Given the slow progress made by parties in selecting women candidates, the formation of women's organisations both within parties and external to them played a crucial role in helping women to highlight gender equality issues. The Australian Women's National League (AWNL) was one of the earliest and most influential of these. First established in 1904 to support the British monarchy and empire, it became the largest conservative political organisation during World War I and between the wars. In 1944, under the leadership of Elizabeth Couchman, the AWNL merged with the newly formed Liberal Party in a pact that guaranteed women half the executive positions in Victoria. As a result of Couchman's legacy, several talented conservative women were given winnable places on the Liberal Party's Senate ticket in Victoria.[36]

EMILY's List Australia, a feminist fund-raising trust associated with the ALP, was formed in 1996 in the same year that the party established a National Labor Women's Network as its peak women's organisation. However, EMILY's List remained independent and focused on ensuring that the ALP maintained its commitment to affirmative action at a time when opponents within the party feared that the influence of feminists and other 'special interest' groups would alienate Labor's traditional constituency amongst blue-collar workers. EMILY's List offered mentoring and campaign support for endorsed female ALP candidates who were committed to promoting issues of gender equity and reproductive rights.[37] The group supported its first candidates in 1997–1998 and by 2017 claimed to have successfully supported the election of over 210 women, including Australia's first woman Prime Minister Julia Gillard and several of Australia's first state and territory

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 10/20

female Labor leaders.[38] As one of the founders of EMILY's List Australia, former Victorian Premier Joan Kirner AC, reflected in 2008:

> We knew we had to change the rules, and we did change the rules, and it took a hell of an effort to do it…And we were doing it for this band of very bright young women that we could see were being kept out of parliament by the blokes. And then of course, we thought, well that's terrific, we've changed the rules, but we hadn't changed the culture. So that's when we set up Emily's List.[39]

The Impact of Women's Presence in Politics

Women may have found opportunities for influencing policymaking by serving on and chairing parliamentary committees but Australia's confrontational style of politics, underpinned by a majoritarian model of government versus opposition and a tradition of strong party discipline, has made cooperation on areas of interest to women more difficult on the floor of the chamber.[40] In a rare example of cross-party cooperation in the federal parliament, four women senators from the ALP, Australian Democrats, Liberal Party, and The Nationals joined together in 2005 to introduce a private members' bill to remove a ministerial veto over the importation of the 'abortion pill', RU486.[41] The bill's success was deemed to be a triumph for Australian women. Anne Summers, women's adviser to two former Labor Prime Ministers, wrote that it showed the power of women working together and represented a breakthrough in the way Australian politics worked. However, the "massive increase in the numbers of women in all parties" had generally failed to translate into women working together to promote women's issues, and she mused about whether the collaboration was "a one-off or are politics going to be different from now on?"[42] In fact, it proved to be a one-off—what Sara Dowse called a "momentary blip"—in the strict protocols of party loyalty.[43] As former Commonwealth parliamentarian Mary Crawford has observed, despite the increase in the number of women in parliaments after the 1990s, they remain 'gendered organisations' with masculine norms and expectations.[44] If parliament was not a major site for the substantive representation of women, women's rights nonetheless found expression elsewhere, as discussed below.

Gender Equality Policy

The emergence of the second-wave women's movement in Australia in the 1970s was a major turning point in terms of gender equality policy. One of the more unusual features of the women's movement in Australia was that it achieved considerable success in shaping government policy some 20 years before women began entering Australian parliaments in significant numbers. The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) was one of the key organisations

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 11/20

formed in this period. It changed the political agenda, convincing the major parties of the need for women's issues to be addressed as part of government policy. In 1972, the newly-elected Whitlam Labor Government was sympathetic to many of WEL's demands, introducing a raft of women-friendly reforms including equal employment opportunity initiatives, childcare, funding for women's services and, crucially, the establishment of policy machinery at the national level dedicated to women's issues.[45]

The idea that governments need formal machinery to ensure that their policies meet women's needs and promote gender equality was adumbrated at the First United Nations World Conference on Women in 1975. Since the Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995, gender mainstreaming has been disseminated internationally as the guiding principle of such government machinery.[46] It is notable that, while individual women members and senators have made substantial contributions to women's policies, Australia's national parliament has never embraced the idea of a cross-party women's caucus or a parliamentary standing committee dedicated to gender equality. The closest it has come to a gender-focused parliamentary body is the Australian Parliamentary Group on Population and Development, where federal, state and territory parliamentarians work together to champion reproductive health and women's empowerment.[47] It has demonstrated the potential for specialised committees and caucuses to build trust across party lines and offer individuals a platform for raising gender equality issues, particularly in Australia's highly adversarial parliamentary environment.

Guidelines for gender mainstreaming generally emphasise the importance of central government monitoring all policies, including economic policy, to assess their impact on men and women. Australia's first Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Women's Affairs (a male) was appointed by the Fraser Coalition Government in 1976; policy advice for the Prime Minister and Minister Assisting was provided by the Office for the Status of Women within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. At various times, the Office has been exiled from the central policy co-ordination agency of government to departments including home affairs and, from 2004, to the department responsible for family and community services. This location gave the impression that gender equality was a welfare concern rather than a whole-of-government matter. The Abbott Coalition Government relocated it back into the central agency in 2013 on these grounds, although overall strategic policy direction regarding gender equality was still absent. Indeed, in recent years, there has been a general retreat by the major political parties from broad-based gender equality policies.

Even though much remains to be done to achieve gender equality, there has been a significant narrowing in policy focus by both Labor and Coalition governments. On the domestic front, the main policy objective is to address gender-based violence while, on the international stage, successive governments have focused on providing development assistance to support gender

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 12/20

equality objectives in other countries, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, and to address women, peace and security issues in conflict zones. In 2012, for example, the Labor Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development aid strategy that provided funding over ten years to increase the proportion of Pacific women in leadership and decision-making roles.[48] This emphasis on gender equality in development assistance was continued by Julie Bishop, Foreign Minister of the incoming conservative Coalition Government. Similarly, the Coalition Government continued with the 12-year National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children initiated by the previous Labor Government and endorsed by the Council of Australian Governments in 2009.[49]

One explanation for this shift away from gender equality policy, which is also evident in comparable countries where neoliberal ideology has gained purchase, is that broader action on gender equality runs counter to the pursuit of market-based and deregulatory policies. The belief that the issue of gender equality has already been done and is no longer of real importance was nowhere more evident than in the negative media response to Australia's first woman Prime Minister when she delivered two landmark speeches about sexism in 2012–2013.[50]

This retreat from a national gender policy framework can also be seen in the context of the national Budget. Between 1984 and 2014, successive Labor and Coalition governments produced an annual Women's Budget Statement as part of the official Budget Papers. This practice was largely discontinued from 1993, with the surviving government document focusing on budget initiatives for women rather than a cross-portfolio analysis of the gender impact of outlays. However, the Status of Women Committee of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party did continue to produce women's budget documents while Labor was in Opposition, detailing the gender impact of government Budget cuts in particular. The task of analysing the Budget through a gender lens has also been taken up by the National Foundation for Australian Women, a non-politically aligned feminist trust, in consultation with other women's organisations. In their 2015–2016 report, the authors noted the 'progressive loss of transparency in Budget documents' combined with the loss of data formerly made available by research and review bodies that have been abolished, making an assessment of gender implications difficult. This loss of transparency has affected all policies, including the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children (2010–2022)*.[51] In the 2014–2015 Budget, the Commonwealth government committed $28.7 million to support the Plan, but the allocation could not be properly analysed because the Abbott Coalition Government had ceased to produce *a Women's Budget Statement*.[52]

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 13/20

Conclusion

Australia was the first country in the world to give most women the right to vote in national elections and to stand for the Commonwealth Parliament. Australia was also a world leader in implementing a whole-of-government policy framework aimed at advancing gender equality. Nevertheless, these pioneering achievements in women's political rights have not translated into equal representation. The gap between Australia's history as a pioneering democracy and its slow and uneven progress towards gender equality is often remarked upon. To understand it, we need to consider the strategies of the major parties in addressing women's political representation, as well as the early success of women's organisations in establishing a policy framework for gender equality and the subsequent retreat by successive Commonwealth governments.

While the introduction by the ALP of enforceable party quotas marked a turning point in the numerical representation of women in Australian parliaments, the debate over electoral quotas as a strategy for bringing more women into Australian parliaments has—in common with other liberal democracies—tended to split along ideological lines.[53] The ALP has succeeded in increasing women's political representation, but the continuing low numbers of conservative women in parliament together with the lack of experienced women available for front bench positions, has recently brought the issue of women's under-representation to a head within the Liberal Party.

It appears that Australia still has a long way to go to achieve true gender equality in terms of women's political rights and representation. In recent years, market-oriented neoliberal agendas have come to dominate public policy, reinforcing a public perception that gender equality has been done and rendering a broad-based gender policy framework unnecessary.[54] Meanwhile, both major parties are still working towards gender equality within their ranks, with 2025 now the designated goal for 50:50 gender representation in Australian parliaments.

Notes

1. A Viola Smith (1975), *Women in Australian Parliaments and Local Governments, Past and Present: A Survey* (Canberra, Australian Local Government Women's Association: New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory branches), Table 5.16, p. 143. Women also won the right to vote in local government elections in three other colonies during the nineteenth century: Western Australia (1876), Queensland (1879), and Tasmania (1893–1894), although the right to stand for local government elections was not won until the twentieth century.
2. Women in New Zealand achieved the right to vote in 1893, and the right to stand for election in 1919.
3. Aboriginal women and men were not enfranchised on a national basis until 1962.

Layout: T1 HuSSci | Book ID: 394977_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-1-137-59074-9
Chapter No.: 33 | Date: 20 June 2018 17:47 | Page: 14/20

4. The national parliament in Australia is the Parliament of Australia, referred to here as the Commonwealth or federal parliament.
5. B. Searle (1988), *Silk and Calico: Class Gender and the Vote* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger), p. 29.
6. V. Goldstein (1903), 'Should Women Enter Parliament?', *Review of Reviews for Australasia*, 23(2), pp. 135–136, cited in K. Spearritt (1992), 'New Dawns: First Wave Feminism 1880–1914', in K. Saunders and R. Evans (eds.), *Gender Relations In Australia: Domination and Negotiation* (Marrickville: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich), p. 334.
7. M. Sawer (2014), 'Australian Political Parties', *The Encyclopedia of Women & Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Australian Women's Archive Project, http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0405b.htm (accessed 14 Jan 2016).
8. J. McCann and J. Wilson (2014), *Representation of Women in Australian Parliaments 2014* (Canberra: Commonwealth Parliamentary Library), p. 11, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/3269009/upload_binary/3269009.pdf;fileType=application/pdf (accessed 20 Jan 2016).
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