

women talking politics women talking politics

NEWSLETTER OF THE AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK

Summer, 2003

Issue No. 6

ISSN: 1175-1541

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Coalition, United Future and the Greens all playing a part in the coalition arrangements.

Table One: 2002 Election Results, by Party

Party	Electorate	List	Total
Labour	45	7	52
National	6	21	27
NZ First	1	12	13
United Future	1	8	9
Greens	0	9	9
ACT	0	8	8
Progressive Coalition	1	1	2
Overall total	54	66	120

Is Women's Representation in New Zealand In a State of Stasis?

Rae Nicholl, School of Political Science and International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington

The July 2002 New Zealand General Election was a triumph for some people and parties and a disappointment for others. The big winners were Peter Dunne's United Future Party and that phoenix of politics, Winston Peters' New Zealand First Party. The National Party lost support.

The Alliance all but vanished following the election, leaving the vestigial Progressive Coalition with just two seats. Labour formed a coalition government with the Progressive

From a female perspective, the election results are disappointing. The overall number of women in Parliament is down from 37 women (30.8%) in the 1999 election to 34 women (28.3%) in 2002. The country lost eleven women MPs, either through retirement or defeat. MMP continues to benefit women as the list component allows both women and men from the minor parties to enter Parliament. The support given by political parties to women candidates was predictable, with most encouragement coming from parties on the left. Of the parties on the right, the ACT Party was the exception as it continues to promote female aspirants.

The 2002 election results for women

Immediately after the election, there was some movement in the number of women elected due to adjustments to the voting figures and then the disqualification of Kelly Chal. Chal was elected

as a United Future list member but before being sworn into office, it was revealed that she was not a New Zealand citizen and was not eligible to take a place in Parliament. A man, Paul Adams, who was the next highest polling candidate on the United Future list, replaced her. This left United Future with just one woman MP, instead of its original two.

It is anticipated that another woman, Moana Mackey, will enter Parliament when she replaces Labour list MP Graham Kelly. Kelly is expected to leave Parliament to take up the position of High Commissioner to Canada in May 2003. When Mackey enters Parliament, she will be part of the first mother-daughter team ever to sit in New Zealand's Parliament. Her mother, Janet Mackey, is currently the Labour member for the East Coast electorate and has been in Parliament since 1993.

Table Two: Women in Parliament Following the 2002 Election

Party	Electorate	List	Total
Labour	16	2	18
National	3	3	6
NZ First	0	1	1
United Future	0	1	1
Greens	0	4	4
ACT	0	4	4
Progressive Coalition	0	0	0
Overall total	19	15	34

Have we reached an electoral plateau or a state of stasis?

A quick consultation with the Concise Oxford dictionary reveals that a plateau means a state of little variation following an increase and stasis means a state of stagnation. In essence, both words mean the same thing and neither word is good news for women. It is probably too soon to pronounce that New Zealand has reached a state of stasis with regard to female representation but the indicators are not good. Following the 1996 election, when there was a substantial increase in the number of women, it is disappointing to see a decline in the number of women elected in 2002. If the 2005 election shows another small

erosion in the numbers of women in Parliament, then feminists should become alarmed. To head off any further losses, we need to look for reasons why women are not making greater inroads into the House of Representatives.

Political reality – you win some, you lose some

While nine new women members entered the new Parliament, eleven others made their farewell speeches, a net loss of two. Four women retired at the end of the session – Jenny Shipley, Sandra Lee, Judy Keall and Phyllida Bunkle. A further seven women lost their seats. Laila Harre and Liz Gordon were Alliance MPs whose party is no longer represented in Parliament. Five others lost their seats, arguably because their parties did not support them. Belinda Vernon, Anne Tolley, Marie Hasler and Annabel Young were National MPs who were not given sufficiently high list positions and lost their seats when their party suffered large losses at the polls. Penny Webster, a one-term ACT MP, was also not placed in a sufficiently high position on the list to guarantee her return to the House.

Are the parties supporting women?

After the 2002 election, the Labour Party still has only 18 women MPs (34.6%) as against 34 men. As a percentage of the parliamentary party, Labour women have lost ground since 1999, when 18 women (36.7%) and 29 men were elected. Labour women did particularly well in winning electorate seats, gaining 16 as well as two list seats. The Party lost only one woman, Judy Keall, who retired after six terms in Parliament (1984-2002). Even if we assume the Labour Party had trouble recruiting suitable female candidates, the results are unsatisfactory for women.

National lost one-third of its female MPs when the number dropped from nine women in 1999 to six in 2002. Four of those women lost their seats because they were not in sufficiently high places on the list to ensure their re-election. Former Prime Minister Jenny Shipley retired after five terms in Parliament (1987-2002). The National Party prides itself on selecting candidates only on “merit” but a number of National Party women activists have commented on their difficulty in gaining selection, suggesting sexism in the party has been a problem (Nicholl, 2001).

THE AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK

January 2003

Welcome to the first Women Talking Politics newsletter for 2003. The initial part of the newsletter is focused on the results of the 2002 General Election, while the articles in the second half look at local and international political issues.

Thank you for your subscriptions, which have supported the production of this newsletter and the Winter 2002 issue.

I have enjoyed producing the last two newsletters but am leaving the University later this year. Is there anyone (or any group) who would like to take over as editor/s? If so, please let me know.

Finally, thank you to Rae Nicholl and Jean Drage for their support and inspiration.

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Happy New Year!

The minor parties are in an enviable position when it comes to candidate selection because they are not bound by conventions, problems of incumbency, or entrenched attitudes in the same way as the two long-established parties. The only constraint on the method they use to select candidates is Section 71 of the Electoral Act 1993, which requires “registered political parties to follow democratic procedures in candidate selection”. It could be argued that the level of female support in the new parties reflects the culture within those parties. The most female-friendly new parties are the Greens and ACT. The Greens achieved a fifty-fifty split, with four women and four men elected in 2002. ACT voters elected four women (44.4%) and five men MPs. Both United Future and New Zealand First have only one female member each. The Progressive Alliance has two members, both male.

Minority women

Women representing Māori, Pacific peoples and the Asian community gained seats. Following the 2002 election, there are six Māori women, one Asian woman and one woman representing Pacific peoples in Parliament. As the overall number of women in Parliament is 34, the eight women representing the diversity of New Zealand account for 42.4 percent of the total, a remarkable achievement.

Preparing for 2005

Have we reached a peak as far as female representation is concerned? Maybe. Jean Drage (2001) reported the number of women elected in local government elections is not increasing at the same rate as it has in the past. She found that fewer women are actually standing for election. The figures showing the number of women standing for the 2002 General Election are not yet available. However, if the statistics reveal that fewer female candidates than in previous elections put their names forward, we will have some indication about where work should start to ensure many more qualified women are willing to stand in 2005.

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Māori Women in Parliament and MMP

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Traditional narratives and mythology stories constantly demonstrate the complementary roles of men and women in traditional Māori society. Although status and rank tended to be ascribed and based on whakapapa, achievement was recognised, acknowledged and valued. Prior to European/Christian contact, divisions within traditional Māori society were determined by rank rather than sex and there are many examples of women who were outstanding

leaders. Following missionary/Christian contact, however, attitudes towards Māori women were influenced by European attitudes. That is, women were seen to have a subordinate position to that of men. In many respects this attitude has been a barrier to providing Māori women equal access to political participation and representation in many spheres of New Zealand society even though Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed equal citizenship rights for all Māori.

While the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 provided the franchise to males over the age of 21 who were registered property owners, effectively Māori men were excluded because most Māori land was communally owned (if Māori women did have property rights, until 1884 it became the property of their husbands if they married under European law). Māori were granted four designated seats in Parliament free of property qualifications in 1867, but it was not until 1893 that the franchise was extended to women, including Māori women. Even then, of the four Māori MPs, only the member for Northern Māori supported women's suffrage. The other Māori MPs, James Carroll included, opposed women's suffrage for reasons similar to those of their Pakeha counterparts – women talked too much, they did not have the required levels of intelligence, politics was too complex for women to understand, they should be home looking after their husbands and children, and similar outlandish arguments (see Rei, 1993).

Nevertheless, despite having the apparent right to vote, numerous barriers prevented Māori from exercising this right and few Māori participated in the general elections prior to World War II.¹ Māori were segregated from the European/Pakeha population and could only vote in the separate Māori electorates. Māori were not given the choice of opting for either the Māori or general electoral rolls until 1975 (only people who had half Māori blood or less could choose to vote in either the Māori or General electorates). Māori voting was by a show of hands until 1910 and then it was by declaration until 1937. The lack of a secret ballot was a considerable disincentive to vote given the collective nature of Māori society, as it could subject the voter to various pressures from other

people. Further, Māori did not vote at the same time as the European voter, initially it was some weeks after the general election. From 1919 to 1950, Māori had to vote the day before the general voters, which meant having to take time (or a day) off work and given there were only four Māori electorates, transport, distance and the limited number of Māori polling booths contributed to disenfranchising Māori.

Additionally, women only gained the right to stand for Parliament in 1919 and it was not until 1935 that a Māori woman stood (unsuccessfully) as a candidate – Rehutai Maihi in Northern Māori. In 1949 Iriaka Ratana became the first Māori woman to be elected to Parliament following the death of her husband and she remained in Parliament until 1969. Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan took over her father's Southern Māori position when he died in 1967 and she became the first Māori woman Cabinet Minister in 1973. She was in Parliament until her electoral defeat in 1996. The only Māori woman to win a general electorate seat was Sandra Lee in 1993 - one hundred years after women got the vote. She lost the electorate in 1996 but remained in Parliament as a list member for the Alliance until she retired in 2002.

In 1996, the electoral system changed from a simple majority electoral system to MMP, a form of proportional representation. It has been a significant change for Māori. As predicted by the Royal Commission on the Electoral System in 1986, the MMP electoral environment better reflects and mirrors all sectors of society than the previous electoral system of First Past the Post (FPP). Not only are Māori better represented in Parliament, Pacific Islanders have been able to gain representation and MMP has provided the space for the first elected MP of Asian descent. Minority political parties such as New Zealand First, the Greens, United First and others have also gained parliamentary representation proportional to their voters' support.

Proportional representation has steadily increased the number of Māori Members of Parliament. Because election changes meant that the number of Māori electorates would be determined by the number of Māori who chose to enrol on the Māori Electoral Roll, the first MMP election in 1996 saw the number of Māori

¹ Sorrenson (1986) lists Māori elections results from 1890 to 1984.

electorates increase from four to five (out of 65). At the 1999 election there were six Māori electorates (out of 67) and at the 2002 election enough Māori had chosen to enrol on the Māori roll to warrant seven Māori electorates (out of 69). Additionally, most political parties had positioned at least one Māori in a favourable position on their party lists so that in 1996, for the first time in New Zealand's electoral history, Māori parliamentary representation was proportional to the Māori population. Fifteen Māori were elected to the Parliament of 120 MPs. In 1999 a similar number² of Māori were elected to Parliament and in 2002 twenty-one MPs claimed some Māori ancestry although did not all necessarily identify as Māori.

Māori women are also gaining greater access to political power under MMP. In the first MMP election of 1996, Māori women were not successful in the electorates but six entered Parliament through the party list system.³ Notably, the only political party⁴ in the 1996-1999 parliament not to have a Māori woman representative was the New Zealand First Party. This party had won all the Māori electorates and of its seventeen parliamentary representatives, eight were Māori but none were Māori women. Following the 1999 elections, Māori women parliamentarians appeared to be strengthening their influence in Parliament. Five of the previous six Māori women were re-elected to Parliament. One became a Cabinet Minister (Sandra Lee) and another was appointed Minister outside Cabinet (Tariana Turia). One woman (Nanaia Mahuta) successfully captured the Māori electorate of Te Tai Hauauru. This was a significant development because Māori weight the electorate vote just as highly (if not higher) as the party vote, contrary to the attitudes of the general voters, and Sullivan and Margaritis (2002) have shown elsewhere that two thirds of Māori society do not believe that women are equal to men. Their data also show that twice as many Māori women believe there should more women in Parliament compared to Māori men.

² Sixteen including Jill Pettis, (Labour), who has Māori ethnicity but does not identify as Māori.

³ Sandra Lee, Georgina Te Heuheu, Donna Awatere-Huata, Tariana Turia, Nanaia Mahuta and Alamein Kopu.

⁴ Excluding United New Zealand Party, which only had one MP, Peter Dunne.

In 2002, Mahuta increased her electorate support in the renamed Tainui electorate and Tariana Turia secured the redrawn electorate of Te Tai Hauauru. (While Jill Pettis retained her electorate in 1999 and Georgina Beyer gained the Wairaparapa electorate, neither of these women have made Māori issues a priority nor claim to be representing Māori). The Greens promoted a Māori woman into Parliament for the first time, not having a Māori on their party list at all for the 1999 election. Once again the New Zealand First Party failed to recognise any worth in having a Māori woman in their caucus, even though five of the six NZ First Māori MPs came from the party list. The United Future party, which gained eight parliamentary seats, did not consider any need to have a Māori on its party list

Following the 2002 election, Māori women are just managing to maintain their presence in Parliament but not their level of influence. Even though the number of Māori in Parliament is encouraging, party attitudes and behaviours since the 2002 election are of concern for Māori women. Following the National Party's dismal election results in 2002, it demoted its sole Māori representative (Georgina Te Heuheu) in the Party's rankings. Labour is clearly unwilling to appoint its Māori women to Cabinet positions and Tariana Turia remains as Minister outside Cabinet but with portfolios that are not as high profile as her previous Ministries. She is highly respected by Māori, as evidenced by her very large electoral mandate and is extremely capable and hardworking. Nevertheless, her previous three years outside Cabinet and six years as a parliamentarian were not recognised by the Labour Prime Minister as sufficient for a Cabinet appointment. The Labour Party, on the other hand, does appoint Māori men with no experience as Ministers inside Cabinet. There are also concerns about the ACT Party. In December 2002, fraud allegations were made against ACT Māori woman MP, Donna Awatere Huata. Regardless of the outcome of the allegations, the point that needs to be recognised is the immediate lack of support from her leader. In fact, it appeared he made a point of attracting media attention to the issue rather than waiting to see if there was any substance to the allegations.

Between 1893 and 1993 only three Māori women were elected to Parliament. Two of

those women carried on the parliamentary legacy of a male family member in their respective Māori electorates and only one Māori woman was elected in a general electorate. Since the introduction of MMP, coalition governments have been dependent on the Māori seats in forming a government and the increased political attention to the Māori vote prior to the 2002 elections was noticeable. Māori members potentially have considerable influence in Parliament and Māori men are being appointed as Ministers and members of the executive. Māori women are having noticeable difficulty in gaining and retaining prominent positions in their respective parties and in government. On the other hand, MMP has increased the number of Māori women in Parliament, which in turn does provide positive role modelling for Māori.

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Deborah and Metiria: Comparing the Messages In Their Maiden Speeches

Su Olsson and Marianne Tremaine, Department of Communication & Journalism, Massey University

In the 1999 to 2002 parliamentary term, we wrote an article comparing the rhetoric in the maiden speeches of three MPs (Olsson & Tremaine, 2002). We chose those who received the most media attention for their speeches, Sue Bradford, Georgina Beyer and Nandoor Tanczos. For this issue of *Women Talking Politics*, we were asked to compare the maiden speeches of two women MPs and we selected Green MP Metiria Turei and ACT MP Deborah Coddington. These two politicians come from

very different perspectives and it seemed an interesting exercise to compare the way that they outlined their political aspirations in their speeches.

Having two such different MPs from minority parties entering Parliament underlines the increased diversity MMP has brought to Parliament with the influence of the party list, making offerings in the traditional round of maiden speeches less formulaic and more grounded in the different worldviews of the speakers. The maiden speech is the one time politicians can express themselves in such an unfettered way. In their official debut as new Members of Parliament, they are able to talk for a full 15 minutes with no fear of heckling or interruptions. And even though a maiden speech does include some set pieces, such as the acknowledgement of supporters, mentors and important influences, there are significant differences in the way that speakers position themselves in relation to their party, Parliament and the wider public.

With Deborah and Metiria, differences are to be expected simply in terms of the political parties they represent, with the ACT party commonly seen as occupying the extreme right of the political spectrum and the Green party on the left. Nevertheless the content of their speeches also shows that they agree on some issues, even if their reasons for their ideas are vastly different. For example, both women feel that the state should be dismantled and should have less power over the lives of citizens. Deborah Coddington argues that the entrepreneurial spirit is cramped by the state and its restrictions, and that those who accumulate wealth are driven offshore. Metiria argues that "the present state has no legitimacy and that it must ultimately be transformed into a system which implements Te Tiriti o Waitangi."

The metaphor Metiria uses to explain her position is the image of a cage. She quotes Noam Chomsky's account of Brazilian activists who believe in widening the floor of the cage that they are trapped in by the system, as a preliminary stage before they can finally dismantle and destroy the cage. Metiria says, "We too, in Aotearoa, live in a cage. We are caged by the State, a political and economic system that relegates basic human needs and

ecological integrity to the fringes of our existence.”

Both Metiria and Deborah acknowledge the contradiction involved in the fact that their political stance is anti-state yet they have both become a part of the state in becoming politicians.

Deborah Coddington excuses having become “part of the force behind the bossy boot of the state” by her alignment with ACT, a party which seeks to minimise the role of the state. Deborah is concerned to protect and expand individual liberties and criticises the Resource Management Act for its restrictions on people’s ability “to make even the subtlest improvement to their own land. I have seen a man fined \$20,000 for turning a muddy eyesore into a duckpond.” Her vision is of a New Zealand that is “a more prosperous and fairer country, with greater personal freedoms, a more limited government and open competitive markets”. She is enthusiastic about the advantages globalisation and capitalism can bring to people, “cheap phones, the internet, affordable cars, fresh vegetables out of season, unorthodox lifestyles, opportunities for all no matter what level of society a child is born into.”

Metiria, on the other hand, sees globalisation as a threat. “Corporate globalisation is the new wave of colonisation which impacts on indigenous and non-indigenous alike. Corporate globalisation and the acceptance of free trade agreements threatens our economy, our environment, our people and our sovereignty, yours and mine.”

Meritia sees the Treaty of Waitangi as a protection against globalism, because it establishes a different paradigm for society “which does not reduce our people to consumers and our taonga to baubles.” The Treaty as a “visionary document” established a framework for parallel Māori social, economic and political rights and responsibilities beyond the “cage created by kawanatanga”. In her view the state has trivialised taonga to no more than property rights and has co-opted the Treaty “to give the cage a Māori motif”.

Finally, she refutes any charges that may be made against her as having outlined a programme for reformist tinkering, rather than

for the dismantling of the cage. She sees herself as having entered the power structure as part of a strategy, not as a sign of compromise or complacency. She “is a member of the establishment, but not now or ever its advocate.”

Deborah Coddington would probably echo those words, but her view of a former “golden age” and a future Utopia seems to leave out any explicit recognition of the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi. She says:

We have a country that was built, in part, by pioneering men and women making lives for themselves in a remote and difficult land. They were self-reliant, they helped each other, and fundamental to their turning New Zealand into a first-world country was the protection of their property rights.

In her account of an ideal future she says:

I love excellence and I believe this country can be smart, happy and liberated. It will be bumpy, but in this new Parliament I see individuals in every party who I know share my vision for a liberated country where children are protected, private property rights are secured, empowered parents can choose the best education, entrepreneurs can soar free from government restraint, and adults can pursue their lawful business unfettered by Orwellian legislation.

So, Deborah and Metiria both care deeply about freedom and liberty and both consider that the State has too much power. Nevertheless their visions of an ideal future for this country and their interpretation of what freedom and liberty mean are vastly different.

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Speeches

The text of Deborah Coddington’s speech was retrieved from <http://www.act.org.nz/item.jsp?id=2309> on 29/09/2002

The text of Metiria Turei's speech was retrieved from <http://www.greens.co.nz/Searchdocs/speech5573.html> on 25/9/2002.

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Ruth Dyson – NZ's new Minister of Women's Affairs

Ruth Dyson, the MP for Banks Peninsula, became the new Minister of Women's Affairs after the 2002 General Election. She is also Minister of ACC and Disability Issues, and involved with the Health and Social Services and Employment Ministries.

Ruth Dyson has been involved with the Labour Party for over twenty years (she joined in 1979) and was President from 1988 until 1993, when she entered Parliament. She has a background of involvement in various women's organisations, environmental groups and the peace movement.

In a September 2002 speech, Dyson argued that while women have made great advances in workplace participation, they have not managed to achieve a healthy balance between work, and family and community life. Many women work in paid employment and also take responsibility for unpaid household work and caring for others.

Priorities for the Labour-led government include developing the Women's Strategy (a cross-government framework to address women's issues), assessing the paid parental leave scheme, developing a measure for the value of unpaid work, and implementing Te Rito, the Family Violence Prevention Strategy.

For more information, visit beehive.govt.nz/briefings/socialpolicy/mwa/home.cfm or labour.org.nz/dyson/index.html

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Women and the 2001 Local Government Elections: The Official Statistics

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I wrote an article for the Spring 2001 *Women Talking Politics* newsletter on how women had fared in the 2001 Local Government elections (Drage, 2001). My article was written in the two weeks after the election and was based on provisional figures from election results. Now that the Department of Internal Affairs official statistics on this election have been collated, I am prompted to write an appendix to my earlier article based on the new information that is now available.⁵

My 2001 article recorded that fewer women stood as candidates in the 2001 elections and the number of women elected to regional, district and city councils seemed to have reached a peak, with the numbers recorded being similar to the last two elections and not increasing as they have in the past. I also recorded the sharp drop in women mayors, from 19 in 1998 to 12 in 2001.⁶

The official figures tell us that the situation is worse than this. The Department of Internal Affairs statistics, as seen in Table One, show that when we include the number of women elected to community boards we find that overall there were 43 fewer women elected to local authorities in 2001 than in the previous elections in 1998.

⁵ With 86 local authorities, 146 community boards and (now) 21 district health boards, it is only after the official count that exact results can be collated as these are based on information supplied by each local authority.

⁶ It is worth noting that the number of women mayors has since dropped to 11 as Audrey Severinsen of Manawatu District Council resigned in October 2002 due to ill-health and a by-election held in November 2001 saw her replaced by a male mayor.

Table One: Women Elected to Local Government Seats, 1989 – 2001

	1989	1992	1995	1998	2001
City councils	87	87	80	81	86
District councils	149	164	178	178	172
Regional councils	44	33	38	37	35
Community boards	271	277	281	281	248
Mayors	10	13	15	19	12
Total	561	574	592	596	553

Note: This table does not include women elected to District Health Boards.

Source: Department of Internal Affairs Local Elections Statistics 2001.

Community board figures show that 33 less women were elected at this level of community government. While the reasons are unclear and definitely need further research, we do know that the number of community boards have gradually decreased since local authorities were restructured in 1989 and this may be having some impact (there were 159 community boards in 1989, today there are 146). Another reason may be that with elections being held for district health boards for the first time in over ten years, some women who might have stood and been elected to general purpose local authorities (particularly community boards) opted to stand for the district health boards instead. Of the 1,085 candidates who stood for district health board positions in 2001, 44 percent (479) were women.

These district health board election results also provide us with some interesting information. When elections were held every three years, initially for hospital and then area health boards (prior to the latter being disbanded by a National government in 1991), women always had a greater level of success on these boards than any other local authority. Health has always been an area of local decision-making in which women have been seen to have a legitimate place (Drage, 1993). It is particularly interesting to see the difference between what voters want as opposed to those in central government circles

who appointed the members of the crown institutes which replaced them in the decade between 1991 and 2001(see Table Two). Under democratically run elections women gained 51 percent of area health board seats in 1989 and 44 percent of district health board seats in 2001. When non-elected board members ran our local health services the percentage of women appointed only ever reached 29 percent.

Table Two: The Percentage of Women in Decision-Making Positions in the Health Sector between 1989 and 2002

	1991	1997	1999	2002
14 Area Health Boards	51%			
23 Crown Health Enterprises		24%		
23 Hospital & Health Services Boards			29%	
21 District Health Boards				44%

Source: Department of Internal Affairs Local Authority Election Statistics 1989 and 2001. Other statistics supplied by the Transitional Health Authority, September 1997 and the Crown Company Monitoring Unit, September 1999.

Another disturbing piece of information in the Department of Internal Affairs 2001 statistics is that for the first time since local government was reformed in 1989, men had the slight edge over women in getting elected. Since 1989, election results have always shown that if women stand for election they have a higher chance of being elected than their male opponents. But as Table Three shows us, this has changed - 44 percent of male candidates were elected compared to 41 percent of female candidates.

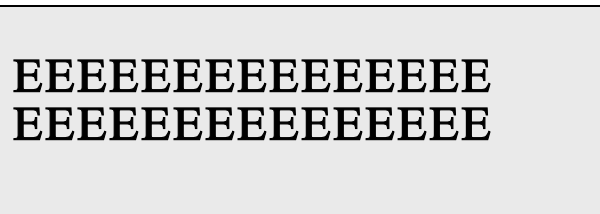


Table Three: Success of Women and Men Candidates between 1989 and 2001

	1989	1992	1995	1998	2001
Women	49%	55%	54%	51%	41%
Men	40%	50%	50%	44%	44%

Source: Department of Internal Affairs Local Election Statistics 2001, p. 19.

While these statistics will continue to be monitored, the need for research on why this change is occurring is clearly needed. For instance, are there identifiable reasons for fewer women standing for elected positions within their communities; are voters satisfied with the number of women decision-makers within local government; and is there energy out there to renew the campaign to achieve equality within our local political institutions?

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The Ottawa Landmine Treaty – Five Years On

Deborah Morris, Committee Member of NZ Campaign Against Landmines, NZ Government representative at the Ottawa Treaty signing ceremony in 1997, Member of the NZ Government Delegation to the 4th Meeting of States Parties under the Ottawa Treaty, Geneva, 2002

When the Ottawa Convention to Ban the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Antipersonnel Landmines was opened for signing in 1997, the sense of victory and celebration amongst non-governmental organisations (NGOs) around the world was palpable. The treaty was hailed as a success for civil society, a shining example of a global network of interested citizens effecting normative change.

By combining the efforts of 1,400 NGOs under the banner of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), and mounting a comprehensive, colourful campaign, world opinion was mobilised against these indiscriminate weapons. The people of Paris created an enormous pile of shoes to remind the world of the innocent civilians maimed and devastated by mines; international diplomats were invited to walk through mock minefields to experience an element of the fear felt daily by those living in mine-affected lands; and Princess Diana became an outspoken advocate for the rights of victims. This was a high profile campaign with a compelling humanitarian case to put. Serving what is perhaps the most important role of civil society, the campaign enabled rarely heard voices to be raised, and worked with mine victims to ensure their needs were provided for in international law.

New Zealand's Campaign Against Landmines, also known as CALM, was amongst the early domestic campaigns to take up with Government the humanitarian costs associated with this class of weapons and help secure the policy change necessary for New Zealand to become a signatory to the treaty, as well as an outspoken advocate for its full implementation. With similar efforts taking place around the world, it was only a matter of time before decision makers would understand the political and humanitarian imperatives of negotiating the treaty and having it come into effect as soon as possible.

Five years on and the momentum created by that initial campaign continues to ensure progress: 61 governments have destroyed 34 million stockpiled mines; there have been mine clearance efforts in 74 of the 90 states affected by mines; the number of mine-producing states has reduced from 55 to 14; and, most importantly, there are now fewer new mine victims.

These successes are attributable to a strategic international campaign, well supported by campaigners around the world determined to get the best out of multilateral cooperation between NGOs, governments and intergovernmental organisations. Meeting the challenges that remain will require this same spirit of

cooperation. Amongst those challenges are the ambitious calls of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines for universal support of the Treaty's humanitarian objectives. And these are ambitious calls. Achieving universalisation requires accession by important states such as China, Russia, Iran, Iraq, India, Pakistan and the United States.

Of course, an international political climate characterised by terrorist rhetoric seems unlikely to deliver universalisation of disarmament or humanitarian law in any great hurry. But the fact is that every additional state joining Ottawa reinforces the value of its multilateral processes, at a time when confidence in multilateralism is otherwise being undermined. So perhaps now, more than ever, there is a case for securing additional accessions to the treaty, while promoting the cooperation that has been evident under Ottawa as a benchmark for multilateralism into the future.

But like all instruments of international law, securing states' agreement to a treaty in the spirit of free consent and good faith is just one step, and Ottawa is no exception. Monitoring compliance and implementation are central to the challenge of securing results where they matter. Perhaps the most important mechanism for monitoring compliance and supporting the transparent and accountable implementation of this treaty is the Landmine Monitor Report. Designed to scrutinise the performance of signatory and non-signatory states alike, the report is published to coincide with the annual meeting of states parties and helps identify the governments responsible for slowing progress towards the goal of a mine-free world. The timing of its publication, and its contents, serve well the need to ensure impetus and momentum in the interest of mine victims and the international campaign. Presented at the 4th Meeting of States Parties (4MSP) in Geneva last year, Landmine Monitor 2002 drew attention to the potential for stockpile destruction and mine clearance deadlines to be missed unless significant additional resources, financial and technical, are invested in the effort. Mention was also made of the conflict between India and Pakistan which has seen both of these states lay thousands more antipersonnel landmines in the past year, and despite a reduction in the number of new victims reported annually, the report reminded us that there are still 20,000 too many.

These conclusions illustrate well the need for sustained efforts by civil society and governments alike to achieve full implementation of the treaty. Scrutinising progress and communicating its findings at the beginning of international meetings, Landmine Monitor helps inform discourse, including diplomatic statements criticising recalcitrant governments. Landmine Monitor's conclusions are also reflected in the priorities identified by governments for inter-sessional work programmes to take place in the year ahead, thereby enabling direct input from civil society.

These annual meetings of states parties, with their non-governmental attendance, presentations by mine victims, private and public lobbying opportunities and media events, add significant impetus to the ongoing effort to achieve universalisation. Leading up to, during, and following 4MSP in 2002, four states took the opportunity to formalise their commitment to the treaty, and many more confirmed their intention to do so in the near future. Included amongst the new states were Afghanistan, Cameroon, Comoros and Gambia. Afghan diplomats at that meeting described the presence of mines and other explosive remnants of war like cluster bombs as open wounds continually reminding the population of their warring history and diminishing the success of reconstruction efforts.

Australian photographer John Rodsted supports this view when he describes having seen young children playing amidst 62,000 tonnes of explosive remnants of war littering their neighbourhood. Afghanistan's accession to the Ottawa Convention confirms the political will to help heal the open wounds plaguing its people. United Nations staff already working with donor countries and local people in the effort to clear up the mess created by years of conflict there, estimate it will take five years and US\$600 million just to make the high priority areas in Afghanistan safe again. This is a small investment in light of the ongoing cost associated with aid programmes to feed and house refugees; the inability of this formerly agricultural nation to farm land now littered by mines and other unexploded ordinance; and taking care of up to 300 people mutilated by these weapons each month. Still, in spite of the relatively high profile of landmine issues, and the momentum created

when new states accede to the Treaty, resourcing operations such as the one in Afghanistan presents another of the challenges faced by the governments and non-governmental organisations working to implement Ottawa. The US is just one donor country whose contributions have recently decreased.

Nevertheless, with the next meeting of governments set to take place in Bangkok, Thailand, in September 2003, resourcing for clearance operations, mine risk education and victim assistance is a theme that will resonate as the world turns its attention to the Asia-Pacific region. In keeping with tradition, the 5th Meeting of States Parties will provide an opportunity for mine victims from the region to raise their voices and tell the world their stories. With a recent Landmine Impact Survey concluding that nearly half of all villages in Cambodia are known or suspected to be mine-affected, and with around three-quarters of those in Laos similarly contaminated, these will be compelling stories indeed.

This year's Asia-Pacific focus will also provide an opportunity for New Zealand's CALM to remind the international community of the many Pacific states which have indicated support for Ottawa but failed to sign, ratify or accede, leaving the South Pacific vulnerable to the scourge of mines in the future. Once again the cooperation between civil society and governments that has characterised Ottawa will be called upon to deliver results.

While that cooperation is being rallied ahead of the 5th Meeting of States Parties and in the interests of meeting some of the challenges mentioned here, may it also serve as an example of the potential inherent in multilateralism, where vibrant civil society plays a central role in promoting human security. Like achieving a mine-free world, in this effort, every step counts.

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**Talking About Children and Housework:
The Discursive Influence of the Women's
Movement in New Zealand**

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Introduction

After 30 years of women's movement activity in New Zealand it seems prudent to look at the influence of this mass mobilisation. While there have been investigations into the emergence of social movements worldwide, few empirical studies have been carried out into their influence. Using the concept of discourse coalitions this article looks at the discursive influence of the women's movement in New Zealand on the topics of child care and unpaid work over a 30-year period. Is Alberto Melucci (1985) right to claim that a new political space has been designed beyond the traditional distinction between state and "civil society": an intermediate public space, whose function is not to institutionalise the movement nor to transform them into parties but to make society hear their message and translate these messages into political decision making, while movements maintain their autonomy? Or were other collective actors more successful than the women's movement in getting their messages into political decision making?

Describing Social Movements

Social movements are collectives of individuals and groups who share a common discourse (one in opposition to dominant norms) and who use unconventional forms of action and structures at least some of the time to bring social change. These collectives attempt to have new meanings adopted by other actors in the political and civic realms, they seek acceptance of new actors into decision-making processes, and want to have new policies and laws enacted. This article focuses on the attempts of the New Zealand women's movement to bring discursive change. While I do not believe that language is everything, I agree with Yee (1996) that languages restrict or authorise, prioritise and distribute the ideas and beliefs that policy makers can think and in doing so partly delimit policies they can pursue.

Mapping discourses and discourse coalitions

In order to measure the discursive influence of the women's movement in New Zealand I will use Maarten Hajer's (1993) concept of discourse coalitions. Discourse coalitions are groups of actors who share a social construct and are

active in the policy realm. An investigation of discourse coalitions begins with the close analysis of written texts to map out the discourses⁷ that exist in a particular area of public policy decision-making. I will examine texts for: common textual patterns; common assumptions; common character representations; and common ways of using conventional resources. Actors involved in the public debates will then be grouped together in coalitions according to the discourse they adopt. I will then look for changes in the composition of the discourse coalitions in order to gauge the influence wielded by each coalition. Influence by a social movement would be evident if other political actors (particularly actors from within the existing political system/state) join the discourse coalition of the mass mobilisation. I will now turn to two New Zealand case studies using the theory and methodology set out in this article.

Debating child care and unpaid work

One of the case studies looks at the involvement of the New Zealand women's movement in debates over child care from 1970 to 1999.⁸ The other centres on the measurement and valuation of unpaid work.⁹ In order to establish the discourses existing on these topics I carried out a close analysis of 181 public documents on childcare and 110 texts on the measurement of unpaid work. While the documents chosen are by no means an exhaustive set of texts, they included government reports, press releases, women's organisation newsletters, submissions

⁷ A discourse is an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to a phenomenon, a story line through which actors make sense of the world.

⁸ Childcare is term used to cover all forms of care not performed by a child's "parents". It includes day care centres, factory nurseries, after school care, nannies. This type of care is often labelled substitute-parent care and can include formal and informal arrangements of "parents". In the New Zealand context, pre-school education (such as that provided by kindergartens, playcentres, and playgroups) is excluded from my definition of childcare.

⁹ Unpaid work is all services and activities outside the formal economy that could have been done by a third person without changing their utility to members of the household. This definition excludes tasks performed voluntarily for charities, clubs, and other organisations, concentrating on those tasks carried out in the home.

to Select Committees, presentations to public forums, academic papers, and reports from State Agencies and Government Departments. Also examined were selections taken at three-year intervals from Hansard Parliamentary Debates and the feminist magazine "Broadsheet".

The first step was to locate whether there was an identifiable feminist discourse in debates on child care and unpaid work in New Zealand between 1970 and 1999. A feminist discourse was evident in the texts on child care from the 1970s. This narrative centred on the provision of free 24-hour child care so women could work, rest, and play unencumbered by children. In discussions of unpaid work, a broad feminist discourse was evident throughout the 30 years scrutinised. This discourse saw unpaid work as "productive activity" that deserved community and state recognition.

The existence of these feminist discourses alone does not confirm activity by the women's movement. In order to be labelled a social movement, a collective formed around a discourse must use unconventional forms of action or structures at least some of the time in their attempts to bring social change. In child care debates in New Zealand it was clear that groups using unconventional action and structures were the main proponents of the feminist discourse during the 1970s. Included in a list of 17 organisation who were part of the feminist discourse coalition were Women's Liberation organisations, the United Women's Convention, the Working Women's Council, the Society for Research on Women, and the Women's Electoral Lobby. In the discussions of unpaid work there were 14 different groups involved in the feminist discourse coalition. Included in the coalition was the National Organisation of Women, the Society for Research on Women, the United Women's Convention, Broadsheet contributors, and the Federation of University Women. Again these were organisations that used non-institutional tactics or unconventional structures to push for social change.

The discourse coalition approach allowed the identification of a women's movement discourse coalition in debates of child care and unpaid work in New Zealand, but was the movement influential? Hajer (1993) argues that success for a social movement is the institutionalising of its

narratives. In this respect, influence for the New Zealand women's movement would come if members of mainstream state institutions joined the feminist discourse coalitions.

Marginalising “women’s issues”

An analysis of discourses about child care in New Zealand between 1970 and 1999 showed the use of feminist frames by a very small number of women MPs, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, and a few individual bureaucrats. There is no evidence of large scale involvement in the women's movement discourse coalition by government ministers or other state actors. Helen Cook (1982) noted the lack of adoption of feminist narratives of child care:

The lack of acceptance of core feminist frames by the state in New Zealand may be due to the strength of narratives on motherhood and gender roles. The politics of childcare is ultimately caught in debates focussing on what people believe the roles of men and women should be. (pp.1-2)

Similarly, in unpaid work debates it was really only the Ministry of Women's Affairs that was a part of the feminist discourse coalition during the 1980s and 1990s. The Ministry of Women's Affairs (1997) noted the lack of support from other government departments when discussing its inability to secure funding from other agencies to carry out time use surveys.

The fact that the Ministry of Women's Affairs held a place in the feminist discourse coalition alongside women's movement activists is not surprising. While the Ministry is a state agent, its position is somewhat different from other state actors as it was established in 1984 as an advocate of women's needs. I would argue that leaving child care and unpaid work with the Ministry of Women's Affairs results in these topics being seen as “women's issues” and not part of mainstream economic or industrial policy making.

While the New Zealand women's movement did not have power over the majority of state actors in child care and unpaid work deliberations, it did have some influence in public debates of the two topics. During the 30 years studied there was evidence of feminist discourses on child care and unpaid work being adopted by unions,

sector groups (including educational and parent interest groups) and academics. This change in the membership of the women's movement discourse coalition may be due to the movement of individual feminists into unions and sector groups.

Patriarchy, rights, and neo-liberalism

While the women's movement discourse coalition was not joined by large numbers of institutional actors (other than unions and sector groups) there were changes in the coalitions debating both child care and unpaid work. During the 1970s, narratives based on patriarchal beliefs were the dominant institutional discourses found in child care and unpaid work debates. In discussions on child care the patriarchal discourse saw care by mothers as being the most “natural” and “normal”, and day-care outside the home as being applicable only for families with “special needs”. In the case of unpaid work, domestic tasks were seen as responsibilities unworthy of economic measurement or valuation.

After the 1970s few actors were involved in the patriarchal collectives. The discourses that came to the fore in the 1980s debates of child care centred on a belief in children's rights. Two parts to the child-centred discourse - a concern for the welfare of children and a desire to provide better education standards - were intertwined from 1978 to 1987 in the concept of “educare” that dominated the discourses of state actors.

From the late 1980s, in childcare and unpaid work debates it was a neo-liberal discourse that dominated the texts of state actors. In child care debates the neo-liberal social construct was based on a belief that individuals have an obligation to work and provide adequate care for their own families. In unpaid work discussions, actors who used the neo-liberal discourse admitted that “activities” go on outside the labour force, but the underlying assumption is constant – work is paid employment, everything else was “not work”.

Aligning narratives and exerting influence

There are two possible explanations for the lack of influence by the feminist coalitions and the impact of the other discourse coalitions in debates on child care and unpaid work. The first of these centres on theories of path-dependency.

In debates on child care, both the neo-liberal and child rights discourse coalitions contained beliefs that shifted only marginally from the patriarchal narrative that dominated state documents in the early 1970s. The child rights and patriarchal narratives both held beliefs about protecting the welfare of children, while the patriarchal and neo-liberal narratives both espoused the importance of the family unit. So parts of the child-centred and neo-liberal frames can be seen as extensions of the beliefs found within the patriarchal discourse coalition of the 1970s. The feminist narratives, on the other hand, called for a radical departure from the dominant beliefs of state actors in the 1970s. In the debates on unpaid work there was certainly evidence of path dependence. Statistics New Zealand continually referred to statistics as facts that had to be verifiable and comparable. This view of statistics meant there could be little change in the questions asked from one survey to the next. What may have happened in the public policy debates of child care and unpaid work in New Zealand is a frame alignment exercise in which new beliefs were adopted because they fitted with existing dominant frames.

Another reason for the attraction of politicians and bureaucrats to the child rights and neo-liberal discourse coalitions rather than feminist coalitions, may have been the power of the members of other coalitions. In child care debates the child rights discourse coalition (which was strong during the late 1970s and much of the 1980s) was made up of “experts” from unions, sector groups, and a number of government departments. The feminist discourse coalition at the time was made up of “outsider” groups rarely seen as experts on child care. In debates on both child care and the valuation of unpaid work, the neo-liberal discourse coalition proved popular with state actors in the 1990s and was pushed by powerful business elites. These groups of experts and business leaders may have simply had more power than the women’s movement in the bid to change the cultural stock used to debate child care and unpaid work.

Conclusion

Further comparative work is needed to draw firm conclusions about the conditions that allow

(or thwart) the discursive influence of social movements. If these two cases are anything to go by, social movements are likely to have success in getting new issues onto the political agenda but are unlikely to influence the discourses used by mainstream political actors. We should continue to look for the conditions under which organisations achieve discursive influence. After all, if social movements are an alternative way that the public presents its views to decision makers, it is important to understand when and how mobilisations exert influence over public policy decisions.

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