Women Talking Politics

A research magazine of the NZPSA

New Zealand Political Studies Association
Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

November 2018
ISSN: 1175-1542

wtp

Contents

Cover image: Suffrage 125 photo of female MPs
Parliamentary Collection, Photographer: Jack O'Donnell

The editors would like to acknowledge the generous support of the Department of Politics, University of Otago.

From the editors

2018 marks a year on from a general election which bought increased numbers of new women into New Zealand's parliament coupled with the celebrations to mark 125 years since women gained the right to vote. We have watched enthusiastic new women MPs become more visible and vocal in our political system and witnessed the debate around new policy initiatives and changes to make parliament a more family-friendly environment. And it was with pride that we watched our new woman Prime Minister on the international stage at the United Nations (with her family in tow), setting off another round of firsts for women in this country.

Coupled with these changes at home is the surge in women's activism on the international stage, from the campaigns to expose harassment and inequality across multiple work environments, to the mobilisation of women in the US opposing Trump. The response to all this has been tremendous: heightened debate, changes within public and private workplaces, and in the recent US mid-term elections, an increase in the numbers of women elected.

The breadth of discussion created by these events, both at home and abroad, is reflected in this edition of *Women Talking Politics*. We set out to highlight the new women in our political system in this issue, as well as to promote the innovative research being undertaken in New Zealand by women at this time. To begin, **Claire Timperley** introduces us to the idea that New Zealand politics may be on the cusp of 'big change' through an analysis of Jacinda Ardern's leadership as a young woman leader. And **Jean Drage**, in setting out to collate the first-year experiences of the new women MPs elected in 2017, has also pulled together comparative data on the increasing number of women MPs in New Zealand's parliament.

The articles in this edition present four diverse perspectives on the challenges of inequity and injustice within societies and sectors. **Julie MacArthur and Noelle Dumo**'s analysis of the gender composition of New Zealand's energy sector demonstrates the low level of women's employment and leadership in this sector, as well as the lack of research in this field. **Igiebor Oluwakemi** discusses the difficulties of women in academic leadership in Nigeria, drawing on interviews conducted as part of her PhD inquiry. **Gay Marie Francisco** points us to the election of Geraldine Roman to the Philippines Congress in 2016 as the country's first openly transgender MP. **Emily Beausoleil** considers how listening can be fostered, drawing on her experiences participating in Ruku Pō, a year-long programme run out of Manutuke by Teina and Ngapaki Moetara on Māori protocols of encounter.

The reflections section presents four engaging pieces by emerging women researchers. **Laura Sutherland** makes a feminist case for a Universal Basic Income, and **Akanksha Munshi-Kurian** argues for the need to 'lean out' against efforts to reframe feminism in individualistic terms. **Millie Godfrey** presents a series of poems from her collection 'Places not Spaces' that consider how women exist in and are themselves considered spaces. And **Sarah Pfander** discusses the challenges of achieving restorative justice in NZ's criminal justice system.

The many contributions in the reflections and research briefs section show the breadth of research being undertaken by women in New Zealand. In international research, **Veronika Triariyani Kanem** presents key findings from her master's research with indigenous market women in West Papua, **Estelle Denton-Townshend** discusses the contested field of national identity and religious-secular competition in Middle Eastern foreign policy, and **Sylvia Frain** considers the continuing US colonisation and expanding militarism across the Pacific through the case of the Marianas Archipelago. Within New Zealand research, **Lara Greaves** presents the key findings from her doctoral research on Māori identity,

political attitudes and behaviour, **Cassandra Lewis** points to wahine resistance within the rental market, and **Claire Gray** notes her recent research on media portrayals of Metiria Turei.

Finally, there are four book reviews covered in this edition of Women Talking Politics: **Margaret Hayward** reviews *Stardust and Substance* (ed. Stephen Levine); **Kathryn Cammell** reviews 'Are we there yet?', the exhibition of women's suffrage in the Auckland War Memorial Museum; **Rae Nicholl** reviews *Make her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand Women overseas in World War One*, by Jane Tolerton; and **Gauri Nandedkar** reviews *Brit(ish): On race, identity and belonging*, by Afua Hirsch.

We have hugely enjoyed editing this year's Women Talking Politics, and we hope you enjoy it too!

Sylvia Nissen & Jean Drage

Lincoln University

New Zealand women political leaders today

Jacinda Ardern: A Transformational Leader?

Claire Timperley
Victoria University

> "It should hardly come as a surprise that we have seen a global trend of young people showing dissatisfaction with our political systems, and calling on us to do things differently - why wouldn't they when they themselves have had to adapt so rapidly to a changing world."
>
> Jacinda Ardern, Speech to the UN General Assembly, September 2018

Much has been made by both domestic and international commentators of the unique qualities of Jacinda Ardern's leadership, in particular her appeal as a leader of a new generation. Anticipation of a transformational government has also been fueled by optimistic rhetoric from an extraordinary election campaign, fortified by Winston Peters' coalition announcement that – in choosing to go into coalition with Labour – New Zealand First was making a choice between "a modified status quo or for change" (Peters, 2017).

In this article, I offer a lens through which to assess whether NZ is on the cusp of transformative change, drawing on the work of political scientist Jon Johansson, who developed the idea that there are discernable moments of 'big change' in New Zealand politics. Johansson argues that Prime Ministers serve as lodestars for such change, given their central role in setting the direction for their government's policies (and politics), as well as in persuading the public of the benefits of their actions. To predict generational shift, Johansson identifies six dimensions to assess whether change is likely to occur. I consider Ardern on each of these dimensions, evaluating whether her leadership increases the likelihood of transformation in New Zealand politics.

1. Age dimension

The first dimension reflects the media's focus when heralding the politics of a new generation: age. Ardern's youth is her most obvious claim to generational change, and this dimension has been consistently emphasised by media, and reflected in public opinion, as evidence of a 'fresh', 'new' and 'young' perspective for New Zealand politics (see Ardern's word cloud descriptions, based on UMR polling, in Mills, 2018, p. 370). Ascending to office at 37, Ardern is the youngest Prime Minister New Zealand has elected. Born in 1980, she is firmly located within Generation X, a generation that "has only known the post-Douglas freedoms, globalization, and the benefits of the information revolution" (Johansson, 2009, p. 145).

On the other aspect of the age dimension – parliamentary socialisation – however, Ardern is not new to Parliament, having spent three terms (nine years) in opposition. This fact may appear suprising, given the criticism regularly presented in media that she is 'inexperienced' (Newshub, 2017; Jones 2017). This perception of her inexperience is reflected in the word cloud descriptions presented by Executive Director of URM Research Stephen Mills (2018, p. 370), showing that one of the most common words used by citizens to desribe Ardern was 'inexperienced' (alongside 'positive' and 'fresh'). Though she does fall within the lower third of Prime Ministers in terms of experience, both David Lange and John Key had less parliamentary experience than her, with Lange becoming PM after seven years and Key becoming PM after just two terms (six years) in parliament. The labelling of Ardern as inexperienced could charitably be attributed to her speedy ascension to the leadership and limited time as leader of the Labour Party – Key, in contrast, spent two years as leader of the party before becoming Prime Minister. It is likely, however, that her gender and youth play a role in perceptions of her lack of experience (for more on gendered media coverage of female politicians in New Zealand see Fountaine & Comrie, 2016). Key – with much less parliamentary experience – was rarely depicted as 'inexperienced' (for one exception, see Bingham, Oliver and du Chateau, 2008, though it is worth noting that this is not the headline issue, and appears within an article that extensively explores Key's leadership and politics).

For both aspects of the age dimension, then, Ardern scores high in her potential for generational shift. Her age clearly sets her apart not just as a young leader, but as a leader of new generation compared with her predecessors. Her parliamentary socialisation, whilst more extensive than often depicted in media accounts, places her among other leaders (notably Key and Lange) who would score high on the potential for generational change.

2. Ontological dimension

The ontological dimension interrogates a Prime Minister's worldview for clues as to their likelihood of support for political change. This dimension relates to the age dimension, with the expectation that someone from a newer generation will likely have a different view of the world than their predecessors. As a Generation X politician, what (if anything) distinguishes Ardern's ontology from those who came before her, namely those of the baby-boomer generation? Johansson argues that key differences between the two generations are that "late and earlier baby-boomers, predate the information age. Generation X overwhelmingly does not" (2009, p. 145).

In a New Zealand context, baby-boomers experienced life before and after the neoliberal political transformation ushered in by the Fourth Labour Government. Generation X, however, grew up in a world defined by the politics and policies of Rogernomics. Ardern herself identifies Rogernomics as significant in her upbringing and the formation of her political beliefs. In her maiden statement to Parliament she said: "I knew that a lot of people had lost their jobs, but I did not understand that it was due to the privatisation of the forestry industry and to a complete lack of central government support" (Ardern, 2008). Having only lived under the neoliberal conditions constructed by the Fourth Labour Government Ardern's worldview is fundamentally shaped by these experiences.

3. Attitudinal dimension

The ontological dimension feeds into the attitudinal dimension: how does a leader's worldview manifest itself in their policy platform, political beliefs, or political rhetoric or action? Ardern is clearly experienced and sees the world differently than her predecessors. Her response has been to express strong dissatisfaction with the status quo. In her first speech to Parliament as Prime Minister, Ardern crafted her speech around the concept of change, opening with the lines, "Today is a new beginning" and explicitly rejecting the status quo: "The status quo is not good enough and we will not settle for it" (Ardern, 2017b). It also comes out in her stated desire to be "relentlessly positive" (1News, 2017; Johansson, 2017). This rebuke of the 'old' politics of negative campaigning and sense of frustration with the status quo creates the conditions for transformative change.

Moreover, not only does Ardern express her dissatisfaction with the status quo, but challenges to

it are consistently raised by other important figures in her cabinet, such as Finance Minster Grant Robertson, whose budget speech spoke to a frustration with the previous government and a desire to see 'transformation'. He argues:

> "Budget 2018 sets out the first steps in a plan for transformation – a transformation of our economy, a transformation of our public services, and a transformation of the way we work together to improve the lives of all New Zealanders. This is a Government that does things differently. You can expect our Budgets to look a little different also. We are committed to being responsible – not just fiscally, but socially and environmentally" (Robertson, 2018).

The repeated use of the word transformation, along with substantive changes to the language used to describe the economy (seen in his recognition of social and environmental aspects of economic responsibility) signal a clear attitudinal departure from the previous Key (and English)-led government.

4. Political Language

As noted above, one of the key ways Ardern has expressed a generational attitudinal shift has been in her use of language. In his work Johansson focuses on the content of political language as "an excellent barometer" of "creative or original thinking" (2009, pp. 153-4). I argue that Ardern signifies a shift not only in presenting a different kind of thinking through her language, but that she also exemplifies a shift in the *way* that political language is used, primarily through her use of social media.

First, in terms of content, there are a number of areas where Ardern has signaled a clear break from the language of the previous generation. One of the most obvious is the language she and her government are using to talk about the economy. There has been a concerted effort to shift the public's focus to a 'wellbeing economy'. This rhetorical move is significant, because it aims to undermine the basic premise of neoliberal politics. Neoliberalism assumes that markets are best placed to meet the needs of citizens and in many ways it reduces political activities to economic imperatives. The language of a 'wellbeing economy' squarely takes aim at this approach, requiring consideration of interests outside of narrow economic measures.

In her first speech to Parliament as Prime Minister, Ardern embraced a politics that rejected neoliberal assumptions: "At its core, this Government believes that our people come first, that our environment is a precious taonga, and that we must reject the narrow selfishness that has pervaded our politics for far too long." She goes on to say: "We believe in using the power – here it comes – of the State to achieve things together that we cannot achieve alone. We believe in using the power of the State to do things for the common good that the private market cannot…" (Ardern, 2017b). Similarly, in her speech to Parliament concluding her first 100 days in office, she said: "By Budget 2019 Grant [Robertson] and I want New Zealand to be the first country to assess bids for budget spending against new measures that determine, not just how our spending will impact on GDP, but also on our natural, social, human, and possibly cultural capital too" (Ardern, 2018a). Centering the language of 'wellbeing' in conversations about the economy is a clear repudiation of neoliberal politics.

Ardern also represents an important change in the tools of political language. From her use of Instagram to announce her pregnancy, to her frequent use of Facebook Live, Ardern is adept at using social media to encourage a sense of closeness between her and her followers. Commenters on her videos regularly speak of tearing up in response to her speeches and the images she projects – a random sampling of comments on the first Facebook Live she hosted after having her baby demonstrates the adoration she elicits and the appeal of social media as a political platform:

> "Good grief you a breath of fresh air! Let's share with the world to show what an empathetic, realistic, leading edge Prime Minister looks like."
>
> "I actually can't believe how real and amazing you are. Changing the face of leadership – leading by decency!!! Wow!
>
> "Finally a Prime Minister to be so proud of! So down-to-earth and putting her people first. Thank you Jacinda!"

This change in the medium of political language and communication with citizens – as well as Ardern's obvious talent in using it – is a clear generational distinction, one that will become increasingly important in the age of social media. It is one, however, with dangerous possibilities, including increased partisanship and the detrimental effects of echo chambers on bonds of citizenship (Goldman and Mutz, 2011; Baum and Groeling, 2008). While traditional media exposes citizens to a range of ideological perspectives (Mutz and Martin, 2001), new media allows citizens to confirm their pre-existing biases by subscribing to media promulgating views similar to their own (Allcott and Gentzkow, 2017. For an alternative mechanism to increased partisanship see Bail et al., 2018). As a consequence, citizens may be less likely to encounter, let alone assess the value of, alternative views, resulting in impoverished political dialogue and policy-making. As such, while Ardern's social media relationship with her supporters establishes much-needed trust between her and her constituents, it may also enable her constituents to ignore other, valuable, perspectives on politics.

5. Perceptual gaps between generations

In assessing John Key's position as a 'bridge' between generations, Johansson identifies two domestic issues on which there are clear generational gaps, one of which was environmentalism. This issue clearly distinguishes Ardern from her predecessor, John Key. Stating that climate change is her generation's "nuclear free moment", Ardern has made climate change a central feature of her government (Ardern, 2017a). In her speech to the United Nations in September 2018, for example, Ardern made this issue central to her contribution: "if we're looking for an example of where the next generation is calling on us to make that change, we need look no further than climate change" (Ardern, 2018d). Policies in her first year, for instance the ban on offshore oil and gas exploration permits, offer some substance to this perceptual gap.

6. Policy Inheritance

It is the policy inheritance dimension that is most difficult to assess at this point in time, mostly because with only one year of policy to consider, there is insufficient evidence to make a strong case either for or against transformational change. It is clear in both the government's and the Prime Minister's rhetoric that they consider themselves to be a transformational government. Whether this soaring rhetoric can hold up under the weight of governance remains in question: the empirical evidence is mixed. The 2018 Budget was widely regarded as underwhelming, with critics suggesting that it did little to distinguish itself from budgets under the previous government (Watkins, 2018; Edwards, 2018). Ardern, however, challenged this interpretation, saying that "if you want to be transformative, actually sometimes you need to sit down and say, 'We'll take the time, get it right, save money in the long run and make sure our safety net is just that'" (Ardern, quoted in Dann, 2018). There will be intense scrutiny on the government in the coming years to see if the promise of transformative change manifests in their policies and performance.

An Intangible Moment

In addition to the six features identified above, Johansson argues that, "the intangible element of generational shift, brings these various dimensions into sharp relief… [in] one recognisable moment, a history-shifting speech or a memorable phrase or event that provides recognition that the ruling post-Rogernomics paradigm has passed into history" (Johansson, 2009, p. 164). It can be difficult to discern such a moment when immersed within it, but despite only a year having passed, there are two events that have the potential to become symbols of New Zealand's political transformation – assuming transformation does occur.

The first is the Waitangi Day celebrations. The government's commitment to an unprecedented five days of celebration generated much positive press, as did the symbolism of Ardern being the first female Prime Minister to speak at the pōwhiri. A photo capturing the significance of this celebration shows a pregnant Ardern holding the hand of Māori activist Titewhai Harawira as she was escorted onto the upper marae. Ardern's speech reflected the spirit and emotion of the celebrations, concluding: "So when we return, in one year, in three years, I ask you to ask

of us what we have done… Because one day I want to be able to tell my child that I earned the right to stand here and only you can tell me when I have done that" (Ardern, 2018b). The speech, and the context in which it was given, might be viewed in retrospect as a watershed moment for Crown-Māori relations.

The other moment, widely documented by domestic and international media, is Ardern's pregnancy and the birth of her daughter. This has been a major departure not only for domestic politics but internationally. Despite not being directly related to policy or governance, this holds significance for New Zealand politics in a range of ways, both in terms of the politics of presence and in the relationship between the presence of women (and mothers) in Parliament and policy outcomes (as I argue in more detail in Timperley, 2018).

Conclusion

If this government is to be assessed as likely to produce a 'big change' moment, it is also important to note that it would be the first to occur in an MMP landscape. The four big change moments Johansson identifies in New Zealand politics – the centralization of New Zealand government and politics, the emergence of an 'active and fair' state, the creation of a welfare state, the turn to neoliberalism – all occurred under FPP rules. In assessing whether the Ardern-led government is likely to be truly transformative, attention must be paid to whether there is a fundamental paradigm shift in the way NZ is governed. Clark's government, for example, though seeking to push back neoliberal reforms and 'bring the state back in' (Eichblatt, 2010), still operated largely within neoliberal constraints.

Moreover, though Ardern's leadership is central to this assessment, attention must be paid to the coalition arrangements and the other parties that make up the government. It is clear that the Labour Party recognizes the importance of Ardern's leadership to their success, and has sought to build on her popularity by positioning itself as part of a 'transformational' government – signaling this through language, actions and policy. Yet Labour is not alone in using this rhetoric. As noted at the outset, Winston Peters has clearly committed to change, making this a central feature of his coalition announcement and subsequent speeches (Peters, 2018).

The other government partner – the Green Party – have consistently positioned themselves as outside 'politics as usual', with Green MP Nandor Tanczos framing the party in the early 2000s as "neither left not right, but out in front" (quoted in Bradford, 2011). Similarly, Johansson claimed in 2009 that though transformational political language was lacking in the Key-led government, it could be identified in the Green Party, saying: "If we are looking for new political language it is to be found in the Greens and the Maori Party" (Johansson, 2009, p. 155).

Bringing New Zealand First and the Green Party into the assessment therefore adds confidence to the possibility that New Zealand is on the cusp of a 'big change' moment, though only time will tell whether that potential is more stardust than substance.

References

1News. (2017, 1 August). Jacinda Ardern promises 'relentless positivity' as Labour leader in upcoming campaign. *TVNZ*. https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/jacinda-ardern-promises-relentless-positivity-labour-leader-in-upcoming-campaign.

Allcott, H. & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(2): 211–236.

Ardern, J. (2008, 16 December). Maiden Statement. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansS_20081216_00001012/ardern-jacinda-maiden-statements.

Ardern, J. (2017a, 20 August). Jacinda's speech to Campaign Launch. https://www.labour.org.nz/jacindas_speech_to_campaign_launch.

Ardern, J. (2017b, 8 November). Prime Minister's Address in Reply Debate Speech. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/prime-ministers-address-reply-debate-speech.

Ardern, J. (2018a, 31 January). The 100 day plan and beyond: setting the direction of the Government. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/100-day-plan-and-beyond-setting-direction-government.

Ardern, J. (2018b, 5 February). Prime Minister's Waitangi powhiri speech. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/prime-ministers-waitangi-powhiri-speech

Ardern, J. (2018c, 20 August). Jacinda's speech to Campaign Launch. https://www.labour.org.nz/jacindas_speech_to_campaign_launch

Ardern, J. (2018d, 28 September). New Zealand National Statement to United Nations General Assembly. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/new-zealand-national-statement-united-nations-general-assembly.
Bail, C.A et al. (2018). Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *PNAS*, 115(37): 9216–9221.
Baum, M.A. & Groeling, T. (2008). New Media and the Polarization of American Political Discourse. *Political Communication*, 25(4), 345–365.
Bingham, E., Oliver, P. & du Chateau, C. (2008, 26 July). John Key: The man who would be PM. *NZ Herald*. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10523317.
Bradford, S. (2011, 7 June). Greens step to the right. *Pundit*. https://www.pundit.co.nz/content/greens-step-to-the-right.
Dann, C. (2018, 10 June). PM proud of first 100 days. *TVNZ Q+A*, https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/pm-proud-first-100-days-were-laying-foundation-transformative-government.
Edwards, B. (2018, 10 April). Why this isn't 'a transformational government'. *The National Business Review*. https://www.nbr.co.nz/opinion/why-isn't-transformational-government.
Eichblatt, S. (2019, November). View from the top. *Sunday Star Times*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/56945ac3841aba721e2eb6af/t/56ad6b3f1d07c0f90b2bce97/1454205760839/HelenClark.pdf.
Fountaine, S. & Comrie, M. (2016). New Zealand Media Coverage of Women and Women Politicians. In G. Kemp, B. Bahador, K. McMillan and C. Rudd (Eds.), *Politics and the Media* (pp. 326-340). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
Goldman, S.K. & Mutz, D.C. (2011). The Friendly Media Phenomenon: A Cross-National Analysis of Cross-Cutting Exposure. *Political Communication*, 28(1), 42–66.
Johansson, J. (2009). *The Politics of Possibility: Leadership in Changing Times*. Wellington: Dunmore Publishing Ltd.
Johansson, J. (2017, 30 August). Relentlessly positive vs relentlessly dissatisfied. *RNZ*. https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/election-2017/338336/relentlessly-positive-vs-relentlessly-dissatisfied.
Jones, A. (2017, 19 October). Jacinda Ardern: 'Stardust' ousts experience in New Zealand. *BBC*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41226232.
Mills, S. (2018). Survey Findings and the 2017 Election. In S. Levine (Ed.). *Stardust and Substance: The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 365-378). Wellington: Victoria University Press.
Mutz, D.C. & Martin, P.S. (2001). Facilitating Communication across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1): 97–114.
Newshub. (2017, 10 August). Poll: Is Jacinda Ardern too inexperienced to be the next Prime Minister? *Newshub*. https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/shows/2017/08/poll.html.
Peters, W. (2017, 19 October). Post-election announcement speech. *Scoop*. http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1710/S00050/peters-post-election-announcement-speech.htm.
Peters, W. (2018, 3 May). Capitalism with a Human Face. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/capitalism-human-face.
Robertson, G. (2018, 17 May). Budget Speech. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/budget-speech-2018.
Timperley, C. (2018). Jacinda Ardern: A Political Presence. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance: The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 339-350). Wellington: Victoria University Press.
Watkins, T. (2018, 17 May). Budget 2018: Labour unveils a National-lite Budget. *Stuff*. https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/industries/103972767/labour-unveils-a-nationallite-budget.

New Zealand's new women MPs discuss their first year in Parliament

Jean Drage
Lincoln University

One of the most substantial pieces of research on women in politics in New Zealand, published in 1993 to celebrate the 100 years since women had gained the vote, was Janet McCallum's *Women in the House*. This book provided, for the first time, detail of the 36 women who had been elected to our Parliament by that time and the significant contributions they had made whilst there.

Only 25 years later, as we acknowledge another milestone date (125 years of women's suffrage), it is astounding to find that we have now had four times this number of women elected to New Zealand's House of Representatives - 148 women Members of Parliament. (A list of these women MPs, the dates they are in Parliament and their political party affiliation is included in this issue of Women Talking Politics).

Today, we have 48 women MPs in New Zealand's Parliament, the highest number of women ever elected. The following table lists the increasing number of women MPs over the last 25 years, showing both the impact of a proportional electoral system on women's representation (introduced in 1996) and the increasing acceptance of women parliamentarians today. Of these 48 women MPs, 21 represent the Labour party (including the Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern), 2 NZ First, 6 are in the Greens and 19 are National MPs.

This table also shows the large number of new women MPs in this current parliamentary term (18). Given this number, particularly of younger women, these new MPs were invited to tell us about their first year in parliament, the challenges and the surprises. Not surprisingly, not all were able to participate – life is very busy in the political arena! Some wrote their own account, others talked to me. These pieces are below.

Number of Women in New Zealand's Parliament: 1993 - 2018

Election	No. of new women	Total No. of Women in Parl.
1993	8	21
1996	19	36
1999	11	37
2002	8	34
2005	10	39
2008	12	41
2011	10	40
2014	6	37
2017	18	48

Note: The number of women MPs can differ from those of official election results due to party list replacements and/ or by-elections held during the parliamentary term. For instance: (a) In 1996, the first MMP election, the 35 women in Parliament increased to 36 when 2 new women came in due to 2 resignations (Gerard and White) - one of the resignations was a woman; (b) In 2002 the 33 elected women were joined by one more when Kelly resigned his list seat in 2003; (c) In 2018, there are 21 Labour, 19 National (2 coming in on the list since the election due to English and Joyce's resignation, one new and one returning), 6 Greens and 2 NZ First.

Ginny Anderson

Labour Party List MP – Hutt South

Before becoming an MP, Ginny Andersen worked as both a policy and a political advisor and it was her time in the public sector that motivated her to stand for Parliament. Above all she thinks that the policy and legislative process needs to be more practical. Diagrams are good but they need to have a clear practical application. Ginny also believes that it is important to have a diverse range of people involved in the policy process – in order for a robust discussion on the best possible outcomes to occur. She would also like to see more cross-party cooperation on policies and is particularly keen to see changes to the criminal justice system and on drug law reform.

The biggest surprise for Ginny as a new MP has been getting to know the opposition and finding that they are not as bad as expected. With the outward presentation of Question Time and media pressure for opposing parties to be adversarial, she had always thought Parliament was more 'them and us' and has been pleasantly surprised by the level of collegiality. Ginny strongly supports the 'it's cool to be kind' mantra which Jacinda promotes. As a mother of four children, she also appreciates the Speaker's family-friendly changes to Parliament which have been positive for those, like her, who have small children. Her kids get to know where she works and who she works with and even swim in the pool. She believes Parliament has had to change given the practicalities of women's lives and the presence of more female parliamentarians has helped make this happen.

Ginny is proud to be part of a Government with more women in it. She is also proud to see changes being implemented that make New Zealand a fairer place. One of the benefits that has happened in Hutt South is the Government's commitment to rebuild Wainuiomata High School, which is long overdue. She feels she has found the place where she can best use her skills to help others and contribute to making New Zealand even better.

Ginny's biggest challenge is to win the Hutt South electorate seat. In 2017 she stood in what had been Trevor Mallard's seat and narrowly missed out. She is committed to turning this result around in 2020.

Dr Liz Craig

Labour Party List MP based in Invercargill

Prior to entering Parliament in 2017, I'd spent over a decade monitoring the health of our country's children and young people. In that time, I'd seen how years of chronic underinvestment had played out in their lives. One in five children living in poverty, with thousands being hospitalized each year for poverty related diseases.

When the Global Financial Crisis hit in 2008, I led the team which developed the Children's Social Health Monitor, to monitor the impact of the downturn on child wellbeing. At its launch in 2009, we committed to updating the Monitor every year, until the economic position of NZ's children improved.

As time went on, these updates came to feel like Groundhog Day, the movie where a guy wakes up every morning and has to live the same day over and over until he gets it right. As every year we'd

update the Monitor the findings would be the same: high child poverty rates and thousands of children hospitalised for poverty related diseases. And every year we'd advocate for the same three things: free after-hours access to GPs; fixing cold, damp, crowded housing; and policies to increase family incomes and reduce child poverty. And every year there was an outpouring of public concern, but once the media coverage had abated, little progress was made.

A growing sense of needing to move beyond advocacy to achieve any real policy traction prompted me to join the Labour Party, with a view to helping them write their children's policies. I subsequently stood as a candidate in 2014 and 2017.

On entering Parliament, what surprised me the most was just how quickly the new Government moved on many of the things we'd spent nearly a decade advocating for. Sitting in the debating chamber just before Christmas, there were a few emotional moments as these passed into law: the Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill, which paved the way for quality standards for rental homes; the Best Start Payment of $60 per week for the families of newborn babies; the Winter Energy Payment for families on benefits; and extensions to Paid Parental Leave.

Back in my local community however, any elation was tempered by the knowledge that so many people were struggling to navigate a system that had been progressively run down: the acute shortages of social and emergency housing; the long waits for elective surgery; students with extra learning needs unable to get support. And the realisation that while some things could be legislated for relatively quickly, it would take time for our country's social safety nets to be restored: for new state houses to be built to replace the ones that were sold; for investments in health and education to start to relieve the workforce pressures; and for increases in family incomes to filter through to the wider community.

Yet, looking back on our first year in Government, it's amazing how far we've come. As a new MP, it's been a privilege to be part of a team that's working so hard to achieve progressive change.

Anahila Kanongata'a-Suisuiki

Labour Party List MP - Papakura and Tamaki

Anahila Kanongata'a Suisiki has a social work background and has worked in senior management roles in the public and voluntary sectors in both New Zealand and Tonga. Her broad range of experience also involves working in radio and rugby (including managing the Tonga women's rugby team).

Some of her biggest challenges as a first-year woman MP have been around balancing her very busy work life as an MP with her very busy home life. Her family is a blended one with 5 children and 6 grandchildren and while her husband is the primary caregiver for their 13 year old daughter, they all feel her absence. Despite her greatest support coming from her family, for Anahila, even when she is home, service in her community is a competing priority.

Anahila was raised by her grandfather in Tonga and first came to NZ when she was 10 year old. Initially speaking very little English taught her perseverance as did the environment in which she grew up learning to contribute to the team, to think collectively and to consider how decisions made can impact on others. She sees parliament as part of this collective and enjoys her role as junior MP in Labour's Pacific Caucus and chairing Labour's Women's Caucus.

She has worked as a senior advisor in the Ministry of Social Development so has had insight into the machinery of government and is familiar with parliament processes. This understanding was the catalyst for her putting herself forward for Labour's list, initially in 2011, in 2014 and again in 2018 when she was successful. There are 4 MPs with Tongan ancestry in the current Parliament. As well, Anahila feels fortunate to work closely with Louisa Wall who has been her electorate MP since 2011. One of her biggest surprises as a new MP has been the collegial relationships developed with other parties across the House.

Denise Lee

National Party electorate MP for Maungakiekie

On the 29th November 1893, Elizabeth Yates was elected Mayor of Onehunga - the day after New Zealand women had led the world by voting in a general election for the first time. Elizabeth was a woman of many 'firsts'. Not only did she defeat her sole opponent to become the first woman mayor and the first JP in the British Empire, but she was also the first woman to record her vote in the electorate under the new Electoral Act of 1893.

Elizabeth's win and departure from convention sent shockwaves through New Zealand. While she had the support of most of the council, some opposed her every action not on merit but simply because they objected to a woman as mayor. It wasn't until the 1980's that the numbers of women in local government started to rise markedly. I am fortunate to follow in the footsteps of such strong and capable who worked tirelessly to break down barriers for women in politics.

As a third generation of elected members in my family, service to the public is in my DNA and I've always had a passion for work that values people first. While politics appears to do the complete opposite at times, I genuinely believe that it does strive to make a difference in our lives for the better.

Last year's election saw a record 46 women MPs enter Parliament, and I was honoured to be elected the 138th women MP in New Zealand's history. As a new MP, I have had a busy first year, but have loved every minute of it. My first real exposure to the machinery of Government was the pulling of my first private members' bill on pay equity, which was a blueprint for closing the gender pay gap by ensuring female-dominated jobs were paid fairly. This was drawn and debated within two weeks of putting it in the ballot, and while some MPs often wait years to get a similar opportunity, I was pleased that I brought forth a bill that would harness the full potential of women's participation in the labour force.

It's great to see much of my Bill's content feature in the Government's long-awaited version. We must continue to build upon the work that has already been done by addressing and correcting the pay imbalance. This will not only benefit individual women, but also their families and future generations.

A further bill I have in the ballot addresses transparency issues with local authorities. It enables elected members to more effectively carry out their work by providing them greater access to official information. Local government has an increasingly important role in our country's prosperity and well-being, yet their reputation remains low. As a previous Auckland Councillor, I know the importance of rate-payer confidence and believe my bill is a vehicle to empowering local government authorities to better perform their duties.

Like Elizabeth Yates, a pioneer in the participation of women in public life, I want my political career to be one that changes lives for the better, empowers communities, and creates ladders of opportunity for our children. I am honoured to represent the mighty seat of Maungakiekie in the 52nd New Zealand Parliament and to live in one incredible country where women play a vital role in our democracy.

Marja Lubeck

Labour Party List MP - Rodney

Marja's career has been in the trade union movement and believes that strong unions ensuring workers get a fair share in a productive economy are all needed to ensure a just society. This, she felt, was becoming harder to achieve due to changes in employment law so when she was shoulder tapped to stand for Parliament, she agreed.

As a new MP she didn't know quite what to expect but her industrial relations background has helped ease her transition to the sometimes combative environment of parliamentary politics. She has however, been surprised by the collegiality at times as opposed to the adversarial picture many hold of parliament. She feels she 'has her sisters around her' and is pleased to have a strong group of compassionate women supporting her in the Labour Caucus and to see some early initiatives across parties for women MPs.

While she has always worked long hours, one of the biggest challenges for her in her first year has been adjusting to the travel as well as the huge learning curve needed to navigate the processes and practices of Parliament. The unique and fast paced environment has meant she has learned a lot in just one year.

Jenny Marcroft

NZ First List MP - Rodney

Despite being apolitical all her life, Jenny felt drawn into the New Zealand First party after getting to know both Winston Peters and Tracey Martin (with whom she was a Kapa Haka mum). An opportunity to go on the party list in May 2017 forced her to face her doubts about herself, balance the challenge of being a single mum and a new and very busy job away from home whilst leaving a 30 year career which she loved, and going into the rigorous spotlight under which politicians work. Tracey encouraged her to get past these doubts and to take the huge step. She is very pleased she did.

Her biggest surprise is how much she loves her new job, especially the select committee work and the collegial working relationships developed with other parties in Parliament. She particularly enjoys the work she is doing with Kris Faafoi and Nanaia Mahuta on the Broadcasting portfolio and with Andrew Little on the Ngāpuhi Treaty settlement process.Jenny's concerns lie with the number of children who are in state care or living in poverty in this country and believes that we need to look more broadly than the economic framework at the causes here and how we can ensure healthy children and families.

Priyanca Radhakrishnan

Labour list MP – Maungakiekie

Priyanca is the first Indian-born Labour woman MP elected to New Zealand's Parliament. She grew up in Singapore, moved to NZ as a young adult and became an active and well known member of the South Asian communities. She has a strong belief in the principles of equality, fairness and kindness and has worked for many years as an advocate for those whose voices are often unheard, especially women victims of domestic violence from our diverse ethnic minority communities. She came into politics through her work with Shakti, which is an NGO that provides domestic violence intervention support services for and advocates on behalf of women of Asian, African and Middle Eastern women in New Zealand.

She is a long-term member of the Labour Party and was encouraged to stand for Parliament as she had 'been knocking on the door for change for a while' and may want to consider being part of that change as a Member of Parliament. She stood for the first time in 2014 and although she came close, she didn't make it into Parliament that year. She worked for Hon. Phil Goff for three years on Labour's engagement with multi-cultural groups and stood again in 2017 – this time both in an electorate and on the Labour List. Auckland is the one of the most diverse cities in the world with 213 different ethnicities so one of Priyanca's focus areas is on how this level of diversity can be heard, especially ethnic women's voices.

Her first year has been a steep learning curve. She has been working on finding the right balance between her work in the Maungakiekie electorate, where she's based, her work with different ethnic minority communities and responsibilities in Parliament. Parliament is a bubble, with different protocols, hours and a pace that out of the control of new MPs and she has been working to adapt to those and working out where she fits and how she can contribute to the government's heavy workload. Her biggest surprise is how hard MPs work, especially Ministers of the Crown.

For Priyanca, though, there are additional hurdles as a woman MP, especially as an ethnic woman. Many assume that she's at events because she's someone's wife and she is often asked 'what's it like to be the wife of an MP' or 'why don't you have children?' This is because people still envisage men to be leaders. She believes that Jacinda shows you can be a leader while also being kind and compassionate.

Since her election, she has been part of the New Zealand delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference in Bangladesh where she found she could connect well with the Indian, South East Asian and Pacific delegates. She believes this reflects the diversity of NZ and its benefit to us as a nation.

She has also been part of the Speakers cross party delegation to build trade relationships with Singapore, Spain, Portugal and London and this work has sparked her interest in foreign affairs and trade.

Dr Deborah Russell

Labour Party electorate MP for New Lynn

A few years ago, I wrote about my experience as a candidate in the 2014 election for *Women Talking Politics*, reflecting on the pressures of being a Labour candidate in a traditionally blue electorate.

In 2018, I have the extraordinary privilege to reflect on what my first year as an MP has been like. It's the hardest job I've ever had in some ways, but easier in other. My new job is less emotionally taxing than

being an academic. Members of Parliament face the same persistent demands for time and attention as academics, but there is at least some social recognition of long hours that we work. We also have support staff to relieve many of the demands, and to shield us from the on-going knocks at the door. Constituents also tend not to complain to my boss if I don't hit reply the moment I receive an e-mail.

The learning curve has been steep. For me, learning work in the House has been if not straightforward, at least manageable. There is process, procedure and support in abundance, and teams of highly competent and able public servants who help to ensure that the place runs smoothly. That structure has made it possible to develop basic competence in the House reasonably quickly. However, I suspect it may be like acquiring a blackbelt, or perhaps an undergraduate degree, which prepares you to really start learning.

Learning how to manage electorate work is an on-going challenge, especially with respect to working out what I can, or can't, do to help. I have been astonished by the transactional view that many people have of politics. People come to my electorate office to lobby me on 1080, or abortion, or the need for a new roundabout, and demand that I comply with their wishes because, 'I've been a Labour voter all my life, and so were my parents'. Other people think that we are there to find them jobs, or in one case, access to research funds. There is endless work to do in my electorate office, and the real problem is learning how to stop working and carve out time for my family.

The biggest impact has been on my family. Long hours, constant absences from home, and people who think it is somehow unreasonable for me to take a day off each weekend. "Oh, you can bring the kids with you!" doesn't turn a public event into a family outing, no matter how child friendly it is. On the other hand, my teenage daughters like visiting Parliament, especially if they get a chance to see Jacinda.

The most rewarding part of the job has been seeing policy that I campaigned on being implemented. People came and hugged me on the streets and said thank you for the Winter Energy Payment, and the Families package. Knowing that we have made life a bit easier for many low and middle income families is very, very satisfying.

Chlöe Swarbrick

Green Party List MP

Twelve months in, when people ask me 'how it's going' in politics, I still don't have a good answer.

Rattling off a list of the things I'm passionate about, surveying the oft-combative context, and speaking to the major challenges of our time, the odd person notes that I seem a bit disillusioned. The thing is, I was never under any illusions.

All around the country, I've asked folks what they think of when they think of a politician. It isn't me. It's an older dude in a suit.

That's not inherently wrong by any means. It speaks to representation of a demographic. However, of course, the demographics that make up Aotearoa New Zealand are far more diverse than our stereotype of a politician and the current reality of our Parliament.

We've come a long way, and that progress should not be overlooked nor taken for granted. The women I stand alongside in Parliament and I are only able there because of the staunch advocacy and collective activism of the women – and yes, of course, male allies – who came before us. We should be careful not to sanitise that. There was discomfort in that change, and a number of people opposed it. Tireless and creative campaigning won the day.

The reason I recall such circumstance is because of the commonplace denunciation of activism in the 21st century. Ponder, for example, the vernacular employed and reporting surrounding the TPPA protests a few years ago. Our mainstream conversations didn't champion New Zealanders fighting for their rights, freedoms, or future. Instead, headlines decried 'Protestors disrupting traffic.'

There's a strange parallel that comes with operating in our political establishment. I wouldn't hesitate to suggest the majority of people want to see a different type of politics. There's a desire, at least in some sectors of society, for transformative change to tackle the major challenges of our time: climate change and associated difficulties with our food system, the refugee crisis, ongoing international conflict. Do we connect with the reality that such major progress requires social, economic, political evolution? Do we comprehend that change may mean we could have to grapple with a different way of living? Do we recognise that if we don't consciously progress our politics and policies ahead of the curve of change, that we'll be living in a changed world regardless?

I don't have the answers to these questions.

Entering politics in my early twenties, I often joke that I've fallen down a rabbit hole by virtue of 'protesting effectively.' I'm acutely aware of my age, so have to front-foot my ignorance. Evidently, I don't know everything. But, any politician who proclaims they do is either lying, or completely lacking self-awareness. I'm not sure which one is worse.

I don't intend to be a politician forever. But while I am one, I hope I can contribute to meaningful change. At times, that absolutely calls for a good old fashioned protest.

Jan Tinetti

Labour List MP - Tauranga

Jan has a long career in the education sector. As principal of Tauranga's decile 1 Merivale School, she has been a strong advocate for strengthening New Zealand's public education system, particularly for families struggling to access the basics. When she was approached by Labour to stand as a candidate, her preference was to stay in her job. However, this changed as she noticed things were getting worse for the kids and whānau in her community. She feels she has a stronger voice now she is in Parliament and can advocate for a public education system with her experience as a school principal.

One of the biggest challenges of her new job as a Member of Parliament is the huge change in her work environment and the wide range of new issues dealt with every day. As someone with little experience within the political arena, the routines of Parliament have taken a bit of getting used to. It took a while to work out how to effect change: talking to Ministers, putting out press statements, getting her experience from the front-line of the education sector heard in caucus and select committees whilst also staying close to her education colleagues. While leaving family life at home in Tauranga can be hard, she likes that she is no longer the boss and she particularly likes working as part of the strong Labour team.

Jan had expected the political environment to be more adversarial but has found that political parties, across the House, work well together. However, she is also aware that Parliament has the potential to mould expectations of individuals and knows she needs to do things her way. Her experience as a young principal 20 years ago has prepared her for being a rarity. Her front-line teaching experience means she is able to bring lived experience and unique insight into what can sometimes be academic debates at Parliament. She also believes that she is fortunate to follow in the footsteps of women role models in Parliament such as former Prime Minister Helen Clark and through the compassionate leadership of Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. As she says, women are really good at supporting each other.

Angie Warren-Clark

Labour List MP - Bay of Plenty

Angie's first year as a Member of Parliament has been a roller coaster. In fact, she describes her whole political career as a whirlwind, given that she joined the Labour party in late 2016 and 18 months later she was in Parliament. She came in two weeks later than her contemporaries once the special votes were counted and the final official results increased the number of Labour party MPs by one.

Angie was admitted as a barrister and solicitor in 1998 but never practised, choosing instead to work for various Government organisations and more recently as Manager of the Tauranga Women's Refuge. Working at the coalface of domestic violence issues and realising nothing would change unless she stepped up to speak for this sector was a main reason for her standing for Parliament. Working for women and children to be valued and treated equally, Angie wants to look at solutions that are affordable, that prioritise those with the most need and establish processes that help practically. She has also been applying a feminist lens to her work with the Environment Select Committee, initiating a Briefing into the state of Food Waste in New Zealand. She hopes this will shine a light on the huge waste in food dumped into our landfills every year instead of being redistributed to those in need, and the way this issue disproportionally affects women in society with 19 percent of women are affected by food poverty (as opposed to 12 percent across the general population).

Her biggest challenge in this first year has been negotiating the work/life balance of having what is essentially two jobs: the parliamentary work and the work within her community. While she is comfortable with both, the long hours have been a steep learning curve, particularly for those used to working autonomously. In parliament, she has to accept that she needs to be available and adjust. As she says, it is almost like being back in school, where you have to apply for leave just to step off the Parliament precinct.

The biggest surprise has been the return to the public sector after 5 years in the voluntary sector. But while it's a different pace she is fascinated by the breath of work she can get involved in. But she is mindful of Helen Clark's wise words – to pick the things they want to get done in Parliament and focus on these. There are 46 in the Labour caucus and she finds them very supportive. Their coalition partners are also open to helping, which she believes shows the strength of their relationship. She sees her role as a backbencher is to support government across its work programmes.

At 47 years she has a whole new career and says it is a real privilege to be there.

The 148 women in New Zealand's Parliament, 1933 – 2018

Compiled by Jean Drage, September 2018

Dates	Woman MP	Party	Electorate
1933-35	Elizabeth McCombs	Labour	Lyttelton
1938-43	Catherine Stewart	Labour	Wellington West
1941-43	Mary Dreaver	Labour	Waitemata
1942-43	Marg Grigg	National	Mid-Canterbury
1943-69	Mabel Howard	Labour	Christchurch East / Sydenham
1945-59	Hilda Ross	National	Hamilton
1949-69	Iriaka Ratana	Labour	Western Maori
1953-75	Ethel McMillan	Labour	North Dunedin / Dunedin North
1960-72	Esme Tombleson	National	Gisborne
1963-72	Rona Stevenson	National	Taupo
1967-96	Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan	Labour	Southern Maori
1972-87	Mary Bachelor	Labour	Avon
1972-75	Dorothy Jelicich	Labour	Hamilton West
1975-78	Colleen Dewe	National	Lyttelton
1975-84	Marilyn Waring	National	Raglan / Waipa
1978-87	Ann Hercus	Labour	Lyttelton
1981-08	Helen Clark	Labour	Mt Albert
1981-94	Ruth Richardson	National	Selwyn
1981-90	Margaret Shields	Labour	Kapiti
1981-92	Fran Wilde	Labour	Wellington Central
1984-96	Margaret Austin	Labour UnitedNZ	Yaldhurst
1984-90	Anne Fraser/Collins	Labour	East Cape
1984-90 1993-02	Judy Keall	Labour	Glenfield
1984-90 1993-17	Annette King	Labour	Horowhenua Miramar / Rongatai
1984-99	Katherine O'Regan	National	Waipa
1987-93	Sonja Davies	Labour	Pencarrow
1987-90	Jenny Kirk	Labour	Birkenhead
1987-02	Jenny Shipley	National	Ashburton
1987-96	Elizabeth Tennet	Labour	Island Bay
1990-13	Lianne Dalziel	Labour	Christchurch Central / list / ChCh East
1990-99	Christine Fletcher	National	Eden / Epsom
1990-93 1996-02	Marie Hasler	National	Titirangi / Waitakere / list
1990-93	Gail McIntosh	National	Lyttelton
1990-99	Joy McLauchlan (Quigley)	National	Western Hutt / list

1990-93	Margaret Moir	National	West Coast
1990-08	Judith Tizard	Labour	Panmure / Auckland Central
1993-08	Diane Yates	Labour	Hamilton East / list
1993-05	Janet Mackey	Labour	Gisborne / Mahia / East Coast
1993-02	Sandra Lee	Alliance	Auckland central / list
1993-08	Jill Pettis	Labour	Wanganui / list
1993-98	Jill White	Labour	Manawatu / list
1993-	Ruth Dyson	Labour	Lyttelton /list/ Banks Peninsula / Port Hills
1993-96	Suzanne Sinclair	Labour	Titirangi
1993-96	Pauline Gardiner	National UnitedNZ	Wellington/Karori
1996-11	Georgina Te Heu Heu	National	List
1996-04	Donna Awatere Huata	ACT	List / Independent
1996-05	Muriel Newman	ACT	List
1996-99	Patricia Schnauer	ACT	List
1996-99	Ann Batten	NZ First Mauri Pacific	List
1996-99	Jenny Bloxham	NZ First	List
1996-99	Robyn McDonald	NZ First	List
1996-99	Deborah Morris	NZ First	List / Independent
1996-02	Phillida Bunkle	Alliance	List
1996-99	Pam Corkery	Alliance	List
1996-10	Jeanette Fitzsimmons	Alliance Greens	List Coromandel / list
1996-02	Liz Gordon	Alliance	List
1996-02	Laila Harre	Alliance	List
1996-11	Pansy Wong	National	List / Botany
1996-02	Belinda Vernon	National	Maungakiiekie / list
1996-	Nanaia Mahuta	Labour	List / Te Tai Hauauru / Tainui / Hauraki-Waikato
1996-08	Marion Hobbs	Labour	List / Wgtn Central
1996-14	Tariana Turia	Labour Maori	List / Te Tai Hauauru
1996-99	Alamain Kopu	Alliance Mana wahine	List Independent
1997-02	Annabel Young	National	List
1998-05	Helen Duncan	Labour	List
1999-07	Georgina Beyer	Labour	Wairarapa / List
1999-09	Sue Bradford	Green	List
1999-11	Sue Kedgley	Green	List
1999-11	Steve Chadwick	Labour	Rotorua / List
1999-08	Ann Hartley	Labour	Northcote / List
1999-10	Winnie Laban	Labour	List / Mana
1999-08	Katherine Rich	National	List
1999-05	Lynda Scott	National	Kaikoura
1999-02 2005-	Anne Tolley	National	List East Coast

1999-02	Penny Webster	ACT	List
1999-08	Margaret Wilson	Labour	List
2002-11	Sandra Goudie	National	Coromandel
2002-	Judith Collins	National	Clevedon / Papakura
2002-11	Heather Roy	ACT	List
2002-05	Deborah Coddington	ACT	List
2002-11	Lynne Pillay	Labour	Waitakere / List
2002-08 2011-17	Barbara Stewart	NZ First	List
2002-17	Metiria Turei	Green	List
2002-08	Judy Turner	United Future	List
2003-14	Moana Mackay	Labour	List
2005 2007-8	Lesley Soper	Labour	List
2005-14	Darien Fenton	Labour	List
2005-17	Sue Moroney	Labour	List
2005-14	Maryan Street	Labour	List
2005-17	Jo Goodhew	National	Aoraki / Rangitata
2005-	Paula Bennett	National	List / Waitakere / Upper Harbour
2005-13	Jackie Blue	National	List
2005-	Jacqui Dean	National	Otago / Waitaki
2005-	Nicky Wagner	National	List / Chch Central
2005-14	Kate Wilkinson	National	List / Waimakariri
2007-14	Katrina Shanks	National	List
2008- 11	Rahui Katene	Labour	List
2008 2011-	Louisa Wall	Labour	List Manurewa
2008-	Claire Curran	Labour	Dunedin South
2008-11 2013-14	Claire Beaumont	Labour	List
2008-11 2014-	Carmel Sepuloni	Labour	List Kelston
2008-	Jacinda Ardern	Labour	List / Mt Albert
2008-	Nikki Kaye	National	Auckland Central
2008-	Melissa Lee	National	List
2008-	Amy Adams	National	Selwyn
2008-17	Hekia Parata	National	List
2008-	Louise Upston	National	Taupo
2008-17	Catherine Delahunty	Green	List
2010-11	Hilary Calvert	ACT	List
2011-	Megan Woods	Labour	Wigram
2011-	Maggie Barry	National	North Shore
2011-17	Mojo Mathers	Green	List
2011-	Eugenie Sage	Green	List
2011-	Jan Logie	Green	List
2011-17	Denise Roche	Green	List
2011-14	Holly Walker	Green	List
2011-	Julie Ann Genter	Green	List
2011-14	Asenati Lole-Taylor	NZ First	List

2011-	Tracey Martin	NZ First	List
2013-14	Claudette Hauiti	National	List
2013-	Meka Whaitiri	Labour	Ikaroa-Rawhiti
2013-	Poto Williams	Labour	Christchurch East
2014-17	Marama Fox	Maori	List
2014-	Jo Hayes	National	List
2014-	Barbara Kuriger	National	Taranaki / King Country
2014-	Sarah Dowie	National	Invercargill
2014-	Parmjeet Parmar	National	List
2014-	Jenny Salesa	Labour	Manakau East
2015-	Marama Davidson	Green	List
2016-17 2018-	Maureen Pugh	National	List
2017-	Harete Hipango	National	Whanganui
2017-	Erica Stanford	National	East Coast Bays
2017-	Denise Lee	National	Maungakiekie
2017-	Jenny Marcroft	NZ First	List
2017-	Chloe Swarbrick	Green	List
2017-	Golriz Ghahraman	Green	List
2017-	Priyanca Radhakrishnan	Labour	List
2017-	Jan Tinetti	Labour	List
2017-	Willow-Jean Prime	Labour	List
2017-	Kiri Allan	Labour	List
2017-	Ginny Anderson	Labour	List
2017-	Jo Luxton	Labour	List
2017-	Liz Craig	Labour	List
2017-	Deborah Russell	Labour	New Lynn
2017-	Marja Lubeck	Labour	List
2017-	Anahila Kanongata'a-Suisuiki	Labour	List
2017-	Angie Warren-Clark	Labour	List
2018-	Nicola Willis	National	List

Articles

Empowering Women's Work? Analysing the Role of Women in New Zealand's Energy Sector

Julie L MacArthur & Noelle Dumo

University of Auckland

Given the significant challenge that climate change poses to New Zealand, a transition to sustainable energy systems is more important than ever and will likely attract increasing investment from public and private sectors in the next decade (OECD, 2017; REN21, 2017). According to a recent Global Commission on Environment and Economy report, this will amount to $90 billion in spending globally to meet 2 degree climate targets set in Paris in 2016 (Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, 2018). While the global benefits of climate mitigation might be obvious in terms of disaster planning and resilience, political economy and equity issues such as employment, local investment, and decision-making power are far less clear (Barry, 2012). Gender inequalities are particularly acute within the energy sector globally, where the fuels (renewable or non-renewable) we use to power our homes, transport systems, schools, and businesses, are produced, shared, and consumed (Daggett, 2018). At a time when scholarship on the implications of gender imbalances in the energy sector and in climate mitigation and adaptation is developing rapidly, and there are increasing calls for empirical research in diverse national and sub-sector contexts, we know very little about how these gender and industrial differences manifest in New Zealand (Baruah, 2017; Ryan, 2014; Sovacool, 2014).

This article focuses on understanding the gender composition of the New Zealand energy sector. We investigate women's employment share in industry employment, roles, seniority level and sub-industrial concentration, with the aim of setting the groundwork for further work unpacking the political economy and policy impacts of these differences for energy transitions in the future. Data for the research was drawn from public policy statements, energy strategies, company annual reports and websites, and publicly available statistics on energy or utility industries (Stats NZ). This research represents the first stage of an exploratory study[1] of the state of the research field and statistical profile of women's activities in New Zealand energy industries. It forms part of a larger two year research project, which will include a survey of energy sector employees in diverse sub-sectors, focus groups and interviews.

Understanding women's participation in the energy sector is particularly salient in New Zealand at the present historical juncture, since the new Labour-led government has committed to a long-term transition to a sustainable, low carbon economy. Hon Dr Megan Woods, the Minister responsible for Energy and Resources, stated that the government aims to have a carbon neutral economy by 2050 and 100 percent renewable electricity by 2035.

[1] This research is being funded by the University of Auckland's Early Career Research Excellence Award program.

The current government is also committed to reducing the country's gender pay gap, attributable in part to significant differences in pay between technology and service industries (Pacheco et al., 2017). To date, the government has invested $3.74 million for new electric vehicle infrastructure, $20 million for regional initiatives to begin laying groundwork for transition to lower-carbon industries and $150,000 under the Provincial Growth Fund to investigate establishing the Taranaki region as an internationally recognised leader in clean energy technology (Davison, 2018; Government of New Zealand, 2018a, 2018b).

Why does the gender gap matter?

The gender gap in the energy sector is significant on both moral and practical grounds. On the former, sexism and hostility to women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields has long been identified as an unjust and damaging socio-political phenomenon (Daggett, 2018; Miller, 2004; RANSON, 2005). Also, as scholars like Baruah have noted, energy transitions may significantly impact women's wages and employment because the sex-segregated nature of the industry affects pay and the distribution of new investment and opportunities (Baruah, 2017; Baruah and Gaudet, 2016). Income gaps during working years then spill from current earnings into broader issues like the gendered gap in retirement pension savings and elder-poverty (Pacheco et al., 2017). They also lead to significant economic underperformance and inefficiencies, as the skills and perspectives of female employees are underutilized, with one estimate placing the potential boost to New Zealand's GDP of increased female leadership and employment at 10 percent (Borkin, 2011).

The International Renewable Energy Association notes that women's employment in the "green" or renewable energy industries is higher than in the fossil fuel industry, so subsector differences in energy industries are likely to exist (Technology Collaboration Programme, 2017). Nearly eighty five percent of electricity generation in New Zealand comes from renewable sources such as hydro-electricity, geothermal, wind and solar power (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2017) so there may be important differences in gendered industry norms and practices here compared with other countries, such as Australia. Without further research, we simply cannot know. Despite these differences, however, gender inequality remains particularly acute in the energy sector globally: women only have a 19 percent share of jobs in the industry and work disproportionately in office support or administrative jobs (World Economic Forum, 2016). This has significant consequences for both the gender pay gap in coming years and for policy and project decision-making in the sector, as wages in the sector overall tend to be relatively high compared to other industries (such as hospitality and tourism). Energy infrastructure and services are also projected to grow significantly due to the large climate investment required in the coming years, so there is increasing attention being paid to the potential co-benefits of thoughtful transitions plans that include women, as well as other traditionally marginalized groups (Helgenberger and Janicke, 2017; World Economic Forum, 2016).

Recent research suggests that a gender-inclusive environment is especially important for the energy sector because of women's tendency to view issues like climate change mitigation, new renewable energy sources and the environmental benefits of electric vehicles more positively than their male counterparts (Clancy and Roehr, 2003; Denton, 2002; Kalof et al., 2002; Kronsell et al., 2016; Sovacool et al., 2018). Others have pointed to the gendered framings and nature of green transitions themselves, arguing that resistance to cleaner, greener practices is deeply tied to problematic ideas of maleness and masculinity (Anshelm and Hultman, 2014; Denton, 2002).

What we know so far is that peer-reviewed literature on the intersection of gender and energy in New Zealand is limited, women face multiple barriers at work (e.g. biased hiring practices, inflexible work arrangements, sexism and harassment), and women are underrepresented in high-level and technical roles, and are over-represented in administrative or support roles. Electricity generation companies in New Zealand have highlighted the importance of gender equality

to the success and sustainability of their business and the quality of the decisions they make. For instance, Contact Energy's Chair of the Board has said that a "…diversity of background, gender and culture are really important to the composition of a board and to the success of a company" (Contact Energy, 2017). Whether these statements translate into representation in decision making, how much, and with what effect are important empirical research questions.

Preliminary results

This section presents results from publicly available statistics from Statistics New Zealand to give a preliminary profile of women's participation in electricity industries (Figures 1 and 2). One of our first findings was that there is no sex-segregated employment data for energy industries available. Job type data (part time or full) combines the electricity industry with other related 'utility' (including waste, water) industries, and does not include employment in oil and gas. Data recording new hires and turnover rates, by contrast, is only available for utilities in conjunction with mining and construction. These limitations are significant but they still illustrate broad trends which we can explore further in future. Below we show information on total employment in utilities broken down by sex and type of employment (Figure 1), as well as information on accessions (new hires) and turnover rates (Figure 2). The researchers are working with Statistics New Zealand to get customised data for the next phase of the research in 2019.

The sector level data illustrates that compared to the economy as a whole, women working in utilities make up a significantly smaller share of total employment then their male counterparts. Women are far more likely to be part time employees in New Zealand, making up more than 70% of that category, with slightly smaller share of part time jobs in utilities (65%). For full time employment women in utilities accounted for just over 25% of jobs, whereas the figure is closer to 45% in the overall economy (Figure 1).

Figure 2 illustrates that in 2016 the broader energy sector (together with utilities and construction) evidences an even more gender segregated pattern of employment, with fewer than 20% of female employees. New hires (accessions) in 2016 maintained the general pattern, with fewer than 20% of positions going to women. One area where there are only very slight differences is in worker turnover, with women slightly less likely than their counterparts in other areas of the economy to leave their jobs in utilities, mining and construction industries.

We were also interested in probing the public data on women in leadership positions, particularly in New Zealand's strongly renewable electricity industry (Figure 3). A survey of company documents was conducted that focused on the four main business areas of the sector: generation, transmission, distribution and retail to identify any distinct patterns in women's role on company boards and management teams, a useful but by no means comprehensive proxy for women's participation in key decision making. Out of a total of 62 electricity sector companies which produced a report or had an online presence (6 generation companies, 1 transmission, 29 distribution and 26 operating in electricity retail), 19 did not publish Board or Executive memberships online or in their annual reports. Two companies did not produce reports or host a website at all. We found that the highest shares of women in the sector were found in the Government owned company Transpower, albeit still with less than 1/3 of seats on the board and management teams. Numbers were similar but slightly lower for generation and retail companies, both of which tend to be much larger and more corporatized than the 26 local distribution and lines companies spread across New Zealand. Many of the latter are owned by local community trusts, which presents an interesting area for future research as to what accounts for the more than 10% differential between distribution companies and those in other areas of the electricity sector.

Figure 3 indicates that women's participation at the leadership level in the electricity sector is relatively high outside the distribution subsector. However, the percentages can be deceiving, particularly for smaller companies. Most of the listed companies have small boards with four to five members. A 30% participation rate may look like a

Figure 1: Comparison of Total Filled Jobs, Part-time Jobs and Full-time Jobs (as of September 2016) (Source: Stats NZ)

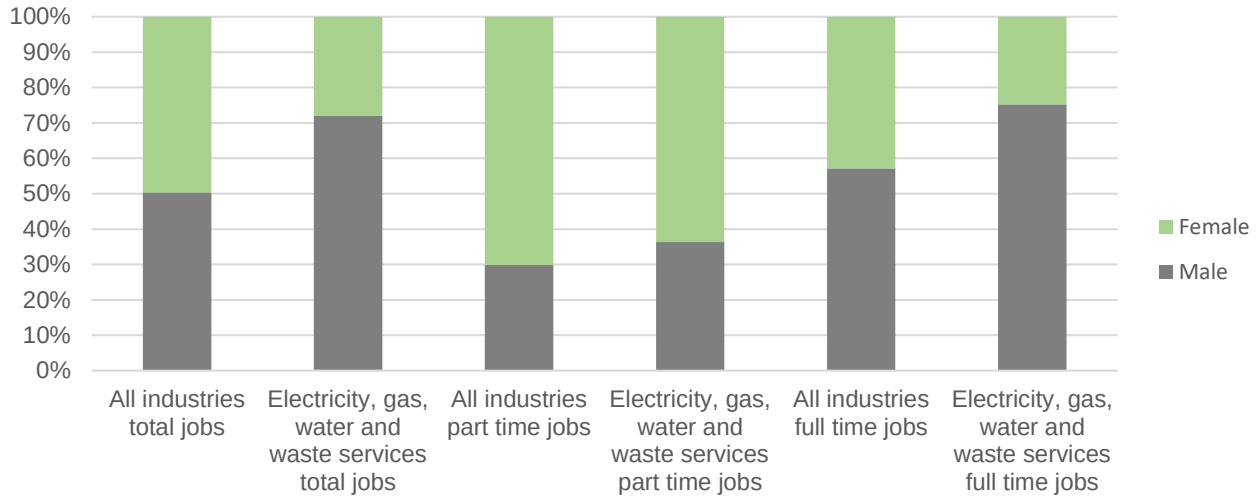


Figure 2: Comparison of Total Filled Jobs, Accessions and Turnover Rate (as of September 2016) (Source: Stats NZ, Table 22)

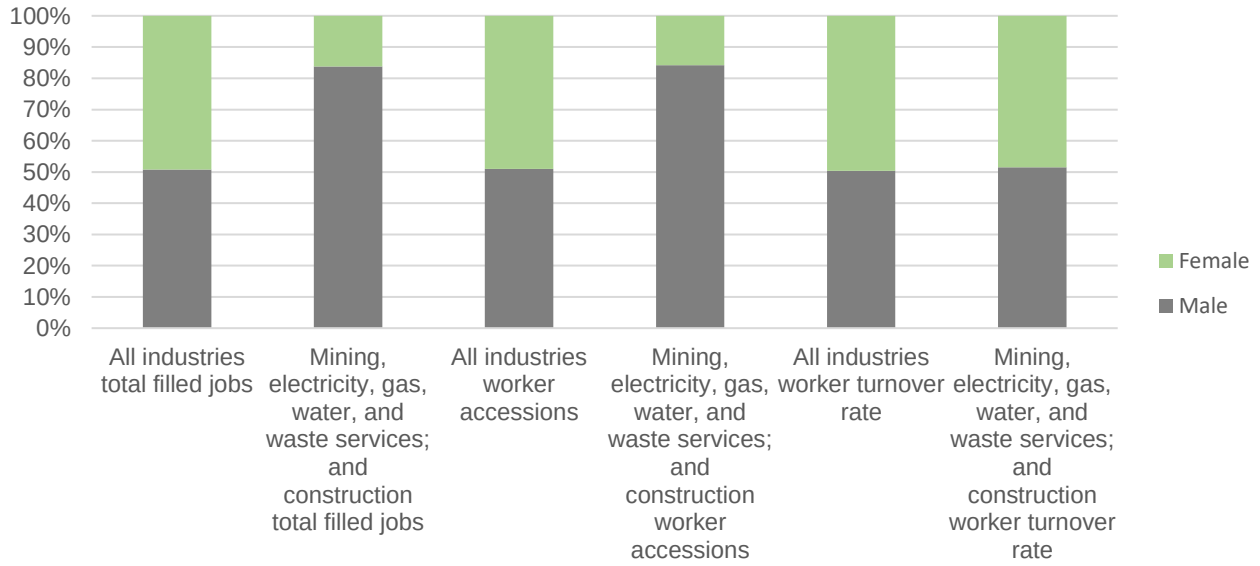
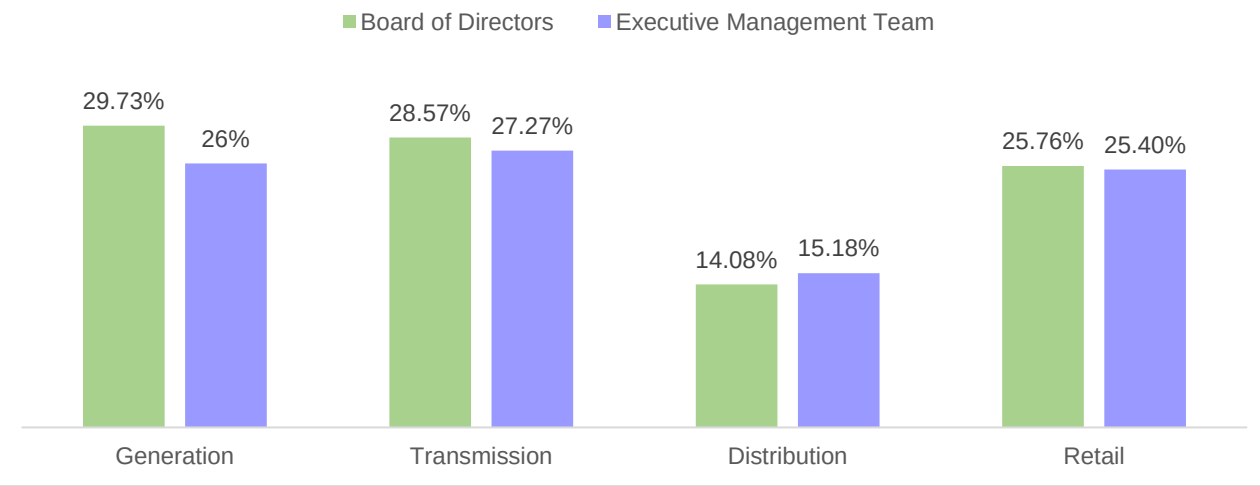


Figure 3: Women's Participation Rate in the New Zealand Electricity Industry (Source: Survey of company websites)



wtp

high percentage, but in practice that could mean that there is only one woman on the Board with four men. Further, these percentages are the average of all listed companies in each subsector – the percentages do not reflect the fact that our survey noted that there are many companies with no women on their Boards at all. Of the 62 electricity sector companies with published Board memberships, 10 had no women on their Boards. All of these were distribution companies.

Conclusion

To date, there is no comprehensive study on women's employment and leadership in the New Zealand energy sector. This initial research covers multiple subsectors and focuses specifically on the role of women's employment and leadership roles. The next phase of the research will drill down into the electricity and energy industries with customized datasets from statistics New Zealand, and move to surveying and interviewing women working in these various parts of the sector. Our preliminary study opens up some interesting lines of inquiry into how and whether the differences we find matter beyond the benefits to individual women to the broader project of sustainability transitions in New Zealand. These include the reasons for the lower share of leadership roles in distribution companies, the experiences and rationales of women concentrating in part time work, as well as the potential differential priorities and values that women may hold in steering and implementing New Zealand's energy transition. These questions hold implications for future work on gender informed energy policy design, comparative sectoral analysis and similar work on the role of other underrepresented social groups.

References

Anshelm, J., Hultman, M., (2014). A green fatwā? Climate change as a threat to the masculinity of industrial modernity. Norma 9, 84–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2014.908627

Barry, J., (2012). *The Politics of Actually Existing Unsustainability: Human Flourishing in a Climate changed Carbon Constrained World*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Baruah, B., (2017). Renewable inequity? Women's employment in clean energy in industrialized, emerging and developing countries, in: Cohen, M.G. (Ed.), *Climate Change and Gender in Rich Countries: Work, Public Policy and Action*. Routledge, New York, pp. 70–86.

Baruah, B., Gaudet, C., (2016). Confronting the Gender Gap in Canada's Green Transition [WWW Document]. Leap. URL https://theleapblog.org/confronting-the-gender-gapin-canadas-greentransition/ (accessed 12.7.17).

Borkin, P., (2011). *Closing the Gender Gap: Plenty of Potential Upside*. Wellington, New Zealand.

Clancy, J., Roehr, U., (2003). Gender and Energy: Is there a Northern Perspective? *Energy for Sustainable. Development* 7, 44–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0973-0826(08)60364-6

Contact Energy, (2017). *Contact Annual Report 2017*. Wellington. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732315618386

Daggett, C., (2018). Petro-masculinity: Fossil Fuels and Authoritarian Desire. *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 00, 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829818775817

Davison, I., (2018). Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern bans oil exploration. *New Zealand Herald.*

Denton, F., (2002). Climate change vulnerability, impacts, and adaptation: Why does gender matter? *Gender and Development*. 10, 10–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070215903

Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, (2018). *Unlocking the Inclusive Growth Story of the 21st Century: Accelerating Climate Action in Urgent Times*. Washington.

Government of New Zealand, (2018a). $3.74 million for new electric vehicles.

Government of New Zealand, (2018b). Press release: Investing in a clean energy future for Taranaki. Scoop Media.

Helgenberger, S., Janicke, M., (2017). *Mobilizing the Co-Benefits of Climate Change Mitigation.* Potsdam.

Kalof, L., Dietz, T., Guagnano, G., Stern, P., (2002). Race, gender and environmentalism: The atypical values and beliefs of white men. *Race, Gender and Class*. Cl. 9, 112–130. https://doi.org/10.2307/41675022

Kronsell, A., Smidfelt Rosqvist, L., Winslott Hiselius, L., (2016). Achieving climate objectives in transport policy by including women and challenging gender norms: The Swedish case. *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation.* 10, 703–711. https://doi.org/10.1080/15568318.2015.1129653

Miller, G., (2004). Frontier Masculintiy in the Oil Industry: The experience of women engineers. *Gender, Work Organisation.* 11, 47–73.

Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, (2017). Energy in New Zealand [WWW Document]. URL http://www.mbie.govt.nz/info-services/sectorsindustries/energy/energy-datamodelling/publications/energy-in-newzealand/documents-images/energy-in-nz-2017.pdf (accessed 3.13.18).

OECD, (2017). *Energy Policies of OECD Countries: New Zealand 2017*. Paris.

Pacheco, G., Chao, L., Cochrane, B., (2017). *Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand*. Wellington, New Zealand.

Ranson, G., (2005). No Longer "One of the Boys": Negotiations with Motherhood, as Prospect or Reality, among Women in Engineering*. *Canadian Review of Sociology*. 42, 145–166. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.2005.tb02459.x

REN21, (2017). Renewables Global Futures Report: Great debates towards 100% renewable energy. Renewable Energy Policy Network, Paris.

Ryan, S.E., (2014). Rethinking gender and identity in energy studies. *Energy Research and Social Science.* 1, 96–105. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2014.02.008

Sovacool, B.K., (2014). What are we doing here? Analyzing fifteen years of energy scholarship and proposing a social science research agenda. *Energy Research and Social Science.* 1, 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2014.02.003

Sovacool, B.K., Kester, J., Noel, L., de Rubens, G.Z., (2018). The demographics of decarbonizing transport: The influence of gender, education, occupation, age, and household size on electric mobility preferences in the Nordic region. Global Environmental Change 52, 86–100. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GLOENVCHA.2018.06.008

Technology Collaboration Programme, (2017). Women in clean energy: Knowledge, Gaps & Opportunities.

World Economic Forum, (2016). Executive Summary: *The Industry Gender Gap - Women and Work in the Fourth Industrial Revolution.*

Informal Practices and Women's Progression to Academic Leadership Positions in Nigeria

Igiebor Oluwakemi
University of Auckland

Gender imbalance in academic leadership is an internationally acknowledged problem (Madsen, 2012). The situation has not been any different in African countries, especially Nigeria, with men numerically and hierarchically overrepresented in academic leadership positions (Olaogun et al., 2015; Yusuff, 2014). While studies of these informal institutions have been undertaken by feminist scholars interested in the formal political arena (see Kenny, 2009; Legg, 2014; Galea et al. 2014), an in-depth exploration of informal institutional arrangement in the academy is almost non-existent. Moreover, institutional discourses from the Nigeria context have focused mainly on formal institutional barriers that hold women back progressively.

As part of an ongoing PhD inquiry, lived experiences of women in academic leadership positions were gathered from 10 women occupying academic leadership positions in top ranking Nigerian universities. For this paper, I focus on one of the specific objectives of my research - to understand the role of informal institutions in women's career progression to academic leadership positions. Formal and informal institutions may be analytically distinct, but they exist in close relationship to each other (Grzymala-Busse 2010; Azari and Smith 2012; Chappell and Waylen, 2013). From the ongoing inquiry, I underscore the extent to which informal practices may play an important complementary role to women's progression to academic leadership positions.

Based on responses from the women interviewed, formal and informal institutions and practices were strategically utilised for career progression, especially for academic appointments and elective positions. The perspectives of the women interviewed answered questions that have been missing from existing discourse- a nuanced reading of informal practices that underpin the progress of Nigerian women in the academy. Below are excerpts from the inquiry.

There is a high preference for women to occupy academic leadership positions through promotion than through appointments or elective positions. I categorised Academic Leadership Positions (ALP) into two broad categories- Academic leadership positions through appointments (Directors/ Deputy directors) or Election (Deanship and Provostship), and academic leadership positions through promotion (progressing through the ranks from senior lecturer to associate professor, and to professor). From the interview, most were comfortable being a professor or an associate professor than being appointed as a director or vying for elective positions as a dean. A professor reflected:

> *When I was a senior lecturer, as a strategy, I would always seek out a difficult or highly visible task to get some recognition. It was an advantage when applying for my professorship.*

Stress, multiple roles, increased workloads, competition and negativity were identified factors that make academic appointments and elective positions unattractive. An associate professor who was also a former director of an institute said:

> *Holding academic positions through appointment or election is quite hard and stressful. On the one hand, you have to fulfil the administrative role and the other side; there is the academic/research role you cannot jeopardise.*

Most women seem pressured to prove the academic capital they possess than their male counterpart. For instance, as part of the promotion criteria, academic staffs are to possess a number of publications in reputable journals (research), engage in community

service and teaching. Conscious of the patriarchal culture and resistance in place, most women try to consistently exceed the standard performance expectation, i.e. having higher numbers of publications than required for promotion.

Though the promotion process in Nigeria universities follows a formal procedure, some women have experienced some form of 'delay' or subtle discrimination with regards to their promotion. Two female Associate Professors said:

> *I believe my promotion wasn't considered because 'they' felt I was moving at a faster pace. A male colleague and I applied for a promotion, but mine was stepped down despite having the requirement for the position.*

An interviewee believes that the existence of factions/caucus within the department/faculty and the promotion procedures in the universities (which has to go through the HOD, then to the Dean and the promotions committee) creates a discriminatory loophole that may impede their advancement.

> *I think my promotion was delayed or not considered because I do not belong to the caucus /group who hold significant power/position at that time.*

The significance of women's gendered lives within the academy, regarding promotion, is revealed in their narratives. Hence, as women climb up the academic career ladder, they rely on strong support informal network and practices to attain key academic position. According to a Dean:

> *We try to 'fill in the gap' to achieve career success, directly (formally) or indirectly (informally).*

Prevalent informal practice identified is the 'use of connection', otherwise known as 'who you-know' in the Nigerian lexicon. 'Connection' includes the use of class or family privilege, parental or spousal influence, ethnic and religious affiliation. According to the women, these practices are profoundly utilized for academic appointments and elective positions.

> *I realised there is an inner circle and sometimes, you need their support to either get on board or as you progress….you can't be a 'loner' in the academy.*
>
> *The VC makes all academic appointments within the university. Most of those appointed or nominated have one form of connections/affiliations/affinity with the VC…. Most times, it is not about competence or efficiency.*

The women's responses highlighted how academic leadership, especially academic appointments and elective positions in Nigeria is not only characterised by the duality of the formal and informal institutions but the interconnectedness of both. Where the formal institution discriminated against women, the informal norms and practices opened opportunities. The informal institution, therefore, plays a vital role in the repertoire of actions aimed at attaining academic leadership. It can be utilised to complement the formal institution for career advancement.

References

Azari, J. R., & Smith, J. K. (2012). Unwritten Rules: Informal Institutions in Established Democracies. *Perspectives on Politics, 10*(1), 37-55.

Chappell, L., & Waylen, G. (2013). Gender and the hidden life of institutions. *Public Administration, 91*(3), 599-615.

Galea, N, Loosemore, M, Powell, A and Campbell L (2014) Gender equity in construction professions: A new institutionalist perspective *In:* Raiden, A B and Aboagye-Nimo, E (Eds) *Procs 30th Annual ARCOM Conference*, Portsmouth, UK, Association of Researchers in Construction Management, 1111-1119.

Grzymala-Busse, A. (2010). The best-laid plans: The impact of informal rules on formal institutions in transitional regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development, 45*(3), 311-333.

Kenny, M. (2009). *Gendering institutions: The political recruitment of women in postdevolution Scotland* Available from Dissertations & Theses Europe Full Text: Social https://search.proquest.com/docview/1040402791

Legg, J. (2014). *Democratic Practice and Policymaking at the Regional Level in Europe, Testing the Gender and Diversity Agenda. PhD Thesis. University of Bath.*

Madsen, S. R. (2012). Women and leadership in higher education: Current realities, challenges, and future directions. *Advances in Developing Human Resources, 14*(2), 131-139.

Olaogun, J. A., Adebayo, A. A., & Oluyemo, C. A. (2015). Gender imbalance in the academia in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 11*(10)

Yusuff, O. S. (2014). Gender and career advancement in academia in developing countries: Notes on Nigeria. *International Journal of Sociology of Education, 3*(3)

The Philippines' 'Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity or Expression Equality' Bill: Who Represents the LGBTQ?

Gay Marie Francisco
University of Auckland

Geraldine Roman is the Philippines' first openly transgender legislator. Roman was the Liberal Party's Congressional candidate for the first district of Bataan province during the country's 2016 national elections. The Liberal Party was the ruling party at that time being the political party of then President Benigno Aquino III. Roman was hailed by the media as the voice of the LGBTQ (Chen, 2016; Robinson, 2016). She joins a small number of openly LGBTQ people from all over the world who are able to secure seats in public office after she won in the 2016 elections. The study by Reynolds (2013) estimated the number of openly LGBT members of parliament (MPs) to be 151 from 27 countries. This covers the years 1976 to 2011 of the 96 nations which formed part of the study. The study included legislators who made public pronouncements that they are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender as well as those who acknowledged their sexual orientation after being outed. The majority of these legislators are from established democracies.

Presently, the literature on LGBTQ and representation is limited. This is understandable considering their small number in public office. The quantitative study of Haider-Markel, Joslyn, and Kniss (2000) finds that the presence of openly gay officials has significant impact to domestic partner policy outcomes such as domestic partner registration and the provision of financial benefits similar to married couples. Reynolds (2013) examined the descriptive and substantive representation of LGBT people serving in national legislatures, applying the findings in the literature on women's representation. The study reveals that even a small number of LGBT lawmakers in legislative bodies correlates to significant improvement in policies favourable for LGBT. The study finds no support to the critical mass theory which claims that a number or percentage of physical bodies — a critical mass is necessary to influence policy. Findings of the aforementioned studies show that even without reaching critical mass, the presence of LGBT officials can already impact public policy.

In February 2017, House Bill number 4982 entitled "An Act Prohibiting Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity or Expression (SOGIE) and Providing Penalties Therefor" was filed at the Philippine House of Representatives or the Lower House. Dubbed by the media as the SOGIE Equality Bill, it aims to realise the principles stated in the Bill of Rights of the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, more specifically the equal protection clause in section 1 which states: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal protection of the laws". With the Philippines being a signatory to international human rights treaties, the bill likewise responds to the call of the international community to address violence and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. When the lower house unanimously approved the bill on its third reading in September 2017, the local and international media quickly commended Roman for the victory. The country's first transgender legislator was lauded for speaking up for the marginalised LGBTQ community. Her photo holding the rainbow flag while being flanked by fellow legislators spread across various media channels.

The media's depiction of how the SOGIE Equality Bill was able to obtain the approval of the lower house followed the formula we see in the movies where the underdog emerges victorious. Cawelti (2014) explains that familiar stories satisfy our craving for "enjoyment and escape" (p.6). He however clarified that, to become effective, stories must make sense for particular context and culture. I argue that academic discourse on representation frequently takes this route. As an example, scholarly work on women's representation tends to focus on women actors, studying descriptive statistics and evaluating their achievements. In the article "Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation" Celis, Childs, Kantola, and Krook (2008) contend that this approach not only obscures the differences among women actors but also disregards the roles of other actors.

Who represents the LGBTQ in legislatures? Without undervaluing the role of Roman and other openly LGBTQ lawmakers, I posit that by pursuing the single actor focused narrative, we run the risk of overlooking others who are also 'acting for' the represented. In the case of the SOGIE Equality Bill, there were 159 authors on record. The House Committee Report shows that the final version of the bill substituted 11 previous bills filed by Roman and 10 other legislators. In terms of gender, five of the other legislators who filed the bills were women and five were men. This shows that the bill had already gained support from a significant number of legislators from the time it was filed in the 17th Congress in February 2017 until the third and final reading in September of the same year where it was unanimously approved.

Another question which should be asked is whether the Bill would have enjoyed the same level of support if Roman was not part of the legislature. Similar versions of the bill have been filed since 2000 ("An Act Prohibiting Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation and Providing Penalties Therefor," 2000). In 2001, this anti-discrimination bill passed the third reading in the lower house but failed to obtain the Senate's approval. In the Philippines, a bill becomes a law when it is approved by both houses: the lower house or the House of Representatives and the upper house or the Senate and the President of the Republic. It took another 17 years for a similar bill to gain the approval of the House of Representatives. If the bill's passage in the lower house after almost two decades of inactivity in this particular advocacy is any indication, then Roman's presence is of significance. This agrees with the findings of Reynolds (2013) and Haider-Markel et al. (2000). It is also consistent with the literature on women's representation which shows that presence of women legislators increase the positive action on women's rights bills by legislators regardless of their gender (Htun, Lacalle, & Micozzi, 2013; Tam, 2017; Thomas, 1991).

Substantive representation cannot be fully understood by looking at just one actor or a group of actors. Change in policies, particularly those that challenge traditions and established norms is a challenging task which a lone policy actor cannot tackle alone. Future research on gender and representation needs to examine not only multiple actors and their differences but also their points of convergence. Actors may have a variety of motivations but it does not mean that their desired outcomes are as varied.

To date, the Senate version of the SOGIE Equality Bill approved by the lower house in 2017 is pending and its supporters are hoping that it will not suffer the same fate as the 2000 anti-discrimination bill which also gained the approval of the lower house but did not find support in the upper house. Despite the presence of lawmakers who are actively advocating for the approval of the bill, there are senators known to espouse strict Christian beliefs who have publicly expressed their opposition to the measure (Tan, 2018). There will be another general election in May 2019 to fill 12 seats in the Senate and all seats in the House of Representatives. Hence, advocates of the bill are pushing for its passage by the present Congress.

As for Roman, she will be able to run for re-election should she decide to do so because members of the House of Representatives are allowed to serve for up to three consecutive terms. If the bill fails to gain the Senate's favour this 17th Congress, she and the rest of its advocates can try again. That is, if all or at least most of the candidates are re-elected and they are likely to remain steadfast in supporting the

measure. While it is unclear whether the SOGIE Equality Bill will become a law, this case has shown that Geraldine Roman, the Philippines' first openly transgender legislator is not the only one who acted for the LGBTQ. The overwhelming support for the bill in the lower house illustrates that substantive representation is dynamic and complex. It is important to look beyond the gender differences of actors involved.

References

An Act Prohibiting Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation and Providing Penalties Therefor. (2000). Retrieved September 6, 2018, from http://www.congress.gov.ph/legis/

An Act Prohibiting Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity or Expression (SOGIE) and Providing Penalties Therefor. (2017). Retrieved September 6, 2018, from http://www.congress.gov.ph/legisdocs/?v=billsresults#17

Cawelti, J. G. (2014). *Adventure, mystery, and romance: Formula stories as art and popular culture*. University of Chicago Press.

Celis, K., Childs, S., Kantola, J., & Krook, M. L. (2008). Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation. *Representation*, *44*(2), 99–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890802079573

Chen, H. (2016). Geraldine Roman: First transgender politician elected in the Philippines. Retrieved September 5, 2018, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36253666

Haider-Markel, D. P., Joslyn, M. R., & Kniss, C. J. (2000). Minority Group Interests and Political Representation: Gay Elected Officials in the Policy Process. *Journal of Politics*, *62*(2), 568–577. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-3816.00026

Htun, M., Lacalle, M., & Micozzi, J. P. (2013). Does Women's Presence Change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–2007. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *5*(1), 95–125.

Reynolds, A. (2013). Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective. *American Political Science Review*, *107*(2), 259–274. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000051

Robinson, J. (2016). Transgender politician celebrates victory over "bigotry, hatred and discrimination" after historic election win in the Philippines. Retrieved September 5, 2018, from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3582369/Philippinestransgender-politician-celebrates-historic-win.html

Tam, W. (2017). Do female legislators have different policy priorities than their male colleagues in an undemocratic/semi-democratic legislature? The case of Hong Kong. *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *23*(1), 44–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2017.1283174

Tan, L. (2018). Celebrities: Show love to senators who hate SOGIE equality bill. Retrieved September 6, 2018, from http://cnnphilippines.com/lifestyle/2018/07/24/SOGIEequality-bill-LGBT-anti-discrimination-Sotto-Pacquiao-Villanueva.html

The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines. (1987). Retrieved September 6, 2018, from www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/1987-constitution

Thomas, S. (1991). The impact of women on state legislative policies. *The Journal of Politics*, *53*(4), 958–976.

Gathering at the Gate: Listening Intergenerationally as a Precursor to SettlerIndigenous Encounter

Emily Beausoleil
Massey University

"The person who perceives…has historical density, he takes up a perceptual tradition."
– Maurice Merleau-Ponty

"Debates without a history are a dead end."
– Moana Jackson

The burgeoning field of listening studies across disciplines draws attention to the long neglected responsibilities of and resistances to listening among settler communities (see for example Dreher, 2009; Nicoll, 2004). Yet without a sense of what settlers should be listening *to*, this runs the risk shared by recognition, multicultural, and inclusion scholarship of forgetting the necessity of attending to not simply those from marginalised or struggling positions, but also the broader systems that produce such penalty and one's own position within them.

Research on white fragility and anti-racist pedagogy holds that white people have profound epistemic and affective difficulty in identifying as part of this social group (DiAngelo, 2011; Medina, 2013; Turner, 1999; Solomon et al., 2005; Mackey, 2014). Countless examples of resistance to social characterisation in contemporary politics – perhaps most succinctly, the recent notion that 'straight white male' is 'this century's N-word' (Mahdawi, 2018), though we have seen the same affront associated with the term 'Pākehā' (Bell, 1996) – show how this holds for other positions of privilege. Whether due to the normalisation of present inequalities or erasure of the historical taking that undergirds them, social advantage is largely invisible for those who have it. By virtue of the dominance of settler values, discourses, and identities, these have been woven into the very fabric of settler societies such that their particular 'accent' is also all but inaudible beneath claims to universality and neutrality (Riflin, 2013). This means that for those who inhabit such positions, it proves particularly difficult to explain both one's experiences and perspective through anything other than an individualist lens. To suggest that either have been socially conditioned is, for some, highly offensive.

This year, as part of a Marsden Fast-Start project exploring cross-sectoral approaches to fostering listening, I participated in Ruku Pō, a year-long programme run out of Manutuke by Teina and Ngapaki Moetara on Māori protocols of encounter. As a scholar of multiculturalism, postcolonial theory, as well as deliberation – as someone who studies the conditions conducive to receptivity and responsiveness among socially advantaged groups when challenged by claims of structural injustice – I was struck by a dimension within Māori protocols that are altogether absent in these Western approaches to encounter: the necessity of developing a sense of collective identity as precursor to meeting.

In tikanga Māori, the protocol sequence for meeting begins at the gate, or *waharoa.* Before one can enter the gate, the visitors (*manuhiri*) must gather as a people. This means far more than clustering bodies together for smooth entry – it requires developing a sense of who they are as a collective, and why they have come. If this does not occur, the meeting cannot go further. One cannot cross the threshold to initiate the sequence of encounter.

Settler societies, as a rule, operate without a collective sense of the particularity and history of being a settler people, or the labour involved in developing this. How much is missed, because of a failure to prepare for the encounter in this way among settler communities? What would it look like to learn to 'listen intergenerationally' like this, as settlers?

What would be required to 'gather our people' in order to be ready to meet?

In what little space remains, I offer an initial attempt to answer the call entailed in these questions. Gathering our people would, I propose, require three things. First, it seems vital in this context to learn to parochialise the ostensibly 'universal': what is the ground from which we see and speak, and how does it filter and shape that sight and speech in particular ways? How can I learn to claim this particular inheritance of worldview in the claims I make about the world I see through it? Here, particularly as a political theorist trained to educate students in distinctly western canonical texts in the guise of general (world) theorising, I hear the call to become curious about a particular if largely inaudible 'accent' regarding notions of human nature, freedom, reason, justice, and history that underwrite the very field of inquiry in which I work. Indeed, it highlights the cultural particularity of even those frameworks for encounter that presume neutrality and are critiqued for doing so, such as liberal multicultural, recognition, and deliberative scholarships (see for example Day, 2001; Parekh, 1995; Hage, 2000; Maracle, 1996; Coulthard, 2007). I venture here that as well as helping to mark particular conceptions and valuations of bodies, boundaries, and stabilities that run through these Western frameworks, we mark the very desire for and presumption of abstracted universality as a cultural particularity.

Second, and as essentially, is the task of coming to perceive how specific histories have structured the positions – both material and perspectival – that one inhabits. From where do these positions stem, and what, in lived terms, enables and sustains them? We must learn to mark not only our cultural accent, but the inheritance – perspectival, historical, and social – that has formed, maintained, and even obscured this accent. What material and discursive inheritances lie behind and travel into the present moment? Here, the two defining features of settler-colonialism – that it simultaneously *migrates* and *dominates* (Mamdani, 1998; Veracini, 2015) - can be seen as their own inheritance, both distributing the terms for salience, legitimacy, reasonableness in particular ways due to the accumulation of particular histories of experience, and explaining how – when these particularities are embedded in the institutions, discourses, and practices of a settler-colonial society – they have become 'unmarked.'

Third, the task is not simply to learn to discern how this inheritance lives in and shapes present perception, valuation, and relation, but also to develop a clear sense of purpose for meeting. Here, Moana Jackson's recent call to 'respect what we're prepared to share and not share' and the countless acts of thoughtless taking of "unthreatening aspects of indigenous cultures" by settlers that prompted it is especially poignant (Jackson, 2018). Here, critiques that 'boutique' forms of multiculturalism cherry-pick cultural markers as a 'celebration of diversity' even as they fail to make institutional or political change in the face of difference take on new meaning (Stanley, 1997; Bannerji, 1997; Bissoondath, 1994; Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). As members of settler communities, it is essential to clarify for ourselves not simply who we are by virtue of our shared inheritance, but also why we seek to meet.

During my immersion in Ruku Pō, I began to hear something of this cultural and socioeconomic inheritance – I heard my recourse to general theories and arguments as at once revealing and obscuring the ground from which I spoke. I caught glimmers of how my desire for stable and certain knowledge, my presumption that such knowledge is accessible through straight-forward one-time disclosure, my holding to certain research questions apart from the collective *ruku pō* ('dive into the unknown') of the group were borne of this intergenerational ground as a westerner, a settler, an academic. To become, as Teina Moetara would behoove us, 'responsible for how we see', is, in some ways, to challenge the very ways we claim and come to know as academics in the West. Yet I stand at the gate, no longer driven to *know* so much as to move towards a relation – one that depends that I learn to listen intergenerationally, to the collective within the singular, not just within those I encounter but by what I carry, always if inaudibly, with me.

References

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen and Christina Gabriel (2002). *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Globalization*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview.

Bannerji, Himani (1997). "Multiculturalism Is Anti-anti-racism," *Kinesis*, 8-9

Bell, Avril (1996). "'We're Just New Zealanders: Pakeha Identity Politics," *Ngā Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand,* ed. Paul Spoonley, Cluny Macpherson and David Pearson (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1996).

Bissoondath, Neil (1994) *Selling Illusions.* Toronto: Penguin.

Coulthard, Glen (2007). “Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoipels and the ‘Politics of Recognition’ in Canada,” *Contemporary Political Theory* 6: 437-60.

Day, Richard (2001). “Who is the we that gives the gift? Native American Political Theory and *The Western Tradition*,” *Critical Horizons* 2(2): 173-201.

DiAngelo, Robin (2011). “White Fragility,” *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3(3): 54-70.

Dreher, Tanja (2009). “Listening Across Difference: Media and Multiculturalism Beyond the Politics of Voice,” *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 23(4): 445-58.

Fish, Stanley (1997). “Boutique Multiculturalism: Or, Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech,” *Critical Inquiry* 23(2): 378–395.

Hage, Ghassan (2000). *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. New York: Routledge.

Jackson, Moana (2018). Respecting what we’re prepared to share and not share. *E-tangata*. https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/respecting-what-were-prepared-to-share/

Mackey, Eva (2014). “Unsettling Expectations: (Un)Certainty, Settler States of Feeling, Law, and Decolonization,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 29(2): 235-52.

Mahdawi, Arwa (2018). Has the term 'straight white male' really become an insult? *The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/22/has-straight-white-male-become-an-insult-slur*

Mamdani, Mahmood (1998) *When Does a Settler Become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa.* Cape Town, University of Cape Town.

Maracle, Lee (1996) *I am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996)

Medina, José (2013). *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and Racial Oppression, Epistemic Injustice, and Resistant Imaginations.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Nicoll, Fiona (2004). ‘Reconciliation in and out of Perspective: White Knowing, Seeing, Curating, and Being at Home in and against Indigenous Sovereignty’, in Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, ed. Aileen Moreton-Robinson. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Parekh, Bhikhu (1995). “Liberalism and Colonialism: A Critique of Locke and Mill,” *The Decolonization of the Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power,* ed. Jan P. Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh. London: Zed Books.

Rifkin, Mark (2013). “Settler Common Sense,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3(3-4): 322-40.

Solomon, R. Patrick, John P. Portelli, Beverly-Jean Daniel, and Arlene Campbell (2005). “The Discourse of Denial: How White Teacher Candidates Construct Race, Racism and ‘White Privilege’.” *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 8(2):147-69.

Turner, Stephen (1999). “Settlement as Forgetting,” *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand,* ed. Klaus Neuman, Nicholas Thomas, and Hilary Ericksen. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Veracini, Lorenzo (2015). *The SettlerColonial Present.* Hampshire, UK and New York, USA: Palgrave MacMillan.

Reflections

Unpaid work, invaluable contribution: A feminist case for a Universal Basic Income

Laura Sutherland

Victoria University

Laura Sutherland recently completed her B.A. in History and Political Science at Victoria University of Wellington. She is currently employed there as a research assistant, before beginning postgraduate study in 2019.

We live in a society that values productivity. This productivity is most often valued in monetary terms, be they income, wealth or contribution to GDP. However, this economic activity is supported by a diversity of other work, often overlooked and nearly always unpaid. Unpaid work encompasses a plethora of activities, from public, recognisable volunteer work to everyday, in-home tasks such as childcare, housework and food preparation. These latter examples are disproportionately completed by women, with negative social and economic consequences. In response to these outcomes, this essay examines the potential of a universal basic income to enhance social and economic gender equality in New Zealand.

The 1998/1999 New Zealand Time Use Survey found that on average, women completed 4.8 hours of unpaid work per day, compared to 2.8 hours completed by men (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). A number of factors contribute to and perpetuate this pattern. Economic conditions, firstly, shape the division of labour among genders and within family units. The relative earning power of men and women is an important consideration, with the dominance of men in senior positions and the acknowledged pay disparity between men and women, resulting in men often being the primary earners (Shields, 1989). For this reason, men are more likely to stay in paid employment while unpaid household and care tasks more often fall to women, regardless of whether they are in paid employment themselves (Shields, 1989).

Social and cultural norms also shape the way unpaid work is distributed in society and among families. Arlie Russell Hochschild's study of dual-income families in the United States found that men who shared housework and childcare equally with their spouses considered the arrangement unusual (their spouses described this task sharing as a "luxury"), while men who did not saw this as normal (1997, p. xii, 28). "Division of tasks in the home reflect local ideas about the appropriate and expected behaviour of women and men," argue Marphatia and Moussié (2013, p. 586), while Nancy Folbre's research also supports the notion that a variety of social structures and traditions are reflected by the number of women who take on unpaid care roles (2014). Unpaid work is stigmatised in a capitalist context precisely because it lacks monetary compensation, and because of its historical and continued association with women.

As their work takes place outside of the formal labour market, unpaid workers are viewed as inactive and unoccupied (Richardson, 1989). They are stigmatised for their dependence on another earner's income, even though their actions often support others in paid employment (Hyman, 2017). Traditional poverty analysis compares income between households, however by treating the

household as a single unit, such studies fail to recognise inequality between family members. This approach neglects to take into account the power imbalances that come with income inequality (Cantillon & McLean, 2016), and the "severe constraints in making life choices" that come with financial dependence (Hyman, 1994, p. 124). Therefore, unpaid workers are not only condemned for their supposed lack of productivity, but face potential financial hardship as well. This view ignores the interdependent nature of paid and unpaid work and, subsequently, the value of productive activities outside of the labour market.

One solution to the problems outlined above is a universal basic income (UBI). A UBI is a cash benefit, publically funded and regularly paid to all members of a political community regardless of employment status (van Parijs, 2004). These conditions place the UBI in a unique position to provide compensation for unpaid work, and protect and empower the women who predominantly do such work.

The fact that a UBI is paid on an individual basis, rather than the household as a whole, would provide an individual income to women who would otherwise be financially dependent on others. Cantillon and McLean argue that as a UBI is paid to individuals, it would raise the living standards of women outside paid employment through increased access to resources and spending money (2016). This added autonomy would provide women with the "dignity and personal calm of having enough to provide for their basic needs" in the event of hardship (Schulz, 2017, p. 91). As a UBI is paid to all individuals regardless of employment, income or relationship status, the state does not pass judgement on individuals in the form of sanctions. As Schulz argues, many social security systems were constructed around the model of the male breadwinner, and in most cases entitlement is still based on levels of remunerated work, ignoring the co-dependency of paid and unpaid work (2017). Rather than a one-size-fits-all, payment-in-kind model, the UBI provides recipients with enough to meet their basic needs, while allowing them the agency to make choices based on their own circumstances.

As a UBI is paid to all individuals regardless of employment status, it blurs the distinction between paid and unpaid work, recognising their equal importance and providing everyone with equal compensation. This is effectively summarised by Prue Hyman, who argues that "encouraging and valuing all worthwhile activity involves greatly reduced dichotomies between paid and unpaid work in terms of status, identity and entitlements" (1994). Reducing the disparity between paid and unpaid work would help to combat the stigma surrounding the latter – that unpaid workers are "non-producers, inactive, and unoccupied" (Richardson, 1989, p. 26). By providing an income to all citizens, a state would not pass judgement on which activities are worthwhile, thus encouraging these attitudes to change over time.

The payment of a universal basic income also has potential to encourage more equal sharing of unpaid work. Cantillon and McLean argue that a UBI would reduce pressure on men as primary breadwinners, with this unconditional income allowing them to reduce time spent in paid employment and devote more time to home and family life (2016). This would in turn ease pressure on women balancing paid and unpaid work, who experience higher rates of exhaustion and sickness (Hochschild, 1997). Hochschild's second shift could be shared more equally among family members, to the benefit of all. This would also benefit women seeking to re-enter the workforce by freeing them from some of their unpaid work obligations.

The universal basic income is often dismissed as unrealistic, utopian and expensive. Objections include expense, work avoidance, and the adequacy of existing social security systems. However, Richard Pereira theorises that many public services and social security payments would be made redundant by the provision of a UBI, the savings from which could then be directed to UBI payments (2017). In terms of work avoidance, while many have balked at the idea of an unconditional income with no work requirement, Cantillon and McLean argue that this would not change individuals' incentive to work, pointing out that many current social security systems reduce payment if a beneficiary's income increases (2016). A UBI

threatens no such sanctions. Finally, critics of the universal basic income object that low-income earners and the unemployed will benefit unfairly at the expense of higher-earning "strivers" (Rankin, 1996, p. 15). Again, this criticism ignores the ways in which unpaid work supports paid work, assuming those outside the paid workforce are lazy and unproductive. As well as being socially and financially viable, a universal basic income represents a significant opportunity to change the way we think about paid and unpaid labour in our society, and thus how we value the workers who do it.

More research on minority genders, sexualities and ethnicities is necessary, to examine how patterns of paid and unpaid work distribution vary across cultures and family units. There is limited scholarship on how childcare is shared among same-sex couples, for example, and such data could inform a more intersectional argument for the UBI. The evidence we already have, however, clearly shows that failing to value unpaid work has devastating consequences for women. Childcare and housework are just two among the plethora of activities most often undertaken by women that provide invaluable support to family and community. Though valuable, time-consuming and essential, this work often goes unrecognised, along with the women who do it. I propose that a universal basic income would provide financial security for unpaid workers in the short term, while changing social and cultural attitudes towards unpaid work in years to come. Providing compensation for an activity in a capitalist context is to assign it value, and thus, a universal basic income is an important step towards granting unpaid work and the women who do it the respect, dignity and security they deserve.

References

Cantillon, S., & McLean, C. (2016). Basic income guarantee: The gender impact within households. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, *43*(3), 97-120.

Folbre, N. (2014). *Who cares? A feminist critique of the care economy.* New York: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. Retrieved from http://www.rosalux-nyc.org/wp-content/files_mf/folbre_whocares.pdf.

Hochschild, A. R. (1997). *The second shift.* New York: Avon Books.

Hyman, P. (2017). *Hopes dashed? The economics of gender inequality.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Hyman, P. (1994). Participation in paid and unpaid work: Rhetoric, policy and realities for women in the 'year of the family.' *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand*, 120-127.

Marphatia, A. A. and Moussié, R. (2013). A question of gender justice: Exploring the linkages between women's unpaid care work, education, and gender equality. *International Journal of Education and Development*, *33*(6), 585-594.

Pereira, R. (2017). The cost of universal basic income: Public savings and programme redundancy exceed cost. In R. Pereira (Ed.), *Financing basic income: Addressing the cost objection* (pp. 9-45). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rankin, K. (1996) *The standard tax credit and the social wage: Existing means to a universal basic income.* Auckland: University of Auckland Department of Economics, 1996.

Richardson, E. (1989). Valuation of household productive activity. In Ministry of Women's Affairs (Ed.), *Synopsis of Valuing Women's Unpaid Work Project, 1989/90* (pp. 21-30). Wellington: Author.

Schulz, P. (2017). Universal basic income in a feminist perspective and gender analysis. *Global Social Policy*, *17*(1), 89-92.

Shields, M. (1989) Opening Speech. In Ministry of Women's Affairs (Ed.), *Synopsis of Valuing Women's Unpaid Work Project, 1989/90* (pp. 7-11). Wellington: Author.

Statistics New Zealand. 2001. *Around the clock: Findings from the New Zealand Time Use Survey 1998-99.* Retrieved from http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/time_use/around-the-clock-from-nz-time-use-survey.aspx.

van Parijs, P. (2004). Basic income: A simple and powerful idea for the twenty-first century. *Politics and Society*, *32*(1), 7-39.

Lean Out: Foucault, Feminism and the Neoliberal Shift

Akanksha Munshi-Kurian

Victoria University

Akanksha Munshi-Kurian is a third year student of law, political science and sociology at Victoria University of Wellington. She has a strong interest in issues relating to gender, social justice and the environment.

Feminism has been revitalised in popular discourse by some high-profile corporate women such as Sheryl Sandberg, whose best-selling, self-described feminist manifesto *Lean In* has made a mark on public consciousness. However, these attempts to reframe feminism – a movement centred on collective liberation – in individualist terms has given rise to a neoliberal model of feminism that is contradictory to the movement's foundational principles.

Neoliberalism has taken shape as a mode of governmentality in the Foucauldian sense of 'the conduct of conduct' (Lemke, 2001, p. 191): while neoliberalism limits and problematises government itself, it unwittingly promotes its own form of governance that encourages conformity to the patterns of the market, normatively constructing both men and women in individualist, entrepreneurial terms (Larner, 2000, p. 17). In Foucauldian terms, the subject now resembles *homo oeconomicus* – the entrepreneur of the self – and acquires "human capital" through various transactions and investments (Foucault, 2008, p. 131). Thus, feminism's structural orientation is reframed as the preserve of the individual.

On the face of it, Sandberg's arguments in *Lean In* reflect those of liberal scholars (e.g, Okin, 1989; Friedan, 1982) seeking to uncover why gender inequality, primarily in relation to well-off white women, has persisted despite the absence of flagrantly unjust laws and institutional exclusion. But, although Sandberg criticises the gendered nature of the private sphere and encourages a move towards better professional female representation, she refuses to take on hegemonic institutions of power and instead implores women to overcome their own internal obstacles. Such a transposition from solutions based on social change to that of individualism works in effect to strip liberal feminism from its state-focussed roots and move it instead towards neoliberal governmentality (see Rottenberg, 2014).

Sandberg's focus on women 'internalising the revolution' (2013, p. 11) for equality means that workplace dilemmas that stem from patriarchal visions of femininity, such as fears of coming across as overly assertive or aggressive, are treated as individual obstacles to be overcome purely by choice, rather than as consequences of structural imbalances in society (Rottenberg, 2014). Sandberg argues that it is only when internal barriers are overcome that women will have the ability to 'lean in' to stimulating career opportunities and the success that arises alongside it (2013, p. 15). Much of this argument resonates with Foucault's conception of neoliberal governmentality, which talks of the atomisation of individuals – working as 'somatic singularities' – in the quest for market power (Foucault, 2008, p. 55). Sandberg appears to do just this by calling for discrete, individualist feminist revolutions into being, fragmenting the idea of revolution as a collective endeavour. Instead of deconstructing patriarchal systems of political order, the focus is on encouraging women, who are now seen as equally situated in the economic market, to act as self-interested *homo oeconomicus* by harnessing market power.

Sandberg's manifesto also calls for the closure of what she terms the 'leadership ambition gap' (2013, p. 187), in which women fail to take on

challenging occupational opportunities and to prioritise their careers. The focal points of traditionally liberal feminist agendas, which call on the state to ensure equal opportunity and female inclusion within the public sphere, are reoriented to centre the discussion of 'true equality' on individual women *choosing* to move themselves up the hierarchical corporate ladder (Sandberg, 2013, p. 160). Yet in a world increasingly defined in economic terms, this notion of choice feeds the growth of neoliberalism by refusing to acknowledge or engage critically with the institutional structures that systemically oppress women, particularly women of colour and poor women (Snyder-Hall, 2010, p. 256).

'Choice' as a means for freedom, then, only works for those already occupying privileged social positions (Budgeon 2015, p. 315). The individuated feminist subject thus carries out the cultural work required for neoliberal governmentality while having no obligation to engage in political issues for women (Budgeon, 2015). *Lean In* reflects a rapidly growing brand of feminism that sees women as entirely self-interested and autonomous, each making decisions established on rational economic calculations. In neoliberalism's newfound pairing with feminism, something that Nancy Fraser has decried as a 'dangerous liaison' (2009, p. 14), the feel-good rationale of 'girl power' and individual empowerment has gained ample traction within the market (McRobbie, 2008, p. 533). But its exclusionary and elitist messages validate white privilege and heteronormativity while ignoring deep-rooted forms of structural inequality (McRobbie, 2008).

Of course, to say that the traditional liberal conceptions of femininity no longer exist would be an overstatement. We continue to live in societies predicated on traditional institutions of marriages and families, and the innate gendered patterns within this set-up are incompatible with neoliberal feminist subjects in the purest sense of the term. Normative, subservient femininity does still continue to provide the necessary support for the liberal political and economic order (Folbre, 2013). However, gender is no longer neatly constructed and women in paid employment are frequently caught between diverging demands of femininity (Oksala, 2011). The marketisation of elements of the domestic sphere has meant that the self-interest of societally privileged women can be acquired by subordinating women in lower socio-economic positions with affluent feminists assigning domestic duties, such as childcare and house cleaning, to poor women in low-paid professions (Folbre, 2013). Neoliberal governmentality therefore leads to a new brand of gender discrimination. The female subject is no longer forced to partake in normative and mundane gender practices by means of disciplinary social sanctions and rewards but is instead increasingly constituted on the basis of economic rationality (Budgeon, 2015).

The disciplinary forces of the liberal era have transmuted to a mode of Foucauldian neoliberal governmentality. Thus, the female subject continues to be restricted and disempowered through an individualistic discourse that turns away from and undermines structural and collective solutions. While *Lean In* annexes mainstream conceptions of feminism, it is time to acknowledge that achieving gender equality actually requires a collective 'leaning out' from capitalist, market-oriented frames of thought.

References

Budgeon, Shelley. (2015). Individualized Femininity and Feminist Politics of Choice. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 22, no. 3: 303-18.

Foucault, Michel. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-79*; Edited by Michel Senellart; Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Folbre, Nancy. (2014) Who Cares? A Feminist Critique of the Care Economy. *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung–New York Office*.

Fraser, Nancy. (2009) Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History (Viewpoint Essay). *New Left Review*, no. 56: 97-117.

Friedan, Betty. (1982). *The Feminine Mystique.* New York: Dell Publishing.

Larner, Wendy. (2000). Neo-liberalismi policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in political economy* 63, no. 1: 5-25.

Lemke, Thomas. (2001). 'The Birth of Bio-politics': Michel Foucault's Lecture at the Collège De France

on Neo-liberal Governmentality. *Economy and Society*, vol. 30, no. 2: 190-207.
McRobbie, Angela. (2008). Young Women and Consumer Culture, *Cultural Studies*, vol. 22, no. 5: 531-550.
Okin, Susan Moller. (1989). *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. New York: Basic books.
Oksala, Johanna. (2013). Feminism and Neoliberal Governmentality. *Foucault Studies*, no. 16: 32-53.
Oksala, Johanna. (2011). The Neoliberal Subject of Feminism. *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 42, no. 1: 104-20.
Rottenberg, Catherine. (2014). The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism, *Cultural Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3: 418-437.
Sandberg, Sheryl. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead*. First edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Snyder, R. Claire. (2008) . What Is Third Wave Feminism? A New Directions Essay. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* vol. 34, no. 1: 175-96.
Snyder-Hall, R. Claire. (2010). Third-Wave Feminism and the Defence of 'Choice'. *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1: 255-61.

'Places Not Spaces': A Poetical Exploration of Woman Experience and Identity in Space

Millie Godfery

Victoria University

Millie Godfery has just completed her Bachelor of Arts in English Literature, Media Studies, and Gender and Sexuality Studies at Victoria University, and next year will be pursuing my honours degree in English Literature. Over the summer she will be working on a research project, editing the works of 17th century poet Hester Pulter for an online publication of her collected works.

Spaces are constructed by humans into places of representation, memory and meaning. How women exist in, and are themselves considered spaces, is crucial to understanding how we inhabit and form relationships in the public and private spheres of this world. The following poems are taken from a collection of work titled *Places Not Spaces*, which I completed earlier this year. Through this work, I explore a dichotomy of space/place, addressing the emotional, lived body experiences of women. I began with the idea of space as embodied through the metaphor of "House", a location, area, and volume which serves a certain purpose – that of inhabitation. My work aims to explore how women are seen in a similar light – as areas to occupy, transfer, and utilise – as opposed to the concept of place, which I juxtapose through the notion of "Home" as a space that is humanised, authentic, and valued. Each poem was created by connecting a certain emotion with experience, a decision which acts to reclaim the emotional as political. By asserting women's bodies as place, I politicise not just their bodies, but their lived existence, both as autonomous units and in relation to the world around them. In this way, it is a personal and political work, as I utilise the poetic form to negotiate my own attempts at reconciling my body as a place of value, while also exploring the power of discourse and the privilege I have yielding it. This is evident in the poem below, *Apathy*, which expresses my sense of floating-ness in contention with the discourse used to box and confine women. By rejecting these signifiers, I attempt to reclaim my body's capacity to have an authentic lived experience outside of conventional ways of feminine being.

Apathy.

So I extract myself
Wo from man
Fe from male.
Down to my very signifier I have no freedom.
So call me a lady, I think But in that assertion
I become a primrose.
I must remember to cross my legs.

What they want
Is a certain style of the skin,
The word Pretty
Hot
Nice
Embodied through flesh.
Bones bent in bows.

But I am undefinable.
I don't exist on paper
And sometimes I feel as transparent As the air.
An unwritten wo man.

Places Not Spaces addresses the tensions between language as a patriarchal tool used to "subordinate and exclude women", and my own use of the poetic form to critically reflect on the ways public and private sphere discourses define women via a place/space dichotomy (Butler, 2006: 36). The position of privilege I hold as a writer, and as a white, cis-woman, is one that has carefully influenced my choice of words and representations of women. As a poet, and as a young feminist, I seek to acknowledge my cultural non-consciousness, constructing my work to speak of, but not to, the diverse experiences of women (Dyer, 1997: 48). *Displacement* reflects this, as I wanted to write about the experiences of refugee women to criticise Aotearoa New Zealand's current refugee quota. It was important to impart that diverse lived experiences of women must be recognised, but should not be a cause for alienation, rather empathy and solidarity.

Displacement.

Home
Home is these walls
Warmed by my makeshift family. Home is the space between my thighs Soft grass sprouting.
Home is where I thought his heart was Where storms raged and ravaged.

Home is the barren landscapes
Where love was found and destroyed Families
chased out Bloodied and beaten.
And when they sought Home elsewhere
They got closed doors
So Home remains back on barren land.

Home is a cup of tea
It is the arms of your Mother And the
palms of your own hands.
But physical and metaphorical
Homes need Homes
And we must learn What Homes
to share.
The space between my thighs
Protected with high walls A door I
choose to open.
But walls cannot be in other places

The long white cloud
Ungated
Arms open for those
From barren lands
Because sometimes We must
share Homes.

Before this project, I was not aware as a writer just how important the choice of words is in terms of the representations constructed. This was a poignant learning curve in my writing, as I came to understand how important language is in the existing place/space dichotomy, and the ability of women to assert themselves as places. In the following poem *Fear*, I wanted to play around with words, creating a parallel between a dream world where difference is naturalised and accepted, and reality, in which we exist in a nightmarish landscape of animosity towards others. I draw on the physicalty of the body, looking at individual subjectivities and how these, while important in regards to agency and autonomy, are also reducible to simple bodily functions, unifying women (and humans) regardless of race, gender, sexuality.

Fear.

I had a dream
I had no skin
And neither did you
We were just flesh and bones
Hearts and lungs
Intestines digesting And wombs
thickening, Shedding.
And we bled
And bled And bled.

Then I woke
From nightmare to nightmare

Where skin exists Brains
distinguish And eyes see
shades.
Shades that are politicized
Destroy homes
And fight wars
And bleed
And bleed
And bleed.

Poetry is an incredibly subjective medium. It is one I find incredibly compelling and forgiving. When one reads poetry, it must be done with the understanding that each poem exists within a meditation of thought, which could expand thirty seconds, or the days, weeks and years it takes to write a certain poem. The value of poetry, and thus the value of my zine, is confounded in the ability this creative form gives to explore different means of representation, an ability that is itself sought by women in regards to the explorations we undertake to negotiate and establish our bodies and existences as places.

The Challenge of Achieving Restorative Justice Objectives in New Zealand's Criminal Justice System

Sarah Pfander

University of Otago
Master of Arts in Politics Candidate

Restorative justice (RJ) is a method of conflict resolution by which parties work together to address the source of contention and *restore* the relationships of those involved. Criminal interventions based on restorative approaches have arisen as an alternative to the punitive focus of conventional justice; RJ reframes the response to crime as an effort to understand the relationship between victims, offenders, and the community, and to identify and repair the harm caused by crime. This article originates from a Master's thesis in which I evaluated, using quantitative and qualitative methods, attempts by states to regulate RJ practice in the justice sector. I examined the implementation efforts in three jurisdictions—New Zealand, New South Wales, and Vermont— where RJ programs were enacted by legislation that mandated the program's design and use.

Here, I focus on the development of legislatively supported RJ mechanisms in New Zealand and how restorative those mechanisms are. There are two New Zealand mechanisms that rely on statutory mandates. First, Family Group Conferences (FGC) for young offenders were established by the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 and feature a meeting between the offender, members of the offender's family group, justice sector professionals, and a Youth Justice Coordinator who facilitates the interaction. Second, pre-sentencing conferences for adult offenders are mandated by the Sentencing Act 2002 and overseen by the Ministry of Justice. These conferences are mediated by trained facilitators and both the victim and the offender must be willing to participate. The

Oranga Tamariki Act is a notable flagship given the early year of the Act's passage, but both RJ programs have garnered global attention.

Despite the ostensible success of RJ in New Zealand, these mechanisms are subject to tension between justice sector objectives and restorative objectives (Hudson 2007). On the justice sector side, jurisdictions want mechanisms that produce consistent outcomes, and are applicable to all criminal cases. Meanwhile, the objectives underpinning RJ are: repairing harm, involving stakeholders, and transforming the community's role in the justice process (Bazemore and Schiff 2005). While these goals are not inherently at odds, they necessitate compromise in the design and practice of RJ as jurisdictions decide how to prioritize certain objectives. I find that the institutionalization of RJ in New Zealand upholds some restorative objectives but undermines others to maintain the regulatory interests of the justice sector.

I provide context for New Zealand's programmatic decisions by comparing the country's mechanisms to the Vermont model. Vermont uses Community Justice Centres (CJC), codified by Act 115, to develop RJ practices throughout the state. One common mechanism is an RJ panel wherein an offender appears before a board of community volunteers to discuss the offence and appropriate resolutions.

In one example of compromise, New Zealand chooses to prioritize consistent outcomes over aspects of effective restoration. Consistency is perceived as necessary to uphold rights protections for offenders. These rights dictate that comparable offences face equal consequences and that offenders have similar adjudication options. However, transforming communities and repairing harms are two restorative objectives that conflict with typical methods for enforcing consistency.

For example, FGCs and pre-sentence conferences use thoroughly managed processes, professional facilitators, and centralized training modules to decrease practice variation. Pre-sentence conferences also support consistency by allowing conventional justice institutions to retain control. Referrals come from district courts and cases are subject to judicial sentencing. In contrast, Vermont relinquishes substantial control to CJCs. Centres are granted autonomy in the management of cases. RJ panels rely on volunteers rather than justice professionals. Implementers are encouraged to pursue innovative, localized RJ initiatives. Accordingly, Vermont allows RJ to move out of the formal context of conventional criminal justice and into a space where community members shape the mechanism. Vermont's transformation of community roles highlights the tension between this restorative objective and the justice sector's regulatory interests. Implementer discretion and non-professional practitioners bolster restoration at the expense of consistency.

New Zealand's decision to routinize and professionalize RJ also has ramifications for whether the mechanisms can repair the harms of distinct criminal cases. Young offenders and their families reported feeling uninvolved in the FGC decision-making process and said they "went along" with the suggestions of facilitators (Maxwell and Morris 1993). This triggers concerns that RJ will undergo an instrumentalization of its components—apologies, community service, and victim compensation imposed habitually by professionals—rather than remain an "open, relational, and reflective discussion" that addresses relevant harms (Hudson 2007:63).

Yet, Vermont does not necessarily repair harms more successfully. CJCs empower innovation (not procedural routine) and rely on community volunteers (not professionals) but cannot guarantee that RJ interventions feature open dialogue. Reviews of RJ panels revealed several decisions that were more retributive than restorative (Karp 2001). Effectively repairing harms is not a matter of deprioritizing consistency.

Another compromise is whether to prioritize stakeholder involvement at the expense of a mechanism's applicability. The more people participating in a justice intervention, the more likely that inappropriate mindsets will render the intervention unsuitable. For example, pre-sentence conferencing remains a limited component of the New Zealand justice system, in part because the mechanism requires victim involvement. Unfortunately, the number of cases that are appropriate for victim participation may have a natural plateau. The mechanism cannot grow into a primary justice response without cultural changes in how victims view the justice process. New Zealand

makes a different decision regarding FGCs, allowing the mechanism to proceed without victim input and creating a justice intervention that can be maximally employed. Vermont makes a similar calculation, deprioritizing stakeholder involvement so that RJ panels are widely used.

Evidently, negotiations remain ongoing. Questions exist about balancing the desire for consistency with restorative objectives, such as community engagement, which may require decentralized (and therefore less consistent) program operation. Jurisdictions must find new ways to guarantee a dialogue that genuinely repairs harms. And RJ mechanisms face the challenge of involving stakeholders while becoming vital components of the justice system. In truth, jurisdictions may be hard-pressed to incorporate RJ processes into the justice system in ways that fully reproduce restorative objectives given the competing needs of the justice sector.

References

Bazemore, Gordon, and Mara Schiff. (2005). *Juvenile Justice Reform and Restorative Justice: Building Theory and Policy from Practice*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing

Hudson, Barbara. (2007). "The Institutionalisation of Restorative Justice: Justice and the Ethics of Discourse." *Acta Juridica* 1: 56–72

Karp, David R. (2001). "Harm and Repair: Observing Restorative Justice in Vermont." *Justice Quarterly* 18(4): 727–57.

Maxwell, Gabrielle, and Allison Morris. (1993). *Family, Victims and Culture: Youth Justice in New Zeland*. Wellington, New Zealand: Institute of Criminology at Victoria University of Wellington.

Research briefs

Indigenous Papuan Women Traders: Negotiating Space and Place at Wamanggu Market in Merauke Regency, West Papua

Veronika Triariyani Kanem

University of Waikato

Veronika's research interest includes economic development initiatives implemented in the Merauke Regency of West Papua impact on traditional foods, such as sago, and cultural items/tools like the Noken. She recently completed a Masters of Social Science in Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Waikato on indigenous market women.

Introduction

Mama-Mama is a term used to refer to married Papuan women (Wanggai, 2007). The word 'Mama' is an Indonesian word which means 'Mother'. Mama-Mama play a pivotal role in the market and family. They connect rural producers and urban consumers, and make a living from selling and buying local products to fulfil their family necessities (Wanggai, 2007). In the Merauke regency of West Papua the indigenous women traders are mostly dominated by the Muyu, Mandobo, and Wamena tribes and can speak to the massive changes have occurred at the market place within the last four decades. The number of Indonesian traders increased significantly from the 1960s to 2000s. Understanding the impact of Indonesian merchants' presence at the market is important given its vital role for the Papuan community (Kanem and Norris, 2018).

This article reports three key findings from interviews of eight Papuan women conducted at one of the largest market locations in the Merauke regency in May-June 2017. These findings are part of larger case study evaluation of Indigenous market women in Merauke, West Papua, which received ethical approval from Human Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, The University of Waikato.

The New Design of Wamanggu market: Limited Space for Mama-Mama

In 2014, the Wamanggu market was inaugurated by the local government of Merauke as the new market place. One major concern raised by Mama-Mama was that the market building was built permanently in a semi-mall design. Stalls provided for Mama-Mama (Indigenous women) were only 515, while Indonesia traders were allocated 636 stalls (Katayu, 2014).

Second, the stall format was not conducive to Mama-Mama's traditional ways of selling and conducting business. As a result, some Mama-Mama move to the main corridor to display their produce. Most of the Mama-Mama who obtained concrete stalls found them restricting where in the types of produce they sell often requires a spacious area that differs from Indonesian traders.

The need for space between Mama-Mama and the Indonesian traders at the market differs because Mama-Mama tend to display all their local produce in-order to be seen by prospective buyers. The local produce need to be beautifully arranged to attract buyers, and priced according to the amount of goods. Fruits and vegetables are sold by the heap and one heap consists of a certain number of fruits/vegetables/fresh ingredients. On the contrary, Indonesian products require different special requirements. For example, kitchen tools, clothes, and women accessories, which are mostly sold by Indonesian merchants, require different space than

vegetables, dried ingredients, rice, dried meat/fish and other kitchen supplies.

Domination of *Becak* and *Kios Sayur*

The presence of *Becak* and *Kios Sayur* in Merauke regency has caused concern for MamaMama. *Becak,* or motor cab, is increasingly used by Indonesian farmers or traders to distribute their products to consumers. One *becak* usually carries various kitchen needs including fruits and vegetables, ingredients, fish and meat, home-made foods, etc. The *becak* operates by selling products from house to house around suburban areas. In addition to the spread of *becak, kios sayur* or small vegetable shops have emerge rapidly in the past five years in the Merauke regency. K*ios* normally sold toiletries, cigarettes, snacks, and children's toys. Now, Kios have expanded to selling a variety of vegetables, fruits, dairy products, and fresh ingredients, items typically sold my Mama-Mama. The presence of the *becak* and the *kios sayur* has also negatively affected the daily income of Mama-Mama because people no longer want to go to the market to do grocery shopping. B*ecak* is more convenient for those who are busy working or who live far away from town. Conversely, *Kios sayur* operates near residential areas in very strategic and accessible locations. Although the price of goods sold in *becak* and *kios sayur* is higher than the normal prices at the market, they offer convince and reduces transportation cost.

Emergence of Savings and Loans Cooperatives at the Local Market

Tensions felt by Mama-Mama due to the increasing presence of *becak* and *kios sayur*, are further exacerbated by *savings and loans cooperatives* which emerged to provide small loans to Mama-Mama. Compared to the local bank (Bank Papua), which adhere to simple requirements but is timely, these private cooperatives approach Mama-Mama directly at the market and provide speedy services within a few hours. Although the savings and loans cooperatives provide a convenient service to Mama-Mama, they take a considerable amount interest from Mama-Mama. This service, as a result, has created a cycle of debt and a high level of dependency, thus trapping Mama-Mama into a system wherein the hardly save to support their children's education.

Conclusion

Over the past four decades, interviews with Mama-Mama identified major changes at the market place in Merauke regency. An increasing Indonesian population through the transmigration programme that began in the 1970s now exceeds the number of the native people. The influence of Indonesian ways of knowing and business have significantly impacted Indigenous methods in ways that do not enhance their quality of life and have created a cycle of dependency. The market once served multiple functions for Indigenous people and now has transformed to a place to compete and make profits. This shift in the market's function, due to over representation of Indonesian traders, has dominated the native people' space and seized their trading opportunities.

References

Kanem, V. & Norris, A. (2018). An Examination of the noken and Indigenous cultural identity: Voices of Papuan women. *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, *3*(1), 1-11.

Katayu, D. (2015). *Potret mama-mama pasar Papua masa kini: Suatu kajian mama-mama pasar Mopah & Wamanggu* (power point slides, presented at Kantor DPRD Kabupaten Merauke, Merauke, Papua).

Surwayan, I. N. (2011). Komin tipu komin: Elit lokal dalam dinamika otonomi khusus dan pemekaran daerah di Papua. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, 15*(2), *140-153.*

Surwayan, I. N. (2016). Tak cukup bagi kami meratap, kami harus berjuang: Kemandirian mama-mama dalam dinamika pemekaran di Tanah Papua. *Indonesian Journal of Anthropology, 1*(1), *150-162.*

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.

Seligmann, L. (1993). Between worlds of exchange: Ethnicity among Peruvian market women. *Cultural Anthropology, 8*(2), *187-213.*

Seligmann, L. (2001). *Women traders in cross-cultural perspective: Mediating identities, marketing wares*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Seligmann, L. (2004). *Peruvian street lives: Culture, power, and economy among market women of Cuzco* (Interpretations of culture in the new millennium). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Seligmann, L. (2009). Maternal politics and religious fervor: Exchanges between an Andean market woman and an ethnographer. *Ethos*, *37*(3), 334-361.
Wanggai, S. D. (2007). The role of the traditional 'Gelael Market' in the lives of some Papuan vendor women in Jayapura, Papua, Indonesia. (Master Thesis, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand).

National Identity Contestation and Religious-Secular Competition in Middle Eastern Foreign Policy Arena

Estelle Denton-Townshend

University of Waikato

Estelle Townshend-Denton is a doctoral student at University of Waikato. She is in the final year of her research on the instrumental use of religion within foreign policies in the Middle East.

My doctorate aims to research religion's impact on foreign policy. The fundamental focus is to explore how states instrumentalise religion to contest regional-religious identities and project sectarian influence through interventions in ongoing civil wars. Post Secular theory's successful refuting of the central premise of Secularisation theory, which stated that all societies will become secular as they modernise, has opened the door to an emerging focus on religion within international relations analysis. My research aims to contribute to this new body of research.

My research analyses the use of religion within the foreign policies of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the UAE and Iran as they relate to the Syrian and Yemeni civil wars. The theoretical framework draws upon recent theories created by Jonathan Fox and Lisel Hintz. Fox argues that secularization theory's prediction that religion is in decline has been effectively challenged, and that modernity, rather than eroding religion, 'has caused the rise of secularism as an ideology that competes with religion' (Fox, 2015). This has resulted in competition between secular and religious actors becoming a major feature of domestic politics (Fox, 2015). Within the Middle East, there has been a revival of debate regarding religious identities following outbreak of the 'Arab Spring' in 2011. A significant focus of this debate has been on the extent to which religion should influence governance and politics, and over the 'correct' interpretation of Islam. Fox dubs this view and his related framework, the Secular-Religious Competitive Perspective theory, which focuses on *domestic* competition. My research expands on Fox's theory by applying it to interstate politics in order to analyse religious contestation at the regional level – specifically the Middle East.

Hintz's framework strengthens this analysis, addressing identity contestation in foreign policy. Hintz describes her theory as filling a gap 'in existing scholarship by closing the identity-foreign policy circle, analytically linking the spill over of national identity debates into foreign policy' (Hintz, 2016, p. 335). My research findings demonstrate that there is significant evidence of both religious identity construction and religious-secular competition within Middle Eastern states' foreign policies.

Fox's Secular-Religious Competitive Perspective theory requires adjustment in order to apply it to the Middle East as the degree of secular-religious competition there is much greater relative to the European context where Fox drafted his theory. In the Middle East, rather than states domestic governance ranging from secular to religious, as it does in Europe, the scale typically progresses from moderate religion to fundamentalist religion or from a limited application of secularisation to conservative Islamism.

Middle Eastern secularists are not advocating for Islam to decline as a faith or as an identity. For instance, in 2017 the UAE's ambassador, Yousef al Otaiba, outlined the UAE and Saudi Arabia's plans for the Middle East, envisioning a 'more secular, stable, prosperous, empowered, strong government'. He contrasted this with Qatar, stating 'we have seen Qatar […] support groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Taliban, Islamist militias in Syria, Islamist militias in Libya – exactly the opposite direction we think our region needs to go" (Langton & Dajani, 2017)'. Middle Eastern analyst David Roberts explains further, 'Emirati decision-makers hold a deep belief in the importance of separating the church and state in the Arab world' (Langton & Dajani, 2017). Despite this, and to fully understand how even these pro-secular elites view the appropriate balance between secular governance versus Islamic ideas, it is important to note that he used the term secular to refer to a type of governance, not the common and often politicised Middle Eastern understanding of secularisation which is frequently translated to mean the outright abandonment of religion. Islam is a prominent and inescapable feature of politics and society in the Middle East. For example, the UAE constitution states that 'The Islamic Sharia shall be a main source of legislation' (Langton & Dajani, 2017). Al Otaiba was thus not calling this into question, and, therefore, to ensure the Competitive Perspective can be effectively modified for use in the Middle Eastern context, my use of secularism in my research refers to the separation of politics from the religious institutions, not the weakening of religion along other levels.

Developments such as the growth of radical groups such as Islamic State of the Levant and Iraq (ISIL) and the election of Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt following the Arab protests in 2011 emphasised the role religion plays in inspiring challenges to the existing regimes. In response Iran doubled down on its theocratic governance and regional Shia alliances, whereas Qatar sought to encourage or accommodate regional Islamist forces whilst neutralising them domestically. In contrast Saudi Arabia and the UAE seek to selectively modernise their societies, and reduce the appeal of powerful transnational movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood through restructuring the relationship between mosque and state, and recrafting the Islamic religious identity away from any idealisation of fundamentalist Islam. Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, declared in 2017 that 'We are simply reverting to what we followed – a moderate Islam open to the world and all religions' (Chulov, 2017). This is a significant departure from Saudi Arabia's usual promotion of Wahhabi conservativism, and is mirrored in the clash between the Salafi conservatives and the moderate Sufi traditionalists (Bervoets, 2016).

Lisel Hintz (2016, p. 335) outlines how foreign policy serves as an 'alternative arena in which elites can politicize identity debates', and she 'argues that elites choose to take their identity contests to the foreign policy arena when identity gambits at the domestic level are blocked'. In keeping with Hintz's observations, the UAE and Saudi Arabia have increasingly driven their Islamic identity initiative through their foreign policies in Yemen and Syria, where they oppose both the influence of the conservative Iranian theocracy, and increasingly support groups that are neither radical, nor advocate for Islamism. If the Gulf regimes are to combat the renewed momentum of the Islamist movement that emerged out of the Arab protests, they need to offer a new vision for the Middle East. This new vision needs to be able to compete with the 'development plan of Islamists, based on a religious vision and on a 'shadow and parallel welfare system' (Vannetzel, 2017, p. 220). Given the prominence of Islam, any new Gulf strategy aimed at neutralising the forces that drove the protests will need an Islamic identity, one which both negates political Islam and avoids association with Western style secularisation. A moderate and pluralist Islam will be less amenable to instrumentalisation by Islamists and terrorists against the existing regimes, whilst at the same time potentially weakening the legitimacy of the conservative Iranian theocracy. It appears evident at these closing stages of my research that Fox and Hintz's frameworks have helped to reveal the role of religion in foreign policy in the Middle East, and as such have bought religion further into IR analysis,

reflecting the impact it has on decision making and political elites.

References

Bervoets, J. (2016, September 21). *Sufi-Salafi Institutional Competition and Conflict in the Chechen Republic.* Retrieved from Geohistory: http://geohistory.today/islamicconflict-chechnya/

Chulov, M. (2017, October 24). *I will return Saudi Arabia to Moderate Islam says Crown Prince.* Retrieved from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/24/i-will-return-saudi-arabia-moderateislam-crown-prince

Fox, J. (2015, October 9). *The Secular-Religious Competitive Perspective.* Retrieved from eInternational Relations: https://www.e-ir.info/2015/10/09/the-secular-religiouscompetition-perspective/

Hintz, L. (2016, Vol. 22(2)). 'Take it outside!' National identity contestation in the foreign policy arena. *European Journal of International Relations*, 335--361.

Langton, J., & Dajani, H. (2017, August 8). *UAE ambassador explains what secularism means for Middle East governance: Yousef Al Otaiba contrasts Qatar's political Islamist ideology with the future of the rest of the region.* Retrieved from The National : https://www.thenational.ae/uae/uae-ambassador-explains-what-secularismmeans-for-middle-east-governance-1.618023

Vannetzel, M. (2017). The Muslim Brotherhood's 'Virtuous society' and State Developmentalism in Egypt: the Politics of Goodness. *International Development Policy*, 220-245.

Democratic rights and self-determination in the Marianas Archipelago

Sylvia Frain

Pacific Media Centre, Auckland University of Technology & Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam

Dr Sylvia C Frain earned her PhD with the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in 2017. She founded and manages the research-oriented Facebook page, Oceania Resistance to share her research in the Marianas Archipelago and highlight current issues impacting the Pacific region.

As a United States citizen, I am concerned regarding the continuing United States (US) colonisation and expanding militarism across the Pacific. My research focuses on the Marianas Archipelago, a string of 15 islands in the North Pacific which continue to be political possessions belonging to the US. The northern fourteen islands are the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), with the largest and most southern island, Guam (Guåhan), remaining as an unincorporated territory of the US. Two recent rulings determined in the US federal courts on the islands of Saipan in the CNMI, and Guam, demonstrate the lack of sovereignty the community has over their islands and seas; as well as the ongoing violation of democratic rights and the denial self-determination for US citizens. Two US federal judges recently ruled in favour of two US federal agencies; the Department of Defense (DoD) and the US Department of Justice. In August 2018, Ramona V. Manglona, the chief judge of the District Court of the Northern Mariana Islands, ruled in favour of the US Navy and the DoD stating the military use of the islands as high impact livefire bombing ranges is a political bilateral agreement between the United States and Japan signed in 2006 as part of the Asia-Pacific Pivot US foreign policy. Yet, the agreement has not been ratified by the US Congress. According to attorney David Henkin, "[T]his is a political issue. The attorneys appear to weigh executive decisions over the democratic rights of the people of the Marianas" (Perez, 2018).

In a separate case in late 2017, the District Court of Guam Chief Judge Frances Tydingco-Gatewood upheld a ruling that found Guam's self-

determination plebiscite law was 'race-based' and thus 'unconstitutional' (Weiss, 2017). The (unplanned) plebiscite law is intended to grant self-determination to the Indigenous Chamorros and their decedents. I am most interested in how local / federal Indigenous Chamorro women judges continue to side with the US federal government, despite the community's legal resistance to further militarisation and the illegal nature of Guam remaining as an unincorporated territory of the US. These contemporary rulings further complicate my previous work which examined how Chamorro women resist militarisation and colonisation in the Marianas (Frain, 2017, 2018).

References

Frain, Sylvia C. (2017). Women's Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago: A US Colonial Homefront & Militarized Frontline. *Feminist Formations, 29*(1), 97-135.

Frain, Sylvia C. (2018). Fanohge Famalåo'an and Fan'tachu Fama'lauan. Women Rising: Indigenous Resistance to Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. Retrieved from https://www.guampedia.com/fanohge-famalaoan-and-fantachu-famalauan/

Perez, Sophia. (2018, 24 August). Despite lawsuit outcome, governor remains opposed to CJMT. *Marianas Variety*. Retrieved from http://www.mvariety.com/cnmi/cnminews/local/106967-environmental-advocates-meet-with-governor

Weiss, Jasmine Stole. (2017, 29 November). Justice Department supports Dave Davis in plebiscite appeal. *Pacific Daily News*.

The Rental Market, Social Policing and Wahine Resistance

Cassandra Lewis Adele Norris & Juan Tauri

University of Waikato

Cassandra Lewis (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa) is undergraduate student, tutor and research assistant in Sociology and Psychology program at the Waikato University.

In the past two decades the social policing of the poor has received increased attention, especially in relation to precariat work. It is well established that negative stigmas are used to dehumanize and to limit, restrict and deny assistance to the poor, especially poor single mothers. While Indigenous scholars have examined racial social control especially with regard to gangs, how the stigma of gang affiliation influences access to quality housing has been scantly examined. In Wairoa, where Maori represent 61 per cent of the total population, perceptions of gang affiliation runs deep in the social conscious of residents. This project's stance, which serves as a pivotal aspect of the hypothesis, is that being brown in Wairoa carries the social stigma of gang affiliation, regardless of one's affiliation or not, which plays out in the power dynamics between the landlords and potential tenets. As housing is a key issue on the government agenda, the process by which property speculators, landlords, rental agents screen potential tenants based on preconceive characteristics is of critical importance and is under researched. Using Wairoa as a case study, this study seeks to understand how the poor, more specifically wahine access affordable quality housing. A Kaupapa Maori approach is employed to examine how wahine resist social policing by landlords and rental agents. It is the goal of the study to extend the discussion of the strategies wahine use to cope and gain quality housing. In doing so, it gives voice to wahine who negotiate negatives narratives/messages and provides a counter-narrative that challenges the system that perpetuates poverty.

On welfare and Metiria Turei

Claire Gray

University of Canterbury / Lincoln University

Claire Gray recently completed her PhD at the University of Canterbury in Sociology. Since graduating she has been teaching into the Sociology programmes at Lincoln and Canterbury Universities.

In October 2017 I successfully defended my PhD in Sociology titled *A crying shame, affect emotion and welfare receipt in New Zealand*. In my thesis I analysed focus groups interviews with 64 New Zealand lone mothers receiving welfare, considering how participants made sense of their interactions with the national welfare provider *Work and Income New Zealand.*

My research since completing my PhD has continued to focus on emotion and welfare. Recently I undertook an analysis of media articles from four major New Zealand newspapers: Otago Daily Times, Christchurch Press, Dominion and New Zealand Herald relating to the political demise of Green Party Co-leader Metiria Turei. I considered how the emotionally charged language used by the media to describe Turei in the three-week period prior to her resignation from politics, constituted her as deceitful, lazy and unfit to hold political office. My interest was in the negative emotion implicit within such rhetoric that, I argued, works to weaken sympathy for women dependent upon the state for support. Based on my analysis, I argued that a reliance upon this language by the New Zealand media works to constitute welfare mothers in a specific and limiting way, and ultimately led to the end of Metiria Turei's political career.

He Pōkēkē Uenuku I Tū Ai: A Quantitative Exploration of Māori Identity, Political Attitudes, and Behaviour

Lara Greaves

Auckland University of Technology

I recently completed my PhD, *He Pōkēkē Uenuku I Tū Ai*: A Quantitative Exploration of Māori Identity, Political Attitudes, and Behaviour. My PhD helped to continue the development of a scale called the Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement. I used this scale, focusing on a dimension which indexed the political aspects of Māori identity, and a range of demographics, to predict Māori roll enrolment, voting, political party support, voter turnout, and support for protest. I found that for some political attitudes and behaviours the political components of identity mattered (e.g., roll type, support for protest), but for others demographics were more important (e.g., voter turnout). I am now continuing this line of work as a lecturer in the School of Social Sciences and Public Policy at AUT and a research fellow at COMPASS at the University of Auckland.

Book and exhibition reviews

Stardust and Substance, ed. Stephen Levine (2018) Wellington, Victoria University Press

Reviewed by ***Margaret Hayward***

This book is essential reading for everyone interested in politics. Why? Because it provides insights from party leaders, pollsters, academics, participants and media commentators while 'everything is still fresh and vivid'. The general election of 2017 had many firsts for, as long-time commentator Colin James titled his chapter, it was 'The first post-baby-boomer election'. And as John Key noted 'you really can't find an example around the world where someone has become the leader, and prime minister about seven weeks later.'

Further, there has never been a general election in New Zealand where two parties had to 'pull' their election hoardings and tv advertisements and replace them during the campaign because of leadership changes. The Labour Party campaign hoardings featuring leader Andrew Little and deputy leader Jacinda Ardern as 'A Fresh Approach' changed to a smiling Ardern with the slogan 'Let's do this'. The Greens campaign hoardings and advertising featuring the co-leaders Metiria Turei and James Shaw as 'Great Together' became 'a recycling' of their 2014 slogan 'Love New Zealand'.

This comprehensive account, all 560 pages, resulted from a one-day conference in the Legislative Council Chamber organised by the Politics Department of Victoria University of Wellington. Initiated by Professor Margaret Clark in 1987 these conferences following each general election have resulted in books providing insights from practitioners as well as comprehensive analysis from academics and, since the introduction of MMP, descriptions of coalition negotiations. The series have been continued by Professor Stephen Levine assisted by Professor Nigel Roberts and in 2014 by Jon Johansson with *Moments of Truth*, a record of the second Key government. A DVD of major speeches, the debates and highlights of the campaign is included to provide visual impact. Unusually, *Stardust and Substance* also features campaign cartoons: irreverent and punchy they are a graphic reminder of the promises, scandals, transgressions and embarrassments that beset candidates – and a tribute to the remarkable quality of New Zealand cartoonists.

That *Stardust and Substance* was published during the 125th anniversary of women suffrage in New Zealand is particularly apt because it records firstly, the events that led to the election of Jacinda Ardern as the third woman prime minister in New Zealand and secondly, that more women were elected to parliament in 2017 than ever before: 38 percent of parliamentary seats - 46 in the 120-seat parliament. Further, 75 percent of Green Party MPs are women while the NZ Labour Party needs only two more women MPs to reach its goal of fifty percent men and fifty percent women.

Moreover, several women MPs had a critical effect on the election result. First, of course, was

Ardern who agreed, when Andrew Little told her he was standing down, to become leader of the Labour Party and with 'stardust and substance' raised the popularity of the party from polling around 20 percent to 37 percent on election day. Then, when Metiria Turei's attempt to empathise with those who were struggling financially backfired and the Green Party was polling at 4 percent it seemed (as happened with the Maori Party and United First) that they would no longer be in parliament. The grassroots rallied, the Green Party resurged but on election night the number of their MPs had halved from 14 to 7.

Importantly for students and researchers the final section details the Coalition Agreement between the NZ Labour Party and the NZ First Party, the Confidence and Supply Agreement between the NZ Labour Party and the Green Party Aotearoa New Zealand, and also lists Government Ministers and MPs in the 52nd Parliament.

Stardust and Substance is an important record, providing insights which would otherwise be lost. It also reflects the erudition and dedication of its editor, Stephen Levine.

'Are we there yet?' Exhibition, Auckland War Memorial Museum

*Reviewed by **Kathryn Cammell**, Auckland University*

The latest exhibition to feature in the Auckland War Memorial Museum's special exhibition hall is 'Are We There Yet?', an exposition prepared in commemoration of the 125 year anniversary of women achieving the right to vote in New Zealand. It is part of a series of commemorative events taking place in Auckland to celebrate the anniversary of suffrage, including art exhibitions at Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero (Central City Library) and Ngā Tohu o Uenuku (Māngere Arts Centre), question and answer style panel discussions, multimedia projects, and an orchestral concert at the Auckland Town Hall.

Critically, the exhibit is not a self-congratulatory celebration of women's suffrage in New Zealand. Rather, the curators at Auckland Museum used the anniversary celebrations as a platform to discuss the evolving nature of women's activism and the current issues facing women in New Zealand. From online trolling to body image issues, the gender pay gap, gendered violence, and reproductive rights, the audience is invited to reflect on the status of women today and the significant challenges that are yet to be addressed.

The exhibit is an interactive space, where the audience is encouraged to express their beliefs about what causes are worth protesting in the twenty-first century. In so doing, the exhibit becomes a space where people can directly engage in dialogue with both the museum and each other, thus bringing the audience into the story of women's activism in New Zealand. One of the most interesting ways that this is done is by asking participants to tie a ribbon to one of five spokes wheels mounted on a wall according to the political cause that they feel is most important to them. Participants select the colour of their ribbon depending on the gender pronoun that they prefer, resulting in a visual representation of how different genders prioritise political causes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, at the time of my visit, the majority of self-identifying women voted for closing the gender pay gap as the most important issue for them,

above decreasing taxes, affordable housing, reducing water pollution, and climate action.

One of the defining features of the exhibit is the way that it recognises the diversity of women's lived experiences in New Zealand. As you walk through the area 'In Their Own Words', you are surrounded by a manifold of stories about inspiring women in New Zealand. It shares quotes from sex workers, entrepreneurs, politicians, businesswomen, authors, and more, and it represents the experiences of women who are typically marginalised from our histories, including women of colour, Indigenous women and LGBTI+ women. The exhibit also moves beyond the conventional focus on the work of Kate Sheppard to address other important women in New Zealand's history, including Elizabeth Yates, the first female mayor; Polly Plum, an influential feminist writer; and Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia, the first woman to speak in any New Zealand parliament. In so doing, the exhibit diversifies women's activism in New Zealand and invites women in the audience to see themselves reflected in New Zealand's history.

As with any exhibition on human history, the challenge for the curators was to find an engaging and interesting way to present the history while also reflecting the diverse experiences of people in the past. The Auckland Museum curators embraced this challenge with honesty and transparency. The beginning of the exhibition opens with a gallery of portraits of women from the 1890s, interspersed with empty frames. These empty frames are intended to represent the gaps in Auckland Museum's collection due to the 'colonial and male-dominated legacy inherited by Auckland Museum' (information placard, 'Are We There Yet', Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2018). Moreover, the empty frames are designed to acknowledge the reality that stories told with only half of the evidence tend to become the whole story in the popular imagination. However, in observing people attending the exhibition, it becomes apparent that small information placards such as this go unnoticed by many people, despite containing critical information that could potentially change the way that the exhibit is viewed and understood.

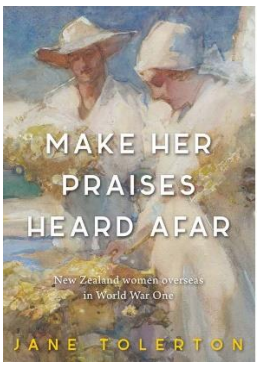
In a conversation with Nina Finigan, a curator of manuscripts at Auckland Museum, one point that was emphasised was the curator's awareness of the inherently political nature of the museum. The Auckland Museum, like any other museum around the world, is not an objective space. Curatorial decisions that are made about what materials to include and exclude are inherently political; they reflect particular priorities and worldviews. The curators, therefore, decided to remove themselves from the exhibit's conversation as much as possible and instead used the space as a forum for dialogue amongst the audience. In a section titled 'Confessions of a Bad Feminist', notebooks are attached to the wall for the audience to anonymously divulge instances where they have behaved in a way that is contradictory to feminist principles. Conversations begin amongst women in the pages of these notebooks, with fellow participants offering comfort and advice. In one notebook a woman wrote, 'I like it when my partner wants to take me out and offers to pay for dinner'. In response, another person wrote that 'it's important to be shown affection and respect - he sounds like a gentleman and good company'. These contributions add a sense of passion and emotion to the exhibit that was impossible for the museum to provide. Moreover, Finigan stated that these notebooks are to be collected and stored by the museum after the exhibition is closed. In this way, women who engage with the kōrero facilitated by the exhibit have become a part of not just the history of feminism in New Zealand, but also the history of Auckland Museum itself.

The process of curating and presenting history is inherently political. Auckland Museum decided to draw connections between the past and the present, thus contextualising women's suffrage within a longer story of feminist activism and civic engagement. In so doing, the museum brings the implications of the suffrage commemorations into the present and challenges any sense of complacency regarding gender equality in New Zealand. It encourages people of all ages and genders to consider: are we there yet?

Special thanks to Nina Finigan from the Auckland War Memorial Museum for volunteering her time for an interview regarding this exhibit.

Make her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand Women overseas in World War One, by Jane Tolerton (2017)

Wellington, New Zealand: Booklovers Books



Reviewed by ***Rae Nicholl***

Make Her Praises Heard Afar by Wellington-based independent historian Jane Tolerton is a richly illustrated exploration of an overlooked group of women who volunteered for service in World War One. This cohort has not been recorded elsewhere in the official histories of New Zealand's participation in the Great War because, the author says, they were almost all written by men and about men. The literature on women by women is miniscule. The overseas experiences of army nurses were recorded in their own magazine, *Kai Tiaki*, and women who remained in New Zealand – mothers, wives, sisters, aunts - received some newspaper coverage for their war effort, such as fund-raising, knitting socks and baking biscuits for the troops.

The ones celebrated here were women who felt sufficiently passionate about making a personal contribution towards the war effort to travel across the world and find meaningful work. They were doctors, nurses, ambulance drivers and hospital administrators; they ran convalescent homes for wounded troops; they organised entertainment, they baked bread, and worked in munitions factories. With no official positions available to them, they frequently paid their own passage both ways and had to rely on friends and relatives for financial support. They ended up working in all conflict areas in Europe, Egypt and Turkey.

The author has acquired an impressive amount of material with extracts from letters the women wrote home forming an important part of the narrative: stories of excitement and derring-do, pathos and tragedy, as well as humour, that paint a vivid picture of everyday life under duress.

The book is structured into ten chapters that are divided into time segments, and then sub-divided by geographical place name, which means that women can appear at different times in different places. Should a reader attempt to follow an individual woman, as I did, the Personal Names Index is invaluable. For instance, by chance I came across a Susan Nicholl in the Index and was keen to find out more about her. Susan Nicholl has three entries - an extract from a letter written from Ismailia in Egypt in 1917 on page 270, an undated photograph on page 350, and another extract written after the war in 1919 from Egypt on page 351.

The title, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar*, is a cleverly chosen phrase from our national anthem and Jane Tolerton has ensured the praises for the women recorded here will be 'heard afar'. This book is more than a history, though. Through the letters, in particular, readers will gain an insight into societal changes in New Zealand that resulted from the Great War. Interestingly, a number of the women had no desire to return home after the war, including Susan Nicholl, who spent the rest of her life in Egypt.

Brit(ish): On race, identity and belonging, by Afua Hirsch (2018)

Jonathan Cape, London, UK

Reviewed by ***Gauri Nandedkar,*** *Waikato University*

After reading both positive and negative reviews of Afua Hirsch's 2018 publication *Brit(ish)*, I began reading her book with curiosity. It seems that those who negatively critiqued her book wrote in a style that revealed judgment, a sense of betrayal and an absence of gratitude on the part of Hirsch for all that Britain had provided her. Most of these negative critiques were written by white British reviewers. In contrast, positive reviewers, of all backgrounds, wrote from a place of acknowledgement and a genuine quest for understanding what it means to be black and British in 21st century Britain.

Afua Hirsch has worked as a journalist for major British media outlets, and *Brit(ish)* is her first work of non-fiction in book form. The book is divided into 8 chapters, excluding an introductory chapter entitled, 'Identity Lessons'. While the book follows the story of Hirsch's life from a schoolchild through to her adult life as a student, barrister, and journalist, the chapters are organised into and reflect over-arching themes rather than story-telling in chronological order. Chapter titles such as Bodies (3), Places (5), and The New Black (7) help readers navigate through Hirsch's thought process and how she contemplates her place in British society. I am not revealing too much when I write that Hirsch is of mixed heritage. Her mother is from Ghana, raised in Britain. Her father, born in Germany, is of Jewish heritage, his family having left Germany due to persecution during World War II. Both her parents were raised in Britain. Hirsch is British.

Hirsch was often the only black child in her local school. She grew up in Wimbledon (yes that Wimbledon) in the United Kingdom. She recalls her schoolmates teasing her about her hair (another theme which strikes a chord with many young black women) and her body shape and size. She writes of her cohort of friends at Oxford University and their challenges in a system of formal education that celebrated white thinkers and writers, exalting their achievements and awards while brushing over colonialism and the oppression of millions of black and brown people around the world. Hirsch is clearly in inner conflict with her middleclass upbringing that often contradicts the way she is treated as a black woman. She grapples with the idea that access to a world-class education and the perks that may entail does not guarantee acceptance into a British, mainly white world.

A most telling moment in the book is when she describes meeting her partner. He is black and from an underprivileged suburb of London in contrast to Hirsch. She writes poignantly about recognising his material deprivation in contrast to the richness of heritage and culture that he experienced. He appeared to be clearly grounded in his Ghanaian identity, well-versed in the food, music and culture of his parents' homeland. Hirsch, on the other hand, experienced no material deprivation and enjoyed what she terms typical, middle-class holidays with her family, just like other children she knew. Hirsch, however, was continuously searching for some sort of grounding in black culture – in her case Ghanaian. This aching need to find out more about her heritage, to see people who looked like her and to spend time with those who could feed her soul led her to spend time in Ghana as a journalist. However, even in Ghana Hirsch struggled with her identity as a black, British woman. Was she then too black to be British and too British to be Ghanaian?

Hirsch writes with clarity and without bitterness as she tackles topics of white supremacy, race, and what it means to be black and British. She probes, questions and interrogates identity and belonging, who has the power to define those terms, and what the consequences may be of black and brown people responding to key issues such as racism in their struggles to better understand and discover who they are.

Contact

Dr Sylvia Nissen
sylvia.nissen@lincoln.ac.nz

Dr Jean Drage
jean.drage@lincoln.ac.nz

New Zealand Political Studies Association | Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa
https://nzpsa.co.nz/women-talking-politics