



## Representation of women in Australian parliaments

Dr Joy McCann and Janet Wilson  
Politics and Public Administration Section

### Contents

Introduction .....	1
How does Australia rate?.....	2
Parliamentarians.....	2
Parliamentary leaders and presiding officers.....	3
Ministers and parliamentary secretaries.....	4
Women chairing parliamentary committees.....	6
Women candidates in Commonwealth elections.....	7
Historical overview.....	10
First women in parliament.....	10
Commonwealth .....	10
States and territories .....	12
Longest-serving women in the Commonwealth Parliament .....	12
Youngest women .....	13
Commonwealth .....	13
States and territories .....	13
Indigenous women .....	13
Commonwealth .....	13
States and territories .....	13
International comparisons.....	14
Structural barriers and issues .....	16



The electoral system.....	16
The influence of political parties .....	17
Affirmative action and quotas .....	23
Party commitment to gender equity .....	24
Training, mentoring and networking .....	24
Cultural and social barriers and issues.....	25
Standing for election.....	26
Local government service .....	28
In the parliament .....	29
Portfolios .....	30
Parliamentary committees .....	32
Children in parliament .....	32
Conclusion.....	33
Appendices.....	35
Appendix 1: Women in national parliaments—comparative rankings of top 50 countries as at 30 June 2011 (2008 and 2001 compared) .....	35
Appendix 2: Women in the Commonwealth Parliament, 1943–2011.....	37
Senate .....	37
House of Representatives.....	39
Appendix 3: Women in ministries, 1901–2011, as at 1 January 2012.....	42
Appendix 4: Selected milestones for women in Australian parliaments.....	48
Appendix 5: Women in Commonwealth Parliament who have served for 10 years or more as at 1 January 2012.....	51
Appendix 6: Arguments for and against quotas for women’s political representation .....	54
Appendix 7: Selected references .....	55



## **Party abbreviations**

GRN	Australian Greens
GRN+	Australian Greens and former Greens parties including the Nuclear Disarmament Party
ALP	Australian Labor Party
CLP	Country Liberal Party
DEM	Australian Democrats
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
LCL	Liberal Country League
LIB	Liberal Party of Australia
LNP	Liberal National Party
NAT	The Nationals (includes the former names of Country Party and National Party and variants)
ONP	One Nation

## **Acknowledgements**

The authors would like to thank Ms Joanne Simon–Davies, Statistics and Mapping Section, Parliamentary Library, for her invaluable assistance in the preparation of graphs for this Background Note, and external and internal readers.





## Introduction

A key measure of women's empowerment in society at large is their participation in politics.<sup>1</sup>

There are currently more women parliamentarians in the Senate than at any other time since Federation. For the first time since the creation of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1901, women hold the Commonwealth leadership positions of Prime Minister and Attorney-General in the Commonwealth Parliament. In the states and territories, there is a female Premier in Queensland and Tasmania respectively and, for the third time, a female Chief Minister in the Australian Capital Territory. Despite these high-profile roles, women comprise less than one-third of all parliamentarians in Australia and occupy less than one-quarter of all Cabinet positions. The number of women in the Senate reached its highest point after the 2010 Commonwealth election, while the number of women in the House of Representatives declined. When comparing the proportion of women in national parliaments internationally, Australia's ranking has slipped from 21 to 38 over the past decade.

This Background Note presents a range of data illustrating the level of women's representation at the Commonwealth, state and territory, and local government levels, with a particular focus on the Commonwealth Parliament. It presents statistical information about women parliamentarians, women in parliamentary leadership positions and ministries, women as chairs of parliamentary committees, and female candidates. It also includes some comparative data relating to women's representation in the state and territory parliaments, identifies current and historical trends, and refers to recent research on structural, social and cultural factors influencing women's representation in parliament.

This paper is a timely contribution to the significant and ongoing debate about the nature and level of women's representation in Australia's parliaments. Since Prime Minister Julia Gillard became the first woman to hold this office in 2010, the issue of gender and leadership in parliament has assumed even greater focus and attracted extensive public commentary.<sup>2</sup> Whilst it is beyond the

- 
1. Alessandro Motter, *Statement before the Third Committee of the General Assembly*, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 11 October 2011, viewed 8 January 2012, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/documents/ga66/IPU.PDF>
  2. See, for example, A Summers, 'The gender agenda', *Sunday Age*, 26 February 2012, p. 11, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1446387%22>; C Fox, 'Gillard's performance does not define women', *Australian Financial Review*, 28 February 2012, viewed 1 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1455355%22>; M Johnston and J Marszalek, 'Gender on agenda as Gillard cops flak', *Herald Sun*, 7 February 2012, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1402190%22>; C Forde, 'Women must put gender at top of election agenda to protect equality', *Courier Mail*, 11 January 2012, p. 24, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1340804%22>; D Penberthy, 'Gender not on agenda', *Sunday Mail Brisbane*, 18 September 2011, p. 51, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1091930%22>

scope of this paper to analyse the views and perceptions of women parliamentarians held by their colleagues, the media and the electorate, it does draw attention to relevant research and articles by other writers who have examined gender issues in Australian parliamentary and political life.

## How does Australia rate?

### Parliamentarians

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, women comprise half of Australia's total population (50.2 per cent in 2010).<sup>3</sup> However, as Table 1 shows, women comprise less than one-third (30.1 per cent) of all parliamentarians in Australia's parliaments. In the Commonwealth Parliament, there is a higher proportion of women in the Senate or upper house (38.2 per cent) than in the House of Representatives or lower house (24.7 per cent). The Senate has traditionally had a higher proportion of women than the House of Representatives. This is also true of those states with a bicameral parliament, with the exception of Victoria where women comprise one-third of both chambers.

**Table 1: Composition of Commonwealth, state and territory parliaments by gender, as at 1 January 2012**

Parliament	Lower House				Upper House				Total for both chambers			
	M	F	Total	% F	M	F	Total	% F	M	F	Total	% F
C/wealth	113	37	150	24.7	47	29	76	38.2	160	66	226	29.2
NSW	72	21	93	22.6	29	13	42	31	101	34	135	25.2
Vic	59	29	88	33	27	13	40	32.5	86	42	128	32.8
Qld*	57	32	89	36	-	-	-	-	57	32	89	36
WA	48	11	59	18.6	19	17	36	47.2	67	28	95	29.5
SA	35	12	47	25.5	15	7	22	31.8	50	19	69	27.5
Tas	19	6	25	24	9	6	15	40	28	12	40	30
ACT*	10	7	17	41.2	-	-	-	-	10	7	17	41.2
NT*	17	8	25	32	-	-	-	-	17	8	25	32
Total	430	163	593	27.5	146	85	231	36.8	574	250	824	30.3

\*Single chamber only

Source: Data compiled by J Wilson, Parliamentary Library, from published sources<sup>4</sup>

3. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian social trends*, Cat. 4102.0, Table 1, 29 June 2011.
4. The number of women in the South Australian Parliament increased by two as a result of two by-elections held on 11 February 2012. See J Wilson, *Composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender*, as at 17 February 2012, Politics and Public Administration Group, Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia, [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/Browse\\_by\\_Topic/~media/05%20About%20Parliament/54%20Parliamentary%20Depts/544%20Parliamentary%20Library/Browse%20by%20topic/currentwomen.ashx](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Browse_by_Topic/~media/05%20About%20Parliament/54%20Parliamentary%20Depts/544%20Parliamentary%20Library/Browse%20by%20topic/currentwomen.ashx); See Appendix 2 for names and dates of women in the Commonwealth Parliament, 1943–2011.

## Parliamentary leaders and presiding officers

According to the United Nations, women and men should participate equally in the decision-making processes of parliament.<sup>5</sup> The Australian Human Rights Commission's *Gender Equality Blueprint 2010* identified women in leadership as one of five key priority areas in achieving gender equality.<sup>6</sup> Given this objective, how does Australia rate in terms of women leaders in our parliaments?

Since 2010, for the first time since Federation, women have occupied two of the three most powerful positions in Australia's system of government.<sup>7</sup> The Constitution of Australia establishes the Commonwealth Government comprising three 'arms of government'—the Parliament, the Executive Government and the Judiciary. At its apex is the Queen, represented by the Governor-General. Quentin Bryce is Australia's Governor-General, the first woman to be appointed since the creation of the role in 1901. The Parliament is at the heart of Australia's system of government, and the Prime Minister is the leader of the governing party in the House of Representatives. On 24 June 2010, Julia Gillard became Australia's 27<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister and the first woman to hold that position, having previously served as Australia's first female Deputy Prime Minister.

Every state and territory except South Australia has had a woman premier or chief minister. As at 1 January 2012, three of the eight state and territory leaders are women—Anna Bligh in Queensland, Lara Giddings in Tasmania, and Katy Gallagher in the Australian Capital Territory. The Northern Territory has a female Deputy Chief Minister (Delia Lawrie). Of the state and territory parliaments the Australian Capital Territory has had the highest number of female leaders of all the states and territories, with Rosemary Follett (1989, 1991–1995), Kate Carnell (1995–2000), and Katy Gallagher (2011–).

Three women have served in the role of Deputy Opposition Leader in the Commonwealth Parliament. Jenny Macklin (ALP) was elected unopposed as deputy leader in 2001 and held the position until 2006. She was succeeded by Julia Gillard (ALP) who held the position until 2007 when she was appointed Deputy Prime Minister. Following the 2007 election, Julie Bishop (LIB) became the third female Deputy Opposition Leader.<sup>8</sup> At the end of 2011, South Australia was the only state/territory to have a woman Opposition Leader (Isobel Redmond), while New South Wales and the Northern Territory each had a woman in the position of Deputy Opposition Leader.

- 
5. United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership, Report of the Expert Group Meeting, Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia, 24-27 October 2005, p. 12, viewed 12 December 2011, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/FinalReport.pdf>
  6. Australian Human Rights Commission, *Gender equality blueprint 2010*, viewed 12 December 2011, [http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sex\\_discrimination/publication/blueprint/index.html](http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sex_discrimination/publication/blueprint/index.html)
  7. The Commonwealth of Australia Table of Precedence places the Governor-General first, followed by the State Governors and the Prime Minister.
  8. In the Commonwealth Parliament, the parliamentary parties select their leaders and deputy leaders in both Houses. See IC Harris, ed, *House of Representatives practice*, Department of the House of Representatives, Canberra, 2005, fifth edition, Chapter 2 for a description of roles and relationships in the House of Representatives, and H Evans, ed, *Odgers' Australian Senate practice*, Department of the Senate, Canberra, 2008, Twelfth Edition, Chapters 5 and 6 for a similar description in the Senate.

The most senior parliamentary positions in the Commonwealth Parliament are the presiding officers—the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. They maintain the authority of their chamber, and uphold its rights and privileges. In its 110-year history, the Australian Parliament has had only one woman Speaker in the House of Representatives (Mrs Joan Child MP who held the position from 1986 until 1989), and one woman President of the Senate (Senator Margaret Reid who was elected in 1996 and served for six years). Anna Burke MP held the position of Deputy Speaker in the House of Representatives from 2008 to 2010 and from November 2011.

Six of the eight state and territory parliaments have had at least one female presiding officer including the current incumbents the Hon Shelley Hancock (Speaker, NSW Legislative Assembly), the Hon Lynette Breuer (Speaker, SA House of Assembly), the Hon Sue Smith (President, Tasmanian Legislative Council), and the Hon Jane Aagaard (Speaker, Northern Territory Legislative Assembly).

## **Ministers and parliamentary secretaries**

As at 1 January 2012, women comprised 23.3 per cent of the Commonwealth ministry (see Table 2 below). This included 22.7 per cent in the Cabinet (or inner ministry) and 25 per cent in the outer ministry.<sup>9</sup> In the Commonwealth Opposition shadow ministry, women comprised 18.8 per cent of the overall ministry, with 10 per cent in the ‘shadow’ Cabinet and 33.3 per cent (or one-third) in the outer ministry.

Members and senators may be appointed by the Commonwealth Government as parliamentary secretaries to assist ministers in their work. They are sworn in as members of the Federal Executive Council, but do not have their own portfolio. In the past they were known as assistant ministers or parliamentary under-secretaries. In the House of Representatives, parliamentary secretaries sit in the row of seats immediately behind the government front bench. They can stand in for a minister in the Chamber, and perform all the duties of the minister on the floor except for answering questions on portfolio matters. Their legal status and extent of their powers is the subject of debate from time to time.<sup>10</sup> Since 1999 they have been paid a salary of office. As Table 2 shows, a higher percentage of women hold parliamentary secretary positions than hold ministries.

---

9. Another reshuffle on 2 March 2012 saw the proportion of women in the ministry increase to 26.7 percent (22.7 per cent in the Cabinet and 37.5 per cent in the outer ministry). The Commonwealth Cabinet comprises a council of senior ministers who are members of the inner ministry, and is chaired by the Prime Minister. The ‘Inner Cabinet’ system was introduced informally by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in 1954. The present practice whereby Cabinet comprises some but not all ministers was formally adopted in 1956. The two-tier ministry system has been continued by every government, with modifications, except the Whitlam government (1972-75) which reverted to the pre-1956 practice. See Harris, *House of Representatives Practice*, op.cit., p. 74.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70; Evans, *Oggers’ Australian Senate Practice*, op.cit.



**Table 2: Commonwealth ministers, parliamentary secretaries and shadow ministers by gender, as at 1 January 2012**

Commonwealth Parliament	Government Ministers				Opposition Shadow Ministers			
	Male	Female	Total	% Female	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Cabinet (Inner Ministry)	17	5	22	22.7	18	2	20	10
Outer Ministry	6	2	8	25	8	4	12	33.3
All ministers	23	7	30	23.3	26	6	32	18.8
Parliamentary secretaries	7	5	12	41.7	11	3	14	21.4

Source: Data compiled by Parliamentary Library from published sources<sup>11</sup>

By way of comparison, across Australia's state and territory parliaments women held less than one-third of all ministerial positions (26.7 per cent) and shadow ministerial positions (27.4 per cent). In state and territory parliaments all ministers are members of Cabinet. The proportion of women in state and territory ministries is low compared with men (see Table 3.1 below). Victoria and Western Australia have the lowest proportion of women ministers and the Australian Capital Territory has the highest.

**Table 3.1: State and territory ministers and shadow ministers by gender, as at 1 January 2012**

Parliament	Government Ministers				Opposition Shadow Ministers			
	Male	Female	Total	% Female	Male	Female	Total	% Female
NSW	17	5	22	22.7	10	6	16	37.5
Vic	19	4	23	17.4	15	8	23	34.8
Qld	12	6	18	33.3	14	4	18	22.2
WA	14	3	17	17.6	11	6	17	35.1
SA	11	4	15	26.7	13	2	15	13.3
Tas	5	3	8	37.5	8	3	11	27.3
ACT <sup>12</sup>	3	2	5	40	5	1	6	16.7
NT (2011)	6	2	8	25	9	2	11	18.2
All states and territories	88	32	120	26.7	85	32	117	27.4
All Australian parliaments	111	39	150	26	111	38	149	25.5

Source: Data compiled by Parliamentary Library from published sources<sup>13</sup>

- 
11. Commonwealth parliament, government and political party websites.
  12. The Tasmanian ministry includes Greens MPs.
  13. State and territory parliament, government and political party websites.

The proportion of women appointed as parliamentary secretaries tends to be similar to the Commonwealth Parliament (with the exception of New South Wales where there is a similar percentage of female ministers and parliamentary secretaries). However, some state and territory government and opposition parties do not appoint parliamentary secretaries or shadow parliamentary secretaries, so the scope for comparison is limited.

**Table 3.2: State and territory parliamentary secretaries by gender, as at 1 January 2012**

Parliament	Parliamentary secretaries				Shadow parliamentary secretaries			
	Male	Female	Total	% Female	Male	Female	Total	% Female
NSW	10	3	13	23.1	-	-	-	-
Vic	7	4	11	36.4	3	2	5	40
Qld	3	4	7	57.1	4	1	5	20
WA	3	3	6	50	-	-	-	-
SA	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	100
Tas	2	1	3	33.3	-	-	-	-
ACT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NT	1	2	3	66.7	-	1	1	100
All states and territories	26	17	43	39.5	7	5	12	41.7
All Australian parliaments	33	22	55	40	18	8	26	30.8

Source: Data compiled by Parliamentary Library from published sources<sup>14</sup>

## Women chairing parliamentary committees

The parliament delegates some of its tasks and associated powers to committees comprising small groups of senators or members. The Constitution (Section 49) recognises committees as an essential instrument of both Houses. They have the power to perform functions which the Houses themselves are not equipped to perform, including gathering evidence from expert groups and individuals, and allowing direct contact between the parliament and the people. Most committees comprise representatives of all parties, and participation has become a very important aspect of the work of senators and members.<sup>15</sup> The earliest committees were established in 1901, mostly dealing with the workings of the parliament. The current Senate committee system took shape from 1970 with the establishment of the Legislative and General Purpose Standing Committees and Estimates

14. State and territory parliament, government and political party websites.

15. Department of the Senate, 'Senate Committees', *Senate Brief*, no. 4, January 2012, viewed 27 February 2012, [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Senate/Powers\\_practice\\_n\\_procedures/briefs/brief04](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/briefs/brief04); Committees, Department of the House of Representatives, 'Committees', *Infosheet* no. 4, October 2010, viewed 27 February 2012, [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/House\\_of\\_Representatives/Powers\\_practice\\_and\\_procedure/00\\_-\\_Infosheets/Infosheet\\_4\\_-\\_Committees](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/House_of_Representatives/Powers_practice_and_procedure/00_-_Infosheets/Infosheet_4_-_Committees)

Committees. In 1987 the House of Representatives established a comprehensive committee system with eight general purpose standing committees, and the number was increased to nine in 1996 and reached a peak of 13 in 2002.<sup>16</sup> The number of committees changed from 13 to 12 on 12 February 2008 (at the commencement of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament).<sup>17</sup>

The chair of a parliamentary committee presides over the business and conduct of a committee. The position of committee chair is regarded as a stepping stone to senior political positions including minister or parliamentary secretary.<sup>18</sup> The first woman to chair a committee was Senator Marie Breen OBE (later Dame), who chaired a domestic standing committee, the Senate Printing Committee, from 1965 to 1968. In 1968 Senator Dame Ivy Wedgwood chaired the Senate Select Committee on Medical and Hospital Costs, and also one of the first of the Senate's new legislative and general purpose standing committees, the Health and Welfare Committee. That Committee's report on handicapped persons in Australia was the first to be tabled by these influential committees.

Currently, women chair seven of the 16 general purpose standing and legislation committees and two of the eight domestic standing committees in the Senate. Neither of the two Senate legislative scrutiny committees nor the single select committee is chaired by a woman. In the House of Representatives, women chair three of the nine general purpose standing committees and one of the seven domestic standing committees in the House of Representatives. Women chair six of the 20 various joint committees.

## Women candidates in Commonwealth elections

Of the 349 Senate candidates in the 2010 Commonwealth election 123 (35.2 per cent) were women, while in the House of Representatives there were 849 candidates of whom 230 (27.1 per cent) were women, as follows:

- 
16. Harris, House of Representatives Practice, op. cit., p. 623.
  17. Amendments to the Standing Orders and Certain Resolutions of the House, House of Representatives, *House Votes and Proceedings*, 12 February 2008, viewed 7 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22chamber%2Fvotes%2F2008-02-12%2F0024%22>
  18. SA Palmieri, *Gender mainstreaming in the Australian Parliament: achievement with room for improvement*, Research paper, Parliamentary Studies Centre, Australian National University, n.d., viewed 20 January 2012, [http://www.parliamentarystudies.anu.edu.au/pdf/publications/2011/Gender\\_Mainstreaming\\_in\\_the\\_Australian\\_Parliament.pdf](http://www.parliamentarystudies.anu.edu.au/pdf/publications/2011/Gender_Mainstreaming_in_the_Australian_Parliament.pdf)

Table 4: Female candidates in 2010 Commonwealth election

State/ territory	Senate					House of Representatives				
	Seats	Males	Females	Total	% Females	Seats	Males	Females	Total	% Females
NSW	6	55	29	84	34.5	48	219	80	299	26.8
Vic	6	34	26	60	43.3	37	150	44	194	22.7
Qld	6	44	16	60	26.7	30	119	39	158	24.7
WA	6	34	21	55	38.2	15	59	33	92	35.9
SA	6	29	13	42	30.9	11	49	19	68	27.9
Tas	6	14	10	24	41.7	5	14	6	20	30
ACT	2	6	3	9	33.3	2	3	4	7	57.1
NT	2	10	5	15	33.3	2	6	5	11	45.5
Australia	40	226	123	349	35.2	150	619	230	849	27.1

Source: AEC Close of nominations factsheet, 2010<sup>19</sup>

An analysis of Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) data for Senate candidates between the 1983 and 2010 Commonwealth elections indicates that the proportion of nominations by female candidates generally increased at each election from 19.2 per cent in 1983 to a high of 36.8 per cent in 2007, with a slight fall to 35.5 per cent in 2010 (see Table 5.1 below). The major parties (ALP and Liberal/Nationals Coalition) showed a generally upward trend in female candidates. The highest proportions were attained in 2007 with more than half (55.5 per cent) of the ALP's candidates, and 40 per cent of the Liberal Party's candidates being women. The use of proportional representation for Senate elections has been more favourable to minor parties than the majoritarian system used for the House of Representatives.

Both of the larger minor parties (Australian Democrats and Australian Greens) have consistently had a high proportion of women candidates in those elections contested. The Democrats had the highest number of female candidates for that party in 2004 with 63.6 per cent or nearly two-thirds of their candidates being women, whilst the Greens reached a record high for any party in 2010, with women comprising 71.4 per cent or more than two-thirds of their total candidates.

19. AEC, *Federal election 2010, close of nominations factsheet*, viewed 4 January 2011, [http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2010/files/e2010-close-of-nominations.pdf](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2010/files/e2010-close-of-nominations.pdf)

Table 5.1: Percentage of female candidates for the Senate by party, 1983–2010

Election year	Political party						Total—all parties %
	DEM %	ALP %	LIB* %	NAT %	GRN+ %	Others %	
1983	32.3	27.5	11.8	17.7	0	15.6	19.2
1984	34.6	25.0	22.6	25.0	0	26.8	26.7
1987	28.0	23.9	23.4	28.0	50.0	27.8	26.7
1990	52.2	25.0	19.2	18.2	56.3	26.1	29.6
1993	52.2	21.4	22.6	30.0	55.0	29.2	31.6
1996	36.0	48.0	32.1	42.9	64.7	29.4	34.9
1998	28.0	40.7	39.3	22.2	61.9	26.0	30.7
2001	46.2	48.0	22.6	37.5	54.5	27.2	32.6
2004	63.6	44.0	28.6	27.3	56.7	25.2	32.4
2007	33.3	55.5	40.7	10.0	58.6	33.2	36.8
2010	35.7	48.3	30.4	50.0	71.4	29.9	35.5

\*includes NT Country Liberal Party

Source: Data compiled by J Wilson, Parliamentary Library from published sources<sup>20</sup>

An analysis of AEC data for House of Representatives candidates between the 1983 and 2010 Commonwealth elections indicates that the proportion of nominations by female candidates remained steady between 1983 and 1990, increasing to a high of 27.9 per cent in 1996, then remaining steady at around 27 per cent until 2010 (see Table 5.2 below). Amongst the major political parties (ALP and Liberal/Nationals Coalition), the proportion of female candidates has fluctuated considerably in this period, with each party having its highest proportion of women candidates at various times. The ALP had its highest proportion of female candidates (38.7 per cent) in 2001. The Liberal Party had its highest proportion of female candidates (25.8 per cent) in 1996. The Nationals achieved the party's highest proportion of female candidates (30.3 per cent) in 2001. It fell sharply in 2010 to 6.3 per cent of the Nationals' total candidates. Of the larger minor parties, the Greens and the Australian Democrats have maintained a relatively stable percentage of female candidates, respectively reaching their highest proportion of female candidates in 2001 (48 per cent) and in 2007 (37.2 per cent).

20. AEC published data for each election.

**Table 5.2: Percentage of female candidates for the House of Representatives by party, 1983–2010**

Election year	Political party							
	DEM %	ALP %	LIB* %	LNP %	NAT %	GRN+ %	Others %	All parties %
1983	23.3	16.0	8.2	-	3.0	-	23.0	17.0
1984	26.8	12.2	11.4	-	9.7	-	23.8	17.4
1987	35.7	17.6	8.7	-	4.8	-	18.6	17.8
1990	27.1	12.8	14.1	-	12.8	39.3	16.0	17.8
1993	25.0	17.7	15.0	-	13.4	46.0	25.9	23.6
1996	34.7	20.3	25.6	-	6.5	42.2	26.5	27.9
1998	28.4	34.5	23.0	-	15.6	46.3	21.7	27.0
2001	36.7	38.7	17.9	-	30.3	48.0	16.4	27.7
2004	35.2	30.7	23.7	-	20.8	46.2	21.4	27.5
2007	37.2	30.0	23.1	-	25.0	38.7	19.6	25.8
2010	12.0	31.3	20.7	20.0	6.3	41.3	24.0	27.1

\*includes NT Country Liberal Party

Source: Data compiled by J Wilson, Parliamentary Library from published sources<sup>21</sup>

## Historical overview

### First women in parliament

#### Commonwealth

Most Australian women (excluding Indigenous women in some states) won the right to vote in Commonwealth elections as a result of the passing of the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*. Four women stood at the 1903 election, the first Commonwealth election conducted after the passage of that Act. None of the four candidates was successful, but they were the first female candidates for any national parliament in the British Commonwealth.<sup>22</sup>

The first women were not elected to the Commonwealth Parliament until 1943, when Dorothy Tangney (later Dame) won a Senate position to represent Western Australia and Enid Lyons (later Dame) was elected to the House of Representatives in the seat of Darwin, Tasmania.<sup>23</sup> By 1980,

21. Ibid.

22. They were Vida Goldstein (Victoria), Nellie Martel and Mary Ann Moore Bentley (NSW) for the Senate, and Selina Anderson (later Siggins) for the seat of Dalley (NSW) in the House of Representatives.

23. Australian Electoral Office, *Electoral milestones for women*, 28 January 2011, viewed 10 November 2011, [http://www.aec.gov.au/elections/australian\\_electoral\\_history/milestone.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/elections/australian_electoral_history/milestone.htm)

women still made up only three per cent of the House of Representatives and 10.9 per cent of the Senate.<sup>24</sup>

Since Federation, 1595 members have served in both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament, of which 162 (10.2 per cent) have been women, as follows:

**Table 6: Senators and Members since 1901 by gender**

Senate			House of Representatives			Both Houses		
Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female
547	80	14.6	1093	86	7.9	1595*	162**	10.2

\*This takes into account the 45 members who have served in both Houses.

\*\*This takes into account the four women who have served in both Houses (Bronwyn Bishop, Cheryl Kernot, Belinda Neal and Kathy Sullivan).

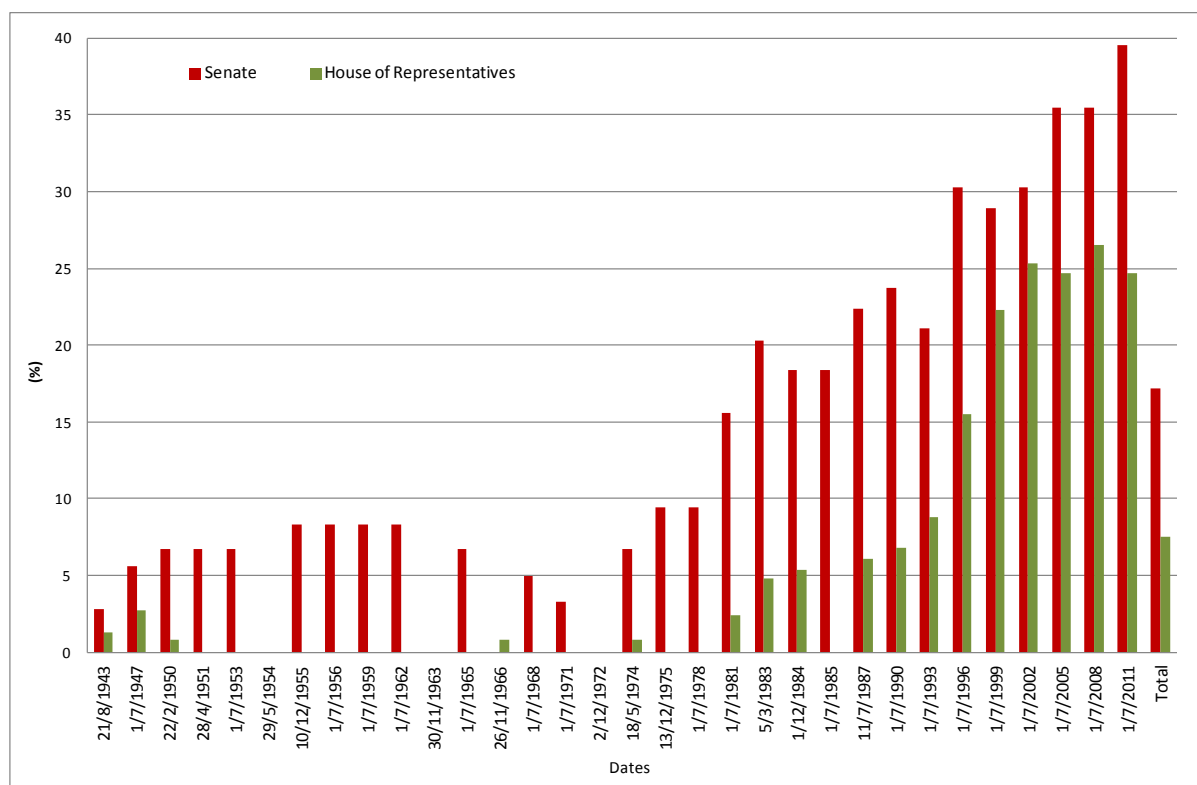
Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*<sup>25</sup>

Figure 1 illustrates the trends in women's representation in both chambers since the first women entered the Commonwealth Parliament in 1943. Of the 162 women who have served in the Commonwealth Parliament, 30 have served as ministers, 21 as Parliamentary Secretaries, and eight as both (see Appendix 3).

24. Data compiled by J Wilson, Parliamentary Library, from *Parliamentary Handbook*, 1 July 2011.

25. Parliamentary Library, *Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia 2011*, 43rd Parliament, Parliamentary Library, Department of Parliamentary Services, Commonwealth of Australia 2011, pp. 480–3, viewed 9 November 2011, [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/handbook/newhandbook/2011-10-13/toc\\_pdf\\_repeat/Part%206%20-%20Historical%20information%20on%20the%20Australian%20Parliament.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/handbook/newhandbook/2011-10-13/toc_pdf_repeat/Part%206%20-%20Historical%20information%20on%20the%20Australian%20Parliament.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf)

Figure 1: Percentage of women in the Senate and House of Representatives, 1943 to 2011



\*Dates represent election dates (including double dissolutions) or 1 July of the year following an election when changes to the Senate resulting from that election take effect.

Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

## States and territories

South Australia led the world in women’s political rights in 1894, when women won the right to vote and to sit in the South Australian Parliament. By 1909 all Australian states and the Commonwealth had enfranchised most women. Women won the right to vote in Western Australia in 1899, but they did not win the right to sit in the State Parliament until 1920. Edith Cowan was the first woman to enter any Australian parliament when she won the Western Australian Legislative Assembly seat of West Perth in 1921.<sup>26</sup> Appendix 4 presents a selection of key milestones for women in Australia’s parliaments. The following sections highlight some aspects of these achievements.

## Longest-serving women in the Commonwealth Parliament

At the end of 2011, Kathy Martin (later Sullivan) holds the record as the longest-serving woman in the Commonwealth Parliament with a total service of 27 years three months and 25 days (see Appendix 5). This included 10½ years in the Senate and nearly 17 years in the House of Representatives. She is one of only four women to have held a seat in both Houses. Senator Dorothy

26. M Brown, ‘Cowan, Edith Dircksey’, *Australian dictionary of biography*, viewed 18 January 2012, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cowan-edith-dircksey-5791>



Tangney was the longest-serving woman in the Senate with a record 24 years 10 months and nine days. Bronwyn Bishop MP, who is currently in the House of Representatives and one of the four women to have held a seat in both Houses, is the third longest-serving woman in the Commonwealth Parliament with a total period of service of 24 years, four months and 18 days at the end of 2011. This includes six years seven months and 13 days in the Senate, and 17 years nine months and five days in the House. Appendix 5 provides a list of women who have served in the Commonwealth Parliament for ten years or more.

## Youngest women

### Commonwealth

Senator Sarah Hanson-Young, elected to the Senate for South Australia in 2007 at the age of 25, is the youngest woman to enter the Commonwealth Parliament. Natasha Stott Despoja was previously the youngest, following her election to the Senate in 1995 at the age of 26.

### States and territories

Kelly Vincent MLC, elected to the South Australian Parliament in 2010 at 21 (representing the Dignity for Disability) is the youngest woman to be elected to any of Australia's parliaments. Roslyn Dundas, elected to the ACT Legislative Assembly in 2001 at 23 (representing the Australian Democrats), was formerly the youngest woman to be elected to an Australian parliament.

## Indigenous women

### Commonwealth

There have been no Indigenous women elected to the Commonwealth Parliament since Federation in 1901. Indeed, Indigenous women in some states were specifically excluded from voting in Commonwealth elections as a result of the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*.

### States and territories

Indigenous women are under-represented in all state and territory parliaments. Carol Martin was elected to the Western Australian Parliament on 10 February 2001, becoming the first Indigenous woman to be elected to any Australian parliament. She was re-elected in 2005 and 2008.<sup>27</sup> The Northern Territory has had the largest number of Indigenous Australian women MPs of all the state and territory parliaments. Marion Scrymgour MP, elected to the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly in 2001, became the first female Indigenous minister in Australia in 2003. She was appointed Deputy Chief Minister of the Northern Territory from November 2007 to February 2009, making her the highest-ranked Indigenous person in government in Australia's history. In 2005,

---

27. Western Australian parliament website, viewed 9 November 2011, <http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/parliament%5Cmemblist.nsf/WAllMembersFlat/Martin,+Carol+Anne?opendocument>

another two Indigenous women were elected to the Northern Territory parliament—Malarndirri McCarthy, and Alison Anderson. Alison Anderson was a minister in the Northern Territory government from 2005 until she resigned from the ALP in 2009 to become an Independent. She subsequently joined the Country Liberal party in 2011.<sup>28</sup> In New South Wales, Linda Burney became the first Indigenous person to be elected to the NSW Parliament in 2003. She held several ministerial positions in the NSW Cabinet between 2007 and 2011, and became Deputy Leader of the Opposition in NSW in 2011.

## International comparisons

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) data on 190 countries, women comprise 19.5 per cent or less than one-fifth of all parliamentarians in national parliaments. Of these, 27 countries have reached or exceeded the 30 per cent 'critical mass' for women's parliamentary representation, widely regarded as a minimum benchmark for equal participation.<sup>29</sup>

The problem of women's parliamentary under-representation is found in many countries worldwide. The United Nations has identified a number of barriers that inhibit women from being elected to national parliaments including Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. These barriers include:

- the nature of the electoral system
- the nature and processes of political parties
- women's lower levels of education and socio-economic status
- traditions and beliefs about the role of women in society, and
- the burden of combining work and family responsibilities.<sup>30</sup>

The IPU's historical data indicates that women's representation in Australia's Commonwealth Parliament has declined significantly over the past decade when compared with national parliaments globally (see Figure 2 below). As at 30 June 2011, Australia ranked equal 38<sup>th</sup> with Canada, having slipped from equal 31<sup>st</sup> with Granada in 2008 and 21<sup>st</sup> in 2001. Australia is currently ranked 41<sup>st</sup>.

Australia is ranked behind New Zealand (ranked 17<sup>th</sup> as at 30 June 2011), ahead of the United Kingdom (ranked 48<sup>th</sup>) and the United States of America (ranked 69<sup>th</sup>). Women comprised 24.7 per cent of the House of Representatives and 38.2 per cent in the Senate. This compares with elected positions in the UK parliament (22 per cent in the House of Commons) and the US Congress (16.9 per

---

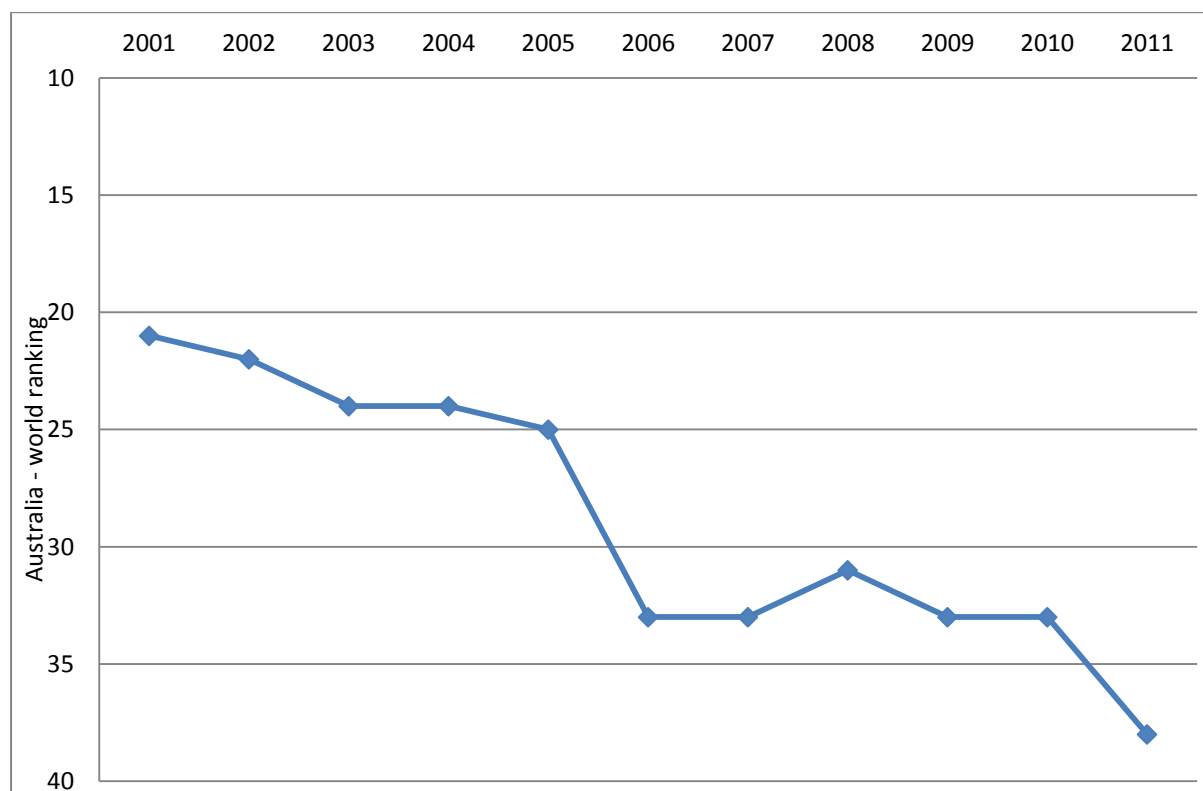
28. Australian Labor Party, Northern Territory Branch, 'Territory members', ALP website, viewed 9 November 2011, [http://www.nt.alp.org.au/01\\_cms/details.asp?ID=9](http://www.nt.alp.org.au/01_cms/details.asp?ID=9); N Adlam, 'Anderson confirms she'll switch sides', *Northern Territory News*, 31 August 2011, viewed 27 February 2012, [http://www.ntnews.com.au/article/2011/08/31/257011\\_ntnews.html](http://www.ntnews.com.au/article/2011/08/31/257011_ntnews.html)

29. Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in national parliaments*, Archived data, viewed 21 December 2011, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

30. United Nations Population Fund, *State of world population 2005, Gender equality fact sheet*, viewed 27 October 2011, [http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts\\_gender.htm](http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts_gender.htm)

cent in the House of Representatives and 17 per cent in the Senate). A comparison of the top 50 IPU country rankings for women in national parliaments is at Appendix 1.

**Figure 2: Australia's ranking in IPU women in national parliaments survey**



Source: IPU, Women in national parliaments<sup>31</sup>

The IPU's regional averages show that Nordic countries have the highest number of women in the single house or lower house of their national parliaments (42 per cent), followed by Europe's OSCE member countries including Nordic countries (22.6 per cent) and North and South America (22.6 per cent). The Arab States have the least number of women MPs (11.3 per cent). Of those national parliaments with an upper house, the Pacific region has the highest average number of women (34.8 per cent).<sup>32</sup>

Given the slow progress internationally, many countries have adopted some form of gender quota to increase women's representation in politics. The Quota Project, a global database of quotas for women in politics, reports that half of the countries of the world today use some type of electoral quota system for women, including candidate quotas, reserved seats and voluntary quotas for political parties. Different systems are preferred in different regions. Reserved seats tend to be used

31. IPU, Women in national parliaments, op. cit.

32. Ibid.

in the Arab region, in South Asia and partly in Africa.<sup>33</sup> The quota system is a controversial issue in Australia (see discussion below on affirmative action and quotas).

In September 2011, women political leaders attending the 66<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly in New York noted that women comprise less than 10 per cent of world leaders and less than one in five parliamentarians. They signed a joint statement calling for women's equal right 'to participate in all areas and at all levels of political life' and reaffirming support for the role of the UN in achieving gender equality and empowerment of women.<sup>34</sup>

## Structural barriers and issues

As noted above, the United Nations has identified a number of barriers that have been found to inhibit women from being elected to national parliaments globally. In recent years, academic researchers have examined these barriers in the Australian context in order to understand the particular structural barriers and issues that influence women's political representation and parliamentary experience. These include the electoral system, the turnover rate of parliamentarians, the party system, and the structure of the parliament itself.<sup>35</sup>

### The electoral system

International research over several decades consistently shows that the type of electoral system used has a direct impact on the representation of women. The Beijing Platform for Action, developed at the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, called on national governments to review the impact of their electoral systems on women's representation, and to undertake necessary reforms. Proportional representation (PR) electoral systems are generally more favourable to women candidates than single-member systems, and some forms of PR are better than others. However, as Marian Sawer notes, '[t]he difference between PR systems and those based on single-member electorates, whether of the plurality (first-past-the-post) or majoritarian variety, lies in the differing incentives they create for candidate selection'. PR systems encourage parties to present a 'balanced ticket appealing to all sections of the community' as well as

---

33. 'Quota Project: Global database of quotas for women', Quota Project website, viewed 27 February 2012, <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutProject.cfm>

34. 'Joint statement on advancing women's political participation', 19 September 2011, UN Women website, viewed 27 October 2011, <http://www.unwomen.org/2011/09/world-leaders-draw-attention-to-central-role-of-womens-political-participation-in-democracy/#jointstatement>

35. See, for example, I McAllister, 'Women's electoral representation in Australia' in M Sawer, M Tremblay and L Trimble, eds, *Representing women in parliament: a comparative study*, Routledge, 2006; M Sawer and M Simms, *A woman's place: women and politics in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1993; M Tremblay, 'Democracy, representation, and women: a comparative analysis', *Democratization*, vol. 14, no. 4, viewed 20 February 2012, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398261>

to all sections of the party. In her analysis of different variations of PR systems, she concludes that it is the closed party list that produces the most favourable results for women candidates.<sup>36</sup>

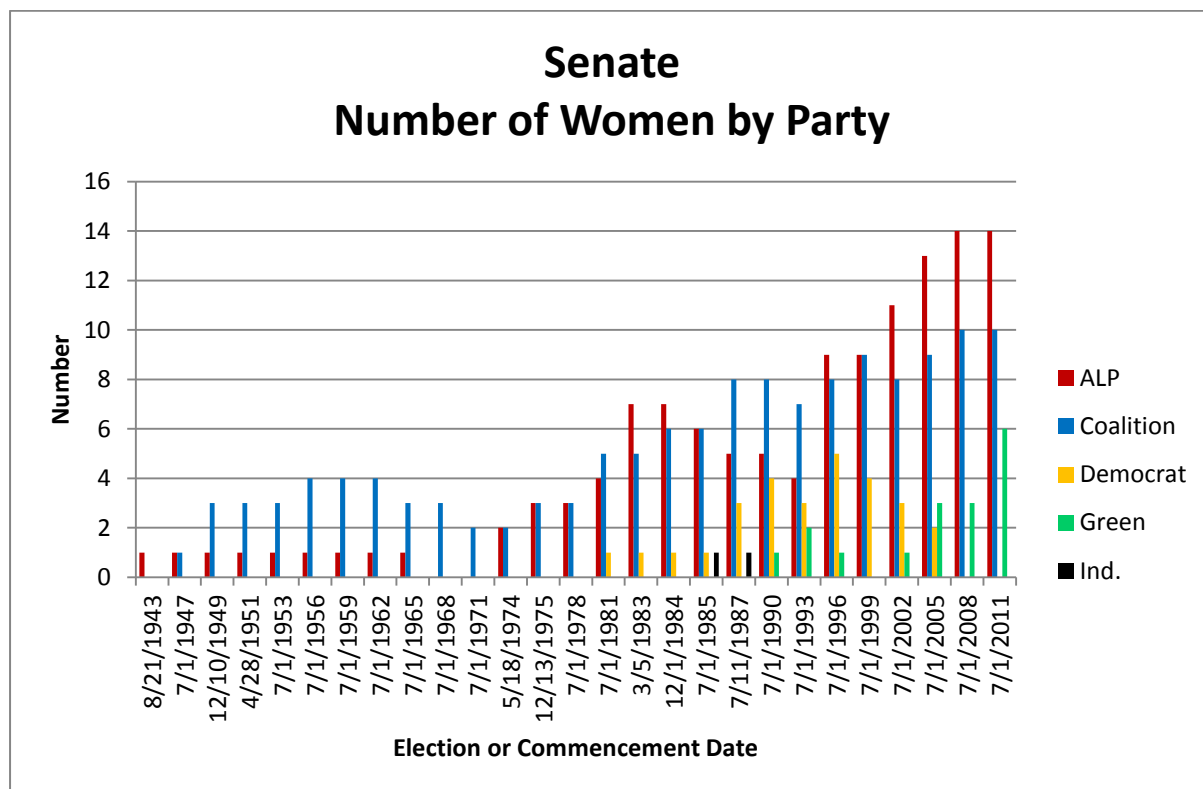
A comparison of women's representation by party in the Commonwealth Parliament since the first women entered parliament in 1943 indicates that women have had greater success in elections for the Senate than in the House of Representatives (see Figure 1 above).<sup>37</sup> Australian election analyst, Tony Smith, suggests that the electoral system used in the Senate favours the minor parties which tend to be younger and 'less prejudiced against women than Labor and the Coalition, whose longer histories created traditions in times when the public and private spheres were sex-differentiated. It might also reflect the fact that most ambitious men aim for the lower house where government is formed, and regard upper house seats as career backwaters'.<sup>38</sup>

## The influence of political parties

The candidate selection process used by political parties is a major factor in determining the level of parliamentary representation by women.<sup>39</sup> The decisions they make are usually influenced by the party's rules and strategies for maximising the number of seats they win. One of the reasons commonly cited by parties for not endorsing women candidates was that they would lose the party votes. A survey conducted by Malcolm Mackerras in the 1980s, however, showed that female candidates were generally getting equal results to those of male candidates.<sup>40</sup> The 2007 Commonwealth election for the House of Representatives yielded a similar result. Of the 1054 candidates contesting the 150 available seats, 14.7 percent of the female candidates and 14.1 percent of the male candidates were successful. These results suggest that the reasons for women's political under-representation are more to do with party preselection processes than the polls.<sup>41</sup>

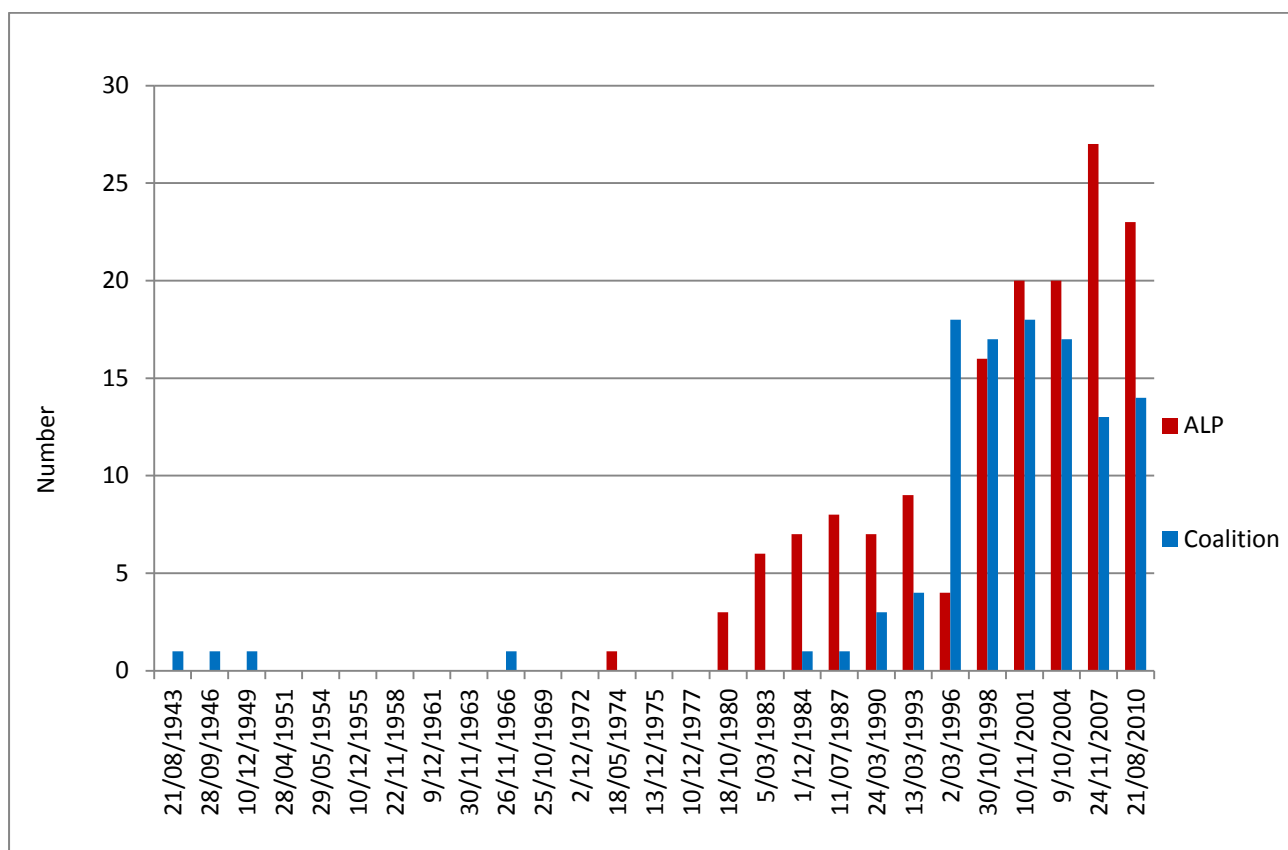
- 
36. M Sawyer, 'Women and elections', in L LeDuc, RG Niemi and P Norris, eds, *Comparing democracies: elections and voting in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, Sage, Los Angeles, 2010.
  37. Proportional representation was first used for the Australian Senate in 1949. It produces a result in which winning candidates gain seats in direct proportion to the number of votes they secure. A further refinement—ticket voting or above-the-line voting—was first used in 1984. This system involves voting for candidates for the same party for multiple positions. Since 1918, members have been elected to the House of Representatives using the single-member district alternative or preferential voting system. This system requires candidates to gain an absolute majority—more than 50 per cent—of the formal vote in order to win a seat. The number of seats increased in both chambers as a result of legislation passed in 1949 and 1984 respectively.
  38. T Smith, 'The boys hold their own: candidate gender in the 2007 federal elections', *Australian Policy Online*, 23 November 2007, p. 2, viewed 21 February 2012, <http://www.sisr.net/apo/candidates.pdf>
  39. 'Candidate selection within political parties' ACE: The electoral knowledge network, viewed 4 January 2012, <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/pc/pcb/pcb02/pcb02a>; McAllister, 'Women's electoral representation', op.cit., p. 36–7.
  40. M Mackerras, 'Why women are getting elected', *Australian Quarterly*, summer 1983, pp. 375–87.
  41. T Smith, *Candidate gender in the 2010 Australian federal election*, Democratic Audit discussion paper 1/10, August 2010, viewed 21 February 2012, <http://democraticaudit.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/smithAugust2010.pdf>

Figure 3.1: Number of women in the Senate by party, 1943 to 2011



Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

Figure 3.2 Number of women in the House of Representatives by party, 1943 to 2011



Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

In Senate elections where candidates compete for multiple positions, parties have adopted a de facto list system, 'with the parties effectively sealing the fate of individual candidates by virtue of determining their order on the party ticket'.<sup>42</sup> As former Senator Margaret Reynolds has observed, 'it is easier for women to gain the endorsement of their parties for preselection for upper houses where a listing system is adopted and it is easier to argue for power sharing. Whereas, when there is only the one position there is considerable competition'.<sup>43</sup> The problem was recognised by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs as early as 1992. In its report, the Committee recommended that 'all political parties examine their selection procedures for systematic discrimination against women and develop appropriate affirmative action programmes which would give women equal opportunity to take a greater role in the political process'.<sup>44</sup>

42. McAllister, 'Women's electoral representation', op. cit.

43. M Reynolds, *Women, preselection and merit: who decides?*, Papers on Parliament no. 27, March 1996, <http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/pubs/pops/pop27/c03.pdf>

44. House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, *Half way to equal: report of the inquiry into equal opportunity and equal status for women in Australia*, AGPS, 1992, Recommendation 41, p. xxxvi

Between 1903 and 1943, only 26 female candidates were nominated for election to the Commonwealth Parliament, and no woman was endorsed by a major party for the Senate prior to the start of World War II. Whilst there were more women candidates during the 1950s and 1960s, they were rarely supported by the major parties ‘in the belief that women could not poll well in Commonwealth elections’. By 1971, only seven women had been elected to the Senate and three to the House of Representatives.<sup>45</sup> Where women were supported by major parties, they tended to be endorsed for marginal seats—a trend that was reported in the 1990s.<sup>46</sup> The strategies that parties use for preselection are therefore of particular significance to women’s representation. The following tables show the party affiliations of the 162 women who have served in the Commonwealth Parliament between 1943 and 2011 (see Appendix 2 for a full list of the women who have served in the Commonwealth Parliament, by party, from 1943 to 2011).

**Table 7.1: Women in the Commonwealth Parliament by party, 1943–2011**

Party	Number of women		
	Senate	House of Representatives	Total
ALP	32	53	85
LIB (a)	24	29	53
NAT (b)	4	2	6
GRN	9	-	19
DEM (c)	9	-	9
IND (d)	2	1	3
IND LAB	-	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>166 (e)</b>

Source: Parliamentary Handbook<sup>47</sup>

Explanatory notes:

- a) includes Enid Lyons (UAP), Natasha Griggs (CLP), and Agnes Robertson who represented the Liberal Party from 1949 until 1955 when she was elected representing the Country and Democratic League, aligned with the Country Party (CP)
- b) includes CP, NP, NPA
- c) includes Janet Powell who left the party in July 1992 and subsequently sat as an Independent; also Meg Lees who resigned from the party in July 2002 and sat as an Independent until she formed the Australian Progressive Alliance in April 2003
- d) includes Jo Vallentine who, although elected to represent the Nuclear Disarmament Party, sat as an Independent until July 1990 when she was elected to represent the WA Greens; also includes Irina Dunn who represented the Nuclear Disarmament Party until she was expelled for refusing to comply with the party’s request that she resign in favour of Robert Wood who had been elected to the Senate but was initially ineligible to take up his seat

45. *Women in the Senate*, Senate Brief no. 3, August 2011, viewed 4 January 2012,

[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Senate/Powers\\_practice\\_n\\_procedures/briefs/brief03](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/briefs/brief03)

46. McAllister, ‘Women’s electoral representation in Australia’, op.cit., p. 144; Coopers and Lybrand, ‘Women and Parliaments in Australia and New Zealand: a discussion paper’, Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1994, p. 18.

47. Parliamentary Handbook, op. cit.



e) this total represents 162 women, including four women who have served in both Houses: Cheryl Kernot (DEM, ALP), Belinda Neal (ALP), Kathy Martin/Sullivan (LIB), and Bronwyn Bishop (LIB).

**Table 7.2: Percentage of women in Senate by major party, 1943–2011**

Date	ALP			LIB			NAT		
	Female	Total	%	Female	Total	%	Female	Total	%
21/08/1943	1	22	4.5	0	12	0.0	0	2	0.0
1/07/1947	1	33	3.0	1	2	50.0	0	1	0.0
22/02/1950	1	34	2.9	3	20	15.0	0	6	0.0
28/04/1951	1	28	3.6	3	26	11.5	0	6	0.0
1/07/1953	1	29	3.4	3	26	11.5	0	5	0.0
10/12/1955	1	29	3.4	3	25	12.0	1	6	16.7
1/07/1956	1	28	3.6	3	24	12.5	1	6	16.7
1/07/1959	1	26	3.8	3	25	12.0	1	7	14.3
1/07/1962	1	28	3.6	4	24	16.7	0	6	0.0
1/07/1965	1	27	3.7	3	23	13.0	0	7	0.0
1/07/1968	0	27	0.0	3	21	14.3	0	7	0.0
1/07/1971	0	26	0.0	2	21	9.5	0	5	0.0
18/05/1974	2	29	6.9	2	23	8.7	0	6	0.0
13/12/1975	3	27	11.1	3	27	11.1	0	8	0.0
1/07/1978	3	26	11.5	3	29	10.3	0	6	0.0
1/07/1981	4	27	14.8	4	28	14.3	1	3	33.3
5/03/1983	7	30	23.3	4	24	16.7	1	4	25.0
1/12/1984	7	35	20.0	5	28	17.9	1	6	16.7
1/07/1985	6	34	17.6	5	28	17.9	1	5	20.0
11/07/1987	5	32	15.6	7	27	25.9	1	7	14.3
1/07/1990	5	32	15.6	7	29	24.1	1	5	20.0
1/07/1993	4	30	13.3	7	30	23.3	0	6	0.0
1/07/1996	9	29	31.0	8	31	25.8	0	6	0.0
1/07/1999	9	29	31.0	9	31	29.0	0	4	0.0
1/07/2002	11	28	39.3	8	31	25.8	0	4	0.0
1/07/2005	13	28	46.4	8	33	24.2	1	6	16.7
1/07/2008	14	32	43.8	9	32	28.1	1	5	20.0
1/07/2011	14	32	43.8	8	28	28.6	2	5	40.0
Total	126	817	15.4	128	708	18.1	13	150	8.7

Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

Table 7.3: Percentage of women in House of Representatives by major party, 1943–2011

Date	ALP			LIB			NAT		
	Female	Total	%	Female	Total	%	Female	Total	%
21/08/1943	0	49	0.0	1	12	8.3	0	12	0.0
28/09/1946	0	43	0.0	1	17	5.9	0	12	0.0
10/12/1949	0	48	0.0	1	55	1.8	0	19	0.0
28/04/1951	0	54	0.0	0	52	0.0	0	17	0.0
29/05/1954	0	59	0.0	0	47	0.0	0	17	0.0
10/12/1955	0	49	0.0	0	57	0.0	0	18	0.0
22/11/1958	0	47	0.0	0	58	0.0	0	19	0.0
9/12/1961	0	62	0.0	0	45	0.0	0	17	0.0
30/11/1963	0	52	0.0	0	52	0.0	0	20	0.0
26/11/1966	0	41	0.0	1	61	1.6	0	21	0.0
25/10/1969	0	59	0.0	0	46	0.0	0	20	0.0
2/12/1972	0	67	0.0	0	38	0.0	0	20	0.0
18/05/1974	1	66	1.5	0	40	0.0	0	21	0.0
13/12/1975	0	36	0.0	0	68	0.0	0	23	0.0
10/12/1977	0	38	0.0	0	67	0.0	0	19	0.0
18/10/1980	3	51	5.9	0	54	0.0	0	20	0.0
5/03/1983	6	75	8.0	0	33	0.0	0	17	0.0
1/12/1984	7	82	8.5	1	45	2.2	0	21	0.0
11/07/1987	8	86	9.3	1	43	2.3	0	19	0.0
24/03/1990	7	78	9.0	3	55	5.5	0	14	0.0
13/03/1993	9	80	11.3	4	49	8.2	0	16	0.0
2/03/1996	4	49	8.2	17	76	22.4	1	18	5.6
30/10/1998	16	67	23.9	15	64	23.4	2	16	12.5
10/11/2001	20	65	30.8	16	68	23.5	2	14	14.3
9/10/2004	20	60	33.3	15	75	20.0	2	12	16.7
24/11/2007	27	83	32.5	12	55	21.8	1	10	10.0
21/08/2010	23	72	31.9	13	60	21.7	1	12	8.3
Total	151	1618	9.3	101	1392	7.3	9	464	1.9

Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

The following summarises some of the ways in which the different parties have responded to the issue of women's political participation and parliamentary representation in recent decades. (See Appendix 6 for a summary of the pros and cons of quotas for women candidates.)

## Affirmative action and quotas

Whilst gender quotas of different kinds are widely used internationally to increase women's participation in national parliaments, they have been somewhat controversial in the Australian context. In 1981 the ALP Conference endorsed affirmative action principles whereby women were to hold 25 per cent of all internal party positions. In 1994 the ALP adopted a mandatory 35 per cent preselection quota for women in winnable seats at all elections by 2002.<sup>48</sup> The proportion of female candidates preselected rose from 14.5 per cent in the 1994 election to 35.6 per cent in the 2010 election. As Hutch Hussein points out, these figures clearly demonstrate how the rule changes within the ALP have helped to achieve greater gender equality in Australia's parliaments.<sup>49</sup> From 1 January 2012 a 40:40:20 quota system will apply 'to produce an outcome where not less than 40% of seats held by Labor will be filled by women, and not less than 40% by men'. The remaining 20 per cent may be filled by candidates of either gender.<sup>50</sup> There is pressure within the party to increase the quota to 50 per cent.

The Coalition parties (Liberal Party and the Nationals) have not adopted affirmative action measures for their respective parties' parliamentary wings on the basis that gender quotas contradict the principle of merit. The Liberal Party uses women's networks within the party, and provides support and mentoring to encourage women who stand for preselection. According to the Liberals' Federal Women's Committee, '[w]hilst the Liberal Party does not support the ALP's quota system, the Party is aware that women of merit can be overlooked in our preselections processes, often because they lack the support and mentoring system that is often behind successful candidates'.<sup>51</sup>

In 2010, Liberal Senator Judith Troeth prepared a policy paper noting that from 1944 the Liberal Party had reserved 50 per cent of the Victorian Division's executive positions, and that these arrangements had survived the party's 'recent radical reform' in Victoria. She called for the introduction of a quota system for the Victorian Division to endorse women for preselection in a minimum of 40 per cent of its seats for the Commonwealth election' to be held in August 2010, recommended that the quota be increased to 45 per cent within a five year period, and that women comprise 50 per cent of training candidates.<sup>52</sup>

---

48. 'Our history', EMILY's List Australia, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://www.emilyslist.org.au/about-us/our-history>

49. H Hussein, 'Why changing the rules matters—lessons from the ALP's Affirmative Action quota', *ABC Drum Unleashed*, 8 March 2011, viewed 5 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F612312%22>

50. J Curtin and K Sexton, 'Selecting and electing women to the House of Representatives: progress at last?', Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, University of Adelaide, 29 September–1 October 2004, p. 32.

51. Liberal Party of Australia, Federal Women's Committee, viewed 4 January 2012, [http://www.nsw.liberal.org.au/index.php?searchword=quota&ordering=&searchphrase=all&option=com\\_search](http://www.nsw.liberal.org.au/index.php?searchword=quota&ordering=&searchphrase=all&option=com_search)

52. Senator the Hon J Troeth, 'Modernising the parliamentary Liberal Party by adopting the organisational wing's quota system for preselections', Policy paper, 23 June 2010, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://inside.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/troeth.pdf>. As yet there has been no action on the proposal (J Troeth, pers. comm., 5 March 2012).

## Party commitment to gender equity

Rule 10 of the ALP's current National Constitution commits the party to having equal numbers of men and women at all levels in the organisation and in preselection for public office.<sup>53</sup> The Liberal Party has a long history of women's representation on the Federal Executive. The Federal Women's Committee (FWC) was established in 1945 at the inaugural meeting of the Liberal Party Federal Council in August 1945, and incorporated in the party's Constitution in October 1946. The FWC has had representation on the party's Federal Executive since then, and actively promotes women for elected office. The Liberal Party's state branches have their own peak women's councils.<sup>54</sup> The party's federal Constitution also requires the vice-president of the party to be a woman, and the federal party and some of the state divisions have designated organisational positions for women.

The Nationals provide opportunities for women to participate in the party and seek leadership or parliamentary office. In the 1970s, the National Party Constitution included an affirmative action strategy for increasing female membership of the Central Council. Two new positions were created with one to be filled by a woman. A special session on women in politics was held during the NSW National Party Annual Conference in 1995, prompting a 12 month review of practices by the National Party Women's Committee. It recommended that the party should create a register of female potential candidates, conduct training and mentoring programs, invite each electorate council to include at least two women in preselection candidates, and other measures.

Amongst the minor parties, both the Australian Greens and the Australian Democrats have embraced gender equity as a founding principle in their respective organisations. The Greens attribute their higher female representation in parliament to the party's open decision making and preselection processes, a strong emphasis on grassroots membership, and the party's acceptance of gender equity as a core principle.<sup>55</sup> The state Greens parties have also adopted specific strategies. The NSW Greens' Constitution, for example, requires the state party to attempt to achieve at least 50 per cent representation by women as well as membership from rural and regional areas and amongst minority and disadvantaged groups.<sup>56</sup>

## Training, mentoring and networking

The ALP's National Labor Women's Network, launched in 1996 at the National ALP Conference, represents all women members of the party. It encourages women 'to participate in all levels of the Party's structure, the government and public life'.<sup>57</sup> EMILY's List is a women's network established by

---

53. *National Constitution of the ALP*, 2009, p. 11, viewed 12 December 2011,

<http://www.alp.org.au/getattachment/07dacd1a-3e6c-498f-b722-548c222a0f5e/our-platform/>

54. 'Liberal Women', Liberal Party website, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://www.liberal.org.au/The-Party/Liberal-Women.aspx>

55. 'Policies: Women', The Greens website, viewed 12 December 2011, <http://greens.org.au/policies/care-for-people/women>

56. Constitution of The Greens NSW, clause 1.4, adopted 16 October 1993, amended August 2009, viewed 7 March 2012, <http://nsw.greens.org.au/meet-nsw-greens/constitution-of-the-greens-nsw/>

57. National Labor Women's Network, Australian Labor Party, <http://lwn.alp.org.au/>

prominent Labor women in 1996 to provide financial, political and personal support for the election of 'progressive' Labor women candidates who are committed to pro-choice positions on abortion and other gender equity issues. The EMILY's List's *Lift the Target* campaign has been instrumental in raising the preselection quota for women, and the group actively supports Labor women's campaigns in parliamentary elections Australia-wide.<sup>58</sup>

The Liberal Party encourages women's preselection through a range of mentoring, training and support mechanisms. In addition to the work of the FWC, the party's state branches have their own peak women's councils that provide advocacy and support. The Women's Council of the NSW Liberal Party, for example, aims to increase representation, membership, and awareness of issues concerning women.<sup>59</sup> The Women's Federal Council (WFC) of the Nationals promotes and supports women to take on leadership roles, with a particular focus on increasing the involvement of women in policy, politics and decision-making within the party. The WFC is chaired by an elected President, who is a member of Federal Management Committee.<sup>60</sup>

## Cultural and social barriers and issues

Recent international research has also drawn attention to the social and cultural factors that influence both the level (sometimes called 'descriptive or symbolic representation') and contribution (or 'substantive representation') of women parliamentarians.<sup>61</sup> Some researchers emphasise the symbolic importance of women's political participation, arguing that lower levels of representation directly impact on how citizens generally perceive their level of inclusion in the polity. As newly-elected Labor MP Zoe Bettison recently stated in her first speech to the South Australian House of Assembly, '[e]qual participation of women in politics is essential to building and sustaining democracy'.<sup>62</sup> A recent US study notes that '[w]omen in public office stand as symbols for other women, both enhancing their identification with the system and their ability to have influence within it.'<sup>63</sup> The study found that prevailing perceptions of traditional social roles still actively discourage women from standing as political candidates. Even where women do stand for election, they are less likely than men to seek leadership positions or to be motivated by political ambition.

- 
58. EMILY stands for Early Money is Like Yeast, referring to the benefits of early campaign funding for women candidates. The original EMILY's List was established to raise funds for pro-choice Democrat women candidates in the United States in 1985. EMILY's List Australia, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://www.emilyslist.org.au/about-us/our-history>; M Sawyer, 'When women support women...EMILY's List and the substantive representation of women in Australia', in Sawyer et al, *Representing women in parliament*, op.cit, pp. 103–19.
59. 'Liberal women', Liberal Party website, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://www.liberal.org.au/The-Party/Liberal-Women.aspx>
60. 'The Nationals' women', The Nationals website, viewed 18 November 2011, <http://www.nationals.org.au/AboutTheNationals/OurStructure/TheNationalsWomen.aspx>
61. Hannah Pitkin first distinguished between 'descriptive' representation describing the numbers of women parliamentarians, and 'substantive' representation describing how far women act on behalf of women in parliament. See Sawyer, Tremblay and Trimble, *Representing women in parliament*, op. cit., p. 15.
62. D Wills, 'We need more female MPs', *Adelaide Advertiser*, 29 February 2012, p. 21, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1459687%22>
63. B Burrell, cited in JL Lawless, *Becoming a candidate: Political ambition and the decision to run for office*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012, p. 8.

Rather, they tend to focus on political involvement at a local level, and to be more motivated by community issues.<sup>64</sup>

## Standing for election

One factor that has historically influenced the number of women seeking election to Australian parliaments relates to their personal circumstances and networks. In a study of 36 women political candidates contesting the 1982 Victorian state election, political scientists Marian Sawer and Marian Simms found that most had experienced conflict between campaigning whilst meeting their family and childcare responsibilities. They also encountered prejudice from those who thought that women were not equipped to deal with 'hard' policies such as economics, suggesting that the party would lose votes at election because of their gender. According to one successful candidate, the disadvantages of being a woman candidate in the 1980s could be summed up as having 'weaker access to established power networks..., lack of accumulated income', and the strain of juggling campaigning with family responsibilities.<sup>65</sup>

Since the 1980s, lack of access to established networks is less likely to be an issue for women standing for election because successful candidates are increasingly coming from professions that equip them for their political careers. As the following table illustrates, women entering the Commonwealth Parliament are now more likely to come from occupational backgrounds similar to those of their male colleagues. In 1988, teaching was the most common occupation amongst women in the Senate, whilst their male colleagues in both Houses tended to come from occupations in law, business management, unions and other professional or administrative roles. By 2008, there were fewer parliamentarians coming from a career in education, and women and men were tending to come from professional careers in law, business management and professional or administrative roles in the House of Representatives, and unions, politics and business management in the Senate. As Marian Sawer notes, this means that women are more likely to have the professional networks that inform their political careers, as well as enabling them to 'work collectively' with other women and represent the interests of their constituents.<sup>66</sup>

While data has not been collected for this paper in relation to the seniority of women prior to entering parliament, recent research suggests that women are poorly represented in senior positions. A 2011 study of the legal profession in New South Wales, for example, revealed that whilst the number of female solicitors in the state had increased to 46 per cent since 1988 (compared to 65 per cent for men), there was only one female managing partner in the biggest 30 firms in Australia.

---

64. Ibid., pp. 58, 71–2.

65. M Sawer and M Simms, *A woman's place: women and politics in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp. 71–2.

66. Sawer, 'When women support women', op. cit., p. 117.

Of those law firms with 40 or more partners, only 23 per cent were women, and the figure was even lower in mid-sized and small law firms.<sup>67</sup>

**Table 8.1: Previous occupations by gender in Senate, 1988, 2008 and 2011 compared**

Occupation*	Year								
	1988			2008			2011		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Barristers, solicitors, legal	7	3	10	5	3	8	6	5	11
Business executives, managers	11	2	13	13	5	18	11	4	15
Farmers and graziers	4	-	4	2	2	4	1	1	2
Lecturers, professors, teachers	5	6	11	4	2	6	2	1	3
Local government official	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Medical practitioners, dentists, nurses, other health professionals	3	3	6	1	-	1	2	-	2
Members of state/territory legislatures	3	-	3	2	-	2	2	3	5
Other professional and administrators	8	2	10	5	2	7	2	2	4
Party and union administrators and officials	14	-	14	13	5	18	15	5	20
Political consultants, advisers	2	-	2	2	6	8	1	6	7
Public service/policy managers and administrators	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	1
Researchers, research assistants, electoral and project officers	2	-	2	2	-	2	3	1	4
Tradespersons	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	60	16	76	49	27	76	46	30	76

\*Occupation immediately prior to entering the Commonwealth Parliament

Source: Summary of data compiled by M Lumb from *Parliamentary Handbook*<sup>68</sup>

67. L Farrow, 'A glass ceiling, of torts', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 2011, viewed 20 February 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2F1266556%22>

68. *Parliamentary Handbook*, op. cit.

**Table 8.2: Previous occupations by gender in House of Representatives, 1988, 2008 and 2011 compared**

Occupation*	Year								
	1988			2008			2011		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Barristers, solicitors, legal	19	1	20	13	8	21	10	9	19
Business executives, managers	25	-	25	25	9	34	32	10	42
Farmers and graziers	14	-	14	7	-	7	6	0	6
Lecturers, professors, teachers	14	2	16	1	-	1	1	1	2
Local government official	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2
Medical practitioners, dentists, nurses, other health professionals	5	1	6	3	-	3	3	1	4
Members of state/territory legislatures	13	1	14	8	1	9	7	1	8
Other professional and administrators	23	2	25	12	6	18	11	2	13
Party and union administrators and officials	12	-	12	16	4	20	14	2	16
Political consultants, advisers	3	-	3	18	5	23	22	3	25
Public service/policy managers and administrators	5	-	5	5	2	7	4	5	9
Researchers, research assistants, electoral and project officers	5	3	8	3	4	7	2	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>150</b>

\*Occupation immediately prior to entering the Commonwealth Parliament

Source: Summary of data compiled by M Lumb from *Parliamentary Handbook*<sup>69</sup>

### Local government service

Local government service is an important factor in considering women's parliamentary participation, since many women begin their parliamentary careers by being elected to local councils.<sup>70</sup> According to the Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government, Australia has 565 local governments. In February 2008, the LGMA National Board adopted a national strategy to advance women in local government into senior management positions. A key strategy platform is the development and promotion of a Year of Women in Local Government in 2010. In 2011, women comprised 27.8 per cent of elected representatives, and women held about five per cent of chief executive officer positions. The Australian Local Government Association notes that, despite efforts to increase

69. *Parliamentary Handbook*, op. cit.

70. Since 1984, 19 women elected to the Commonwealth Parliament have previously served in local government. See *Parliamentary Handbook*, op. cit.



women's participation in elected and executive roles, the proportion of women elected to local government has changed little in the past 20 years.<sup>71</sup>

**Table 9: Women in local government**

State	Candidates			Elected representatives			Mayors		
	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female
NSW (2008)	4441	1480	33	1455	387	27	148	34	23
Vic (2008)	1975	612	31	631	188	30	79	18	23
Qld (2008)	1363	423	31	480	167	35	61	11	16
WA (2009)	1050	312	30	693	196	28	128	31	24
SA (2010)	1274	362	28	647	179	28	67	14	21
Tas (2009)	291	76	26	281	38	27	27	7	27
NT (2008)	206	66	32	147	51	34	16	4	25
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10 600</b>	<b>3331</b>	<b>31.4</b>	<b>4334</b>	<b>1206</b>	<b>27.8</b>	<b>526</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>22.6</b>

Source: Data compiled by Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government and supplied by the Australian Local Government Association, 27 October 2011

## In the parliament

For most of the twentieth century, women were either absent or present in very small numbers in Australia's parliaments, and the values, rules, procedures and practice that prevail have been largely shaped by male parliamentarians. The proportion of women parliamentarians has grown steadily since the 1980s, and some reforms have been introduced that go some way to addressing these changes. On 30 June 1994, for example, the House of Representatives passed a resolution requiring that references to members should be made using gender-inclusive pronouns, including 'chair' rather than 'chairman'. The Standing Orders were amended accordingly on 9 November 1994.<sup>72</sup>

The Westminster system of representative democracy has also meant that the style of politics in the chambers tends to be confrontational, reinforced by the 'majoritarian' model of government versus opposition together with strong party discipline. Political scientists Marian Sawer, Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble argue that this model of democracy makes cooperation on areas of interest to women more difficult on the floor of the chamber, suggesting that women parliamentarians find more scope for cross-party cooperation on committees.<sup>73</sup> In a rare example of cross-party

71. ACELG Fact Sheet 1: *Basic facts about Australian local government* (compiled July 2011), viewed 27 October 2011, [http://www.acelg.org.au/upload/program1/1316678480\\_Fact\\_Sheet\\_1.pdf](http://www.acelg.org.au/upload/program1/1316678480_Fact_Sheet_1.pdf); Australian Local Government Association, *Women in politics: showing the way in 2010*, ALGA, Deakin, Parliament 2010, p. 2, viewed 27 October 2011 [http://www.alga.asn.au/site/misc/alga/downloads/womeninpol/ALGA\\_WomenInPolitics.pdf](http://www.alga.asn.au/site/misc/alga/downloads/womeninpol/ALGA_WomenInPolitics.pdf); 2010 was declared the Year of Women in Local Government and included a national awards and accreditation program '50:50 Vision – Councils for Gender Equity'.

72. Changes in language used in the Senate are less clear: two committees, for example, still use the term 'chairman'.

73. M Sawer, M Tremblay and L Trimble, 'Introduction: Patterns and practice in the parliamentary representation of women', in Sawer et al, *Representing women in parliament*, op. cit., p. 5. They draw on political scientist Arend

cooperation in 2005, four women from the ALP, Australian Democrats, Liberal Party, and Nationals joined together in a private members' bill to remove ministerial power over the use of the 'abortion pill', RU486.<sup>74</sup> Women's rights activist, Sara Dowse, noted in 2009: 'The fact that a vote like the one on RU486 has yet to be repeated prompts some reflection. For how well does our parliament actually serve the citizens it's designed to represent, if women, who comprise over half the voting population, still constitute less than a third of the parliament?'<sup>75</sup>

## Portfolios

Former Commonwealth MP and academic, Mary Crawford states that, despite increasing numbers of women in parliaments in industrialised democracies such as Australia, in many ways they remain 'gendered organisations'.<sup>76</sup> She argues that a 'gendered division of labour' is evident, for example, in the types of ministries traditionally allocated to women in the Commonwealth Parliament.

Annabelle Rankin, as Minister for Housing, became the first woman to administer a Commonwealth department in 1966. Since then, 43 women have served as ministers (Cabinet and non-Cabinet) and parliamentary secretaries in the Commonwealth Parliament (see Appendix 3 for a full list of portfolios held by women in the Commonwealth Parliament). The majority of portfolios held by women have dealt with social and cultural services including the status of women, community services and housing, ageing, employment, training and workplace relations, education, health, sport, tourism, Indigenous affairs, arts, housing, local government, and social security.

Few women have held the more senior portfolios associated with matters of government, defence, foreign affairs, justice, finance, infrastructure and communications. The exceptions include the 2011 appointment of Nicola Roxon as Attorney-General, the finance and revenue portfolios held by Dame Senator Margaret Guilfoyle, Senator Penny Wong and Senator Helen Coonan respectively, as well as portfolios dealing with the environment (held by Ros Kelly MP), and climate change, energy efficiency and water (Senator Penny Wong). No woman has yet held been appointed as Minister for Defence, Foreign Affairs or Transport, although women have served in more junior roles as Minister for Defence Science and Personnel and Minister assisting the Minister for Defence. Crawford notes that a 'further hierarchy' was created with the distinction between the inner ministry or Cabinet and the outer ministry. Data compiled for Cabinet and the outer ministry from 1975 to 1997 show that women were more likely to hold places outside, rather than inside, Cabinet although, by 2011, the proportion of women was similar in both (see Table 2 above).<sup>77</sup> Journalist, Catherine Fox, has

---

Lijphart's description of the Westminster parliament 'majoritarian' model with government on one side of the chamber and the opposition on the other.

74. Senators Claire Moore (ALP), Lynette Allison (DEM), Judith Troeth (LIB) and Fiona Nash (NAT).

75. 'A different kind of politics', *Inside Story*, 19 December 2009, viewed 20 February 2012, <http://inside.org.au/a-different-kind-of-politics/>

76. M Crawford and B Pini, 'Gender Equality in National Politics: The Views of Australian Male Politicians', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, no. 4, December 2010, pp. 608–10.

77. J Curtin, *Women in Australian federal Cabinet*, Research Note no. 40, 1996–7, Parliamentary Library, viewed 21 February 2012, [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/EMB30/upload\\_binary/EMB30.pdf;fileType=application/pdf#search=%22women%20in%20australian%20federal%20cabinet%22](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/EMB30/upload_binary/EMB30.pdf;fileType=application/pdf#search=%22women%20in%20australian%20federal%20cabinet%22)

recently argued that '[w]hen you normalise women's presence in leadership and senior ranks', women are no longer treated as a minority group and are less likely to be subject to the type of 'scrutiny and double standards' that women have experienced in senior positions such as those in parliaments and on boards.<sup>78</sup>

**Table 10: Portfolios held by women in Commonwealth Parliament, 1943–2011**

Portfolio	Total women
Status of women	11
Community services, families, housing	7
Ageing, aged care, veterans affairs	5
Employment, workplace relations, workforce participation, training	5
Education	4
Health	4
Sport	3
Defence industry, science and personnel, assisting Minister for Defence	3
Finance, revenue	3
Indigenous affairs, employment, justice	3
Tourism	3
Arts	2
Environment, climate change, energy efficiency and water	2
Executive positions*	2
Housing	2
Local government	2
Social security	2
Telecommunications	2
Consumer affairs	1
Early childhood, childcare	1
Attorney-General	1
Human services	1
Immigration, multicultural affairs	1
Justice	1
Special minister for state	1
Small business	1
Social inclusion	1
Special Minister for State	1
Youth	1

\*including the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, and Vice-President of the Executive Council

78. Fox, 'Gillard's performance does not define women', op. cit.

Source: Summary of data compiled from *Parliamentary Handbook*

## Parliamentary committees

Crawford has found a similar trend in Commonwealth parliamentary committee representation. As noted above, the role of committee chair is regarded as a stepping stone to senior political positions, and the roles are highly sought after. Crawford observed that those committees considered to have a higher status are typically dominated by men—foreign affairs, economic and financial matters and security and terrorism issues—whilst women are typically found on the ‘less prestigious and powerful’ committees dealing with ‘soft’ or ‘nurturing’ issues including health, education and welfare.<sup>79</sup>

Parliamentary researcher Sonia Palmieri, in her work on women chairs of committees between 1987 and 2008, has identified a number of factors that influence the selection of committee chairs. These include the chamber in which they sit, their political party, their experience as deputy chair, and their expertise in relevant fields prior to entering parliament. She notes that the number and range of House of Representatives committees chaired by women has ‘improved significantly’ since the 1980s, reflecting the increase in the number of women MPs as well as their range of experience prior to entering parliament. She also notes particular trends, as well as different patterns, that have emerged between the two chambers. The House of Representatives, for example, has a strong tradition of appointing women to procedural committees, whilst relatively few women have chaired joint committees (which tend to deal with higher status issues such as foreign affairs).

In the Senate, which has a higher proportion of women than in the House and a more complex committee structure, Palmieri found a correspondingly greater number of women chairs of committees dealing with a more diverse range of subjects. She also noted that the separation of Senate general purpose standing committees into legislation (chaired by government members), and reference (chaired by opposition members), means that women are able to work closely in pairs in relation to specific portfolio areas.<sup>80</sup> However, in the 43<sup>rd</sup> Parliament, women chair joint committees dealing with clean energy, cybersafety, public works and migration, suggesting a move away from the more traditional or ‘soft’ issues.

## Children in parliament

In 1983 Ros Kelly became the first woman to have a baby while serving in the Commonwealth Parliament. Since then a number of female parliamentarians have had children whilst in office and there have been several instances where very young children have been brought into the chambers. The presence of children in the chambers has attracted a range of responses from presiding officers,

---

79. M Crawford, ‘Gender and the Australian Parliament’, *Online Opinion*, 8 May 2007, viewed 20 February 2012, <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/print.asp?article=5808>

80. Palmieri, ‘Gender mainstreaming in the Australian Parliament’, op.cit. As Palmieri notes, the designation of committee chair is determined by the rules of each chamber: chairs of House of Representatives and Joint committees are drawn from the governing party; in the Senate some committees are chaired by government whilst others are chaired by opposition or minor parties.

parliamentary colleagues, and the media.<sup>81</sup> Most notably, in 2009, Senator Sarah Hanson-Young's two-year old child was removed from the Chamber during a division after a ruling by the President of the Senate relating to access by 'strangers' or 'visitors'. This incident became the focus for a wider debate about work-life balance for parliamentarians, and drew attention to the competing demands of a modern workplace, ensuring that a nation's democratically elected members can fully participate in the parliament, and upholding the rules of parliamentary practice.

With the increase in the number of women having children whilst in office, there have also been cross-party calls for family-friendly reforms to the parliamentary environment and its practices. In recent years, some measures have been put into place to accommodate the parenting needs of parliamentarians, staff, and members of the public visiting Parliament House. These have included an on-site childcare facility, rooms for breast-feeding mothers, and a special provision for proxy voting by nursing mothers during divisions in the House of Representatives.<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusion

Australia was one of the first countries in the world to grant women full political rights, but it was one of the last Western countries to elect women to its national Parliament.<sup>83</sup> One hundred and ten years after the first women contested a Commonwealth election, only one-quarter of Members in the House of Representatives and a little more than one-third of Senators are women. Despite the presence of several high-profile women in Commonwealth, state and territory parliaments in recent years, including Australia's first female Prime Minister (in 2010) and Attorney-General (in 2011), women continue to be significantly under-represented in Australia's parliaments, within Cabinets, and in senior ministries and parliamentary positions. Under-representation remains a significant challenge, both structurally and culturally, for Australia's parliaments. Academic studies suggest that the under-representation of women in our elected parliaments has a significant impact on how women generally perceive their level of inclusion in society.

Recent studies of women in Australia's parliaments also indicate that, in addition to the numbers, there are still significant social and cultural factors that inhibit women from participating on an equal basis as men, particularly where party loyalty is paramount. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, and parliamentary associations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, are focusing on ways to encourage national parliaments to better accommodate women. The IPU's 2008

---

81. See Table 2: Children brought into the parliamentary chambers, in M Rodrigues, *Children in the parliamentary chambers*, Parliamentary Library Research Paper no. 9, 2009–10, 19 November 2009, p. 13, viewed 15 February 2012,

<http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprspub%2FY39V6%22>

82. Ibid, pp. 20-2. On 12 February 2008, the House of Representatives passed a resolution allowing nursing mothers to vote by proxy 'for any division except that on the third reading of a bill which proposes an alteration of the Constitution'. In doing so it recognised that Members required to nurse infants may not always be able to attend in the Chamber to vote in divisions. The provision was first used on 20 October 2008 by Mrs Sophie Mirabella. See House of Representatives *Votes and Proceedings*, 12 February 2008, item 27, pp. 27–8, viewed 20 February 2012, [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/votes/2008-02-12/toc\\_pdf/RVPF001.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22chamber/votes/2008-02-12/0027%22](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/votes/2008-02-12/toc_pdf/RVPF001.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22chamber/votes/2008-02-12/0027%22)

83. Women in the Senate, op. cit.

global study of women in parliament, *Equality in politics: a survey of women and men in parliament*, stated that parliaments have a key role to play in mainstreaming gender in society as a whole as well as within the parliamentary environment itself. The IPU advocated a gender-sensitive parliament that will respond to 'the needs and interests of both men and women in its work as a nation's peak legislative institution'.<sup>84</sup> It found that 'women are overwhelmingly the main drivers of progress in gender equality in parliament but that parliaments, as institutions, also have responsibilities'.<sup>85</sup>

In order to assist parliaments to fulfil their responsibilities in what it calls 'gender mainstreaming', the IPU examined the issue of gender-sensitivity in parliaments around the world and published a detailed report outlining current best practice in achieving gender equality. One practice adopted is for parliaments to establish a dedicated gender equality committee to help mainstream a gender perspective throughout parliamentary work.<sup>86</sup> The author, Sonia Palmieri, has also undertaken an examination of how far the Australian Parliament has embraced gender mainstreaming since the 1990s.<sup>87</sup> Dr Palmieri notes that '[g]ender equality is not guaranteed simply by the presence of women in parliament. It also depends on a parliament's gender sensitivity and awareness, its policies and infrastructure'. Gender-sensitive parliaments 'remove the barriers to women's full participation and offer a positive example or model to society at large'.<sup>88</sup>

- 
84. S Palmieri, *Gender-sensitive parliaments: a global review of good practice*, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Reports and Documents no. 65, 2011, p. 6, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf>  
The United Nations defined gender mainstreaming in 1997 as 'the process of ensuring that policies and practices meet the needs of men and women equitably'.
85. AB Johnsson, Secretary General, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Foreword, in *ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, p. 40. The report was released in December 2011.
87. Palmieri, *Gender mainstreaming in the Australian Parliament*, *op.cit.*
88. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Women in national parliaments—comparative rankings of top 50 countries as at 30 June 2011 (2008 and 2001 compared)<sup>89</sup>

Rank	Country	House or chamber		Comparative ranking	
		Lower or single House % Female	Upper House or Senate % Female	2008	2001
2011					
1	Rwanda	56.3	34.6	1	18
2	Andorra	53.6	-	35	48
3	Sweden	45.0	-	2	1
4	South Africa	44.5	29.6	15	10
5	Cuba	43.2	-	3	12
6	Iceland	42.9	-	13	6
7	Finland	42.5	-	4	3
8	Norway	39.6	-	10	5
9	Belgium	39.3	36.6	11	22
"	Netherlands	39.3	36.0	6	4
10	Mozambique	39.2	-	12	9
11	Angola	38.6	-	77	43
"	Costa Rica	38.6	-	8	31
12	Argentina	38.5	35.2	5	15
13	Denmark	38.0	-	7	2
14	Spain	36.6	32.3	9	11
15	United Republic of Tanzania	36.0	-	21	24
16	Uganda	34.9	-	19	?
17	New Zealand	33.6	-	14	8
18	Nepal	33.2	-	16	95
19	Germany	32.8	21.7	18	7
20	Ecuador	32.3	-	35	46
21	Burundi	32.1	46.3	20	47
22	Belarus	31.8	32.8	23	65
23	The FYR of Macedonia	30.9	-	17	91
24	Guyana	30.0	-	24	34
25	Timor-Leste	29.2	-	22	-
26	Switzerland	29.0	21.7	25	23

89. A full list of countries with comparative IPU rankings is available from the Parliamentary Library.

Representation of women in Australian parliaments

Rank	Country	House or chamber		Comparative ranking	
27	Trinidad and Tobago	28.6	25.8	29	58
28	Austria	27.9	29.5	16	13
29	Ethiopia	27.8	16.3	47	84
30	Afghanistan	27.7	27.5	27	-
31	Portugal	26.5	-	26	33
"	South Sudan	26.5	10.0	-	-
32	Mexico	26.2	22.7	41	42
33	Monaco	26.1	-	35	25
34	Bolivia	25.4	47.2	68	57
35	Iraq	25.2	-	33	85
36	Sudan	25.1	17.9	65	70
37	Lao People's Democratic Republic	25.0	-	34	27
38	Australia	24.7	38.2	31	21
"	Canada	24.7	35.9	52	26
39	Namibia	24.4	26.9	28	19
"	Viet Nam	24.4	-	31	17
40	Lesotho	24.2	18.2	35	104
41	Liechtenstein	24.0	-	37	?
42	Croatia	23.5	-	52	29
"	Seychelles	23.5	-	38	21
43	Kyrgyzstan	23.3	-	32	67
44	Senegal	22.7	40.0	46	40
45	United Arab Emirates	22.5	-	44	118
46	Pakistan	22.2	17.0	"	-
"	Singapore	22.2	-	36	92
47	Mauritania	22.1	14.3	45	104
"	Philippines	22.1	13.0	54	?
48	Czech Republic	22.0	18.5	74	44
"	Eritrea	22.0	-	46	45
"	United Kingdom	22.0	20.1	59	36
"	Uzbekistan	22.0	15.0	66	88
49	Serbia	21.6	-	50	-
50	Peru	21.5	-	22	35

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in national parliaments*, world classification, 31 August 2011, 31 August 2008 and 12 October 2001, viewed 4 November 2011, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>



## Appendix 2: Women in the Commonwealth Parliament, 1943–2011

### Senate

Name	Party	State	Period of service
1. Tangney, Dorothy (DBE 1968)	ALP	WA	21.8.1943–30.6.1968 defeated at 1967 Senate election
2. Rankin, Annabelle (DBE 1957)	LIB	Qld	1.7.1947–24.5.1971 resigned
3. Robertson, Agnes	LIB; CP	WA	10.12.1949–30.6.1962 retired
4. Wedgwood, Ivy (DBE 1967)	LIB	Vic.	10.12.1949–30.6.1971 retired
5. Buttfield, Nancy (DBE 1972)	LIB	SA	11.10.1955–30.6.1965; 1.7.1968–11.4.1974 retired
6. Breen, Marie OBE (OBE 1958; DBE 1979)	LIB	Vic	1.7.1962–30.6.1968 retired
7. Guilfoyle, Margaret (DBE 1979)	LIB	Vic	1.7.1971–5.6.1987 retired
8. Coleman, Ruth	ALP	WA	18.5.1974–5.6.1987 retired
9. Martin (later Sullivan), Kathy*	LIB	Qld	18.5.1974–5.11.1984 resigned; elected to House of Representatives
10. Melzer, Jean	ALP	Vic	18.5.1974–30.6.1981 defeated at 1980 elections
11. Ryan, Susan	ALP	ACT	13.12.1975–29.1.1988 resigned
12. Walters, Shirley	LIB	Tas	13.12.1975–30.6.1993 retired
13. Haines, Janine	DEM	SA	14.12.1977–30.6.1978 retired; 1.7.1981 - 1.3.1990 resigned; contested House of Representatives
14. Hearn, Jean	ALP	Tas	15.10.1980–30.6.1985 retired
15. Bjelke-Petersen, Florence	NCP; NPA	Qld	12.3.1981–30.6.1993 retired
16. Reid, Margaret	LIB	ACT	5.5.1981–14.2.2003 resigned
17. Giles, Patricia	ALP	WA	1.7.1981–30.6.1993 retired
18. Crowley, Rosemary	ALP	SA	5.3.1983–30.6.2002 retired
19. Reynolds, Margaret	ALP	Qld	5.3.1983–30.6.1999 retired
20. Zakharov, Olive	ALP	Vic	5.3.1983–6.3.1995 died
21. Knowles, Susan	LIB	WA	1.12.1984–30.6.2005 retired
22. Vanstone, Amanda	LIB	SA	1.12.1984–26.4.2007 resigned
23. Vallentine, Jo	NDP; IND; GWA	WA	1.7.1985–31.1.1992 resigned
24. Newman, Jocelyn	LIB	Tas	13.3.1986–1.2.2002 resigned
25. Powell, Janet	DEM; IND	Vic	26.8.1986–30.6.1993 defeated at 1993 elections
26. West, Sue	ALP	NSW	11.2.1987–5.6.1987 defeated at 1987 elections; 1.7.1990–30.6.2002 retired
27. Bishop, Bronwyn*	LIB	NSW	11.7.1987–24.2.1994 resigned; elected to House of Representatives
28. Jenkins, Jean	DEM	WA	11.7.1987–30.6.1990 defeated at 1990 elections
29. Patterson, Kay	LIB	Vic	11.7.1987–30.6.2008 retired

Name	Party	State	Period of service
30. Dunn, Irina	NDP; IND	NSW	21.7.1988–30.6.1990 defeated at 1990 elections
31. Lees, Meg	DEM; IND; APA	SA	4.4.1990–30.6.2005 defeated at 2004 elections
32. Bourne, Vicki	DEM	NSW	1.7.1990–30.6.2002 defeated at 2001 elections
33. Kernot, Cheryl*	DEM	Qld	1.7.1990–15.10.1997 resigned; later elected to House of Representatives
34. Sowada, Karin	DEM	NSW	29.8.1991–30.6.1993 defeated at 1993 elections
35. Chamarette, Christabel	GWA	WA	12.3.1992–30.6.1996 defeated at 1996 elections
36. Margetts, Dee	GWA	WA	1.7.1993–30.6.1999 defeated at 1998 elections
37. Troeth, Judith	LIB	Vic	1.7.1993–30.6.2011 retired
38. Denman, Kay	ALP	Tas	24.8.1993–30.6.2005 retired
39. Neal, Belinda*	ALP	NSW	8.3.1994–3.9.1998 resigned; contested House of Representatives
40. Collins, Jacinta	ALP	Vic	3.5.1995–30.6.2005 defeated at 2004 elections, 8.4.2008–
41. Stott Despoja, Natasha	DEM	SA	29.11.1995–30.6.2008 retired
42. Lundy, Kate	ALP	ACT	2.3.1996–
43. Mackay, Sue	ALP	Tas	8.3.1996–29.7.2005 resigned
44. Allison, Lynette	DEM	Vic	1.7.1996–30.6.2008 defeated at 2007 elections
45. Coonan, Helen	LIB	NSW	1.7.1996–22.8.2011 resigned
46. Ferris, Jeannie	LIB	SA	1.7.1996–12.7.1996+; 24.7.1996–2.4.2007 died
47. Gibbs, Brenda	ALP	Qld	1.7.1996–30.6.2002 defeated at 2001 elections
48. Payne, Marise	LIB	NSW	9.4.1997–
49. Synon, Karen	LIB	Vic.	13.5.1997–30.6.1999 defeated at 1998 elections
50. Crossin, Trish	ALP	NT	16.6.1998–
51. McLucas, Jan	ALP	Qld	1.7.1999–
52. Kirk, Linda	ALP	SA	1.7.2002–30.6.2008 retired
53. Moore, Claire	ALP	Qld	1.7.2002–
54. Nettle, Kerry	AG	NSW	1.7.2002–30.6.2008 defeated at 2007 elections
55. Stephens, Ursula	ALP	NSW	1.7.2002–
56. Webber, Ruth	ALP	WA	1.7.2002–30.6.2008 defeated at 2007 elections
57. Wong, Penny	ALP	SA	1.7.2002–
58. Fierravanti-Wells, Connie	LIB	NSW	5.5.2005–
59. Adams, Judith	LIB	WA	1.7.2005–
60. Hurley, Annette	ALP	SA	1.7.2005–30.6.2011 retired
61. McEwen, Anne	ALP	Qld	1.7.2005–
62. Milne, Christine	GRN	Tas	1.7.2005–
63. Nash, Fiona	NAT	NSW	1.7.2005–
64. Polley, Helen	ALP	Tas	1.7.2005–
65. Siewert, Rachel	GRN	WA	1.7.2005–
66. Wortley, Dana	ALP	SA	1.7.2005–30.6.2011 defeated at 2010 elections
67. Brown, Carol	ALP	Tas	25.8.2005–
68. Boyce, Sue	LIB	Qld	19.4.2007–

Name	Party	State	Period of service
69. Fisher, Mary Jo	LIB	SA	6.6.2007–
70. Bilyk, Catryna	ALP	Tas	1.7.2008–
71. Cash, Michaelia	LIB	WA	1.7.2008–
72. Hanson-Young, Sarah	AG	SA	1.7.2008–
73. Kroger, Helen	LIB	Vic	1.7.2008–
74. Pratt, Louise	ALP	WA	1.7.2008–
75. McKenzie, Bridget	NAT	Vic	1.7.2011–
76. Rhiannon, Lee	GRN	NSW	1.7.2011–
77. Singh, Lisa	ALP	Tas	1.7.2011–
78. Urquhart, Anne	ALP	Tas	1.7.2011–
79. Waters, Larissa	GRN	Qld	1.7.2011–
80. Wright, Penny	GRN	SA	1.7.2011–

\* Later served in the House of Representatives.

+ Resigned 12.7.1996.

### House of Representatives

Name	Party	Election division	Period of service
1. Lyons, Enid GBE, AD	UAP/LIB	Darwin (Tas)	21.8.1943–19.3.1951 retired
2. Blackburn, Doris	IND LAB	Bourke (Vic)	28.9.1946–10.12.1949 defeated
3. Brownbill, Kay	LIB	Kingston (SA)	26.11.1966–25.10.1969 defeated
4. Child, Joan	ALP	Henty (Vic)	18.5.1974–13.12.1975 defeated; 18.10.1980–19.2.1990 retired
5. Darling, Elaine	ALP	Lilley (Qld)	18.10.1980–8.2.1993 retired
6. Kelly, Ros	ALP	Canberra (ACT)	18.10.1980–30.1.1995 resigned
7. Fatin, Wendy	ALP	Canning (WA) Brand (WA)	5.3.1983–1.12.1984 1.12.1984–29.1.1996 retired
8. McHugh, Jeannette	ALP	Brand (WA) Phillip (NSW) Grayndler (NSW)	1.12.1984–29.1.1996 retired 5.3.1983–13.3.1993 13.3.1993–29.1.1996 retired
9. Mayer, Helen	ALP	Chisholm (Vic)	5.3.1983–11.7.1987 defeated
10. Jakobsen, Carolyn	ALP	Cowan (WA)	1.12.1984–13.3.1993 defeated
11. Sullivan (formerly Martin), Kathy*	LIB	Moncrieff (Qld)	1.12.1984–8.10.2001 retired
12. Crawford, Mary	ALP	Forde (Qld)	11.7.1987–2.3.1996 defeated
13. Harvey, Elizabeth	ALP	Hawker (SA)	11.7.1987–24.3.1990 defeated
14. Bailey, Fran	LIB	McEwen (Vic)	24.3.1990–13.3.1993 defeated; 2.3.1996–19.7.2010 retired
15. Crosio, Janice, MBE	ALP	Prospect (NSW)	24.3.1990–31.8.2004 retired
16. Gallus, Christine	LIB	Hawker (SA) Hindmarsh (SA)	24.3.1990–13.3.1993 13.3.1993–31.8.2004 retired
17. Deahm, Maggie	ALP	Macquarie (NSW)	13.3.1993–2.3.1996 defeated
18. Easson, Mary	ALP	Lowe (NSW)	13.3.1993–2.3.1996 defeated
19. Henzell, Marjorie	ALP	Capricornia (Qld)	13.3.1993–2.3.1996 defeated
20. Moylan, Judith	LIB	Pearce (WA)	13.3.1993–

*Representation of women in Australian parliaments*

Name	Party	Election division	Period of service
21. Smith, Silvia	ALP	Bass (Tas)	13.3.1993–2.3.1996 defeated
22. Worth, Trish	LIB	Adelaide (SA)	13.3.1993–9.10.2004 defeated
23. Lawrence, Carmen	ALP	Fremantle (WA)	12.3.1994–17.10.2007 retired
24. Bishop, Bronwyn*	LIB	Mackellar (NSW)	26.3.1994–
25. Draper, Trish	LIB	Makin (SA)	2.3.1996–17.10.2007 retired
26. Ellis, Annette	ALP	Namadgi (ACT) Canberra (ACT)	2.3.1996–28.10.1998 28.10.1998–19.7.2010 retired
27. Elson, Kay	LIB	Forde (Qld)	2.3.1996–17.10.2007 retired
28. Gambaro, Teresa	LIB	Petrie (Qld) Brisbane (Qld)	2.3.1996–24.11.2007 defeated 21.10.2010–
29. Gash, Joanna	LIB	Gilmore (NSW)	2.3.1996–
30. Grace, Elizabeth	LIB	Lilley (Qld)	2.3.1996–3.10.1998 defeated
31. Hanson, Pauline	IND; PHON	Oxley (Qld)	2.3.1996–3.10.1998 defeated
32. Jeanes, Susan	LIB	Kingston (SA)	2.3.1996–3.10.1998 defeated
33. Johnston, Ricky	LIB	Canning (WA)	2.3.1996–3.10.1998 defeated
34. Kelly, De-Anne	NAT	Dawson (Qld)	2.3.1996–24.11.2007 defeated
35. Kelly, Jackie	LIB	Lindsay (NSW)	2.3.1996–11.9.1996+; 19.10.1996–17.10.2007 retired
36. Macklin, Jenny	ALP	Jagajaga (Vic)	2.3.1996–
37. Stone, Sharman	LIB	Murray (Vic)	2.3.1996–
38. Vale, Danna	LIB	Hughes (NSW)	2.3.1996–19.7.2010 retired
39. West, Andrea	LIB	Bowman (Qld)	2.3.1996–3.10.1998 defeated
40. Bishop, Julie	LIB	Curtin (WA)	3.10.1998–
41. Burke, Anna	ALP	Chisholm (Vic)	3.10.1998–
42. Gerick, Jane	ALP	Canning (WA)	3.10.1998–10.11.2001 defeated
43. Gillard, Julia	ALP	Lalor (Vic)	3.10.1998–
44. Hall, Jill	ALP	Shortland (NSW)	3.10.1998–
45. Hoare, Kelly	ALP	Charlton (NSW)	3.10.1998–17.10.2007 retired
46. Hull, Kay	NAT	Riverina (NSW)	3.10.1998–19.7.2010 retired
47. Irwin, Julia	ALP	Fowler (NSW)	3.10.1998–19.7.2010 retired
48. Kernot, Cheryl*	ALP	Dickson (Qld)	3.10.1998–10.11.2001 defeated
49. Livermore, Kirsten	ALP	Capricornia (Qld)	3.10.1998–
50. McFarlane, Jann	ALP	Stirling (WA)	3.10.1998–9.10.2004 defeated
51. May, Margaret	LIB	McPherson (Qld)	3.10.1998–17.10.2007 retired
52. O'Byrne, Michelle	ALP	Bass (Tas)	3.10.1998–9.10.2004 defeated
53. Plibersek, Tanya	ALP	Sydney (NSW)	3.10.1998–
54. Roxon, Nicola	ALP	Gellibrand (Vic)	3.10.1998–
55. Corcoran, Ann	ALP	Isaacs (Vic)	12.8.2000–17.10.2007 retired
56. Short, Leonie	ALP	Ryan (Qld)	17.3.2001–10.11.2001 defeated
57. George, Jennie	ALP	Throsby (NSW)	10.11.2001–19.7.2010 retired
58. Grierson, Sharon	ALP	Newcastle (NSW)	10.11.2001–
59. Jackson, Sharryn	ALP	Hasluck (WA)	10.11.2001–9.10.2004 defeated 24.11.2007–21.8.2010 defeated

Name	Party	Election division	Period of service
60. King, Catherine	ALP	Ballarat (Vic)	10.11.2001–
61. Ley, Sussan	LIB	Farrer (NSW)	10.11.2001–
62. Mirabella, Sophie	LIB	Indi (Vic)	10.11.2001–
63. Vamvakinou, Maria	ALP	Calwell (Vic)	10.11.2001–
64. Bird, Sharon	ALP	Cunningham (NSW)	9.10.2004–
65. Elliot, Justine	ALP	Richmond (NSW)	9.10.2004–
66. Ellis, Kate	ALP	Adelaide (SA)	9.10.2004–
67. Markus, Louise	LIB	Greenway (NSW) Macquarie (NSW)	9.10.2004–21.8.2010 21.8.2010–
68. Owens, Julie	ALP	Parramatta (NSW)	9.10.2004–
69. Campbell, Jodie	ALP	Bass (Tas)	24.11.2007–19.7.2010 retired
70. Collins, Julie	ALP	Franklin (Tas)	24.11.2007–
71. D'Ath, Yvette	ALP	Petrie (Qld)	24.11.2007–
72. Marino, Nola	LIB	Forrest (WA)	24.11.2007–
73. McKew, Maxine	ALP	Bennelong (NSW)	24.11.2007–21.8.2010 defeated
74. Neal, Belinda*	ALP	Robertson (NSW)	24.11.2007–19.7.2010 retired
75. Parke, Melissa	ALP	Fremantle (WA)	24.11.2007–
76. Rea, Kerry	ALP	Bonner (Qld)	24.11.2007–21.8.2010 defeated
77. Rishworth, Amanda	ALP	Kingston (SA)	24.11.2007–
78. Saffin, Janelle	ALP	Page (NSW)	24.11.2007–
79. O'Dwyer, Kelly	LIB	Higgins (Vic)	5.12.2009–
80. Andrews, Karen	LIB	McPherson (Qld)	21.8.2010–
81. Brodtmann, Gai	ALP	Canberra (ACT)	21.8.2010–
82. Griggs, Natasha	CLP	Solomon (NT)	21.8.2010–
83. O'Neill, Deborah	ALP	Robertson (NSW)	21.8.2010–
84. Prentice, Jane	LIB	Ryan (Qld)	21.8.2010–
85. Rowland, Michelle	ALP	Greenway (NSW)	21.8.2010–
86. Smyth, Laura	ALP	La Trobe (Vic)	21.8.2010–

\* Former Senators.

+ Election declared void.

Source: *Parliamentary Handbook*

## Appendix 3: Women in ministries, 1901–2011, as at 1 January 2012

Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
Lyons, Enid†	HR	UAP/LIB	Tas	Vice-President of the Executive Council	19.12.1949– 7.3.1951
Rankin, Annabelle DBE	Senate	LIB	Qld	Minister for Housing	26.1.1966– 22.3.1971
Guilfoyle, Margaret DBE	Senate	LIB	Vic	Minister for Education	11.11.1975– 22.12.1975
<b>Guilfoyle, Margaret DBE</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Social Security (in Cabinet from 8.7.76)</b>	<b>22.12.1975– 3.11.1980</b>
<b>Guilfoyle, Margaret DBE</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Finance</b>	<b>3.11.1980– 11.3.1983</b>
Ryan, Susan	Senate	ALP	ACT	Minister for Education and Youth Affairs	11.3.1983– 13.12.1984
Ryan, Susan	Senate	ALP	ACT	Minister for Education	13.12.1984– 24.7.1987
Ryan, Susan	Senate	ALP	ACT	Special Minister of State Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women Minister Assisting the PM for the Bicentennial Minister Assisting the PM for Community Services and Health	24.7.1987– 19.1.1988
<i>Reynolds, Margaret</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS for Local Government*</i>	<i>24.7.1987– 18.9.1987</i>
Reynolds, Margaret	Senate	ALP	Qld	Minister for Local Government	18.9.1987– 4.4.1990
<i>Kelly, Ros</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>PS for Defence Science and Personnel*</i>	<i>24.7.1987– 18.9.1987</i>
Kelly, Ros	HR	ALP	ACT	Minister for Defence Science and Personnel	18.9.1987– 6.4.1989
Kelly, Ros	HR	ALP	ACT	Minister for Telecommunications and Aviation Support	6.4.1989– 4.4.1990
<b>Kelly, Ros</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>ACT</b>	<b>Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories</b>	<b>4.4.1990– 24.3.1993</b>
Fatin, Wendy	HR	ALP	WA	Minister for Local Government	4.4.1990– 27.12.1991

Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
Fatin, Wendy	HR	ALP	WA	Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women	4.4.1990– 24.3.1993
McHugh, Jeanette	HR	ALP	NSW	Minister for Consumer Affairs	27.5.1992– 11.3.1996
<b>Kelly, Ros</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>ACT</b>	<b>Minister for the Environment, Sport and Territories</b>	<b>24.3.1993– 1.3.1994</b>
Crowley, Rosemary	Senate	ALP	SA	Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women	24.3.1993– 23.12.1994
<i>Crosio, Janice</i>	HR	ALP	NSW	<i>PS to the Minister for the Arts and Administrative Services</i>	24.3.1993– 23.12.1993
<b>Kelly, Ros</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>ACT</b>	<b>Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women</b>	<b>23.12.1993– 1.3.1994</b>
<i>Crosio, Janice</i>	HR	ALP	NSW	<i>PS to the Minister for the Environment, Sport and Territories</i>	23.12.1993– 25.3.1994
<b>Lawrence, Carmen</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>WA</b>	<b>Minister for Human Services and Health</b> <b>Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women</b>	<b>25.3.1994– 11.3.1996</b>
<i>Crawford, Mary</i>	HR	ALP	Qld	<i>PS to the Minister for Housing and Regional Development</i>	25.3.1994– 11.3.1996
<i>Crosio, Janice</i>	HR	ALP	NSW	<i>PS to the Minister for Social Security</i>	25.3.1994– 11.3.1996
<b>Newman, Jocelyn</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Tas</b>	<b>Minister for Social Security</b>	<b>11.3.1996– 21.10.1998</b>
<b>Newman, Jocelyn</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Tas</b>	<b>Minister Assisting the PM for the Status of Women</b>	<b>11.3.1996– 9.10.1997</b>
<b>Vanstone, Amanda</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Minister for Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs</b>	<b>11.3.1996– 9.10.1997</b>
Moylan, Judi	HR	LIB	WA	Minister for Family Services	11.3.1996– 9.10.1997
Bishop, Bronwyn	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister for Defence Industry, Science and Personnel	11.3.1996– 21.10.1998
<i>Worth, Trish</i>	HR	LIB	SA	<i>PS to the Minister for Health and Family Services</i>	18.7.1997– 21.10.1998
Vanstone, Amanda	Senate	LIB	SA	Minister for Justice	9.10.1997– 21.10.1998
Moylan, Judi	HR	LIB	WA	Minister for the Status of Women	9.10.1997– 21.10.1998
<i>Sullivan, Kathy</i>	HR	LIB	Qld	<i>PS (Foreign Affairs)</i>	9.10.1997–

Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
					16.2.2000
<i>Troeth, Judith</i>	Senate	LIB	Vic	<i>PS to the Minister for Primary Industries and Energy</i>	9.10.1997– 21.10.1998
Kelly, Jackie	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister for Sport and Tourism	21.10.1998– 26.11.2001
Kelly, Jackie	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister Assisting the PM for the Sydney 2000 Games	21.10.1998– 30.1.2001
<b>Newman, Jocelyn</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Tas</b>	<b>Minister for Family and Community Services</b>	<b>21.10.1998– 30.1.2001</b>
Bishop, Bronwyn	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister for Aged Care	21.10.1998– 26.11.2001
Vanstone, Amanda	Senate	LIB	SA	Minister for Justice and Customs	21.10.1998– 30.1.2001
<i>Patterson, Kay</i>	Senate	LIB	Vic	<i>PS to the Minister of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs</i>	21.10.1998– 26.11.2001
<i>Stone, Sharman</i>	HR	LIB	Vic	<i>PS to the Minister for the Environment and Heritage</i>	21.10.1998– 26.10.2004
<i>Troeth, Judith</i>	Senate	LIB	Vic	<i>PS to the Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry</i>	21.10.1998– 26.10.2004
<i>Worth, Trish</i>	HR	LIB	SA	<i>PS to the Minister for Education, Training and Youth Affairs</i>	21.10.1998– 26.11.2001
<i>Patterson, Kay</i>	Senate	LIB	Vic	<i>PS to the Minister for Foreign Affairs</i>	16.2.2000– 26.11.2001
<b>Vanstone, Amanda</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Minister for Family and Community Services</b> <b>Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women</b>	<b>30.1.2001– 7.10.2003</b>
<b>Patterson, Kay</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Health and Ageing</b>	<b>26.11.2001– 7.10.2003</b>
Coonan, Helen	Senate	LIB	NSW	Minister for Revenue and Assistant Treasurer	26.11.2001– 18.7.2004
Vale, Danna	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister for Veterans' Affairs	26.11.2001– 26.10.2004
Vale, Danna	HR	LIB	NSW	Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence	26.11.2001– 7.10.2003
<i>Bailey, Fran</i>	HR	LIB	Vic	<i>PS (Defence)</i>	26.11.2001– 18.7.2004



Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
<i>Gallus, Chris</i>	HR	LIB	SA	<i>PS (Foreign Affairs)</i>	26.11.2001– 18.7.2004
<i>Kelly, Jackie</i>	HR	LIB	NSW	<i>PS to the Prime Minister</i>	26.11.2001– 26.10.2004
<i>Worth, Trish</i>	HR	LIB	SA	<i>PS to the Minister for Health and Ageing</i>	26.11.2001– 26.10.2004
Bishop, Julie	HR	LIB	WA	Minister for Ageing	7.10.2003– 27.1.2006
<b>Patterson, Kay</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Family and Community Services</b>	<b>7.10.2003– 27.1.2006</b>
<b>Patterson, Kay</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women</b>	<b>7.10.2003– 26.10.2004</b>
<b>Vanstone, Amanda</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs</b>	<b>7.10.2003– 27.1.2006</b>
<i>Kelly, De-Anne</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>NAT</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Transport and Regional Services PS (Trade)</i>	7.10.2003– 26.10.2004
<b>Coonan, Helen</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>NSW</b>	<b>Minister for Communications, Information Technology and the Arts</b>	<b>18.7.2004– 3.12.2007</b>
Bailey, Fran	HR	LIB	Vic	Minister for Employment Services Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence	18.7.2004– 26.10.2004
<i>Gambaro, Teresa</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>LIB</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Defence</i>	18.7.2004– 27.1.2006
<b>Patterson, Kay</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Women's Issues</b>	<b>26.10.2004– 27.1.2006</b>
Kelly, De-Anne	HR	NAT	Qld	Minister for Veterans' Affairs	26.10.2004– 27.1.2006
Bailey, Fran	HR	LIB	Vic	Minister for Small Business and Tourism	26.10.2004– 3.12.2007
<i>Stone, Sharman</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>LIB</i>	<i>Vic</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Finance and Administration</i>	26.10.2004– 27.1.2006
Kelly, De-Anne	HR	NAT	Qld	Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence	16.11.2004– 27.1.2006
<b>Bishop, Julie</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>WA</b>	<b>Minister for Education, Science and Training</b>	<b>27.1.2006– 3.12.2007</b>
<b>Vanstone,</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>LIB</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Minister for Immigration and</b>	<b>27.1.2006–</b>

Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
<b>Amanda</b>				<b>Multicultural Affairs</b>	<b>30.1.2007</b>
Stone, Sharman	HR	LIB	Vic	Minister for Workforce Participation	27.1.2006– 3.12.2007
<i>Gambaro, Teresa</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>LIB</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Foreign Affairs</i>	27.1.2006– 30.1.2007
<i>Kelly, De-Anne</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>Nat</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Trade</i>	27.1.2006– 29.9.2006
<i>Kelly, De-Anne</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>Nat</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Transport and Regional Services</i>	29.9.2006– 3.12.2007
<i>Gambaro, Teresa</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>LIB</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship</i>	30.1.2007– 3.12.2007
<b>Gillard, Julia</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Deputy Prime Minister Minister for Education Minister for Employment and Workplace Relations Minister for Social Inclusion</b>	<b>3.12.2007– 24.6.2010</b>
<b>Macklin, Jenny</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs</b>	<b>3.12.2007– 14.12.2011</b>
<b>Roxon, Nicola</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Minister for Health and Ageing</b>	<b>3.12.2007– 14.12.2011</b>
<b>Wong, Penny</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Minister for Climate Change and Water Minister for Climate Change, Energy Efficiency and Water</b>	<b>3.12.2007– 8.3.2010 8.3.2010– 14.9.2010</b>
Elliot, Justine	HR	ALP	NSW	Minister for Ageing	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
Ellis, Kate	HR	ALP	SA	Minister for Youth Minister for Sport	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
Plibersek, Tanya	HR	ALP	NSW	Minister for Housing Minister for the Status of Women	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
<i>McKew, Maxine</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>PS for Early Childhood Education and Child Care</i>	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
<i>McLucas, Jan</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS to the Minister for Health and Ageing</i>	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
<i>Stephens, Ursula</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>PS for Social Inclusion and the Voluntary Sector PS Assisting the Prime Minister for Social Inclusion</i>	3.12.2007– 24.6.2010
<b>Gillard, Julia</b>	<b>HR</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>Vic</b>	<b>Prime Minister</b>	<b>24.6.2010–</b>

Name	Chamber	Party	State/ territory	Portfolio	Dates
Wong, Penny	Senate	ALP	SA	Minister for Finance and Deregulation	14.9.2010–
Macklin, Jenny	HR	ALP	Vic	Minister for Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs Minister for Disability Reform	14.12.2011–
Roxon, Nicola	HR	ALP	Vic	Attorney-General	14.12.2011–
Plibersek, Tanya	HR	ALP	NSW	Minister for Health	14.12.2011–
Ellis, Kate	HR	ALP	SA	Minister for Employment Participation Minister for Early Childhood and Childcare	14.12.2011–
Collins, Julie	HR	ALP	Tas	Minister for Community Services Minister for Indigenous Employment and Economic Development Minister for the Status of Women	14.12.2011–
<i>Elliot, Justine</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>PS for Trade</i>	<i>14.12.2011–</i>
<i>McLucas, Jan</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>PS for Disabilities and Carers</i>	<i>14.12.2011–</i>
<i>Collins, Jacinta</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Vic</i>	<i>PS for School Education and Workplace Relations</i>	<i>14.12.2011–</i>
<i>King, Catherine</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Vic</i>	<i>PS for Health and Ageing</i> <i>PS for Infrastructure and Transport</i>	<i>14.12.2011–</i>
<i>Lundy, Kate</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>PS to the Prime Minister</i> <i>PS for Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry</i>	<i>14.12.2011–</i>

\* Temporary title prior to the amendment of the *Ministers of State Act 1952*

† Until 11.1.1956 Cabinet comprised all members of the ministry

Explanatory notes:

- a) Includes Cabinet and non-Cabinet Ministers, and Parliamentary Secretaries
- b) **Bold—in Cabinet**; *Italics—PS (Parliamentary Secretary)*
- c) In a reshuffle announced on 2 March 2012, Senator Kate Lundy was promoted into the ministry as Minister for Sport, Minister for Multicultural Affairs and Minister Assisting for Industry and Innovation. Sharon Bird MP was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary for Higher Education and Skills. Minister Roxon added Emergency Management to her duties; Senator Jan McLucas is now also Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister; and Senator Jacinta Collins has become the first

female Manager of Government Business in the Senate while retaining her previous parliamentary secretary role.<sup>90</sup>

Source: Compiled by J Wilson, Parliamentary Library from *Parliamentary Handbook*

## Appendix 4: Selected milestones for women in Australian parliaments

Date	Milestone
1894	Women in the colony of South Australia win both the right to vote and stand for the colonial parliament
1899	Women in the colony of Western Australia win the right to vote; they win the right to stand for state parliament in 1920 and the first woman is elected in 1921 (Edith Cowan)
1902	The <i>Commonwealth Franchise Act</i> is passed, enabling all women (with the exception of Aboriginal women in some states) to vote for the Commonwealth Parliament. From this time, women are also able to sit in the Commonwealth Parliament; the first women are elected in 1943 (Dorothy Tangney and Enid Lyons)
	Women in New South Wales win the right to vote; they win the right to stand for the state Legislative Assembly in 1918
1903	Four women are candidates for the Commonwealth election—Nellie Martel, Mary Ann Moore Bentley and Vida Goldstein for the Senate, and Selina Anderson for the House of Representatives
	Women in Tasmania win the right to vote
1905	Women in Queensland win the right to vote
1908	Women in Victoria win the right to vote
1918	Queensland women win the right to stand for state parliament
1921	Edith Cowan (Nationalist) becomes Australia's first female parliamentarian when she is elected to the WA Legislative Assembly
1922	Women in Tasmania win the right to stand for state parliament
1923	Victorian women win the right to stand for state parliament
1925	Millicent Preston-Stanley (Nationalist) is the first woman is elected to the NSW Legislative Assembly
1926	Women in NSW win the right to stand for the Legislative Council
1929	Irene Longman (Progressive Nationalist) is the first women to be elected to the Queensland Legislative Assembly
1931	Ellen Webster (ALP) and Catherine Green (ALP) were appointed to the NSW Legislative Council
1933	Lady Millie Peacock (UAP) is the first woman to be elected to the Victorian Legislative Assembly
1943	Enid Lyons (later Dame), (UAP, later LIB) and Senator Dorothy Tangney (later Dame) (ALP) are the first female parliamentarians to be elected to the Commonwealth Parliament
1944	Lillian Fowler is elected to the NSW Legislative Assembly seat of Newtown after serving as the first female Mayor in Australia (1938–9)

90. Prime Minister's press release, 'Changes to the ministry', Canberra, 2 March 2012, viewed 2 March 2012, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2F1291005%22>

Date	Milestone
1947	Senator Annabelle Rankin (later Dame) (LIB), becomes Opposition Whip in the Senate becoming the first woman in the Commonwealth Parliament to hold that office
	Florence Cardell-Oliver (elected in 1936) becomes the first woman Cabinet minister in an Australian parliament (Western Australia)
1948	Margaret McIntyre (IND) is the first woman elected to the Tasmanian Legislative Council
1949	Enid Lyons (LIB) becomes Vice-President of the Executive Council in the Liberal-Country Party coalition ministry of Prime Minister Robert Menzies
1951	Senator Annabelle Rankin (Lib) becomes Government Whip
1954	Ruby Hutchinson (ALP) is the first woman to be elected to the WA Legislative Council
1955	Millie Best (LIB) and Mabel Miller (late Dame) (LIB), are the first women to be elected to the Tasmanian House of Assembly
1959	Joyce Steele (LCL) and Jessie Cooper (LCL) are the first women elected to the South Australian Parliament
1966	Senator Annabelle Rankin (LIB) is appointed as Minister for Housing, becoming the first woman minister in the Commonwealth Parliament with portfolio responsibility
1970	Dame Senator Ivy Wedgwood (LIB) chairs one of the first of the Senate's new legislative and general purpose standing committees, the Health and Welfare Committee
1976	Senator Margaret Guilfoyle (later Dame) (LIB), who was appointed Minister for Education and Minister for Social Security in 1975, becomes the first woman to be appointed to Commonwealth Cabinet and administer a government department; she is appointed to the Order of the British Empire in 1979
	Joy Mein (LIB) becomes the first woman state president of a major political party when she becomes the state president of the Liberal Party of Australia
1978	The NSW Legislative Council is popularly elected for the first time, and four women win places: Virginia Chadwick (LIB), Marie Fisher (ALP), Deirdre Grusovin (ALP), and Dorothy Isaksen (ALP)
1979	Gracia Baylor (LIB) and Joan Coxsedg (ALP) are the first women to be elected to the Victorian Legislative Council
1980	Senator Margaret Guilfoyle (later Dame) (LIB) becomes the first woman to hold an economic portfolio as Minister for Finance
1983	Senator Susan Ryan (ALP) is the first female Labor minister in the Commonwealth Parliament. As the Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women, Senator Ryan introduces the <i>Sex Discrimination Act 1984</i>
1986	Mrs Joan Child (ALP) becomes the first woman Speaker of the House of Representatives
	Senator Janine Haines (DEM) becomes the first woman to lead an Australian political party, the Australian Democrats
1989	Rosemary Follett (ALP) becomes Australia's first female head of government (Australian Capital Territory)
1990	Carmen Lawrence (ALP) becomes the first female Premier of an Australian state (Western Australia) in February. Later in the same year, Joan Kirner becomes Premier of Victoria
	Senator Janet Powell (IND) becomes the first woman member of either house to have a private bill passed by both houses, the <i>Smoking and Tobacco Products Advertisements (Prohibition) Act 1989</i>
	Carolyn Jakobsen (ALP) is elected chair of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, the first woman to

Date	Milestone
	hold this position
1995	Senator Margaret Reid (LIB) is elected Deputy-President of the Senate
	Kate Carnell (LIB) becomes the second female Chief Minister of the ACT
1996	Senator Margaret Reid (LIB) becomes the first woman elected as President of the Senate (1996–2002)
	De-Anne Kelly (NAT) becomes the first National Party woman to be elected to the House of Representatives
1999	Chris Gallus (LIB) becomes the second woman member of either house to have a private bill pass into law, the <i>Adelaide Airport Curfew Act 2000</i>
2001	Jenny Macklin (ALP) becomes Deputy Leader of the Commonwealth Opposition; in 2002 she is elected as Deputy Leader of the ALP, the first woman to hold the position in the major parties at federal level
	Clare Martin (ALP) is the first female Chief Minister of the Northern Territory
2003	Linda Burney (ALP) is the first Indigenous Australian to be elected to the Parliament of NSW; she holds several ministerial positions in the NSW Cabinet between 2007 and 2011, and became Deputy Leader of the Opposition in NSW in 2011
2005	Senator Judith Troeth (LIB) is a co-sponsor with Senator Fiona Nash (NAT), Senator Claire Moore (ALP), and Senator Lynette Allison (DEM) of the <i>Therapeutic Goods Amendment (Repeal of Ministerial Responsibility for Approval of RU486) Bill 2005</i> (known as the ‘abortion pill’); this Bill removes responsibility for approval of RU486 from the Minister for Health and Ageing and places it with the Therapeutic Goods Administration
2006	Senator Kay Patterson (LIB) introduces the <i>Prohibition of Human Cloning for Reproduction and the Regulation of Human Embryo Research Amendment Bill 2006</i> . It is passed, becoming one of only 10 private senators’ bills to become law since 1901
2007	Julia Gillard (ALP) becomes Deputy Prime Minister
	Anna Bligh (ALP) becomes the first female Premier of Queensland
	Julie Bishop (LIB) is the first female Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Australia
2008	Quentin Bryce becomes the first woman appointed Governor-General
2010	Julia Gillard (ALP) becomes Australia’s first female Prime Minister
2011	Nicola Roxon (ALP) becomes Australia’s first female Attorney General
	Lara Giddings (ALP) becomes the first female Premier of Tasmania
	Katy Gallagher (ALP) becomes the third female Chief Minister of the ACT

Sources: Compiled by the Parliamentary Library from published sources

## Appendix 5: Women in Commonwealth Parliament who have served for 10 years or more as at 1 January 2012<sup>91</sup>

Name	Party	House	Start	End	Days	Period of service
Martin/Sullivan, Kathryn*	LIB	Senate	18.05.1974	11.05.1984	3824	10 yrs 5 mths 18 days
		HR	12.01.1984	10.08.2001	6155	16 yrs 10 mths 7 days
		=				= TOTAL
					9979	27 yrs 3 mths 25 days
Tangney, Dorothy	ALP	Senate	21.08.1943	30.06.1968	9080	24 yrs 10 mths 9 days
Bishop, Bronwyn*	LIB	Senate	11.07.1987	24.02.1994	2420	6 yrs 7 mths 13 days
		HR	26.03.1994	Current	6489	17 yrs 9 mths 5 days
		=				= TOTAL
					8909	24 yrs 4 mths 18 days
Rankin, Annabelle DBE	LIB	Senate	01.07.1947	24.05.1971	8728	23 yrs 10 mths 23 days
Vanstone, Amanda	LIB	Senate	12.01.1984	26.04.2007	8176	22 yrs 4 mths 25 days
Reid, Margaret	LIB	Senate	05.05.1981	14.02.2003	7955	21 yrs 9 mths 9 days
Wedgwood, Ivy DBE	LIB	Senate	10.12.1949	30.06.1971	7872	21 yrs 6 mths 20 days
Patterson, Kay	LIB	Senate	11.07.1987	30.06.2008	7660	20 yrs 11 mths 19 days
Knowles, Susan	LIB	Senate	01.12.1984	30.06.2005	7516	20 yrs 6 mths 29 days
Crowley, Rosemary	ALP	Senate	19.02.1983	30.06.2002	7071	19 yrs 4 mths 11 days
Moylan, Judi	LIB	HR	13.03.1993	Current	6867	18 yrs 9 mths 18 days
Troeth, Judith	LIB	Senate	01.07.1993	30.06.2011	6573	17 yrs 11 mths 29 days
Walters, Shirley	LIB	Senate	13.12.1975	30.06.1993	6409	17 yrs 6 mths 17 days
Reynolds, Margaret	ALP	Senate	19.02.1983	30.06.1999	5975	16 yrs 4 mths 11 days
Guilfoyle, Margaret DBE	LIB	Senate	01.07.1971	05.06.1987	5818	15 yrs 11 mths 4 days
Kelly, De-Anne	NAT	HR	02.03.1996	24.11.2007	5811	15 yrs 10 mths 29 days
Newman, Jocelyn	LIB	Senate	13.03.1986	01.02.2002	5804	15 yrs 10mths 19 days
Gash, Joanna	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	Current	5782	15 yrs 9 mths 29 days
Lundy, Kate	ALP	Senate	02.03.1996	Current	5782	15 yrs 9 mths 29 days
Macklin, Jennifer	ALP	HR	02.03.1996	Current	5782	15 yrs 9 mths 29 days
Stone, Sharman	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	current	5782	15 yrs 9 mths 29 days
Lees, Meg	DEM/APA	Senate	04.04.1990	30.06.2005	5566	15 yrs 2 mths 26 days
Coonan, Helen	LIB	Senate	01.07.1996	22.08.2011	5530	15 yrs 1 mth 21 days
Payne, Marise	LIB	Senate	06.04.1997	Current	5382	14 yrs 8 mths 25 days

91. A full list of female Commonwealth parliamentarians and their period of service is available from *Parliamentary Handbook*.

Representation of women in Australian parliaments

Name	Party	House	Start	End	Days	Period of service
Haines, Janine	DEM	Senate	14.12.1977	30.06.1978	198	6 mths 16 days
			01.07.1981	01.03.1990	3165	8 yrs 8 mths
					=	= TOTAL
					3363	14 yrs 8 mths 16 days
Crosio, Janice	ALP	HR	24.03.1990	31.08.2004	5274	14 yrs 5 mths 7 days
Gallus, Christine	LIB	HR	24.03.1990	31.08.2004	5274	14 yrs 5 mths 7 days
Bailey, Frances	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	19.07.2010	5252	14 yrs 4 mths 17 days
Ellis, Annette	ALP	HR	02.03.1996	19.07.2010	5252	14 yrs 4 mths 17 days
Vale, Danna	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	19.07.2010	5252	14 yrs 4 mths 17 days
Kelly, Roslyn	ALP	HR	18.10.1980	30.01.1995	5217	14 yrs 3 mths 12 days
Collins, Jacinta	ALP	Senate	03.05.1995	30.06.2005	3711	10 yrs 1 mth 27 days
			08.04.2008	Current	1362	3 yrs 8 mths 23 days
					=	= TOTAL
					5073	13 yrs 10 mths 20 days
Lawrence, Carmen	ALP	HR	12.03.1994	17.10.2007	4967	13 yrs 7 mths 5 days
Crossin, Trish	ALP	Senate	16.06.1998	Current	4946	13 yrs 6 mths 15 days
Bishop, Julie	LIB	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Burke, Anna	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Gillard, Julia	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Hall, Jill	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Livermore, Kirsten	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Plibersek, Tanya	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Roxon, Nicola	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	Current	4837	13 yrs 2 mths 28 days
Coleman, Ruth	ALP	Senate	18.05.1974	05.06.1987	4766	13 yrs 18 days
Gambaro, Teresa	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	24.11.2007	4284	11 yrs 8 mths 22 days
			21.10.2010	Current	436	1 yr 2 mths 10 days
					=	= TOTAL
					4720	12 yrs 11 mths 2 days
McHugh, Jeannette	ALP	HR	05.03.1983	29.01.1996	4713	12 yrs 10 mths 24 days
Fatin, Wendy	ALP	HR	05.03.1983	29.01.1996	4713	12 yrs 10 mths 24 days
Stott Despoja, Natasha	DEM	Senate	29.11.1995	30.06.2008	4597	12 yrs 7 mths 1 day
Robertson, Agnes	LCL	Senate	10.12.1949	30.06.1962	4585	12 yrs 6 mths 20 days
McLucas, Jan	ALP	Senate	01.07.1999	Current	4566	12 yrs 6 mths
West, Suzanne	ALP	Senate	11.02.1987	05.06.1987	114	3 mths 25 days
			01.07.1990	30.06.2002	4382	11 yrs 11 mths 29 days
					=	12 yrs 3 mths 24 days
					4496	
Darling, Elaine	ALP	HR	18.10.1980	08.02.1993	4496	12 yrs 3 mths 21 days
Bjelke-Petersen, Florence	NCP	Senate	12.03.1981	30.06.1993	4493	12 yrs 3 mths 18 days



Name	Party	House	Start	End	Days	Period of service
Ryan, Susan	ALP	Senate	13.12.1975	29.01.1988	4430	12 yrs 1 mth 16 days
Zakharov, Olive	ALP	Senate	19.02.1983	06.03.1995	4398	12 yrs 15 days
Allison, Lynette	DEM	Senate	01.07.1996	30.06.2008	4382	12 yrs
Giles, Patricia	ALP	Senate	01.07.1981	30.06.1993	4382	11 yrs 11 mths 29 days
Bourne, Vicki	DEM	Senate	01.07.1990	30.06.2002	4382	11 yrs 11 mths 29 days
Denman, Kay	ALP	Senate	24.08.1993	30.06.2005	4328	11 yrs 10 mths 6 days
Irwin, Julia	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	19.07.2010	4307	11 yrs 9 mths 16 days
Hull, Kay	NAT	HR	03.10.1998	19.07.2010	4307	11 yrs 9 mths 16 days
Draper, Trish	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	17.10.2007	4246	11 yrs 7 mths 15 days
Elson, Kay	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	17 10 2007	4246	11 yrs 7 mths 15 days
Worth, Trish	LIB	HR	13.03.1993	09.10.2004	4228	11 yrs 6 mths 26 days
Kelly, Jackie	LIB	HR	02.03.1996	11.09.1996	193	6 mths 9 days
			19.10.1996	17.10.2007	4015	10 yrs 11 mths 28 days
					4208	11 yrs 6 mths 7 days
Ferris, Jeannie	LIB	Senate	01.07.1996	12.07.1996	11	11 days
			24.07.1996	02.04.2007	3904	10 yrs 8 mths 9 days
					=	= TOTAL
				3915	10 yrs 8 mths 20 days	
Kernot, Cheryl*	DEM	Senate	01.07.1990	15.10.1997	2663	7 yrs 3 mths 14 days
	ALP	HR	03.10.1998	10.11.2001	1134	3 yrs 1 mth 7 days
					=	= TOTAL
				3797	10 yrs 4 mths 21 days	
Grierson, Sharon	ALP	HR	10.11.2001	current	3703	10 yrs 1 mth 21 days
King, Catherine	ALP	HR	10.11.2001	Current	3703	10 yrs 1 mth 21 days
Ley, Sussan	LIB	HR	10.11.2001	Current	3703	10 yrs 1 mth 21 days
Mirabella, Sophie	LIB	HR	10.11.2001	Current	3703	10 yrs 1 mth 21 days
Vamvakinou, Maria	ALP	HR	10.11.2001	Current	3703	10 yrs 1 mth 21 days

\*Served in both Houses

## Appendix 6: Arguments for and against quotas for women’s political representation

For	<p>Quotas are empirically the most effective way to achieve a better gender balance</p> <p>Legislated quotas can circumvent male-dominated party leadership by forcing the party to look for suitable female candidates for party or public office</p> <p>Quotas give voters a chance to elect both women and men</p> <p>Women have the right as citizens to equal representation</p> <p>Women’s life experiences are needed in politics and parliaments</p> <p>Women are just as well qualified as men, but women’s qualifications are downgraded and minimised in a male-dominated political system</p> <p>Election is about representation, not educational qualifications</p> <p>Quotas imply that there are several women together in a body, thus minimising the stress experienced by the token woman</p> <p>Quotas can contribute to a process of democratisation by making the nomination process more transparent and formalised</p> <p>If women perform better than anticipated by voters, then voters will be more willing to elect women candidates in future elections, even in the absence of quotas</p> <p>‘Critical mass’ or increased representation will accelerate the likelihood that other women will stand and gain election by providing role models for other women</p> <p>Quotas will shorten the time it takes for women achieve equal representation</p> <p>Quotas are not discriminatory but rather compensate for an already existing discrimination</p>
Against	<p>Quotas are against the principle of equal opportunity because they give preference over men</p> <p>Quotas may result in a less competent legislature (because there are fewer potential female candidates, less competent women may be selected)</p> <p>Quotas are undemocratic because voters should be able to decide who is elected</p> <p>Quotas imply that politicians are elected because of their gender, not because of their qualifications; women thus selected may not be seen as being equally competent; they portray women as a species that must be protected, promoting the ‘victim’ stereotype</p> <p>Quotas give the erroneous idea that only women can represent women, while men can represent both men and women; this would work against women in gaining representation based on the political ideas they represent rather than on their gender</p> <p>Quotas can act as an upper ceiling to women’s participation rather than a lower floor</p> <p>Quotas mean that more qualified candidates are not selected if they are not women</p> <p>Many women are uneasy with being selected just because they are women</p> <p>Quotas may introduce significant conflicts within a party organisation</p> <p>Quotas violate the principles of liberal democracy</p>

Source: Compiled by the Parliamentary Library from external sources<sup>92</sup>

92 ACE Project, viewed 10 January 2012, <http://aceproject.org/search?SearchableText=quotas>; QuotaProject, viewed 10 January 2012, <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm>

## Appendix 7: Selected references

- Crawford, Mary and Pini, Barbara, 'Gender Equality in National Politics: The Views of Australian Male Politicians', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, no. 4, December 2010, pp. 608–10.
- Curtin, Jennifer and Sexton, Kelly, 'Selecting and electing women to the House of Representatives: Progress at last?', Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, University of Adelaide, 29 September-1 October 2004,  
[http://www.adelaide.edu.au/apsa/docs\\_papers/Aust%20Pol/Curtin.pdf](http://www.adelaide.edu.au/apsa/docs_papers/Aust%20Pol/Curtin.pdf)
- Curtin, Jennifer, *Women in Australian federal Cabinet*, Research Note no. 40, 1996–7, Parliamentary Library,  
[http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/EMB30/upload\\_binary/EMB30.pdf;fileType=application/pdf#search=%22women%20in%20australian%20federal%20cabinet%22](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/EMB30/upload_binary/EMB30.pdf;fileType=application/pdf#search=%22women%20in%20australian%20federal%20cabinet%22)
- Drabsch, Talina, *Women in politics and public leadership*, Briefing paper no. 6/2011, NSW Parliamentary Library,  
<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/publications.nsf/key/WomenInPoliticsAndPublicLeadership>
- Fitzherbert, Margaret, *Liberal women: Federation–1949*, Federation Press, Annandale, NSW, 2004
- \_\_\_\_\_, *So many firsts: Liberal women from Enid Lyons to the Turnbull era*, Federation Press, Annandale, NSW 2009
- McAllister, Ian and Studlar, Donley T, 'Electoral systems and women's representation: A long-term perspective', *Representation*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2002, p. 3–14,  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00344890208523209>
- Palmieri, Sonia A, *Gender-sensitive parliaments: a global review of good practice*, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Reports and Documents no. 65, 2011,  
<http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf>
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gender mainstreaming in the Australian Parliament: achievement with room for improvement*, Research paper, Parliamentary Studies Centre, Australian National University, n.d., viewed 20 January 2012,  
[http://www.parliamentarystudies.anu.edu.au/pdf/publications/2011/Gender\\_Mainstreaming\\_in\\_the\\_Australian\\_Parliament.pdf](http://www.parliamentarystudies.anu.edu.au/pdf/publications/2011/Gender_Mainstreaming_in_the_Australian_Parliament.pdf)
- Parliamentary Library, *Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia 2011*, 43rd Parliament, Parliamentary Library, Department of Parliamentary Services, Commonwealth of Australia 2011, pp. 480–3,  
[http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/handbook/newhandbook/2011-10-13/toc\\_pdf\\_repeat/Part%206%20-%20Historical%20information%20on%20the%20Australian%20Parliament.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/handbook/newhandbook/2011-10-13/toc_pdf_repeat/Part%206%20-%20Historical%20information%20on%20the%20Australian%20Parliament.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf) (This links take you to Part 6 of the Handbook – either make this part of the citation, or the link should go to the home page of the Handbook)

Reynolds, Margaret, *The last bastion: Labor women working towards equality in the parliaments of Australia*, Business and Professional Publishing, Sydney, 1995

\_\_\_\_\_, *Women, Preselection and merit: who decides?*, Papers on Parliament no. 27, March 1996, <http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/pubs/pops/pop27/c03.pdf>

Sawer, Marian and Simms, Marian, *A woman's place: women and politics in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1993

Sawer, Marian, Tremblay, Manon and Trimble, Linda, eds, *Representing women in parliament: a comparative study*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2006

Smith, Tony, *Candidate gender in the 2010 Australian federal election*, Democratic Audit discussion paper 1/10, August 2010, <http://democraticaudit.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/smithAugust2010.pdf>

Tremblay, Manon, 'Democracy, representation, and women: a comparative analysis', *Democratization*, vol. 14, no. 4, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398261>

Wilson, Janet, *First women in Australian parliaments—historical note*, Research Note no. 55, June 1997, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprsub%2FMVF30%22>

\_\_\_\_\_, *Composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender*, as at 17 February 2012, Politics and Public Administration Group, Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia, [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/Browse\\_by\\_Topic/~media/05%20About%20Parliament/54%20Parliamentary%20Depts/544%20Parliamentary%20Library/Browse%20by%20topic/currentwomen.ashx](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Browse_by_Topic/~media/05%20About%20Parliament/54%20Parliamentary%20Depts/544%20Parliamentary%20Library/Browse%20by%20topic/currentwomen.ashx)

\_\_\_\_\_ and D Black, *Women parliamentarians in Australia 1921–2009*, Background Note, 17 March 2009, updated 4 May 2009, 2008–9 (2012 update forthcoming), <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprsub%2F7N3T6%22>

*Women in the Senate*, Senate Brief no. 3, August 2011, [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Senate/Powers\\_practice\\_n\\_procedures/briefs/brief03](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/briefs/brief03)

© Commonwealth of Australia



Creative Commons

With the exception of the Commonwealth Coat of Arms, and to the extent that copyright subsists in a third party, this publication, its logo and front page design are licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Australia](#) licence.

In essence, you are free to copy and communicate this work in its current form for all non-commercial purposes, as long as you attribute the work to the author and abide by the other licence terms. The work cannot be adapted or modified in any way. Content from this publication should be attributed in the following way: Author(s), Title of publication, Series Name and No, Publisher, Date.

To the extent that copyright subsists in third party quotes it remains with the original owner and permission may be required to reuse the material.

Inquiries regarding the licence and any use of the publication are welcome to [webmanager@aph.gov.au](mailto:webmanager@aph.gov.au).

This work has been prepared to support the work of the Australian Parliament using information available at the time of production. The views expressed do not reflect an official position of the Parliamentary Library, nor do they constitute professional legal opinion.

Feedback is welcome and may be provided to: [web.library@aph.gov.au](mailto:web.library@aph.gov.au). Any concerns or complaints should be directed to the Parliamentary Librarian. Parliamentary Library staff are available to discuss the contents of publications with Senators and Members and their staff. To access this service, clients may contact the author or the Library's Central Entry Point for referral.