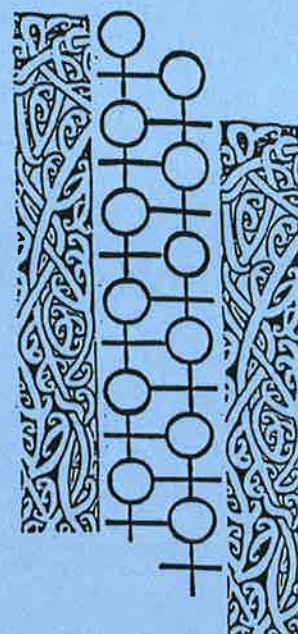


**AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**  
**WOMEN AND POLITICS**  
**NETWORK NEWSLETTER**

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**AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK**

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**The idea** was born out of meetings of the NZ Political Science Association Conference.

**The aim** is to promote communication between women teaching, researching or interested/involved in politics/public policy (in paid or unpaid work).

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## WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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### THE WORLD COURT PROJECT: AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND'S ROLE IN A GLOBAL CITIZENS' CAMPAIGN TO OUTLAW NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Background paper by KATIE BOANAS-DEWES and ROB GREEN

#### Introduction

In May 1992 in the UN's Palais des Nations in Geneva, three distinguished Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) co-sponsored the launch of the World Court Project (WCP). They comprised the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize-Winning International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW); the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA); and the International Peace Bureau (IPB). The aim was to persuade the United Nations (UN) to ask the International Court of Justice at The Hague - known as the World Court - for its first ever advisory opinion on the legal status of nuclear weapons. The idea behind it was that, while the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions outlaw those weapons of mass destruction, there is no such specific prohibition on nuclear weapons - yet they are worse.

#### Origins

In 1969 Sean MacBride first took up the idea of challenging the legality of nuclear weapons. A former Irish foreign affairs minister and international lawyer, in 1974 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize while President of the IPB - itself one of the earliest such prizewinners in 1910. He brought his thinking on the problem to fruition in the London Nuclear Warfare Tribunal in 1985, which he chaired. The tribunal, which included US international law expert Professor Richard Falk, concluded that "current and planned (nuclear) weapons developments, strategies and deployments violate the basic rules and principles of international law".

A year later Richard Falk was invited by the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies to speak on nuclearism and international law. Two years before, a Labour government had been elected with a mandate to outlaw nuclear weapons and power. Harold Evans, a retired Christchurch magistrate, picked up Falk's idea of a WCP-type approach, and never looked back. With supporting testimony from Falk and five other distinguished international lawyers, in March 1987 Harold wrote an open letter to the NZ and Australian governments three months before the nuclear free bill became law. In it he challenged the government to sponsor a UN resolution to seek a World Court opinion on "the legality or otherwise of nuclear weaponry". He followed it up with appeals to all 71 UN member states with embassies in Canberra and Wellington. Hawke rejected the idea, but Lange showed real interest. A long dialogue

ensued, strongly backed by the newly-formed Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control (PACDAC). Among other things, this unique body was required by the Nuclear-Free Act to monitor its implementation. However, it lacked the clout to prevail over Foreign Affairs officials on this issue. Undeterred, Harold set about mobilizing citizen support, especially among anti-nuclear lawyers and doctors. Dr Robin Briant was a PACDAC member. As IPPNW (NZ) Chair, she arranged for him to address them in March 1988, and later that year they passed a NZ-sponsored resolution through IPPNW's World Congress.

Meanwhile a PACDAC Peace Foundation representative, Katie Boanas-Dewes, was chosen by the government to be one of two NGO members of their delegation to the May 1988 UN Special Session on Disarmament in New York. She had worked on peace issues with Harold since 1979 and organised Falk's Christchurch visit. In his UN speech, Foreign Minister Russell Marshall made a non-committal reference to the idea; but Katie took her chance when addressing the UN on behalf of NZ NGOs. She said "We strongly urge all nations and peace groups to support a move by jurists in New Zealand and other countries to have the International Court of Justice give an advisory opinion on whether or not nuclear arms are illegal. The symbolic power of such a ruling would be immense".

Harold now took his cause to Europe. At its annual conference in Brighton UK in September 1989, the IPB endorsed his strategy. The newly-formed IALANA followed suit a few weeks later at its first World Congress at The Hague. Meanwhile Sweden's Disarmament Ambassador Maj-Britt Theorin, having heard Katie's UN speech, began to discuss possible co-sponsorship of a UN resolution with Fran Wilde - but Labour lost the 1990 election.

Progress resumed in March 1991 when another Aotearoa citizen arrived in New York representing NGOs at the UN opposing the Gulf War. Alyn Ware, then a 29 year-old ex-kindergarten teacher and peace activist, approached several UN missions with the idea and found support. In June 1991, Katie and IPB Secretary-General Colin Archer had a similar response from eight missions in Geneva. Katie then visited the UK where she helped mobilise a strong group already working on the idea led by Keith Mothersson who established WCP (UK) chaired by Rob Green. He is the only ex-RN Commander with nuclear weapon experience to have spoken out against them. He met Alyn, Katie, Robin Briant, Richard Falk, Colin and many other WCP activists at the Geneva launch in May 1992.

An international steering committee of six was formed which included Alyn, Katie, Rob and representatives of IALANA, IPPNW and IPB. Alyn returned to New York to work as a volunteer with the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP) and later became its director.

Meanwhile the Aotearoa peace movement was trying to hold the line against the first serious assaults on the Nuclear Free Act. The National government, intent on reviving ANZUS, had set up an enquiry into the safety of nuclear-powered warships. Rob was invited out for a speaking tour in August-September 1992. In so doing, he helped to mobilise WCP support.

## **WHO breakthrough**

Just before the May 1992 launch, Dr Erich Geiringer of IPPNW (NZ) masterminded an attempt to table a WCP resolution in the World Health Organization's annual assembly in Geneva. Exploiting IPPNW's excellent contacts among the WHO bureaucracy and member states' health ministries, the move only failed because the resolution was not formally on the agenda.

Learning from this, support for the resolution was gained in time for it to be properly tabled the next year. In an historic breakthrough, on 14 May 1993 the resolution was passed by a big majority despite heavy pressure from the NATO nuclear cartel. It asked the World Court: "In view of the health and environmental effects, would the use of nuclear weapons by a state in war or other armed conflict be a breach of its obligations under international law including the WHO Constitution?" After some delay, the question was received by the Court in September 1993. A year later the Court announced that 34 states had made submissions. This was some 25 more than the nuclear cartel wanted because only five non-nuclear states (Australia, Finland, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands) made submissions echoing the line taken by the NATO nuclear trio and Russia (China opted out). Of the rest, 21 argued for illegality, one (Ireland) wanted the question answered, and three (NZ, Japan and Norway) were on the fence.

The Court normally allows only governments of UN agencies to present evidence. Now for the first time it accepted citizens' evidence, much of it collected by WCP supporters worldwide, asking that nuclear weapons be outlawed. A clause in the 1907 Hague Convention requires the Court to take account of the "dictates of the public conscience" when deciding the legal status of any new weapon.

Some 30,000 declarations were collected in NZ. In addition, every Labour MP plus two Alliance and eight National MPs endorsed the WCP. Four former PMs, the leaders of all the main churches and other prominent people also gave their support. Taken together, this was easily the widest mobilisation of public opinion on this issue since the campaign for the Nuclear Free Act.

## **WCP Challenges Nuclear Deterrence**

A major objection by the NATO nuclear states and Australia/NZ was that the UN General Assembly (UNGA), not the WHO, was the correct forum for the WCP issue. Accordingly, Alyn Ware, working with LCNP Co-Presidents Peter Weiss and Saul Mendlovitz, approached several UN missions in New York following the WHO success. Led by Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, the Non-Aligned Movement - 110 of the UN's 184 members states - agreed to table a more ambitious resolution at the 1993 UNGA disarmament session. This asked the Court: "Would the threat or use of nuclear weapons in any circumstance be permitted under international law?" Thereby it directly challenged the legality of nuclear deterrence doctrine.

The last week of October 1993 witnessed a struggle in the UNGA's First Committee. Zimbabwe, backed by a determined group of South Pacific states, lobbied hard, helped by Alyn, Katie and Maori elder Pauline Tangiora. After some crucial lobbying by Vanuatu

Ambassador Robert Van Leirop, supported by ex-Health Minister Hilda Lini, the resolution was introduced by the NAM Chair, Indonesia.

The US, UK and France sent delegations to many NAM capitals threatening trade and aid if the resolution was not withdrawn. On 19 November the NAM consensus buckled, and Indonesia announced that action on it had been deferred. However, every UN member government now knew about the WCP and how it threatened the privileged position of the nuclear weapon states.

In June 1994 in Cairo, NAM foreign ministers agreed to re-table the UNGA resolution and put it to a vote. Despite desperate countermoves by the US, UK and France, they succeeded. On 18 November 1994 the resolution was passed by 77 votes to 33, with 21 abstentions and 53 states not voting. What is more, China did not vote; Ukraine abstained; and the normally compliant Western caucus of non-nuclear states collapsed. By abstaining, Canada and Norway broke ranks with NATO, Japan and Australia with the US, and Ireland with the European Union along with two prospective members, Sweden and Austria.

The most serious insubordination, however, was that NZ voted for it. As a Security Council member at the time and the only Western state to do so, this undid at a stroke the progress by the US to order the one state with nuclear-free legislation back under Washington control. The government, under heavy parliamentary pressure and with only a one-seat majority, turned necessity to virtue. Peace groups maintained the pressure on the government during 1995 in the hope that they would put a substantial submission to the Court before the 20 June 1995 deadline. In a recent press release, Mr McKinnon indicated the government's position which they will be arguing during oral Court hearings later this year. He said: "Even if it is not possible to say that in every case international law proscribes the threat or use of nuclear weapons, there is little doubt the law has been moving in this direction. We have made it clear New Zealand's view is that the sooner this point is reached the better". When this submission is made public during these hearings, World Court Project Aotearoa/NZ members will finally be able to ascertain whether the government has indeed honestly represented the public's strong anti-nuclear sentiments on this vital issue. If so, it will have been a victory for all those both here and internationally who have worked for so long on this initiative.

Katie Boanas-Dewes teaches Peace Studies part-time at Canterbury University. In 1988-1990 she served on the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control and co-chaired the Labour Party Policy Committee on Foreign Affairs/Security. From 1992-1994 she was one of two International Peace Bureau Executive members from the Southern Hemisphere. She was a pioneer of the World Court Project (WCP) and is on its International Steering Committee. She runs the South Island office for the Foundation for Peace Studies from her home and is also a mother of three daughters.

Commander Robert Green RN (Retired) served in the UK Royal Navy from 1962-1982. He flew in Buccaneer carrier-borne nuclear strike aircraft and anti-submarine helicopters equipped with nuclear depth-bombs. In his final appointment he was Staff Officer (Intelligence) to Commander-in-Chief Fleet at Northwood HQ. The Gulf War and break-up of the USSR caused him to speak out against nuclear weapons and he is now campaigning full-time for non-nuclear defence and energy policies. He is the UK Chair of the World Court Project and a member of its International Steering Committee.

**GENDERED CITIZENSHIP: 'EAST-WEST' COMPARISON IN A POST-WAR ERA**

by JACQUI TRUE

Department of Political Science, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721

New Zealanders are, for the most part, only too aware that, in Joan Smith's words (1993, 35), "what structures gendered relationships whether in Ireland or Iran... is state policy which must be attuned to a world economy and a state's particular position within that economy if it is to survive". Against that 'enlightened' background (!), this paper (and my research more generally) considers the relative distributions of social duties, resources and politico-economic power between men and women (within gendered divisions of labour in states, markets and families) and their variation according to specific national, cultural, and juridico-legal histories and struggles but not least of all, to the particular position of each country in the global economy and ... I would add the inextricably related ... international states system.

Specifically, this paper compares the shifting patterns of public and private spheres in the western category of liberal and social democratic capitalist states and former Eastern bloc socialist states. It is argued the contradictions in women's lives, their changing roles and their straddling of conventional boundaries between public and private are central to understanding the contradictions in state/societal structures and the potential for their transformation. The meaning, content and value of the public and the private, however, have altered profoundly over the course of this century along with changes in social, cultural and material life. In the philosophy of liberalism and practice of liberal states, Carole Pateman (1989, 122) astutely points out, the problem of patriarchal relations in the family household is repressed and the separation of public and private is "re-established as a division *within* civil society itself, within the world of men". The public is then the location of the state, politics, law and coercion whereas the private is the space of freedom realized in the (free market) economy, individual enterprise and society. Women are forgotten insofar as they are associated with an invisible natural sphere of emotion, bodies, particularity, conjugal duty, and with the self-sacrifice of caregiving, outside of both realms which take autonomous man and disembodied reason as the norm. The "citizen duties" of women command or expect no particular rights. They are as Ursula Vogel (1991, 77) states, "enshrined in assumptions of altruism... transcending the extent and quality of obligations that the state demands of its male citizens".

In late capitalist western democracies the decline of welfarism has produced a new minimalist state hostile to its social democratic past. The "failure" of Keynesian economic policies in the 1960s and the 1970s resulted in fiscal crises of the welfare state and political crises of democratic legitimacy. Today, transformed liberal states are driven by privatization, private enterprise and concern for privacy, and are heavily reliant on the resources of the private household and its flexible, largely female workforce. The state's responsibility for the well-being of its citizens - inside and outside of the workforce - is waning. In order to align their economies with the global structure of comparative advantage, states cut social expenditures. Women as family and community members - already overburdened - take up the slack of the state, thereby disadvantaging their own "market position" in the labor force. National economies governed by these forces of globalization are increasingly divided into formal and informal sectors. "Housewifization", Maria Mies' term, characterizes the contemporary marginalization of wage labor in an informal sector distinguished by flexible, low paid, atomized and exploitative employment, not dissimilar from the labor of "unwaged"

housewives. Women in liberal states - structurally constrained by their subordinate position in the family household, disproportionately responsible for childrearing and domestic servicing, and dependent on the state as clients and consumers of welfare as well as service employees - are most disadvantaged by the abrogation of the state's social provision and the shift to free market 'every-man-for-himself' policies. The inequities of the private sphere are invisible, if not irrelevant, to the liberal state's definition of "liberty and equality". Again, liberal states consider only principles of individual fairness on the playing field of the public domain, as if all were equal - in terms of access and opportunity - prior to entering citizenship and paid employment. Women's unwaged contributions to the welfare state go unacknowledged also, but as Carole Pateman (1992, 23) observes, "in this present period of 'privatization' women's 'private' tasks assume even greater importance".

In not dissimilar fashion to the impact of globalization on western states and economies, the transition to market economies and democratic governance in Eastern and Central European countries is dependent on the gross overburdening of the private sphere. However, in the space of former socialist societies where state intervention in all aspects of life corrupted any possibility of citizen "privacy", "the private" takes on a distinctive, often sacred identity. It may be argued that private life in the West is also highly valued as the space of individuality and freedom from institutional authority. However, in Eastern bloc countries the private was the oppositional site of dissident politics during communist rule and presently "public and private" are being reconstructed to meet the needs of market capitalism - supported by people's identification with the private household/family as a safe haven and the resurgence of nationalist communitarian politics. This has significant gender-specific consequences; in short, eliminating the socialist state means cutting its social provisions which requires, specifically, the gendered restructuring of the labor force, the relegation of women to unwaged private provision of social needs and, thus, the rescinding of their social and, by implication, civil and political rights of citizenship. The transition to liberal capitalism, Peggy Watson (1993) contends, has been a strategic opportunity for men to reinstitutionalize separate public and private spheres, thus exacerbating gender differentiation and inequality. The very fact of women's "double/triple burden" is now being used against them - as a justification for their homeboundness - rather than as a basis for the restructuring of liberal divisions of public and private. Just as this double/triple shift becomes the norm for western women then, East and Central European women must choose to be either workers or good wives and mothers. The substance of my paper further analyses the historical (socialist past) and contemporary (global market capitalism) reasons for this role-reversal and questions the extent to which Eastern European women actually embrace this assignment to "the private".

In sum, capitalizing on women's work, or more aptly, on the construction of the private household as the location of privacy and therefore as apolitical, is shared by state socialist and liberal capitalist forms. Women confront, daily, the contradictions of these spatial reconstructions of public and private which are in actuality reconstructions of power, resources and responsibility. They - women and the private - are at the heart of the global political economy and state-system because they reach to the heart of the gendered household - for Joan Smith (1993) the central unit for the extraction and exploitation of labor power and for Spike Peterson (forthcoming) the place where gendered identities and inequalities are reproduced. In Peterson's words, "if we want to move beyond global hierarchies - state and capitalist - we must take seriously the gender order that sustains them".



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## CONFERENCE REPORTS

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### **'WOMEN POWER AND POLITICS'**

**Report on the INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE held in Adelaide, 8-11 October 1994**

by **HELEN MENZIES**

**Senior Education Officer, Commission for Equal Opportunity, South Australia**

In October 1994 more than 900 women from 30 countries took part in a four-day 'Women Power and Politics' Conference in Adelaide. The Conference was the highlight of year-long celebrations marking the centenary of the fact that South Australia was the first democracy in the world to grant to women the right to stand for parliament and among the first (just behind New Zealand!) to grant women the right to vote.

The Conference aimed to bring together women from many races and walks of life to discuss the issues under four themes (Government, Economy, Learning and Human Rights) and plan for future action.

As keynote speaker British MP Glenda Jackson pointed out, our sense that we have come a long way in the last century must be seen in the global context: that women are one half of the world's population, perform two thirds of its work hours, earn one tenth of its income and own less than one hundredth of its property.

Other speakers echoed the need for continuing action.

President of the Inter African Committee on Traditional Practices, Berhane Ras-Work, condemned female genital mutilation, but urged education rather than legislation (a very contentious topic in Australia) as the solution.

Subhashini Ali, Indian trade unionist and former MP, described the continuing practice of sate (widow burning), the increase of abortion of female fetuses, and the "extreme danger" for women of the growth of religious fundamentalism.

Professor Catherine Stimson of Rutgers University said women will be left behind in the information revolution if girls are not enabled and encouraged to become computer literate.

Dr Marjorie Griffin Cohen, political scientist from Canada, pointed out the threat to women arising from international trade agreements, which force countries to cut costs in ways which lead to job losses and to the dismantling of public services.

Australian economist Eva Cox described the dangers for women in the replacement of a central wage-fixing system with enterprise bargaining.

The Women Power and Politics Conference took place just after the announcement by the governing Australian Labor Party of a new rule that women must be candidates for at least 35 percent of winnable seats by 2002, and there will be equal representation of women and men on Commonwealth boards by 2000. This initiative was seen as a valuable beginning by the Conference, which called in its recommendations for all political parties to ensure 50 percent representation by women in the next decade (and for quotas by legislation if this target is not met).

Among the hundred other recommendations:

- that parliaments establish creches and woman-friendly sitting hours;
- that rape in war should be designated a punishable war crime;
- that Australia's defence and foreign affairs goals be framed in terms of international peace keeping;
- that abortion and prostitution be decriminalised;
- that the exemptions from equal opportunity law for religious groups be removed, so that women are supported by law to participate at all levels of church hierarchies;
- that men with a history of domestic violence not be allowed to sponsor women emigrating to Australia.

The resolutions from the Conference are to be brought to the attention of relevant governments and organizations by the Women's Suffrage Centenary Committee, as its last duty arising out of the year of celebrations.

## **Report from PUBLIC POLICY NETWORK ANNUAL CONFERENCE**

by **ELIZABETH SHANNON**

This was the first time I had attended a PPN Conference. Women were well represented, both as presenters and as valuable contributors from the floor in the discussions which followed each session. The papers were grouped around a comparative policy theme and were generally grouped into sessions which had a connecting sub-theme running through them.

The women and their papers: Deborah Mitchell (ANU) presented a paper on "Taxation and Income Redistribution: the tax revolt of the 1980s revisited"; Sheila Byard (VUT) presented "Housing and Local Government: Mechanisms for Change"; Genevieve Watson (Western

Sydney) presented "International Comparisons on Airport Policy - an Economic Perspective"; Rowena Y F Kwok (Hong Kong) presented "Theories of the Development of Old Age Security Policy: The Case of Hong Kong"; Elizabeth Shannon (Tasmania) presented "Comparing Feminism: Utilising Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework for International Policy Analysis"; Beth Russel (Monash) presented "Bargaining or Bludgeoning: Compulsory Competitive Tendering and Enterprise Bargaining as instruments for industrial reform".

Next year the Public Policy Network Conference will be on February 1-2 at the University of Tasmania. It's very early days yet in the organisation of it all, but if you are desperate to find out information as soon as possible contact Judith Homeshaw on: J.Homeshaw@polsci.utas.edu.au. Otherwise I will be networking information as it comes to hand.

Elizabeth Shannon is a full-time doctoral student in Political Science Administration at the University of Tasmania and the collator of contributions for the Australian Political Studies Association Women's Caucus Electronic Newsletter 'WAPSANews'. She can be contacted on E.Shannon@polsci.utas.edu.au.

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## RESEARCH NEWS

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### Theses by WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

#### Department of Political Studies, University of Otago

Clare-Lucia M. van der Beek - 'New Zealand and China: the problems and effects of recognition (1980), MA thesis.

Anna L. McCormack - 'New Zealand's Relation with Eastern Europe from 1939-1986' (1990), MA thesis.

Catherine McMechan - 'New Zealand Foreign Aid' (to be submitted shortly)

Sabina Lautensach - PhD dissertation in progress.

#### Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland

Nikki Silver - 'Rationale and Politics in the Restructuring of the Ministry of Defence', MA thesis (submitted 1995).

Sophie Lyon - 'The Government Role in New Zealand Dairy Board Access to Overseas Markets', MA thesis (in progress).

Wendy Cook - 'The Export of Education', MA thesis (completed 1995).

Catherine Geeves - 'New Zealand Responses to the Fiji Coups', MA Research Essay (completed 1994).

Hannah Pia Baral - 'The Development of the Points System Immigration Policy in New Zealand with a Case Study on the Filipino Migrants Who Came Under this Category', MA

Research Essay in progress. Hannah was secretary of the Auckland Branch of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs in 1994.

Kate McMillan - PhD thesis in progress on ethnic identity formation of immigrant communities in Auckland.

### **Department of Political Studies, Victoria University**

Badra Boteju - 'Assessment of privatization of public enterprises: New Zealand/Ceylon', PhD in progress.

Rae Nicholl - 'How women gain political power: a comparative analysis of candidate selection processes in New Zealand the Pacific', PhD in progress.

Anna-Luis Cook - 'Comparative Politics: Eastern Europe', MA in progress.

Nadia el-Maaroufi - 'The economic efficacy of the New Zealand primary producer boards', MA in progress.

Margaret Leniston - 'Women in Kilimanjaro: the significance of situational analysis', MA in progress.

Rire Scotney - 'Disaster relief in the South Pacific: New Zealand's Role', MA in progress.

Mary Wareham - 'The problems and benefits of an international restriction on the use of landmines', MA in progress.

Virginia Webb - 'New Zealand's response to the liberation struggle in East Timor', MA in progress.

Mei Wong - 'Taiwan's perspectives on its co-operating with Australia and New Zealand in the South Pacific', MA in progress.

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

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***WALKING BACKWARDS INTO THE FUTURE: A Collection of Essays Commissioned by the Women's Electoral Lobby, WEL, Hamilton, 1993.***

**Reviewed by CHAN DIXON, University of Auckland**

*Walking Backwards into the Future* is a collection of essays commissioned by WEL as part of our 1993 Suffrage year celebrations. The book takes its title from the Maori proverb 'me titiro whakamuri tatou kia mohio ai me pehea haere ki mua' (we should look backwards so that we can determine how to go forwards). The title is apt. Whilst the contributions celebrate many historical victories for women, each also urges the reader to reflect on the struggles undertaken by women to achieve the gains made. More importantly, many of the contributions also provide sobering food for thought as to battles still not won and to situations in which gains are being currently eroded. This is the book's greatest strength.

Each contribution reflects on a different subject area of interest to women, and is written by women who hold "positions of political responsibility" (p 7). The book's blurb points out that the purpose of the collection is not to provide an historical or sociological survey - rather, it is a collection of women's political opinion. This in itself is to be celebrated, given that the opportunity for such a forum is rare.

Fittingly, the first chapter, by Prue Hyman, examines women's economic position. Hyman illustrates superbly the importance of economic issues and their effects on women. She discusses historical gains, but focuses predominantly on current problems, such as the role of women in paid and unpaid work, and the continuing battle for equal pay. A major concern of the essay is the ascension to power of the New Right, which, according to Hyman, "involves a substantial actual and threatened backlash against earlier social and economic gains" (p 9). So, for example, the New Right's vision of the family has had negative, restrictive, yet dichotomous consequences for single and partnered women, especially those with children. On the one hand, the DPB has been slashed, and single mothers discouraged, by several other means, from 'dependency' on the state. At the same time, women with partners are being implicitly encouraged to withdraw from the paid labour force, based, among other reasons, on the view that children should have full time maternal care.

Shona Hearn's essay on 'Women Teachers and the State' contains similar themes to Hyman's, and is an insightful contribution, particularly given the predominance of women in the teaching profession. Like many of the essays, Hearn provides an historical account of women's struggles, gains and setbacks in the education industry. Again, the context of this article is a deep concern over the laissez-faire policies of the last decade. It is troubling to know that from the late 1800s until 1920 teachers' salaries were bulk-funded - a period during which the wages and conditions of female teachers were unapologetically far worse than their male counterparts. Recent returns to bulk funding and the advent of 'Tomorrow's Schools' has seen the state distance itself from responsibility in education, and Hearn warns of associated patterns such as the increasing casualisation of teaching jobs, cuts to pay and conditions, and the predominance of pakeha males on local Boards of Trustees. She argues convincingly that in order for children to receive equality and excellence in education, regardless of gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status or locality, the state must reassume a higher degree of responsibility in education.

These are two examples of the ten contributions in this book. Others discuss the electoral system, motherhood, health, spirituality, management, the law and the women's movement in New Zealand. Each will stimulate the reader more or less according to her perspective and areas of interest. For me, the highlight of the book is Sue Bradford's chapter on women and unemployment. This chapter stands out from the others through the passion with which Bradford writes. She possesses anger and vigour which is refreshing. Her focus is on the current situation of many women in New Zealand whose positions are all too often hidden and/or forgotten; who, she argues, "are certainly the prime victims of the failed economic policies of the last ten years" (p 102). She urges women to develop their economic knowledge and to use it to positive effect for all women. Bradford's polemic appeals for collective feminist action which embraces class and ethnic issues.

Bradford's is a significant contribution, not only because of the content of the essay, but also because it illuminates the major weakness of the book. Whilst each contribution is valuable in its own right, as a whole *Walking Backwards into the Future* must be criticised for its lack of completeness, or at least diversity. Apart from Bradford, the contributors are all from backgrounds of 'mainstream' involvement in political, educational, or academic institutions. The book subsequently fails to illustrate the diversity of women's experiences in New Zealand. For example, the book is void of contributions on the unique experiences of Wahine Maori and Pacific Island women, there are no contributions from women involved in the establishment and success of such organisations as Women's Refuges or Women Against Pornography, and no contribution deals with sexuality issues.

This problem is acknowledged by Dianne Yates and Judy Pickard in the introduction to the book - WEL had hoped for a greater coverage of issues concerning women, but many of the women invited to write were "heavily involved in their own communities and already under pressure addressing social and political issues in that context" (p 8). This is not only a great shame in terms of the scope of the book. It is also poignantly illustrative of the struggles which women continue to face, and reaffirms the need, expressed by Bradford, for continued collective action on a variety of levels.

All in all, then, the contributions which appear in *Walking Backwards into the Future* are interesting and provocative, but that other issues have not been able to be covered, due to a lack of one or several resources, is indicative of the challenges which the future holds.

Chan Dixon is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland. She is doing her doctoral thesis on segmentation effects on the labour market and can be contacted at email [cj.dixon@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:cj.dixon@auckland.ac.nz)

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## NOTICES

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### FEMINIST ELECTRONIC LISTS

#### FMST-TALK

A talk facility for FMST subscribers only augments the electronic journal. This discussion site operates out of Massey (the theoretical 'home' of FMST). To access FMST-TALK, subscribers may post a message containing subscribe fmst-talk to: [majordomo@massey.ac.nz](mailto:majordomo@massey.ac.nz)

FMST-TALK offers you the opportunity to give feedback on FMST (Feminist Studies in Aotearoa) journal articles, make comments on its topic areas, communicate with other subscribers and make YOUR views and research known. All bios and personals should be sent to FMST-TALK. Because it augments FMST Journal, it is NOT a general discussion list, but its success depends on subscribers confining comments to issues related to materials or views expressed in FMST.

**WSST (New Zealand Women's Studies discussion list)**

FMST is complemented by WSST, a Women's Studies discussion list operating from the Otago Server, which shares archives with FMST. In contrast to FMST, WSST operates as a bulletin board with a particular emphasis on teaching and resourcing Women's Studies. You might also like to subscribe to WSST. To subscribe to WSST send an Email message to: [UOTAGO@STONEBOW.OTAGO.AC.NZ](mailto:UOTAGO@STONEBOW.OTAGO.AC.NZ) Type the following as the message SUBSCRIBE WSST Type the following after the command above: END

**WS-L (Women's Studies at Massey University)**

WS-L is a discussion list specifically for Massey University students and staff. Members outside Massey with an interest in Aotearoa's largest Women's Studies Programme and its various activities, may also join WS-L. However, principally WS-L is used to discuss assignments, distribute news and views about Women's Studies courses and get advice. It operates as an ongoing bulletin board or tutorial for both internal and extramural students. To subscribe to WS-L, send an E-Mail message to: [MAJORDOMO@MASSEY.AC.NZ](mailto:MAJORDOMO@MASSEY.AC.NZ) Type the following as the message: SUBSCRIBE WS-L

FMST invites submission of short articles (up to 30K), to: [FMST@STONEBOW.OTAGO.AC.NZ](mailto:FMST@STONEBOW.OTAGO.AC.NZ) - try out your ideas, comment on FMST, debate your research, review feminist books, film or issues relevant to women and Feminist Studies in Aotearoa and the Pacific.

Women's Studies, Massey University, Private Bag 11-222, Palmerston North, Aotearoa (New Zealand). Tel (06) 350 4938, Fax (06) 350 5627.

**AUSTRALIA/NEW ZEALAND BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL  
ASSOCIATION FOR FEMINIST ECONOMICS (ANZAFFE/IAFFE)  
- AND ITS NEW JOURNAL, FEMINIST ECONOMICS**

Prue Hyman is the New Zealand coordinator of ANZAFFE/IAFFE. ANZAFFE is the first separate branch of the International Association, and is part of the process of trying to make the Association genuinely international in its membership, as well as seeking to give a focus to New Zealand and Australian feminist economic issues. It produces its own newsletter.

The subscription (which is only NZ\$30 for those with income under \$31,250) includes three issues of the journal. Feminist Economics, the first volume, Spring 1995, includes the following articles:

- Sandra Harding, 'Can Feminist Thought Make Economics Objective'.
- Ulla Grapard, 'Robinson Crusoe: The Omintessential Economic Man'.
- Carmen Diana Deere, 'What Difference Does Gender Make: Rethinking Peasant Studies'.
- Nancy Folbre, 'Holding Hands at Midnight: The Paradox of Caring Labour'.
- Myra H Strober, Suzanne Gerlach-Downie and Kenneth E Yeager, 'Child Care Centres as Workplaces'.
- M V Lee Badgett, 'Gender, Sexuality, and Sexual Orientations: All in the Feminist Family?'
- Barbara R Bergmann, 'Becker's Theory of the Family: Preposterous Conclusions'.
- Shelley A Phipps and Peter S Burton, 'Social/Institutional variables and Behaviour within Households: An Empirical Test using the Luxembourg Income Study'.
- Lynn Duggan, 'Restacking the Deck: Family Policy and Women's Fall-Back Position in Germany Before and After Unification'.

For further information, please contact the New Zealand Co-ordinator: Associate Professor of Economics Prue Hyman, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, Email: [Prue.Hyman@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:Prue.Hyman@vuw.ac.nz)

**CALL FOR PAPERS**

For a collection of essays to be published by New York University Press tentatively entitled 'Teaching What You're Not: Identity, Knowledge and Politics'. The editor invites teachers and scholars from all disciplines to share their

views on the increasingly problematized relationship between a scholar's identity (race, gender, religion, etc) and her or his professional credibility. The volume will not privilege any particular viewpoint; its purpose is to give the many scholars with strong views on the subject a chance to think through these views and to make available to others concerned about the issues. I am hoping that by bringing these positions into the open the collection can initiate a productive conversation among scholars about the topic that troubles many of us. I anticipate that the included essays will range from recountings of personal experience to theoretical analyses.

Submissions and questions should be directed to: Katherine Mayberry, Associate Professor of Language & Literature, 92 Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester, New York 14623-6928, tel, 716 475 2607, Email address: [kjmgpt@rit.edu](mailto:kjmgpt@rit.edu)

### SOME USEFUL BOOKS FROM MARIAN SAWER

Deborah Brenna, The Politics of Australian Child Care, Cambridge University Press, 1994, \$29.95 - a great boon for public policy courses from Sydney University political scientist and former convenor of the National Association of Community Based Children's Service.

Prue Hyman, Women and Economics: A New Zealand Feminist Perspective, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1994 - terrific presentation of feminist critiques of economic orthodoxy, reports some interesting US research showing economics students display more selfish behaviour in experimental games than do other students, coverage of pay equity issues such as job evaluation and industrial bargaining, also relevant to Australia as is analysis of income support measures.

Marian Sawer and Abigail Groves, Working from Inside: Twenty Years of the Office of the Status of Women, AGPS, 1994, \$19.95 - surprisingly frank and lively thanks to Carmen Lawrence rejecting bureaucratic caution.

Anna Yeatman, 'Women and the State' in Kate Pritchard Hughes, Contemporary Australian Feminism, Longman Cheshire, 1994 - accessible introduction to theoretical frameworks and feminist interventions.

Dr Marian Sawer teaches in the Faculty of Management at the University of Canberra and has written several books on women and politics in Australia. She can be contacted at [mos@management.canberra.edu.au](mailto:mos@management.canberra.edu.au)

### "JUST WAGES"

BOOK SPECIAL - "JUST WAGES" (1994) - published by the Coalition for Equal Value Equal Pay (CEVEP) with the help of the Suffrage Centennial Trust - 78 pages plus illustrations, isbn: 0-473-02072-6. Price \$10.00 (overseas orders \$15 including p&p) or \$100 for 15.

"Just Wages" is the story of the campaign for pay equity in New Zealand from 1984. It is an historical record, based on interviews and documentary records of women involved in the campaign, of the events that led up to the passage and subsequent repeal of the Employment Equity Act in 1990. Chapters cover the background to the pay equity campaign, general information about women in the labour market, and the development of the campaign as a national issue. It is an essential resource for anyone looking for an accessible and easy-to-read (and dirt cheap!!) book which covers the economics and politics of pay equity in New Zealand in the 1980s. For copies write to: Affirmative Action, PO Box 12361, Wellington.

Rose Ryan, Industrial Relations Centre, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington.

### FEEDBACK ON NEWSLETTER

From editor of Australasian Political Studies Association Women's Caucus Newsletter - "I recently received a copy of the excellent Aotearoa/New Zealand Women and Politics Newsletter, which contained conference reviews, book reviews, teaching news and short articles".



From Ivanica Vodanovich, Department of Sociology, University of Auckland: "I found the newsletter most interesting and I think it is excellent".

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## NEW MEMBERS

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**Sharyn Marshall**

Political Science Department, University of Canterbury, Private Bag,  
Christchurch. Email: S.Marshall@pols.canterbury.ac.nz  
Interests: NZ women in development policy, gender relations in the Pacific.

**Ivanica Vodanovich**

Department of Sociology, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Email:  
i.vodanovich@auckland.ac.nz  
Interests: gender/development and security.

**Tara Werner**

Tara Werner Publishing, PO Box 105 361, Auckland Central.  
Interests: feminist and socialist perceptions of business.

**Sue Elliot**

School of Refugee Education, AIT, PB 92006, Auckland. Email: selliot@centre.ait.ac.nz  
Interests: refugee women and education.

**WAPSAnews - AUSTRALASIAN POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
WOMEN'S CAUCUS ELECTRONIC NEWSLETTER**

If you are interested in contributing to/receiving this monthly E-mail news bulletin, please contact: **Elizabeth Shannon**, Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania, GPO Box 252C, Hobart, Tasmania 7001.  
Email: E.Shannon@polsci.utas.edu.au

**1995 SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR WOMEN AND POLITICS NETWORK**

Please send your \$10 (\$35 for institutions) subscription with the form that accompanies this newsletter as soon as possible to: **Heather Devere**, Communication Studies Department, Auckland Institute of Technology, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1020.

(Please make cheques payable to: Aotearoa/NZ Women and Politics Network)

**NEXT ISSUE OF THE NEWSLETTER**

The theme for the next newsletter which we hope to distribute at the end of the year will be "Maori Women in Politics". If you are interested in writing an article, have information for our teaching news section, a book you would like to review, or information about relevant conferences, please contact: **Heather Devere**, Communication Studies Department, Auckland Institute of Technology, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1010, Tel 09 307 999 ext 5367, Email: hdevere@chain1.ait.ac.nz

## THANKS TO BRONWYN HAYWARD

Bronwyn has been responsible for initiating and producing the Newsletter up until now, but with her PhD and teaching commitments has had to give it up. We would like to thank her for her inspiration and dedication and wish her well. Bronwyn can be contacted at the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, Lincoln University, PO Box 84, Canterbury.

## ADVERTISING IN NEWSLETTER

Full page ads \$30.00. Half page ads \$18.00. Please contact Heather Devere.



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## CONFERENCE DIARY 1995-1996

DATE	TITLE	PLACE	CONTACT	DETAILS
1995 Aug 30-Sep 1	New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference	Victoria University of Wellington	Nigel Roberts, Organising Cttee, Victoria Uni of Wellington, Tel 04 471 5351 Fax 04 496 5414 Email: Nigel.Robert@vuw.ac.nz	
September	1995 World Women's Conference	Beijing	NZ Non-Governmental Organisations Co-ordinating Committee: Beijing 1995, PO Box 12-117, Wellington	
Aug 30-Sep 8	NGO Forum on Women - Beijing 1995	Beijing Workers Sports Services Centre	NGO Forum on Women's Office, Suite 1500, 211 East 43 Street, New York, NY 10017, USA	Parallel program to UN World Women's Conference. Registration by 30 April
Sep 26-29	Australasian Political Science Association Conference	Melbourne University	Sheila Jeffreys, Dept of Pol.Sci., Uni of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052. Email: jeffreys@politics.unimelb.edu.au (gender stream)	Suggested theme for gender stream "Women and Social Justice". Abstracts by 31 May
Sep 29-30	5th Women and Labour Conference	Macquarie University, NSW	Bridget Griffen-Foley, School of History, Philosophy & Politics, Macquarie Uni, NSW 2109 Fax (02) 850 8892	Send expressions of interest. Abstracts by 1 Oct 1995

Nov 17-19	Feminism/Postmodernism/ Postfeminism	Massey University, Palmerston North	Dr Lynne Alice/Dr Lynne Star, Women's Studies, Massey Uni, Box 11-222, Palmerston North. Tel:(06) 350 4417 Fax:(06) 350 4425 Email: L.C.Alice@massey.ac.nz	Three thematic threads: 1.critiques of epistemology; 2.politics of power. 3.hybrid bodies. Only 12 papers will be selected. Deadline 16 July; Register by 1 Oct
Nov 29- Dec 1	Dancing on the Glass Ceiling: New Century, New Workplace, New Leaders. 4th Women in Leadership International Conference	Edith Cowan, University of Western Australia	Judy Dewes Tel (09) 273 8549 Fax (09) 273 8119	Closing entry date 7 July 1995
No details available	New Zealand Politics Research Group Conference			
1996				
Jan 26-28	Human Rights, WEL National Conference	Glebe Sydney	WEL, NSW, 66 Albion St, Surrey Hills, NSW 2010	Send one page outline of topic by 1 July 1995
Feb 1-2	Public Policy Network Conference	University of Tasmania	Judith Homeshaw. Email J.Homeshaw@polsci.utas.edu.au Tel (002) 202 739 Fax (002) 240 973	
Apr 22-26	6th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women	Adelaide	Festival City Conventions Tel (08) 3631 307 Fax (08) 363 1604	