

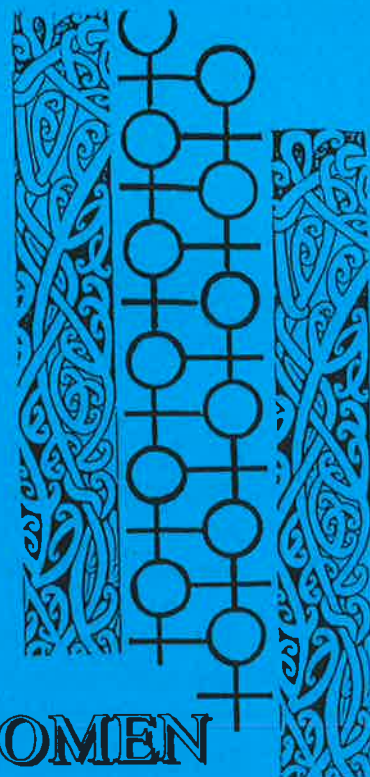
# AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND WOMEN

# & POLITICS

NETWORK NEWSLETTER

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1992

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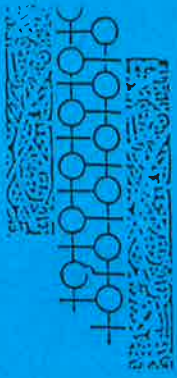
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**Aotearoa / New Zealand  
Women and Politics  
Network**

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**The idea** was born out of meetings of women at the NZ Political Science Association Conferences.

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

Over **300 copies** of this newsletter have been circulated, newsletters are published 3 times a year. The network runs on donations. A **\$5.00** donation will ensure you receive a year's subscription.

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**Next Issue**

April/ May 1993

Theme: Women and Environmental Policy

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## Guest Editorial

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# Resisting the Right

**Phillida Bunkle**  
Lecturer  
Women's Studies  
Victoria University, NZ

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### An Unfortunate Experiment

New Zealand is once again the social laboratory of the world. This time we are the experimental subjects of the extreme right. This experiment, which is inflicting deep wounds on the body politic, is being conducted without our informed consent.

Economists usually take a series of measurements and then construct a model to explain their observations. Terrifyingly the surgeons of the Treasury and the Business Roundtable are operating on the economy to make it fit the theory and flesh. There is, they assure their patients, no pain without gain. But it is not their pain.

The unrealistic individualism of the New Right feeds a virulent anti-statism and a paranoiac distrust of the public sector. The preference for the private sector is axiomatic and not susceptible to contrary evidence. Coupled with the belief that inflation is public enemy number one and not unemployment, it has justified wholesale retreat of the state from service provision or even maintenance of the infrastructure of the economy, which has been a traditional policy of governments of all ideological persuasions in New Zealand.

Intervention is supposedly directed solely at reducing inflation. Emphasis on a single variable reinforces the rigidity of a simplistic theory; and because escalating expectations are identified as the major cause of inflation, it has the effect of underscoring its most punitive implications.

### By faith alone shall ye know them.

The axioms of New Right theory cannot be tested. They are absolute beliefs, believed absolutely. The key assumption is, in

the words of Mueller <sup>1</sup>, "that man is an egoistic, rational utility maximiser," and therefore that competitive individualism is grounded in human nature, simply a statement of the way things are.

By definition, 'reason' means the pursuit of individual, material self interest. Material gain is the measure of utility, and therefore actions generating a profit are deemed reasonable and require no further justification.

### Rational man

The foundation document of the New Right was *Economic Management* the 1984 Treasury briefing to the incoming government. *Economic Management* had this to say about public funding for childcare;

*"the assumption is not just that the benefits of childrearing do not compensate for the disadvantages in terms of loss of external work and educational opportunities, but that the public has no obligation to compensate for that net disadvantage from what would be (without compensation) the result of an irrational desire to have children. Or, in the case of unplanned children that the public should compensate parents for the unexpected net loss."*

**The creation and maintenance of human society is not profitable.** On this theory it is therefore valueless. Caring work, that is the maximisation of another's utility, is irrational. The theory devalues much of the work that women do while simultaneously giving them more of it.

### Right Minded

**Despite its inadequate understanding of individual and social relations and the distorting simplification of the economy, the theory of the New Right gained intellectual ascendancy.** This was achieved not through the normal channels of academic or public debate, but through the construction of a privately funded parallel structure of quasi independent intellectual institutions, research institutes, think tanks and summits. **The strategic recruitment of adherents into 'central agencies' in the state administration and Treasury capture of both major political parties left electors with no way to vote against this corrosive ideology of greed.**

### Resisting the Right

**Resistance has necessarily come from the margins. The most effective organised resistance, especially to the sale of public assets, has come from the skillful applications of the legal system by Maori.** Now racism has been given a dangerous boost by the public relations machine bent on scapegoating Maori for the failure of these policies.

**Women have also become an increasingly significant source of resistance to the New Right.**

**A**s the poorest group in society women have been the most vulnerable to economic decline. Participation in the market is proportional to privilege. Women who have been used for so long to providing services without pay now find they do not have the money to buy the services they need in the market place. Superannuation is probably the most pressing economic issue for women.

**W**omen have been particularly hit by the policies abolishing the welfare state. This is partly because as carers of the sick, elderly, and disabled they have more contact with social services, and partly because a higher proportion are directly dependent on benefits. In 1987 half of all adult Maori women, a quarter of all Pakeha women, but only 11% of Maori men and 6% of Pakeha men were solely dependent on the state.

**T**he New Right needs the unpaid labour of women. "Care" is to be returned to 'the Community', and we are the community.

**W**hile women have been susceptible to worsening economic conditions the restructuring of the labour force and the roll-back of the welfare state have had gender differentiated impacts.

**U**nemployment is highest among the young, brown, and female. More than half of the young Polynesian women are unemployed.

**R**estructuring has polarised the labour market. The secondary labour market has

been casualised. One major retail chain is now offering a contract to its full time employees which not only has all time worked at ordinary rates of pay, but gives the employer the ability to vary hours on a daily basis from a minimum of 2 hours to a maximum of 12 hours over any seven days the week.

## Women's Rising Activism

**J**ob intensification was the primary goal of restructuring because it was 'efficient and productive'. The women's semi-professions particularly teaching, nursing and dental nursing have been subjected to both. These women have traditionally been dismissed as conservative but it is the teachers and nurses who have offered resistance where the Council of Trade Unions (CTU), failed to offer a defence of its own existence. Not only have both groups resisted the erosion of working conditions but they have aligned their protest to a defence of the public health and education system.

**T**his politicisation of women potentially portends a major political realignment. The gender gap in voting has grown steadily. Where women now put their votes could fundamentally change politicians. It was women's votes that elected the governments of 1984, 1987, and 1990. Once elected these governments ignored this constituency. Labour displayed its contempt for women's support by taking from 1984 to 1990 to enact pay equity legislation. National indicated not only its

adherence to pure market values but its hostility to women by making repeal of pay equity its very first act in government. And in case we hadn't got the message they then went through the derisory charade of the *Knowles Report*.

**I**t is now time for the fragmented opposition to the New Right to coalesce. It is essential that women shape the organised political expression of this resistance. The shape of things to come will be fundamentally affected by the outcome of the Wellington Central by-election and the 1993 General Election.

**I**n Wellington Central, Labour is frantically back pedalling from the New Right by putting up a sensitive iron age half back. They are recruiting unprecedented numbers of women candidates for 1993. They have taken on board the growing activism of women to their left. Labour's determinism to make use of women to restore their credibility is urgent.

**W**omen hold the key to the emerging political alignment. I believe we must form alliances in which women's interests are central. For the first time I have joined a political party. My decision to join the Greens was affected by their policy of gender equity in all positions. I found their emphasis on the significance of process sympathetic. But most of all I believe their emphasis on long term accountability and sustainability are crucial counters to the exclusive short term profit orientation of the New Right.

**I** am actively supporting Alliance in Wellington Central because I find the Alliance with its gender balanced leadership brings together the need for long term perspectives on the economy with the New Labour Party's concern with economic suffering and deteriorating conditions of work, and Mana Motuhake's resistance to further asset alienation.

**M**ost importantly the Alliance models the co-operative consensus processes that are essential if we are to emerge in the next century with sane sustainable women-friendly government.

1. Mueller, D., (1979), *Public Choice* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.1



## Conference Alert!

### Women and Politics

3 Dec, 1992

**Stout Research Centre  
Victoria University**

### Social Policy Conference

**4-6 December, Wellington**

(for more information about both conferences see notices elsewhere in this newsletter.)

# ECONOMIC ORTHODOXY THE NEW RIGHT AND FEMINIST CRITIQUES

**PRUE HYMAN**  
Reader in Economics,  
Victoria University of  
Wellington, NZ.

**Feminist arguments are attacked, mocked, ignored, marginalised, trivialised, co-opted and twisted by opponents unwilling to share power and resources. Mainstream economic orthodoxy has used all these tactics. Here I focus on an example of co-option and twisting within new right thinking.**

Infometrics is an influential consulting firm, used by the private and public sectors. Its main spokesman, Gareth Morgan, frequently appears in the media and, like many orthodox economists gives his opinions as 'no alternative' facts. What follows is a brief look at their 1991 paper, *Mitigating Misery* (all italicised quotes are therein)<sup>1</sup>. One could have post structuralist fun with just the title, let along the paper!

**The feminist contention distorted in *Mitigating Misery* is that household, caring, and community**

**work deserves recognition as real work, even though unpaid, and should be included in measures of economic activity<sup>2</sup>.**

**Economists increasingly agree that the omission of unpaid work from national income statistics is problematic<sup>3</sup>. Admittedly their arguments are based more on the misleading economic nature of the statistics than on feminist concerns. Relatively more unpaid work, including barter, voluntary, under the counter activities, caring and household work, happens at times of high unemployment compared with growth periods. So the impact of boom and recession, in aggregate and on some individual households, is overstated when most of this work is omitted.**

**However, *Mitigating Misery* draws two strong conclusions from valuing services produced at home. The first is that earners of lower second incomes (usually women) would be more productive at home, and it would be 'economically rational' for them to return there. The second is that *efficiency* (cost savings) in home production should be *encouraged*, with women's labour time substituted for money, and, further, that such efficiency should be *assumed*, with some benefits able to be lowered still further. There are erroneous assumptions and sexism in *Mitigating Misery's* analysis.**

***Mitigating Misery* estimates the total costs of acquiring a second income for households with two parents and two children, one pre-school and one school-age. It adds the direct costs of working (transport, clothing and childcare) to foregone home production. Two different methods are used for valuing the latter. One makes an estimate of the extra costs of buying in some specific household services and/or using less labour intensive, more expensive options. The second is more aggregated, based on the weekly cost of a housekeeper who would cover both child care and household services. Both methods give the result that if the second income earner is paid less than about the average wage of \$521 per week gross (November 1990) or \$399 net, there is little or no net benefit to the household in money terms.**

**What are the problems with these calculations? First, most women in paid work do the bulk of essential home production themselves in addition to their labour force contribution. Only a few in more highly paid worker's employ anyone at home. Hence using a weekly salary for a housekeeper as the opportunity cost of paid work for most women is highly unrealistic in terms of the benefits to the family, even though it is a justified, or even minimum, estimate of the *value* of home production. Similarly, few lower paid**



women can afford even subsidised formal childcare (assumed in the calculations) but most manage with extended families, hours different from that of their spouse, or informal low price minding. Thus for most women, the costs of working are exaggerated.

Also, attributing the full cost of childcare to the second income earner, in accordance with economists' marginal analysis, is more than just a technical nicety. It supports the status quo position in which there is a secondary earner, normally the woman, with full responsibility for child care, and neither the primary worker, the employer of either, or the community shares this responsibility.

Thus, while *Mitigating Misery* is correct that lack of jobs may force some women back into home production during recession, the costs to such families are under estimated. Also for many women a job is an economic necessity, but also a lot more. There will be severe non-monetary costs in its loss.

To be fair to *Mitigating Misery*, it admits the lack of gender neutrality:

*It is women predominantly who will be "condemned" to the home. The propensity for women to be affected by the fall in the real value of money earnings though is a function of their market income levels rather than a function of sex, assuming an equal partnership*

*by adults in the family unit ... what is economically optimal from the family unit's perspective, is that the lower income earner be the one to consider home production as a part-time or full-time alternative to participation in the paid workforce.*

However, the assumption of equal partnership is a bad joke for many women. Also what may be a 'rational allocation' of labour in times of harmony can have long term adverse implications for women if the partnership doesn't continue due to death, divorce or separation. There is evidence that women are on average worse off after divorce, and men better off. Use of a household utility function is inappropriate.

Further, self perpetuating explanations for the higher market income levels of men imply that women will continue to be the main specialists in home production and justify the status quo. With men earning more on average than women, specialisation of roles emerges 'appropriately' from rational household decision making. In turn, this expectation can justify less education and training for women which will perpetuate their lower average earnings. Discrimination and the undervaluation of female dominated occupations further reinforce the status quo.

With this sort of twisting of valuing women's unpaid work, it's not surprising that some feminists are voicing

doubts about including non market work in gross domestic product. There are boundary issues about what should be counted, with the third party criterion (could it be bought on the market?) involving practical and conceptual problems. Reproductive services are one example - children, eggs, sperm and their rearing can all be bought - do we want home reproduction included?

Valuation of time also raises problems, when household work and female dominated work in general is undervalued. More fundamental is the argument that attempting to fit unpaid work into current definitions of economic activity, and what is valuable, is a backward step. It encourages both using money as the only measure for valuing activity and seeing national income levels and growth as the main measure of welfare, when it is totally inadequate for this purpose. Income distribution issues, and social indicators remain hidden, while 'bads', such as pollutants and defence, continue to be valued.

Fitting unpaid work into current structures doesn't challenge those structures sufficiently.

The link from the first to the second major area of *Mitigating Misery* (where minimum budgets are presented) is made unpleasantly clear:

*The failure of conventional measures to take proper account of the value of home production has resulted in a*



*system of welfare benefits to be structured in a manner that ignores the necessity of pursuing efficiency in the home production sector.*

*The budgets ... incorporate cash savings made possible through the productive use of at-home time. The food budget requires a great deal of time in food preparation. It does not allow for the purchase of convenience foods. The concept of substituting time for cash impacts throughout the budget. Cleaning materials which are easier to use are out and basic materials requiring elbow grease are in. For a solo parent, the cost of housing will impel many to seek a sharing arrangement with others.*

*The intention is not to imply that beneficiaries are managing. Many, especially families, are not, because of debt burdens, high housing costs and a pattern of consumption based on higher cash incomes. What is suggested is that a cultural change to more productive consumption will be forced on them as real incomes fall further, in order to survive.*

**In other words:** 'Expectations of those on low income, especially benefits, are too high. They will, can, and should have to manage on less by substituting cheaper goods and their labour for purchases - with women using or reverting to: elbow grease, bottling, and making the family clothes. Government should have the guts to make them do this by cutting benefits further'.

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Fortunately, even Ministers have not gone quite this far! The analysis suggests that the clock may and should be put back sixty years or so, particularly for women. We might even prefer the pretended universality of much of orthodox economics to this distorted adoption of feminist principles!

1. The full title is *Mitigating Misery- A preliminary assessment of New Zealanders' capacity to absorb cuts in real income*. A fuller version of this critique is contained in my paper in the conference proceedings of 'Policy for our Times', the 1991 Social Policy Conference (New Zealand) to be published by Massey University (NZ) shortly.

2. See for example, Marilyn Waring, *Counting for Nothing*. Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1988.

3. See for example, Duncan Ironmonger, "Households and the Household Economy", pp. 3-13 in D. Ironmonger (ed). *Households 'Work* Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1989, especially p.10, and Robert Eisner, "Extended Accounts for National Income and Product," *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol XXVI December 1988 pp. 1611-1684.

New Zealand Politics Research Group  
**" WOMEN AND POLITICS "**  
 3 December 1992  
 Stout Research Centre  
 Victoria University, Wellington NZ

Registration (8.45 - 9.30)  
**Differing Views of Feminism**  
 Speakers: Jennifer Curtin and Heather Devere (9.30-11 am)

Coffee (11.00 - 11.30)  
**The Invisible Area of Women's Representation: Hospital and Area Health Boards** Speaker: Jean Drage, Discussant: Bronwyn Hayward (11.30 - 1.00)

Lunch (1.00 - 2.00)  
**Is There a Gender Gap?**  
 Speakers: Peter Aimer, Helena Catt, Stephen Levine, Raymond Miller, Nigel Roberts and Jack Vowles (2.00 - 3.30)

Tea (3.30- 4.00)  
**Parliament, Women's Representation and Women's Interests** Speakers: Katherine O'Regan, Minister of Consumer Affairs and Associate Minister of Women's Affairs; Sonja Davies, Labour Party Spokesperson on Women's Affairs (4 - 5.30)

**Looking Forward: Further Research on Women and Politics** General discussion. Wine and fruit juice will be served (5.30 - 6.15)

**Meeting of the New Zealand Politics Research Group** (6.15 - 6.30) (Please send agenda items to Elizabeth McLeay)

<p>Social Policy Conference</p> <p>on</p> <p><b>CHANGING RESPONSIBILITIES</b></p> <p>4-6 December 1992, Student Union Building, Victoria University, Wellington.</p>	<p><u>Central Themes</u></p> <p>The State as Market          Working Together: Research in the Community          Gender          Intergenerational Responsibilities: Tracing the Changes          The Treaty of Waitangi          Monitoring Government Policy and Social Trends          Finding Resources for Social Research</p> <p><b>For further inquiries please contact:</b>          Murg Gilling (04) 4727666 ext 8751          Lesley Patterson (04) 4727666 ext 8763</p> <p>The Association of Social Science Researchers and Sociological Association of Aotearoa (New Zealand).</p>
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# Internal Contradictions of New Right Thinking

**Susan St John**

Senior Lecturer

Economics Dept.

Auckland University, NZ

**The barometer for success in the New Right world is reduction in the crude statistic Government Spending as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product. With almost negligible intellectual dissent, the Minister of Finance was allowed to claim in the 1992 budget that the fall in this ratio from 41.3% in 1991 to a projected 39.6% in 1992 and 37.4% by 1995 'represents a significant, sustained and ongoing reduction in the burden placed by the state on the private sector'.**

**Belief that it is possible to measure the size and influence of the state by a single number, or that a reduction in that number reflects an improvement is grotesquely naive. Amongst its innumerable failings, this simplistic measure does not capture the unaccountable damage done to the social and physical infrastructure when government spending is slashed in a recession. The passive acceptance of its use as a guide to the rectitude of**

economic management reflects the shallowness of our thinking.

**A**mong the other often unchallenged simplistic, moralistic and unsupportable planks of the New Right is that people ought to save for their retirement. If they do not, they can be classified as a 'burden' on future taxpayers.

**S**o in 1991 the Task Force on Private Provision for Retirement was set up "to report on policy options to encourage a greater self-reliance of retired people". Such a brief has wide appeal as it appears to uphold values that are incontrovertible along with the work ethic and the obligation for everyone to live in frictionless New Right families where sharing and caring is the norm.

**T**he Minister repeatedly emphasised that the recalcitrant people are those who could save but who choose not to. The Task Force dutifully examined ways to make those people save so as to give a bigger share for private provision allowing the share provided by the state to fall. They came up with three options:

- 1. The voluntary option. People will be bribed to save more;**
- 2. Tax incentives. People will be bribed to save more;**
- 3. A compulsory scheme. People will be**

**compelled to save more.**

**W**hile options 2 and 3 may result in those moral reprobates who do not currently save, saving more, it is difficult if not impossible to reconcile option 2 with lower state spending or option 3 with the state playing a less dominant role in the savings area. It is impossible to design these two options so that that they impact fairly on low income groups. Inevitably the rich do best, while women, the low paid and the unemployed are disadvantaged. While this is not inconsistent with the New Right agenda it certainly is at the sacrifice of other sacred cows such as personal freedom (in the compulsory option), and low state spending (in the tax incentive option).

**T**hus as these two options do not make much sense in terms of reducing the role of the state, the voluntary option is likely to win by default. Herein lies another contradiction. If people save more, then with a given level of state pension the state only saves money if as a result there is a stiff income test on the state pension. Unfortunately this provides a strong deterrent to saving.

**T**he New Right prescription will therefore emphasise that savings should be encouraged by maintaining a low inflationary environment, more education, and clear signals about the level of the state pension in the future. Thus there is an implicit endorsement of the current

contractionary policies, labour market reforms, and the non intervention in the economy by the state. There is also a touching faith in the ability of education to ensure that people save in the 'right' ways. Thus presumably those of us who lost half our savings in the Bank of New Zealand were victims of poor information.

**M**ake no mistake, for the New Right the signal that must be given is that the state pension will provide only a miserable existence in the future. Accordingly, people who otherwise would have nothing but the state pension, driven by the spectre of poverty in old age, will save more. After all everyone is rational. It does not seem to matter that more saving is the last thing that we need in the middle of a deep recession. It ignores the reality that many cannot save and will experience increased stress and fear as the only impact of such policies. Hence a contradiction: society may have a lower spending ratio but we will pay the price in a multiplicity of other ways.

**T**he danger of the voluntary option is that we end up eventually precisely where the 1991 budget, that embodiment of New Right dogma, had us only 18 months ago.

**W**e should look very carefully at the policies which have been introduced since the discredited 1991 budget. The "55+ benefit" and the "Community Services Card" reflect, precisely, the thinking

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in *Welfare that Works* which underpinned the draconian changes to the 'Guaranteed Retirement Income' (GRI). **The goal of the 55+ benefit is poverty alleviation not prevention. It is subject to a numbing 98 percent clawback on joint income over \$80 per week of appalling consequences for many married women.**

**F**or both the 55+benefit and the Community Services card the joint income test exemption is exactly the same for a married couple as for a single person, reflecting the same core family unit ideology that the public rejected for the GRI. The Community Services card renders obsolete additional savings just above the low exemption. A couple who saves to provide an extra few thousand over the exemption may be scarcely any better off after tax surcharge and loss of the health card.

**T**hus there is an extraordinary incentive to reduce taxable income by what ever means possible. It is clear that many will have to fund down their savings and assets before they even reach retirement. Hence another internal contradiction of New Right policies.

**T**he passive acceptance by New Zealanders of policies like this will make it much easier for the Government to eventually achieve the state pension they envisaged in 1991. Perhaps if we permit it

to happen, we will reap the whirlwind of the contradictions of New Right thinking in this area as in many others.

**NOW IS THE TIME...**



**1993 Centennial of Women's Suffrage in NZ**

On 19 September 1893, New Zealand became the first self governing nation in the world to grant universal suffrage. The NZ Government has designated 1993 as an official Suffrage Centennial Year and set up a \$5 million Trust Fund to contribute towards centennial projects and events.

Network members have written asking how to apply for funds. We received a copy of the information kit about the centennial year. The Centennial trust says it has "been swamped" with applications and has had to apply "strict criteria" in allocating funds.

The information we received says Trust Fund money "will be used to help groups and individuals throughout the country run their own Suffrage Year projects".

Projects to receive funding should:

- \*Promote women's social, economic, political and cultural development;
- \*Recognise and encourage women's diverse cultural identities;
- \*Increase awareness of the contribution which all women have made to our society;
- \*Increase the historical data base on women's contribution;
- \*Provide material or organise events which focus on the Centenary, and the objectives of Suffrage Year.

National, regional and local community projects may be eligible for funding; but not activities which are part of an organisation's ongoing commitments, or those which may be funded from other sources.

If you want to apply for funding or need further information contact: the Suffrage Director: Jill Pierce, at the Ministry of Women's Affairs, PO Box 10-049, 48 Mulgrave Street, Wellington New Zealand. Phone: (04) 473-4112; Fax: (04) 472-0961



## *Economic Analysis of Hospital Provision*

**Bronwyn  
Croxson,**  
*Teaching Fellow  
Clare College,  
Cambridge, UK*

During the second half of the nineteenth century the state assumed responsibility from the private sector for the provision of a number of goods with 'public' characteristics. **The consecutive provision of the same good under different delivery structures provides empirical evidence that may shed light on the causes and outcome of the choice between public and private provision - in both the 19th and 20th centuries.**

There has been no economic analysis of the pattern of hospital provision that existed in England by the end of the 19th century. **Several factors make this a vital and interesting question.** An explanation of the past is interesting in its own right - and is a necessary reminder that the optimal pattern of provision is not

static, contrary to the implications of *a priori* models of an 'ideal' economy. Second, contemporary institutions contain features that reflect past beliefs and exigencies - these institutions can only, therefore, be understood by examining their history. **Third, evidence from 19th century Britain may be useful in the current debate about the optimal provision of hospital care and the nature of the health care market.** Finally, an analysis of this kind may be used to assess the usefulness of mainstream economic theory with respect to the collective provision of health care.

### **THE PATTERN OF HOSPITAL PROVISION IN THE 19TH CENTURY**

A limited number of hospital facilities were provided by the voluntary (philanthropic) sector for the 'deserving poor'.

During the course of the 19th century there were also an increasing number of state funded facilities for paupers and those who could not afford to pay for treatment, but who were excluded from the voluntary hospitals. State funded hospitals for the

treatment of certain categories of infectious disease were also established. Hospitals were generally open only to the poor; those who could afford to pay for treatment were cared for in their own homes by general practitioners or hospital consultants.

**It appears that by the end of the 19th century there was demand for hospital facilities from those who could afford to pay for their own care, yet no corresponding supply was forthcoming.** In an otherwise market oriented economy, there was almost complete reliance on collective provision. Within the collective delivery structure, the state fulfilled a residual role, providing hospital facilities only if it was apparent that voluntary support would not be forthcoming. And this role was increasingly important as the gap widened between voluntary support and the demand for hospital facilities.

The development of this pattern of hospital provision can be examined by focusing on specific questions.

The first question relates to the 'choice' between collective provision (whether the result of philanthropic or state funding) and private provision. A market for hospital care could have developed in England in the late 19th century. There was unsatisfied demand for hospital facilities from those who were able and willing to pay for care. It is not, therefore immediately obvious why there was an almost complete reliance on collective provision.

In this context, this study is an opportunity to examine the general determinants of the choice between collective and market provision. It may also shed light on the normative consequences of that choice. The distinction between motivation and outcome must be maintained; a market liberal 'explanation' of collective provision in terms of externalities, does not necessarily explain proximate causes.

The second question examines the financing of collective provision. Voluntary funding was never forthcoming at a level that would have

provided care for all of the sick poor. It is feasible that collective provision reflects the existence of an externality, and that state compulsion was necessary to avoid free-riding. This explanation is not, however, consistent with all of the available evidence.

The third question relates to the rationing of care in favour of those who were deemed to be curable.

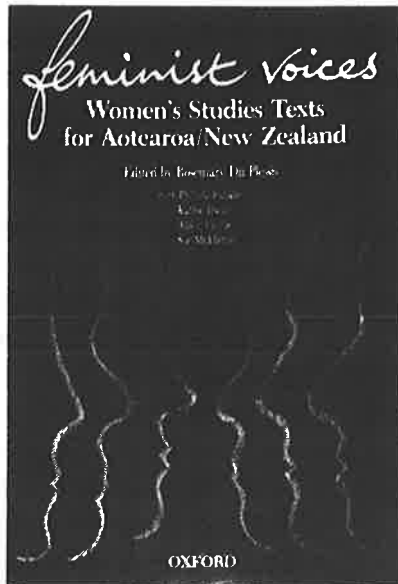
Between the end of the 18th century and the end of the 19th century the proportion of voluntary hospital patients who could be classed as chronically ill or incurable declined. Over the same period control over admission passed from the governors to the medical staff. It is possible that there was a relationship between the admissions policy and the need to raise philanthropic funds. The bias towards 'curables' may also be an example of the desire to maximise the benefits derived from scarce health care resources (if this was the case, a de facto QALY maximisation was being carried out - but only in the voluntary sector. The state sector continued to admit allcomers).

When carrying out an

analysis of this nature it is necessary to recognise the independent role played by the objectives of doctors and philanthropists. The demand for hospital facilities came from philanthropists, patients and doctors. Patients were often unable to exercise effective demand, because they had insufficient information or inadequate access to resources. In this case patients depended on doctors and philanthropists to act on their behalf. 'Supplier induced demand' is the phenomenon whereby doctors act as the patient's agent. In a perfect agency relationship, the interests of the doctor are suppressed if they conflict with those of the patient. This analysis may be extended to the relationship that exists between a philanthropist and a patient; a perfect agency would exist if the well-being of the patient dominates the philanthropist's other objectives (and the latter has perfect information about the patient's well-being). Philanthropists and doctors do, however, have their own objectives. And these objectives may have been paramount in 19th century Britain.

# Feminist Voices

Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/ New Zealand



*Edited by:*

**Rosemary Du Plessis**, *Lecturer in Sociology & Women's Studies, Canterbury University, Christchurch*

*with:*

**Phillida Bunkle**, *Lecturer in Women's Studies, Victoria University, Wellington*

**Kathie Irwin**, *Lecturer in Education, Victoria University, Wellington*

**Alison Laurie**, *Lecturer in Women's Studies, Victoria University, Wellington*

**Sue Middleton**, *Lecturer in Education, Waikato University, Hamilton*

Women's studies and feminist studies have always resisted attempts to produce authoritative texts, and so it is with this book. It provides a space in which many different feminist voices speak their understandings of a range of topics as diverse as joint custody, ecology, economics, peace and war, rugby, spirituality, sex work, the legal system, the politics of work, science, medicine, education, racism and anti-racism, Maori theatre, feminist politics, and history. It is a pot-pourri of texts, written by women whose ordinary lives have shaped what they have to say and the voices they bring to the telling.

The result is a lively and challenging book, which is essential reading for everyone, whether they are students of women's studies, or simply seeking to understand further the position of women in Aotearoa/ New Zealand in the 1990s.

**Contributors:** *Julie Glamuzina, Pania McArdell, Shaista Shameem, Anne Opie, Lynne Star, Lynne Alice, Roma Potiki, Ruth Habgood, Jan Jordan, Mary O'Regan, Nicola Armstrong, Anne Else, Prue Hyman, Margaret Wilson, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Deborah Jones, Alison Jones, Camille Guy, Katie Boanas, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, and Christine Dann.*

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**Oxford University Press**

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Ph: 523 3134. 523 3702 Fax: 524 6723



# The Economics of the Poor

**Christine Dann,**  
Christchurch  
Speaker, NZ Green Party.

In July this year, in a speech delivered at Massey University, Social Welfare Minister Jenny Shipley credited the Welfare State with producing illiterates, juvenile delinquents, drug addicts, substance abusers, irresponsible parents and other undesirables. She also informed her listeners that one year after cutting the incomes of the 96,700 people on the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) by 11-13% (as part of her Government's attack on the allegedly noxious welfare state), precisely 185 people or less than 1% had gone off the DPB.

So what is life like for the people who are currently trying to bring up kids on reduced incomes *and* cope with being accused of causing the breakdown of society? Rosemary Du Plessis (Sociology Department, University of Canterbury) and Christine Dann interviewed 22 women and 1 man on the DPB over a year after the cuts came into effect, and found that parents were going without good food and health care in order to protect the diet and health of children who were doing without the clothing, toys, books and other 'frills' available to their peers. They were also displaying considerable ingenuity in keeping their households going, using every manual

and mental skill and family/friend assistance available to them. Even so, they were almost all in debt and terrified of the next thing that would bust their budget - like a child losing its jersey.

The full study, covering the lives of the interviewees and the political and social implications, is available as a University of Canterbury Department publication entitled '*After the Cuts: Surviving on the Domestic Purposes Benefit*'. Send \$5 to Rosemary Du Plessis, Sociology Dept., University of Canterbury, Private Bag Christchurch 1 NZ. for a copy.

## APSA Conference 1993

Australasian Political Science Association conference for 1993 will be held at Monash University, Clayton Campus, Melbourne, Australia 29 September - Friday 1st October.

The Women's Studies/Gender section is being organised by Lesley Caust. Please write to Lesley c/o Politics Department, Caulfield Campus, Monash University, P.O. Box 197, Caulfield East, 3161, Victoria, Australia with any suggestions, ideas or comments for that section.

Also send a line to Lesley if you'd like to submit a paper and please give some indication of your research area (perhaps send a title of your proposed paper). Post Graduates are urged to think about presenting a paper. It's the best way to get your work known.

Conference organisers:  
Dr Dennis Woodward (Caulfield Campus, Monash University) and  
Dr John Dalton (Clayton Campus, Monash University).



# Basic Income Research and Policy Analysis:

## Implications for Women and Politics in New Zealand/Aotearoa

**Michael Goldsmith**

Department of Politics  
Waikato University

Since 1987, Les Gilchrist and I have undertaken research and policy analysis on the major welfare proposal that goes by such names as "social wage", "universal grant", and (most commonly) "basic income (grant)" or BI. The purpose of this brief note is to suggest some of the implications of BI for research into women's political action and socio-economic status. Since the proposal is a very wide ranging one, the points to be raised here are necessarily selective.

**In its most radical form, the proposal calls for every citizen to receive, as of right, a grant sufficient to meet the basic requirements of existence.** BI is neither a system of "negative income tax" (though, in practice, the boundary is blurred) nor is it a grant to supplement prior inadequate income. It provides everyone with the basic agreed amount and allows people to earn on top of that. It is neither "targeted" nor means-tested, thus sidestepping the inequitable and expensive procedures that such provisions entail. For people in full-time, long-term, well-paid employment, it would have little effect in their daily lives, since the grant would be clawed back immediately through tax. **For the increasing proportion not in such positions (including most women), the impact would be greatest.** For everyone, whatever their situation, it would allow a greater degree of employment flexibility.

Clearly, BI entails important definitional issues (what criteria of citizenship should apply, what level of income is sufficient to meet "basic requirements", etc.). These can only be worked out through a mixture of political argument, economic calculation, philosophical debate and social research. There is no doubt that if BI were to be set at a level requiring no further supplementation it would entail higher rates (and/or different structures) of taxation than those currently advocated by neo-liberal economists or business interests. The latter might be mollified, however, by prospects of labour-market flexibility. New Zealand is one

of those societies, based on economies of "weak abundance", where the BI proposal is certainly feasible. In general, the major obstacles to implementation seem to be political and cultural, rather than economic.

After a long and complex gestation, BI has benefited from an upsurge of interest in Britain and Europe prompted by rising and entrenched rates of unemployment, growing socio-economic inequality, and questions over the changing nature of work and the future of the environment. The Liberal Democrats adopted it as a (rather low-key) part of their manifesto for the April 1992 British election, but their failure to achieve the balance of power has kept the issue on the sideline. **While BI probably won't figure prominently in New Zealand politics in the very near future, the likely introduction of proportional representation means that it may wield some influence in the policy formulation of minor (or even major) parties by the mid-to-late-1990s.**

A significant finding from Britain is the potential appeal of BI to people across the political spectrum. Judging by a University of Waikato seminar in September 1991 (Goldsmith 1992), the same broad basis of support is possible in New Zealand. Advocates range from economic rationalists, who see BI as enhancing "efficiency", to social democrats, who see it as promoting social justice, to Greens, who see it as a chance to move away from destructive notions of growth, to Marxists, who see it as addressing the traditional critique of alienation.

**What are the attractions of BI for feminist policy-makers and women in general?** At one level, the implications are wide ranging as for any other social group or category with claims to citizenship. For the purpose of this brief note, however, the most important effects have to do with the enhancement of women's social and economic autonomy, formal recognition of what has hitherto been unpaid work, ease of entry into full-time and part-time labour markets, improved calculations of women's contribution to economic indicators, and so on. Some aspects of gender oppression, such as heterosexist compulsion and economic dependence on violent partners, should be undermined.

**Specific research questions follow: How many women would be net recipients of BI? What would be the redistributive effects between implementation on an individual or family**

basis? What are the implications for "voluntary" provision of social services, in which women are heavily represented?

Most overseas studies so far have concentrated on the philosophical and/or fiscal issues (Jordan 1985, 1987, 1989, Keane 1988, Keane & Owens 1986, Purdy 1988, Parker 1989, Van der Veen & Van Parijs 1987 1986-7,1991). There has been relatively little detailed work on the political acceptability of the proposal for women, working-class people of both genders, the elderly and minority group members.

Proceedings to be published from the 1991 Waikato seminar contain some pointers for New Zealand, which need to be supplemented by group depth interviewing and by broad-based and in-house polling. The British-based Basic Income Research Group (BIRG) has commissioned qualitative research which has highlighted some areas of confusion and political antagonism (Smith et al. 1991) and a large-scale ethnographic study has investigated related labour-market decisions in low-income households (Jordan et al. 1992). The BIRG Bulletin, in general, is a source of smaller-scale policy-oriented studies and other research. In every society where BI has been proposed, the principal ideological obstacle is the taken-for-granted coupling of work and income. Large numbers of women can vouch for the fact that there is no necessary relation between them but this insight does not translate easily into political action because of the power of entrenched ideology and common-sense rhetorics.

In New Zealand, small but important beginnings have been made in the analysis of BI and in placing it on the political agenda. Keith Rankin (1992), for example, has produced an excellent and coherent proposal for what he calls "Universal Basic Income". Les Gilchrist and I initially concentrated on philosophical issues in relation to politics (Gilchrist and Goldsmith 1987). Though we remain committed to exploring the broad policy implications, my own emerging interest lies in the analysis of political discourse concerning BI. There is room for a diverse and co-operative research programme dealing with the proposal, its effects and its reception. **Examination from feminist perspectives is vital.** If you are interested or already have relevant work in progress, please contact me at the Department of Politics, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton

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## *NZ HISTORICAL ASSN. CONFERENCE*

29 January -1 February 1993

The next NZHA Conference will be held at Knox College, Dunedin.

Conference Theme:

### *Women's History*

*The conference affords the opportunity to examine how ideologies of gender have shaped society in New Zealand and elsewhere.*

A *Women's Caucus breakfast* and a *Women's History Workshop* will be held as an integral part of the Conference, as will the Annual General Meeting of the NZ Historical Association.

*For information contact  
The Convenor  
NZ Historical Association  
Conference  
History Department  
University of Otago  
PO Box 56  
Dunedin  
NZ*

# International Political Economy

**Ngairé Woods**  
*Visiting Lecturer  
Centre for  
International Affairs  
Harvard, USA.*

**My present research is concerned with the shift in 'world view' that prevailed in many governments across the world in the 1980s. Many governments, in countries that had previously pursued protective, nationalist foreign economic policies, transformed their countries' economic relations with the rest of the world. The new approach to the world economy has variously been described as integration, liberalisation, or commercialisation. To date my approach has been very much one of international relations. I have been analysing the Mexican case and in particular, the international factors which contributed to the shift in Mexican foreign economic policy: the impact of Mexico's debt**

crisis in 1982, the influence of Mexico's political and economic relations with the United States, and the role of the international institutions such as the IMF.

**These factors assist in explaining the shift but my research also points to the importance of bringing in foreign policy analysis and theories of domestic politics, such as new political economy models. These approaches help to identify changes in the backgrounds and ideologies of policy-makers as well as changes in relations among domestic institutions and economic interest groups.**



*Aotearoa New Zealand Women and Politics Network Newsletter*

## SUFFRAGE CENTENNIAL WOMEN'S LAW CONFERENCE

22- 23 May,  
1993  
Victoria University, NZ

Δ A conference for all women consumers of the law, women's welfare groups, women practitioners, women law students and academics

Δ The primary aim of this conference is to critique existing law and formulate policy for change.

**Discussion will focus on:**

*WOMEN AND THE LAW OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE; MAORI WOMEN AND THE LAW; WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS IN THE NZ HEALTH SYSTEM; WOMEN AND FAMILY LAW; WOMEN AND THE EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS ACT; WOMEN AND WELFARE LAW; THE LAW OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT; WOMEN IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM*

Accommodation and childcare facilities will be available.

**To receive further information please contact:**

**Carmel Rogers**  
(Conference Coordinator),  
Women's Legal Group, VUWSA,  
PO Box 600, Wellington, NZ  
fax (64) (04) 4955236  
*attention Women's Law Conference.*

→ This national memorial to women's suffrage is to be erected in Christchurch to commemorate the "inspired leadership" Kate Sheppard and "the thousands of women who worked with her" to achieve universal franchise in 1893. Margriet Windhausen has been commissioned to create the memorial. Her design incorporates life sized figures and she will work in bronze and marble. For more information: Kate Sheppard Memorial Appeal Committee, PO Box 13-273, Christchurch, NZ.

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## Women and the 1992 United States Election

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**Lyn Kathlene**  
Department of Political  
Science  
Purdue University,  
USA

Now that the United States 1992 election is over, we can say with some certainty that what was touted as *'the year of the woman'* indeed has come to pass.

In the U.S. Senate, the number of women tripled, increasing from two to six (five Democrats and one Republican); and in the U.S. House of Representatives, the number of women increased by nearly 70 percent, from 28 to 47 (35 Democrats and 12 Republicans). Moreover, although returns are not yet complete, it appears that the record number of

women who ran for state legislatures also made substantial gains. Prior to this election, an average of 18.2 percent of the state's legislators were women; after 1992, the average is estimated to be at least 20 percent.

Early analysis of returns also suggests that this election produced a substantial gender gap in voting, with women generally more likely to vote Democratic.

In the Presidential race, 46 percent of the women, compared to 41 per cent of men but only 17 per cent of women voted for Ross Perot (a 4-per-cent gap). No substantial difference was evident between the proportion of men and women who voted for George Bush.

Perhaps even more interesting were the proportions of women voting for women candidates. At least one woman owes her successful election bid to women: Barbara Boxer, one of two new Democratic U.S. Senators from California, received 57 per cent of the women's vote but only 44 percent of the men's vote (a 13-per-

cent gap).

As more data becomes available, the extent of women's gains at all levels of government, as well as women's power as voters, will likely be confirmed.

For many of us, this has been a tremendously exciting year. Legislation thwarted by a conservative administration is expected to pass; and issues that have received little attention should be addressed. Following are several of the many women-friendly changes I optimistically see for the future:

1. The steady erosion of reproductive rights will come to a halt either through the nomination of liberal Supreme Court appointees or the passage of the Freedom of Choice Act.
2. *The Family Medical and Leave Act* (FMLA), which has passed Congress twice (and vetoed twice by President Bush) should make its way through Congress one more time and signed into law by President Clinton.

While the Act itself is more symbolic than substantive (it only covers approximately 5 per-cent of the employers -- those with 50 or more employees -- and the 12 week leave is unpaid), it is hoped that it will open the door to more progressive legislation in the future. Some of us, myself included, believe that a more substantial version (e.g., lowering the cap on excluded employers) of the FMLA will be introduced this time around. There is strong public support for this legislation (but there is significant business opposition to it) and, I believe that many of the new women in Congress will be instrumental in pressing for a more substantive FMLA.

**3.** National health care legislation that provides insurance coverage for every person should be introduced early in 1993. **More specifically, women's health issues should receive special notice.** Women's health issues which have become politicised since 1990 (when it became public that female subjects were not included in multi-million dollar health

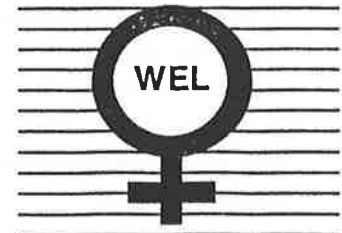
studies and that research on women's specific health problems was severely underfunded). **With the increased presence of women in Congress, many hope that women's health will climb even higher on the government funded research agenda.**

**4.** Finally, I believe that some of the important changes will happen within Congress itself. Following the *Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas* hearings, stories and articles about sexual harassment on Capital Hill emerged.

Since Congress can exempt itself from its own laws, there has been no explicit legal recourse for sexual harassment victims, but women on the Hill are not keeping quiet anymore and I suspect that because many of the female newcomers ran on a "pro-Anita hill"/ "anti-male Senate" theme, these Congresswomen will be active opponents to "business as usual" on the Hill. **While these internal changes will remain largely invisible, the importance for these women in our nation's capital to work free of**

**sexual harassment and intimidation will help us all.** Too many good women have left these powerful staff jobs.

**While I could speculate on more issues, these alone seem almost too good to be true.** The U.S. women's movement, which has endured a decade plus of backlash, is exploding with the possibilities for change. But only time will tell; and we can only hope it tells a story that values women.



Women's Electoral Lobby (NZ) is a feminist non-party political organisation which works to encourage the greater participation of women in decision making and lobbies to improve the status of women in New Zealand. It supports women who promote women's rights in New Zealand.

WEL defines a feminist as someone who believes that women are socially and economically disadvantaged because of their gender and acts on that belief.

WOMEN'S ELECTORAL LOBBY  
PO Box 11-285  
Wellington, N.Z.

# Report on the Australasian Political Science Association Conference

30 Sept - 2 Oct 1992  
Australian National University,  
Canberra, Australia.

**Heather Devere**  
Politics Department  
Auckland University, NZ

The 1992 APSA Conference offered a strong women's studies stream and substantial contributions from women.

## Women and the State

The first day of the APSA conference coincided with the Women's History conference and was held as a joint session with the women's studies stream with a focus on women and the state. Papers on the following topics were presented to a large audience: feminist theory, women and the military, women and citizenship, single mothers and the state, abortion, and state interventions in the lives of aboriginal women and girls.

The one day joint session was concluded with a panel discussion on the Women's Movement and the State looking at the situation in Australia, the United States and New Zealand. Marian Sawyer from the University of Canberra spoke about the pragmatic attitude of the women's movement in Australia towards the state and the way in which feminists have 'colonised' state organisations. Jennifer Curtin from the University of Auckland talked about the way the women's movement in New Zealand had worked through the NZ Labour party, the role of the NZ Ministry of Women's Affairs, the NZ Labour Government's reforms and their impact on women. Marian Lief Palley from the University of Delaware discussed the two streams of the women's movement in the United States - the radical grassroots stream which generated energy for the movement and acts to legitimate the liberal feminist stream which works through public policy. Desley Deacon from the Australian National University compared the Australian experience where the 'state' was taken for granted with the American rediscovery of the state. She pointed out that a feminist analysis replaces the state with policy areas and flesh and blood people. A dinner had been arranged for women historians and women political scientists that evening and over 100 women attended.

## APSA Women's Caucus Meeting

It was announced that the APSA Women and Politics Essay prize which is presented every second year will be available in 1993. Information about the prize is available from Barbara Sullivan, Department of Government, University of Queensland. It was decided that one of the three judges  
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should be a New Zealander and Elizabeth McLeay was duly elected as the NZ judge of the prize

At last year's Women's Caucus it was decided that a motion should be put to the APSA Executive that there should be a representative of the Women's Caucus on the Executive. At the 1991 APSA AGM it was decided that the motion needed to be foreshadowed, and then placed formally at the following AGM. At the 1992 APSA AGM the motion was passed, and Lesley Caust of Monash University, elected by the Women's Caucus became the Women's Caucus representative on the APSA Executive.

The next APSA Conference is to be held at Monash University and Lesley will be coordinating the women's studies stream.

At the APSA AGM, there were another two women elected to the Executive - Marian Simms is the new President and Stephanie Lawson is the new Treasurer.

#### APSA Women's Studies Stream

The following papers were presented in the Women's Studies Stream:

- Rebecca M. Albury, Department of Sociology, University of Wollongong.*  
Women and the Duty of the State: Abortion Debates in Australian Parliaments.
- M.A. Booth, Department of Social Sciences, Murdoch University.*  
'You are a Man, Michael, It's Nothing Personal': On Biological Fetishism and Factual Politics.
- Jennifer Curtin, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.*  
Femocrats in Action: The Fight to Recognise Women's Unpaid Work.
- Heather Devere, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.*  
Feminism and the Left-Right Spectrum - How Do Women See Themselves?
- Joan Eveline, Department of Women's Studies, Murdoch University.*  
The Politics of Advantage
- Felicity Grace, Department of Government, University of Queensland*  
Supercalafragalisticexpialidocious: Women and Superannuation.
- Sheila Jeffreys, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne.*  
The Politics of Sexual Pleasure.
- Marian Lief Palley, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware and Joyce Gelb, Department of Political Science, The City College of New York.*  
Women of Korea and Japan: Continuity or Change.
- Jan Jindy Pettman, Department of Political Science, The Faculties, ANU.*  
Gendering International Relations.
- Marian Sawyer, Department of Administrative Studies, University of Canberra.*  
'Shaping up to be Premier': Media Images of Political Women
- Mary Walsh, Department of Government, University of Queensland.*  
Equality, Patriarchy and Contract: Carole Pateman and Political Theory.

#### Other Women Presenting Papers

There were also several women presenting papers in some of the other streams:

- Georgina Murray, Humanities, Griffith University, (with Malcolm Alexander)*  
The Politics of Business in Australia: A Network Analysis of Interlocking Directorates in Australia.
- Lois Bryson, Department of Sociology, University of Newcastle (with Michael Bittman, Department of Sociology, University of New South Wales)*  
Patterns of Labour and Leisure in Australia and the Nordic States: A Comparative Study of Time Use and Social Policy.
- Vera Butler, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne.*  
The Soviet Union and China: Two Models of Change.
- Karen Mumford, Public Policy Program, ANU (with Francis G. Castles)*  
Policy Options for Full Employment: Which Way Forward for Australia?
- Janice Caulfield, University of New England*  
Responses to Growth in the Sunbelt States: Planning Policy Initiatives in Queensland.
- Emma Craswell, Centre for Australian Public Sector Management, Griffith University.*  
Moral Voices and Justice



*Kate Crowley, Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania,*  
Trade Unions - Greening?

*Elizabeth Eddy, Department of Government, University of Queensland,*  
Conflict over Development and Sustainability: The Path to Postindustrial Society.

*Lorraine Elliott, Department of Political Science, The Faculties, ANU.*  
International Environmental Politics and Non-Governmental Actors: Involvement and Influence.

*Heather Field, Industry Commission, Canberra,*  
More Power to the European Parliament?: The Rise and Fall of The European Community.

*Elizabeth Harman, Department of Social Sciences, Murdoch University,*  
Public Sector Reform and Challenges for Accountability.

*Carol Johnson, Department of Politics, University of Adelaide,*  
Other Times: Thatcher, Hawke and the Politics of Identity.

*Barbara Jolly, Department of Administration, Griffith University,*  
'Seeing the Trees From the Wood': Resource Security and Commonwealth Environment Policy.

*Patricia Keilig, Department of Politics, Monash University,*  
Interventionist Policy in a Declining Industry: A Case of Serious Underestimation of Restructuring Costs.

*Elaine McCoy, Department of Commerce and Administration, Griffith University (with C.A. McCoy, Queensland University of Technology)*  
A Sympathetic Critique of Democracy.

*Elizabeth M. McLeay, Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington,*  
Revisiting Cabinet Government.

*Shirley Scott, Department of History, University of Queensland,*  
Theorising the International Law-International Politics Relationship: An Interdisciplinary Approach.

*Jenny Stewart, Public Policy Program, ANU,*  
Industry Policy and the Logic of Comparison.

*Barbara Sullivan, Department of Government, University of Queensland,*  
Contemporary Australian Feminisms.

*Ros Taplin, Climatic Impacts Centre, Macquarie University,*  
Science and Politics in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Process: The Influence of the Small Island States.

*Pushpa Thambipillai, University of Brunei,*  
Uncertain Times: Policy Options for Southeast Asian-CIS Relations.

*Gillian Whitehouse, Department of Government, University of Queensland*  
Job Evaluation, Pay Equity and Industrial Relations Systems: Cross-National Lessons.

*Joanne Wright, Department of Government, University of Queensland,*  
France and Collective Security in Europe.

*Liz Young, Department of Politics, University of Adelaide,*  
Rethinking Environmental Conflict: Defining an Analytical Framework.

## **Development and the Environment Shanghai, China**

**June 11 - 15 1993**

**A call for papers for the 13th Annual meeting of the  
International Association for Impact Assessment**

Please submit in English a 200-400 work abstract before December 15, 1992 if you wish to present a paper or poster at IAIA '93, to either:

**Prof Zhou, Liang-Yi**  
IAIA '93 Meeting Chair  
Shanghai Institute of Science  
and Technology Management  
Shanghai 201800, China  
Fax: (86) 21-3290385  
Phone: (86) 21-9529353

**Prof Alan L Porter**  
IAIA '93 Program Chair  
Industrial and Systems  
Engineering  
Georgia Tech  
Atlanta, GA 30332-0205  
Fax: (404) 894-2301  
Phone: (404) 894-2330

**For conference information contact**  
Maurice E Volland, IAIA Executive Director, PO Box 90, Bethaven  
NC 27810, USA.

## **NEW ZEALAND POLITICS RESEARCH GROUP**

The New Zealand Politics Research group  
is up dating its Register of Members.  
(Membership costs \$10.00)

If you would to join or to learn more  
about this research group write to:

The Administrative Assistant  
NZ Politics Research Group  
Department of Politics  
Victoria University  
P.O. Box 600  
WELLINGTON  
NEW ZEALAND



## Teaching News

### Women and Politics University of Queensland,

**Barbara Sullivan**  
Department of Government,  
University of Queensland  
St Lucia, Australia

At the University of Queensland there are two undergraduate courses in the area of women and politics/gender politics. Both courses are offered in the Department of Government and may be taken by students doing a Government or Women's Studies Major. The first of these courses is an introductory Australian politics unit called 'Gender, Power and Politics in Australia'. Approximately one third (30 students) of the current enrolment in this course is male.

The focus of 'Gender, Power and Politics in Australia' is conceptual as well as institutional; the course has three main components. The first component examines the social and political construction of gender and the political interests which women as a group might share. It also examines some of the differences between women- of race, class, age and ethnicity - as well as the literature on women, political participation and representation.

In the second component of this course we explore how the Australian State has responded to a range of issues and demands raised by the women's movement over the last two decades. We examine polity and legal reforms initiated in the areas of work, sex discrimination and Affirmative Action, domestic violence, rape and child sexual abuse.

In the third component of the course we look at a range of conceptual issues but in particular the role of the public/private dichotomy in the construction of traditional 'politics'. We also examine the methods and assumptions of *Aotearoa New Zealand Women and Politics Network Newsletter NOV/DEC 1992 .18*

political science to understand how women's issues and gender problems become marginalised (or excluded) in the study of politics.

The second course offered in the Department of Government is an advanced political theory unit called 'Women, Political Philosophy and Ideology'. At present this course is only available externally (that is, via home study with a course package) but will be offered internally from 1994 onwards. In this course we review the tradition of western political philosophy and the work of major male theorists - from Plato and Aristotle to Marx and J.S. Mill. The aim is to relate their views on women, men and gender relations to their theories of politics and society. Some contemporary feminist scholarship in the field of political philosophy is also examined.

There are currently two Honours students and five PhD students preparing dissertations on gender related topics in the Department of Government at the University of Queensland. Next year three more students will begin postgraduate studies in this area. We are, then, developing quite a thriving feminist community! This has been assisted by the fact that there are several senior members of staff (both male and female) who are interested in supervising feminist work in political theory, political economy, public policy and Australian politics. The Department has also recently made a permanent appointment (me) in Gender Politics.

### WOMEN'S STUDIES AT MONASH UNIVERSITY

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The Centre for Women's Studies at Monash University is under the directorship of Dr **Kathie Gibson** (Women's Studies, Geography, Environmental Science), and the deputy director is **Dr Jan Van Bommel** (Women's Studies, Anthropology and Sociology) Phone 565 2996, Fax 565 2993. We have an undergraduate programme that has