

REPORT ON THE STATE OF WOMEN IN URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEW ZEALAND

1. BRIEF DESCRIPTION¹

1.1 Socio-economic profile

Demography

New Zealand lies in the southwest Pacific, about 1600 kilometres southeast of Australia and directly south of many of the small island states within the Pacific region. It is made up of two main islands (North and South) and a number of smaller islands including Stewart Island at its southern end. All of these islands make up a combined area of 270,500 sq km. New Zealand is more than 1,600 km long and 450 km wide at its widest part. The landscape is a mixture of flat country, rolling hill country and mountains. Over three quarters of the country is more than 200 metres above sea level. New Zealand climate is relatively mild with few extremes due to it being located in an ocean environment. This climate means that the country is well suited to agriculture and horticulture, these still being vitally important to the economy.²

Traditionally a predominantly rural economy, New Zealand's economic base has diversified significantly in the last 30 years. Since 1984 considerable economic restructuring has led to a more market orientated economy and this has resulted in less protection for New Zealand business. This restructuring also involved considerable public sector reform, privatisation and deregulation. Although the performance of the economy over the past 20 years has been volatile, economic growth is currently running at 3-4 percent per annum and inflation is low. New Zealand's economy remains dominated by primary industries but there has also been expansion of a number of industries such as electronics, engineering, computer software, tourism, wine, boat and building construction products. New Zealand currently has a per capita Gross Domestic Product of \$27,000 (US\$13,400).

At the time of the most recent census in New Zealand (1996) the population was 3,681,546. Since then the population is estimated to have risen to 3,812,800.³ In terms of gender, figures show that there were 1,934,700 females and 1,878,100 males in New Zealand in June 2000. This represents a sex ratio of 97.1 males to 100 females. Females have outnumbered males in New Zealand since 1968 and this

¹ I am grateful to Charlotte Connell for her assistance in collating some of the research data for this paper.

² Local Government New Zealand, 1997, *Local Government in New Zealand. United Nations Country Study on Local Government Laws and Regulations* p. 1.

³ The resident population of New Zealand at 29 June 2000 is 3,812,800, this figure being based on official 1996 census data with births, deaths and migration figures added.

advantage has increased since then. In the decade from 1986 to 1996 the female proportion of the population rose from 50.5 percent to 50.9 percent.⁴ This difference is largely due to women living longer than men. There are 76 males to every 100 females in the older population (65 years and over).⁵

Table One: New Zealand's Resident Population Data - 2000

Population 3,812,800		Level of Urbanization (As % of total population)	GNP per capita
Female	Male		
1,934,700	1,878,100	85%	NZ \$27,000 (US \$13,400)

Source: http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nst/h.../Key+Population+Statistic June 2000 Population Statistics. Also Statistics New Zealand, *1999 New Zealand Yearbook*.

There has been a trend to increasing urbanization over time. In 1911 half of New Zealand's population lived in urban areas while 50 years later in 1961 three-quarters of the population were urban dwellers. At the time of the last Census in 1996, 85 percent of the population lived in urban areas with 69 percent living in the largest urban areas (those with 30,000 people or more). As well, there has been an increasing number of people moving to the north of the country with 75 percent of New Zealand's population now living in the North Island.⁶ In seventy years the percentage of population who live in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, has increased from 14 percent in 1926 to 29 percent in 1996. Auckland's resident population in 1999 is now estimated to have risen to 1,175,400.

Table Two: Growth of New Zealand's Largest Urban Areas: 1936 - 1996

Year	Population of Five (5) Largest Urban Areas				
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Hamilton	Dune din
1936	226 366	159 357	133 515	20 096	85 607
1961	448 365	249 532	220 510	50 505	105 003
1986	821 647	325 711	300 052	140 106	107 639
1991	885 571	325 682	307 179	148 623	109 503
1996	997 940	335 468	331 443	159 234	112 279

Source: Statistics New Zealand, *1993 and 1999 New Zealand Official Yearbooks*.

The majority of people who live in New Zealand are of European origin (71.7 percent). The indigenous Maori population is the next biggest group (14.5 percent) and the third main ethnic group is Pacific Island people (5.6 percent). Maori are

⁴ Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Status of Women in New Zealand 1998 CEDAW Report*, p. 1.

⁵ Statistics New Zealand, *1999 New Zealand Official Yearbook*.

⁶ Statistics New Zealand, *1999 New Zealand Official Yearbook*.

recognized as the original settlers in New Zealand and the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 between Maori and the Crown provides Maori with certain rights over their land, resources and taonga⁷. Although there was a decline in the Maori population in the 19th Century following colonisation, the growth rate was reversed in the 20th Century and is increasing at a rate that is twice as fast as the non-Maori population. Population projections for Maori show that their numbers are expected to grow from 523,374 (1996 census figures) to 672,000 by the year 2031. Of the Maori population, 50.7 percent are women.⁸

Population changes are influenced by fertility and mortality rates. In 1995 the number of live births per woman aged between 15 and 49 years was 2.04. This level of fertility is not sufficient for the population to replace itself. Birthrates have been higher in the past particularly during the post war years (1950s) when the fertility rate was 3.6 births per woman, this rising to 4.3 births per woman in the early 1960s. The introduction of the oral contraceptive pill in the 1960s contributed to a downward trend in the birthrate from this time on with the lowest rate being in 1983 when there were 1.92 births per woman. As well, over this period of time the average age at which women are having their children has also increased. In the 1960s the average age of women having their first child was 22 – 23 years while in the 1990s the average age was 28 years.⁹

Table Three: Current New Zealand Data on Fertility and Mortality

Infant Mortality	1 - 4 Mortality Rates	Maternal Mortality	Number of Children per Woman (Total Fertility Rate)
5.56 per 1000 live births	3.2 per 10,000 population	7 deaths per 100,000 live births	2.04

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 1999 *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 5.5 and 5.7 and *Demographic Trends 1999*.

Current statistics show that there were 57,053 live births in New Zealand and 28,122 deaths in 1999. New Zealand's mortality rates have been comparatively low due to such factors as moderate climate, low population density, lack of heavy industry and good nutrition. Life expectancy has been increasing gradually for both women and men since the 1970s. Women live just over 5 years longer than men. Life expectancy for women is currently 80.4 years and for men it is 75.2 years. However

⁷ Taonga broadly translates as treasure, encompassing things of cultural value such as language and art.

⁸ Statistics New Zealand, 1999 *New Zealand Yearbook*. Also see the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1996, *Local Government in Asia and the Pacific: A Comparative Study*.

⁹ Statistics New Zealand, 1999 *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 5.6

life expectancy varies according to ethnicity. Life expectancy for Maori women is about 6 years less than her non-Maori counterpart.¹⁰

Schooling is compulsory for all children in New Zealand between the ages of 6 and 16 years of age and education in state run primary and secondary schools is free for children between the ages of 5 and 19. Early childhood education is also available although not compulsory. In 1996 160,291 children under 5 years (56%) were enrolled in preschool programmes (77,104 girls and 83,187 boys).¹¹ Of the 727,396 students attending schools in 1999, 49 percent were female and 51 percent male.¹² Females leave secondary school with higher qualifications than males. In 1996 67 percent of females left school with sixth form certificate or better, compared with 59 percent males. The number of young people who continue with their education at a tertiary level is increasing. More females than males participate at this tertiary level. Of the 220,709 students attending tertiary institutions in 1999, 56.8 percent were female and 42.2 were male

Table Four: 1999 Education Participation Rates in New Zealand

Primary		Composite *		Secondary		Tertiary	
Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
216 614	231 226	23 968	17 729	115 569	120 294	125 429	95 280

Source: Ministry of Education Data at 1 July 1999, Statistics New Zealand, 1999 New Zealand Yearbook.

* Note: Composite schools are rurally based schools that teach both primary and secondary education.

Women's participation in the workforce has also increased, this being due to changes in New Zealand society. Lifetime careers are now more important than in previous generations and women, like men, work because of economic necessity. This growth in participation is recorded in Census records that show that in 1961 240,134 women were in the labour force, in 1991 this number had risen to 678,390 and it further increased in 1998 to 778,2000. Current participation rates are recorded in Table 5. In 1998 57.2 percent of all working age women were in the labour force, they made up 45 percent of the labour force and earned 80.5 percent of what men earned. Women are more likely to be in part-time work so that they can combine work and family responsibilities. They are also concentrated in a narrow range of work such as lower paid clerical, sales and service occupations. Recent data

¹⁰ Statistics New Zealand, *Key Population Statistics, 1996-1999*,
http://www.stats.govt.nz/dominof/external/web/prod_serv.nst/h.../Key+Population+Statistics

¹¹ Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Status of Women in New Zealand 1998 CEDAW Report*, pp. 30 – 33.

¹² Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, July 1999 Statistics and Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Status of Women in New Zealand 1998 CEDAW Report*, p. 31.

collected through a national time use survey shows the extent of unpaid work that women do in the home and in caring for others.¹³

Table Five: Women in the Labour Force

	Percentage of the Labour Force	Percentage of Women in Labour Force	Share of Income of Women
1998	45	57.2	80.5

Source: Statistics New Zealand, *Labour Market Statistics 1998*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Panui*, 'Women and Work', August 1997 and Ministry of Women's Affairs, *1998 CEDAW Report*.

1.2 Politics and Governance

New Zealand is an independent state with parliamentary government and a monarchy (currently Queen Elizabeth II) who is represented by a governor general. It has two branches of government – central and local. All members of central and local government are elected.

Central Government

At central government level the parliamentary system is unicameral. It is based on an inherited Westminster model of parliamentary government. There is now also some recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document of New Zealand¹⁴ and of several international standards with which New Zealand complies.¹⁵ The government is made up of the party or parties that can command a majority in votes of confidence in Parliament. Following the 1999 general election a coalition of the Labour and Alliance parties became government with 59 out of the total 120 seats. A cabinet of government ministers (all of whom are elected MPs) is responsible for executive decision making and for the public service. At present New

¹³ Statistics New Zealand, *1993 Official New Zealand Yearbook*, *1999 New Zealand Yearbook*, *Labour Market Statistics* and 1998 Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Panui – Women and Work*, August 1997 and *1998 CEDAW Report*.

¹⁴ The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement between Maori and the Crown, signed in 1840, which acknowledges the Crown's right to govern and the Maori right to their land, resources and taonga. There is growing recognition of this in statutes.

¹⁵ International covenants signed by New Zealand include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which covers the right to work, reasonable conditions of employment, social security rights, protection of family and children, adequate standards of living, access to health, education and to participate; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which protects the right to equality and non-discrimination, freedom of thought etc. and to participate, including "equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights"; and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Zealand has a woman Prime Minister, Helen Clark and 11 women have ministerial responsibilities (42 percent).

New Zealand is a democratic country with the courts being independently appointed and free of political direction. The centralized public service is made up of 38 government departments that have clearly defined policy roles, service delivery, and regulatory functions. Each department is run by a chief executive who is directly responsible to a Government Minister. There are currently 9 women chief executives of government departments (23.6 percent). New Zealand also has 3 women High Court judges (9 percent) and 16 women District and Family Court judges (16 percent).¹⁶

In 1984 the Labour government established a Ministry of Women's Affairs to provide policy advice on issues which affect women. While women in New Zealand have equal status with men under the law, in reality they still do not have full equality in terms of economic and social status, freedom from discrimination and access to decision-making. The Ministry works on policy which addresses the disparities between women and men and between Maori women and non-Maori women.

While New Zealand does not have a written constitution there are parliamentary statutes that protect the rights of citizens.¹⁷ Political freedom is ensured through processes of transparency and accountability that are maintained in the public sector. The office of the Auditor General monitors and audits the finances of government departments, local authorities and other government controlled companies. Under official information legislation all citizens have the right to access official information with the right to appeal to an Ombudsman if this is denied. The Ombudsman also has an investigative role into complaints regarding government departments. As well, there is legislation regarding human rights, patient's rights, privacy and environment with Commissioners who head departments responsible for these functions.

Local Government

There are 86 units of local government in New Zealand, 74 of which are territorial authorities (city and district councils) and 12 regional councils. Some of these local authorities also have community boards. All territorial authorities have an elected mayor while regional councils elect a chairperson from among those already elected to the council. Currently there are 19 women mayors (26 percent). Although local government is subject to central government statute, it is largely independent and has its own source of income from rating property and trading activities.

¹⁶ Ministry of Women's Affairs, *1998 CEDAW Report*, p. 23.

¹⁷ For example, the Constitution Act 1986, The Electoral Act 1993 and the Bill of Rights Act 1990.

Local government in New Zealand went through radical reform in the 1980s, reform that closely followed that applied to central government. As a result the shape and focus of local government changed significantly. Table 6 clearly shows the reduction in the number of local authorities - in 1988 there were 829, today there are 234.

Territorial authorities have a general role of community and economic development, environmental health and safety, and provision of key infrastructure and recreational and cultural activities. Regional authorities have taken on the role of previous special purpose authorities, a role that is tied to the protection of the management of resources and environmental sustainability. Community boards are primarily advocates for their communities and a means by which a territorial authority can consult with the community.

Table Six: Local Bodies in New Zealand in 1988 and 1999

Authorities	1988	1999
Territorial Authorities	217	74
Regional Authorities	23	12
Community Councils/Boards	136	148
Special Purpose Authorities	453	0
Total	829	234

Source: Based on figures in *Reform Local Government*, 1988 and *Department of Internal Affairs Statistics 1998*.

Legislative reform in the 1980s also changed the focus of local government, placing a greater emphasis on planning and policy development than on service provision which had been the major part of local government's role in the past. All trading activities now operate on a fully commercial basis, many through Local Authority Trading Enterprises (LATES) in which councils have some share holding. As well, the financial accountability and transparency of local authorities has been strengthened. There is also a clearer separation of the governance and management roles within local government, leading to considerable change in the role of elected representatives. There is now a council – manager structure with the chief executive being responsible to the council. There are currently five women chief executives of local authorities (5.8 percent).¹⁸

The Political System

Elections for the members of central government and local government are held every three years although not in the same year. These elections are fair and free with everyone who is 18 years and over having the right to vote. Voter registration is compulsory but voting is not. There is a higher level of voter participation in central

¹⁸ Jean Drage, *New Zealand's Local Government – What of the Future?*, a paper presented to the University of New South Wales, School of Social Science and Policy and the International Political Science Association Local Government Research Committee 'Local Government at the Millennium' Academic Day, Sydney, February 2000.

government elections than at local government level. Figures in Table 7 show the difference in voter turnout for local and central government elections over the last three decades.

Table Seven: Voter Turnout in Local and National Elections

	Local Election %	National Election %
1971-72	50	89
1980-81	47	91
1989-90	58	85
1998-99	54	85

Note: These percentages refer to those registered on the electoral role rather than those qualified to vote.

Source: Vicky Forgie, Christine Cheyne and Philip McDermott, 1999, *Democracy in New Zealand Local Government: Purpose and Practice*, p.19. Also Electoral Commission, 2000, *The New Zealand Electoral Compendium*, 2nd edition, p. 141.

Parliamentary elections were held under a single member constituency First Past the Post system (FPP)¹⁹ until 1996 when following widespread dissatisfaction with the fairness of this electoral system and with political parties in general, a system of proportional representation – Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) - was introduced. Under this system voters have two votes, one for an electorate MP and one for a party.²⁰ There are 120 seats in New Zealand's parliament. After the 1999 general election 61 were electorate seats, 6 Maori seats and 53 party seats.²¹

Prior to MMP two political parties held the majority of parliamentary seats (National and Labour) but with the change to a proportional system the number of political parties has increased. This is because parties no longer need to win an electorate seat to gain a place in parliament. Instead they can be elected if they gain at least 5 percent of the party vote. In 2000 there were 7 parties in parliament, two of whom (Labour and Alliance) have formed a coalition government.

¹⁹ FPP is an electoral system under which MP s are elected by simple plurality (winner takes all). In parliament they have been elected from single member constituencies.

²⁰ Under MMP electorate MPs continue to be elected by simple plurality while the rest come into parliament on party lists. The number of party seats is dependent on the proportion of total votes each party receives.

²¹ Voters can choose to vote on either the Maori roll or the general roll. The number of electorate seats and Maori seats are determined by population growth and by the number of people on each roll.

The electoral system used for local government elections is currently First Past the Post and elections are conducted through postal voting.²² This electoral system is likely to be changed in the next year in a review of the Local Elections and Polls Act as the current coalition government favour having the option of a proportional representation system—Single Transferable Vote – for electing councillors and mayors. The majority of local authorities are elected on a ward basis rather than at-large.²³ Mayors are always elected at-large. There is very little political party activity at local government level in New Zealand, independence being preferred in this tier of government. It is only in the larger urban centers that candidates have stood on party tickets or as part of a community group. In the most recent local government elections in 1998 79 percent of candidates and 84 percent of members elected to local authorities were not affiliated to a political group.²⁴

1.3 Participation and Representation of Women in Politics

Women as Voters

New Zealand was the first country in the world in which women gained the right to vote in central government elections. Women could vote for central government in 1893 and gained the right to stand as candidates for parliament in 1919. However women who owned property were able to vote and stand as candidates for election to local government well before this. In 1876 when legislation abolished the provincial system of government and replaced it with a system of local government throughout the country, the franchise was made available, for the first time, to all ratepayers. The inclusion of women property owners at this time appears to have been based on a belief that the involvement of women would improve local government.²⁵ There is no record of the number of women who voted in the nineteenth century in local body elections but we do know that the property qualification would have initially limited participation. A married woman could not own property in her own right until 1884. However in 1898 legislation added a spouse's qualification to the franchise and in 1910 a residential qualification was introduced.²⁶

²² FPP operates differently for local government elections as while Mayors are elected through a single constituency of the whole local authority, the majority of councillors represent wards within the local authority and are elected through multi member constituencies. Those who poll the highest number of votes win— this is not preferential or proportional.

²³ In 1998 only 3 cities and 4 districts (9 percent) held council elections at large rather than in wards.

²⁴ The Department of Internal Affairs, *Local Authority Election Statistics 1998*, p.80.

²⁵ Debate on local government legislation in the House of Representatives at this time records reference to the belief that the involvement of women in municipal government in Great Britain had markedly improved the tone of meetings (*Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 7 July 1876, p. 402).

²⁶ Jean Drage, "A History of Women in Local Government", *1993 Suffrage Centennial Women in Local Government Conference Proceedings*, p.4.

Today all eligible voters (those over 18 years of age) are registered on the electoral roll, this being used for both central and local government elections. As voting is conducted through a secret ballot, data on voting statistics by gender is not recorded.

There is, however, research that has looked at political preferences by gender in central government elections. In particular, two surveys have found that gender was not a principal factor in determining voter behaviour²⁷ while a more recent survey done prior to the 1996 general elections found evidence of a 'gender gap' in voting preferences. This research found that more than 60 percent of those who voted for the left of center Labour party were women while the largest supporters of the ACT party (a far right party) were men.²⁸

Women as Elected Representatives

New Zealand's first woman MP was elected to parliament in 1933. By that time, however, there had already been several women elected to local government seats. The first was in 1893 and interestingly enough she was a woman mayor. Elizabeth Yates was elected mayor of Onehunga, a borough council in the Auckland area, in 1893 and the following year Amelia Matson became a councillor on the Parnell borough, also in that area. But progress was slow. By 1918 there were 3 women councillors and by 1927 there were 5. It was not until the 1940s that the numbers doubled.²⁹ Table 8 compares the numbers of women elected to each level of government and the percentage of seats they have gained in the last 40 years.

Table Eight: Women elected at National and Local Government Levels

Year	National Parliament		Local Government Councils	
	Number and Percentage of Women Representatives		Number and Percentage of Women Representatives	
	Women	Percentage	Women	Percentage
1959	5	5	63	2.6
1972	4	4.6	142	5.7

²⁷ Jack Vowles and Peter Aimer, 1993, *Voters' Vengeance: The 1990 Election in New Zealand and the Fate of the Fourth Labour Government* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), p. 34; and Stephen Levine and Nigel S. Roberts, 1993, *Agenda Gap: Political Perspectives and Gender Differences in New Zealand*, *Women and Politics in New Zealand*, edited by Helena Catt and Elizabeth McLeay (Wellington: Victoria University Press), p.151.

²⁸ Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay and Nigel S. Roberts, 1997, *From Campaign to Coalition. The 1996 MMP Election* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press), p. 194.

²⁹ Jean Drage, 1996, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political Leaders in Local Government*, Local Government New Zealand Research Monograph Series, Paper No. 6, p. 21.

1981	8	8.7			332	14.1
1989	14	14.4			561	25.1
1995	21	21.2			592	29.7
2000	37	30.8			596	31.5

Source: Department of Internal Affairs, *Local Authority Election Statistics*; New Zealand Parliamentary Results in Rae Nicholl, 2000, *The Women Factor: Candidate Selection in the 1990's – New Zealand, Guam and South Africa*, PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington; and in Janet McCallum, 1993, *Women in the House: Members of Parliament in New Zealand* (Cape Catly).

From the 1980s onwards, electoral success increased for women in both local and central government, this being due mainly to an increased push to increase women's representation by the women's movement and by a greater number of women in the public sphere. In the 1980s the percentage of women elected to local government almost doubled (from 14.1 percent in 1980 to 25.1 percent in 1989) and increases since then have been a steady 1 to 3 percent per election. Today there are 596 elected women in local government (31 percent), 259 of them being on city and district councils, 37 on regional councils, 281 on community boards and 19 mayors.

A more detailed breakdown of 1998 election statistics shows that women have the greatest electoral success in the larger urban areas in the North Island. In fact when looking at the membership of councils in terms of gender we see that 3 local authorities have more women than men councillors, 8 of the 15 city councils (53 percent) have equal numbers of women and men while 9 of the 59 district councils (15 percent) have about equal numbers of women and men. There is only one local authority with no women councillors.³⁰ Of the 19 women mayors elected in 1998, 4 led city councils (Auckland, Dunedin, Porirua and Palmerston North) and the other 15 are mayors of district councils.³¹ In total, New Zealand has now had 50 women mayors, 15 of whom have been city mayors. One of the 12 regional councils has a woman chair. Women are also prominent on the national association of all local authorities, Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ). This 14 person council includes 4 women (28.5 percent) and in 2000 both the LGNZ President (Louise Rosson) and the chief executive officer (Carol Stigley) were women.³²

Table Nine: Women elected to Executive Positions in Central and Local Government

Year	Number and Percentage of Women in Ministerial Positions in Central Government		Number and Percentage of Women Mayors	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1960	0		1	0.7

³⁰ The only council without a woman councillor is a small district council in the South Island.

³¹ Jean Drage, The 1998 Local Government Elections – How Did Women Fare?, *Women Talking Politics*, Newsletter of the Aotearoa/New Zealand Women and Politics Network, Winter 1999, p. 7.

³² It is interesting to note that only 6 years ago there were no women on LGNZ's national council. Unfortunately both Louise and Carol resigned in late 2000.

1970	0		1	0.7
1980	0		6	4.6
1990	3	12.5	10	13.5
2000	11	42	19	26

Source: G.A Wood, editor, 1987, *Minister and Members in the New Zealand Parliament* (Dunedin, Tarkwode Press) and Jean Drage, 1996, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political Leaders in Local Government*, Local Government New Zealand Research Monograph Series, Paper No. 6, p. 20.

In central government the significant increase in women MPs in the last two elections is directly related to the change to the electoral system. Although the number increased in the 80s and 90s, the first MMP election in 1996 saw the number of women MPs jump from 21 to 35, 14 more than were elected in the previous term. Of the 35 women elected (29.2 percent) in 1996, 25 of them came into parliament on a list seat rather than an electorate seat. An electorate seat had been the only option under the previous FPP system. In the 1999 elections the number of women MPs increased again to 37(30.8 percent), 2 women led the 2 major political parties (Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Jenny Shipley, Leader of the Opposition) and a record 11 women (50 per cent of women elected in the governing parties) held ministerial portfolios, 7 of them within Cabinet.³³

Within the public service 9 women (23.9 percent) were chief executives (CEOs) of government departments in 2000. In 1985 there was 1 woman CEO (2.6 percent) and in 1993 there were 5 (12 percent). The secretary to the Cabinet is also a woman. In 1939 the public service workforce consisted of only 5 percent women; by 1947 this figure had risen to 25 percent; and in 1999 women made up 56 percent of staff within government departments. A recent annual employment survey of government service departments also shows that departments led by women CEOs have double the proportion of women in second and third level management positions than do departments led by men.³⁴ On the senior management side of local government women have not been as successful as their central government counterparts or those elected to governance positions. Only 5 of the chief executive positions are filled by women (5.8 percent). Statistics on numbers employed in local government are not collated but the gender makeup of this workforce at senior management level appears to be largely male. However it is worth noting that when Wellington City Council had a woman CEO all her management team were women.

Table Ten: Women Employed in Senior Positions in the Central Government Public Service and in Local Government

³³ Rae Nicholl, 2000, *The Women Factor: Candidate Selection in the 1990's – New Zealand, Guam and South Africa*, PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, pp.317 & 385.

³⁴ State Services Commission, *Yearly Employment Survey of Public Service Departments and Selected State Sector Organisations*, as at 30 June 1999, <http://www.ssc.govt.nz/siteset.htm>.

Title of Post (Top Four [4] Levels)	Number and Percentage of Women Employed in Decision-Making Level Positions of the Public Service		Number and Percentage of Women Employed in Decision-Making Level Positions of Local Government	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
CEO	9	23.6	5	5.8
Senior Management	412	32		

Source: State Services Commission, Yearly Employment Survey of Public Service Departments and Selected State Sector Organisations, 30 June 1999.

Note: Statistics on the local government workforce are not collated.

2. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN URBAN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

2.1 Women's participation in urban local government

New Zealand has civil and political rights legislation that ensure the right of citizens to participate in government. It also has local government legislation that ensures participatory processes are used by local authorities in their planning and decision-making. As well, women's participation has been enhanced by a strong push from women's organizations which have worked hard to ensure women's involvement.

Legislation that promotes participation

Democratic and civil rights are ensured through The Bill of Rights Act 1990, Section 12 on Electoral Rights which states that every New Zealand citizen who is 18 or over has the right to vote and is qualified to stand for election. This legislation ensures freedom of thought, expression, belief and association. Section 19 of this Bill also ensures that one's civil and political rights will be free from discrimination "on the ground of colour, race, ethnic or national origins, sex, marital status, or religious or ethical belief".³⁵ The Human Rights Act 1993 further enforces existing human rights legislation by establishing a Human Rights Commission which has both an educational and compliance function. These Acts also affirm New Zealand's commitment to International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, Human Rights and the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

An increased level of accountability to the public was a key objective of the reform of local government in New Zealand. Section 37K of the Local Government Act 1974 specifically states that one of the purposes of local government is "the effective participation of local persons in local government". The principles which underlie this objective include the right of citizens to influence the political management of their

³⁵ Paul Harris and Stephen Levine with Margaret Clark, John Martin and Elizabeth McLeay, editors, 1992, *The New Zealand Politics Source Book* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Ltd.), p.44.

community by being informed and to voice an opinion as well as having the right to participate in the policy making process. This is done through annual planning procedures and a special consultative procedure which provides citizens with “the right to have information about their local authority’s planned programmes, activities and expenditure and the right to make submissions conveying their views about those proposed activities and spending”.³⁶

The Local Government Official Information and Meetings Act 1987 requires all council meetings to be open to the public and the press and while some business can be held in committee there must be lawful reason for doing this and the Ombudsman can review such decisions. The Local Government Act 1974 requires all councils to prepare an annual plan, detailing its policies, activities, performance targets and costs. The special consultative procedure requires local authorities to publish a draft of this annual plan, call for submissions from the public, publish an annual report which matches these policies and activities against the annual plan and be subject to independent audit. As well, local authorities are required to prepare local term financial plans under the Local Government Amendment Act (No. 3) 1996 and the special consultative procedure must be used to ensure public participation in decision making on funding decisions and financial policies. A third piece of legislation, the Resource Management Act 1991, also seeks to expand public participation in decision making on the environmental sustainability of communities by making consultation mandatory. This legislation also acknowledges the specific role of Maori in environmental decision making. Alongside these legislative requirements local authorities are also using other methods to increase citizen participation such as referenda, citizen juries, market research, focus groups, co-opting members of the public onto standing committees and having public speaking times at council and committee meetings.³⁷

There is evidence that public participation in local government has increased as a result of these legislative reforms. However there is also increased tension resulting from community expectations that consultation should be adequate and that their views are incorporated into subsequent decision making. Department of Internal Affairs surveys evaluating public consultation show that all councils are meeting the statutory obligation to consult and that there is increased transparency, levels of information and participation.³⁸ A review of this process in 1998 by the Auditor General found that although there was increasing diversity in the way consultation was carried out by local authorities, some communities perceived it as inadequate

³⁶ Christine Cheyne, “New Zealand Local Government: Leader or Laggard in Public participation Innovations?” Paper presented at the International Conference on Public Participation and Innovations in Community Governance, University of Luton, June 24-26 1999, p. 5.

³⁷ Vicky Forgie, Christine Cheyne and Philip McDermott, 1999, *Democracy in New Zealand Local Government: Purpose and Practice* (Palmerston North: Massey University School of Resource and Environmental Planning), pp. 57– 80.

³⁸ Department of Internal Affairs, 1995, *Is Public Consultation Working? The Local Authority Annual Planning Process*, Local Government Information Series Number 12.

and inappropriate, it was costly for councils and for individuals and community groups to be involved, and some pressure groups had an undue influence on the outcomes. As a result the Audit office provided local authorities with clear guidelines for developing good practice when developing consultation processes.³⁹

A 1998 survey looking at attitudes and values about politics and government in New Zealand found that, although respondents felt they had little control or influence over government, local government was perceived as more responsive and more open to influence than central government.⁴⁰

Initiatives taken to increase women's participation

Initiatives aimed at increasing women's participation in local government were recorded as early as the last quarter of the 19th century in New Zealand. At this time a number of women's organizations were being formed, several of them pushing for reforms for women in many areas of their lives, including suffrage and political representation, and in doing so raising the consciousness of women. Strong arguments were put forward for an increased voice for women. In particular, the first convention of the National Council of Women in 1896 called for "all disabilities to be removed which at present hinder women from sitting in the house of the legislature or from being elected or appointed to any public office or position in the Colony which men may hold."⁴¹

The *White Ribbon*, a women's newspaper published during this time, reported on the interest women's organizations had taken in the reform of local government legislation. It recorded, in particular, the time spent considering the 1898 bill (which added a spouse's qualification to the franchise) at a conference attended by the Christchurch Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Canterbury Women's Institute and the Women's Political Association. It asserted that, "In the case of married people, the acquisition of property may be mainly due to the frugality and good management of the wife, but where the question of title is concerned it is almost invariably the name of the husband that appears."⁴² This article also suggested that the election of women to public office would remedy the short sightedness of the present administration and lead to sweeter manners and purer laws.

The legislative changes in 1910 which opened up the local government vote to all residents prompted Kate Sheppard, a leader in the suffrage movement in New

³⁹ Report of the Controller and Auditor-General, 1998, *Public Consultation and Decision-making in Local Government*

⁴⁰ Paul Perry and Alan Webster, 1999, *New Zealand Politics at the Turn of the Millennium: Attitudes and Values about Politics and Government* (Auckland: Alpha Publications), pp. 91-94.

⁴¹ Betty Holt with Joyce Herd and Dorothy Horsman, 1980, *Women in Council: A History of the National Council of Women in New Zealand 1896-1879*, p.18.

⁴² "Local Government Reform" *The White Ribbon*, 15 February, 1898, p. 7.

Zealand, to remind readers of the *White Ribbon* that “it is desirable that women should occupy seats on all local bodies.” Similar articles were published in 1913 and 1919 reminding women of their responsibilities as voters and prospective candidates.⁴³

The history of westernised countries, in particular in the last century, charts the growth of such women’s associations, many of which have been organized around social service and charitable functions. A history of women’s organizations in New Zealand published for the centenary of women’s suffrage in 1993, found that there had been thousands of organizations that women had formed over this time. Many “offered women a civic and social life, a public voice, and scope for influence and leadership, which was not available to them anywhere else.”⁴⁴ Historical research into the activities of some of these organizations reveals the significant amount of support given to legislative changes that would enable more women to participate politically as well as encouraging women to do so. Rurally based organizations like the Women’s Institutions and the Women’s Divisions Federated Farmers “called on their members to stand for public office and emphasized learning proper meeting procedure as a stepping stone”.⁴⁵ Their urban counterparts, the Dominion Federation of Townswomen’s Guilds, often debated remits at their annual conferences on greater representation of women in local government.⁴⁶ And as already mentioned, the National Council of Women, by far New Zealand’s largest and oldest women’s organization, has emphasized both the need for reforms that enable women to participate and more recently the need to increase the numbers of women elected. They believed that “the absence of women deprived the community of many talents and insights, [and] that satisfactory decision-making required input from women as well as men.”⁴⁷

More recently established women’s organizations like the Women’s Electoral Lobby and the YWCA have focused quite specifically on women’s empowerment and their increased role in public life. Women’s Electoral Lobby, a feminist organization committed to achieving social, legal, economic, educational and political equality for women, has encouraged women to vote, be active in political parties and to stand for political office. In particular they support women candidates for elected office in

⁴³ K.W. Sheppard, Letter to the Editor, Women in Local Bodies, *The White Ribbon*, 16 February 1909; The Responsibilities of Women as Citizens, *The White Ribbon*, 18 April, 1913; and Good Citizen Department, *The White Ribbon*, 18 February, 1919.

⁴⁴ Anne Else, editor, 1993, *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press), p. viii.

⁴⁵ Rosemarie Smith, 1993, Rural Organisations, *Women Together*, p. 379.

⁴⁶ Fiona McKergow, 1993, Dominion Federation of Townswomen’s Guilds 1932 –, *Women Together*, p. 313.

⁴⁷ Dorothy Page, 1996, *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books), p.187.

practical ways by providing training, information and fundraising. They publish a quarterly national newsletter providing research and information for women, lobby at central and local levels, and hold public meetings and publicity campaigns. YWCA has also organized local and regional workshops prior to local government elections to train women to become candidates for office. These organizations have had considerable success in both getting women's issues on the agenda and in supporting women's participation in government and have clearly been a factor in the increase in the number of women being elected in the last two decades in New Zealand.⁴⁸

Women within local government have also initiated programmes to encourage women to participate. Many elected women participate in seminars talking about their experiences as councillors, what the issues are and how to stand for office. Some have also approached women informally to encourage them to stand for office. As well, with the increased focus within local government on consultation women councillors now spend a lot of their time attending community meetings to discuss local issues.

The relationship between women and community activity is strong as demonstrated in recent research that looked at the causal relationship between such community-based activity and women's motivation for becoming involved in local government. Based on a survey of all elected women in local government in 1998 this research found that those who were active in community organizations were urged to move on to elected office; saw local government as a place in which they could work to change policy on local issues; and had gained the political skills needed for political office through their involvement in community organizations.⁴⁹

2.2 Gender sensitizing of urban local government

The Department of Internal Affairs publishes comprehensive election statistics every three years following the local government elections. The statistics outline the results of these elections and show trends that have occurred in the last 40 years on representation at this level of government. They also include comprehensive data on the representation of women. In particular they provide detail on the number of women candidates, women elected, women's representation on specific local authorities and patterns of representation over time.⁵⁰ In 1992 the Department of Internal Affairs also surveyed all candidates standing for the local elections in order

⁴⁸ Elspeth Preddey, "The Story of a Political Pressure Group: The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) of New Zealand" *Report of the Second Congress of the Global Network of Women in Politics*, Manila, Philippines, 28-30 August 1998.

⁴⁹ Jean Drage, 1999, Women's Involvement in Local Government: The Ultimate Community Group?, *Political Science*, special issue on 'Local Government in New Zealand', edited by Jean Drage, Vol. 50, No. 2.

⁵⁰ The last set of statistics were published in 1999 after the 1998 local government elections. See The Department of Internal Affairs, *Local Authority Election Statistics 1998*.

to construct a profile of the typical candidate. This research identified 5 factors associated with electoral success: incumbency, gender, income, occupation and ethnicity.⁵¹

Universities also teach papers on politics and policy at local government level as well as encourage research on this level of political activity. Although the level of interest in this area of research is much less than in central government politics, nevertheless there is research that highlights issues in women in local government. This research includes both quantitative studies on representation and qualitative research on the difference women make when elected to office. The first of these studies was done by John Halligan and Paul Harris in 1977 and provided a study of women's involvement in local government that focused on election data and recruitment processes.⁵² This research was updated in 1991 by Philippa Hardy.⁵³ A more recent study by Jean Drage of women mayors and the difference they believed they made as women political leaders in local government was undertaken in 1996.⁵⁴ These studies serve as an information and research base which highlights the factors that contribute to women's involvement in this tier of government and the barriers that remain.

At central government level the Ministry of Women's Affairs has the role of providing gender analysis of policy and programmes developed by government departments and agencies particularly where there are disparities between women and men and between Maori and non-Maori women.

3. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

3.1 Legal and political initiatives

Initiatives to encourage women to stand in local government elections have come from both non-government organizations and political parties. Although, as already discussed, there is legislation that ensures the democratic right to stand as a representative at both local and central government level, New Zealand does not have a constitutional requirement for a quota for women's representation.⁵⁵ However

⁵¹ The Department of Internal Affairs, *Local Government Candidates: 1992*.

⁵² John Halligan and Paul Harris, Women's Participation in New Zealand Local Body Elections, *Political Science*, Vol. 29, No. 2, December 1977.

⁵³ Philippa Hardy, Women in Local Government in New Zealand, BA Hons paper, University of Otago, 1991.

⁵⁴ Jean Drage, 1996, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political leaders in Local Government*, MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

⁵⁵ Although there is no legal quota system for women's representation in local or central government, New Zealand has signed both ICCPR and CEDAW which include equality guarantees—the right to be represented on equal terms with men. In 1994 a group of New Zealand women petitioned parliament to change the Electoral Act “to ensure equality of, and parity in, gender representation in New Zealand's elected representatives.” See Marilyn Waring, 1996, *Three*

quotas in increase women's representation have been discussed within political parties and the Green Party has used a quota system for their central government candidate selections.

Initiatives that promote women's representation

As indicated in the last section of this report, non-government organizations such as Women's Electoral Lobby have taken a proactive approach to encouraging women to stand as candidates in local government elections and this has contributed to an increase in participation. They have done this by running seminars prior to elections, providing information and training. With this organisation's main aim being the promotion of women in political and public life, one practical initiative they have taken to encourage more women to stand has been to collect the experiences of women already in political life and publish these.⁵⁶

The Labour Party is the only New Zealand political party that has consistently contested local elections. This party has taken several initiatives to recruit and encourage women's involvement in political life. Within the political party there is a Women's Council, a full time Women's Coordinator employed at national level, women's organizations at branch level and a focus on setting up systems for training and supporting women and actively encouraging them to stand for vacancies in the party hierarchy and for elected positions in both local and central government. This party debated having a women's quota to guarantee women's representation on party lists when proportional representation was introduced for central government elections. Rather than enforcing such a mechanism, however, the party's constitution was changed to include the principle for gender balance and for women's participation in all selection procedures. Labour's constitution also requires that Women's Liaison Officers are appointed in every electorate organization and that quality childcare is provided at all regional and national conferences. One particular campaign was to develop a 51% kitset, the focus being on women voters, policies that promote women's issues and women's representation. Another was to produce a pamphlet on sexist language that was distributed throughout the party.⁵⁷

Constraints on women's involvement in local government

The level of debate, training and research to date on women's involvement in local government has identified several ongoing constraints that continue to prevent women from participating in local government, particularly as elected representatives. These are:

Masquerades: Essays on Equality, Work and Human Rights (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books), p.133.

⁵⁶ Diane Grant, editor, 1983, *Here I Stand: The Experiences of Women Candidates in the 1980 Local Body Elections* (Martinborough: Affirmative Action).

⁵⁷ Information provided by Jo Fitzpatrick, Women's Coordinator, N Z Labour Party.

1. The financial cost of being involved. The campaign costs for candidates standing for local government elections can be prohibitive, particularly in urban centers. In the 1998 elections there was evidence that the high level of competition for mayoral positions in particular resulted in some mayoral candidates spending \$80,000 to \$100,000 on their campaigns. As few candidates stand for election on a political party ticket (which may provide some financial support) candidates have to have significant personal funds. There is no cap on campaign spending in local government elections as there is in central government elections although proposed changes to the Local Elections and Polls Act due to be passed in early 2001 propose that “the principle of equality of opportunity for candidates requires some provision to limit the opportunity for elections to be influenced by extravagant campaign expenditure by candidates with access to large funds.”⁵⁸ Secondly, once elected the rate of remuneration for the almost full time position of councillor is often not adequate for many who have no other source of income. As well, there is no childcare allowance.
2. The electoral system. The first past the post system of electing representatives for local authorities has resulted in minority mayors and councillors being elected. As pointed out by Graham Bush, a long-term researcher of local government and politics in New Zealand, the principles of majoritarianism and equity would be better served through a single transferable voting system (STV) which would “eliminate minority mayors ... give independent candidates a fighting change against party tickets and it also minimizes waste.”⁵⁹ As well, research on women’s political participation has identified proportional representation systems of election as enhancing women’s electoral success. There is clear evidence of this in the increase in women elected to New Zealand’s parliament since MMP was introduced. The proposed amendments to the Local Elections and Polls Act also include an STV option for future local authority elections and if this becomes law local authorities and/or communities will then have the option of using this proportional representation system to elect their councils. There is also some evidence that at-large systems of election can disadvantage women as they tend to be known locally through their community activity rather than throughout the whole city. Local elections that are based on ward representation can ensure that women candidates are known to voters. They can also encourage more women to stand for election, as campaigning costs are not as high as in a citywide election.
3. Fewer positions available. Since the 1989 reforms when the number of local authorities and elected positions were greatly reduced, the Local Government Amendment Act No. 2 has required councils to review their membership every

⁵⁸ Local Government New Zealand, 2000, *A New Legislative Framework for Local Government Elections*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Graham Bush, Let’s hear it for STV, *New Zealand Local Government*, Vol. 30, No. 6, June 1994, p. 31.

three years. This review process has resulted in the number of elected positions continuing to reduce, mainly due to cost and efficiency reasons.⁶⁰ So although the proportion of women elected continues to rise as seen in Table 9 the actual number of women being elected has slowed considerably as only 4 more were elected in 1989 than had been in 1985. Added to this is the concern that many elected positions at community level have been replaced by appointed positions in the last decade. Following local government reform many special purpose elected bodies, such as health boards which managed hospital and public health services, were disbanded and replaced with crown entities. Members of these boards were appointed by central government. When these boards were elected women won 53 percent of the positions. Since these boards have become appointed, the proportion of women on them had fallen to 24 percent by 1997. After further changes in the health sector the number rose to 37 percent.⁶¹

4. Not enough women standing for election. Election statistics show that women candidates have a greater chance of being elected than male candidates, particularly in urban areas. Research also shows that the majority of women stand for local government election because they are encouraged or persuaded to do so. Although it has been argued that women are more attracted to local politics, as it is more relevant and closer to their lives it is also clear that women do not stand because of the cost and other commitments in their lives. There is also some evidence that many women dislike the adversarial nature of politics.

Women Employees in Local Government

With local government reform in 1989 came a clear separation of the governance and management roles. As well, legislation on equal employment opportunities came into effect for local government employees. This legislation effectively means that each local authority must operate a personnel policy that includes an equal employment opportunities programme aimed at “the identification and elimination of all aspects of policies, procedures, and other institutional barriers that cause or perpetuate, or tend to cause or perpetuate, inequality in respect to the employment of any persons or group of persons”.⁶²

3.2 Training and support mechanisms for women in urban local government

⁶⁰ Prior to local government reforms there were about 5,000 elected positions in local government. In 1989 this number was reduced to 2,234. In the 1998 elections, the most recent, there were only 1,894 elected positions.

⁶¹ In the 2001 local authority elections these health boards will again become partly elected.

⁶² This concept of a good employer as set out in Section 119F of the Local Government Act was initially introduced in the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986. See Kenneth A. Palmer, 1993, *Local Government Law in New Zealand*, 2nd edition (New South Wales: The Law Book Company Ltd.), pp. 242 - 243.

There have been several initiatives taken within local government to train and support women. Some of these initiatives have come from within this level of government and others from the women themselves.

Training programmes are run by Local Government New Zealand for all councillors following local authority elections. As well, many local authorities provide their own workshops to enable councillors and staff to debate issues in more depth and to strengthen networks. These are not gender specific.

One of the core principles of Local Government New Zealand is a commitment "to be fully representative of its communities in order to best lead, govern and manage." This principle has been partly defined as valuing the role and contribution of women in local government. To this end Local Government New Zealand currently administers a scholarship (the Dame Catherine Tizard Scholarship⁶³), for women who are employed in or elected to local government or who are students at a tertiary institution studying in a discipline which is of value to local government. This scholarship is awarded annually and is worth NZ\$5,500. As well, in 1997 LGNZ published research on women mayors.⁶⁴

Another more recent initiative of this organisation is to address the issue of Maori representation. Currently less than 5 percent of elected positions are held by Maori. LGNZ is currently hosting a series of meetings to discuss ways of encouraging more Maori to stand for election.

An annual conference is held for all local authorities in New Zealand by Local Government New Zealand. In the past these annual gatherings have included separate events for women in local government, initially as a result of demands from the women involved. In more recent times women's events have been separately organized and held at a different time from the annual LGNZ conference. The first national conference for women in local government was held in the mid 1980s and was organized by the Women's Electoral Lobby but others have been run by local government women themselves. The last major conferences were held in 1993, one in Christchurch and the other in Wellington, the latter being the Suffrage Centennial Women in Local Government Conference.⁶⁵ All of these gathering have included training, networking and support initiatives. In more recent years the LGNZ annual conferences have included meetings between women or specific times set aside for women such as a lunch. However there has been nothing organized at the last 2 conferences for women.

All local authorities are also part of zone areas which regularly meet together between LGNZ conferences to discuss common issues. One issue that was debated

⁶³ This scholarship was named in honour of the appointment of Dame Catherine Tizard who was the first women mayor of Auckland City and the first woman Governor General.

⁶⁴ Jean Drage, 1997, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political Leaders in Local Government*, Local Government New Zealand Research Monograph Series, paper No. 6.

⁶⁵ The Centennial Suffrage Committee, Wellington City Council, *1993 Suffrage Centennial Women in Local Government Conference Proceedings*.

in 1994 at these zone meetings was that there were no women on the national council of LGNZ. As an interim measure, the setting up of a women's consultative committee was suggested to ensure that women's views were heard on policy issues debated at the national level. Many women were supportive of this measure while others felt it was tokenism as women should be on the national council as of right. This consultative committee did not go ahead as 3 women were elected to LGNZ's national council in that same year.

Although there is currently no formal contact established among women in local government there are informal networks particularly between women in similar geographic areas or within similar policy areas. Research has shown that despite time and distance being a barrier, many women mayors actively network with each other as they find they benefit from this contact. Others have established their own networks with women within their own districts for support and to provide them with a process for testing out their ideas.⁶⁶

4. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN IN URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In order to gather some evidence of the current experiences of women in local government, questionnaires were sent to 20 women. Selection of women to participate in this survey was based on the criteria which underpins the transformative role of women in local government such as demonstrating the following characteristics: responsiveness to the local community; ethics-based government; inclusive policies; sustainability; gender equity and experience. In reality, selection was also based on the practical circumstances of these women's lives as with their very high workloads it was difficult for many to have the time to participate in answering the questionnaire.

It was also seen as important that both elected and employed local government women participated. Of the 20 women who participated 18 were elected mayors or councillors and 2 were employed in local government. Two of the 20 women were no longer in local government by 2000. One woman mayor (Dame Catherine Tizard) was included because she was the first woman mayor of Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, and then went on to be New Zealand's first woman Governor General. Although retired by the time this survey was conducted, she was still very involved in local government issues, particularly through her involvement as chair of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. The other woman included who resigned to work for a Government Minister was a chief executive of a district council. Rosemary Barrington had had considerable experience on the management side of local government as an employee.

The following analysis cannot, of course, be interpreted as representative of all women in local government in New Zealand during 2000 as the sample is too small

⁶⁶ Jean Drage, 1997, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political Leaders in Local Government*, Local Government New Zealand Research Monograph Series, Paper No. 6, p. 70.

to draw any robust conclusions. However this material can be looked at along with other research results.

Table 11 provides a breakdown of the local authorities and positions of the women who participated. Just over half (11) of the respondents were from district councils, 8 from city councils and 1 from a regional council. The majority were elected (18). In terms of position on councils 10 are council leaders (9 mayors and 1 regional council chairperson) 8 were councillors and 2 were CEOs.

Table Eleven: Women who Participated in Survey

	Local Authority	Elected / Appointed		Position
CITY	8	8		3 Mayors / 5 Councillors
DISTRICT	11	9	2	6 Mayors / 2 CEOs / 3 Councillors
REGIONAL	1	1		1
TOTAL	20	20		20

Initial questions asked in this survey provide some background details on these women (see Tables 12 to 17). Details are then provided on how they came to stand for local government, whether they encountered obstacles as a woman and what they achieved in the job. While this material is mainly qualitative the answers are collated in order to provide some overview of the responses.

Background Details

Table 12 details the length of time these women spent in the job. Of the 9 women mayors who participated in this study all had been in this position for less than 10 years although 7 had been councillors prior to this. Previous experience on council has, in the past, been a prerequisite to becoming mayor. However this was starting to change. Two of the women who had not been on the council previously (Yvonne Sharp and Mary Bourke) had been local government employees.

Table Twelve: Length of Time in Office

Under 5 years	6
5– 10 years	8
10 – 15 years	3
15 – 20 years	3

Political affiliation, as already pointed out, is not the norm in local government except for the larger urban areas. Quantitative research has shown that women have not

needed a party ticket to get elected.⁶⁷ As seen in Table 13 the majority of women in this study were in local government as independents. Five of the 6 women who were there on party tickets were city mayors or councillors.

Table Thirteen: Affiliation with a Political Party

Political Party Affiliation	Yes	No
Labour	4	
Alliance	1	
Greens	1	
Total	6	14

All but 2 of the women in this study were over the age of 40, the majority being 50 plus (see Table 14). Once again this is hardly surprising given that research has consistently shown that those elected to local authorities are more likely to be in their 50s.

Table Fourteen: Age

20-30	
31-40	2
41-50	5
51-60	10
60+	3

Family ties were also strong and fit demographic data which shows that New Zealand women in this age group were more likely to marry and have children. As can be seen from Tables 15 and 16 the majority of these women are or have been married and no longer have children to raise, their only dependents being elderly parents.

Table Fifteen: Family Status

Single	2
Married	11
Divorced	7

Table Sixteen: Dependents

⁶⁷ See John Halligan and Paul Harris, 1977, Women's Participation in New Zealand Local Body Elections, *Political Science*, Vol. 29, No. 2; and Philippa Hardy, 1991, Women in Local Government in New Zealand, BA Honours paper, University of Otago.

Number with dependent children	3
Number with dependent family members	3

Family associations with those in political life have historically been a factor for many of the first women gaining electoral success. Although this is no longer the case in New Zealand Table 17 shows that 7 of the women had relatives who had been in politics or government in the past.

Table Seventeen: Relatives in Politics and/or Government

Father	3
Parents	1
Grandfather	1
Uncle	1
Husband	1

Finally, the level of qualifications attained by these women was particularly high as shown in Table 19. Sixteen of these women attained a tertiary qualification.

Table Nineteen: Level of Education

Secondary	4
Tertiary	16

How these women came to be involved

The women were asked why they decided to enter local government. Table 20 presents a summary of the reasons given. In some cases there were several reasons given. The 2 women chief executives were clear that their reasons were to advance their careers particularly in an environment that offers many challenges. Their paths to achieving this were a little different, however, as one had applied for CEO positions for 18 months before she was successful while the other was initially headhunted by one city council and then was appointed to her next position ahead of 35 other candidates.

Table Twenty: Reasons for Entering Local Government

Career Path	2
Dissatisfaction with current council / Wanting change	8
Natural progression from community activity	8
Encouraged to stand	17
To increase the number of women	4

Almost half of those elected stood because they wanted change. Typical responses were:

"I was unhappy with the performance of the existing council and felt that if I was going to criticize then I should attempt to help put it right"

"[I was] Very unhappy with lack of consultation of Council and style of leadership at that time"

"Local government reform had potential but didn't deliver thanks to the practitioners both elected and appointed experiencing difficulties with the transition from 'hands on' to 'policy development'."

"[I had] 17 years as a local government official – a lifelong interest in local government affairs and [a] wish to improve what I saw as a dysfunctional council"

"Te Anau was a rapidly developing town and with 4 small children I wanted a library and community facilities for them, so I put my name forward for the Community Board"

Many stated that it was a natural progression on from a great deal of involvement in community activity. Some replies were that:

"At the time I was nominated I was pregnant with child number 3 and thought it was something I could do in the future to make a contribution to the community in which I lived. It was a natural progression of my community involvement, particularly in the local residents association."

"I had extensive involvement in community organizations and felt frustrated that ultimately the ability to effect change lay elsewhere. I knew I had the skills required to make a difference at local government level. In the background an overdeveloped sense of social responsibility was a driver. I believe that those who have benefited from what society has to offer are obliged to repay that in some form."

"It seemed logical after a long involvement in education".

A 1998 survey of women in local government found that the strongest reason for standing for election was being persuaded to do so.⁶⁸ Similarly, the majority of these women said they had been encouraged to stand by local groups, retiring councillors, family and political parties. One particular response sums this up. This woman said she was encouraged to stand:

"By a woman councillor, with whom I had worked on local issues. She was a Plunket nurse and when Plunket convened a group to lobby councils to pass a bylaw to fence all swimming pools I got involved in this campaign and in collecting signatures for the petition on this. I also represented the Residents Association on a local neighbourhood issue regarding the building of a Youth for Mission school that would have had a huge impact on roading and local planning."

Four women respondents stated that their reasons for standing were to increase the number of women. They replied that they were:

"Persuaded by the women's group to try and break the conservative old boy mould"

⁶⁸ Jean Drage, 1999, Women's Involvement in Local Government: The Ultimate Community Group?' *Political Science*, Special issue on Local Government in New Zealand, Vol. 50, No. 2.

“Stood in 1983 when women (through WEL) were being encouraged to stand for LTAs and I wanted to make a difference to local community facilities in Porirua East where I was working as a family nurse councilor”

“Elected to Dunedin City Council in 1986 – Council of 9 businessmen & 3 women over 60 – I wanted to see someone there I and other younger women could identify with”

“I felt it was imperative there be a woman's viewpoint around the council table and with no other women available to stand, I agreed to nomination; [I] also had a strong interest in community affairs and living in a fast growing town wanted to have a say in the future development of the town.”

Obstacles along the Way

The women were asked about the sort of obstacles their gender may have raised for them in the electoral/appointment process and once they were in office. They were also asked more general questions about barriers that restrict women in local government and the changes that were needed to ensure more women's participation. Their answers are listed in Table 21 and show that while just under half found difficulties because of their gender in the electoral /appointment process, this number almost doubled once they were in office.

Table Twenty One: Obstacles for Women

Obstacles/Discrimination	Yes	No
In the electoral / appointment process	8	12
Once in office: From colleagues	15	5
Family Members	3	17
Community	8	12
Currently	7	13

One of the chief executives was initially turned down for a senior management job. She said:

“I understand that one mayor said he wouldn't work with a woman, and then justified why he wouldn't appoint me on other grounds”

The other pointed out that:

“NZ local government career structure has been very dominated by engineers and financial accountants. This is gradually changing and as it does [it] will provide more opportunities for women. Strange that while women are in larger percentage in political representatives, these same political representatives are not appointing women CEOs.”

And responses from elected women included that:

“I was a kindergarten teacher and it was difficult to get time off work, also very difficult financially. Especially when I stood for Mayor. It was a very large district to travel around to campaign, I did not belong to a well known Southland family and therefore was not well known. I also had home responsibilities and baby sitter problems”.

“I was perceived by some during the election campaign to know nothing about engineering matters due to gender, resulting in being ignored when other candidates were asked to comment on engineering matters. I then had to ‘chip in’ with my two cents worth to demonstrate that women do know about roads, rivers and sewerage.”

"It was a big 'ask' for the electorate to think of a woman Mayor of Auckland despite the fact that there were women mayors of smaller councils"

But there were as many who said that they did not encounter obstacles because of their gender at the time they entered local government. While a few of these women continued to find no discrimination, the majority found that once they were in office difficulties were much more apparent. Some of the replies include that:

"The problems came later with the political elite itself. My elderly male colleagues, of a conservative nature, had a clear view of the role of women which did not accord with my own. My male colleagues (or a large number of them including the present mayor) have difficulty coping with women and power. My institutional knowledge of the city and the processes of local government (gained from a long period in local government) is such that I can legitimately challenge the mayor. Instead of him using this for the betterment of the city, he uses it to belittle me and to personally attack me."

"In the 1st term this was not an issue. However, the CEO changed and he has had difficulty with a woman mayor as have some of the male councillors. The CEO expects me to never have a different view to him and needs to always be dominate in our relationship. I feel I know our community better than him and am probably his intellectual superior. Twice he has led the council into very difficult situations which I have voted against, (one involving \$3 million) - unfortunately I have been proven right and have then had to solve the problems created."

A "Male member of community addressing councillors as "Gentlemen" at council meetings; a CEO taking me aside and telling me, "This is the first time men have had to take a woman on a field trip. Please be understanding of them." Written dirty jokes being passed around the table, (I got by-passed). Being grabbed for an unwanted, uninvited cuddle by [a] male councillor, being called a "prude" when I objected to "girlie", pictures on Works Dept. wall; etc., etc. In other words it was obvious I had entered a male environment and should therefore conform to male standards.

Also I wanted to go to a Women in Local Government conference, but our council would not finance my attendance. So I asked [a] local Women's group to assist me. They did and our Mayor at the time was really angry with me."

"Other councillors, particularly in the last triennium, called me names and threatened me, on at least 2 occasions, with physical violence, during council meetings! They called out, "Tell that bitch down there to shut up" and clearly expected me to "know my place" - that is, I could make a point but I wasn't expected to "beat them" in debates. This attitude was prevalent amongst older men but included some of the older women on the council too."

"Difficulty with a woman holding a position of responsibilities as Mayor - when traditionally male incumbents. I am still referred to as the "Mayoress" by older members of the community."

Clearly time helped in some instances as a few of these women did not experience the same level of difficulty after a period of time. They found that:

"It is much better eight years later - but still a section of the community (conservative) see a male as "better" and more valuable, (a minority though)."

"Discrimination is probably occurring quite regularly, however, I have learnt to work around it and therefore am not as sensitive to it as I used to be."

Not surprisingly when asked to comment on whether there are barriers that restrict women from participating in local government, the majority of these women responded in the affirmative. Barriers identified were:

1. Meeting Times. The time involved in doing the job and the time at which meetings are held are factors that often do not fit well into women's lives. For example, some responses were that:

"The times of meetings are frequently inconvenient for women with household responsibilities and or care of dependants, (e.g. meetings at 4.30 pm), [which] might suit men who can leave their paid employment early, but is highly unsuitable for women who at 4.30pm are juggling dependant care and preparations for evening meal."

"The timing of council meetings is another factor - most women would find allocating time from their paid and family duties a problem they can't give up time during the day because the income is needed and they don't have time in the evenings because of family commitments."

2. The lack of childcare/ dependent care expenses. As two women said:

"The structural things that are geared to facilitate male lifestyle and value their experience eg. you can claim travel expenses but not dependent care expenses. Meeting times that accommodate a business agenda but not a family one."

"The time that is involved and the need for quality child care for those with children."

3. Local government still male and conservative. This was a particular issue for women employed in local government. Their responses were that:

"A CEO is appointed by councillors; councillors tend to be conservative; women don't fit their image of what they expect to employ."

"Need to move from organization to organization; job mobility. Women still not seen as competent managers of resources. At CEO level still seen as a male domain."

It was also an issue for some councillors who said that:

"Women who do not have a professional background are perceived to be less able."

"Election at local government level is dependent on profile – shop owners, businessmen etc. have more chance of coming to an election with an established profile than women do."

4. The level of remuneration is not sufficient. This factor was mentioned by almost half of the women surveyed. Typical comments were:

"The rate of remuneration does not provide sufficient income compared with a full-time paid job. Therefore women in NZ have to be able to afford to become a councillor"

"The pay is not great, particularly if you are not receiving stipend and given the hours and ability to undertake additional work, it would be difficult for a single woman or one with childcare costs. I note that most women are the 2nd earner in the family."

5. The unpleasantness of the political environment. Comments on this pointed to:

"The aggressive culture, combative nature of debate and personality conflicts between colleagues. Lack of maturity in relationships and general lack of good will."

"Perception of the unpleasantness of politics."

"Many women find the adversarial nature of politics difficult as women prefer to work from a position of equalness in a co-operative way. Men are still very Win at all Costs."

However there were a few women who felt that there were no longer barriers to women participating and the fact that there was already a high number of women elected was testament to that.

When asked to identify the changes that are needed to make local government more women friendly, the following were listed:

1. More family friendly meeting times and work environments.
2. More training courses:
 - To help women move into management positions in local government
 - To assist women prior to the nomination process and after election.
3. A more co-operative and collaborative approach to decision making on council so that the talents of all are used.
4. Remuneration for councillors and mayors needs to be equivalent to a full time job.
5. Refund of costs for alternative care of dependents, both children and elderly parents.
6. More support for women. It was suggested that women's organizations could help more with supporting women to be candidates and with their campaigns
7. Retention of ward system for electing candidates.

The Difference Women make

The final part of the questionnaire asked these women whether they felt they had different concerns and priorities to men, whether increasing the number of women in local government would make a difference and what they have done during the time they have been in local government. Recent research on women mayors in New Zealand has found that they believe they make a difference as women leaders, they bring a different style to local government and consciously approach the job in a different way. Most of them believed that increasing the number of women in local government "would accelerate the pace of change, promote collaborative styles of leadership and decision-making, broaden perspectives and move communities forward."⁶⁹

In relation to whether these women considered that they had different concerns to men, the majority (16 out of 20) said they did. Typical responses were that:

"Women tend to be concerned with well being and welfare rather than asset management as priorities. [They] Also have a greater capacity to do many things at the same time and take on a greater workload."

"Women are more likely to promote policies and activities which strengthen community organisation and encourage participation in events and activities which lead to a more vibrant community."

"Men are still focused on \$\$ and cents and tend to see issues in black and white. Women have a greater sense of the social issues and tend to factor more information into their decision making process."

⁶⁹ Jean Drage, 1997, *Weaving a New Pattern: Women Political Leaders in Local Government*, Local Government New Zealand Research Monograph Series Paper No. 6, p, 88.

"Women's concerns and priorities are more likely to centre around people's needs - e.g. playgrounds, footpaths in car parking lots, libraries, the need for an adequate safe water supply. Men [are] more likely to be concerned with the "mechanics" , (or how it will operate). Women [are] more likely to emphasise the importance and the practice of good communication with the community. (Men in local government sometimes see communication in terms of communicating to the community - One way we know."

Although there was little explanation from the few who thought there was no difference, one woman did say that she thought the differences among councillors are more on ideological and political grounds.

The majority of women respondents also agreed that increasing the number of women in local government would have a direct effect on the status of women (17 out of 20). Common responses to this question were that:

"Successful women act as role models and competent women in local government earn respect not only for themselves but also for women in general."

"Role models are so powerful. To be the 'NORM' not the exception is the goal!"

"A greater number of women (50% or more) could alter the culture, ambience and the way people work together."

"Role models for younger women. Being elected o a local council is often the first step of a political career for women. This was apparent at the APEC Women Leaders Network Meeting."

"I was the first woman mayor ever on a Council with 15 males. Seven years later we had 5 women on council. I believe my being on Council helped give others the confidence to stand."

An alternative was that:

"I think women's status is more likely to be affected by time, with younger blood without the influence of the 'old boys' network coming into predominance / majority, (male or female)."

All of the women in the survey believed they had a responsibility to promote women's participation and improve the status of women generally.

"Without the early suffragettes we would not have women in the positions they now hold. We have a duty to continue to ensure women play an equal part in all our lives by encouraging and mentoring young women."

"The responsibility of women in leadership roles is: to demystify the position, to make new women feel comfortable and confident and to target good women but support all women."

"We need at least 50% female representation at local government level to truly represent our society. Women are still suffering from the negative effects of ill treatment, discrimination and lack of services because of a male bias in society."

"There is certainly a feeling of being a 'role model' to help demonstrate that women can participate effectively in local government. If there is no effort towards promoting the status of women and others - in society, - then why bother? If there is no sense of having improved the quality of life in the community then you have failed the role of a 'representative'."

Many described what they had done to promote women's participation and to improve the status of women in their particular local authority. These included:

1. Running workshops for women interested in seeking office and encouraging them to participate.

"Worked with other elected women to provide training opportunities for women. For example, the YWCA (of which I was a member) and WEL (Women's Electoral Lobby) ran workshops to encourage women to stand for local government. We would provide training on the legal processes of local government, how to campaign for office, how to get a team together and what was required once elected, such as meeting procedures."

2. Encouraging women to apply for positions in local government.

"Encourage women to apply for jobs or headhunted them if I have felt them the best for the task."

3. Setting up or supporting services for women.

"Have negotiated the contract for the women's health group for the past 5 years."

"I helped set up our local Women's Centre and a Youth Council."

4. Promoting women as political leaders.

"Have done no more than demonstrate that a woman of ordinarily average intelligence, education, and talent can succeed if given a chance to show what she can do".

5. Public speaking.

"Spoken at workshops, seminars, and women's groups throughout New Zealand, [and] especially made an effort to speak to women in small isolated communities. Women have told me years later that I gave them the confidence to go forward."

"My main contribution has been to introduce a public comment session to all council meetings so that the public can speak on items on the agenda before they are debated. I also do some public speaking, which helps to change people's perceptions of what women do and are."

6. Being elected to stand for national organizations.

"Was [the] only woman on Society of Local Government Managers National Executive. As Vice President of Local Government Managers [I had] speaking engagements about [the] role of women in local government throughout NZ."

7. Running women in local government conferences.

"1993 Suffrage centennial year promoted programmes to celebrate and encourage participation."

8. Advocating information and training material for those interested in standing for local government

"Currently I am preparing a note to Local Government NZ suggesting they prepare a "kit" outlining what local government is about, the importance of women on local government, how to campaign, what a councillor does etc. [I would like this] Kit to be made available to women's groups and individual women, and also to be used by current women councillors wanting to encourage other women into local government. But, already I know I will have to compromise if I want to achieve this. Eg. I will also have to suggest they have kits available for all people, not just women's kits."

9. Involvement in a great deal of other community activity and groups.

"For 14 years I've been an active member of the Upper Hutt Business and Professional Women's Club encouraging women to take leadership roles in the community."

"In general participation in a wide range of organisations which deal with women's issues, (e.g. service groups, marae, health and welfare organisation)."

All but one of these women believed that people's perceptions of women in local government had changed for the better over the last decade. Some of the examples they gave for saying this include that:

"The sense of astonishment that women should hold such positions is waning as time goes on. Men are becoming less diligent about reassuring us that they have no problem with women in leadership positions."

"More women participating and valuing their contribution – [the] feedback from many men is great and women [are being] given credit for effort."

"Women are accepted as the norm as councillors in most councils."

"Greater number of Mayors in large metropolitan cities, (Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, Auckland, Dunedin) who have done good jobs. More women in top positions in other parts of public sector and judiciary have meant that women as decision makers are more accepted."

When asked to describe what they had done to improve their own local authority their lists were long. Programmes and projects they had either initiated or been part of include women's centres, youth centres, arts centres, community owned child care centers, playground projects, petitions to oppose development that would impact negatively on the district, safety councils, trusts to deal with unemployment, urban and community projects, campaigns to improve local hospital and health services, environment projects, pensioner housing, landscape projects, a swimming pool, independent economic development projects, EEO projects, urban and community renewal programmes, a recreation review. Different processes were also initiated by some of these women to improve consultation, participation, planning, decision making, working as a team with council and develop a culture of cooperation and collaboration, changing the language and using more user friendly approaches.

Finally these women were asked about how their presence in local government has made a difference to how their local authority is governed and what it is that makes them different from their males colleagues. Most felt they had made a difference as the following responses demonstrate:

"I replaced a Labour Mayor who had been Mayor for 15 years. As an independent woman Mayor I have brought a different style of Mayoralty to the City – more inclusive, less acrimony and more consensual style. I have brought key community leaders together to work on issues, projects. Used local strengths, resources."

"Our Council has changed from roading as being a priority to having community development and a much more integrated approach."

"Strong on process involving all. Good understanding of the governance / management split which has helped council exercise its responsibility and authority."

"I feel I have represented [the] interests of women, families, and younger people in the community to effect changes. Previous Councils were generally reluctant to strengthen community links, provide capital funding for facilities, or acknowledge Council's leadership role in facilitating economic growth."

"Ordinary women in the community felt able to get involved. More consultative style than [there] would have been with a male C.E.O."

"The team attitude is really paying dividends. Also my fulltime commitment to the position of Mayor (previous mayors have done part time job) has enabled me to be fully involved in the community activities."

Their different styles were described as:

"Lighter and easier. I listen better, I don't have fixed views."

"More inclusive than abrasive style and more tolerant of different points of view. A greater commitment to openness and transparency."

"I believe it is more collaborative, and consultative. I like to think we are more empowering rather than authoritative."

"Not having a large ego means that I'm working more for the right solutions for the community, not my solution."

"Women generally work round the problem, look at it more fully – men are far more confrontational."

"I'd like to think it is more caring, inclusive, and people oriented than some of my male colleague's approach. I do read my agenda and research issues before the meeting. I'm one of the few councillors who initiate proposals to council."

"As I like to be involved and "hands on", the community sees a face to Council. Also my style of involving everyone and consultation and power sharing is different to past male Mayors."

"Males tend to approve an economic legislative / minimalist / approach. Women broaden the governance outlook and outcomes and expect discipline from councillors."

5. ANNOTATED LIST OF ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

5.1. Annotated list of organizations

The President and Chief Executive Officer, Local Government New Zealand,
PO Box 1214, Wellington. Ph: 04 470 0000. Fax: 04 470 0001.

The President and Chief Executive Officer, Society of Local Government Managers,
PO Box 5538, Wellington. Ph: 04 494 6251. Fax: 04 494 6259.

The Co-coordinator, Women's Electoral Lobby, PO Box 11 285, Wellington.

5.2 List of individuals

Hon. Christine Fletcher, Mayor, Auckland City Council, Private Bag 92-516,
Wellesley Street, AUCKLAND. Ph: 09 379 2020. Fax 09 307 7579.

Sukhi Turner, Mayor, Dunedin City Council, PO Box 5045, DUNEDIN.
Ph: 03 477 4000. Fax: 03 474 3594.

Jill White, Mayor, Palmerston North City Council, Private Bag 11034, PALMERSTON
NORTH. Ph: 06 356 8199. Fax: 06 358 2372.

Jenny Brash, Mayor, Porirua City Council, PO Box 50218, PORIRUA.
Ph: 04 237 5089. Fax: 04 237 6384

Noeline Allan, Mayor, Banks Peninsula District Council, PO Box 4, LYTTTELTON.
Ph: 03 328 8065. Fax: 03 328 8293.

Yvonne Sharp, Mayor, Far North District Council, Private Bag 752, KAIKOHE.
Ph: 09 405 2750. Fax: 09 401 2137.

Heather Maloney, Mayor, Franklin District Council, Private Bag 5, PUKEKOHE.
Ph: 09 237 1300. Fax: 09 237 1301.

Mary Ogg, Mayor, Gore District Council, PO Box 8, GORE.
Ph: 03 208 9080. Fax: 03 208 9087.

Iride McCloy, Mayor, Kapiti District Council, Private Bag 601, PARAPARAUMU.
Ph: 04 298 5139. Fax: 04 297 2563.

Lyn Hartley, Mayor, Kawerau District Council, Private Bag, KAWERAU.
Ph: 07 323 8779. Fax: 07 323 8072.

Audrey Severinsen, Mayor, Manawatu District Council, Private Bag 10001,
FEILDING. Ph: 06 323 0000. Fax: 06 323 0822.

Claire Stewart, Mayor, New Plymouth District Council, Private Bag 2025, NEW
PLYMOUTH. Ph: 06 759 6060. Fax: 06 759 6070.

Franca Cardno, Mayor, Southland District Council, PO Box 903, INVERCARGILL.
Ph: 03 218 7259. Fax: 03 218 9460.

Mary Bourke, Mayor, South Taranaki District Council, Private Bag 902, HAWERA.
Ph: 06 278 8010. Fax: 06 278 8757.

Maureen Reynolds, Mayor, Tararua District Council, PO Box 115, DANNEVIRKE.
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Joan Williamson, Mayor, Taupo District Council, Private Bag 2005, TAUPO.
Ph: 07 377 9899. Fax: 07 378 0118.

Janice Skurr, Mayor, Waimakariri District Council, Private Bag 1005, RANGIORA.
Ph: 03 313 6136. Fax: 03 313 4432.

Maureen Anderson, Mayor, Western Bay of Plenty District Council, Private Bag
12803, TAURANGA. Ph: 07 571 8008. Fax: 07 577 9820.

Louise Rosson, Chairperson, Otago Regional Council, Private Bag 1954, DUNEDIN.
Ph: 03 474 0827. Fax: 03 479 0015.

Hon. Margaret Shields, Deputy Chair, Wellington Regional Council, PO Box 11646,
WELLINGTON. Ph: 04 384 5708. Fax: 04 385 6960.

Dianne Hale, Deputy Mayor, North Shore City Council, Private Bag 93500,
Takapuna, NORTH SHORE. Ph: 09 486 8400. Fax: 09 486 8500.

Hon. Sandra Lee, Minister of Local Government, Parliament Buildings,
WELLINGTON. Ph: 04 471 9999.

Dame Cath Tizard, 12A Wallace Street, Herne Bay, AUCKLAND.

Nicola Meek, Deputy Mayor, Upper Hutt City Council, Private Bag 907, UPPER
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Margaret Cousins, Councillor, Hutt City Council, Private Bag 31912, LOWER HUTT.
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Jane Coughlan, Councillor, Timaru District Council, PO Box 522, TIMARU.
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Anne Chapman, Councillor, Kapiti District Council, Private Bag 601,
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Elaine Henry, Councillor, Tasman District Council, Private Bag 4, RICHMOND.
Ph: 03 544 8176. Fax: 544 7249.

Heather Newell, Councillor, Upper Hutt City Council, Private Bag 907, UPPER
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Sue Piper, Councillor, Wellington City Council, PO Box 2199, WELLINGTON.
Ph: 04 499 4444. Fax: 04 801 3138.

Stephanie Cook, Councillor, Wellington City Council, PO Box 2199, WELLINGTON.
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Rosemary Barrington, Parliament Buildings, WELLINGTON. Ph: 04 471 9999.

Helen Barker, Chief Executive Officer, Waitaki District Council, Private Bag 50058,
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Jo Brosnahan, Chief Executive Officer, Auckland Regional Council, Private Bag
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Paula Thompson, Chief Executive Officer, Tauranga District Council, Private bag
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Victoria Crawford, Senior Analyst, Local Government Policy, Department of Internal
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6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER ACTIONS

When compared with many of their counterparts in other countries, New Zealand women have achieved a great deal in terms of political representation and as political leaders in local government. As this report has shown these achievements have come about through the enactment of statutory rights and freedoms alongside the considerable change that has occurred in women's lives particularly in the last two decades; through the initiatives of women's organizations; and through the work of women themselves. It is important, however, that this success does not make for complacency. There is still much that can be done to increase the number of women in this tier of government.

Research shows that voters support women candidates who stand for local government seats. There is a need to work on the remaining barriers to enable more women to participate and to encourage a greater level of diversity in representation, particularly Maori, Pacific Island and younger women.

To overcome the barriers that remain there are three broad areas that need to be addressed. These are the costs involved, the systems within which local government operates, and the attitudes towards women within local government. There is also a clear need to develop strategies to enable a greater number of women to move into senior management positions in local government

Recommendations

Costs

1. Elected representatives should be paid more to enable them to participate. This payment needs to be sufficient to pay for quality dependent care and also, be set at a rate that will attract younger women.
2. There needs to be a cap set on campaign expenditure.

System

3. The system of voting for local government elections should be changed to proportional representation.
4. The number of elected positions in local government needs to be maintained. Despite the greater focus today on participation, the democratic right to elect representatives needs to be ensured at community level.
5. The retention of the ward system for electing representatives also needs to be retained.

Attitudes

6. Local government needs to become more women friendly. The culture of politics will be enhanced if there are:
 - More consensus style politics
 - Meeting are held at times which fit within women's responsibilities
 - Workshops are held on gender sensitization.

Strategies

7. Mechanisms should be established to assist women employed in local government to move into higher management positions. These mechanisms should include:
 - a review of current EEO policies to measure the level of women's participation at all senior levels in local government and the mechanisms currently being used by local authorities to comply with their EEO obligations.
 - Training opportunities established for women to enable them to develop skills and qualifications that will enable them to further their careers in local government
 - Financial support for training.
 - Mentoring support to be available.