

# Fran Bailey and the McEwen Electorate: Women's Leadership in Representative Democracy<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This study explores women's leadership in representative democracy using the case study of Fran Bailey, the first Liberal woman elected to the House of Representatives from Victoria and widely acknowledged as being a 'good' local member. Based on an interview with Bailey, the study discusses her approach to leadership in her electorate, finding that, while she used so-called feminine attributes in a pragmatic fashion in order to survive in a highly marginal seat, she also initiated important legislative change for disadvantaged women and their families.

**Keywords:** women, leadership, representative democracy, Fran Bailey, politicians, Liberal Party

## Introduction

Fran Bailey is a leader in three ways. First, she was the first Liberal woman ever to be elected to the federal lower house for a Victorian seat. Second, she was the first woman ever to be elected to federal parliament for a nominally rural seat.<sup>2</sup> Third, she has become a model for the 'good' local member in Australia. Hers is usually the first name to come up when both members of the public *and* members of parliament are asked to name a good local parliamentarian. When she retired earlier this year, a constituent wrote that Bailey was 'one of those true grass roots politicians that come along every second or so generation'.<sup>3</sup> This assessment of Bailey has evolved largely because of her extremely precarious hold on the seat of McEwen, one of the largest and, until recently, most marginal seats in the country, which, it is argued, she held onto solely because of her performance at the local level.<sup>4</sup>

The idea that women will bring a different, kinder, more inclusive style of politics into representative democracy has a long history; the Labor activist, Lillian Locke, for example, argued that women's 'natural' attributes would be an asset to the state.<sup>5</sup> These assumed natural attributes are connected to women's maternal function and include tenderness, mediation, caring, support, a sense of community, practicality, and day-to-day experience; and women candidates and parliamentarians have used these to claim a special

connection with women voters.<sup>6</sup> In 1950, the *Western Mail* ridiculed the idea that another allegedly ‘natural’ attribute, women’s intuition, might make women superior MPs. ‘Women, generally’, the author of ‘The Intuitive Sex’ began, ‘are supposed to possess a sixth sense—intuition. How far it would be valuable in dealing with national problems we cannot tell’. ‘A piece of bright verse by Phyllis McGinley’ then demonstrated ‘the limitations’ of women’s intuition:

A lady is smarter than a gentleman  
 Maybe  
 She can sew a fine seam, she can have a baby  
 She can use her intuition instead of her Brain  
 But she can’t fold a paper in a Crowded Train!<sup>7</sup>

Most analysis of these claims to women politicians’ difference from male politicians centres on two expectations: that a critical mass of women representatives will ensure women’s special interests are better served in parliament; and that the presence of women in parliament will have ameliorative effects on the aggressive behaviour of male parliamentarians, and so improve parliamentary standards.<sup>8</sup> On the former assertion, Marian Sawyer has noted that, despite earlier speculation that increased numbers of women in parliament would indeed better serve women’s interests, it has become clear that “‘standing for” is not the same as “acting for” ... the presence of women may be an alibi for policies that are far from women-friendly’.<sup>9</sup> Sarah Maddison and Emma Partridge have identified a range of factors that prevent women parliamentarians from acting together on women’s issues. They include a lack of a critical mass of women who are also able to enforce change; the fact that women often represent less safe seats and so are less secure and confident in advocating change; an absence of women from key positions; the entrenched male culture of parliament; work and family issues; the adversarial nature of debate; the ‘boy’s club’ atmosphere; and high levels of political partisanship. Another factor, of course, is that they have other loyalties and interests. In 2006, however, four women senators were able to overcome these difficulties, working together to ensure that the RU486 Bill, which abolished ministerial control over women’s access to the abortion pill, passed through parliament.<sup>10</sup> On the assertion that more women will improve parliamentary standards, Sarah Childs has found that women parliamentarians in the United Kingdom believe that, although there are exceptions, in general women employ a different style of politics from men but that the masculine atmosphere in parliament neither encourages nor rewards this kinder, feminised style.<sup>11</sup> Given this rich literature, it is surprising that little, if anything, seems to have been written on the effects of gender on

women's performance as local members, and this chapter seeks to begin to redress that omission. It is based on an interview conducted by the author with Fran Bailey shortly before her retirement from parliament, supplemented by media reports pertaining to her political career, Commonwealth Hansard and government records.

## **Background**

Born in Brisbane in 1946, Frances Esther Bailey was a Queensland junior state swimmer, and trained as a secondary school teacher at Queensland University and Kelvin Grove Teachers College. She taught English, History and French, then returned to university where she studied sociology, specialising in the psychology of group dynamics. Before entering parliament for the first time in 1990, she worked as a schoolteacher and in small business, including as a Cashmere goat breeder and exporter. She also ran the first 'Reject China' shop in Victoria.<sup>12</sup> Bailey has two adult daughters, Amanda and Abby, and is divorced. This status was revealed in 2004 in a *Sydney Morning Herald* article entitled 'Divorce—the word that dare not speak its name in Liberal Party literature', which drew attention to the Liberal Party's propensity for obscuring the marital status of its divorcee members.<sup>13</sup>

In 1990, like many women before her, Fran Bailey was selected to stand for a difficult seat: McEwen in central Victoria.<sup>14</sup> Created in 1984, McEwen is 'a unique electorate' with 'no large provincial city and 107 different communities'. It spreads from the Macedon Ranges to the Central Highlands and from the Yarra Valley to Plenty Valley. The electorate office is in Healesville. The Australian Labor Party's (ALP) Peter Cleland held the seat from 1984 to 1990 when Bailey took it in the backlash against then Prime Minister Paul Keating's 'recession we had to have'. Always a diverse electorate, McEwen has changed significantly since 1990 because of urban growth from the Melbourne outer suburbs to the south, which, according to Bailey, is now 'dominating the vote'. It is a 'very diverse electorate in socio-economic terms', and this diversity is reflected in the way Bailey has habitually described her electorate as 'my communities'. Although it is largely a rural electorate, the National Party has never stood against Bailey; there is 'little pastoral left—it is now viticulture, alpacas, and aquaculture'.<sup>15</sup>

Bailey entered federal parliament with another Liberal woman, Chris Gallus. Queensland's Kathy Sullivan, for years the sole woman Coalition MP, recalled that, although treated respectfully by her colleagues, she had always felt 'an oddity' in parliament. She used to say to herself 'over and over again'

that she could hardly wait for the next woman to be elected on the Coalition side. She did not care if the woman's views were '180 degrees to the right or to the left' of her own provided she was there and Sullivan was no longer the only woman. She described the impact of the maiden speeches of the two new members on her and on the rest of the House of Representatives:

Fran Bailey and Chris Gallus came not trailing the feminist preconceptions that the men had about me. I will never forget their maiden speeches. Everybody goes in to hear a colleague's maiden speech and I went in. As sure as God made little apples, up it came in both of those speeches: childcare. I sat there and hugged myself. I was no longer the only one they were hearing it from. I looked around and saw the faces falling as the realisation dawned on a number of my longer-standing colleagues that I was not an oddity; this was coming from more than just me. That was important. I really believe that you have to have the numbers because then you can start to put forward female values and have them taken notice of as a legitimate point of view. That is the great challenge.<sup>16</sup>

Bailey became shadow minister for consumer affairs in her first term but lost McEwen three years later, because:

I was one of those people who had responsibility for being the face of the GST with responsibility for selling the first version of the GST ... my margin was 0.2% so I was a very easy target and the Labor Party targeted me as Mrs GST.<sup>17</sup>

She stood again at the 1996 election and won, going on to serve in the Howard government as both minister for employment services and minister for small business and tourism. In the latter role, she became embroiled in the controversy over the Australian tourism campaign 'So where the bloody hell are you?' and flew to Britain when that country banned the advertising and got the decision reversed.<sup>18</sup> In 2009, she attracted criticism for falling asleep at a NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Edinburgh. The Adelaide *Advertiser* wrote: 'the Member for McEwen is now "the member for McSnoozin"'.<sup>19</sup>

Bailey held McEwen until her retirement earlier this year but never had much of a margin: 2.2 per cent in 1996, 1.0 per cent in 1998 and 1.2 per cent in 2001. She gained a 6.4 per cent margin in 2004 but that was wiped out in the 'Ruddslide' of 2007, and the seat became the most marginal in the country: Bailey held it by just 31 votes. In late 2009 she announced she would retire from parliament at the 2010 election.<sup>20</sup> Her Liberal successor, Cameron

Caine, lost the subsequent election with a 5.8 per cent swing against him, and most commentary has judged that this swing represented the loss of Bailey's personal vote, which had allowed her to hang onto the seat in 2007.<sup>21</sup> The concept of a personal vote needs more attention than it has received as it raises questions of verification. But in the case of Bailey, it seems to have some validity, especially, as we shall see, because of her ambiguous relationship with the Liberal Party.

### **The Good Local Member**

Bailey employed two key techniques to maximise her personal vote. First she maintained a strong local presence. She lived (and still lives) in Healesville and was the first Victorian minister not to locate her office in 4 Treasury Place, Melbourne. Her ministerial office was in Gisborne, placing her at the centre of her electorate. Every Friday, she conducted a surgery in the main street of one of the towns in the electorate so constituents could approach her with their concerns. She put up a card table and:

I just sat there and people came up to me. If [the town] was more remote I would advertise. I didn't hand out political material. Often a queue would form, people would grizzle about anything ... sometimes an urgent issue ... Suddenly they see you and think: "Fran'll do it" ... They never used my title, just "Hi Fran!"

Constituents raised both local and national issues. They wanted her 'to fix it—and sometimes just to listen'. Bailey also held regular town meetings, and her personal assistant arranged meetings to fit into her schedule. She often visited people in their own areas but rarely met them in their homes; they would meet in coffee shops, a shire office, or she would hire a local hall.

Her second technique for dealing with this sprawling electorate was to be highly mobile. In the early days of her incumbency, she got to know the electorate by driving from town to town: 'I have always said that my car [in the early days, a hot pink donut van] is my office, it's my wardrobe it's my kitchen ... it's everything'. She recalls often being flagged down on the Hume Highway for a chat with a constituent because her hot pink signs stood out. Although she believes it is easier for rural members than those with metro electorates to build relationships with their constituents, she stressed how 'terribly hard' it was in the beginning, as she 'worked the electorate centre by centre'.

Asked which specific attributes make for a good local member, Bailey named five. The first of these was ‘keeping her ear to the ground’, an extension of her techniques for maximising her local presence. As a new member, she ‘picked up on the street’ that Diamond Creek needed traffic lights at a main intersection, so she wrote to the electorate about holding a meeting in a church hall to discuss the matter. Two hundred people turned up, which showed that it ‘really was an issue’. Bailey tried to follow up ‘small issues’ like these while she was a minister but found it ‘difficult’. The important thing, she believed, was to ensure that you were seen regularly in the electorate. Bailey considered that these town meetings were invaluable, especially in an electorate like hers, although she was not sure they would be as successful in a metropolitan electorate. It is ‘an old-fashioned method of politicking’ but ‘nothing beats talking to a person face-to-face ... [constituents] want their concerns listened to, they want you to do everything in your power’. She recalled how holding regular town meetings had helped her to identify a ‘hot’ issue. At a town meeting in Gisborne one night, seven women arrived late and remained silent throughout the meeting. Later, however, the women did not immediately leave the hall but hung around the tea urn and Bailey ‘had the feeling’ they wished to speak to her. ‘I learnt very early as an MP that the urn with the tea and coffee and packet of Arnott’s biscuits was the most important part of the night’, she said, ‘because that’s when people who were too shy, or didn’t want to ask something, they’d always come along at the end of the meeting’.

These women turned out to be the mothers of disabled children who were exhausted and angry because there was no provision for carer respite in the Macedon Ranges Shire. Bailey took up their case and secured a promise of \$564,000 in Commonwealth funding. The current federal government has honoured that commitment but the state government has yet to allocate the money.<sup>22</sup>

The second attribute of the good local member that Bailey identified was responsiveness. She recalled how, at Mansfield, ‘before the election with the Tampa issue [2001] ... I was talking about immigration policy and refugees and a woman up the back of the hall called out “Have you ever been to a detention centre?”’ Bailey said no, she had not, and the woman retorted ‘Well, how can you stand there and tell us what they are like?’ Bailey thought ‘fair point’ and visited Baxter to see the conditions for herself. This kind of responsiveness, she argued, helped her to build trust and to shore up her personal vote. It is not certain how effective this particular response was, however, as I have been unable to find any media coverage of her visit to

Baxter, which was surely necessary in order to communicate to her Mansfield questioner that she had, in fact, responded to the challenge.

The third attribute was accessibility. For Bailey this was the ‘absolute key’. Listening to people was vital, she emphasised. ‘Sometimes it’s all they need from you—to have their problem acknowledged and taken seriously’. This accessibility could become a privacy problem, however. Bailey recounted how she always did her supermarket shopping on Sunday nights: ‘Otherwise it takes two hours’. Other women parliamentarians—including Labor’s Anna Burke and Ann Corcoran—have made similar observations.<sup>23</sup> Asked how politicians might improve their relationships with voters, Bailey replied: ‘MPs have to find more ways of meeting face-to-face with constituents’. She recalled how, as a new member, she struggled with farmers in her electorate who asked ‘what’s she doing here?’ Bailey persevered and eventually they became used to her, finally admitting ‘she’s not too bad’. Asked about local members she admired, she singled out Ewen Cameron, the former Liberal member for Indi, who used to tow a caravan around his electorate, in which he would meet with his constituents. She borrowed the idea for her donut van from him. The follow-up was also important, and ‘never taking yourself too seriously—you are no better or no worse than the people you represent’.

Honesty was the fourth attribute that Bailey mentioned: ‘in being accessible you shouldn’t claim you can fix every problem’. She believed that she had a good record for sorting out constituents’ problems but emphasised that ‘you have to be honest if it is a difficult issue’. Solving a problem might require a change of legislation, for example, and this could take time. She gave an example of this from a woman in the Plenty Valley, who rang her asking for help. The woman explained to Bailey that family benefits stopped when natural parents die, instead of going automatically to the person who has taken responsibility for raising the orphaned children. Bailey visited the woman at her home where she and her husband were raising five boys under the age of 11 whose parents had overdosed. The family had taken the boys in to keep them together but ‘weren’t getting one cent of assistance from the Commonwealth and I thought, that can’t be right’. She raised the issue with Senator Jocelyn Newman, then the minister for family and community services, who looked into it, and it turned out it was right. So Bailey drafted what is now called the Double Orphans Pension Amendment (2001), which guarantees that the rate of family allowance that is applicable before a child is orphaned will be guaranteed as the minimum to a person who assumes care of the child.<sup>24</sup> But the change in legislation ‘didn’t happen over night; it took months and in the meantime we got Rotary and the other service clubs helping to keep all those children together’. Bailey said: ‘You can’t do this job

without compassion. I sometimes say you have to be a social worker, a lawyer, an accountant—everything—to be an advocate because that’s what you are; an advocate for your constituents’.

Bailey also told a story about the former ALP senator for Victoria, Barney Cooney. As a newly elected member, he held a meeting to introduce himself to the people of Seymour, in Bailey’s constituency. He recognised Bailey in the audience, and, despite being from a different party, he called out ‘Fran, come on up!’ ‘People love that’, said Bailey, ‘they want honesty’. She recalled how, when she won back McEwen in 1996, she was asked to open a childcare centre. In the crowd was the former ALP incumbent, Peter Cleland, who had secured the money for the centre. Bailey made a point of acknowledging Cleland: ‘people want that honesty; people want to see credit where it is due’. She also gave an example of the opposite behaviour: the kind the electorate ‘don’t like’. A local school was ‘in a spot of bother’ and ‘I racked my brains as to how we could solve the problem’. Bailey came up with a solution:

I proceeded it to the deputy PM [Julia Gillard], and she accepted it and then they got the ALP candidate in my electorate to make the announcement and I was seriously pissed off because it was a constituent matter, which had been told to me in confidence. I was pretty cranky about that.

Finally, Bailey named independence from the party machine as a crucial attribute for the good local member: ‘People see through the party line. When they read a press release for a hare-brained scheme, they think: “what is she on about?” and question me about it’. She felt she had been forthright as a minister and had the support of the constituency in behaving this way. For Bailey, it was imperative that the electorate knew that ‘you put them first before party and before nation’. She illustrated this point with the story of the stand she took on the indexation of the fuel excise in late 2000. She recalled a ‘massive falling out’ with then Prime Minister John Howard when she called for the freezing of the indexation. Knowing that this was a ‘hot’ issue in her electorate because ‘when I would pull up to put petrol in my car ... I would see constituents putting ten and twenty dollars in ‘cos that’s all they could afford’, she judged that a failure to act might affect her hold on the seat. So she went onto the Radio National program, AM, arguing that the government, ‘which was my government’, should freeze the indexation ‘and it wasn’t our policy’. She received a phone call from John Howard, who said that ‘when he set off on his morning walk the first voice he heard was mine. And I didn’t back down because I thought it was wrong. [My] constituents said: good on



you, keep it up!’ Howard then visited McEwen to try to sell his fuel policy to the electorate. While there, he praised Bailey, attempting to diffuse the disagreement between them:

I’m particularly delighted to be in Fran Bailey’s electorate because if ever there was a political fighter—and I admire political fighters—it is Fran Bailey. If ever there was a fighter in Australian politics, and particularly here on the federal political scene in Victoria, it’s Fran. If she’s worried about something like petrol prices, for example, she talks to me about it.

Talking to Howard did not do Bailey much good at first. ABC radio reported that: ‘Speaking out against high fuel prices and demanding action has become a matter of survival for [Fran Bailey], but she acknowledges she cannot win every battle and the prime minister isn’t about to budge on this issue’. A month later, Howard did budge, saying:

I was plainly wrong in not understanding some of the concerns held by the Australian people about the price of petrol. And I acknowledge that. And I think it’s important that the response of the government be seen in the context of it being willing to acknowledge that the priorities it thought were right were not necessarily on this issue the priorities given by the Australian people.<sup>25</sup>

Bailey believes that constituents ‘feel ownership of the local member—even if they don’t vote for you’. On her retirement, she received letters, cards and emails saying ‘although I didn’t vote for you, I have always appreciated you’. Voting patterns are changing, she argues; in 2007, she was stopped in a newsagency in Healesville and told: ‘I didn’t vote for you this time. I usually do but I wanted to get rid of Howard’. She believes that people no longer support political parties. If ‘your own party don’t listen’, people will switch their votes: ‘More and more people are voting for an individual rather than that a party. People are voting below the line: it’s becoming stronger and stronger ... It’s worth studying’.

### **Pragmatic Feminism?**

Bailey’s instinct for independence prompted her to develop her own promotional style. She adopted an unambiguously stereotypical hot pink for her posters and other material because, she argued, the [male] Labor candidate was always copying her, and ‘what self-respecting male would copy that?’ At

the same time, this act differentiated her from the Coalition's promotional material, helping to separate her from her party's less popular policies and to shore up her profile as a good local member in opposition to the Canberra élites.

Her choice of hot pink raises the question of Bailey's attitude towards feminism and female solidarity. This is hard to pin down; the issue is a difficult one for Liberal women to discuss because the party has long rejected quotas, arguing for the inclusion of women in parliament on merit alone.<sup>26</sup> Bailey had previously spoken in the House on the meaning of being a true feminist, without actually identifying herself as one. The occasion was the celebration of the achievements of Australia's first woman MP. Bailey said:

If being a true feminist means to stand up for the rights of women, to highlight inequalities and lack of opportunity and recognition for women, and be prepared to take action, then I believe that Edith Cowan was not just the first woman to be a member of parliament but also the first feminist politician.<sup>27</sup>

On a separate occasion, Bailey attacked Coalition party members who were 'allegedly' waging 'a sexist campaign' against Kelly O'Dwyer because she was about to succeed Peter Costello in the 'plum' seat of Higgins. Bailey reflected the pride felt by Liberal Party members at having achieved 'so many firsts' for women without the help of quotas, saying: 'Only troglodytes hold those views and they show a complete lack of understanding of any Liberal Party philosophy or the history of the party'.<sup>28</sup>



Promotional banner from Bailey's official website,  
<http://www.franbaileymp.com>, c.2009, archived at  
<http://web.archive.org/web/20090912143838/http://www.franbaileymp.com/default.aspx>

Fran Bailey is clearly, in the words of the Women's Service Guild, 'a feminist in the best sense of the word' in that she understands 'matters relating to the lives of women'.<sup>29</sup> Most of the stories Bailey related to illustrate her approach to political representation involved women and women's issues; her personal interest in the individual struggles of her women constituents was obvious.<sup>30</sup> Such interest by women politicians in individual lives has often drawn criticism during political selection processes; women are accused of being 'more interested in personalities than issues' and 'too people-oriented'.<sup>31</sup> But Bailey's approach to her role as a member of parliament—her emphasis on community, her insistence on personal contact as the best way to identify and respond to constituents' concerns, her use of pink in an attempt to distinguish herself from male rivals—shows such attributes might play a crucial role in the making of the good local member. In her seat of McEwen, where every vote always counted, the use of feminine attributes and the techniques they made possible was clearly a highly pragmatic and successful strategy.

Bailey's pragmatism was highlighted in her valedictory speech, delivered in the House of Representatives on 24 June 2010. She spoke at length about the devastation of the Black Saturday bushfires of February 2009. Of the 173 victims of those fires, 160 lived in Bailey's electorate. Bailey was clearly deeply affected by the suffering caused by the fires, and it has been suggested that her experiences supporting the communities left her exhausted and led to her early retirement. She earned praise from the other side of politics for her efforts on behalf of her constituents. Both the former prime minister, Kevin Rudd, and the current prime minister, formerly deputy prime minister Julia Gillard, have taken time to praise her. On the Sunday morning after the fires, Prime Minister Rudd said:

Can I pay a personal tribute to the Member for McEwen? She is quite an extraordinary woman ... re-enforced again in a conversation I had with her this morning ... she was feeling bad about the fact she wasn't here with us all. My advice, she is better placed where she is, with her people and her community. And I say that because we all know in this place that it is her communities and her area, which has suffered the worst in all of this.<sup>32</sup>

Julia Gillard, meanwhile, is on the record as saying: 'I think Fran Bailey has done a remarkable job as local Member in this area in the period of the bushfires and beyond'.<sup>33</sup>

Bailey's ambivalence towards centralised government and her belief in the power of community came to the fore when she called in her speech for a

change in the model for emergency recovery, away from centralised decision-making: ‘It is local people who are best placed to co-ordinate and prioritise activities [and] advise Government officials because of their local knowledge. [They should] be actively involved in decision-making’.<sup>34</sup> Bailey’s concern for empowering her ‘communities’ should be viewed as a pragmatic and understandable response to years of managing a desperately marginal electorate.

## Conclusion

In the history of parliamentary representation in Australia, Fran Bailey has a couple of political firsts under her belt. She led the way for Liberal women from Victoria in the lower house. She was the first woman to represent a nominally rural seat. And, against the odds, she managed to achieve high office in a country that has been unbelievably slow to promote women to national leadership. But it was in her activities and achievements as the representative for McEwen that Bailey proved herself to be a true leader—she really was a great local member. She worked hard to hang onto a sprawling, highly marginal seat, utilising feminised promotional material to differentiate herself from her opponents and her party. She gained the trust of her constituents by employing a feminised style of representation—meeting people face-to-face, listening to their problems, taking them seriously, and acting for them whenever she could. She demonstrated a strong interest in the issues faced by her women constituents and provided the leadership required to initiate legislative changes that should positively affect generations of disadvantaged women and their families.

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<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all quotes are from an interview with Fran Bailey, conducted by the author with Ms Bailey on 10 June 2010 at Treasury Place, Melbourne. The digital recording and transcript of the interview are held by the author. Contact details: c/o School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne, Parkville, 3010. Email: jackied@unimelb.edu.au. This research was funded by an Australian Research Council Discovery grant (DP0771800).

<sup>2</sup> *Age*, 7 October 2009; <http://www.openaustralia.org/debate/?id=2010-06-24.33.2>

<sup>3</sup> ‘Yarra Valley Reacts to MP Fran Bailey’s Resignation’, *Lilydale and Yarra Valley Leader*, 7–8 October 2009, at <http://lilydale-yarra-valley-leader.whereilive.com.au/news/story/fran-bailey-to-resign-from-federal-parliament/>.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Volatility Ensures Vote Goes Down to the Wire’, *Age*, 28 July 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Frank Bongiorno, *The People’s Party: Victorian Labor and the Radical Tradition 1875–1914* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 127. See also Marilyn

Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 12–13, 152, 189.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Stacey and Marion Price, *Women, Power and Politics* (London: Tavistock, 1981), viii; Marian Sawyer and Marian Simms, *A Woman's Place* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, first ed., 1984), 44, 127; Richard L. Fox, *Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997), 82; Margaret Fitzherbert, *Liberal Women: Federation to 1949* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2004), 195; Anne Henderson, *Getting Even: Women MPs on Life, Power and Politics* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1999), 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Western Mail*, 23 February 1950.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Fitzherbert, *So Many Firsts: Liberal Women from Enid Lyons to the Turnbull Era* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), 4; Talina Drabsch, 'Women, Parliament and the Media', NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Briefing Paper no. 5, 2007, 35–40; Fitzherbert, *Liberal Women*, 36; Sarah Maddison and Emma Partridge, *How Well Does Australian Democracy Serve Australian Women?* (Canberra: Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University, 2007), 66–8; Marian Sawyer, Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble (eds), *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation: 1788–2007* (Perth: API Network, Curtin University of Technology, 2006), 194–5, 319–20; Marian Sawyer, "'When Women Support Women ...': EMILY's List and the Substantive Representation of Women in Australia', Paper presented to the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, University of Adelaide, 29 September to 1 October 2004, 1–9; Sarah Childs, 'A Feminised Style of Politics? Women MPs in the House of Commons', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6, no. 1 (February 2004): 3–19; Marian Sawyer, 'The Representation of Women in Australia: Meaning and Make-believe', *Parliamentary Affairs* 55, no. 1 (January 2002): 5–18; Marian Sawyer, 'A Matter of Simple Justice? Women and Parliamentary Representation', in *Speaking for the People: Representation in Australian Politics*, eds Marian Sawyer and Gianni Zappalà (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001); Elizabeth van Acker, *Different Voices: Gender and Politics in Australia* (Melbourne: MacMillan Education Australia, 1999), 85–90; Janine Haines, *Suffrage to Sufferance: 100 years of Women in Politics* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 182; See also Robert Menzies, 'Women for Canberra', 29 January 1943, in Fitzherbert, *Liberal Women*, 250–1.

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer, 'When Women Support Women', 2.

<sup>10</sup> Maddison and Partridge, 77; Drabsch, 46–8.

<sup>11</sup> Childs, 14.

<sup>12</sup> ABC, <http://www.abc.net.au/elections/federal/2010/guide/departingmps.htm>

<sup>13</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 August 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Vallence, *Women in the House*, London: Athlone Press, 1979, 53; Fitzherbert, *So Many Firsts*, 3. Bailey has said: 'My younger daughter is very politically active. My piece of advice to her is to stand only in a safe seat', in Henderson, 83.

<sup>15</sup> The Country Party was, of course, traditionally connected to agriculture not pastoral activities.

<sup>16</sup> Kathy Sullivan, 'Women in Parliament: Yes, But What's it Really Like?' *Papers on Parliament, Views of Parliamentary Democracy*, February 1994.

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.openaustralia.org/debate/?id=2010-06-24.33.2>.

<sup>18</sup> *Age*, 28 March 2007.

<sup>19</sup> *Advertiser*, 19 November 2009.

<sup>20</sup> *Age*, 7 October 2009.

<sup>21</sup> *Age*, 18 July 2010; 28 July 2010; *Lilydale and Yarra Valley Leader*, 20 August 2010.

<sup>22</sup> *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (CPD)*, House of Representatives, 3 and 4 June 2008, 4182, 4299, 4381; *Sunbury Leader*, 29 September 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Anna Burke, 17 May 2010; interview with Ann Corcoran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Family and Community Services Legislation Amendment Bill 2000, *CPD*, Senate, 19 June 2000, 15129.

<sup>25</sup> ABC, 'PM', 2 February 2001, <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/stories/s241564.htm> ABC, 'World Today', 1 March 2001, <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/stories/s253321.htm>.

<sup>26</sup> Fitzherbert, *So Many Firsts*, 163, 220.

<sup>27</sup> *CPD*, House of Representatives, 20 May 1996, 809.

<sup>28</sup> *Age*, 16 September 2009.

<sup>29</sup> The Women's Service Guild on the necessary attributes of a woman candidate, quoted in Lake, 153.

<sup>30</sup> Sawyer and Simms, 126.

<sup>31</sup> Sawyer and Simms, 19; Vallance, 50.

<sup>32</sup> ABC, 'Insiders', 15 February 2009, at <http://www.abc.net.au/insiders/content/2007/s2491793.htm>

<sup>33</sup> Julia Gillard, 4 July 2010, <http://www.pm.gov.au/press-office/transcript-doorstop>

<sup>34</sup> *CPD*, House of Representatives, 24 June 2010, 6540–4.