

Queensland Speaks: Women Talking about Leadership

Casey Northam¹ and Danielle Miller²

¹Centre for the Government of Queensland
University of Queensland, St Lucia, QLD 4072
casey.northam@uqconnect.edu.au

²Centre for the Government of Queensland
University of Queensland, St Lucia, QLD, 4072
d.miller5@uq.edu.au

Abstract: The *Queensland Speaks* oral history website provides a series of snapshots of women's participation in the Queensland Parliament and public service. It presents the material in an interesting and engaging manner that reinforces the continued relevance of feminism. The website includes interviews with former women parliamentarians from both sides of politics as well as with individuals who have held leadership roles within the public service. This chapter draws on the stories of these interviewees to highlight the efforts that women have made to make Queensland a fairer and more representative democracy, and to demonstrate the educational potential of the website.

Keywords: women, Queensland, parliament, public service, oral history

As in many other polities, Queensland women had to overcome significant barriers to participate in the governance of the state. The *Queensland Speaks* oral history website includes interviews with women who have served in the Queensland Parliament and the senior ranks of the Queensland Public Service. The website highlights the challenges presented by both overt and subtle forms of discrimination, while at the same time enabling interviewees to record their career trajectories, goals and successes. This chapter explores the contribution of the *Queensland Speaks* project to the story of women's participation in the governance of Queensland. It provides a thematic exploration of relevant content on the site and in doing so illustrates the usefulness of the site as an educational tool. The interviews illuminate some of the key areas where women have faced, and continue to face, significant obstacles. Interviewees discuss gender-based discrimination, the lack of family friendly policies and the difficulties of overcoming ideas around male-versus-female portfolio areas.

The accounts captured on the *Queensland Speaks* website are drawn from Queensland's recent past and serve as a reminder of the continued importance of feminism. As former Labor MP Molly Robson (1989–92) stated in her interview, 'we've still got a long way to go'.¹ The impact of the

© The Authors 2012. *Seizing the Initiative: Australian Women Leaders in Politics, Workplaces and Communities*. Published by the eScholarship Research Centre, The University of Melbourne; all rights reserved.

message is heightened because visitors to the site do not just read about the interviewees' experiences; they actually hear the women's voices as they talk about the struggles they have faced and overcome in the course of their careers. Listeners gain a sense of the diversity of paths these women have taken and the leadership they have demonstrated which otherwise could be overlooked.

Queensland Speaks

The *Queensland Speaks* oral history website is produced by the Centre for the Government of Queensland located at the University of Queensland.² The website (www.queenslandspeaks.com.au) was launched in November 2011 and will continue to expand as the centre conducts more interviews.³ *Queensland Speaks* includes interview testimony from former government ministers, senior public servants and other notable individuals, such as former Brisbane lord mayor, Sallyanne Atkinson, and former chief magistrate, Diane Fingleton. The project officially begins with the Bjelke-Petersen era in the 1960s, but there are some interviews that touch on earlier events such as the 1957 split in the Queensland branch of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). The timeframe was initially meant to end with the first Beattie government (1998–2001). Over time the perimeters have extended to encompass the end of the Beattie era in 2007. Some interviews do cover more recent events, including discussions of the Bligh government (2007–2012). The fundamental rationale behind the website is to revive the study of Queensland's political history and it is hoped that the general public, school students and academics will all find value in the site.

From the beginning the centre was aware of the potential drawbacks and risks associated with oral history and put in place strategies to limit the potential for problems. Staff from the centre have produced several articles exploring methodological issues associated with the project.⁴ Miller and Stanley write: 'We found that research interests, age, status, and gender all have had impacts on the construction and outcomes of interviews. Despite these differences, we found that the interviewers adopt similar approaches.'⁵ The article goes on to assess the strategies the team adopted to avoid the potential pitfalls associated with oral history. Interviewees put forward different interpretations and explanations of events. The website makes clear that memories can be imperfect and users may need to conduct additional research.⁶ The centre is well aware that each interview represents a dialogue and that ideas are contestable. Within this framework the site contains valuable data and the insights of key government figures.

It was initially decided that the project should aim for 15 per cent of the interviews to be with women interviewees. This target seemed reasonable given the small number of women who held senior public service positions and ministries in the period the project sought to cover. At the launch approximately 23 per cent, or fourteen of the sixty-one interviews available on the website, were with women.⁷ Five of these interviews were with women who were former or current senior public servants, as well as three interviews with politicians from the conservative side of politics, five former Labor parliamentarians and one from the organisational wing of the ALP. It should be noted that two interviewees, Dr Ann Scott and Robin Sullivan, were both interviewers for the project as well as interviewees because of their former roles as senior public servants.

Women interviewees for the project discuss a wide range of issues, often including gender-based discrimination, in the broader context of their careers. In *Interviewing the Interviewers*, Miller and Stanley argue: 'Female interviewees have generally been very willing to discuss their experiences as women with their female interviewers, and perhaps the shared experience of gender has assisted in the building of rapport.'⁸ The interviews provide insight into party preselection practices and the debate over quotas. Some interviewees also discuss ongoing issues. For instance, former MP Lesley Clark details the continuing debates around affirmative action.⁹

Visitors to the site are able to compare the types of backgrounds that have given rise to political careers in Queensland. Sue Thomas makes the point that 'women tended to enter politics from a background as a civic worker or community volunteer'.¹⁰ The data from the website confirms that female politicians often draw on their community links in their quest to enter parliament. Rosemary Kyburz (1974–83) highlights the importance of her tennis club in supporting her 1974 election campaign.¹¹ Likewise, Joan Sheldon (1990–2004) tells of the support she received from members of her local chamber of commerce in addition to the support from the party.¹² Taken together the website illustrates the changing attitude of the major parties towards women's involvement. A subset of the interviews dealing with the 1980 intervention in the Queensland ALP, conducted with both men and women interviewees, provide insights into the role gender played in this conflict and the push to make the party more woman friendly.

Queensland Speaks in context

Queensland women secured voting rights in 1905 and gained the right to stand for the Queensland legislature in 1915.¹³ Even so, only eleven women were elected before the 1989 election that saw Labor return to office after thirty-two years in opposition. Early on it was the non-Labor parties that led the

way, but this trend reversed after 1989.¹⁴ A total of seventy-four women have served or are serving in the Queensland Parliament.¹⁵ This means that women represent 6.73 per cent of the total number of members who have served in the Legislative Assembly.¹⁶ Similarly, women faced barriers to participation in the public service. In 1909 it was declared that ‘young ladies’ could sit for the examination to gain entrance to the professional division of the public service; however, women rarely progressed past clerical positions in the Queensland Public Service.¹⁷ Linda Colley has found that between 1903 and 1920 women were eligible for 28.5 per cent of positions but they obtained 8.4 per cent of the jobs.¹⁸ Until 1969, women had to give up their public service positions after marriage and Queensland did not have its first woman director general until 1990.¹⁹

There are several written sources that examine women’s involvement in the governance of Queensland.²⁰ These sources are part of a larger field of literature exploring women’s leadership and women’s struggles for equity in the workplace.²¹ *Queensland Speaks* confirms many of the expectations established in the literature. The unique contribution of the *Queensland Speaks* website is that it brings together a range of primary source material, the impact of which is enhanced by its aurality.

The project allows researchers, students and the public to hear the tone in which comments are made which adds another layer of meaning to the words. As the website states: ‘The interviews allow listeners to hear the nuances of tone, tempo and even silences.’²² This chapter highlights the experiences of women in government in Queensland, as well as the broader consideration of the applicability of the *Queensland Speaks* material for undergraduate teaching. In his discussion of the benefits of incorporating oral history practice into teaching, Richard Cándida Smith argues that oral history allows for ‘a sharper understanding of the connections between everyday life, including their [the students] own, and larger social processes of transformation and conservation’. While Smith is talking about allowing students to conduct interviews, his comments are equally applicable for students listening to and using oral history recordings. Several scholars have noted that among young women there is a tendency to not understand the relevance of feminism or at least the value of the women’s movement in modern society.²³ The personal nature of the accounts on *Queensland Speaks*, strengthened because users are listening to the women’s voices, is a sharp reminder that this was someone’s reality; not someone living in a distant time or place, but in Queensland’s recent history. This renders the site a powerful teaching resource.

The women of *Queensland Speaks*

In many of the interviews on the website, it is acknowledged that gender-based discrimination existed in both the Queensland Parliament and the Queensland Public Service. While this in itself is not perhaps unexpected, the way in which the women talk about it is. Former MP Molly Robson's matter-of-fact tone when she says: 'we worked very hard, probably harder than most people have to work to prove that we were quite capable of doing the job'.²⁴ This suggests that it is simply a part of the role of being a woman member of parliament (MP) to face gender-based discrimination. Similarly, Dr Ann Scott, when discussing her time in the public service states with a laugh that 'yes, you have to get used to the sexist comments ... being token this, token that', the humour here suggesting that having one's abilities and qualifications undermined is simply expected for a woman holding such a position.²⁵

Other interviewees also use humour to couch the hard issue of gender-based discrimination in its various forms. In response to the question 'Did you ever experience any sexism?', public servant Leigh Tabrett (1990–2012) answers 'What do you mean DID?' Similarly, former public servant Robin Sullivan answers the question, 'Did you face any discrimination in the role?' with, 'How long's the interview going to take?'.²⁶ Responses such as these are useful in reminding listeners that as well as being on the receiving end of discrimination women have agency to deal with it in different ways. One method women employ is the use of humour. The interviews remind listeners that these are real people talking; they highlight that leadership is more than leading a party or department – that it can also be demonstrated in pursuing careers where there are significant barriers. In making these issues accessible to students and the general public, these personal accounts provide a powerful backup to statistical evidence cataloguing the challenges women face in the pursuit of their careers.

Both men and women interviewees raise the issue of family. While more common in interviews with women, a number of interviewees mentioned that the decision to go into parliament had been taken only after consideration of the impacts it would have on family life. The amount of time spent away from family was an issue raised by former Labor premier Peter Beattie as well as Labor MP Judy Spence (1989–2012). Beattie mentions that he chose state politics over federal to be closer to home, while Spence notes that having a Brisbane electorate allowed her to be an MP and still come home to her children; had she been from the country, she might not have entered the ministry.²⁷

Once into politics or the public service, balancing work and family responsibilities was seen as a challenge by a number of interviewees, though it was noted that the balancing act is far easier than it once was. During the early 1980s former Liberal MP Rosemary Kyburz was the first woman to

have a baby while a Queensland MP, and notes that it was not easy.²⁸ Likewise, Labor MP Judy Spence mentions that there were few services and ‘no concessions’ for MPs with babies.²⁹ As Leader of the House, Spence (2009–2012) attempted to further improve the situation by limiting late sitting hours.³⁰ The lack of family-friendly policies has also been felt by those in the public service. Another example of the additional barriers women with family faced is provided by Leigh Tabrett from her time in the education department. She recalls seeing ‘a senior male colleague’ counting the number of women public servants who had child seats in their government cars, because it was against policy to use government cars to drop children at school or childcare on the way to the office.³¹ This is an incident she relates with indignation.

Women have had to work hard to challenge perceived gender roles. Eva Cox argues that a ‘tough competent woman, doing no more than any man would do, is still judged more harshly’.³² Struggles surrounding these types of perceptions and stereotypes are raised by several interviewees. Traditionally feminine behaviour and attributes such as being pleasing rather than aggressive or, to use Leigh Tabrett’s words, ‘being a good girl and trying to keep everyone happy’, is not always the best strategy in these professions.³³ Failure to comply with expectations, according to the experiences of those interviewed, leads to criticism. Desley Boyle states that during her first term, women in parliament were still rather novel and the media took an interest in their appearance and fashion choices.³⁴ Julie Ustinoff has found ‘the media treat all female politicians differently to the way they treat men, and furthermore that difference serves to disadvantage women, often to the detriment of their professional and personal lives’.³⁵ Women interviewees describe the pressure they faced to prove themselves and provide evidence of the greater scrutiny of women in public life.

In 1992, the parliament passed the *Equal Opportunity in Public Employment Act*; however, it was not just the formal structures that needed to be reformed but the wider culture of the Queensland Public Service.³⁶ Research conducted by the University of Queensland in 1997 found most women in the public service felt the culture or the organisation still inhibited their careers.³⁷ At the time of the research, over half the state’s public sector was staffed by women but women held only 16 per cent of the senior executive positions.³⁸ In June 2011, women made up 64.17 per cent of public service, 41.66 per cent of senior positions but only 32.21 per cent of the senior executive service, revealing that further change is needed.³⁹ The interviews on *Queensland Speaks* confirm that a shift away from male dominance in Queensland’s parliament and public service has occurred incrementally. Former high school principal Robin Sullivan discusses the difficulty she faced establishing her credibility upon moving into the education department. She quips, ‘what’s that story about women that have to be twice as smart to get the

position that men had? I really had to work very hard to establish my credentials as a public servant.⁴⁰ In keeping with the pattern seen elsewhere, certain areas are deemed more appropriate for women to work in than others, and as a result less opposition is raised when a woman takes those roles.⁴¹ For example former public servant Ruth Matchett mentions that heading the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs in 1990 (she held this position until 1995) was made easier by its being branded a 'women's' department.⁴² The interviews demonstrate that this experience also held true for women ministers.

Former Labor MPs Molly Robson and Desley Boyle (1998–2012) both discuss how women MPs had to work to prove themselves.⁴³ Judy Spence recalls: 'When I was elected there was, you know, no women ministers, there were no women judges or magistrates, there were no women heads of departments. Certainly there were no women police ministers or premiers.'⁴⁴ Susan J. Carroll makes the point the stereotype 'is that women are assumed to be less qualified to hold public office than men, even when they have more experience and stronger credentials'.⁴⁵ This was certainly the experience of Judy Spence. Spence describes her appointment as the first woman minister for Police and Corrective Services in 2004 and the media scrutiny she faced at her first press conference. She had to contend with questions regarding her suitability for the role, despite having previously served as the minister for Indigenous affairs, child protection and juvenile justice.⁴⁶ She suggests that she would not have faced the same level of scrutiny had she been a man. Drawing on the experiences of the interviewees it can be suggested that changes towards greater gender equality in Queensland's parliament and public service have been gained slowly and continue to require effort.

The rise of Anna Bligh as the first elected woman premier in Australia might point to some the achievement of gender equality. Raewyn Connell warns against viewing gender 'in an emblematic way'.⁴⁷ Bligh's success should not be taken as evidence that gender-based discrimination is no longer a problem and her rise to the top was not without difficulty. Peter Beattie recalls that in the early days Bligh was given a 'hard time by the boys' club, within the cabinet, in the caucus'.⁴⁸ For those interested in Bligh, the site provides information on her career and her leadership style. Warren Pitt, who served as a minister for all three post-1957 Labor premiers, states that despite his initial apprehension Bligh was a 'tough' and 'inclusive' leader.⁴⁹ Desley Boyle comments on Bligh's 'good sense' and 'incisive mind', pointing to her skilled handling of the 2011 floods as an example of her approach.⁵⁰ While it is necessary to retain a degree of scepticism about primary source material, the interviews do provide information about Bligh's career and contribute to the existing data on female leadership more generally.

Despite the substantial number of anecdotes about and evidence of gender-based discrimination brought up throughout the interviews, within them are empowering accounts of how women and men have brought about change. The establishment of the Women's Policy Unit was one such step forward. Where other Australian states formed such bodies in the second half of the 1970s and 1980s, Queensland had to wait until the election of the Goss Labor government in 1989.⁵¹ During the Goss years (1989–1996) changes were introduced to hiring practices, including representation of women on selection boards, and there emerged a new emphasis on qualification and merit.⁵² What also comes through strongly in the interviews is the importance of changes to the culture. Women created change in their workplaces through building their networks, supporting each other and overcoming each challenge as it arose. For instance, both Robson and Boyle speak about the role of Emily's List.⁵³ The importance of women supporting each other is also clearly conveyed in the words of Dr Ann Scott when she states 'if women hadn't been helping to push other women, then obviously not so much change would've taken place. You've always got to, sort of, go on stirring a bit.'⁵⁴

Conclusion

As the excerpts included in this chapter illustrate, the *Queensland Speaks* website provides valuable first-hand accounts of the experiences of women in Queensland's parliament and public service. Women face additional barriers that inhibit their full participation in the public life of the state. These challenges are highlighted in a particularly accessible way through the medium of audio recordings in the *Queensland Speaks* project. The interviews are a valuable resource for understanding the experiences of women leaders and reinforce the continued importance of feminism in modern Queensland.

¹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Molly Robson', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/molly-robson> [23:24–23:25].

² *Queensland Speaks* is supported by the Queensland Government and the University of Queensland.

³ The centre is led by the director, Professor Peter Spearritt, and coordinator, Dr Marion Stell. The *Queensland Speaks* steering committee is led by Emeritus Professor Roger Scott who has had both a long academic career as well as holding the position of Director General of Education in Queensland (1990–1994). The interviewing team includes political scientists, historians and former Queensland public servants. For a detailed discussion of the interviewing team, see Danielle Miller and Maree Stanley, 'Interviewing the Interviewers: Difference, Knowledge Sharing, and Cohesion within the Queensland Speaks Interviewing Team', *Oral History Review* 39, no.1 (2012): 61–82.

⁴ Roger Scott and Peter Spearritt, “‘Queensland Speaks’: A Progress Report’, *Australasian Parliamentary Review* 25, no. 1 (Autumn 2010): 49–53. Maree Stanley, “‘Queensland Speaks’: The Case for Digital Listening in Oral History’, *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 32 (2010): 24–31.

⁵ Miller and Stanley, 63.

⁶ Centre for the Government of Queensland, ‘About’, *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/about>.

⁷ Since the launch the centre has added additional interviews to the website and continues to conduct interviews for the project.

⁸ Miller and Stanley, 71.

⁹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, ‘Lesley Clark’, *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/lesley-clark> [1:10:49–1:22:47].

¹⁰ Sue Thomas, *How Women Legislate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4.

¹¹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, ‘Rosemary Kyburz’, *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/rosemary-kyburz>, [2:30–2:58].

¹² Centre for the Government of Queensland, ‘Joan Sheldon’, *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/joan-sheldon> [10:39–11:52].

¹³ For more information see Paul Reynolds, ‘Women in the Queensland Parliament’, *Queensland Review* 12, no. 2 (November 2005): 81–5.

¹⁴ John McCulloch, *The Legislators: Queensland Women in State and Federal Parliaments* (Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 2005), x.

¹⁵ These figures were calculated after the 2012 election. Queensland Parliament, ‘Women in the Queensland Parliament, 1860-present’, last modified June 2010, http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/documents/explore/education/factsheets/Factsheet_7.3_Women.pdf; Queensland Parliament, ‘Member List’, <http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/members/current/list>.

¹⁶ Queensland Parliament, ‘Alphabetical Register of Members of the Legislative Assembly 1860–2009 and of the Legislative Council 1860–1922’ (2009), http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/documents/explore/parliamentaryrecord/sections/ParlRecord_p2_19_AlphaRegMemb_pp180to312.pdf; Queensland Parliament, ‘Member List’.

¹⁷ ‘Girls for the Public Service’, *Brisbane Courier*, 6 May 1909, 4.

¹⁸ Linda Colley, ‘Approaches to the Merit Principle in Queensland Public Service Recruitment 1859–2000: From Rich and Dumb to Gender Discrimination to Politicisation?’, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 65, no. 1 (March 2006): 50.

¹⁹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, ‘Ruth Matchett’, *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/ruth-matchett>. Queensland Government, Department of Communities, ‘Key achievements and Milestones for Queensland Women’, last modified 12 June 2011, <http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/women/leadership-and-community/international-womens-day>.

²⁰ See Mark Neylan and Rae Wear (eds), *Women in Government* (Brisbane: Royal Institute of Public Administration Australia (Queensland Division), 1994; McCulloch;

K.E. Saunders and J.P. Ustinoff (eds), 'The Centenary of Women's Suffrage in Queensland' special issue of *Queensland Review* 12, no. 2 (November 2005).

²¹ For instance, see Kim Fridkin Kahn, *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Katherine C. Naff, 'Through the Glass Ceiling: Prospects for the Advancement of Women in the Federal Civil Service', *Public Administration Review* 54, no. 6, (November – December 1994): 507–14; Joan Acker, 'Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations', *Gender & Society* 20, no. 4 (August 2006): 441–64; Miki Caul Kittilson and Kim Fridkin, 'Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective', *Politics & Gender* 4 (2008): 371–92; Farida Jalalzai, 'Women Rule: Shattering the Executive Glass Ceiling', *Politics & Gender* 4 (2008): 205–31; Tyler G. Okimoto and Victoria L. Brescoll, 'The Price of Power: Power Seeking and Backlash Against Female Politicians', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36, no. 7 (2010): 923–36; Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Marian Sawer and Marian Simms, *A Woman's Place: Women and Politics in Australia* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993).

²² Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'About', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/about>.

²³ For discussion of this issue see Claire M. Renzetti, 'New Wave or Second Stage? Attitudes of College Women Toward Feminism', *Sex Roles* 16, no. 5/6 (1987): 265–77; Chilla Bulbeck, "'Women are Exploited Way Too Often": Feminist Rhetorics at the End of Equality', *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, no. 46 (2005): 65–76; Angela McRobbie, 'Post-feminism and Popular Culture', *Feminist Media Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 255–64.

²⁴ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Molly Robson' [18:48–18:56].

²⁵ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Ann Scott', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/ann-scott> [38:40–38:46].

²⁶ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Leigh Tabrett', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/leigh-tabrett> [2:17–2:26]; Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Robin Sullivan', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/robin-sullivan> [1:27–1:31]; Sullivan served as a high school teacher, principal and school inspector. In 1997 she became the Deputy Director General of Education. She held several senior public service positions before her retirement 2007.

²⁷ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Peter Beattie', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2011, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/peter-beattie> [1:30–1:59];

Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Judy Spence', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012; <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/judy-spence> [52:51–53:13].

²⁸ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Rosemary Kyburz' [36:09–36:15].

²⁹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Judy Spence' [3:34–4:52].

³⁰ Steven Wardill, 'Judy Spence wants Parliament to Rise Earlier so Politicians can Get Some Sleep', *Courier Mail*, 19 May 2010.

³¹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Leigh Tabrett' [3:50–4:11].

- ³² Eva Cox, 'A Woman PM – is it a Step Forward?', *Crikey*, 24 June 2010, <http://www.crikey.com.au/2010/06/24/eva-cox-a-woman-pm-is-it-a-step-forward/>.
- ³³ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Leigh Tabrett' [28:32–28:34].
- ³⁴ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Desley Boyle', *Queensland Speaks*, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/desley-boyle> [59:58–1:00:17].
- ³⁵ Julie Ustinoff, 'The Many Faces of Political Eve: Representations of Queensland Women Parliamentarians in the Media', *Queensland Review* 12, no. 2 (November 2005): 97.
- ³⁶ Barbara Sullivan, 'Women and the Goss Government', *The Goss Government: Promise and Performance of Labor in Queensland* (South Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia, 1993), 176.
- ³⁷ 'Queensland's Female Public Servants Have Their Say in Survey', *UQ News Online*, 14 October 1998, <http://www.uq.edu.au/news/index.html?article=1020>.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Queensland Government Office of Public Service Commission, *Queensland Public Servants Workforce Characteristics 2010–2011*, <http://www.psc.qld.gov.au/library/document/catalogue/workforce-statistics/characteristics-qps.pdf>.
- ⁴⁰ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Robin Sullivan' [10:50–11:00].
- ⁴¹ See Sawer and Simms, 138.
- ⁴² Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Ruth Matchett' [15:27–15:56].
- ⁴³ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Desley Boyle' [1:00:34–1:00:47]; Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Molly Robson' [18:19–18:56].
- ⁴⁴ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Judy Spence' [10:23–10:35].
- ⁴⁵ Susan J. Carroll, 'Reflections on Gender and Hilary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic', *Politics & Gender*, 5 (2009): 6.
- ⁴⁶ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Judy Spence' [31:15–33:10].
- ⁴⁷ Raewyn Connell, 'Advancing Gender Reform in Large-scale Organisations: A New Approach for Practitioners and Researchers', *Policy and Society* 24 (2005): 13.
- ⁴⁸ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Peter Beattie' [53:48–53:56].
- ⁴⁹ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Warren Pitt', *Queensland Speaks*, last modified 2012, <http://www.queenslandspeaks.com.au/warren-pitt> [1:31:31–1:31:59].
- ⁵⁰ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Desley Boyle' [58:19–59:26].
- ⁵¹ Louise A. Chappell, *Gendering Government: Feminist Engagement with the State in Australia and Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 152, 186. In her *Queensland Speaks* interview Ruth Matchett discusses her involvement in plans to implement a women's policy unit when National Party MP Beryce Nelson was minister for Family Services in 1989. She describes the unit implemented by the Goss Labor government as somewhat 'bolder', Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Ruth Matchett' [8:09–8:50].
- ⁵² The shift that occurred with the Goss government is a common theme in the *Queensland Speaks* interviews.
- ⁵³ See Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Desley Boyle' [1:01:39–1:01:56]; Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Molly Robson' [1:42:49–1:43:17]. Emily's List Australia was formed in 1996 to assist Labor women standing for

parliamentary seats. The group provides mentoring and financial assistance for candidates committed to the group's core ideals of equity and women's rights. EMILY'S List Australia, <http://www.emilyslist.org.au/>. Marian Sawer, 'When Women Support Women ... EMILY's List and the Substantive Representation of Women in Australia', *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 2006), 104.

⁵⁴ Centre for the Government of Queensland, 'Ann Scott' [41:39–41:50].