

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Decades ago, some activists of feminism arose to speak about the gender equality in society. They spoke out that the role and social position of women should be the same as men. It ran year by year and some states started to implement it in their social sectors. Many welfare states which were described themselves as a women-friendly state commonly aim to convey women's strong representation in positions of political power, as well as their high levels of participation in education and the labour market¹. This women-friendly aimed to emphasize the gender equality within the state so both women and men will get the same activities and services.

Since the twentieth century in the welfare states, gender-equality has been becoming an important analysis. One of them is Australia. In the beginning, Australian government did not implement it in the whole state sectors. It was started by one of the biggest parties there which was Australian Labor Party that implementing the women's quota issue.

A. Research Background

The first voting system in Australia in 1900s was not showing the equality. Not all people could vote, but only men. Women were not allowed to choose and did not have right for it. Also, men who could vote were limited which was only the one who has

¹Kjeldstad, Randi, *Gender policies and gender equality: Nordic Welfare States In the European Context*, 2001, London: Routledge, p. 66-97

property and income—such as men who owned business or property and paid rent for some amount.

In the 1850s when almost all Australian colonies achieved the ‘responsible government’, that was a great time to make the electoral wider. Time by time, nearly all British ages 21 or more were eligible to vote. Also, Australia understood that they started with convicts and not enfranchising people who had served their time and built a new life in Australia was not feasible. So the government was allowing the convicts to vote, even some elites scared and thought that they would lose some voices and decrease their interests. Even though some improvement happened, but women’s right was not change. They still could not vote.

Meanwhile in 1893 as the colony, New Zealand gave women the right to vote. South Australia did the same in the next year, but South Australia went further in giving women the chair in parliament. While, New Zealand did it started in 1919. After the colonies decided to build the Federal state government, the Commonwealth Electoral Act in 1902 gave the women right to vote and could stand in the parliament. This action made Australia as the first country that gave equal rights to women. But, even in 1903 women already could involve in parliament, no one was elected until 1943.

After the women vote was implemented in Australia, government needed to balance the implementation both in public and political life. It was because when government pleased the women to stand up in the parliament, means that women have the same value like men.

In 1990s, women as parliament representative became a focus issue on international and national attention. Many arguments rise said that women’s interests

should be represented well. They suggested that women needed to make differentiate in politics and made change in the representative. But, even the presence of women in legislature, it was still far from women-friendly.

After the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, gender mainstreaming, or we can say it is the process of ensuring policies and practices where meeting the needs of men and women equitably, seen as the important point to achieve the gender equality(Palmieri). Parliament had the fundamental role to achieve and implement this equality in their country. The members of parliament started to introduce the family-friendly policy, and gender sensitive training program. More than that, some maychanged the structure or parliament where there was/were committee(s) that dedicated for women, or they rotatedthe position so men and women got equal opportunity to represent.

Australia, for more than 20 years has been trying to develop the gender mainstreaming and implement it in all Australia contexts. It began in 1987 where the House of Representative created its own committee structure, allowed for more complete analysis of women's participation in committee work across the parliament². Gender diversity policies are more common now in Australia. Women can take position in parliament chairs, get employment, or get higher retention rate.

Since the gender gap between men and women still existed even after the federal parliament raised about gender equality in Australia sectors, Australian Labor Party started to campaign about feminist around 1960s to 1970s with their aim to involve women participation inside the government or parliament. So women not only had right

² Committees are also the predominant site of investigation for gender mainstreaming in parliament. Cited in (IPU, 2008)

to be voted and got chair in parliament, but they should act in parliament, show their ability and their capability to govern. The elected of Gough Whitlam in period 1972 to 1975 as the Labor government was a fortune at that time.

Since its establishment, the Australia Labor Party has been always trying to attract and absorbing the new issue and new progressive that happen in Australia. ALP never became the conservative one which shows that they always represent Australian progressive. With women movement case, Labor Party started to campaign increasing social right especially for women equality and also for representation within the Labor Party.

In the late 1970s, the Labor Party's Status of Women Committee recommended the creation of a comprehensive special measures policy, called "Affirmative Action" in Australian parlance, which would change the face and decision making process of the party.³ After the conference within the party members, congress agreed to add more quotas for women participation in the party and gave forty percent of proportion toward women. In 1982, there was an increasing of Labor Party women that were elected to become the Member of Parliament. Until 1994 even the quota was placed, women still got fewer votes than men. Men dominated the party. Women took position in the election but they were still seen as less electable than men.

B. Research Question

According to the background, this research focuses on answering this question:

Why does the Australian Labor Party implement women-quota policy?

³(Ballington, February 2006).

C. Theoretical Framework

To understand the reason why does Australian Labour Party implement the women-quota policy, it will use two frameworks. The first one is using the function of political party which explains about the political party's functions, and another one is the voting behaviour which explains about what is the basic idea of the people to decide the candidates in an election.

C.1 The Functions of Political Party

A famous phrase from Abraham Lincoln, the former President of the United States of America in 1961-1965, described democracy as a “government of the people, by the people, and for the people” explains that the people need a place to fulfill ‘by the people’ part. Besides that, politics need an institution to connect the citizens and the government. It means that politics need political parties.

Antony Downs, the American political scientist explains that “a political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election”⁴. Besides to participate as the representation of the people in the government—which is parliament—political parties also aim to get the power in the ruling government by winning the election and gain political party.

Party has to show its capacities, which is in political science called as function.

The functions of political parties are⁵:

⁴ Wilhelm Hofmeister and Karsten Grabow, *Political Parties: Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies*, 2011. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

⁵ Cf, for instance, Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, “Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies”, in *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, eds. Russel J. Dalton and Martin by Wuttenberg (Oxford and New York: Oxford University: Oxford University Press v0003) 3-18. As cited in Wilhelm Hofmeister and

- Function of political opinion-making, means they articulate and aggregate social interests: Parties express public expectations and demands of social groupings to the political system.
- Function of integrity, means they develop political programs: parties integrate various interests into a general political project and transform it into a political program, for which they campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority.
- Function of exercising political power, means they organise the government. They participate in elections to occupy political charges. Normally in party democracies, a good part of government authorities arise from political parties.

To gain the office like Antony Downs' words above, a party has to join the election and compete with the other parties to get as much as vote they can. However, there are some backgrounds that determine the people's choice. It is due to their voting behavior.

C.2 Theories of Voting Behavior

Voting behavior theory is a theory that explains about how the people decide to choose the candidates—from party or independent—in an election. There are three theoretical models that can explain the voting behavior. The first is sociological model that is approached by The People's Choice⁶, Voting⁷, and Personal Influence⁸. The second is social-psychological (psychosocial) model of voting behavior, and the last is

Karsten Grabow, *Political Parties: Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies*, 2011. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

⁶Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B. & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice: how the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press. As cited on: Rui Antunes, *Theoretical Models of Voting Behaviour*.

See at: http://www.exedrajournal.com/docs/N4/10C_Rui-Antunes_pp_145-170.pdf

⁷Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F. & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. As cited on: *ibid*.

⁸Katz, E. & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). *Personal influence: the part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

rational choice theory. To explain and answer the main problem, it will use the psychosocial theory and rational choice theory.

a. Social-Psychological Theory (psychological)

The main concept of the psychosocial theory is partisanship, “which is designed as a psychological affinity, stable and lasting relationship with a political party that does not necessarily translate into a concrete link, namely registration, or consistently voting and systematically militancy with this party”⁹.

There are two factors that can reinforce the contributions of vote; distal factors (historical factor and membership groups) and proximal factors (candidates and issues). Partisanship influences what the voters may talk to their family, colleagues, and even media.

b. Rational Choice Theory

Kenneth Arrow¹⁰ relates the rational choice of voters with economic parameters resources. It says “if companies seek to maximize profits and consumers act to maximize the utility, we can, then. Theorize in the sense that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote as the parties act to maximize electoral gains obtained from their political proposals”¹¹. It means the voters seek what the candidate will give to them maximally as a feedback if voters are willing to vote him.

This theory figures that both voters and political party act based on their interests. The voters’ choice does not show their ideology. They consider the acts of

⁹RuiAntunes, *Theoretical Model of Voting Behavior*, Escola Superior de Educação - Instituto Politécnico de Coimbra, 2010.

See at: http://www.exedrajournal.com/docs/N4/10C_Rui-Antunes_pp_145-170.pdf

¹⁰ Arrows, K. (1951). Social values and individual values. New York: John Willey & Sons. and Arrows, K. (1986). Rationality of self and others in economic system. The Journal of Business , 59 (4), S385-S399.

Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

the party. Besides that, voters tend to choose the closest party from voters' position and prefer one that has a bigger winning position rather than the opposition.

D. Hypothesis

Australia Labor Party implements women quota policy because it can be a good strategy for Labor Party to attract people especially women and also to implement the Labor's origin that always being a modern party which means not to be conservative.

E. Aims of the Research

This research aims at:

1. Understanding the origin of the Australian Labour Party as one of the biggest party in Australia.
2. Understanding the development of women, especially their role and position in both public and political life.
3. Understanding the reasons why the Australian Labor Party decides to implement women-quota policy.

F. Research Method

The research employs a deductive method which means that the theoretical frameworks and approaches are explored first then the hypothesis can be drawn. The hypothesis will be proven through the data and analysis.

The research is by collecting the data through library research in which the data are secondary sources. Therefore, all data are taken from books, scientific journals, scientific papers, electronic books, and newspapers whether from database websites, and other relevant data. It is to prove that the hypothesis is accurate and answering the main problem. Although this research uses secondary data, the author selects the accurate and checks the reliability of the data to accomplish the trustworthy research.

G. Scope of Research

This research focuses on answering the question of why the Australian Labor Party implements the women-quota policy by analysing and finding the reasons of the implementation of women-quota policy inside the party. The research starts from the establishment of Labor Party and the federation of Australia.

H. Organisation of Thesis

Chapter I gives a brief explanation about the paper. It explains the background of the research and the main problem that needs to be figured out. Besides that, it shows theoretical framework that will be used to solve the problem. It draws the hypothesis that will be proven in the next chapters. Furthermore, it also explains the aims, methods, and the scope of the research.

Chapter II elaborates the origin or historical background of the Australian Labor Party. It also explains about the development of the party since before Federal state established.

Chapter III gives an understanding about women-friendly policy and shows the women's position development in the government.

Chapter IV explains how women-quota policy is implemented in Australian Labour Party. It will give understanding about women changing position.

Chapter V is the conclusion that taken from chapter I to chapter IV.