ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP:
A ROLE FOR WOMEN MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS?

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Citizenship is a central concept in western political thinking and one that has attracted considerable attention in academic and political debates of recent years. Nevertheless, citizenship is an ambiguous term, encompassing a range of political, social and civic rights and duties. The discourse of citizenship is employed both by those who wish to justify the exclusion of certain groups from the polity and those who regard it as a useful tool for reformist politics. Feminist scholars have argued that citizenship is also a deeply gendered term and that the gender-neutral citizen is, in fact, defined by the life experiences of white, heterosexual middle-class men.

In this article I am concerned with women’s political citizenship and how the discourse of the rights and obligations of citizenship could inspire women to take a more active role as citizens. The need to restore vitality and trust to Australian political life is of concern to Australian social commentators and political theorists alike. The domination of political power at all three levels of government in Australia by white, middle-class males is evidence of a widespread deficit in democracy: current democratic practices are not meeting the challenge offered by modern, pluralistic societies. One solution offered has been to address the shortcoming of democracy, as it is currently practiced, by envisaging a more participatory democracy. I review these arguments for their applicability to local government practice, a site of political action that is often overlooked in political debate. Women councillors in Western Australia serve here as a point of reference in a discussion on the relevance of citizenship to women and the possible value of local government as a site for the democratisation of politics. I will argue that local government has the potential to play a role in promoting active citizenship and that women councillors, with their acknowledged background in community politics, are well placed to mediate such a process.

REDEFINING CITIZENSHIP: A ‘WOMAN-FRIENDLY’ THEORY?
The discourse of citizenship is a contested territory that yields many possible avenues for feminists to explore in relation to women’s citizenship. As Marie Leech points out, the complexity of citizenship ‘is almost overwhelming’, due to the dynamic nature of the concept. Citizenship has a long history, which draws on the dual traditions of the civil republicanism of classical Greece and the more recent tradition of liberal rights. The liberal tradition provides a focus on the rights of the individual, whilst the republican tradition emphasises the obligations of citizens. Feminist scholars have argued convincingly that women were not included in either of these traditional understandings of who could be a citizen. The history of women’s gradual inclusion as citizens has been marked by a series of exclusions based on race, class and religion, with women sometimes complicit in the exclusion of other women from citizenship rights. Many feminists dispute that women qualify as equal citizens even now in all aspects of citizenship. The structuring of social life in modern societies limits, to varying degrees, women’s ability to exercise fully their political, social and civic rights as citizens.
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Citizenship, as a legacy of these dual traditions of republicanism and liberalism, has been described by Ruth Lister as both a status and a practice.\textsuperscript{XIII} She suggests that we should adopt a useful synthesis of these two seemingly contradictory concepts. Citizenship as status concerns the rights of the individual, while citizenship as practice considers the interests of the wider community. Lister, quoting T. H. Marshall's classic treatise, \textit{Citizenship and Social Class}, states that 'if citizenship is to be invoked in the defence of rights, the corresponding duties of citizenship cannot be ignored'.\textsuperscript{XIII} The duties of political citizenship, however, have often been interpreted in narrow terms that Lister maintains should be reformulated.

All citizens have an obligation to fulfil their duties, but, in the past, the activities associated with public recognition of citizenship in western democracies have favoured men. The gendered nature of citizenship in Australia becomes visible in the masculinist models of the good citizen: the soldier, the statesman (including the mayor with chain), even the bronzed Aussie lifeguard. These role models have honoured male contributions in the public sphere while eliding the inequalities inherent in existing social relations that have prevented women from making equally visible contributions.

Political citizenship is central to definitions of citizenship for it is in the political arena that the boundaries of citizenship are determined. Restricting the definition of political citizenship to involvement in formal political life denies many women (and men) the opportunity to exercise their citizenship obligations. Lister, along with other feminist scholars, favours a broad definition of political participation that includes informal politics usually present in local contexts.\textsuperscript{XIV} Thus, many actions that women undertake to improve the quality of life in their local communities would qualify as citizenship practices. Lister's definition aims to be inclusive, while still accommodating the differences between women.

Although Lister promotes a broader definition of political participation, she does not deny the importance of ensuring women's presence in political institutions as a means of ensuring social and civil rights.\textsuperscript{XV} The arguments for an increased presence of women in government and public decision-making forums have been noted by Anne Phillips and Moira Rayner, amongst others. My focus is on the obligations of citizenship, on finding the balance in the other half of the 'rights and responsibilities' equation of citizenship. My aim is to flesh out Lister's concept of citizenship as practice, and apply it to local politics.

Lister argues that women can be only partial citizens while the separation of the public and private spheres still contributes to a gendered democracy.\textsuperscript{XVI} Australian society, like other western nations, is still organised through sexual difference. The sexual division of labour creates an unequal burden for women and restricts the time available to them to be active political citizens.\textsuperscript{XVII} The low number of women holding elected office is but one indicator of the difficulties in combining public and private responsibilities. The number of women elected representatives in Australian parliaments and councils appears to have plateaued around twenty five percent at the end of the twentieth century: 23.3 per cent for the federal House of Representatives; 22.8 per cent for the West Australian Legislative Assembly and

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20.6 per cent for the Legislative Council; 23.8 per cent of West Australian municipal councillors were women. The Senate recorded a marginally higher proportion of women at 28.9 per cent of all senators. Moreover, the majority of women representatives are still from white, middle class backgrounds and the cultural diversity of Australia’s population is not reflected in its governing bodies.

Dissatisfaction with liberal democracies’ failure to accommodate women as full citizens is well documented. Many feminists have expressed scepticism that liberal democracy will ever be able to accommodate women equally with men, due to the inequalities present in social relations. Others, like Anne Phillips, have expressed a qualified acceptance of liberal democracy’s potential to include women, albeit in the spirit of a politics of transition. In the short term, it is unlikely that our political institutions are going to change overnight and that for the moment, we must continue to expose the ways in which citizenship is gendered and racialised, while agitating for increased diversity among our elected representatives. However, in the longer term, if liberal democracy is an inadequate vehicle for hopes of a more democratic polity, the question we must consider is should feminists abandon liberalism or is there scope to refine liberal democracy to encompass feminist concerns of difference? Is there an alternative?

RADICAL DEMOCRACY, CIVIC REPUBLICANISM AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Liberal democracy is often criticised for its impoverished version of citizenship. The seeming triumph of liberalism as the dominant political mode, announced so confidently at the time of the revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, has been undermined by the subsequent re-emergence of national, ethnic and religious-based conflicts in former Communist countries. Chantal Mouffe argues that the demise of Marxism has created a vacuum for western liberal democracies that defined themselves in opposition to the Communist ‘other’. Liberal values of rationalism, individualism and universalism have not been able to assert themselves in the face of multiple conflicts along ethnic and religious lines. Mouffe regards the failure of liberal democracy to deal with antagonism and internal dissent as its central weakness, and one that stands in the way of envisaging a pluralistic democratic order. She argues that ‘this “agonistic pluralism” is constitutive of modern democracy’. A modern pluralistic society such as Australia will be characterised by competing interests. Rather than seeing conflicting interests as a threat, Mouffe maintains that we should realize that conflict represents the very condition of existence of such democracy.

Mouffe describes her concept of democracy as ‘a project of “radical and plural democracy”’... [which] will be more receptive to the multiplicity of voices that a pluralist society encompasses and to the complexity of the power structure that this network of differences implies’. She argues that continual stability would mean an end to politics and ethics, because it would signal a stranglehold by the dominant group. A consensus can only exist, she insists, as a temporary stabilization of power and ‘it will always entail some form of exclusion’. Viewed in this way, conflict becomes a sign of a
healthy democracy as long as it is conflict managed within the rules that respect the right of the opponent to defend ideas and to accept the majority vote. Mouffe's vision offers a mode of political behaviour in which marginalised groups would be encouraged to engage. Politics would be viewed more as a process of constant negotiation, and we must recognise that the false universalisms of past decades, comfortable as they were for some, have worn out. Citizens would be encouraged to engage actively in debate, while recognising this process as the strength of the democratic process.

Acknowledging that conflict (in a managed environment) is necessary can be very liberating. Radical democrats and civic republicans alike however, add another proviso: the political sphere must be revitalised. Their vision also requires a different conception of politics: the pursuit of the political should be considered as the ultimate happiness. As I have already noted, however, how the political is defined in this context is crucial, given that much former political activity has relied on male political actors dependent on the support of women to attend to their domestic needs and responsibilities.

Contemporary political life in western nations is not usually characterised by participation but by apathy and alienation. Radical democrats claim that the lack of an ethic of community interest that transcends narrow, individual interests has destroyed the belief of many marginalised people in the value of their citizenship. The benefits of citizenship do not seem to them to be equally distributed. Marginalised citizens become disenchanted and withdraw their support from the political process, failing even to exercise their right to vote. To some extent, compulsory voting in Australia at state and federal elections disguises the extent to which people here are alienated from political life. Where voting is voluntary, as in municipal elections in Western Australia, the extent of apathy becomes evident in voter turnouts as low as seven per cent in some metropolitan municipalities. In part, however, apathy at local level has also been a reflection of attitudes to local government.

Local politics are often dismissed as parochial and 'politically incomplete' by political theorists whose reasoning is based on a traditional definition of the political. As I have argued, the traditional concept of the political does not meld well with complex modern societies. A broader definition of the 'political' would include political activity by women and men, that take place at a local level. Any definition of active political citizenship that does not recognise grassroots community politics as fulfilling the obligations of citizenship will inevitably exclude the actions of most citizens. Adrian Oldfield, writing in the civic republic tradition, supports a definition of political action that promotes community interest above individual interest. He notes that 'to a large extent [citizens] will choose where to be active and, when and where they are active, they will create a sense of community. Community is found, therefore, not in formal organisations, but wherever there are individuals who take the practice of citizenship seriously'.

If an active participatory concept of citizenship is to be adopted, it makes sense to suggest that it will have to be fostered at a local level. Here, local government is well-placed to take a
leading role, situated as it is in the formal system of government, but with strong links with community organisations. Successful municipal councillors are those who retain networks of support among local businesses, community and sporting groups. A proactive role on the part of local government could foster and support citizenship initiatives. Nor should we assume that all the issues dealt with at local level are necessarily parochial: they may be a local manifestation of an issue of national or global significance. Then, local politics are less easily dismissed as irrelevant, and participation can be encouraged and valued.

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Increasing participation remains a challenge when lack of time is often cited as a reason why more women chose informal political actions over those that demand long-term commitments of time and energy. Changing socio-economic conditions of the 1980s and 1990s have resulted in more Australian women in paid employment. Research is indicating that both men and women in full-time employment are working longer hours than workers did in the 1970s. Those who previously might have been active in a range of community organisations, generally have very limited time for activism. To promote participatory politics in the twenty-first century risks being accused of being tainted with the utopianism of an earlier era. The solution is not to abandon the notion of a more active citizenship, but to recognise and challenge the hidden costs of current labour practices to our democratic system.

Amanda Sinclair noted in her study of Victorian women councillors that participation in local government offers advantages to women who wish a more formal engagement with political activism but are ‘time-challenged’. A major attraction, especially in the West Australian context, is that it is local. State and federal parliamentarians in Western Australian often face extended periods away from home due to geographic distances. Some municipal councillors in the Pilbara and the Kimberley have to travel considerable distances to council meetings, sometimes even needing to travel by plane, but they can usually return in the same day. Women councillors can therefore meet their family and other work commitments more easily than female parliamentarians, who often have to rely on supportive partners or family members for domestic assistance, especially if they have dependents.

Women nominating for municipal councils face a less daunting task than seeking election to parliament. Council elections rarely attract the level of media attention that parliamentary elections do, and political party influence is less overt in local government in Western Australia. Therefore women candidates do not face the ordeal of pre-selection, and the accompanying gate-keeping practices that can exclude women. Winning election to local government is often regarded as a means of gaining valuable experience for a future attempt at election to state or federal government. Women councillors learn how to handle the media to promote themselves and their message, how to manage the protocols and procedures of debate, including financial matters, how to network, how to juggle public and private demands and the myriad other tasks demanded.
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of a woman in elected office. From time to time, local government departments or lobby groups promote training and resources to encourage more women to try for local government election, as in Western Australian in the early 1990s and the ‘Half by 2000’ campaign in Victoria.

A role in local government will enable a woman to utilise the networks of support that she has developed in her immediate community. In the past, men’s roles in the public domain often gave them an advantage in networking support but many women now find that their multiple roles as workers/careers/community activists/sportspeople give them many opportunities to network. Women councillors I interviewed throughout Western Australia observed that their support networks came from diverse groups, because the voluntary vote meant that they could not rely on all members of a potential support group to vote. Therefore, women councillors found that they had to develop their links with community groups constantly and encourage constituents to support council proposals, especially if they drew their support from community rather than professional networks.

This two-way process helped to involve constituents in local actions. For example, one Aboriginal woman councillor in the north west of Western Australia co-ordinated the shire, state agencies and community groups to liaise about environmental health issues in the region, an issue of critical importance. Positive outcomes included the funding of an additional environmental health officer. Another councillor noted that her constituents were outraged to learn (wrongly) that council supported sandmining in their municipality. She organised the protestors into a community group to lobby state government against sandmining, and supported them through local government networks. These sorts of local actions demonstrate active citizenship, but they are individual efforts. I want now to examine a broader initiative that might stand as a model for the role that I am proposing for local government in promoting active citizenship.

PUTTING THEORY INTO PRACTICE: LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Could local government respond to the challenge to foster a more active, engaged citizenship from its often somewhat apathetic constituents? How might local government encourage women (and men) to fulfill their citizenship obligations? Can we devise inclusive processes, while remaining alert to exclusionary practices and working to overcome them? In this section I discuss some examples of active citizenship that emerged from interviews with West Australian women councillors. I include one policy initiative of state government, implemented in rural Western Australia, that had the potential to attract women not normally involved in political action at local government level. It serves as a good example of what could be achieved if encouraging participation was the goal, and not a by-product of the process, as it was in this instance.

Rural Australia is one group who feel themselves particularly disadvantaged by the effects of the economic rationalist policies of recent federal and state governments. The rural
councillor is well-placed to notice the impact of the loss of particular services because there is not the same duplication of services as is often found in the city. Moreover rural councillors have close contact with their constituents in the course of daily life.\textsuperscript{XLV}

Rural women councillors are therefore well placed to assess the potential of projects to enhance democracy at local level and to gauge their value in encouraging participation from women, who are even more under-represented on rural councils than they are on urban councils. Male councillors remain the majority of rural councillors in Western Australia, so any initiative to increase participation by women broadens the decision-making base in rural communities.\textsuperscript{XLVI} There are particular constraints operating in small communities that can work against women standing for council, such as entrenched hierarchies of male authority linked to property ownership, the reluctance to stand against a male relative, the perception that only long-term (property) members of the community will gain electoral support and enduring patriarchal attitudes about women's role as private, not public, citizens. Any initiative that cases the process by allowing a gradual involvement can make the thought of taking the next step and standing for council less threatening.

One such initiative in Western Australia was the Townscape project. The program was funded by the Western Australian Department of Planning and Urban Development, now the Ministry for Planning. The goal of Townscape was to revitalise both physical environments and community spirit. A townscape is defined as 'a landscape of human settlement ... townscape improvements are designed to generate feelings of care, respect, pride and confidence in the physical appearance of a town or suburb by emphasising the unique identity and 'sense of place' that each locality has'.\textsuperscript{XLVII}

Townscape involved encouraging diverse groups within country communities to meet and assess ways of improving their town's physical environment so that benefits would flow on to enhance community and business confidence.\textsuperscript{XLVIII} The consultative process produced an analysis of the community, generally called the 'character study' and led to a plan for future development, which was the 'townscape plan'.\textsuperscript{XLIX} Funding was made available through council or special grants from state government.

Annette Sellars, a councillor from the Northampton Shire council, argued that Townscape performed a vital function, in that it provided an avenue for women to become involved formally in the planning process for their community without having to make the commitment of standing for council. She observed that 'there have been some excellent initiatives taken. Townscape is one of them, the major one for this region, that really did provide genuine access for community generally and women specifically. There was very, very strong women's participation...\textsuperscript{XL} Through their involvement in Townscape, women were able to gain the knowledge and experience of local government that might give them the confidence to nominate for council at a later date. Another benefit that Sellars noted was that participants were able to see the results of their efforts immediately, and were therefore encouraged to maintain their
commitment to the implementation of a long-term plan to improve their community. Councils allocated funding as soon as the plan was approved, so residents were assured of action on their suggestions. Often in the past, during the eight years she had spent on council, Sellars had experienced initiatives stymied for want of broad-based support or relegated to endless committees. Her enthusiasm for Townscape stemmed from the speed with which it was able to be implemented, so that the enthusiasm of participants was not lost in the all-too-often grindingly slow processes of local government decision-making. This process exemplified good local government for this councillor. In her words, 'that's local government: it's access plus effectiveness'.

Over fifty towns in Western Australia participated in the initiative during the early 1990s. For some towns, Townscape provided an incentive to undertake measures to reverse the economic stagnation and declining population experienced by many rural communities. The town of Bruce Rock is one example of such a reversal. Bruce Rock's population had declined by 39 per cent between 1967 and 1992, at which point the council decided to offer a free block of land to anyone wanting to build and work in the town. Their proposal was publicised by the *Sunday Times* newspaper, Channel 7's 'A Real Life' and Channel 9's 'A Current Affair'. Within two years, over thirty blocks had been allocated and a number of new houses and businesses were constructed. The new businesses have helped diversify the town's economy, which was predominately based on agriculture and vulnerable to downturns in agricultural prices. At the same time, the Townscape plan included a revamp of the main commercial area, co-ordinated by council, to create a good impression to entice both investors and passing tourists to visit. The success of the Shire of Bruce Rock in stimulating economic growth has made them a focus of other rural councils keen to attract people to their towns and councillors have made the pilgrimage to Bruce Rock to learn about the initiative at first hand. The successful implementation of Townscape in this instance is a good example of local knowledge being employed effectively to create positive change for the whole community, under the leadership of local government.

Despite the positive results that stemmed from Townscape, the program was axed by the Liberal-National Party state coalition government in 1995. There was no formal assessment of the program, which might have revealed the valuable role it played in bringing more people, and especially women, directly into the decision-making process. An assessment could have formed a basis for future initiatives aimed at encouraging women's participation in rural local government. Without that assessment, programs like Townscape will not be recognised as having the potential to democratise local government or be valued for their secondary effect of inspiring women's contribution. Sellars reflected on Townscape's demise: 'I really do feel that programs like Townscape, if they are not to be resurrected, should at least be being assessed for what they have shown. And that, I think, is the most disillusioning thing for me, to see something like that [cut] which was so effective and gave not just women but so many people a voice - but women in particular..."
Major programs such as Townscape require state government support, but there are many examples of individual councils taking the lead in promoting active citizenship, even in defiance of state and federal governments, as in the keeping of 'sorry books' for citizens to record an apology to Aboriginal people. Several West Australian councils have developed statements of commitment or comprehensive agreements with Indigenous peoples in their area. The Albany Town Council in the south-west of Western Australia was one of the few councils to have an Aboriginal woman councillor in the mid-1990s. Carol Petterson encouraged her fellow councillors to form a consultation committee with local Indigenous people. Her strategy was to involve another councillor in order to raise his awareness: 'he does all the work and I endorse it ... so it's not just me as the black activist all the time'. One result was the construction of an 'entry statement' at their shire boundary to recognise the long history of Nyungar presence. The Aboriginal flag is flown alongside the Australian flag at the monument honouring Aboriginal presence. The Town of Albany's efforts won them an award for reconciliation. Despite local government's reputation as a conservative force hostile to native title processes, individual councillors are showing leadership on the issue of reconciliation, a phenomenon that has been recognised in other states by the foremost historian of Aboriginal Australia, Henry Reynolds.

At times, women councillors have been called upon to negotiate conflict in communities. Jenny Wright, a former shire president of the Bridgetown-Greenbushes Shire Council, was asked by the council to oversee an accord process between conservationists and timber-industry supporters in her town. The logging of old-growth forests has been a very heated controversy in Western Australia in the late 1990s, and Wright was reluctant to become drawn into open conflict, but she did agree and was successful in getting all parties to negotiate an understanding. The pivotal role of local government in the maintenance of community spirit in beleaguered country towns throughout Australia is often undervalued.

Citizenship theory cannot be abstracted from its praxis if there is to be any real hope of revitalising political life in Australia. Townscape offered one practical example of women on council and from a range of community backgrounds working together to improve the quality of life in their community, thereby exercising their citizenship obligations. Furthermore, in the daily workings of local government there are many instances where this interaction is replicated. Councils have representatives on various community committees, as well as state and federal government working parties and committees. If we view these activities as legitimate citizenship practices, the range of political actions is extended and we can contest the myth that women are not interested in politics. We must, however, insist that these contributions are equally valued and do not form the basis of a marginalised citizenship for women.

Citizenship theory has real implications for women's lives. Too often in the past citizenship's gender-blindness has perpetuated a gender bias that marginalised women as citizens. I have argued here that for women to be considered as equal political citizens,
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we need a redefinition of citizenship. A new definition would take account of social inequalities that restrict women’s ability to engage in the activities formerly upheld as fulfilling citizenship obligations. Informal participation by women and men in local political actions for the benefit of their communities would be valued, just as are roles in formal politics. At the same time, recognising citizenship’s potential as a tool of social and political exclusion, we should be alert to exclusionary practices. Women in their diversity must be encouraged and assisted to be present at all levels of informal and formal politics.

Local government, located as it is in the formal system of governance yet with strong links to community organisations, is well placed to encourage women’s participation. I acknowledge that local government in Western Australia is an institution with a history of conservatism and a masculinist culture. Most municipal councillors would not regard local government as a site for radical democratic politics or feminist action. This inherent conservatism, however, should not detract from the practice of those women councillors who are encouraging more active participation by women and other minority groups, and are thereby assisting the democratisation of local politics. Nor should the conservatism of some councillors blind other citizens to the potential role of local government in achieving the goal of active citizenship in a participatory democracy.

NOTES

1 Thirty interviews with women councillors throughout Western Australia were conducted for this research, which formed the basis of a doctoral thesis. Judy Skene (2000) Engendering Local Authority: women municipal councillors in Western Australia 1920-1999, PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Western Australia. Interviews were solicited through an introductory survey and then chosen randomly but with the aim of gaining a sample that was representative of the urban/rural divide and WA’s geographical diversity. Interview tapes remain with the author.

II In Australia, the Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights at Deakin University, Victoria, has compiled the Australian Citizenship Database, available at http://www2.deakin.edu.au/acd/


V See, for example, Chantal Mouffe (1993) Feminism, Citizenship and Radical

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Marie Leech (1994) Women, the State and Citizenship: "are women in the building or in a separate annex?", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 19, p. 89.


Liberal feminists might argue that legal rights have given women equality but other feminists point to the systemic privileging of men in public life as evidence that this is not so. See Phillips, *Engendering Democracy*, pp. 2-3.


Of course, there is a constant interaction between the rights and obligations of citizenship, and it would be artificial to try to separate the two aspects completely.


A survey in Australia in 1996-97 of couples with at least one child under 15 years at home revealed that men considered that on average they spent 23.5 hours a week on child-care and 8.8 hours on housework, while women averaged 57.9 hours per week on childcare and 24.2 hours on housework. Janeen Baxter (1998) Moving towards Equality?: questions of change and equality in household work patterns, in Moira Gatens and Alison Mackinnon (Eds) *Gender and Institutions: welfare, work and citizenship*, p. 63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).


Carole Pateman’s analysis of the gender-bias at the heart of liberal philosophy has

Anne Phillips has written extensively on feminism and democracy. See, in particular, her essay Must Feminists give up on Liberal Democracy? in *Democracy and Difference*.

For example, the 1998 Constitutional Convention was an opportunity for both women and Aboriginal people to have their presence recognised in any revision of the Australian Constitution. Women delegates agitated for gender equality to be included in a preamble to the Constitution without success. A watered-down acknowledgement of the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders by virtue of their status as Australia's Indigenous people was included in the proposed preamble, but the preamble was rejected by the Australian public in the referendum on 6 November 1999. For an account of the Constitutional Convention see Clare Thompson (1999) *Women at the Constitutional Convention: small steps - great strides*, in Crawford and Skene, *Women and Citizenship*, pp. 204-11.

Francis Fukuyama (1989) argued in a well-publicised article, *The End of History? The National Interest*, that the political successes of liberalism were such that he considered the debate against alternatives won and pronounced the end of history.


*Ibid*.


Lister, *Citizenship*, p. 133.

A review of a new study of working conditions in Australia by the Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training (ACIRRT) found that the majority of Australians are working longer hours than they did ten years ago and face more stress and declining job security. Stephen Long (1998) *This Wofeful Working Life*, *Australian Financial Review*, 7-8 November, p. 30, reviewing ACIRRT, *Australia at Work: just managing?*, (Melbourne: Prentice Hall).

Phillips, *Democracy and Difference*, p. 3.


(Hargreen Publishing: Melbourne).

government in Australia, in Power, Wettenhall and Halligan (Eds) Local Government

Marian Sawyer and Marian Simms (1993) A Woman's Place: women and politics

230 (Viking: Ringwood, VIC.).

See, for example, Western Australia. Department of Local Government (1992)
Women in Local Government: achieving a balance, (Perth: Government Printer) and for
Victoria, Chloe Saltau (2000) Gender push as local councils go to polls, Age 19 March
2000.

Sinclair, Getting the Numbers, pp. 73-75.

Interview with Josie Farrer, 4 July 1996.

Interview with Carole Rankin, 12 February 1996.

The withdrawal of banking services from country towns is one example of a decline
in services that has a much wider effect than the inconvenience of having to bank
elsewhere. Reserve Bank figures indicate that 55 bank branches closed in Western
Australia in 1997. The Western Australian wheatbelt town of Perenjori is an example.
Residents are forced to drive 40kms to neighbouring Morawa to bank after the closure of
the only bank. Once there, they tended to shop as well, adding further hardship to
Perenjori businesses. The Shire of Perenjori is investigating setting up a joint venture
with the Bendigo Bank of Victoria, where the community meet the $200 000 cost of
infrastructure and local people staff the branch. Members of the community would need
to commit to transferring their existing accounts to the bank. Liz Tickner (1998)
Wheatbelt Town eyes bank pact, West Australian, 9 November.

Women in Rural Australia, p. 62 (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press).

Rural shire councillors are the largest group of councillors (compared to
metropolitan towns, metropolitan shires, metropolitan cities, country cities and country
towns) but have the lowest percentage of women – 22.9% in 1997, when overall women
were 24.8% of all councillors. Western Australia. Department of Local Government

Department of Planning and Urban Development (1989) Townscape Promotion in
Western Australia: townscape notes, (Perth: Government Printer).

Edward Andrae (1994) Townscape: an approach to creating a vision for your
town*, Councils West, winter issue, p. 9.

Interview with Annette Sellers, 27 June 1996. This interview was one of 30
interviews with Western Australian women municipal councillors and former councillors
conducted by the author as research for a doctoral thesis, (2000) Engendering Local
Authority: women municipal councillors in Western Australia 1920-1999, PhD thesis,
University of Western Australia. Interviewees were chosen from municipalities.
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throughout Western Australia and to reflect a range of experience, from long-serving councillors to more recently elected, from more than 90 women councillors who replied to a brief survey and request for interviewees. Interviewing required travelling more than 8000 kms throughout the state. Tapes remain in possession of the author.

Ibid.


Ibid., p.13.


Ibid.

Interview with Carol Petterson, 6 April 1996. Tape in possession of author.

Ibid.

Henry Reynolds, Fred Alexander Fellowship Lecture, University of Western Australia, 8 August 2001.