

s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 16 June 2017 1:10 PM  
**To:** Angus, Chris  
**Subject:** REGISTRATIONS CLOSE TODAY - Minister for Defence addresses MRC's National Security Network



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

## MRC UPDATE



---

### EVENT REMINDER

Dear Chris

This is a friendly reminder that registrations for next Wednesday's National Security Network event with Minister for Defence, **Senator the Hon Marise Payne** will close **COB today 16 June 2017**.

Minister Payne will be discussing the key developments since the release of the 2016 Defence White Paper and the initiatives which have been implemented to build Australia's defence capability.

I hope to see you there.

#### **Cost**

**Free** for National Security Network invitees (please select the 'NSN' members only' category when making your booking)

#### **Registration is mandatory**

Click **HERE** or the invitation below to book. Please register **ONE** person at a time.

Menzies Research Centre  
National Security Network



Senator The Hon. **Marise Payne**  
Minister for Defence

BOOK  
HERE

WEDNESDAY 21 JUNE 2017

6:30PM - 8:30PM

MAIN COMMITTEE ROOM,  
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and drinks*

### Contact

For further enquiries please contact Kay Gilchrist at [events@menziesrc.org](mailto:events@menziesrc.org) or  
(02) 6273 5608

Kind regards

Nick Cater  
Executive Director

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### Contact Information



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RG Menzies House



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[info@menziesrc.org](mailto:info@menziesrc.org)



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, 13 June 2017 5:24 PM  
**To:** Angus, Chris  
**Subject:** INVITATION: Senator The Hon Marise Payne MP addresses MRC's National Security Network



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

## MRC UPDATE



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### New National Security Network Event

Dear Chris

I am delighted to announce that the Minister for Defence, **Senator the Hon Marise Payne MP** will be addressing our National Security Network event in Canberra on **21 June 2017**.

Minister Payne will be discussing the key developments since the release of the 2016 Defence White Paper and the initiatives which have been implemented to build Australia's defence capability.

The National Security Network is an initiative by the MRC that seeks to engage politicians, defence, and national security professionals on Australian and defence security matters.

The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and refreshments. I do hope you will be able to join me.

#### **Cost**



**Free** for National Security Network invitees (please select the 'NSN' members only' category when making your booking)

#### **Registration is mandatory**

Click **HERE** or the invitation below to book. Please register **ONE** person at a time. Due to security pass arrangements at Parliament House, registrations **close Friday 16 June 2017. Spaces are limited.**



Menzies Research Centre  
National Security Network



Senator The Hon. **Marise Payne**  
Minister for Defence

**BOOK  
HERE**

**WEDNESDAY 21 JUNE 2017**  
**6:30PM - 8:30PM**

**MAIN COMMITTEE ROOM,  
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA**

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and drinks*

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(02) 6273 5608

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



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**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Monday, 16 January 2017 12:59 PM  
**To:** Angus, Chris  
**Subject:** [DATE CORRECTION] INVITATION: MRC National Security Network Forum with the Hon Christopher Pyne MP




**MENZIES**  
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# MRC UPDATE



MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE  
 NATIONAL SECURITY NETWORK SERIES



**Ready, set, launch:**  
**Propelling defence materiel to global markets**

with

**The Hon Christopher Pyne MP**

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA  
 14 FEBRUARY 2017




Image credit: Department of Defence

"Ready, set, launch: Propelling defence materiel to global markets"

Dear Chris

Last Friday, you will have received an invitation to attend our upcoming National Security Network event with the Minister for Defence Industry, the Hon Christopher Pyne MP. As some of you may have already noticed, there was some inconsistency surrounding the date of the event. We confirm that the event will be held next month, on **Tuesday, 14 February 2017**. Apologies for any confusion this may have caused! Thank you to those who have already booked.

Minister Pyne will update us on the implementation of the Defence Industry Policy Statement and on the importance, and potential of the defence industry sector to our economy, technology, and nation.

The Minister will also speak on the promotion of export markets for our world class materiel: just the first step in a Defence Export Strategy currently under development that will create new markets overseas and help boost the Australian economy.

The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and refreshments. I do hope you will be able to join me.

**Date**

Tuesday, 14 February 2017

**Registration is mandatory**

Click [HERE](#) to book

Guests welcome - please register one person at a time. Due to security pass arrangements at Parliament House, registrations **close February 9. Spaces are limited.**

**Cost**

Free for National Security Network invitees (just select the "NSN members only" category when making your booking)

**Time**

5:30pm arrival

7:30pm finish

Please allow ample time to complete the Parliament House security process as formalities begin promptly at 5.30pm.

**Venue**

Main Committee Room, Parliament House Canberra

**Catering**

Refreshments and networking from 6.30-7.30pm

**Contact**

For further enquiries please contact Kay Gilchrist at [events@menziesrc.org](mailto:events@menziesrc.org) or (02) 6273 5608

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards






Nick Cater  
Executive Director

---

This event is kindly supported by

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**From:** Nick Cater <nick.cater@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 13 January 2017 5:07 PM  
**To:** Angus, Chris  
**Subject:** INVITATION: MRC National Security Network Forum with the Hon Christopher Pyne MP




**MENZIES**  
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**MRC UPDATE**



MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE  
 NATIONAL SECURITY NETWORK SERIES



**Ready, set, launch:  
 Propelling defence materiel to global markets**

with  
**The Hon Christopher Pyne MP**

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA  
 14 FEBRUARY 2017

Image credit: Department of Defence

"Ready, set, launch: Propelling defence materiel to global markets"

Dear Chris

I am delighted to announce that the Minister for Defence Industry, the **Hon Christopher Pyne MP** will be addressing the National Security Network in February.

Minister Pyne will update us on the implementation of the Defence Industry Policy Statement and on the importance, and potential of the defence industry sector to our economy, technology, and nation.

The Minister will also speak on the promotion of export markets for our world class materiel: just the first step in a Defence Export Strategy currently under development that will create new markets overseas and help boost the Australian economy.

The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and refreshments. I do hope you will be able to join me.

**Date**

Tuesday, 14 November 2017

**Cost**

**Free** for National Security Network invitees (just select the "NSN members only" category when making your booking)

**Time**

5:30pm arrival

7:30pm finish

Please allow ample time to complete the Parliament House security process as formalities begin promptly at 5.30pm.

**Venue**

Main Committee Room, Parliament House Canberra

**Catering**

Refreshments and networking from 6.30-7.30pm

**Registration is mandatory**

Click [HERE](#) to book

Guests welcome - please register one person at a time. Due to security pass arrangements at Parliament House, registrations **close February 9. Spaces are limited.**

**Contact**

For further enquiries please contact Kay Gilchrist at [events@menziesrc.org](mailto:events@menziesrc.org) or (02) 6273 5608

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



Nick Cater





Executive Director

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**From:** Nick Cater <nick.cater@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 13 January 2017 5:10 PM  
**To:** Connick, Lynwen  
**Subject:** INVITATION: MRC National Security Network Forum with the Hon Christopher Pyne MP




**MENZIES**  
 RESEARCH CENTRE

**MRC UPDATE**



MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE  
 NATIONAL SECURITY NETWORK SERIES



**Ready, set, launch:**  
**Propelling defence materiel to global markets**

with  
**The Hon Christopher Pyne MP**

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA  
 14 FEBRUARY 2017




Image credit: Department of Defence

"Ready, set, launch: Propelling defence materiel to global markets"

Dear Lynwen

I am delighted to announce that the Minister for Defence Industry, the Hon Christopher Pyne MP will be addressing the National Security Network in February.

Minister Pyne will update us on the implementation of the Defence Industry Policy Statement and on the importance, and potential of the defence industry sector to our economy, technology, and nation.

The Minister will also speak on the promotion of export markets for our world class materiel: just the first step in a Defence Export Strategy currently under development that will create new markets overseas and help boost the Australian economy.

The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and refreshments. I do hope you will be able to join me.







Nick Cater  
Executive Director

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s22

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**From:** Kay Gilchrist <Kay.Gilchrist@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 17 March 2017 4:27 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** MRC report (under embargo)  
**Attachments:** MRC Gender & Politics Report 2017 Update (web).pdf

Dear s22,

As requested, please find attached the MRC's *Gender and Politics: 2017 Update* noting it is embargoed until release tomorrow.

I'm sure Nick Cater would be happy to field any questions. His mobile is 0422 005 842.

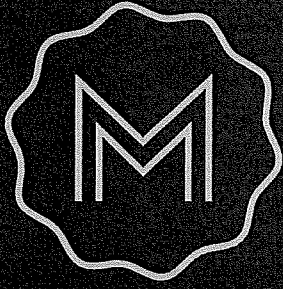
Kind regards,

Kay

**Kay Gilchrist**  
Deputy Director  
Menzies Research Centre

M 0419 850 203  
E [kay.gilchrist@menziesrc.org](mailto:kay.gilchrist@menziesrc.org)  
PO Box 6091 Kingston ACT 2604 AUSTRALIA

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MENZIES  
RESEARCH CENTRE

# Gender and politics: 2017 Update

A Menzies Research Centre  
Discussion Paper

—  
Nick Cater and Nicolle Flint



**Date**

Tuesday, 14 November 2017

**Cost**

Free (for Platinum subscribers)

\$5.00 (for Gold and Silver subscribers)

\$25.00 (for non-subscribers)

To take advantage of securing discounted tickets to this and future events held by the MRC, join our growing community of subscribers. To sign up or for more information on other subscriber benefits offered, [click here](#).

**Time**

5:30pm arrival

7:30pm finish

Please allow ample time to complete the Parliament House security process as formalities begin promptly at 5.30pm.

**Venue**

Main Committee Room, Parliament House Canberra

**Catering**

Refreshments and networking from 6.30-7.30pm

**Registration is mandatory**

Click [HERE](#) to book

Guests welcome - please register one person at a time. Due to security pass arrangements at Parliament House, registrations **close February 9. Spaces are limited.**

**Contact**

For further enquiries please contact Kay Gilchrist at [events@menziesrc.org](mailto:events@menziesrc.org) or (02) 6273 5608

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



## **Gender and politics: An Update**

A report by the Menzies Research Centre

The authors

Nick Cater

Nicolle Flint

The authors are grateful for the assistance of Professor Ian McAllister in analysing the Australian electoral survey results for them.

Published by

The Menzies Research Centre Limited

R G Menzies House

Cnr Blackall and Macquarie Streets

BARTON ACT 2600

PO Box 6091

KINGSTON ACT 2604

Phone: 02 6273 5608

Email: [info@menziesrc.org](mailto:info@menziesrc.org)

Portal: [www.menziesrc.org](http://www.menziesrc.org)

Designed by Vanessa Schimizzi

Cover picture: NSW Premier the Hon Gladys Berejiklian MP

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*'There is no reason why a qualified woman should not sit in Parliament  
or on the Bench or in a professorial Chair or preach from the pulpit,  
or if you like, command an army in the field.'*

- Hon R G Menzies KC MP, 1943'



This paper updates a report released in 2015. It attempts to provide empirical evidence of the extent and nature of the gender imbalance in politics, discuss its consequences and construct an intellectual and philosophical framework to address the disparity based on Liberal principles.

This paper draws from the Menzies Research Centre's Gender and Politics Forum held in Melbourne on 26 June 2015. It was presented to the federal Women's Committee Conference in Adelaide on 15-16 August 2015, convened to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the establishment of the Committee.

---



### **Nick Cater**

Is Executive Director of the Menzies Research Centre and writes for *The Australian*. He is author of *The Lucky Culture* (Harper Collins 2013). He edited *The Howard Factor* (MUP 2006) and *A Better Class of Sunset: The collected works of Christopher Pearson* (Connor Court 2014).

---



### **Nicolle Flint**

Was elected in 2016 as the federal Member for Boothby. She is the first female to hold the seat since it was established in 1903. Nicolle previously worked as a columnist with News Corp and Fairfax, as a policy adviser to Liberal leaders and the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. She has held senior leadership roles in the Liberal Party of Australia (SA Division).

---





PRIME MINISTER

**MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER**

**GENDER AND POLITICS REPORT**

We've come a long way since Dame Enid Lyons sat alone in the Menzies Cabinet, the first woman to be elected to the Australian House of Representatives.

Today, our nation can celebrate the work and example of many distinguished female politicians who, through courage and conviction, proved they too had a right to contribute to the future of our nation.

The Coalition Government is proud to have pioneered a number of firsts for women in leadership and government, including the Ministerial appointments of Julie Bishop for Foreign Affairs, and Marise Payne for Defence.

The swearing in of Susan Kiefel as the first Chief Justice of the High Court, and the appointment of Frances Adamson as Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade last year, were also landmark achievements.

There is no greater enthusiast than me for seeing more women in positions of power and influence in parliament, in ministries right across the country. I am pleased the Liberal Party has committed to a target of 50 per cent female representation at elections by 2025 to help make this happen.

While we celebrate these achievements, we know the Liberal Party must do better – especially at a time when we know how critical gender equality is to the economic and social progress of our nation.

We must keep striving to ensure women are on an equal footing with men and have greater opportunities to participate in the corridors of power.

This report is a timely reminder of the work still to be done, and I thank the Menzies Research Centre for its recommendations to achieve change.

As we consider the example set by women like Dame Enid Lyons who forged a path to greater equality and representation in politics, we too dedicate our efforts to extend these opportunities to all women today and into the future.

The Hon Malcolm Turnbull MP  
Prime Minister of Australia  
9 March 2017

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# Revisions for updated edition

We have revised and expanded this edition to take account of developments since our original report was released in 2015.

Where possible, graphs and tables have been revised to include the result of the 2016 Federal Election and changes in state and territory parliaments.

The 2016 election information includes data on the percentage of female candidates and examines the margin by which women hold seats.

Our conclusions on the selection of candidates and voting patterns at the 2016 election have led to two new recommendations which can be found in the final section of the report.

# Preface

The response to the first edition of the Menzies Research Centre Report *Gender and Politics* was surprising and encouraging. Liberal Party divisional members and the parliamentary parties have absorbed the facts and risen to the challenge of redressing the party's gender imbalance.

There are no quick fixes, as we acknowledged in our 2015 report. Nevertheless, there have been some significant signs of progress in the past 18 months.

In January Gladys Berejiklian became the first Liberal woman to lead a state government when she was sworn in as the 45th Premier of New South Wales. As the daughter of a boilermaker and a nurse who migrated to Australia, Ms Berejiklian's story is a case study in Liberal empowerment. It derives from the Liberal conviction that everyone should have the opportunity to be their best selves, regardless of their background or circumstances.

The Liberal Party fielded a record number of female candidates at the July 2016 Federal Election, although the swing against the Coalition reduced its ranks of women MPs and senators. Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull appointed Senator Marise Payne as Australia's first female Defence Minister in September 2015. Senator Payne's appointment is yet another milestone to add to the long list of Liberal female 'firsts' catalogued in Margaret Fitzherbert's book *So Many Firsts*.<sup>2</sup>

There is a determined mood in the party to build on these achievements. Elected representatives, party office holders and members have studied the evidence presented in our report and its recommendations. The rejection of quotas is widespread; a top-down, bureaucratic mandate that is anathema to Liberal values and the Liberal conception of democracy.

Our recommendation that the party should learn from the corporate sector by adopting reportable targets that serve as benchmarks has been broadly accepted. Importantly, we believe that the category distinction between quotas and targets is better understood. The principle behind targets is explored later in this report.

As outlined in the previous report, there is a pressing electoral imperative for increasing the number of female Liberal candidates and elected representatives. We need to present voters with candidates who best present the Liberal case for government and deliver when elected. As evidence from the corporate sector shows this means selecting a team with a balance of men and women. We must do so to recapture the vote of women. The statistics in this report again show the Liberal Party is no longer the Party with which women naturally place their vote; the electorate advantage we enjoyed for decades with women voters has disappeared.

The data we collated on the historical decline in the Liberal female vote made a compelling case for structural change and honest discussion with the Liberal membership.

Members were similarly interested to see membership and party leadership statistics never before presented and collated which indicated the issues to be addressed if we want more female candidates available for pre-selection and thus more female Members of Parliament.

The attention given to these two elements in the report have reinforced its central messages: the gender imbalance must be addressed as a matter of vital importance and change must come from the grass roots up. The imbalance in the parliamentary party room cannot be corrected without addressing the imbalance in the broader party membership.

It has been particularly encouraging, therefore, to witness the practical, concrete steps taken by Young Liberals, Federal Executive, State Divisions and our Women's Councils. The Federal Executive under President Richard Alston commissioned its own report into improving the numbers of women in Parliament.

The Federal Young Liberals under the guidance of its 2016 president Claire Chandler have established a female-focused taskforce to engage with young liberal women. The South Australian Division guided by President Steve Murray reports to each State Executive and State Council meeting on the numbers of women members and leaders.

The stories of more and more male parliamentarians who support women to progress through the party are being shared from Dr Andrew Southcott, Tony Pasin and Sam Duluk in South Australia, to Alex Hawke in NSW, Josh Frydenberg and Tony Smith in Victoria and Premier Will Hodgman and Senator Jono Duniam in Tasmania, to name but a few. Federal Women's Committee President Robyn Nolan and Senator Linda Reynolds continue their tireless work for change.

To date we have addressed 11 separate meetings or conferences to present and discuss the report including:

- Menzies Research Centre Gender and Politics Forum, Federal Council, Melbourne, June 2015
- Federal Women's Committee 70th Anniversary Conference, Adelaide, August 2015
- Women's Council, Western Australian Division, Perth, September 2015
- Federal Young Liberal Conference, Canberra, January 2016
- South Australian Young Liberal Movement, Adelaide, August 2016
- Federal Women's Committee, Canberra, September 2016
- Women's Council, Victorian Division, Melbourne, November 2016
- Liberal Women's Forum, NSW Division, Sydney, November 2016
- Federal Women's Committee, Canberra, December 2016
- Federal Young Liberal Conference, Adelaide, January 2017
- Tasmanian Division, Launceston, February 2017

The high level of interest and engagement is all the more impressive given the first half of 2016 was a federal election year. The steps taken to address these issues in the short time since the report was first launched in August 2015 are heartening. There is a determination to improve the representation of women throughout the party from our Young Liberals members through to our Prime Minister.

As the updated statistics and discussion show we have a long way to go. Change cannot be achieved by adopting the sterile formulae of identity politics that is stultifying the thinking of our opponents. Nor, with due respect for our party executives, will progress come from head office although their leadership is vital. The party's future depends, as it always has, on the civic-minded women and men committed to freedom, enterprise and empowerment.



Nicolle Flint MP

March 2017



Nick Cater

# Introduction

The Liberal Party has an issue with female representation - but so does Australian politics in general. Less than a third of federal and state parliamentarians are women. They form a minority in every state, territory and federal chamber in both major parties except for the ACT.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of women on both sides of parliament is the legacy of a historical gender imbalance in politics in Australia. Although Australian women were among the first in the world to be enfranchised, their political participation as elected representatives has failed to live up to that early achievement.<sup>4</sup>

Over the past two decades women have become better educated and have made inroads into leadership roles in corporate and civil society. When it comes to political representation, however, progress has been slow.

Figure 1: Composition of all Australian parliaments by gender as at 21 February 2017

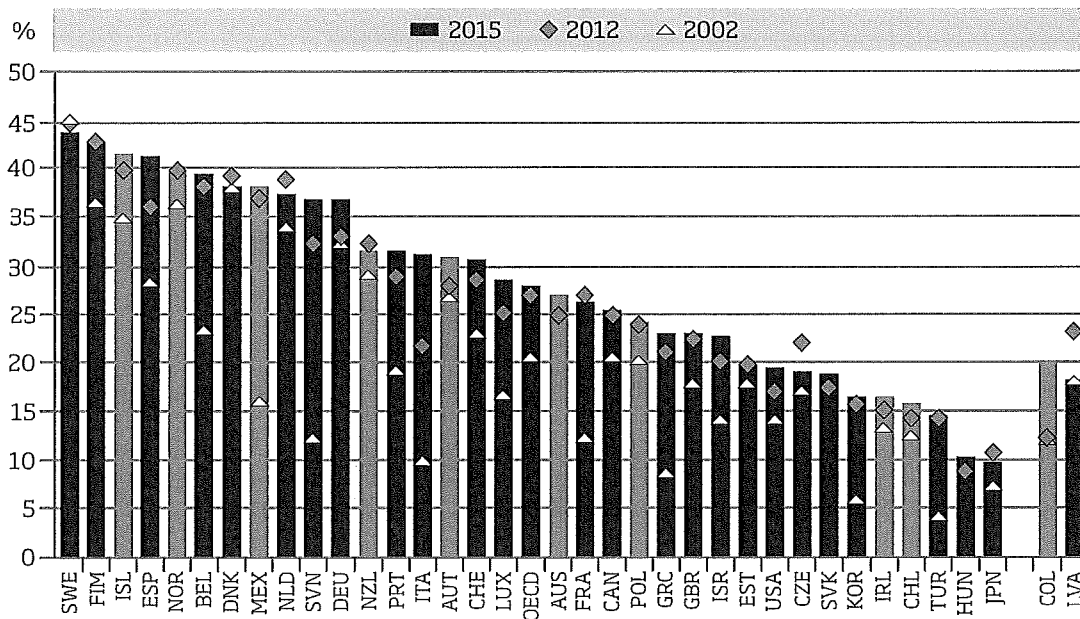
	Lower House				Upper House				Total for both chambers			
	M	F	Total	%F	M	F	Total	%F	M	F	Total	%F
Federal	107	43	150	28.7	43	31	74	41.9	150	74	224	33.0
NSW	68	25	93	26.9	34	8	42	19.0	102	33	135	24.4
VIC	55	33	88	37.5	23	17	40	42.5	78	50	128	39.1
QLD	64	25	89	28.1					64	25	89	28.1
WA	45	14	59	23.7	21	14	35	40.0	66	28	94	29.8
SA	34	13	47	27.7	16	5	21	23.8	50	18	68	26.5
TAS	14	11	25	44.0	10	5	15	33.3	24	16	40	40.0
ACT	12	13	25	52.0					12	13	25	52.0
NT	13	12	25	48.0					13	12	25	48.0
TOTAL	412	189	601	31.4	145	81	226	35.8	557	270	827	32.6

Source: Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, state and territory parliamentary websites

There have been small but significant improvements in the number of female Members of Parliament since we last reported in the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory. At the federal level, as we will explore later, the picture has not been as rosy.

The gender imbalance in politics is not peculiar to Australia. As Figure 2 shows, Australia sits in the middle of the OECD rankings of female legislative representation. We are doing better than the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States.

Figure 2: OECD, Share of women parliamentarians, international comparison



Note: Bars in light blue represent countries with lower or single house parliaments with legislated candidate quotas as of 21 January 2013.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), PARLINE (database), and IDEA Global Database of Quotas for Women.

Some may ask why women’s political underrepresentation matters; not just for the Liberal Party but for Australia more broadly. After all, Australian women enjoy parity of opportunity, and, as the beneficiaries of the liberal democratic tradition, an enviable quality of life. As the political philosopher Kenneth Minogue wrote, that compared to women in any other civilisation, ‘Western women already enjoy extensive freedom to construct their own identity and to play any role they might like in the activities of the modern world.’<sup>5</sup>

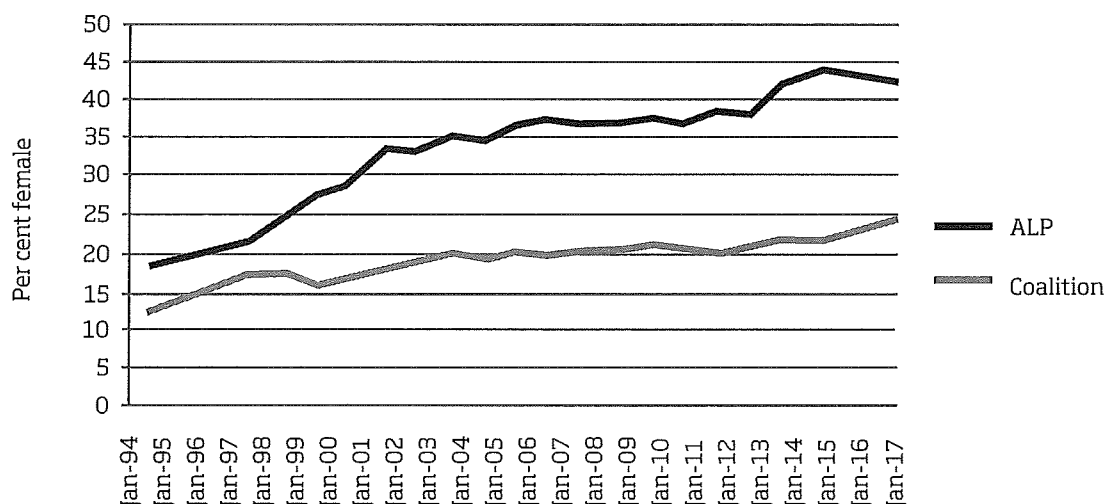
Despite this, women remain underrepresented in key decision-making roles in the corporate and political spheres. There are two principle reasons why the Liberal Party must address the imbalance. It damages the party’s electoral appeal and conflicts with fundamental Liberal principles.

Respect for women is woven through the Liberal Party’s history and embedded in its founding principles. Liberals believe all Australians should have the opportunity to live fulfilling and productive lives.

Sir Robert Menzies described the freedom to choose one’s occupation as one of life’s great freedoms.<sup>6</sup> In his Forgotten People speech Sir Robert said: ‘That we are all, as human souls, of like value cannot be denied. That each of us should have his chance is and must be the great objective of political and social policy.’<sup>7</sup>

Menzies also believed that an individual’s ‘humanity of experience’ forms an important element of their contribution to public life. Accordingly, women’s continuing lack of representation at the highest elected levels must be addressed because it limits the diversity of life-experience that can be drawn upon to shape our nation. Unfortunately Menzies’ egalitarian approach that achieved so many firsts has not translated to the representation of women in the modern Liberal Party as Figure 3 demonstrates.

Figure 3: Percentage of women in all Australian parliaments by major party, 1994-2017



Source: Historical data for composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender, maintained by Parliamentary Library since 1994

The reasons why this matters are not limited to the Liberal Party alone. Improving the gender balance will improve the standard of politics. A growing body of evidence suggests that heterogeneous organisations are better managed, more responsive and perform more strongly than homogenous bodies. Men and women bring different skills and experience to the table; between them they are likely to achieve greater things more often. We have no reason to assume the business of politics is any different.

However, there is a further compelling reason why the Liberal Party must act now to address the underrepresentation of women in its parliamentary ranks. Analysis of recent elections suggests that parties with a better balance of men and women have greater electoral appeal. Until 2001 the Liberal Party was the party favoured by female voters. Since 2001 the Liberals' support among women relative to men has waned, particularly among younger voters. The strengthening of Labor's female vote has coincided with a noticeable increase in the number of Labor women preselected in winnable seats. Currently, 43 per cent of Labor MPs are women compared with 24 per cent of all Liberal MPs (Figure 3).

In a media-driven age, politics is, in essence, a retail-facing business. Appearance and presentation matter. Retaining and improving the Liberal Party's retail appeal means presenting a range of male and female candidates.



# The electoral imperative for change

For most of its history the Liberal Party has been the party preferred by female voters.

Even before the establishment of the Liberal Party in 1944, it was infused with a relatively enlightened attitude to women that reflected the outlook of founder Sir Robert Menzies. In a radio talk entitled 'Women for Canberra' in 1943, Menzies delivered a clear statement of intent:

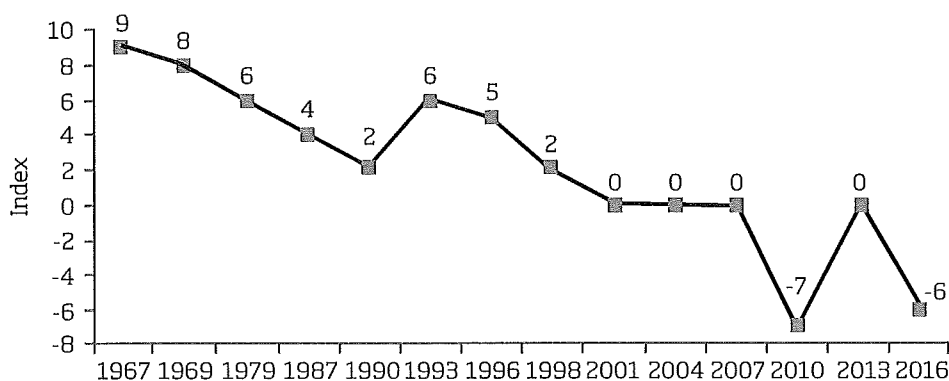
*Of course women are at least the equals of men. Of course there is no reason why a qualified woman should not sit in Parliament or on the Bench or in a professorial Chair, or preach from the pulpit, or if you like, command an Army in the field. No educated man today denies a place or a career to a woman just because she is a woman.<sup>8</sup>*

The assembling of non-Labor forces under the banner of the Australian Liberal Party in 1945 brought together parties that previously had been divided by state and gender. The grass-roots strength of bodies like the Queensland Women's Electoral League, the Victoria-based Australian Women's National League and Tasmania's Australian Women's National League gave Menzies' new party a clear advantage with women voters.

For decades this helped cement the Liberal Party's electoral strength. As the empirical data demonstrates, women were naturally conservative voters who, all other things being equal, were more inclined to vote Liberal than Labor.

Detailed evidence of the gender split at polls in the Liberal Party's first two decades is not easy to come by. Opinion polling from the mid 1960s, however, suggests that the Liberal Party under Menzies had a decisive lead among women voters over Labor (Figure 4). It is often said that Menzies would not have won the 1961 election were it not for the support of the Democratic Labor Party. It is probably also true that he would not have won a seventh term without the support of women.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 4: Gender Gap in Voting in Australia, 1967-2016



The figures are the percentage of men voting Labor minus the percentage of women voting Labor. Sources: 1967-79 ANPAS; 1987-2016 AES

The longevity of female support for the Liberal Party and rejection of the Labor Party was a trend that persisted from 1967 until the election in 2001. For many years the Labor Party's masculine image was reinforced by links to industrial unions which the public associated with confrontation and strikes. Labor Party focus group material from the early 1970s suggests this was a particularly influential factor.

Morgan Gallup polling on the eve of the 1966 election found that 37 per cent of men expressed a preference for Arthur Calwell's Labor Party compared to only 32 per cent of women. Harold Holt's Coalition, on the other hand, had greater support among women (52 per cent) than by men (47 per cent.)

Gough Whitlam's supposed appeal to women voters, like so much else about the received history of that period, turns out to be more myth than fact. Support for Whitlam from women was softer than support from men at elections in 1972, 1974 and 1975. A Labor committee of inquiry after the 1977 federal election defeat found women's rights was a boutique concern of a small minority: 'We are seen by some women as being too closely aligned with radical feminist views, or as opposed to the traditional view of the importance and role of the family.'<sup>10</sup>

The feminine bias towards the Coalition continued under Malcolm Fraser's leadership. It was not until Bob Hawke's ascendancy in the early 1980s that Labor's masculine image began to soften. In two elections the Coalition's male/female ratio voting ratio levelled off at 50/50.

Keating proved less appealing to women than his predecessor and from 1993 the Coalition advantage with women voters returned. Under John Howard's leadership the gender split in the Coalition favoured women at the 1996 election which also remains the high water mark for the number of female Liberal MPs and Senators.

The 2001 election was a turning point for women voters in federal politics. For the first time in the history of the Australian Electoral Survey - and probably for the first time since the creation of the Liberal Party - female voters favoured Labor over Liberal.

The shift was decisive. In the 1998 GST election 52 per cent of AES respondents who said they voted Liberal were women. In 2001 that proportion fell to 49 per cent. Labor crossed a threshold too; female support for the party was larger than male support - 50.5 per cent to 49.5 per cent. Female support for Australian Democrats, then led by Natasha Stott Despoja, increased from 57.2 per cent of the party's total support in 1998 to 62.9 per cent in 2001.

The 2001 election was exceptional in many ways. It is possible that the Howard government's tough policies on border control were less well received by women than by men. Yet the pattern at subsequent elections suggests the 2001 result was clearly part of a trend suggesting factors beyond the immediate political agenda of the time. Fewer women than men have voted Liberal in four of the five elections since 2001. Labor, on the other hand, has enjoyed greater support from women than from men in all five.

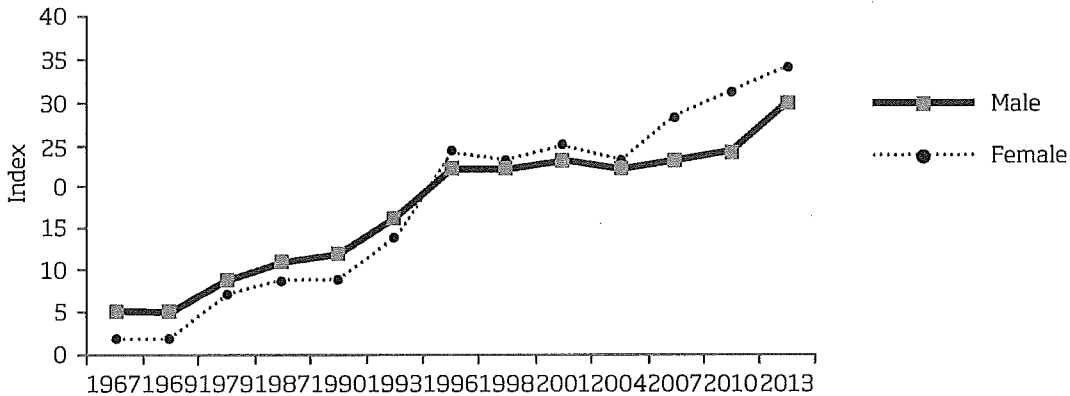
The male-leaning imbalance in the Liberal Party's vote since 2001, however, must be put in perspective.

The Liberal Party's gender-gap is not as pronounced as the male bias in Labor's support in a previous era. Even in 2010, when Julia Gillard gave Labor a significant advantage among some women, the Liberal Party's gender gap was only a third as large as Labor's at the 1969 federal election.

Furthermore, the changing gender vote pattern is not unique to Australia. In Britain, women favoured the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher. Since Tony Blair's victory in 1997, however, Labor drew about as many or more votes from women as men.<sup>11</sup> The same pattern can be seen in France, Germany and the United States. This does not mean, however, that the Liberal Party should meekly accept what is a globally-common fate.

The switch in male-female voting patterns since 2001 may in part reflect an increase in the proportion of women who attend university (Figure 5). Evidence suggests a correlation between the experience of higher education and the adoption of progressive views.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 5: Proportions Attending University, Men and Women, 1967-2013



For 1967-79, estimates are those who had completed university, for 1987-2013 completed a degree or postgraduate degree.

Sources: 1967-79 ANPAS; 1987-2013 AES

## 'Retail' Politics

The shift in the female vote to Labor has coincided with increased numbers of female Labor candidates. Politics is essentially a retail-facing business and since the advent of television in the 1950s each successive election has demanded more of politicians as media performers. Retail appeal requires a diverse team of men and women who appear familiar and trustworthy to the electorate. A leadership team dominated by any particular section of the population will struggle to gain the broad appeal.

Correlation is not causation, but the trend over the last 20 years is clear. Labor has more women in parliament than the Coalition and it also has a larger share of the female vote. The number of female Labor MPs has doubled while the Liberal Party's has increased by just 10 per cent. Historically, since 1943, 29 Liberal women have been elected to the Senate compared to 40 Labor women. In the House of Representatives 37 Liberal women have been elected in contrast to 69 Labor women.<sup>13</sup>

The Liberal Party has been slow to react to the growing gender disparity. As a result the party's 'retail' brand is suffering. Labor's quota system, however flawed, has given the ALP a competitive edge. In both recent and historic terms, female Labor candidates have enjoyed more success in securing federal lower or upper house positions than their Liberal counterparts.<sup>14</sup> Labor Party spokespeople who appear on television or radio are more likely to be women than their counterparts. In any retail-facing business this matters.

# Lessons from the corporate sector

## Business best practice

The experience of the business sector in the past decade demonstrates there are sound reasons to increase the participation of women, particularly in leadership roles. Capitalising on women as workers and consumers has a tangible impact on the bottom line. Corporations today are inclined to frame gender diversity less as a matter of ethical compliance and more as a competitive advantage.

Deloitte's 2011 report, *The Gender Dividend: Making the business case for investing in women*, concludes: 'investing in women must be taken out of the realm of ideology and into the executive suite, or better yet, the balance sheet.' There is strong empirical evidence that gender diversity increases organisational, financial and market performance.<sup>15 16</sup>

- A European study found that 67 per cent of companies that implemented diversity programs noted a positive improvement in their brand image.<sup>17</sup>
- A Catalyst study of Fortune 500 companies across a four-to-five year period found that there was a 16 per cent gap in return on sales between companies with the most women on boards and those with the least.<sup>18</sup>
- A study of ASX500 companies found a positive correlation between female board representation and return-on-equity.<sup>19</sup>
- Companies with women in key executive and board positions were better governed and have a lower risk of insolvency.<sup>20 21</sup>

McKinsey & Company studied the performance of the 89 European listed companies with the highest level of gender diversity and concluded:

*There can be no doubt that, on average, these companies outperform their sector in terms of return on equity (11.4 per cent / 10.3 per cent), operating results (EBIT 11 per cent / 5.8 per cent) and stock price growth (64 per cent / 47 per cent) over the period 2005 - 2007.<sup>22</sup>*

The business approach is mirrored by the Australian Defence Force. Air Chief Marshal Mark Binskin AC told the Menzies Research Centre's Gender and Politics Forum that diversity helps organisations perform at their best:

*The reason we're doing this is for capability. We need to be the best Defence Force we can be and we're not going to do that unless we address the gender imbalance that we have.*

*So for me personally, I'm keen for the Australian Defence Force to become more diverse because diversity enhances capability. It's been my experience diverse teams challenge each other, they see the widest range of risks, are able to come up with creative solutions to those issues that arise.*

The notion that a diverse working group is likely to be a more effective working group finds support in social science. Scott E. Page, a professor of complex systems at Michigan University claims a diverse group of competent performers almost always outperforms a homogenous group of stars.<sup>23</sup>

If we assume these principles apply equally to the business of politics - and we see no good reason why they would not - it would be foolish to dismiss diversity as a matter of pure symbolism.

The first lesson from business is that a diverse party is more likely to achieve government - and is more likely to achieve *in* government - than a homogenous party.

The second lesson is that diversification is slow to happen by itself. Achieving the level of diversification now considered a basic requirement in the corporate sector requires targeted intervention.

## Targets

The corporate sector no longer regards gender diversity programs as ethical window-dressing but as a strategy for better performance.

The consensus is that measurable, achievable targets, backed by empiricism and accountability are firmly implanted in mainstream commercial operations. In the course of researching this report we struggled to find a single voice in business prepared to outline an effective strategy that did not include targets. Organisations as diverse as the ANZ Bank and the Australian Defence Force have adopted targets as part of their approach to improving female representation.

ANZ's diversity policy, for example, reflects the latest corporate best practice and its stated purpose sits comfortably with Liberal values of choice and opportunity.

*We believe in the inherent strength of a vibrant, diverse and inclusive workforce where the backgrounds, perspectives and life experiences of our people help us to forge strong connections with all our customers, innovate and make better decisions for our business.<sup>24</sup>*

ANZ identifies four means of achieving its goals. First, it educates its line managers and employers about its diversity policy and helps them balance organisational demands with employee priorities. Second, it actively addresses the unconscious biases in its policies, processes and practices through programs such as its Leadership Pathway and Talent programs. Third, it encourages flexible working practices that recognise the changing demands on its employees at different stages in their lives. Fourth, it makes its managers accountable by setting targets and measuring performance. The bank takes stock of the demographic diversity of its workforce in an annual employee survey.

Policies designed to achieve 'cultural change' in organisations sometimes appear to be little more than abstract notions buttressed by feel-good statements. Measurement, reporting and accountability, on the other hand, are practical steps that are consistently cited by business leaders as the most effective way to achieve change.

The ADF too has made its biggest strides in diversity since committing to targets. Binskin told the Menzies Research Centre Forum:

*The number one lesson and you'll hear it time and time again... is setting targets, but not unachievable targets. They've got to be targets that you look at where you are now, make it in bite size chunks ... you want to have a target that's out 20 or 30 years - that's great, but do it at about 5 year increments or you're not going to have achievable targets for people to look at.*

The Male Champions of Change group, comprised of businesses including CBA, Telstra, Woolworths, Goldman Sachs and Qantas, has also adopted a target-based approach. Their 2016 Progress Report states they have 'set granular targets' and are attempting to 'break entrenched patterns by engaging managers in the objective of women's representation on their teams and more broadly.'<sup>25</sup> Specifically the Male Champions of Change group have introduced

- **Target setting.** 80% of MCC organisations have targets to improve the representation of women in leadership embedded in senior executive KPIs.
- **The Panel Pledge.** The MCCs remain committed to increasing women's representation in public fora, panels and taskforces.<sup>26</sup>

The Male Champions of Change Report provides detailed figures on whether defined targets are being met.<sup>27</sup> Although targets are non-binding, in this way they hold key decision makers to account. Targets increase the visibility of the problem and enable progress to be measured. They allow companies to compare their performance with their peers. Former Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Elizabeth Broderick describes how targets work for the MCC:

*Every one of them has set a target at some point in the career continuum. It doesn't matter what that target is - it can be 10 per cent, it can be 30 per cent; it doesn't really matter. It's the act of agreeing and making public the target that creates the change.*

*The reason for that is when you actually set the target, you crystallise your intent and you signal to the organisation, internally and externally, that this issue is a priority for you. Not only that, you're much more likely to throw out strategies that are not delivering against that target. So you won't continue to pursue strategies that are not delivering and that is why I think targets are important.*

The evidence that targets work in business is convincing. Since 2011 every publicly listed company has been required to set a target for the number of women on the Board at a senior executive level. Says Broderick:

*Four years on, we have seen a doubling of the number of women on boards. We've gone from 8 per cent to 20 per cent, more than doubling. In the previous decade, we'd gone up 0.2 per cent.*

The question for the Liberal Party is whether it is willing to follow the lead of the corporate sector to achieve change within its ranks.

# A Liberal approach to women in politics

The question arising from the electoral and corporate evidence is what should the Liberal Party do? How can it reconcile its merit-based approach with the popular narrative of those in the media and on the left that women 'deserve' positions purely because of their gender? The answer requires an understanding of the manner in which the left presents the cause of women and how, using a Liberal approach, this can be combated. In essence, the Liberal Party believes in equality of opportunity while the Labor Party and those on the left believe in equality of outcome.

In recent years the arguments for the greater participation of women in politics have largely been ceded to feminists on the Left. The debate has become clouded with notions of victimhood, oppression and discrimination from which Liberals justifiably recoil. The word sexism, like racism, has been devalued by overuse. Senator Linda Reynolds expressed the frustration with the left-leaning approach to women in politics when she told the Menzies Research Centre Gender and Politics Forum:

*I am neither a gender warrior nor an advocate of quotas, and I do not identify as a feminist, or at least what feminism appears to have morphed into today. The sisterhood's battle-cry remains a narrow and angry left-wing narrative, one of victim-hood, and one that demands women receive special treatment, simply because we are women, their solution is quotas to achieve equality of outcome.*

Prime Minister Julia Gillard's notorious misogyny speech in October 2012 that invited us to consider her as a 'victim' exposed the flimsiness of the feminist critique. The woman who occupied the highest office in land with the extensive machinery of government wanted us to believe she had been victimised by the 'sexist' behaviour of the Opposition leader. The Prime Minister's evidence was flimsy; Tony Abbott's glancing down at his watch was proffered as prima facie evidence of sexism.

Such superficial arguments have hurt the cause of women. The enforcement of political correctness and the advent of spokespersons, chairpersons and doorpersons invite mockery. It beggars belief that officials at a major Australian university should waste their time debating the merits of renaming a genus of spider as 'Huntsperson'.<sup>28</sup> The moral posturing, tortured language and group-think of modern feminism have alienated men and women alike.

The Liberal case for gender balance has a stronger foundation. Its motivation is not an ideological push for equal outcomes; rather it is the consequence we expect from equal opportunity. It is built on the principles of individual choice, opportunity, and the recognition of merit and democratic representation. The Liberal Party Constitution enshrines a commitment to

*... equality of opportunity, with all Australians having the opportunity to reach their full potential in a tolerant national community.<sup>29</sup>*

Former prime minister Tony Abbott expressed the sentiment this way in his 2013 Election Address:

*Our country will best flourish when all of our citizens, individually and collectively, have the best chance to be their best selves.<sup>30</sup>*

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull makes a compelling argument that making progress towards gender balance serves a broader national interest.

*It is well-known that when a woman is empowered, the whole economy, the whole community benefits - women that hold up more than half the sky in reality.*

*Critical to any economy and society is ensuring that we have access to the ingenuity, the enterprise, the intellect of the whole community - in our schools, in our workplaces, and in the innovative industries of the future.*

*Ensuring that that the power of women is brought to bear, is enabled, empowered, that rich human capital and increasing their participation in the workforce, must be a critical part of every government's agenda to secure the economic future of the nation.<sup>31</sup>*

Yet the consistent and entrenched pattern of gender imbalance at every level of the Liberal Party, every state and territory and within every parliament (Figure 6) strongly suggests women are not getting the chance to be their best selves and the opportunity to reach their full potential.

Figure 6: Liberal Party representation in all Australian parliaments by gender, as at 20 February 2017

	Lower House				Upper House				Total for both chambers			
	M	F	Total	%F	M	F	Total	%F	M	F	Total	%F
Federal	48	12	60	20.0	17	6	23	26.1	65	18	83	21.7
NSW	27	7	34	20.6	11	2	13	15.4	38	9	47	19.1
VIC	23	7	30	23.3	9	5	14	35.7	32	12	44	27.3
QLD	33	8	41	19.5					33	8	41	19.5
WA	25	5	30	16.7	10	5	15	33.3	35	10	45	22.2
SA	18	3	21	14.3	6	2	8	25.0	24	5	29	17.2
TAS	11	4	15	26.7		2	2	100.0	11	6	17	35.3
ACT	6	5	11	45.5					6	5	11	45.5
TOTAL	158	44	202	21.8	53	22	75	29.3	211	66	277	23.8

Source: Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, state and territory parliamentary websites

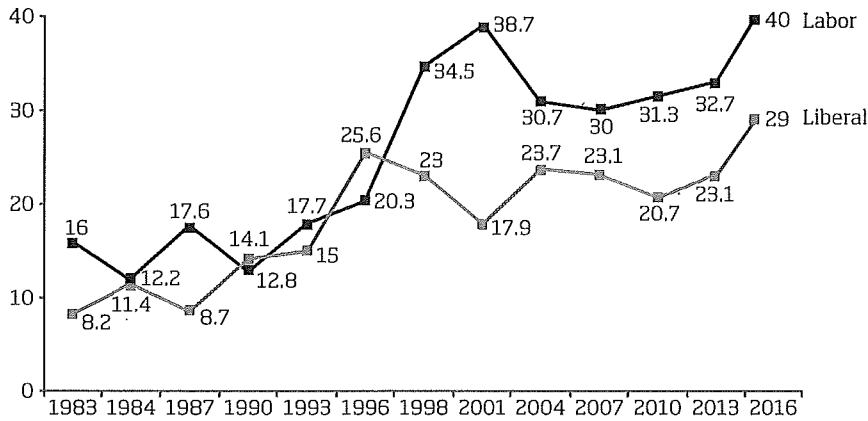
Liberals might recoil at the term “glass ceiling” since there are no gender-based institutional barriers to participation in the party. But the figures speak for themselves; Liberal women are underrepresented in all parliaments. The laissez-faire approach of the past has barely increased female participation. The party needs to explore strategies that may.

The Liberal Party membership is rightly opposed to the Labor Party’s affirmative action policy adopted by the ALP in 1994 that has undoubtedly contributed to the party’s relatively (and we stress relatively) strong female representation. As McCann and Wilson record, ‘[i]n 1994 the ALP adopted a mandatory 35 per cent preselection quota for women in winnable seats at all elections by 2002.’<sup>32</sup> Following this, a ‘40:40:20 quota system was introduced from 1 January 2012’ whereby 40 per cent of seats held by Labor were filled by women, 40 by men and 20 per cent by either gender.<sup>33</sup> Labor has now committed to ensuring 50 per cent of its parliamentarians are women by 2025.<sup>34</sup>

The consequences of Labor’s 1994 policy were not apparent for several elections. The Liberals pre-selected more women for the House of Representatives than Labor in the 1990 election (14.1 per cent to 12.8 per cent) and the 1996 election (25.6 per cent to 20.3 per cent) but Labor has fielded more female candidates in every subsequent election (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Liberal and Labor female candidates, 1983-2016



Source: Parliamentary Library

There has been progress. The proportion of women on the senate ticket in 2013, around 40 per cent, was roughly the same for both Labor and Liberal.

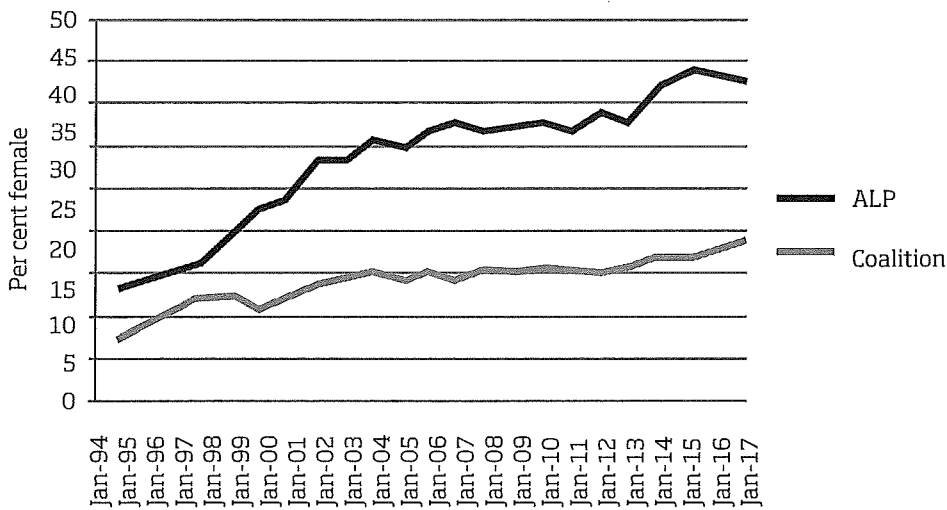
The other striking fact in terms of parliamentary representation by party is the steady increase of the number of Labor women elected to all parliaments over the past 20 years (Figure 8). By contrast, the number of Liberal women elected has largely flat-lined. Unless the Liberal Party does not do something to address this, the gap between Labor and Liberal female MPs elected likely to grow wider.

In July 2015 the ALP National Conference adopted a proposal for 50 per cent female representation, although this may or may not increase the quality of the candidates, as Peter Reith observed:

*Labor is promising that 50 per cent of all Labor MPs should be women and that outcome should be achieved by quotas. After repeated failed attempts, Gillard was pre-selected thanks to the quota system. According to the Labor party Gillard's ascension as prime minister was a victory for the ALP's quota system. Maybe over time, Labor might realise quotas can get an MP to the prime ministership but not necessarily produce a prime minister who is up to the task.<sup>35</sup>*

Regardless, what experience suggests is under the revised quota the number of female Labor members is certain to increase.

Figure 8: Percentage of women in all Australian parliaments by major party, 1994-2017



Source: Historical data for composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender, maintained by Parliamentary Library since 1994

Labor is not just leading with the number of MPs. At the federal level there remains a striking difference between the number of female Liberal Parliamentary Secretaries, Ministers and Cabinet Ministers compared with their Labor counterparts. Liberal women hold 21 percent of these roles, while Labor women hold 44 percent of appointed positions.

The following table reports the percentages of women overall in Australia in 2017 and shows women are under represented on every front bench except the Northern Territory. When women do rise to the ministerial ranks they are overwhelmingly appointed to welfare-orientated portfolios (social services, health). It was not until 2010 that a woman was given a finance portfolio in federal politics (Penny Wong). It has been widely noted that Premier Gladys Berejiklian was the first Liberal woman to be sworn in as NSW Premier and prior to that Treasurer. It is less recognised that in 2011 she was the first woman to be appointed as the state's transport minister.

Figure 9: Ministries and shadow ministries in Australian parliaments by gender, as at 21 February 2017

Parliament	Government				Opposition			
	M	F	Total	%F	M	F	Total	%F
Federal	33	9	42	21.4	27	21	48	43.8
NSW	17	6	23	26.1	13	9	22	40.9
VIC	12	10	22	45.5	19	5	24	20.8
QLD	9	8	17	47.1	14	4	18	22.2
SA	11	3	14	21.4	11	3	14	21.4
WA	21	5	26	19.2	20	6	26	23.1
TAS	7	2	9	22.2	5	4	9	44.4
ACT	4	3	7	42.9	6	5	11	45.5
NT	3	5	8	62.5	1	1	2	50.0
Total States	84	42	126	33.3	89	37	126	29.4
Total	117	51	168	30.4	116	58	174	33.3

Source: Parliamentary Library

While it is tempting to assume that the only way to improve the representation of women in the Liberal Party is to follow the path of Labor, to do so would be to betray the very principles our Party is founded upon.

As we noted earlier, the Liberal motivation is not an ideological push for equal outcomes; rather it is the consequence we expect from equal opportunity. It is built on the principles of individual choice, opportunity, and the recognition of merit and democratic representation. The Liberal Party Constitution enshrines a commitment to

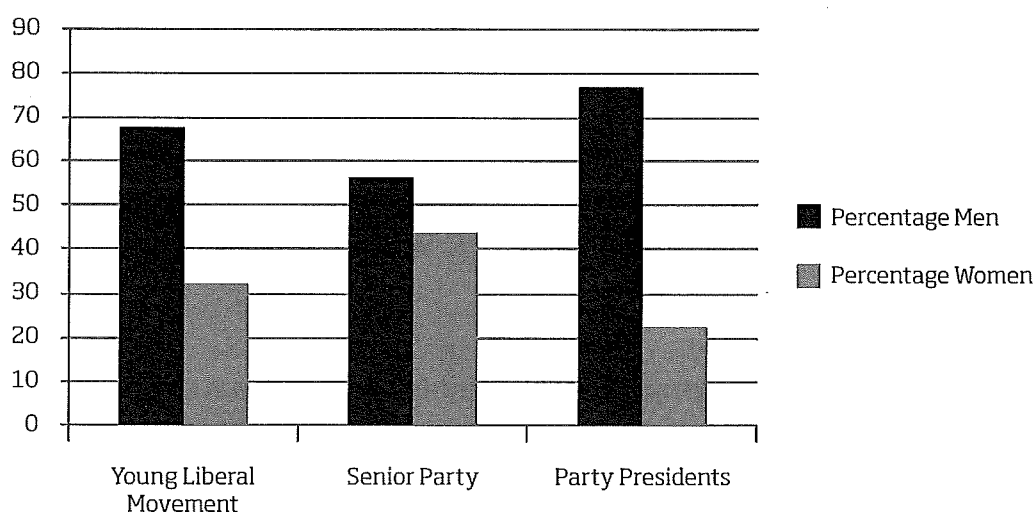
*... equality of opportunity, with all Australians having the opportunity to reach their full potential in a tolerant national community.<sup>36</sup>*

Female Liberal Parliamentarians know their position is not because of a quota, but because they worked as hard as their male counterparts to deserve their position. They are not 'Quota Queens' like the majority of Labor female Parliamentarians, but deserving of their position because of their personal efforts and abilities. Most Labor female Parliamentarians cannot claim the same.

## From the grassroots up

Our research demonstrates the problem of women’s representation in the Liberal Party in every division starts at the grassroots level. Worryingly, the issues begin within the Young Liberal Movement (Figure 10). Female membership of the Young Liberal movement sits at 32 per cent women to 68 per cent men. The senior party records female membership of 43 per cent women and 57 per cent men. Across divisions, grassroots participation in President-level leadership from the branches up sits on average at 23 per cent women to 77 per cent men.

Figure 10: Gender imbalance within the Liberal Party



Given that the gender imbalance in the party’s organisational leadership closely matches that in parliamentary party rooms, it would seem that the lack of female participation starts at the entry level to the party. This further suggests that pre-selection outcomes are a fair representation of the availability of talent within the party.

Detailed recommendations about the party’s organisation are outside the scope of this paper. It is clear, however, that they must be addressed if the party is to attract and nurture the most talented representatives. Leadership roles at branch or party representative level provide leadership training that equips potential candidates with the skills and confidence necessary to be successful parliamentary representatives. Organisational experience better prepares individuals for parliamentary leadership roles whether as Ministers, Shadow Ministers, Whips, leaders of the House or even state or federal Parliamentary Leader.

Even at the branch level, Presidents must manage their members, appoint people to roles, and delegate responsibilities. Holding leadership positions naturally draws capable women to the attention of entrenched decision makers and integrates them in existing party networks. It builds their confidence in a gradual manner, rather than launching them, under-prepared into the at times brutal pre-selection and election processes.

Ensuring more women assume leadership roles throughout the Liberal Party organisation also helps to encourage the participation and progression of other young women. To quote Senator Linda Reynolds, ‘you can’t be what you can’t see’; young women need roles models. They need to see their mothers, aunts and

grandmothers assuming leadership positions, not just the traditional support roles of Secretary or Treasurer. When this becomes the norm, so too will women's ascension to leadership roles throughout the Party.

Role models are similarly important at the parliamentary level. Then Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer and Member for Higgins, Kelly O'Dwyer MP, told the Menzies Research Centre Gender and Politics Forum:

*I think role models are very, very important. When I was thinking about putting my hand up for Parliament - and there's no guarantee that when you put up your hand, you will be pre-selected - I really thought about the other women that were there, and the fact that I did want a family.*

*The truth is that in the Liberal party, on our side of politics, there had only been two other women who had gone into Parliament as Liberal women, who had had children while in Parliament and only one of them had been a Minister and held Executive Office. It really made me think very deeply about that before pursuing this career path. The two women who had done that were Jackie Kelly and Sophie Mirabella. They were the only two women from the Liberal party who had children while in Parliament.*

*Having examples of women in politics who have been able to do certain things means that there are other women who come behind and have the confidence to pursue that career path and know that they have the ability to reach different heights and know there won't be barriers.*

Building grassroots involvement in the party also matters for the future of the Liberal movement as a whole. Long-term membership fosters life-long affiliation with and dedication to the Party. Unlike the Labor Party, Liberals do not bind their members to rigid collective beliefs. They do not require members to sign a pledge. Liberal Party loyalty is encouraged by notions of voluntary service, community, tradition and individuals working together to make a better society. Encouraging greater Party membership by men and women is important for the Liberal brand and for the longevity of its structures. Furthermore, a large and active membership helps to spread Liberal beliefs throughout the community.

Most importantly building the number of women in leadership roles in the Liberal Party will increase the chances of these women seeking pre-selection and progressing to the role of lower or upper house MPs. This is vital so that the Liberal Party catches up to the female parliamentary representation achieved by its traditional rival the Labor Party.

## Candidates

We know that the lack of women in grassroots leadership roles is resulting in a lack of women in pre-selections and then as candidates. We have collated the figures from the 2004 federal election onwards and the figures are telling. At each federal election there is the potential to run candidates in 150 House of Representatives seats. Between the five elections beginning 2004 and ending 2016, out of a possible 150 seats female Liberal candidates numbered a low of 29 (in 2010) and a high of 38 (2016) as demonstrated in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 11 : Female Federal Liberal Candidates 2004-2016

Federal Election Year	State or Territory	Number female candidates	Total female candidates
2004	ACT	1	31
	NSW	11	
	QLD	7	
	SA	2	
	VIC	8	
	WA	2	
2007	ACT	1	31
	NSW	12	
	QLD	4	
	SA	2	
	TAS	1	
	VIC	8	
	WA	3	
2010	<b>ACT</b>	1	29
	NSW	9	
	NT	1	
	QLD	6	
	SA	2	
	TAS	1	
	VIC	5	
	WA	4	
2013	<b>ACT</b>	1	33
	NSW	10	
	NT	2	
	QLD	6	
	SA	2	
	TAS	2	
	VIC	6	
	WA	4	
2016	<b>ACT</b>	1	38
	NSW	11	
	NT	2	
	QLD	7	
	SA	3	
	TAS	1	
	VIC	9	
	WA	4	

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

Compounding the low numbers of pre-selected candidates and thus potential members of Parliament is the tendency for women to be chosen for marginal seats. If we count the definition of a safe seat for these purposes as a margin of 10 per cent then a small number of women were pre-selected in safe seats between 2004 and 2016 as follows (Figure 12):

Figure 12: Federal Female candidates in safe and marginal seats 2004-2016

Federal election year	Number of candidates marginal seats	Number of candidates safe seats	Total female candidates
2004	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	31
2007	19 (61%)	12 (39%)	31
2010	25 (86%)	4 (14%)	29
2013	27 (82%)	6 (18%)	33
2016	35 (92%)	3 (8%)	38

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

The figures do demonstrate that the Liberal Party and LNP fielded a record number of female candidates for the lower house in the 2016 election. The proportion of female candidates was larger in 2016 than 2013 in every state except WA. The biggest gains were in Victoria (16.7 per cent to 25.7 per cent) and in South Australia (18.2 per cent to 27.3 per cent). Both states were rewarded with the election of an extra female MP in the lower house.

Figure 13: Proportion of Liberal/LNP female candidates, House of Representatives

	2013	2016	Change
NSW	25.6%	28.9%	+3.3%
Victoria	16.7%	25.7%	+9%
Queensland LNP	20%	23.3%	+3.3%
WA	26.7%	25%	-1.7%
SA	18.2%	27.3%	9.1%
Tasmania	40%	20%	-20%
National total	23.1%	27.1%	4%

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

This improvement was offset by a fall in the proportion of female candidates for the Senate. The proportion of female Liberal Party candidates for Senate spots fell from 39.1 per cent in 2013 to 38.2 per cent in 2016. There was an all-male ticket in Tasmania while in Queensland male LNP Senate candidates outnumbered female Senate candidates by seven to one.

Figure 14: Proportion of Liberal/LNP female candidates, Senate

	2013	2016	Change
NSW	50%	62.5%	+3.3%
Victoria	33%	40%	+9%
Queensland LNP	33%	12.5%	+3.3%
WA	33%	50%	-1.7%
SA	25%	33%	9.1%
Tasmania	50%	0%	-20%

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

Despite the overall increase in the proportion of Liberal Party and LNP women contesting the election, there were some significant missed opportunities. The retirement of 14 Coalition MPs in predominantly safe seats since September 2015 offered an opportunity for renewal. Three of the retiring MPs were women.

Yet male candidates were pre-selected in 13 of the 14 seats. Nicolle Flint, MP for Boothby and co-author of this report, was the only new female Liberal MP to succeed a sitting Liberal.

Figure 15: Outcome in seats vacated by Liberal and National sitting members in 2016

Electorate	Retiring member	Pre-poll margin	New member
Berowra, NSW	Philip Ruddock	16.5%	Julian Leeser
Boothby, SA	Andrew Southcott	7.1%	Nicolle Flint
Brisbane, Qld	Teresa Gambaro	4.3%	Trevor Evans
Calare, NSW	John Cobb (Nat)	16%	Andrew Gee (Nat)
Dunkley, Vic	Bruce Bilson	5.6%	Chris Crewther
Fisher, Qld	Mal Brough	9.8%	Andrew Wallace
Goldstein, Vic	Andrew Robb	11%	Tim Wilson
Groom, Qld	Ian Macfarlane	16.5%	John McVeigh
Mackellar, NSW	Bronwyn Bishop	18.8%	Jason Falinski
Maranoa, Qld	Bruce Scott	22.3%	David Littleproud
Murray, Vic	Sharman Stone	20.9%	Damien Drum (Nat)
North Sydney, NSW	Joe Hockey	15.9%	Trent Zimmerman
Paterson, NSW	Bob Baldwin	19.8%	Meryl Swanson (ALP)
Wide Bay, Qld	Warren Truss	13.2%	Lew O'Brien

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

The retirement of three MPs in safe seats on the Sydney north shore and northern beaches offered a golden opportunity for the preselection of Liberal women. Yet men were preselected in all three, including Bronwyn Bishop's former seat of Mackellar. All three were comfortably elected without preferences and, despite suffering swings against them, will enter the next election with margins more than 15 per cent.

Meanwhile every female candidate for the lower house in the NSW division except one (Sussan Ley, Farrer) found themselves fighting a marginal or unwinnable seat. Three sitting female MPs were defeated; Louise Markus (Macquarie), Fiona Scott (Lindsay) and Karen McNamara (Dobell). Only three of the 16 seats remain in the hands of women, and two of them occupy ultra-marginal seats; Lucy Wicks, who was re-elected in Robertson with a margin of 1.14 per cent, and Ann Sudmalis in Gilmore with a margin of 0.73 per cent.

With the benefit of hindsight, the NSW preselection outcomes in safe seats were a missed opportunity to advance the parliamentary representation of women. A secure seat is a pre-requisite for building a parliamentary career, yet with the exception of Ms Ley, no female NSW MP enjoys that advantage.

The situation is little better in other divisions. Only seven of the 13 female Liberal or LNP MPs in federal parliament occupy safe or moderately safe seats, three in WA, two in Queensland and one each in NSW and Victoria. They are Julie Bishop (Curtin, 20.7 per cent), Sussan Ley (Farrer, 20.53 per cent), Nola Marino (Forrest, 12.56 per cent), Karen Andrews (Macpherson, 11.64 per cent), Melissa Price (Durack, 11.06 per cent), Jane Prentice (Ryan, 8.54 per cent) and Kelly O'Dwyer (Higgins, 7.79 per cent).

The other six female MPs face marginal seat campaigns in 2019, four of them on margins of less than 1.5 per cent.



We include a new recommendation in our report that state divisions develop a strategy to encourage the pre-selection of women in secure seats.

No account of the performance of Liberal women in the 2016 election would be complete without noting the achievement of Julia Banks who won the Victorian seat of Chisholm with a swing of 2.84 per cent, the only Liberal candidate to win a seat from Labor.

# Targeted intervention

It is clear that the party must do more to increase the number of women in parliament. The assumption that the gender balance would follow a natural trajectory towards greater participation by women proved false. The number of Liberal women in the House of Representatives has plateaued since 2004, and the lack of clear progress is reflected in almost every chamber in almost every jurisdiction.

It is not a problem that can be fixed overnight. The Prime Minister's ability to appoint more women to his front bench team was limited by the composition of the party room which, in turn, reflects pre-selection decisions made over a period of 20 years.

The Labor Party's top-down quota-based system is understandably unpalatable to many Liberal men and women. Its achievements are symbolic at best. Instead we advocate the targeted intervention approach that has been successfully pursued in the private sector.

## Solutions aligned to principles

Solutions to the problem of the underrepresentation of women in the Liberal Party must be carefully aligned with Liberal principles. Discrimination is discrimination, even if labelled positive. Labor-style quotas undermine the principles of competitive enterprise and reward for effort. Menzies' 1943 observations remain true:

*Of course women are at least the equals of men. Of course there is no reason why a qualified woman should not sit in Parliament or on the Bench or in a professorial Chair, or preach from the pulpit, or if you like, command an Army in the field. No educated man today denies a place or a career to a woman just because she is a woman.*

*But there is a converse position which I state with all respect but with proper firmness. No woman can demand a place or a career just because she is a woman. It is outmoded and absurd to treat a woman's sex as a political disqualification; it seems to me equally absurd to claim it as a qualification itself.*

Women do not deserve positions merely because of their gender, which is what a quota system suggests, and indeed, achieves. Furthermore, quota systems harm rather than help capable women. Affirmative action policies convey a lingering inference that women are there not because they were the best person for the job, but because they are 'Quota Queens'. Menzies put it this way:

*For myself, I decline to vote for any woman just because she is a woman; but I will vote for her with no prejudice and great cheerfulness if I am satisfied that she is, in the homely phrase, "the better man of the two". For, like most electors, I am not half so interested in the sex or social position or worldly wealth of my representatives and rulers as I am in the quality of their minds, the soundness of their characters, the humanity of their experience, the sanity of their policy, and the strength of their wills.<sup>37</sup>*

Liberal women, particularly the younger generation, have been raised to believe quality of mind, soundness of character, principles and determination, will ensure their success. What the Liberal Party must ensure is that any remaining barriers to women's participation are acknowledged and addressed. So how might the Liberal Party address the problem of women's underrepresentation while remaining true to its strongly held principles and beliefs?

## Facing up to the problem

If the experience of researching this report is any guide, a significant number of Liberals either deny, or prefer not to admit, that gender imbalance matters. Others seem to think that to discuss the issue openly would play into the hands of their political opponents.

The first step in addressing the representation of women in the Liberal Party, therefore, is to acknowledge that the Party does in fact have a problem. As Air Chief Marshal Mark Binskin AC told the Menzies Research Centre Gender and Politics Forum in Melbourne 'it's like Alcoholics Anonymous, you've got to sit there and talk about it first before you can even accept that there is an issue and then be able to move forward.'

In part, the hesitancy to embark on this difficult debate is because there are no simple solutions. Successful change that does not harm the standing of women, as quotas do, must be gradual and occur from the grassroots up. It does, however, require leadership. As Binskin told the forum:

*Strong leadership commitment requires you to identify the issues and then drive organisational change. It's not just strong leadership at the highest level; it's down through the organisation. You'll find as you go further down, you have to convince people more and more why this is important.*

## Reporting the problem

Targeted intervention cannot occur until the extent of the problem is recognised. As a first step each division should conduct an audit of female participation from the grassroots level up. It should follow the path recommended by the federal Women's Committee under President Robyn Nolan in 2013.

*There is a need across all States and the ACT to establish a uniform database to collect statistical information about Federal, State and Territory pre-selections of candidates. Such information should include:*

- Gender
- Age
- Ethnic background
- Profession - including experience as an employee in a Parliamentary office
- Number of times the candidate has stood
- Margin of the seat

Our analysis suggests the problem is more widespread and serious than just candidate pre-selection, however. The underrepresentation of women in the Liberal Party begins in the Young Liberal movement, continues through to the senior membership of the party and is evidenced in every level of party leadership. The Party must begin to benchmark the participation of women, not just in terms of grassroots participation but also in terms of pre-selection and electoral success at the state and federal levels. Without this base-level data, targeted intervention will prove impossible.

## Defining targets

Targets are contentious. Many Liberals see them as synonymous with quotas. Yet targets and quotas are conceptual opposites.

Quotas are pronouncements delivered from the top down. Targets, on the other hand, are motivational tools that encourage change from the bottom up. Quotas instruct; targets are instructional. They recognise that human beings cannot be categorised or graded like cogs on a Soviet production line.

Financial and other targets are important tools; targets for gender diversity are a natural extension of that principle for businesses that want to improve their performance. The evidence is that they are working.

Business leaders make a clear distinction between targets and quotas. Former banking chief executive Gail Kelly, who led successful organisational transformations at St George and Westpac, makes a clear distinction between the two strategies:

*Targets are important, because they drive focus, they drive accountability. I've come from South Africa where the affirmative action regime was legislated quotas and I saw the negative elements of that, but I must tell you I think targets in our environment are actually critical.<sup>39</sup>*

A growing number of male and female Liberal Party leaders and parliamentarians are recognising that setting realistic, achievable targets is an effective way increase women's participation.<sup>39</sup> Then Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer, Kelly O'Dwyer MP told the MRC's Gender and Politics Forum:

*There has been a lot of thought on how we can get more women involved in political careers and targets play a key role in that. That's not to say quotas, where we want the equality of outcome. We want the equality of opportunity for women to be able to have a career in politics and I think that's particularly important in the Liberal Party. Targets do make that very much front of mind for the people that are making the very important decision of who to pre-select.*

The Tasmanian Liberal government's Women On Boards Strategy, set an ambitious target of 50 per cent representation by 2020. Tasmanian Premier Will Hodgman told the forum:

*It is absolutely critical for us to have a target to aspire to. It is also about increasing participation and implementing strategies to get more women into leadership positions in Government. We will also do that in our party as well when we approach future pre-selections.*

Senator Linda Reynolds also declared herself a supporter of targets:

*I do believe in targets as goals to aspire to, work towards and measure progress against; they work and are consistent with merit and equality of opportunity. I have seen them work in the military and in the corporate world.*

A further public call for the implementation of targets was recently made by former Howard government Minister Teresa Gambaro, who 'called on the Liberal hierarchy to back an initial target of 30 per cent female representation, declaring "it's time" political parties get out of the dark ages.'<sup>40</sup>

The Member for Hume, Angus Taylor, who worked as a management consultant before entering parliament, however, added a note of caution:

*One of the great learnings of change management and reform over a long period of time is that targets are usually necessary but rarely sufficient. I am quite sympathetic to having targets but I have a concern if we think that's the silver bullet here.*

*There is typically a lag indicator - they tell you a few years later what you are doing wrong now - and we need to look a little deeper to see what is holding us back. I still think that a degree of patronage and a lack of genuine merit based competition at every level is the thing that we need to get back to as the basis for driving reform.*

Recommendations about the size of targets is beyond the scope of this report. That is a matter for the party. There are helpful principles to be drawn from the experience of the corporate sector and the military, however, that can guide the party's approach.

Each Liberal Party division should take stock of current female membership, participation and representation especially at leadership levels, and measure this against other Liberal jurisdictions. This data should be used as a benchmark to set realistic targets to increase grassroots participation.

Targets for pre-selection and parliamentary representation should be set across an electoral cycle. Individual divisions are in the best position to judge the level at which these should be set. It should be noted that even a modest target will, over time, achieve substantial change.

Divisions should be required to report annually on progress and such reporting should be submitted to the Federal Executive to enable an annual division-by-division comparison.

## Sponsorship

A growing body of literature finds that confidence is an important factor in the progression of women.<sup>41</sup> As recent research indicates, women's confidence can be encouraged through the process of 'mentoring' or 'sponsorship'.<sup>42</sup>

Editor of the *Australian Women's Weekly*, Helen McCabe, neatly summarised a range of issues relating to women's confidence at the Menzies Research Centre Gender and Politics Forum:

*I've been in rooms where it is all about the alpha male and who's the loudest and who answers the questions first and the problem for women is where there is a gender difference, we tend to hang back, we don't push ourselves forward, we sit at the back of the room and these are big generalisations, I know, but we know that we don't lean in and the only way that you're going to get merit acknowledged in a political context is if you just get more in the room. How you get more in the room, which is the pipeline issue, is really tricky.*

McCabe also remarked on the broader challenges that women face when thinking about entering politics that may also be holding them back:

*Firstly, a lot of women won't want to do it because they do want to stay home and have their children, so I think there's only a percentage of women in the first place that actually really think to themselves it's a cool job. Then getting heard. Then the scrutiny on your life and the attacks. I think if you get more in the room, then you've got a better chance of being acknowledged for merit. Other women, we're not great at this, but will provide a support network to some extent and then you've got enough chance but what we do know is that right now in Australian politics, it's really poor and we can do a lot better. The Liberal Party, of course, has that issue as much as anybody.*

Melissa Grah-McIntosh suggested that mentoring may help the Liberal Party to increase the participation of women in its ranks:

*Mentorship has been found to be the strongest initiative you can have in an organisation, way over diversity training.*

There is an increasing body of work that suggests 'sponsorship' may be even more important in encouraging women progress and succeed. Those who subscribe to the sponsorship model believe mentoring only goes so far in supporting women to succeed, because mentors are not invested in the outcome. Sponsors, on the other hand, actively identify talented individuals and assist them to achieve goals and progress through their business or organisation.

Then candidate for Victoria, Senator Jane Hume described the difference between mentoring and sponsorship at the MRC's Gender and Politics Forum: 'Mentors tend to have an altruistic motive, whereas sponsors have skin in the game - they go out on a limb for you'.

The formal or informal sponsorship of women in the Liberal Party by senior men and women may help to improve the numbers of women involved in the Party. The most natural way to achieve this is for more women to get involved with the Party from an early age to form organic or natural linkages and alliances, as men have for decades. Member for Hume, Angus Taylor shared his experience with mentoring and sponsorship during his time at McKinsey & Co:

*I think the best mentoring is a combination of formal and informal inevitably. At McKinsey and Co, we were active at in creating formal mentoring relationships but it was amazing how the informal ones would override the formal ones. Having formal mentoring relationships can work very well but it won't work in every instance.*

*[Regarding] mentoring versus sponsorship. The way I have always thought about it is that a great mentor becomes a great champion if the relationship works. And championing people, sponsoring people, is an incredibly important part of a mentor's role. But the chemistry has to work before that's possible.*

## Party Structures

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the specifics of each element of the Liberal Party structure, it seems timely to propose the organisational structures of the Party and their role in assisting the participation and advancement of women are examined.

Liberals should examine opportunities to improve the linkages between the male and female members of the Party through formal and informal measures. If men, and men's networks, are part of the problem then they must form part of the solution. The Party should encourage men and women to work together. The role of Women's Councils and Committees is a fundamental part of this equation.

# Findings and Recommendations

Today's women are more educated, independent and more career-minded than their predecessors. Yet for two decades the proportion of women in the Liberal Party has flat-lined. The party is failing to attract the best available talent.

There is a clear link between the number of Liberal women in parliament - particularly those in leadership roles - and voting patterns. The party has lost its competitive advantage with women voters, particularly young women.

Before taking action, the party's leadership must first persuade members there is a problem. They should take their inspiration from Menzies, who described the principal art of politics as 'a persuasion which cuts deep into the popular mind and heart'. The Liberal Party will only achieve the greater representation of women using strategies that work with, not against, Liberal principles.

The Party should steer clear of box-ticking, top-down solutions like Labor's positive discrimination policy. If the aim is simply to stack green and red leather benches with women, affirmative action evidently works. If the aim is to improve the quality of representation, however, a more subtle approach is required.

We therefore strongly reject the imposition of quotas. Quotas are part of the semantics of socialist collective action. They are tools preferred in centrally planned command economies. They are anti-democratic and hostile to freedom. They are anathema to Liberalism. The Party should take its lead from the corporate sector by adopting a policy of targeted intervention. Democratic reform demands that the party trusts its members to behave responsibly. Targeted intervention is not a dictate from above; it is a means of highlighting the party's gender goals and a reminder that to enhance the party's long-term electoral prospects gender *does* matter.

We cannot place enough emphasis on how important it is for the Liberal Party to achieve change. The electoral data is clear. We have lost ground to the Labor Party in terms of the female vote. This may affect our chances of electoral success in future. In the interests of good governance for the nation, it is imperative the Liberal Party is given the best chance to win elections. There is no more crucial task than ensuring the Liberal Party has every chance in every jurisdiction to win and retain government.

We believe the following recommendations are consistent with established Liberal principles; particularly that change should be considered, gradual and build from the grassroots up, not from the top down.

Largely, our recommendations from the original Gender and Politics report stand.

## Recommendations

1. As a first step each party division should conduct an audit of female participation in the Party from the grassroots level up. Each party division should establish baseline data establishing rates of female participation, particularly in leadership roles as follows:
  - a. Number of male and female Young Liberal Movement members;
  - b. Number of male and female Senior Party members;
  - c. Number of male and female Branch Presidents;
  - d. Number of male and female State Electoral Convention or College Presidents;
  - e. Number of male and female Federal Electoral Convention or College Presidents;
  - f. Number of male and female State Council delegates;
  - g. Number of male and female State Executive Vice-Presidents;
  - h. Number of male and female State Executive Committee representatives.
2. Each jurisdiction should report the gender balance at pre-selections for lower and upper house positions at the State and Federal level every election cycle as follows:
  - a. Number of men and women nominating for pre-selection;
  - b. Number of male and female candidates pre-selected;
  - c. Number of male and female candidates pre-selected for safe seats;
  - d. Number of male and female candidates elected.
3. This data should be communicated between divisions to encourage competitive pressure between the states to improve current representation. Annual results should be reported to each Federal Council AGM.
4. Having identified areas of weakness, each division should set achievable and measureable targets for female representation at every level of the party. Such targeted intervention should be calibrated to measure progress year-on-year and election-on-election and division-on-division.
5. The role of gender-specific party sub-sections should be reviewed. Women's committees have been an historical strength since the party was founded. However, the lack of progress in the parliamentary representation of women suggested these structures have failed to improve the participation of women throughout the party. Liberals should examine opportunities to improve the linkages between the male and female members of the Party. If men, and men's networks, are part of the problem then they must form part of the solution. The Party should encourage men and women to work together.
6. The number of women candidates preselected for safe seats be included in reporting and that each division develops a long-term strategy to ensure that female candidates are strongly represented in pre-selection contests for safe seats.
7. The party should commission detailed research into the long-term trend in the female vote and the attitudes and aspirations of young women. There must be intelligent and frank discussion about the drift of younger female voters away from the Coalition. The party should develop a strategy to invest the Liberal message with intergenerational appeal.



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# Appendix A:

## Tables

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Figure 15: Outcome in seats vacated by Liberal and National sitting members in 2016

# Appendix B

## Women for Canberra

Broadcast by the Rt. Hon. R.G. Menzies, K.C., M.P., 29 January 1943

There is a revived movement to send a woman or women to the Parliament at Canberra. Political good judgment requires that I should say nothing about it for fear of attracting one of the new candidates to Kooyong. And why not? It is a free country (to some extent at any rate) and anyone is free to stand for Kooyong and, in any event, the question of women in Parliament is so important that it deserves an honest answer.

We have travelled a long way in our civic outlook upon women, and even if we were reluctant and straggling wayfarers, the events of this war, in which women have been such workers and warriors, would surely have speeded us on our journey.

In the Middle Ages, we are told, Divines solemnly disputed as to whether woman had a soul. In the twentieth century our intelligence has increased, and no career is closed and no faculty denied to her. In brief, the real equality of the sexes - though not their identity - was recognised long ago. True, I have met a few feminists whose chief ambition appeared to be to look, to sound and to act like men; but their obvious dis-satisfaction with their own sex has left my own views untouched.

Of course women are at least the equals of men. Of course there is no reason why a qualified woman should not sit in Parliament or on the Bench or in a professorial Chair, or preach from the Pulpit, or, if you like, command an Army in the field. No educated man today denies a place or a career to a woman just because she is a woman.

But there is a converse proposition which I state with all respect but with proper firmness. No woman can demand a place or a career just because she is a woman. It is outmoded and absurd to treat a woman's sex as a disqualification; it seems to me equally absurd to claim it as a qualification in itself.

I know that it may be said in answer that there is, particularly on social problems, a special woman's point of view. But again, quite frankly, I am sceptical. When I asked, for example, what men think about such and such, my only reply is that I have no idea, since almost all men have different experiences and different points of view.

Is this not equally true of women?

It is just on this point that I join issue with one or two of the advocates of the 'Women for Canberra' Movement. They appear to think that, irrespective of her party or her views or capacity for direction or administration, some women should be elected to Canberra because she is a woman and has the woman's point of view. But how you would all laugh if Jones stood for Parliament and said: 'I am a man; therefore elect me.'

For myself I decline to vote for any woman just because she is a woman; but I will vote for her with no prejudice and great cheerfulness if I am satisfied that she is, in the homely phrase, 'the better man of the two'. For, like most electors I am not half so interested in the sex or social position or worldly wealth of my representatives and rulers as I am in the quality of their minds, the soundness of their characters, the humanity of their experience, the sanity of their policy, and the strength of their wills.

When I read of a meeting at which women, aspiring to be Labor candidates, UAP candidates, Country Party candidates, Independent candidates, have all foregathered to derive common electoral strength from their association, I confess to being completely puzzled.

Does the Labor lady really believe in the policy of the Australian Labor Party? Does she earnestly believe that it is the best thing for the country? Does she really want Parliament to contain a majority of members pledged to carry it out? If she is a genuine Labor supporter - as no doubt she is - her answer must be yes. If

it is, what does she mean by supporting women candidates who are not of her Party? Will she support Mrs Smith, UAP, against a sitting Labor member for 'X', who happens to be a man?

This is far too important a question to be obscured by a sentimentality which is fundamentally more characteristic of the nineteenth century than of an age in which men have learned to respect and reverence women for their courage, strength and intelligence.

I had always understood the case for women in politics to be: 'Away with prejudice; good governance is more important than the sex of the governor'.

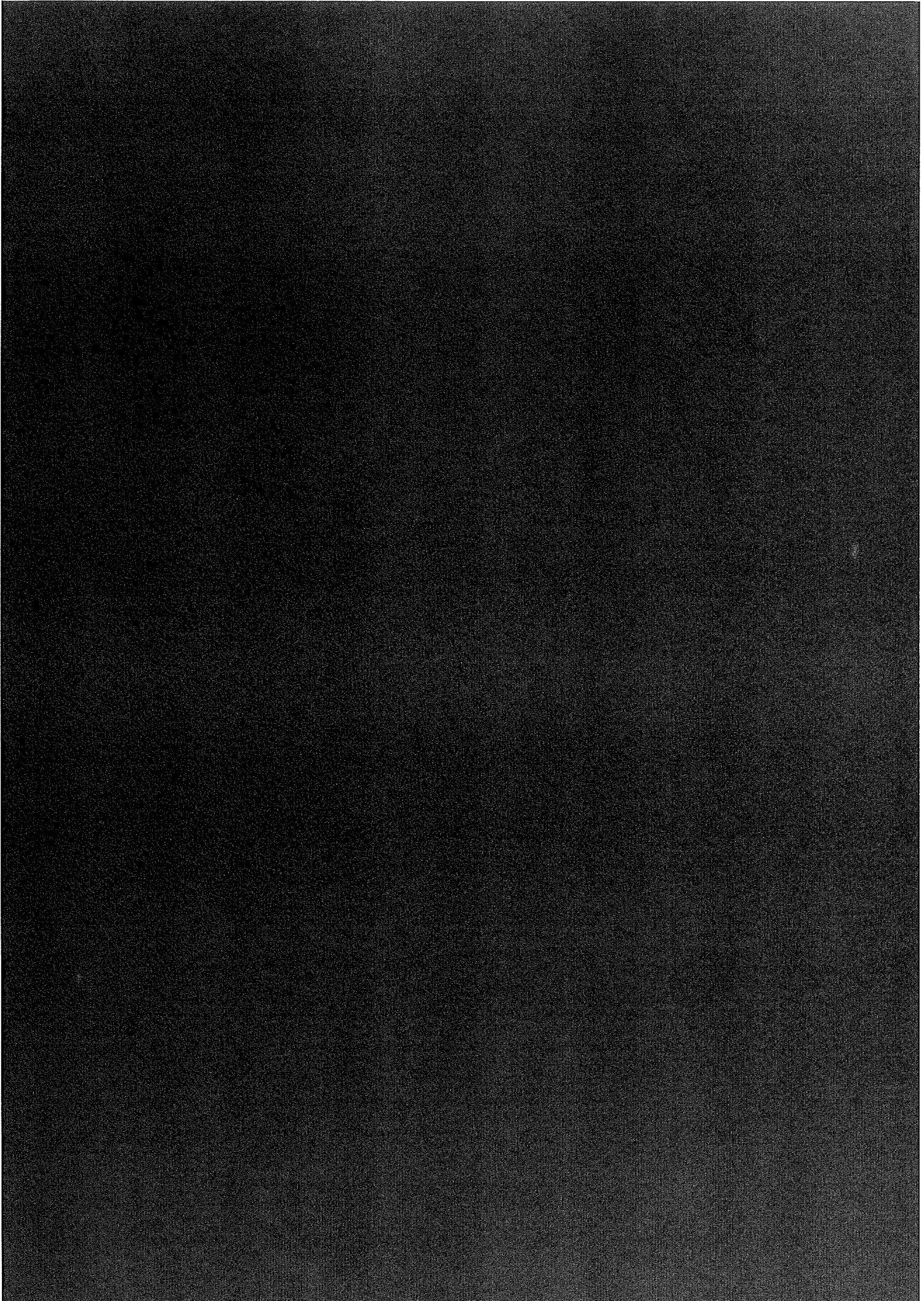
But that case appears to me to be flatly contradicted by such case which apparently says: 'That the candidate should have the right sex is more important than good government.'

Bring the whole matter down to an instance. Take Kooyong, which I represent. It contains as many women as men. On my side of politics its women's political organisation is much larger, and more continuous and more effective than the men's political organisation. There is no reason at all why a woman should not be elected by such a constituency. But if Kooyong elected some woman, irrespective of her political views and indeed, with glorious indifference to them, then Kooyong would, for all practical purposes, disenfranchise itself. For it is the quality of our political philosophy, the depth and continuity of our convictions and our fidelity to our political faith that the future of our democratic Parliament depends.

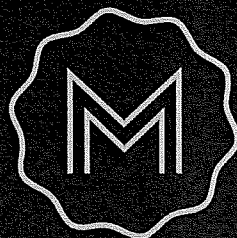
There is just one additional point that should be mentioned: It is beyond question that, particularly on such important social problems as education, health and child welfare, women can and should make a powerful contribution to the future of Australia. This undoubted fact has led some people to conclude that it would be a good thing to have in Parliament a few women who were specialists in these matters. But this argument ignores the vital political fact that Parliament is really not the place for the person who specialises in two or three matters. Parliament has to make the general laws of the country and provide the general political administrators of the country. As a Member of Parliament I must be prepared to have a view on all matters which come up for decision, and I must therefore have a policy which goes very far beyond two or three specialised topics. True, I may have some very special knowledge of some matter and once a year or thereabouts I may have the opportunity of talking to Parliament about it. But for the most part it will be necessary to deal with matters which are not my speciality but upon which I must acquire knowledge and exercise judgment.

These requirements apply to women as well as to men. The matter of real importance, therefore, is not that we should be agitating for some special representation of women in Parliament - as if women represented some circumscribed electorate in themselves - but that we should shake our minds clear of whatever prejudice may linger in them and honestly and sincerely acknowledge that there is just as much room in our public bodies for public-spirited and intelligent women as there is for public-spirited and intelligent men.









RG Menzies House  
Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Streets  
Barton ACT 2600

PO Box 6091, Kingston ACT 2604

---

[www.menziesrc.org](http://www.menziesrc.org)



s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, 27 June 2017 5:23 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** MRC appointments strengthen focus on enterprise and growth



**MENZIES**  
 RESEARCH CENTRE

## MRC UPDATE



27 June 2017

Dear s22

I am writing to you as a friend of the Menzies Research Centre to tell you about some important appointments that will strengthen our strategic focus on enterprise and growth.

**Kevin McCann AM**, a former Chairman of Macquarie Bank and Origin Energy has been appointed Chairman.

**The Hon Warwick Smith AM**, the Chairman of ANZ Bank NSW & ACT and the Australian Capital Equity Advisory Board, and **Mitch Hooke AM**, a former chief executive of the Minerals Council will also be joining the board.

**Spiro Premetis** has been appointed to head the MRC's Enterprise Policy Unit and will work on our major review of economic policy led by **Tony Shepherd AO**.

Mr McCann said: "I am delighted to be working with Executive Director Nick Cater and the board to develop research-based policies that ensure the future prosperity and security of Australia."

Kevin, Warwick and Mitch bring considerable experience to the board from the private sector. They reflect our commitment to policies that embrace freedom, empower individuals and allow businesses to thrive.

Finally may I offer an **important reminder** that the end of the tax year is just three days away. It is the perfect time to make a **tax-deductible**





**donation** to the Menzies Research Centre and help us achieve our goal of increasing our activity and influence in 2017-18.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

#### Contact Information

	(02) 6273 5608	RG Menzies House
	From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608	Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts
	info@menziesrc.org	Barton ACT 2600
	Donate here	Australia

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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Thursday, 15 June 2017 5:34 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Invitation to Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney Launches of "Menzies: The Forgotten Speeches"

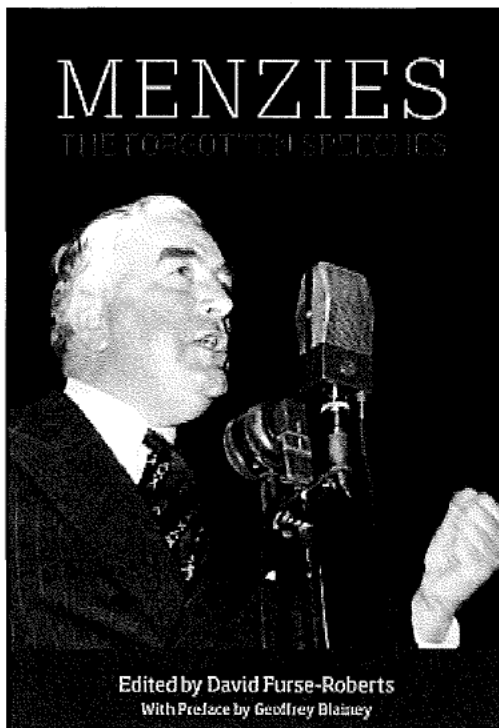


**MENZIES**  
 RESEARCH CENTRE

# MRC UPDATE



Dear s22



I am delighted to announce that we will be holding launches for our latest book *Menzies: The Forgotten Speeches* in Melbourne and Brisbane, as well as Sydney.

The book will be launched in **Melbourne** by **The Hon. Josh Frydenberg MP** on **28 June 2017**, followed by a **Brisbane** launch on **14 July 2017**. As we announced last week, the **Sydney** launch will be held next Friday on **23 June 2017**.

Edited by MRC's Research Fellow Dr David Furse-Roberts, the book is a selection of previously unpublished speeches by Robert Menzies which have been retrieved from the vaults and brought back to life in a high quality

volume. This publication is much more than a record of our history; it is a guide to the present that charts a path to the future.

Please book using the links below.

I hope you will be able to join me at one of the launches.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

---

MELBOURNE



MELBOURNE LAUNCH WITH **THE**  
**HON. JOSH FRYDENBERG MP**

**Wednesday 28 June 2017**

**4:00pm - 5:30pm**

**Parliament of Victoria**

**[TO REGISTER CLICK HERE](#)**

**BRISBANE**

**BRISBANE LAUNCH**

**Friday 14 July 2017** commencing at **6PM**. Details of location will be provided separately upon registration.

**[CLICK HERE TO REGISTER](#)**

---

**SYDNEY - LIMITED SPACE REMAINING**



**SYDNEY LAUNCH WITH MR JULIAN**

**LEESER MP**

**Friday 23 June 2017**

**3:30pm - 4:30pm**

**International Convention Centre, Sydney**

**[TO REGISTER CLICK HERE](#)**

---

Reminder|National Security Network Event registrations close tomorrow 16 June 2017

Menzies Research Centre  
National Security Network



Senator The Hon. **Marise Payne**  
Minister for Defence

BOOK  
HERE

WEDNESDAY 21 JUNE 2017  
6:30PM - 8:30PM

MAIN COMMITTEE ROOM,  
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and drinks*

#### Contact Information



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House



From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts



info@menziesrc.org

Barton ACT 2600



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, 13 June 2017 5:06 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** INVITATION: Senator The Hon Marise Payne MP addresses MRC's National Security Network



**MENZIES**  
 RESEARCH CENTRE

# MRC UPDATE




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## New National Security Network Event

Dear s22

I am delighted to announce that the Minister for Defence, **Senator the Hon Marise Payne MP** will be addressing our National Security Network event in Canberra on **21 June 2017**.

Minister Payne will be discussing the key developments since the release of the 2016 Defence White Paper and the initiatives which have been implemented to build Australia's defence capability.

The National Security Network is an initiative by the MRC that seeks to engage politicians, defence, and national security professionals on Australian and defence security matters.

The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and refreshments. I do hope you will be able to join me.

### Cost

**Free** for Enterprise and Platinum Subscribers

**\$10** for Gold and Silver Subscribers

**\$25** for Non-Subscribers

### Registration is mandatory

Click **HERE** or the invitation below to book. Please register **ONE** person at a time. Due to security pass arrangements at Parliament House, registrations **close Friday 16 June 2017. Spaces are limited.**

Menzies Research Centre  
National Security Network




Senator The Hon. **Marise Payne**  
Minister for Defence

**BOOK  
HERE**

**WEDNESDAY 21 JUNE 2017**  
**6:30PM - 8:30PM**  
**MAIN COMMITTEE ROOM,  
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA**

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A and drinks*

**Contact**

For further enquiries please contact Kay Gilchrist at [events@menziesrc.org](mailto:events@menziesrc.org) or (02) 6273 5608

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

This event is kindly supported by

**Raytheon  
Australia**

HAWKER  PACIFIC  
Aviation's Trusted Choice

Contact Information



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House





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Barton ACT 2600



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, 7 June 2017 4:48 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Invitation to the 59th Federal Council Gala Dinner & MRC Book Launch - 23 June 2017



**MENZIES**  
 RESEARCH CENTRE

# MRC UPDATE



Two special events on 23 June 2017

Dear s22

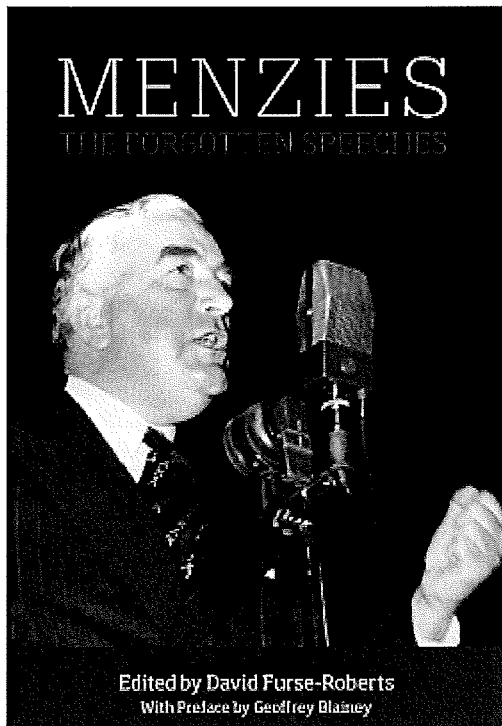
I am delighted to invite you as a valued supporter of the MRC to join me at the **Gala Dinner of the 59<sup>th</sup> Federal Council of the Liberal Party of Australia.**



The dinner is on **Friday 23 June** in Sydney and will be addressed by the Prime Minister of Australia, **the Hon Malcolm Turnbull MP** and also special guest **General David H. Petraeus (Ret.)**. David Petraeus is one of the most eminent US military leaders, former Director of the CIA and currently Chairman of the KKR Global Institute.

Please find attached at the bottom of this email a gala dinner invitation flyer with further details about this special event.

This special dinner ticket price is available by registration, using the attached form at the bottom of this invitation. Registrations close **Friday 16 June 2017**. Further details of the pre-dinner gathering, which will commence at 7:30pm, will be sent to you in due course.



I also take this opportunity to invite you to the launch by **Julian Leeser MP** of ***Menzies: The Forgotten Speeches*** at 3.30pm the same day. Edited by MRC's Research Fellow **Dr David Furse-Roberts**, the book is a selection of previously unpublished speeches by Robert Menzies, brought back to life in a high quality volume that will entertain, challenge and inspire in equal measure.

Attendance is complimentary but registrations are essential. You can book [here](#).

I hope you can join me in Sydney on 23 June.

Kind regards

Nick Cater  
Executive Director

---

More on David Petraeus: <http://www.kkr.com/our-firm/leadership/david-h-petraeus>

**Attachments:**

2017\_Federal\_Council\_Gala\_Dinner\_-\_Invitation\_Flyer\_23.6.17-1.pdf

2017\_Federal\_Council\_Gala\_Dinner\_-\_Registration\_Form-1.pdf

Contact Information



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House



From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts



info@menziesrc.org

Barton ACT 2600



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**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Monday, 29 May 2017 5:26 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** [INVITATION] The Hon Peter Dutton MP addresses MRC's Thought Leader Series



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

**MRC UPDATE**



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New Thought Leader Series Event | 5 June 2017

Dear s22

You are cordially invited to our next *Thought Leader Address* in Sydney on **Monday 5 June** given by the **Hon Peter Dutton MP**, Minister for Immigration and Border Protection.

Mr Dutton will be discussing the changes required to our immigration system if it is to maintain its reputation as one of the most successful in the world.

The *Thought Leader Series* offers an opportunity to escape the tyranny of the 24-hour news cycle for a broad based discussion about policy, principles and values.

It will be followed by an opportunity to network over drinks.


Ticket prices:

Platinum / Enterprise Subscribers: **Complimentary**


Gold / Silver Subscribers: **\$10**

Non-subscribers: **\$30**

**Please click here or the invitation below to book your place.**



**Menzies Research Centre  
Thought Leader Address**



**The Hon Peter Dutton MP**  
Minister for Immigration  
and Border Protection

Date | Monday 5th of June 2017  
Time | 6.00pm to 8.00pm  
Location | JLL Offices, Level 25/420  
George Street Sydney  
Dress | Business attire

**BOOK  
HERE**

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A & drinks*

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

This event is kindly supported by



Contact Information



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House



From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, 24 May 2017 1:57 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Celebrating the broadcast that defined modern Australia - a recap



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

MRC UPDATE



24 May 2017

Dear s22

The 75th anniversary of Bob Menzies' *Forgotten People* address on Monday was a proud moment for his party.

Peter Cousins' enthralling and inspiring performance reminded us that it is principles - not politics or ideology - that define us. Menzies' focussed mind and mastery of the English language have provided us with a rich canon that helps us frame the present as well as understand the past.

When we first discussed the idea of a gala event to mark the occasion, our first goal was to restore the broadcast to its proper place in history, and to cement



Menzies' contribution to the creation of modern Australia in the public imagination.

Our second was to create a celebratory event that would remind us of the enduring principles that speak directly to many of the civic and economic challenges with which we wrestle today.

On Monday night I believe we accomplished both. We went further, by staging an event that will live in the memories of those fortunate enough to be in Old Parliament House.

I stood at the back of the room for Cousens' rendition. I have never seen an audience so engrossed for so long. It was testimony to the power of Menzies' words and the quality of the performance.

Many more would have heard the address, broadcast live on dozens of Macquarie Radio stations, or would have watched the Facebook livestream from the MRC.

Please share this link with friends and family who might want to watch a video of the performance. You will also find a photo gallery of the event.

We are currently working on a full multi-camera HD version that will be available shortly online and on DVD.

Our 75th anniversary reprint of the original *The Forgotten People* book is available on our website together with other important books about Menzies and public policy.

The event generated a lot of interest. You can listen here to one of the many radio interviews I gave on the subject.

Finally, if you are not already a subscriber, we'd be delighted to welcome you into our growing circle of friends and supporters. You'll find details here.





Kind regards

*Nick Cater*

Nick Cater  
Executive Director

Photographer: Irene Dowdy | idphoto

Contact Information

	(02) 6273 5608	RG Menzies House
	From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608	Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts
	info@menziesrc.org	Barton ACT 2600
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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Monday, 22 May 2017 11:21 AM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Tonight is the night - 75th Anniversary of The Forgotten People speech



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

**MRC UPDATE**



22 May 2017

Dear s22

Today is the **75th Anniversary of Bob Menzies' Forgotten People** radio broadcast, one of the most significant addresses in political history.

The speech, in the darkest days of World War 2, framed the manifesto for the modern Liberal Party and sketched a blueprint for a more prosperous post-war Australia.

Many of our supporters will be joining me in Old Parliament House Canberra for a historic re-enactment of the speech by actor **Peter Cousens**. The event will be attended by four Liberal leaders who are heirs to the Menzies tradition: **John Howard; Brendan Nelson, Tony Abbott** and the Prime Minister **Malcolm Turnbull**.

For those who can't be there, the Macquarie Radio Network will broadcast the speech live. Steve Price will broadcast his show from the event from 8 pm including the speech from 9.15 pm.

The evening will be streamed on Facebook live on the Menzies Research Centre page.

I do hope you will be able to join us for this inspiring occasion either in person, on social media or by listening in on the good old wireless! You'll find a list of stations carrying the broadcast below.

Kind regards

*Nick Cater*

Nick Cater  
Executive Director

2GB Sydney

3AW Melbourne

4BC Brisbane

Talking Lifestyle (2UE) (Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane)

6PR Perth

2CC Canberra

2AY Albury

2BS Bathurst

2EC Bega, Batemans Bay, Eden and Narooma

2LT Lithgow

2NM Hunter Valley

2QN Deniliquin

2ST South Coast, St Georges Basin, Ulladulla

3CS Colac

3HA Hamilton

3NE Wangaratta

3SH Swan Hill

3WM Horsham

3YB Warrnambool

Gippslands 1242

4BU Bundaberg

4DB Toowoomba, Emerald, Roma, Goondiwindi, St George

4HI Emerald, Blackwater, Rolleston, Clermonts, Dysart, Moranbah

4LG Longreach

4LM Mount Isa, Cloncurry

4RO Rockhampton

4SB Kingaroy





4VL Charleville, Augathella, Quilpie, Cunnamulla, Tambo, Wyandra

4ZR Roma, St George, Mitchell

8HA Alice Springs

## Contact Information

---

 (02) 6273 5608 RG Menzies House  
 From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts  
 [info@menziesrc.org](mailto:info@menziesrc.org) Barton ACT 2600  
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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, 18 April 2017 9:19 AM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** An unforgettable evening - "The Forgotten People" 75th Anniversary Gala Dinner



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

**MRC UPDATE**



Dear s22

It gives me great pleasure to invite you to join me for an unforgettable evening to celebrate the **75<sup>th</sup> anniversary** of the greatest oration in Australian political history – **Sir Robert Menzies' *Forgotten People* Address**.

On 22 May 1942, during one of the darkest periods of World War II, Sir Robert broadcast to the nation, delivering a speech setting out his vision for a free and prosperous nation after the war was won.

His appeal to the forgotten people – the ambitious middle class – resonates strongly in today's political environment.

To mark this historic occasion, the MRC will host a gala dinner in Old Parliament House, Canberra.

At 9:15pm, 75 years to the minute after Menzies began speaking, his speech will be delivered again by a distinguished actor. The address will be broadcast live to the nation via the Macquarie Radio Network.

Special guests include former Prime Minister **The Hon John Howard OM AC**, Sir Robert Menzies' daughter **Mrs Heather Henderson, Alan Jones AC** and current and former Parliamentarians.

**Please click here or the invitation below for more details, including how to secure discounted accommodation in Canberra:**



*The speech that defined today's Australia*

*The Forgotten People*

75th anniversary gala dinner

Featuring a live to air re-enactment of Robert Menzies' wartime broadcast

Special guests: Mrs Heather Henderson  
Hon John Howard OM AC  
Alan Jones AC

Old Parliament House Canberra  
22 May 2017 7:30pm - 10:00pm\*

**BOOK NOW**

 **MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

 **nab**

\*event starts at 6:30pm for those attending the exclusive pre-dinner drinks gathering.  
Guests eligible for discounted rates at Doma Hotels - subject to availability.

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

Contact Information

	(02) 6273 5608	RG Menzies House
	From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608	Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts
	info@menziesrc.org	Barton ACT 2600
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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Monday, 10 April 2017 9:53 AM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** [INVITATION] Thought Leader Series Event with the Hon Andrew Constance MP



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

**MRC UPDATE**



---

New Thought Leader Series Event | 20 April 2017

Dear s22

I am pleased to announce that the state Minister for Transport & Infrastructure, the **Hon Andrew Constance MP**, will be addressing our next *Thought Leader Series* event where he will be revealing his vision for transport's future in NSW.

The world of transport is changing. We are seeing a steady progression towards contactless payments, driverless cars and on-demand transport. Just how close can we expect to enjoy this new wave of technology-driven transport? According to the Minister, the future of transport is closer than we all think.

Ticket prices:

\*Platinum / Enterprise Subscribers: **Complimentary**

\*Gold / Silver Subscribers: **\$10**

\*Non-subscribers: **\$30**

**Please click here or the invitation below to register.**

# A SMART TRANSPORT FUTURE: ARRIVING SOONER THAN YOU THINK

A THOUGHT LEADER SERIES EVENT

WITH

**THE HON. ANDREW CONSTANCE MP**  
NSW MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE

**THURSDAY 20 APRIL 2017 | 6:15-8:00 PM**  
**DELOITTE | LEVEL 9 / 225 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY**

*The Minister's address will be followed by Q&A, drinks & canapés*

*Spaces are strictly limited*



MENZIES  
MEMBERSHIP CLUB

I look forward to seeing you there.

Kind regards

Nick Cater  
Executive Director

This event is kindly supported by

**Deloitte.**

## Contact Information

---



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House



From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts



info@menziesrc.org

Barton ACT 2600



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Thursday, 30 March 2017 5:35 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Join in on the conversation.



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

MRC UPDATE



---

30 March 2017

Dear s22

I am writing to ask for your help in our campaign to boost economic growth and help Australians and their families get ahead in life.

The release of the *Shepherd Review* by the Menzies Research Centre has put Australia's economic challenges firmly at the top of the national agenda.

The **avalanche of media coverage** shows Australians are hungry for frank and honest debate about the issues vital to their future prosperity.

Tony Shepherd's *Review of National Challenges* is a sobering assessment of our precarious economic circumstances. The debt cycle is entrenched, but increasing tax and regulation will only make things worse.

The times call for policies that allow business to flourish and drive lean and effective government.

The Review released is just the start. Our most important task is to persuade the public that things must change.

The anti-business, pro-intervention forces have seldom been louder in the public debate. The MRC is committed to counter their influence.

I am inviting you to join our campaign by becoming an individual or corporate **subscriber** to the MRC.

By subscribing you will be first to hear news of events and publications and receive invitations to exclusive subscriber-only events.




Our aim is to double our number of subscribers this year. Can you help us achieve that goal?

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

#### Contact Information

	(02) 6273 5608	RG Menzies House
	From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608	Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts
	info@menziesrc.org	Barton ACT 2600
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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 24 March 2017 3:04 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** Join in on the conversation.



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

## MRC UPDATE



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24 March 2017

Dear s22

Next week the Menzies Research Centre will begin a determined attempt to persuade Australians of the need for economic change.

Our economy is on track to set a world record for continuous growth this year, yet the public mood is changing.

Australians are prepared to work as hard as ever to get ahead, but their goals feel more difficult to reach. The cycle of increasing prosperity which previous generations came to expect seems far from assured.

The **Shepherd Review's Statement of National Economic Challenges**, to be released on Monday, will show that there is reason to be anxious.

If we continue on our current high debt, high spending, low growth trajectory, Australians will have fewer opportunities to prosper. Businesses will find it harder to compete and investment will decline.

The task of providing solutions for these considerable challenges begins next week when the Shepherd Review Panel starts to formulate the policy changes needed to encourage an environment in which business prospers and citizens thrive.

Our ambitions do not stop there. Our ultimate goal is to see the Review's policies translated into action with a campaign to persuade Australian voters of the need

for change.

You can learn more about the Shepherd Review on our website.

The review will be launched by the Review Chairman **Tony Shepherd AO** in Parramatta, an epicentre for small and medium sized business activity on which our fortunes depend.

We encourage you to come along and join in on this important conversation. You can register at the link below. For those unable to attend in person, the launch will be streamed live on our Facebook page from 10am on Monday.

Kind regards



Nick Cater  
Executive Director

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Upcoming Events



**THE MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE**



# **THE SHEPHERD REVIEW: STATEMENT OF NATIONAL CHALLENGES**

PRESENTED BY

**Tony Shepherd AO** & the Shepherd Review Panel

**MONDAY 27 March 2017**

**10:00-11:30am**

**KPMG**

**Lvl 8, 91 Phillip St  
Parramatta NSW**



**27 March 2017**

[CLICK HERE TO REGISTER](#)

## Contact Information



(02) 6273 5608

RG Menzies House



From outside Australia: +61 2 6273 5608 Cnr Blackall & Macquarie Sts



[info@menziesrc.org](mailto:info@menziesrc.org)

Barton ACT 2600



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Thursday, 16 March 2017 1:16 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** [INVITATION] The Shepherd Review - Release of the Statement of National Challenges



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

MRC UPDATE



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## THE SHEPHERD REVIEW - PHASE ONE

Dear s22

In December 2016, the MRC's Enterprise Policy Unit announced its lead project, the ***Shepherd Review*** - an independent review led by **Tony Shepherd AO** to distill our nation's economic challenges and address our high debt levels, falling competitiveness and slowed investment.

The Review Panel has made significant progress since then, and we are delighted to invite you to **PHASE ONE of the Shepherd Review: *Release of the Statement of National Challenges***. This will be an objective presentation on the economic truths Australia must address.

This is an important occasion for Western Sydney businesses to join together and take part in this crucial conversation about the future of Australia's economic landscape.

I hope you will be able to join us.

**Please click here or the invitation below to register.**

**THE MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE**



# **THE SHEPHERD REVIEW: STATEMENT OF NATIONAL CHALLENGES**

PRESENTED BY

**Tony Shepherd AO** & the Shepherd Review Panel

**MONDAY 27 March 2017**

**10:00-11:30am**

**KPMG**

**Lvl 8, 91 Phillip St**

**Parramatta NSW**



Kind regards

Nick Cater

Executive Director

This event is kindly supported by



Contact Information

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info@menziesrc.org

Barton ACT 2600



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s22

**From:** Nick Cater <info@menziesrc.org>  
**Sent:** Friday, 3 March 2017 5:35 PM  
**To:** s22  
**Subject:** This week's highlights from the Menzies Research Centre



**MENZIES**  
RESEARCH CENTRE

## MRC UPDATE



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3 March 2017

Dear s22

I'm writing to you at the end of a busy week to highlight a few of our contributions to the battle of ideas.

On Thursday I joined *The Australian's* Paul Kelly and John Roskam, my counterpart at the IPA, to discuss the **future of conservatism** on *Between the Lines*, hosted by Tom Switzer on ABC Radio National. It is rare to get a full half hour of broadcasting for a serious discussion on political philosophy. It's available as a podcast and **can be downloaded here**.

**Julie Bishop launched an MRC report** that called for a review of migration arrangements with the Pacific. A better program of working visas would be a win for the Australian economy and for the economies of our Pacific neighbours. We argue that working visas and the remittances they encourage are far more effective than foreign aid alone.



Our colleague **David Furse-Roberts** in this month's *Quadrant* argues why Robert Menzies would have opposed section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act*. It is an article that will provoke much discussion.


Finally, we are planning a major event in Canberra on **May 22**, the **75th anniversary of Sir Robert's Forgotten People speech**. More details soon - in the meantime save the date.

With thanks for your support and encouragement,


Nick Cater  
Executive Director

**Upcoming Events**

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THE MENZIES RESEARCH CENTRE PRESENTS  
**BREXIT, TRUMP & THE TRADE CHALLENGE**   
AN EXCLUSIVE BREAKFAST BRIEFING WITH  
**Rt. Hon. Peter Lilley MP** Former Trade Secretary in Margaret Thatcher's Government  
**Janet Albrechtsen** Columnist, The Australian  
**Nick Cater** Executive Director, Menzies Research Centre

**THURSDAY 30 MARCH 2017**  
7:15AM - 9:00AM  
Darlton House Hyde Park  
Level 3/181 Elizabeth Street, Sydney  
100 seats of 50 invitees



**30 March 2017**

"Brexit, Trump & the Trade Challenge" Breakfast Briefing with Rt. Hon.  
Peter Lilley MP

[Click here for info & tickets](#)

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