The race to bridge the gap:

An analysis of women's policy within the spectrum of New Zealand politics in the lead up to the 2014 general election

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ABSTRACT

Women in Aotearoa New Zealand were the first in the developed world to receive the right to vote in parliamentary elections. However, despite this early promise of gender equality, the introduction of a variety of initiatives aimed to foster equality has had limited success, and such equality remains a contentious issue. This paper focuses on political communication surrounding women's affairs in the most recent general election in Aotearoa New Zealand. I examine the media campaigns and policy statements from seven political parties to determine how each party represents the gender divide and seeks to address women's issues. My analysis is based on interviews with party spokespersons for women's affairs and documented party policy sourced from both websites and party representatives. I draw on thematic and critical discourse analysis to determine how messages about women's affairs are constructed and positioned in relation to current socio-political issues. Through the implementation of gendered communication theory, which acknowledges that men and women observe and practice different communication tools and styles, and social construction feminism—the exercise of gendering as a consistent aspect of who we are, how we view others, as well as our societal standing—my analysis of the findings identifies the dominant discourses within the political spectrum in New Zealand. I discuss the implications of the various party policies in relation, for example, to parental leave and domestic violence and whether the enactment of these policies is likely to prove beneficial to New Zealand women. My analysis of the findings highlights the strategic direction of

current policy aimed at closing the gender gap and addressing women's issues in Aotearoa New Zealand, represented through themes. The discussion demonstrates that differing perspectives of equality as opposed to equity require further consideration before significant progress can be made towards developing cohesive, culturally relevant practices, as opposed to the temporary measures often instigated by ideology to support a political campaign.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Karl Marx (1868, as cited in Bryson, 1992) once suggested that "social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex" (p. 56). The progress and perception of gender equality has undergone a number of social changes globally, as well as within the political spectrum of New Zealand since the 19th century; most noticeable was the extension of the vote to New Zealand women in 1893 (Ministry for Women, 2015). Equality for women is an ongoing issue which has seen various policy developments throughout New Zealand's political history, as well as the formation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs in the 1980s (Sawer, 1999). Women's equality is clearly still an important issue within New Zealand, as indicated by the early release of the Green Party's comprehensive women's policy. Gender rights continue to "permeate culture, society and politics" (Buchanan, 2013, p. 115), suggesting that we have not yet achieved what would be considered "genuine equality".

The left versus right wing debate is at the pinnacle of policy formation, with party ideology influencing priorities associated with gender equality. As New Zealand faced another general election on September 20th 2014, policy announcements relevant to other political parties were released in order to attract voters with the same ideological values. In terms of women's policy, each party might be expected to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of issues of equality, given that the Ministry of Women's Affairs is a significant government portfolio. Each party believes that they

have New Zealand's best interests in mind and, therefore, maintain both comparable and varied approaches to solving societal issues.

Research Aim

The development of the Ministry of Women's Affairs is clearly a depiction of a historical moment for gender relations in New Zealand (Sawer, 1999; Teghtsoonian, 2005), with recognition finally attributed to the issue of gender inequality. As a result, I wish to monitor if the same fervour for women's equality is expressed politically today, as it was during the 1990 election year. Politicians and political parties are notorious for extravagant policy announcements as a means to gain voters; it was my intention to determine their priorities in relation to eliminating or resolving the issue of inequality.

The aim of this research then is to determine the priorities of each of the participating political parties in relation to gender equality, and whether a general misunderstanding regarding what equality means and entails is what is inhibiting progress towards such change. Therefore, I wish to establish the way in which each party understands the concepts of equality and also equity, as a means to increase the clarity of messages displayed in policy documents and my interpretation of conversations with party spokespersons. Thematic and critical discourse analysis was used to determine key themes and examine party ideology and values associated with the societal issue of women's inequality.

The various policies provided by different political parties, as well as interviews with women's spokespersons and relevant representatives,

provides the basis for this research in determining social and cultural practices and potential outcomes for New Zealand women. The themes extracted from the materials relevant to each party signify issues of importance and determine the relation of these themes to the ideology and views of other political parties. The discourse used by various parties presents a challenge to the reader in deciphering the intended meaning of the policy, which is where I will focus my attention.

Scope

It has become increasingly clear that categories of gender are being broadened beyond that of male and female, to include transgender, bi-gender, and those who identify as "non-conforming" to a particular type. Whilst these are only a few categories of gender aside from the cultural norm of masculine and feminine, the identification of other categories is still a grey area and a fairly new expansion of gender within society. Social constructions of gender are seen to be, particularly within recent times, limiting and damaging to those who do not identify as masculine or feminine, as they interfere with notions of identity and self-esteem.

Although I acknowledge the ever growing list of gendered identities, for the purposes of personal interest and time, a focus was placed upon gender inequality experienced by women, with recognition also given to the role of men. As terms which hold significant historical value within New Zealand, and as a study which aims to explore women's inequality throughout the past and present, the notions of male and female; masculine and feminine, take precedence. Gender in the broader sense is discussed

within the research in relation to party perspectives surrounding women's policy and gender affairs. However, the overall aim of this research is to explore issues associated with women's inequality within a New Zealand context. As such, "gender equality" as a term used throughout this study, will refer purely to equality between men and women, unless otherwise stated.

Thesis Structure

In order to fully understand the context of gender inequality within New Zealand and appreciate subsequent movements to abolish such an issue, it is necessary to explore the events which have led to the current state of inequality. Therefore, a background chapter will provide information surrounding gender inequality, in terms of movements and legislation relevant to the New Zealand context. The political parties participating within this research are also introduced within the background chapter, in order to address each party's history within New Zealand politics. A comprehensive literature review explains the supporting literature relevant to the topic of gender inequality and seeks to define to the reader significant terms used throughout the study, as well as my theoretical position as the researcher. A methodology chapter outlines the theory supplementing the research and also introduces and explains the data collection process and analysis methods. The findings, as determined through thematic analysis, outline the key themes which emerge from the data of each participating political party and expand on these themes through evidence and explanation. The discussion chapter utilises critical discourse analysis in

order to examine the social and cultural practices which separate and connect parties, in terms of ideology and interpretation. Concluding remarks highlight important aspects discussed throughout the thesis and discuss whether a general misunderstanding of the concept of equality is what is halting progress towards gender equality.

CHAPTER 2

Background Information

In order to discuss the societal issue of gender inequality within a New

Zealand context, it is important to be aware of the contributing, historical

factors which underpin such a prominent debate. Whilst social change has

occurred in this area of concern, such alteration can be attributed to leading

actors such as Kate Sheppard; the face of women's suffrage in New Zealand

and now the $10 note; as well as stages of intense social activism (Else,

2012). Changes to legislation have granted women full equality before the

law. However, gendered constructions regarding women's *roles* (Else, 2012)

are still prevalent within the foundations of the governing social structure.

Whilst attempts at both social and legislative change have been

somewhat successful, gender inequality still exists for women in all areas of

their lives. An examination of the political parties which form the

parliamentary body of New Zealand can create an understanding of their

origins, perspectives and policies. The parties discussed in this section are

those who participated within this study and whose policy documents and

ideology will be examined in relation to gender inequality in New Zealand.

Gender Inequality in New Zealand

A brief history.

New Zealand's history regarding gender inequality demonstrates a shift in

ideological thinking. In the 19th century, a woman's role was viewed as

predominantly private and domestically based, under the governance of her

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husband whose role was to support the family and act as the public representative (Else, 2012). As a result, inequality was caused by the limited participation of women in society (Else, 2012). In response to the growing awareness of gender inequality among women, figures including Kate Sheppard and movements such as women's suffrage, arose to campaign for women's rights, as discussed within this chapter.

Legislative action was also undertaken which saw women gain the right to vote in 1893 (Ministry for Women, 2015); changes to the Human Rights Commisson Act 1977 and the implementation of the 1993 revision (Else, 2012); and full gender equality within the law (Ministry for Women, 2015)—actions referred to as the result of the Kate Sheppard effect (McGregor, 2013). Following the inclusion of women within voting, Kate Sheppard famously noted that females are "human beings as well as women, and our humanity must take precedence over our womanhood. We are New Zealanders and therefore citizens" (Sheppard, 1897, p. 2). In this way, the role of gender in determining societal standing was viewed as inhibiting the progress of women's equality.

Gender inequality in 21st century New Zealand.

In 2014, New Zealand was ranked thirteenth out of 142 countries for gender equality; a decrease from a previous ranking of seventh (World Economic Forum, 2014). McGregor (2013) believes that a progression towards gender equality has halted and as a country, we are back pedalling in areas such as pay equality. Depending on which political party you speak to, the World Economic Forum result is either a positive or negative indictator of equality.

The attitudes of many New Zealanders would suggest that gender inequality is not such a prominent issue, as highlighted by McGregor (2013):

> The idea that New Zealand is a great place for women to live, to work, have families and to participate at all levels is fixed in national consciousness. It is sustained by at least two powerful and recurring symbols. The first is graphically demonstrated on the $10 note…The second piece of symbolism…[is shown by] the fact that at a certain point in New Zealand's modern political and constitutional history we had four women occupying the top leadership positions; Governor General Dame Sylvia Cartwright, Prime Minister Helen Clark, the Chief Justice Dame Sian Elias and the Attorney General Hon. Margaret Wilson (p. 2).

In this way, ideas pertaining to third wave feminism as an ideology of empowerment (Conrad, 2001), with elements undermining previous feminist movements (McRobbie, 2004) can be applied. McGregor's (2013) ideas are founded on the principle that New Zealanders are aware that women have previously fought to gain rights, and now these efforts are coming into fruition with the presence of women in prominent positions within society. In this case, it is not rankings or statistics which speak to the public, but societal actions and examples which undermine or exonerate the efforts of those who have gone before us.

Casey, Skibnes, and Pringle (2011) remark that a "principal feature of the New Zealand strategy has been a soft regulation approach in the form of advocacy and encouragement…, awareness raising and benchmarking" (p.

613). As a result, legislating actions towards gendered pay or paid parental

leave and work flexibility are seen as less effective than advocating for

cultural change. This observation is consistent with the idea that we have

come close to obtaining gender equality and now the objective is to

maintain efforts associated with the suffragette movement and legislative

action (McGregor, 2013). It is also apparent that personal circumstances

influence the amount of gender inequality a person perceives. If,

individually, women are content with their earnings or position within the

household, gender inequality may not be considered prominent or a societal

issue (McGregor, 2013). As a result, these women are able "to ignore or

insulate themselves entirely from gender visibility and gender equality

issues" (Casey et al., 2011, p. 627).

New Zealand's Voting System

  Mixed member proportional representation.

Currently in New Zealand, the election of members of Parliament is

conducted through a system called Mixed Member Proportional

representation (MMP), which was introduced in 1996 (Sawer, 1999). Based

on the casting of two votes by residents (a party vote and a candidate vote of

those within the resident's electorate), "the proportion of votes a party gets

will largely reflect the number of seats it has in parliament" (MMP Voting

System, 2013, para. 2). This is calculated by a percentage margin e.g. 30%

of the voting reflects approximately 36 seats within Parliament (MMP

Voting System, 2013). This system, as opposed to the "first past the post"

scheme used in countries such as the United Kingdom, presents each political party with the opportunity to have a presence within Parliament and, therefore, affords the population a greater voice within society. With a voting system which reflects the societal need for equality and for the minority and majority voices to hold equal weight, policies, particularly regarding women, might also be expected to reflect this perspective.

Legislative Actions to Reduce Gender Inequality

      Previous women-centred legislation.

One of the key legislative acts affecting women, even today, pertains to the decision to grant women the vote in 1893 (Ministry for Women, 2015). New Zealand prides itself on being the first country to do so, despite years of "enormous struggle by suffragists…led by Kate Sheppard" (Ministry for Women, 2015). The significance of such a decision was hailed as a victory for women, with many Western countries not granting the same privilege to women until after World War I (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2014; Ministry for Women, 2015).

      Although some policies exist to advance equality for women, others influence the continuation of discrimination with the assistance of socially constructed notions of gender. According to Cheyne, O'Brien, and Belgrave (2000), legislation such as the Matrimonial Property Act 1976, "is widely recognised as failing to ensure gender equity [in terms of]…the value of women's domestic labour…and the impact of this unpaid work and the continuing caring responsibilities on future earning prospects" (p. 107). In

the event of relationship dissolution, the division of assets in an equal ratio is seen as a disadvantage to women, given that the level of unpaid work sterotypically attributed to women, such as raising children and housework, is forgotten and taken for granted. Such work is also seen to highlight the division of labour between men and women. The Child Support Act 1992 was a continuation of the "judicial adherence to the clean-break principle" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 107), due to assumptions surrounding continued parental support directed at mothers.

In 1982, the Domestic Protection Act 1982 was passed (Women's Refuge, 2015). The purpose of this act was to protect victims of domestic violence and reduce such instances, with up to four changes made to the Crimes Act (Women's Refuge, 2015). However, in 1987, police within Hamilton began to instigate a preventative strategy (Swarbrick, 2015). In doing so, police would arrest those men who demonstrated physically violent behaviour, rather than wait for a complaint to be made (Swarbrick, 2015).

It was soon discovered that offenders often received light sentences and minimal discipline under the Domestic Protection Act, due to the idea that intimidation and harassment were not considered aspects of physical violence (Swarbrick, 2015). As a result, the creation of the 1995 Domestic Violence Act saw the inclusion of sexual and psychologically damaging behaviour as forms of domestic violence (Swarbrick, 2015). A wider range of relationships were included to acknowledge the power-control associations that occur elsewhere. The presence of children in witnessing such violence was also deemed a form of abuse (Swarbrick, 2015). Violence

enacted by partners living with or separated from the victim were given

equal penalties. However, a 2007 review concluded that implementation of

the act was often inadequate in certain situations (Swarbrick, 2015). In 2009,

safety orders were introduced which allowed police to remove the offender

from the home for up to five days (Swarbrick, 2015). This increased the

time victims had to rethink their situation and receive any necessary help

from organisations such as Women's Refuge. Protection orders could be

issued by a judge and failure to appear in court could lead to six months in

prison (Swarbrick, 2015).

The creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs was founded in March 1985 after it was

approved in 1984 by Cabinet, under a Labour-led Government (Sawer, 1999,

p. 17). This new Ministry was committed to working with women in the

community and reaching a consensus on issues through a non-hierarchical

system, meaning that decisions within the Ministry were made collectively

(Sawer, 1999). In 1990, the New Zealand Labour party released their

women's policy in the lead up to the general election of the same year. The

ten stage approach outlined by Labour consisted of steps towards equality

for women in income; family; health; education; justice; early childhood;

and ethnicity (Sawer, 1999). Margaret Shields, Minister of Women's Affairs

and Statistics (Sawer, 1999) stated in her policy launch speech that:

> Women's struggle for equality with men is the struggle for real
>
> choices. One of the most significant choices women will make this

year is the choice they make on 27 October. That choice will

determine whether we have a government with a proven

commitment to economic, social and political equality for women, or

whether we have a government that denies the existence of

discrimination against women, or treats us as welfare class (Shields,

1990, para. 1).

In this speech, it is clear the central message pertains to casting the party

vote towards a Labour Government, where it is said that women's equality

is valued. Shields goes on to say, "As a Government Minister of course I'd

prefer that women voted for my team…Women don't want platitudes and

empty promises" (Shields, 1990, para. 2-3). These two statements directly

reflect the message previously identified. The discourse presented tells the

audience that the Labour Party is the one to vote for if you wish to see

women treated equally in all aspects of society.

In the same year as Shields' speech, the National Party mooted to

change the name of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to the Ministry of

Family Affairs, yet this was not carried out after the election when they

succeeded in their campaign to enter into Government (Sawer, 1999).

Instead, a greater focus was on the economic involvement of women, with

emphasis placed on increasing the number of Māori women participating in

business (Sawer, 1999). Today, under a National-led Government, the

Ministry of Women's Affairs "has three priority areas: greater economic

independence, more women in leadership and increased safety from

violence" (Goodhew, n.d.). These three key areas inform ideas concerning

right-wing parties and their focus on the economy, but also demonstrate gendered perspectives 20 years on from the formation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Has society's ideas about women's equality changed, or has this ministry and other political forces implemented steps in achieving equality?

The History of New Zealand's Political Parties

There has been a long standing idea that the left wing parties (Labour, the Greens, the Maori Party, Mana and NZ First) are social democratic parties which aim their policies at the welfare of the people. Whereas, right wing; third way or neoliberal parties (National, ACT and United Future) create policies that are better for and stimulate the economy. In this section, the history of each of the parties participating within this study, will be outlined. The parties are represented and discussed in no particular order. However, the order prescribed within this chapter will be replicated within the findings and discussion chapters.

The Green Party.

The Green Party was first established in May 1972, under the initial title of the Values Party (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015b). In 1990, the current Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand was formed as a combination of the Values Party and other smaller groups, in order to contest the general election of that same year (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015b). The Greens were members of the Alliance; a group made up of 4 other political parties, from 1992-1997, where it gained entry into

parliament through the introduction of MMP in 1996 (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015b). The party then decided to run for the 1999 general election on a separate list (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015b). They obtained 5.2% after special votes were counted and seven MP's were granted seats within Parliament (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015b).

Under the co-leadership of Metiria Turei and Russel Norman (as at 2014), the Green Party vision demonstrated a passion to see New Zealand as "a place where people respect each other and the natural world we share. It is healthy, peaceful and richly diverse" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014b, para. 4). Their mantra for the 2014 general election was to do with a "Fairer society, smarter economy and cleaner environment" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 2). A focus on the environment is an iconic attribute of the Green Party, alongside their views on the economy. As a left-wing party, the Greens concern themselves with issues of social welfare, including gender equality. The Green Party's women's spokesperson is Jan Logie; someone focused on reducing inequality and promoting participation (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2015a). In this way, the Green Party view social welfare as an area which requires state intervention in order to provide all citizens with the opportunity to particpate within society (Cheyne et al., 2000).

   The National Party.

The New Zealand National Party was founded in 1936 as the product of a coalition Government between the Liberal and Reform parties (The National

Party, 2015). The National Party entered into Parliament in the same year (New Zealand Parliament, 2014e), gaining up to 25 Parliamentary seats out of a possible 80 (The National Party, 2015). The first elected woman MP was named Hilda Ross, who won the Hamilton electorate in the 1945 by-election (The National Party, 2015). The National Party has been involved in five Governments, including "1949–1957, 1960–1972, 1975–1984, 1990–1999, and 2008-[present]" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014e, para. 3). The following leaders have led the National Party and/or the country, including Robert Muldoon, Jim Bolger, Jenny Shipley, Bill English, Don Brash and current Prime Minister, John Key (The National Party, 2015). Most interestingly, Jenny Shipley was the first female leader of the National Party, as well as the first female Prime Minister of New Zealand, marking a turning point for New Zealand politics in the year 1997 (The National Party, 2015).

Today, the National Party and country is led by Prime Minister John Key who was first appointed in 2008 when National won the election against the Labour Party and their leader, Helen Clark (The National Party, 2015). The National Party vision of equality is one which "seeks a safe, prosperous, and successful New Zealand that creates opportunities for all New Zealanders to reach their personal goals and dreams" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014e, para. 7). In this way, it is believed that the ideal society will allow citizens individual freedom and equality of opportunity, with the overall aim of creating a stable economy (New Zealand Parliament, 2014e). In 2014, the National Party women's spokesperson and Minister for Women's Affairs was Jo Goodhew.

The Labour Party.

The Labour Party began in 1916 as a party devoted to the rights and needs of the working class (Labour, 2015b). Led by Michael Joseph Savage, Labour won the 1935 election and came into power promising to fundamentally review society and culture, and forge strong ties with Māori (Labour, 2015b; Wilson, 2015). Affordable healthcare, low-cost housing, greater access to education, reduced unemployment and a comprehensive social welfare system, were all reforms instigated by Labour (Labour, 2015b). In 1940, Peter Fraser became Prime Minister and was a driving force for the establishment of the United Nations (Labour, 2015b; Wilson, 2015). The 1960s saw the "introduction of Equal Pay for Women for Equal Work" (Labour, 2015b, para. 9). In 1999, Helen Clark became the second female Prime Minister of New Zealand and led the fifth Labour Government (Labour, 2015b). The Labour Party vision at this time was about "building New Zealand's identity as an inclusive nation—projecting its values of peace, reconciliation, and social cohesion to the world" (Labour, 2015b, para. 13). The Labour Party lost the 2008 general election and has sat in opposition since.

Today, Labour Party principles relating to equality state that:

> all people should have equal access to all social, economic, cultural, political and legal spheres, regardless of wealth or social position, and continuing participation in the democratic process…[and that] the same basic human rights, protected by the State, apply to all people (Labour, 2015a, para. 3).

In this way, the Labour Party believes in formal equality and the right of all people to have access to equal opportunities. In 2014, the Labour Party women's spokesperson was Carol Beaumont.

The Māori Party.

In July 2004, the Māori Party was formed by Tariana Turia following her departure from the Labour Party, and entered Parliament through a by-election in the same year (New Zealand Parliament, 2014d). From 2008-2011, co-leaders Tariana Turia and Pita Sharples had an agreement with the National-led Government of the time, which continued when National was re-elected in 2011 (New Zealand Parliament, 2014d). Both leaders were ministers outside of cabinet under this agreement, until Sharples resigned and was replaced by Te Ururoa Flavell before the 2014 general election (New Zealand Parliament, 2014d).

The Māori Party believe that they are a party for all New Zealanders and maintain "values that provide for the wellbeing of all…[and strive for] a nation of cultural diversity and richness where its unity is underpinned by the expression of tangata whenuatanga" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014d, para. 5). As a result, Māori values underpin the principles of the Māori Party as a means to achieve equality and enhance the wellbeing of the minorities.

New Zealand First.

New Zealand First was formed in July 1993 as a party focused on putting the people of New Zealand first (New Zealand First, 2015). Founded by Winston Peters, previously a member of the National Party, New Zealand

First entered Parliament in 1994 as the result of a by-election (New Zealand Parliament, 2014a). Peters left National as a result of a dispute over broken election promises surrounding taxation of the elderly and the economy (New Zealand First, 2015). The introduction of MMP for the 1996 election saw New Zealand First gain 17 seats, 5 of which were Māori seats within Parliament (New Zealand First, 2015). A coalition with the National Party was formed in order to create a Government and Peters served as Deputy Prime Minister (New Zealand First, 2015). Peters was dropped from this role following an ongoing dispute with Prime Minister Jenny Shipley (New Zealand First, 2015). As a result, the coalition was called off and New Zealand First was partially divided (New Zealand First, 2015).

Peters formed a coalition with the Labour Party after the 2005 general election and became a Minister outside Cabinet until 2008 (New Zealand Parliament, 2014a). Peters has remained the leader of New Zealand First since its creation, despite disputes and investigations over party donations in 2008, resulting in a fall in popularity and possible party dissolution (New Zealand First, 2015). Their 2011 election campaign saw Peters' popularity rise in polls dramatically, with New Zealand First vowing to stay in opposition and hold the Government to account (New Zealand First, 2015).

New Zealand First's key message is:

> To put New Zealand and New Zealanders first through enlightened
> economic and social policies, by placing control of New Zealand's
> resources in the hands of New Zealanders, and by restoring faith in
> the democratic process (New Zealand Parliament, 2014a, para. 5).

In this way, New Zealand First wish to transfer power back into the hands of the people of New Zealand as a means of enhancing democracy and providing the opportunity for the development of equality.

United Future.

United Future is a centralist party formed in 2000 as a result of the amalgamation of Future New Zealand and United New Zealand parties (3 News, 2011). The party is led by Peter Dunne and Deputy Leader, Judy Turner (3 News, 2011). United Future entered Parliament in 2001 (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c) and had its highest number of seats in 2002, holding eight (3 News, 2011). From 2005-2008 United Future "had a confidence and supply agreement with the Labour-Progressive Coalition Government" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c, para. 4). Similar agreements have been made with the National Party since they entered Government in 2008 (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c).

United Future's mission is to achieve social and political change, whilst their vision states that they believe "that the key to improving the long-term future for all diverse communities within New Zealand are policies that help families form a solid basis for our society" (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c, para. 6). Therefore, United Future believe that legislative action is a step toward evoking social and political change.

The Internet Party.

In late 2013, wealthy German entrepreneur and owner of cloud service Megaupload, Kim Dotcom, announced the name of his new political party –

The Internet Party (Satherley, 2014). In January 2012, Kim Dotcom was arrested in his mansion at the request of the U.S Government for "charges that include conspiracy to commit racketeering, conspiracy to commit copyright infringement, conspiracy to commit money laundering and criminal copyright infringement" (CNN Wire Staff, 2012, para. 4) but was released on bail. The raid on Kim Dotcom's mansion uncovered illegal spying by the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which provoked an apology from Prime Minister, John Key (Fairfax Media, 2013). Kim "Dotcom then had a very public showdown with Key at the parliamentary committee on the GCSB bill" (Fairfax Media, 2013, para. 6), provoking the creation of a political party.

On May 27 2014, it was announced that the Internet Party and Mana Party, led by Hone Harawira, would merge in order to increase their chances of entering parliament in the 2014 election (Braddock, 2014). This merger was agreed upon through a Memorandum of Understanding and would expire on 1 November 2014, following the election result (Braddock, 2014). On May 29, Dotcom and Harawira announced that former Cabinet Minister Laila Harré would become the formal leader of the Internet Party (3 News online staff, 2014). The Internet Party's key policies included "pledging to cut internet connectivity costs by 50 per cent, creating a government-sponsored digital currency and stopping "mass surveillance" of New Zealanders by the Government" (Walters, 2014, para. 20). Ideas surrounding the legalisation of cannabis were also advertised within policy, labelling the Internet Party particularly left-wing (Martin, 2014). Pani Farvid was named the women's spokesperson for the Internet Party and

developed a comprehensive gender policy which supplemented left-wing ideologies. The merge between the Mana Party and the Internet Party provided much controversy in 2014, being labelled as a marriage of convenience by Prime Minister John Key (3 News online staff, 2014).

Summary

The purpose of this section was to highlight events which have foreshadowed the current situation relating to gender inequality, within a New Zealand context. Whilst historical events such as the suffragete movement have led to legislative progress within women's rights, overall inequality remains a poignant issue in the 21st century. In examining the history associated with the political parties participating in this study, we are able to understand their differing perspectives allowing later discussions of the data to examine the relationship between ideology and equality. Within the next chapter, literature informing the research will be examined and definintions explained, in order to further amplify an understanding of gender inequality within New Zealand's political spectrum.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

This literature review will seek to identify and define theories and concepts associated with the design of this research project, as well as provide the reader with an understanding of literature informing the topic of gender inequality. Literature pertaining to political communication and public communication campaigns will be discussed as a product of ideological beliefs and hegemonic principles, which will also be outlined. Various forms of feminism, including first, second and third wave feminism, are defined and used to demonstrate the current views on women's equality. Social constructions around womanhood and gender are then explored as a means to identify the reproduction of gender inequality through socially constructed stereotypes. With this in mind, the Māori perspective of policy formation and approaches to societal issues help inform ideas surrounding diversity and equity. The importance of addressing and discussing prevalent ideas associated with gender inequality in New Zealand demonstrates the enormity of gender inequality as a societal issue in need of political representation, and informs the purpose behind this study. My theoretical position will be outlined in the closing sections of this chapter as a means of making my views on this topic evident.

Theoretical Perspectives of Election Campaigns

     Political communication.

According to McNair (1995) "the purpose of all this communication is, as has been noted, to persuade" (p. 10). The study of political communication focuses on three key factors which influence the dissemination of power and political messages; political actors, the audience and the media (McNair, 1995; Soukup, 2014). Political actors are those individuals who seek to affect decision-making through the attainment of political power within governing bodies, such as political parties and government itself (McNair, 1995). In this way, the preferred policies of the dominant group are enacted through hegemony endorsed by democracy (Heiner, 2013). Opposing actors seek "to obstruct existing power-holders, and have them replaced by alternatives" (McNair, 1995, p. 5). Political parties consist of individuals with similar outlooks on society and as such, an organisational philosophy is developed with a key ideology with which party goals are presented to the public (McNair, 1995). These goals vary across the political spectrum. However, "they [all] share a commitment to constitutional means of advancing their objectives, attempting to convince a population as a whole of their correctness, and putting their policies to the test of periodic elections" (McNair, 1995, p. 5).

     Whether these political actors are targeting the entire nation or specific groups of people, the audience play an important part "without which no political message can have any relevance" (McNair, 1995, p. 10). All political communication is calculated and seeks to have an effect on the

audience (McNair, 1995). As a result, it is ideal that such political communication is effective when considering "the importance of a politician's visual image [and policy] in shaping voters' perceptions; the impact of 'biased' media coverage on election outcomes; and the relationship between 'public opinion' and attempts…to set agendas" (McNair, 1995, p. 10).

Lastly, many media outlets exist and have developed in recent years, as a dissemination tool for delivering political messages. Print media still maintains a presence locally, in the form of the New Zealand Herald and other regional papers, which have also taken a new media approach to news dissemination e.g. Websites; Twitter feeds; and Facebook pages. Other outlets include television; the 6 o'clock news on channels one and three, as well as shows such as *Seven Sharp*, *Campbell Live* and *Breakfast*. However, the online presence of media in forums such as Facebook, Twitter and on specialised news websites, has influenced the way news is disseminated and has created the opportunity for instantaneous feedback.

According to McNair (1995) "in democratic political systems the media function both as transmitters of political communication which originates outside the media organisation itself, and as senders of political messages constructed by journalists" (p. 11). For the purposes of this study, it is interesting to note the relationship between political actors and the media in terms of message transmission. With the recent presence of social networking tools alongside traditional media, "political actors must use the media in order to have their messages communicated to the desired audience" (McNair, 1995, p. 11). However, the relaying of these messages by media

and the increased response awarded to the audience via social media has resulted in a less objective forum for political communicative practice; "there is no such thing as objective journalism…the media are dedicated more than anything else to telling a good story and this can often have a major impact on the political process" (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 4). As such, objective messages are rarely relayed to the audience from one source to another. Instead, bias is often attributed depending on the political views of the editors (McNair, 1995); "political power can usually be translated into power over the news media…when the authorities lose control over the political environment, they also lose control over the news" (Wolfsfeld, 2011, pp. 2-3).

The introduction of new media and "the expanding global network of bloggers [and 'citizen journalists'] is characterised by its often fiercely opinionated contributions to political debate" (McNair, 1995, p. 12). This idea represents a significant shift from the perspective of media as the fourth estate and of serving the public agenda. The role of all media outlets in the dissemination of political messages is an important aspect of the electoral campaigning process, as discussed in the next section.

Public communication campaigns.

Atkin and Rice (2012) define public communication campaigns "as purposive attempts to inform or influence behaviors in large audiences within a specified time period using an organized set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels" (Gersbach, 2014, p. 3). As a result, this perspective adequately relates to

electoral campaigns and can be used to analyse the 2014 general election in New Zealand. Once again, the audience are one of the key elements which campaigns seek to capture the attention of and persuade with their message (Gersbach, 2014; Soukup, 2014). In politics, rather than attempting to appeal to the majority of the audience, political parties seek to target key groups of people through specific policy announcements (Atkin & Rice, 2012; Gersbach, 2014). In this way, the campaign tools enacted by politicians are used "to identify the proximate and distal determinants and then create models of the pathways of influence via attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, social influences, and environmental forces" (Atkin & Rice, 2012, p. 6). Targeting party supporters is a valuable tool, as these people tend to be more receptive to campaigns and messages associated with their chosen party (Atkin & Rice, 2012; Soukup, 2014).

Although traditional media still plays a significant role in the dissemination of messages during campaigns, the New Zealand general election of 2014 saw an increase in the use of social media in order to obtain instantaneous feedback and remain close to the audience (Atkin & Rice, 2012). Attempts to appear relevant to the younger generation through social media, as well as respectful of traditional means of message dissemination, meant that messages were distributed across multiple platforms to people of various ages and abilities (Soukup, 2014). However, "exposed audience members are lost at each subsequent response stage due to defensive responses such as misperception of susceptibility to threatened consequences, denial of applicability of message incentives to self, [and] defensive counter arguing against persuasive appeals" (Atkin & Rice, 2012,

p. 14). As a result, the influence of campaign messages can face diminishing effects if the audience does not respond well to such persuasion (Atkin & Rice, 2012). An increase in media literacy among audiences (Soukup, 2014) has caused politicians to rethink how they use media and the types of policies they offer, in order to create a successful electoral campaign.

The Formation of Ideological Beliefs

Ideology.

Ideologies form the basis for what is perceived to be social reality (Sauer, 1989):

> Ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, its shared beliefs about its fundamental conditions and ways of existence and reproduction. Different types of ideologies are defined by the kind of groups that 'have' an ideology, such as social movements, political parties, professions, or churches, among others…They control and organize other socially shared beliefs (van Dijk , 2001, p. 116).

In this way, these belief systems are what control the societal structure and determine appropriate behaviours in accordance with the social identity. According to Sauer (1989):

> The ideological is not so much an expression of the polarity of "true" and "false", or a static opposition of a "factual" and an "ideological" description of social reality. Rather the ideological is the sphere in

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which the formal determination of social practices and their

transformation are discussed and/or deliberated (p. 8).

In a political sense, ideology informs the position of the particular party, the

choice of policy and the way in which they view the economy and/or people.

The chosen government embodies their ideology and governs the country in

accordance with their beliefs. In this regard, "ideologies also specify what

general cultural values (freedom, equality, justice, etc.) are relevant for the

group" (van Dijk , 2001, p. 116). These ideological beliefs are usually

shared by a group within the general population, as the political party's

presence within government is determined through democratic process.

Three key ideologies which influence the political sphere within New

Zealand include neoliberalism, social democracy and the third way—each

of which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Cultural hegemony.

According to Lears (1985), cultural hegemony can be defined as the consent

given by a large portion of a population to the dominant group, in relation to

the direction of society imposed by the prestige of the elite group—a term

developed by Antonio Gramsci (Hopf, 2013). In this way, hegemony refers

to the acceptance of the population to sustain the leadership and ideology

imposed by the dominant group. As a legitimising power, hegemony is

responsible for the cultural acceptance of social constructions (Hopf, 2013),

such as those associated with gender.

In a political sense the reproduction of hegemony is enacted through

democractic events, much like the general election which took place on September 20th 2014. The population endorse a political party through the casting of a vote; a symbolic acceptance of governance. However, "the ruling groups never engineer consent with complete success; the outlook of subordinate groups is always divided and ambiguous" (Lears, 1985, p. 570). This idea is seen in the variety of political parties present within New Zealand politics, resulting in smaller groups of the population endorsing varying political ideologies.

Ideology and hegemony are concepts which are fiercely interrelated. As previously discussed, ideology is a system of beliefs (Sauer, 1989) legitimised through hegemony. In this way, those who accept the ideas and leadership of the dominant group are also subscribing to their ideology (Hopf, 2013). An example of this is shown within the next section through the explanations of neoliberalism, social democracy and the third way, as ideologies which have been legitimised by the population over time.

Neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism, as a popular political ideology of our time, views the market as the "central institution" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 79); a system made up of buyers and sellers which contribute to the effective dissemination of knowledge (Cheyne et al., 2000). Neoliberalism argues that there is no reason for the state to intervene in matters pertaining to the market, as results are not known by the consumer (Cheyne et al., 2000). In this way, "neoliberalism creates new risks and uncertainties which it asks citizens to simply ignore" (Giddens, 1998, p. 8). Therefore, inequalities are accepted as

a product of a free, deregulated market (Giddens, 1998).

One of the fundamental ideas which neoliberalism exhibits relates to "moral authoritarianism [and] economic individualism" (Giddens, 1998, p. 5). As a result, the role of the state is to protect individual freedoms (Cheyne et al., 2000; Giddens, 1998). Individual freedom is "of greater value than equality and in fact any efforts by the state to create greater equality are considered to result in loss of freedom" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 79). Therefore, procedural equality and negative freedoms can be used to explain the stance of neoliberalists on inequality (Cheyne et al., 2000). Any inequalities which exist are a result of individual freedom and choice, which means that any attempt to rectify the situation would be the choice of individuals (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Scepticism of state provisions, such as welfare, is evident within this ideology as such intervention removes individual choice in relation to the services one might receive (Cheyne et al., 2000). Individuals should be able to pursue their own self-interests, including the obtaining of private property; a freedom of great significance for neoliberalism (Cheyne et al., 2000). This idea of privatization, demonstrates the move towards commodification and the transferring of property, ownership and business from government to private sector (Cheyne et al., 2000). In terms of justice, a retributive approach is taken, whereby, entitlement through lawful ownership or personal labour is valued above fair distribution throughout society (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Social democracy.

As a political alternative to the Marxist ideology, social democrats oppose "concentrations of wealth in the hands of a few and instead [advocate] collective responses, rather than a reliance on market forces" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 73). In this way, equality is a key theme and perceived as paramount for social harmony (Cheyne et al., 2000). Therefore, such left wing ideology has been viewed as the linchpin of women's equality (Sapiro, 1998). In order for such equality to be instigated, the "state dominates over civil society…[advocating for] full employment…; [a] comprehensive welfare state" (Giddens, 1998, p. 5); and the protection of citizens from cradle to grave (Cheyne et al., 2000; Giddens, 1998). As a result, the welfare state is seen to transform the role of capitalism and lead to the acceptance of a mixed economy—in which market forces are balanced by the provision of goods and services to the public (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Substantive equality, or equality of outcome, paired with formal equality (equality of opportunity) are key ideas which underpin social democracy (Cheyne et al., 2000). In this way, equality can be achieved if "all citizens receive certain basic social-welfare services through state provision" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 73). Social democrats also advocate for taxation as a means to progressively redistribute wealth and opportunity, through social policy (Cheyne et al., 2000). In this way, social democracy parallels neoliberalism in almost every way through contrary ideas and beliefs.

The third way.

The third way is thought to be a newer form of political ideology "that seeks to provide an alternative to both neoliberal and traditional social democratic policies" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 75). This ideology incorporates values such as equality, social responsibility and distributive justice, in order to scrutinise traditional ideas surrounding the role of the market and state (Cheyne et al., 2000; Giddens, 1998). As a revaluation of collectivism, an emphasis is placed on the individual and their choice; "freedom would mean the autonomy of actions which, on the other hand, requires involvement within the wider social community" (Plachciak, 2013, p. 385).

Whilst collectivism was still significant to an extent, the bigger picture reflected the neoliberal concept of individual freedom and choice. However, individual freedom was not to be "associated with me-first society and its destructive consequences for social solidarity" (Plachciak, 2013, p. 386), but rather as a means of reproducing solidarity. On the other hand, an increased focus on equality led third way thinkers to focus on ensuring the availability of "strong public services that depend on the needs and not the wealth of those who use them" (Plachciak, 2013, p. 385). In this way, the third way relied heavily on the democratic process for policy reformation and placed emphasis on civic and community value (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Feminist Ideology

Feminism: First and second wave.

In order for women's policy to be appropriately constructed and implemented, a theoretical understanding is required of the needs and wants of women in the modern era. Scholarly material pertaining to feminist ways of thinking can inform our understanding of popular ideas as well as how policy is constructed. As a result, feminism can be defined as a set of values and beliefs which give shape to women's movements, as actions aimed at securing equality between men and women in all aspects of society (Fiss, 1994; Lorber, 2012). At present, three separate waves of feminism (first, second and third wave) exist to inform the history of such a movement (Lorber, 2012).

First wave feminism was prominent within the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the key aim of establishing legal rights for women, such as the right to vote (Lorber, 2012). Commonly known as suffragists, the right to vote "was the main goal of women's liberation in the first wave of feminism in western countries, but rights concerning property, earnings, and higher education gave women a chance for economic independence" (Lorber, 2012, p. 2). Another aspect of this movement was the right for women to own their own bodies (Lorber, 2012), preempting the introduction of contraception and altering family dynamics (Paul, 2006). Women found that they could avoid the inconvenience of pregnancy and influence family size (Greenwood & Guner, 2010), whilst progressively continuing towards self-empowerment.

Second wave feminism developed as a political movement in the mid-1900s, when young people began openly criticising aspects of the social order (Lorber, 2012). A greater understanding of the level of gender inequality and the social implications of such, led to a movement to penetrate male-dominated areas of society (Lorber, 2012). According to Lorber (2012), "many feminists concentrated on increasing women's legal rights, political representation, and entry into professions dominated by men" (p. 3). Other feminist movements tried to eliminate the perception of women as sexual objects within media (Lorber, 2012). As a result, the social construction of gender was challenged in terms of its association with "deep-seated assumptions and value judgements" (Lorber, 2012, p. 4) associated with masculinity and femininity. As a result, the progression into third wave feminism saw the inclusion of men as advocates of equality and the rejection of suppression at the hands of men (Lorber, 2012), as discussed within the next section.

Third wave feminism.

Society as we know it today portrays a third wave feminist ideology. This ideology "incorporates an emphasis on individualism, choice, and empowerment" (Kissling, 2012, p. 492), consistent with the socio-political beliefs of our time. Within the Pākehā population of New Zealand, we celebrate the individual and encourage individual freedom and choice. However, a Māori perspective focuses on a collective approach to culture (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 24) and regards the roles of men and women as equal, as will be discussed.

Third wave feminism is viewed in a negative light by some scholars, in the sense that women now demonstrate complacency towards gender equality (Kissling, 2012; McRobbie, 2004; Thompson, 2006). McRobbie (2004) identifies that third wave feminism "refers to a time after feminism" (p. 491), when it is believed that aspects of feminism have been achieved and implemented into wider society. This ideology stems from an extension of first and second wave feminism when "some women began to examine power relations" (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005, p. 415) in areas of society which were specifically gender related. McRobbie (2004) and her view of the undermining of early feminist movements, ultimately suggests that third wave feminism does not simply mean the attainment of equality, but the neglect of the idea of gender equality. In this way, it can be said that the efforts implemented by first and second wave feminists have simply been forgotten or neglected as a means of defining equality in the 21st Century, based upon new technology and information.

On the other hand, third wave feminism is seen as an ideology which combines the concepts of empowerment and individualism; incorporating modern ideologies and technologies not present in the time of first and second wave feminism, to influence change. As a result, the third wave feminist ideology has developed into a movement which "attempts to synthesize, build on, and extend what has been accomplished by the first and second waves of feminism, while attending to the particulars of our present moment in historical and feminist contexts" (Mandell, 2005, p. 59). Lettie Conrad (2001) remarks that third wave feminism "has empowered young women through self-expression uncensored by mainstream society

and the social agendas of commercial media" (p. 4). The insight of the younger generation into technological developments and their knowledge of modern day media provide them with an advantage not seen by first and second wave feminists. In this way, women of the most recent generations possess a voice which enables their views to be heard and responded to within the political spectrum.

Socially Constructed Gendered Identities

> **Gender.**

Gender is a social construction often confused with the concept of "sex"— the biological difference between men and women (Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2015). In this sense, gender refers to identity and the choice to act *masculine* or *feminine* (Sreberny & van Zoonen, 2000). Both *sex* and *gender* appear to be socially agreed upon criteria "associated with particular gender roles: culturally learned and expected behaviours, traits and attitudes" (Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2015). The terms *masculine* and *feminine* are used to describe these traits and attitudes, and are also used to determine social status (Sreberny & van Zoonen, 2000).

The emergence of other gendered identities has blurred the lines and reaffirmed the concept of gender as a fluid social construction. In relation to men and women, inequality debates recognise biological differences yet determine that socialisation has caused inequality and both genders are, in fact, similar in competency and ambition (Sreberny & van Zoonen, 2000). Others would argue that sex determines gender and those born female

should demonstrate femininity (Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2015). Sreberny & van Zoonen (2000) observe that:

> The validation of femininity as a more virtuous way of life on one hand, the denial of gender difference on the other, and the acknowledgement of some difference and some sameness, all show that gender is continually in debate and that its discourse(s) have become more open and ambiguous than before (p. 5).

In this way, gender inequality continues to be reproduced through the various conceptions of gender. An example for women lies within the tradtional roles and expectations associated with femininity, discussed within the next section.

Women's traditional role.

Motherhood is often viewed as a construction separate from the everyday codes which define women and their role within society (Thompson, 2006). On the other hand, ideas surrounding this construction have led to the conclusion that "motherhood reflects prevailing beliefs about sex and sexuality, femininity and masculinity, reproduction and children" (Buchanan, 2013, p. 116). Traditonal roles associated with women and pertaining to the conception and raising of children, as well as domestic responsibilities, have meant that women held no clear position within society, other than the role of a mother and domestic figure (McRobbie, 2004). Carlile famously wrote in a document intended for *The Republican*, about the misgivings that "healthy girls, after they pass the period of puberty,

have an almost constant desire for copulation" (Fryer, 1965, p. 74).

Baumeister and Vohs (2004) identify a divide in gender roles, stating that "men and women play different roles resembling buyer and seller" (p. 339). In relation to society, men can be seen as holding a large proportion of the bargaining power, whilst women instead have to negotiate towards equality. Opposing views favour "the reconstruction of women as individuals with complete sovereignty over their bodies" (Accampo, 1996, p. 365). This view was responding to "three sensitive issues, any one of which is explosive by itself: sex, gender, and rights" (Baer, 2002, p. 11). Whilst historically women have had to initiate movements towards gender equality—demonstrated in New Zealand with the inclusion of women in the democratic right to vote—such actions have resulted from the reframing of women as individuals. Gendered issues such as pay equality, leadership opportunities and violence are subjects which appeal to the third wave feminist view of individual choice and empowerment (Kissling, 2012), as a means of breaking up the construction of motherhood and allowing women to partake in non-traditional areas of society.

Literature Informing the Difference between Equality and Equity

Gender equality.

Gender equality is the equal treatment of both men and women, through the provision of equal opportunities in order to achieve the same outcome (Lorber, 2012). Gender inequality then, as the opposite of equality, takes many forms within any given societal setting. As a result, such inequality

depends "on the economic structure and social organisation of a particular society and the culture of any particular group within that society" (Lorber, 2012, p. 4). Typically, women are the disadvantaged gender, though men also face inequality in areas such as work, as they are more likely to take up positions of danger e.g. armed forces, police, mining, industry etc. (Lorber, 2012). Women are affected by inequality within the public and private sphere, with such an issue having an effect on their role within the household; the labour market; as well as in the choice to have children; income; education; sexual wellbeing; and vulnerability to violence (Lorber, 2012). According to Lorber (2012), "gender inequality is built into the organisation of marriage and families, work and the economy, politics, religions, the arts and other cultural productions, and the very language we speak" (p. 6). As a result, reforming social constructions of gender so as to make men and women equal is a difficult task.

Men and women are biologically and empirically different (Lorber, 2012), so does the same treatment of each actually constitute gender equality? To award both men and women the same opportunities can be seen as a further disadvantage to women. Drake (2001) acknowledges that "most might agree that inequalities are only unfair where there exists a distribution of opportunities which unjustly favours some section of the population over the rest" (p. 8). In this way, allowing everyone equality of opportunity may show favour to one group of people over another, causing further inequalities. Determining fairness of distribution in relation to opportunities (Drake, 2001) can prove problematic, which is where the

concept of equity seeks to acknowledge the differences amongst groups of people and take a fairness approach to equality.

Gender equity.

According to Facio and Morgan (2009) "equity is not the same as equality, and at the same time, not all inequality can be seen as inequity" (p. 1136). In this way, it is important to note the polarising definitions of each of these key terms. Gender equity can be defined as the process of distributing resources in a way which addresses disparities between men and women, whilst taking into account significant differences so as to reach an equal outcome; biology, labour attachment, class and social standing (CAAWS, 2013). The approach, which sees men and women treated differently in order to gain the same outcome, is one which remains a contentious issue when compared to equality (Cheyne et al., 2000). Gender equity acknowledges the difference between sexes, whereas gender equality provides everyone with the same tools to gain the same outcome (Cheyne et al., 2000; Lorber, 2012). These varying situations experienced by men and women mean that "in some respect women cannot, indeed can never, participate on the same grounds as men, or experience the impacts of social policy in the same way that men do" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 105).

Both equality and equity have their merits and disadvantages when attempting to combat gender discrimination. Equity appears to be more effective in catering to everyone's differing needs as a means of addressing inequality. However, equality seeks to provide the same opportunities to all regardless of their circumstances. Both approaches to equality strive for the

same conclusion; equality of outcomes. It is clear that equity is a time-consuming process; it requires research and resources which in return produce a slow progression towards equality. In this way, equality of opportunity has historically been a favoured approach, as offering all people the same opportunity is easier to enact (Cheyne et al., 2000).

Policy Development

Senanayake and Potts (2008) state that policy "may not solve social or economic problems [but] it can lighten the heavy burdens laid on people—especially women" (p. 111). Policy is a way to actively acknowledge that the opinions and welfare of women actually matter to the government and surrounding parties. By taking steps to change inequalities through policies aimed at women, changes in practice can be implemented. As a result,

> [S]everal studies…refer admiringly to the developments occurring in the…[areas of inequalities and health], with active popular participation in the governance of these regions paralleling active policies of reducing social inequalities and discouraging hierarchical relations (Navarroa & Shia, 2001, p. 482).

In this way, policy is viewed as an agent for social change.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) would acknowledge that an element of objectivity resides with the model of gender equality, "whereas equity [is] a subjective concept" (Facio & Morgan, 2009, p. 1139). This is relevant because policy decisions surrounding gender discrimination often attribute such inequality to biology,

in that women's ability to become pregnant means that they are more disadvantaged than men within the social sphere (Facio & Morgan, 2009; Lorber, 2012; Sapiro, 1998). The idea that women are subjected to discrimination through oppression and subordination is the result of socially constructed notions of gender. As a result, "laws, policies, mechanisms, and institutions must take into account when inequality is due to biology and when it is due to gender" (Facio & Morgan, 2009, p. 1147) in order to accurately identify the needs of the situation so as to enact either equality or equity.

Māori Perspectives on Policy Development

The Māori community share a different perspective on equality, valuing the collective as opposed to the individual. According to Brougham and Haar (2013) "national cultures...[differ] along four dimensions: (1) individualism/collectivism, (2) power/distance, (3) masculinity/femininity and (4) uncertainty/avoidance" (p. 1144). Cheyne et al. (2000) also recognised the varied perspectives of an ideal society between Māori and Pākehā people, stating that "for some it is a society where Te Tino Rangatiratanga [or absolute sovereignty] is predominant; for others it is the egalitarian society where all are equal" (p. 48). In this way, it can be expected that different cultural groups will maintain different views on societal issues in accordance with their cultural upbringing.

With historical policy roots planted firmly within the Treaty of Waitangi, the emphasis of Māori policy is centred on wellbeing (Cheyne et al., 2000). Whilst the Government have tried to implement neoliberal policy

in relation to the individual responsibility to maintain wellbeing and equality, Māori have placed an emphasis on collective solutions. In Māori culture, whānau is a dominant concept or value premise that acknowledges the importance of a community approach (Brougham & Haar, 2013; Cheyne et al., 2000). In terms of welfare dependence and poverty, the Māori ideology of collective wellbeing allows for the exercise of state dependence, as well as a reliance on the terms outlined within the Treaty of Waitangi as a means to maintain Māori culture through state intervention (Brougham & Haar, 2013; Cheyne et al., 2000). Māori society is based upon a hierarchical system, whereby, "certain older members have special status, or mana, which gives them certain privileges" (Cheyne et al., 2000, p. 110). As a result, cultural values related to wellbeing are linked to the concepts of whānau, hapū, and iwi (Cheyne et al., 2000). Therefore, the most prevelant cultural difference between Pākehā and Māori is present in the individualist and collectivist perspectives respectively, regardless of how radical the actions towards these approaches appear.

Gender equality then, as a prominent idea within Western society, is viewed from a Māori perspective as the result of a joint partnership which ultimately preserves culture; men maintain the role of protectors and women of nurturers. These roles assigned to men and women within Māori culture result in a traditional sense of gender inequality if viewed from a Western frame. However, within a Māori domain, these roles are viewed as a cultural duty rather than an attempt to subordinate women. Whilst many Māori women have broken away from cultural tradition and some reside as

community leaders within New Zealand society, Māori culture is still a
large part of their heritage.

Gendered Societal Issues in New Zealand

   The gender pay gap.

The European Commission (2015) defines the gender pay gap as a form of
discrimination against all women through the undervaluing of women's
work due to labour market segregation, stereotyping, and the failure to allow
women to balance work and home life. Specifically, the gender pay gap is
an inequality in the wages that men are paid in comparison to women
(Russell, O'Connell, & Smyth, 2005). As a normative social problem
(Spiker, 1995), other definitions imply "that the observed wage gap exists
because of gender-specific factors" (Falconer, 2012, p. 4). New Zealand
possesses a ranking of thirteenth out of 142 countries, having moved from
seventh in the previous year (World Economic Forum, 2014).

   A mistaken belief, often instigated by media reports and political
rhetoric, is of a lessening gender pay gap (Lips, 2003). The pay gap has
often been blamed on women leaving the workforce to have children
(Russell et al., 2005). However, research suggests that the gender pay gap
ultimately begins at the human resource department of an organisation; the
people responsible for hiring and firing (Dickens, 1998). Whilst human
resource managers have the opportunity to reform gender inequality within
the workplace, "HR concepts and policies perpetuates rather than challenges
gender inequality" (Dickens, 1998, p. 23); an idea further supported by

Russell, Emer, and O'Connell (2005). In New Zealand, this issue currently means that women earn almost 10% less than men (World Economic Forum, 2014) with closely related policy areas failing to allow women equal opportunities to men (Lips, 2003). According to Falconer (2012), New Zealand "fares relatively poorly in measures of female leadership, returns to experience and education for women, and family friendly labour policies" (p. 3).

In New Zealand, five social policy areas have influenced the development and continuation of the gender pay gap; human experience; diversity in leadership; the child penalty; work and family tensions; and employer perceptions (Baker, 2012; Falconer, 2012). Human experience occurs predominantly through education. The current education system teaches women that their place in society is either at home raising children (Kiaušienė, Štreimikienė, & Grundey, 2011), or in positions similar to other working women (Baker , 2014). A lack of gendered diversity in leadership can be attributed to the "glass ceiling", which prevents women from obtaining higher paid positions and roles with greater responsibility (Baker, 2014; Falconer, 2012). In terms of the child penalty, women can face a significant decrease in wage earnings when time is taken out of the workforce to have children (Gilbert, 2008). As a result, "integrating work and family remains problematic for [New Zealand] women" (Baker, 2012, p. 22). Therefore, organisations are continuously allowed to perpetuate a gendered cycle, whereby the inability to offer equality to women in the form of company progression and higher earnings, results in the failure to capitalise on valuable skills and cultivate a reputation of high staff retention.

Whilst the gender pay gap presents itself as a prominent aspect of the inequality debate, it is evident that this is not the only way in which inequality is perpetuated. The next section will focus on the aspect of gender-based violence in order to further expand on issues of gender inequality.

Gender-based violence.

Gender-based violence is an age old issue with biblical, religious and cultural foundations (Hajjar, 2004). Religion, state and power are factors which affect gender-based violence and its prevalence within today's society (Hajjar, 2004). Gender-based violence can be defined as "any act of verbal or physical force, coercion or life-threatening deprivation, directed at an individual woman or girl that causes physical or psychological harm.and that perpetuates female subordination" (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002, p. 6). Furthermore, intimate partner violence is seen to be the most prevalent form of violence against women, with psychological abuse being among the most difficult forms of violence for women to endure (Heise et al., 2002). Within the Middle East, specifically among Muslim families, gender-based violence is viewed as a man's right (Hajjar, 2004). The conflict that is presented between human rights and cultural tradition or law, is problematic where equality is concerned. The act of globally protecting women from gender-based violence is not achievable or readily accepted by Middle Eastern and some Asian cultures. Showing dominance towards women and children is culturally acceptable, and at times, physical and psychological abuse can be deemed necessary if persistent disobedience is

demonstrated (Hajjar, 2004).

In New Zealand, high rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) are detected within predominantly Māori families (New Zealand Police, 2015). Māori women are overrepresented in statistics related to intimate partner violence; "Māori women experiencing IPV was 26.9% compared with a rate of 14.6% for New Zealand European women" (Marie, Fergusson, & Boden, 2008, p. 127). A possible explanation for such statistics may be that Māori have greater exposure to violence in childhood than Pākehā due to intergenerational factors (Marie et al., 2008, p. 128). The cultural diversity of New Zealand alongside colonisation may have resulted in varying understandings and attitudes towards gender-based violence (Marie et al., 2008). As a result, generating equal outcomes for all New Zealand women proves problematic, when the socially perceived minority group are overrepresented in such an issue.

General statistics surrounding domestic violence in New Zealand, show that 1 in 3 women will fall victim to IPV during their lifetime (Ministry of Social Development, 2015). The overwhelming reality that women face in relation to domestic and gender-based violence is demonstrated by police crime statistics. The reported rate of sexual assaults was 3,738 for the year 2014 (New Zealand Police, 2015). The Women's Refuge "received 85,794 crisis calls in 2011/12, and provided services to 11,203 women and 7005 children" (Ministry of Social Development, 2015). In 2013, 90% of protections orders were issued against men, with 25% of respondents being of Māori descent (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2014). Through obtaining a better understanding of issues

affecting both Māori and Pākehā women through perspectives of political

communication and policy development, the next section will seek to

expand on approaches to gender equality through a feminist lens.

Theoretical Approaches Underpinning this Study

      Feminist theory.

Feminist theory recognises that gender inequality exists among a multitude

of societal settings and, in acknowledging so, seeks to understand the nature

of this inequality which is usually directed at women. As the overarching

theory underpinning my theoretical viewpoint and informing this research,

feminist theory seeks to explain the exact nature of gender inequality, when

applied to a New Zealand context.

      Social construction feminism recognises the practice of gendering as a

constant aspect of who we are and how we view others, as well as our

position within society (Lorber, 2012). With particular focus on the

structure of a gendered social order and how it is constructed and

maintained, social construction feminism supports the examination of how

effective women's policies are at reforming or reinforcing gender inequality.

A key source of inequality appears to be a systematic and distinct

segregation between men and women, in relation to the attribution of traits

and communicative styles that result from a gendered structure of society

(Sapiro, 1998; Sreberny & van Zoonen, 2000). In this way, stereotyping as a

consistent method of gender segregation has become a tool for maintaining

gender inequality; so much so, that reforming such stereotypes is incredibly

difficult, given that they are embedded within a societal ideology that labels

men as distinctly different from women in more than just biology (Lorber,

2012).

Gendered communication.

Gendered communication theory states that different communication styles

will appeal to men and women, given that they are biologically different and,

therefore, often relate and communicate effectively using styles attributed to

their gender (Sreberny & van Zoonen, 2000). This theory can be used to

explain how the social constructions of gender and resulting stereotypes

have influenced the political portfolio of women's affairs in New Zealand,

with all spokespersons for such an issue being female. Not only can it be

assumed that women are best able to communicate issues surrounding

gender inequality, but they are also seen to possess the most legitimacy

when approaching the topic of women's issues; "female candidates are

forced into a 'woman's role'…their committee assignments, initiation of

legislation, and the topics on which they speak tend to reflect traditional

women's concerns" (Sapiro, 1998, pp. 180-181).

As previously discussed, gender is socially constructed and prescribes

the ways in which men and women should act according to gendered traits.

In turn, social construction feminism and gendered communication work

cohesively to extract the nature of gendered practices by highlighting

stereotypes related to what it means to be a man or woman. Through the

incorporation of critical social science research (Chapter 4); feminist theory;

and gendered communication theory, research as a means of gaining data

specific to the current state of gender inequality in New Zealand is conducted. Critical social science research coincides with the goals of feminist theory; "most feminist research has a dual mission: to create social change by transforming gender relations and to contribute to the advancement of knowledge" (Neuman, 2000, p. 25); objectives which are shared with the aforementioned research methods. The research questions presented within the next section seek to uncover how New Zealand politicians view the issue of gender inequality in New Zealand.

Research Questions

New Zealand offers a rich context by which political policies on gender equality are able to be examined. This is due to the early history of the suffragette movement in New Zealand and the existence of different cultural perspectives, such as the Māori and Pākehā perspectives previously discussed. With these aspects in mind, I examine the political communication represented in the election campaigns in 2014 to explore conceptualisations of gender inequality within the political parties of New Zealand. My theoretical framework demonstrates a critical perspective, drawing on feminist theory and gendered communication to discuss how the various ideological positions associated with each party led to their specific women's policies. Based upon the perspectives and theoretical frameworks identified and discussed within this chapter, the overarching research question for this study reads:

How is the issue of gender inequality represented in the New Zealand electoral campaigns in September 2014?

The answers to more specific research questions will also be sought in order to identify party ideology around the issue of gender equality, as well as gauge an understanding of the aspects of policy which seek to eliminate or dissolve inequality. These questions are:

How does each political party intend to resolve the issue of gender inequality in New Zealand through policy?

How does the language used in each political party campaign reflect an understanding of equality?

How are the parties' ideological positions represented within the women's policy of each political party?

In order to provide the answers to these research questions, the next chapter will address my methodological approach and inform the processes of data collection and sampling.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology and Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Within this chapter, the methodology, collection procedures and methods of analysis are presented. Three key research aims were used as a foundation for data collection. These included examining (i) how each political party intends to resolve the issue of gender inequality in New Zealand through policy; (ii) how the language used in each political party campaign reflects an understanding of equality; and (iii) how each party's ideological positions are represented within their women's policy. These aims were developed on the premise that the socially constructed meanings associated with women's roles in society and the issue of gender equality are of importance to the New Zealand public. In order to extract meaning from the data, critical discourse analysis was applied to the resulting data set.

Methodology Informing Research Design

Critical social science research.

According to Chesebro and Borisoff (2007) "a wide variety of approaches are used to examine and systematically study human communication" (p. 12). As a result, this study will use critical social science (CSS), as a research methodology concerned with critically analysing social constructions and evoking societal change. According to Neuman (2000), CSS can be defined as "a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (p.

76). CSS researchers investigate social issues that coincide with hegemonic principles, as a means to "encourage dramatic grass-roots action" (Neuman, 2000, p. 76). Society is ever-changing and evolving, with societal issues often rooted in enduring power structures' social constructions (Neuman, 2000). Therefore, the purpose of CSS is to critically examine the current state of society and examine the hegemonic implications of ideological positioning;

> [A focus is placed] on how people communicate in their own natural environments, when they are guided by their own personal objectives, and how they give meaning to their communication, especially when they are using communication for those pragmatic objectives that determine and control day-to-day existence (Chesebro & Borisoff, 2007, p. 12).

As a change-focused approach to research, this methodology seeks to uncover various hegemonic layers which culminate in the construction of societal issues, whilst also conducting a critique of current systems and policies (Neuman, 2000). Knowledge is power; CSS operates under such an objective in terms of societal injustice and seeks to empower individuals to evoke change (Neuman, 2000). As a result, this particular research methodology is appropriate for this study relating to gender inequality, as the overall aim is to determine underlying discourse associated with gender, in an attempt to promote societal change in the form of gender equality.

According to Neuman (2000), "directed questioning, a good theory…, a clear value position, and a historical orientation help the critical researcher

probe below the surface reality and discover the deep structures" (pp. 77-78).

The combination of thematic and critical discourse analysis discussed in the

next section, paired with solid theory, are used to determine ideological

positioning in relation to gender equity and equality in New Zealand.

Reliability and validity.

Barriball and While (1994) state that "in order [for data] to attain credibility,

the research process must be both valid and reliable" (p. 328). Reliability

and validity are concepts which contribute to the credibility of research

findings. Within social research, maintaining a perfect balance of each is

relatively difficult given the subjective aspects, which are represented

within the value position(s) of the researcher (Neuman, 2000). Reliability

refers to dependability, whereas validity is concerned with truthfulness and

the relation between a construct and the measure of analysis (Barriball &

While, 1994; Neuman, 2000).

Rather than viewing reliability as a fixed measure, qualitative

research methods value the idea of variety in terms of research tools and

view the process as an opportunity to evolve and become more

knowledgeable within the particular field of study (Neuman, 2000). The

data collection process is interactive and dependent on context, thus creating

diverse measures and dimensions of analysis (Barriball & While, 1994;

Neuman, 2000). Within this specific research study the key focus is on

gender inequality.

Although the construct of gender inequality has varying definitions,

my understanding labels the act of excluding either men or women from a

particular societal activity as gender inequality; whether that be in the realm of work, family, welfare or support. As the prevalence of other definitions of sex and gender issues increases, confusion still exists around such topics within New Zealand. As a result, I have chosen to focus on the gender constructions of men and women for the purposes of this study, as opposed to discussing other gender identities such as transgender. In this way, the research portrayed within this study is only representative of men and women. The dependability of such research is then compromised in relation to the exclusion of other gendered identities.

Validity acts as a bridge between the construct and the data (Neuman, 2000). In order to increase truthfulness within this study, it is important to fairly represent the ideologies and views of each political spokesperson. In this way, detailed analysis of language, as discussed within subsequent sections, provides comprehensive accounts (Neuman, 2000) of the ideological views of each party and their spokesperson.

Maintaining validity within this particular study proved difficult from the beginning, with a number of challenges presenting themselves early on. Non-respondents to the initial research request meant that political parties outside of Parliament were not well represented within my research. My choice to not use any other election material besides the interviews and policy documents increased the value of each spokesperson's participation within the research. As a result, my data sample came from a "selective sample of individuals" (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 328) representative of a parliamentary demographic. In a hegemonic sense, the final results may then be distorted (Barriball & While, 1994) by the sample of parties who

were elected to gain or maintain a place in Parliament through democratic processes.

Secondly, the option to interview only one representative from each of the respondent parties also represents a limitation in terms of producing credible data. This is so because the voice of one may not replicate the voice of the collective, though each spokesperson was elected to speak on behalf of their party. Time pressures were a key influencing factor of this decision, as data collection had to be completed before the general election, on 20 September 2014. However, to reduce this limitation, I chose to analyse party policy documents relating to women's affairs as an additional means of determining overall party ideology and positioning.

Whilst no participants refused to answer any of the interview questions, the amount of time participants were able to allocate from their schedules often meant that responses ran over time, had to be cut short or were very brief. I undertook probing for clarification; although, the pressure to include as much information as possible into the interview meant that some questions had to be withdrawn from the interview in order to extract in-depth meaning from others. Three interviews took longer than the allocated time period, whilst one took under 20 minutes to complete and another participant was 15 minutes late to the interview. As a result, the aim of the interviews became about producing rich data and seeking clarification, even if all of the questions were not able to be answered. Semi-structured interviews, as discussed in the following section, were used to their full extent as a means of producing credible and rich data for analysis. The use

of probing to elicit detailed information and clarify intended connotation meant that credibility was improved.

Data Collection and Sampling

Obtaining the primary data.

In order to obtain data which was relevant and inclusive of the events evident in the lead-up to the 2014 general election, primary and secondary data was collected. As previously mentioned, primary data in the form of semi-structured, face-to-face interviews was undertaken with women's spokespersons or nominated representatives, from various parties across the New Zealand political spectrum. These included the New Zealand National Party and spokesperson Louise Upston; Green Party of Aotearoa and spokesperson Jan Logie; the Māori Party and spokesperson Marama Fox; New Zealand First and spokesperson Tracey Martin; United Future and spokesperson Judy Turner; the Internet Party and spokesperson Pani Farvid; and the New Zealand Labour Party and spokesperson Carol . The choice to conduct an interview with only one spokesperson from each party meant that data was usually obtained from the most knowledgeable candidate on subjects pertaining to women's affairs—most noticeably, all of which were women themselves. The importance of these interviews in undertaking them before the general election became increasingly obvious as politicians with busy campaign schedules were harder to get in contact with. As a result, for the purposes of travel and time constraints, four interviews were conducted through skype as a means of maintaining face-to-face interaction. I used a

set of predetermined questions (see Appendix A), and a dictaphone to record the interviews. Each interview was scheduled to last an hour, although this varied between each interview. These interviews were then transcribed in order to begin the analysis stages.

Semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate interview style for this study, as they involve a set of open-ended questions designed to allow the participant to share their views, and for the researcher to probe into areas of interest in order to increase clarity (Dearnley, 2005). According to Barriball and While (1994), this method of conducting interviews is "well suited to the exploration of attitudes, values, beliefs and motives" (p. 329); and it is a reliable method for unpacking ideas surrounding gender inequality. Whilst all participants are asked the same questions, these requests are not necessarily asked in the same order or with the same wording as the last participant (Dearnley, 2005). The ability to evolve and reword questions as a means of enhancing clarity allows the researcher to extract meaning and facilitate the flow of the conversation; "the open nature of the questions…[aims] to encourage depth and vitality" (Dearnley, 2005, p. 22).

Obtaining the secondary data.

Secondary data in the form of policy documentation relating to women's affairs was collected from each spokesperson. This data was requested prior to the interview in order to ensure that the interview questions adequately

addressed any apparent themes within the policy documents. It became

evident that a defined women's policy was not easily accessible from all

parties, as campaign measures had restricted the viewing of policy

documentation on party websites or the policies were not yet completed. As

a result, interviews had to be postponed a number of times until the

documentation was completed, which meant that one interview did not take

place until a week before the election. Most information pertaining to

women's affairs was only present within official policy documents. I

examined websites for further material, which was minimal. Therefore, in

order to conduct an in-depth analysis, data was taken solely from policy

documents and interview transcripts.

Response rate of approached participants.

At the time of data collection for this study, the New Zealand National Party;

the New Zealand Labour Party; the Green Party of Aotearoa; the New

Zealand First Party; the Māori Party; the Mana Party; and United Future

New Zealand, all had seats within Parliament before the 2014 election and

were contacted to take part in the research. Six of these parties responded to

my request for an interview; only the Mana Party did not respond to any

correspondence.

Parties outside of Parliament were also contacted in order to allow

them the opportunity to share their views on women's affairs and their party

ideology. The Conservative Party was contacted and further correspondence

was forwarded to Colin Craig, but no additional response was received. The

Act Party was also approached to take part in the study, but responded that

their party ideology valued the individual devoid of societal labels such as race, gender, social standing etc. (G. Mallet, personal communication, July 14, 2014). The creation of the Internet Party and an alliance with the Mana Party, as instigated by Kim Dotcom and outlined within Chapter 2, were of significance to the 2014 general election. For the purposes of this study, it was deemed appropriate and timely to include this party within the data collection of this study, and analyse their newly developed approaches to gender equality.

The seven parties interviewed in order to achieve the aims of the study were the National Party, the Labour Party, United Future, New Zealand First, the Green Party, the Internet Party and the Māori Party (see Appendix B). It is fascinating to note that National Party spokesperson and Government Minister for Women's Affairs, Jo Goodhew was unable to be interviewed due to her busy schedule. As a result, Louise Upston, MP for Taupo, was instead interviewed and requested that her lack of expertise in such an area be noted. Interestingly, Louise Upston was given the women's affairs portfolio following the 2014 election, which has since been renamed the Ministry for Women.

The interview process.

Before the interviews began, ethical approval was obtained from the Waikato Management School Ethics Committee (see Appendix C); the application outlined the purposes of the study and addressed all ethical issues concerned with the research. As a result, a consent form for participants and a participant information sheet were created to provide the

participants with all relevant information associated with the study,
including the purpose, aim and final likely distribution of the research
findings. Consent forms were distributed and signed, in order to ensure that
each spokesperson was comfortable to take part in the research, and for their
names and positions to be stated in the analysis.

At a time and place convenient to each spokesperson, a conversation
regarding women's affairs and the upcoming election was instigated, with
each interview scheduled to last an hour. Most spokespersons offered
opinions and ideology beyond what was asked within the guiding questions,
allowing for rich data collection and a broad scope of information. The same
process was undertaken for interviews conducted over skype, so as to ensure
consistency and validity. This interviewing approach demonstrated a range
of dominant themes, which overall were consistent with the relevant
supplementary party documentation and ideology. These themes will be
discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Policy document collection.

Of the seven parties interviewed, each provided a copy of their women's
policy or a document outlining their view on women's affairs as taken from
the party manifesto. The Green Party, the Labour Party, the Internet Party,
United Future, and the Māori Party each provided details of a
comprehensive women's policy which was included within their election
campaigns. The remaining parties had no such policy available; New
Zealand First were unable to provide an official document and so their
office gathered sections from the party manifesto relating to women's

affairs, in order to formulate an appropriate document. The National Party requested that the search be directed towards the Ministry of Women's Affairs website in order to obtain information regarding how the National Party was improving gender equality for women.

Theories of Analysis

Thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is a useful tool in initial data analysis, as a means of reducing the amount of data and determining key and frequent themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set" (p. 6). Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas (2013) similarly state that "thematic analysis involves the search for and identification of common threads that extend across an entire interview or set of interviews" (p. 400). Within this particular study, thematic analysis was used in the initial stage of analysis in order to determine recurrent themes across interview transcripts and policy documents; whereas, critical discourse analysis was used to analyse language use at a more in-depth level.

Gendered communication theory can be used to clarify meaning and enhance interpretation of underlying assumptions associated with themes discovered through thematic analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). However, determining a theme is often a difficult and time consuming process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, coding as a tool of analysis allows the

researcher to determine themes based on the frequency and intended

meaning of language, consistent with critical discourse analysis. As a

preliminary method of analysis, thematic analysis revealed specific and

latent themes within the data, in order for the implementation of critical

discourse analysis to identify social and cultural practices associated with

those themes. As an inductive approach to social research, this system of

analysis through coding identifies themes strongly linked to the data

"without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's

analytic preconceptions" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 12). Inductive research

also increases the opportunity for reliability and validity in determining

credible data, as the themes presented are not driven by the interests of the

researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Neuman, 2000).

Critical discourse analysis.

Discourse is a rather difficult concept to define and a variety of explanations

exist to outline its characteristics. According to Purvis and Hunt (1993),

"Discourse refers to the individual social networks of communication

through the medium of language or non-verbal sign-systems. Its key

characteristic is that of putting in place a system of linked signs" (p. 485).

Discourse, then, refers to written or spoken language (Fairclough, 1993). As

a result, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a method of analysis which

focuses on language production and its relationship to individual networks

of communication (Fairclough, 1993) and pursues an understanding of how

"ideology is expressed through discursive forms" (Patterson, 1997, p. 427)

and also how "discourse is implicated in relations of power" (Janks, 1997, p.

329), as cited in Thomas (2006, p. 69). However, Fairclough (1993) defines CDA as a method of analysis which:

> [A]ims to systematically explore opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 135).

In this way, CDA aims to bring to light latent themes present within language, as a means of determining how ideology, as a product of hegemonic power (van Dijk, 2001), impacts social constructions (Thomas, 2006).

Fairclough (1993) developed a model of analysis as a means of exploring the relationship between society and power within any given discursive event (Thomas, 2006). Fairclough (1993) stated that these events contained three elements; "spoken or written language *text…*is an instance of *discourse practice* involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of *social practice*" (p. 136). As a result, a critical discourse analyst is concerned with each of these elements when analysing a discursive event: textual analysis; consumption, distribution and discursive practice; and cultural and societal practices (Fairclough, 1993) as a means of merging power relations with intertextuality (Thomas, 2006).

Intertextuality, according to Fairclough (1993), "points to the

productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (p. 102). However, such productivity is limited by and dependent upon hegemony (Fairclough, 1993). Thomas (2006) states that "critical discourse analysis is concerned with describing how power was exercised through contestations and negotiations among discourses within a particular discursive field" (p. 94). In this way, intertextuality is a tool by which critical discourse analysts are able to determine "processes of hegemonic struggle in the sphere of discourse" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 103).

In order to analyse text in accordance with the method of CDA, textual features are extracted in order to determine the relationship of the discourse to a wider social context (Thomas, 2006). Semantic macrostructures, a more in-depth approach to a thematic analysis, uncovers the explicit themes and most important information present within the text (Thomas, 2006). Themes, modality or determinable patterns within the text, word meaning, wording, and metaphor are all textual features which formulate semantic macrostructures (Fairclough, 1993; Thomas, 2006). As a result, the semantic macrostructure "works to give a global description of the text that depicts a particular ideological representation of reality" (Thomas, 2006, p. 75), which leads into the analysis of social practice (Fairclough, 1993).

The main object of social practice analysis is "to specify: the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part…and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 237). In this way, the social matrix of discourse uncovers the hegemonic

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relationship between social constructions and their reproduction in social and discursive practice, as a product of ideology (Fairclough, 1993).

Ideological and hegemonic effects of discourse determine "systems of knowledge and belief; social relations; [and] social identities" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 238). As a result, these discursive effects are not "personal beliefs, but beliefs shared by groups, as is also the case for grammars, socioculturally shared knowledge, group attitudes or norms and values" (van Dijk , 2001, p. 12). Hegemony affects the dominant ideologies within society and determines what is considered normative (Cheyne et al., 2000). The formulation of ideologies is a collective process reproduced by group members. In this way, van Dijk (2001) demonstrates such an idea when he states that "Feminism may be the ideology of feminists, but if feminists are only defined by their ideology, we do not seem to have advanced very much in the social definition of ideology" (p. 13). In this way, it is important to take into account the presence of "group membership, group organization, leadership, group practices and rituals, as well as institutions" (van Dijk , 2001, p. 13), when analysing texts for hegemonic principles and underlying ideology.

For the purposes of this study, CDA was used to explore the written and spoken word in the form of policy documents and interview transcripts. The interpretive analysis examines the hegemonic principles which underpin societal constructions associated with gender inequality, based on themes resulting from the initial thematic analysis. This consideration of the underlying ideology of each party revealed their stance on the societal issue

of gender inequality and their understanding of what it means to have an equal or equitable society.

Data Analysis Methods

Thematic analysis of raw data.

Initial analysis of the data could only be conducted once each interview had been transcribed. This step took the longest amount of time, as recordings had to be listened to multiple times and interviews transcribed accurately in order to extrapolate meaning correctly.

Through coding the data, I noted key themes in the initial stages through a thematic analysis, in order for further development in the detailed critical discourse analysis stage. At the initial stage, hard-copy versions of interviews and policy documents were read multiple times and highlighted material was allocated a specific colour in order to determine the underlying discourses. Tables were created for each party and key themes were extracted with evidence placed alongside each subject. This process was conducted seven times (for each party) in order to accurately extract meaning through constant refinement of the themes.

Critical discourse analysis of the data set.

In order to critically analyse the themes which presented themselves as priorities for each of the participating political parties, key topics were re-evaluated and combined in order to create a comprehensive set of themes. These themes represented the culmination of priorities in relation to gender

equality in New Zealand, allowing for critical discourse analysis to expand on these priorities and develop the discursive interpretation associated with social and cultural practices. Dimensions of language, including grammar; semantics; pragmatics; and syntax, were used to develop an in-depth understanding of the key values and messages portrayed by each party, based upon the evidence presented as a result of the thematic analysis.

As an expansion of language dimensions, features and techniques of language were also drawn upon in order to determine the social and cultural practices associated with party messages. These include agency; nominalization; cohesion; story telling; and expressiveness. Each of these elements were used to interpret the social context of the message being portrayed by the party and/or spokesperson, in order to identify how language aids the articulation of messages related to gender inequality.

Broader discursive approaches to the data set allowed for the specific identification of strategies associated with word choice and the articulation of ideology. Strategies such as juxtapositioning; stragetic ambiguity; containment; enhancement; diversion; totalizing; and reframing, were used to highlight the ideological views of each party surrounding the issue of gender equality, as a means to determine policy positioning.

As a result of conducting critical discourse analysis and examining social and cultural practices, comparisons and contrasts were able to be identified and highlighted. In this way, not only were ideas able to be linked to relevant parties, but ideological differences and associations were able to be identified and discussed in relation to the historical depiction of each political party. Overall, this process of analysis allowed for a more in-depth

look at the textual and discursive practices of each political party in the way they each portray their position on gender equality in New Zealand.

Summary

This chapter has been used to describe and explain the methodology used to inform the design of this research in relation to my interests as the primary researcher. Maintaining the reliability and validity of the study was highlighted as vital in establishing credibility and ensuring that the findings and discussion demonstrate integrity. The data collection and sampling methods were described in-depth, with direct reference given to the political parties participating within this study, as well as those who were initially approached. The interview process and the use of semi-structured interviews were explained comprehensively in order to emphasise the intention to enact critical social science research and extract interpretation from an informed conversation. Both methods of analysis; thematic and critical discourse analysis, were also explained and their use related directly to the data in order to explain how each process took place. Overall, this chapter informs the interpretation of the subsequent chapters and seeks to determine how the research questions presented within Chapter 3 will be answered.

CHAPTER 5

Thematic Analysis and Findings

The data presented within this chapter demonstrates key themes that arose
as a result of the thematic analysis of the interview transcripts and policy
documents. The seven political parties that participated as discussed in
Chapter 2 will be addressed, with illustrations of the findings quoted
directly from the collected data. As mentioned in the last chapter, a single
table was created for each of the participating parties, in order to compare
each of the parties' key themes. Each table showed details pertaining to key
themes, the communication strategy, theoretical implications of said
strategy, and thematic examples or evidence shown through the spoken
word and text. By coding the data this way, important aspects of the text
could be allocated their own significance and separated from other key ideas.
An overarching theme which was present among each of the seven parties
was *establishing an understanding of equality and differentiating such a
concept from that of equity*; an issue discussed in Chapter 3. A number of
other key themes, including *violence*, *collaboration*, *the traditional role of
women*, *cultural change*, *economic independence,* and *politics versus the
media* also emerged through thematic analysis. This chapter will identify the
key themes evident among different parties and will explain in some detail
how each theme was represented, in preparation for the critical discourse
analysis discussed in the next chapter.

The Green Party

A thematic analysis of the Green Party's women's policy and of the interview transcript with spokesperson, Jan Logie, uncovered some significant themes. These included *equality; cultural change and collaboration; the social construction of women as mothers;* and *disparities in women's representation through the media*. Each of these themes will be discussed within the following section.

Forming an understanding of equality and equity.

When asked how the Green Party defines equality, Logie described it as "everyone being able to enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination" (Logie, 2014); similar wording was used in the Green Party women's policy. The difficulty in understanding Logies's explanation lies in her use of "everyone" to describe those in need of equality measures; "the Greens envision a world where there is equality between men and women" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 328). A focus on equality demonstrates a lack of acknowledgment given to the fact that men and women are inherently different, most noticeably through their biology. Yet, the use of the word "enjoy" describes equity in the sense that the Green Party acknowledges a biological difference and seeks to cater to such varied needs; "the experience of sexism and discrimination is not the same for all women" (Logie, 2014). Men and women have different needs and require different forms of support in order to fully enjoy their rights and freedoms allocated by the state. Women

require greater provisions to be made for parental leave and an assurance
that they will receive equal pay before they can enjoy such fundamental
freedoms. Men may then require greater involvement within parental leave
in order to solidify a presence within the household and among their
children; "creating more opportunities for the other parents to be just as
actively involved" (Logie, 2014).

On the other hand, the policy also states that "greater equality for all
women means a stronger economy and society" (Green Party of Aotearoa
New Zealand, 2014, p. 329) and that "structural discrimination against
women must be undone" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p.
328). The motive has now shifted from providing everyone with freedom to
a specific focus on women's equality and the use of "structural
discrimination" as a disadvantage to women, suggests that women are not to
blame for their inequality, despite actively reproducing gendered stereotypes
and maintaining the role of primary caregivers. So then, who is ultimately at
fault?

> Inequality is obviously, it's not about one thing…part of that is
> perpetuated because we have these social messages that women have
> a different place in society and have different value, and that our
> ideas; our voices aren't as valid (Logie, 2014).

Therefore, Logie would identify social messages as the culprit for
perpetuating inequalities within society.

If the Green Party's vision is of a stronger society and economy as a
result of equality, then other issues such as paid parental leave and equal

pay must be taken into account; "women should receive equal pay for work of equal value and women's unpaid work should be valued. Women with family responsibilities should be supported in negotiating the tensions" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 328) between paid and unpaid work. Interestingly, the policy states that unpaid work should be valued whilst also insinuating that women should be able to balance family and paid work. This idea that women should be able to juggle work and family is further demonstrated in the freedom to participate, as shown throughout the policy; "ensures the ability to participate in society"; "participating equitably"; and "equitable participation" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 329). Participation in this sense is refering to women's participation within society as a means of advancing the idea of a strong economy and society, previously discussed. Equity is demonstrated in the idea that women are encouraged to participate and not legislatively forced to. In relation to the future of New Zealand women, Logie stated that "it's possible to have a society where everyone has a fair go and does their bit…we are a long way from that at the moment" (Logie, 2014). In this sense, women are required to do their bit for society, whether that be raising children or contributing to the community (and by implication for the economy) as a means of acquiring equality.

Cultural change and collaborative action.

The Green Party women's policy (2014) states that "the nature of ingrained oppression means that this increased representation won't happen without a purposeful effort" (p. 329), with reference to women in leadership, and

notes the need to dismantle obstacles in relation to education for women

(Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 329). Logie supported

these claims regarding oppression and social obstacles, stating that the

"same old attitudes…[are] not helpful" and that "social change requires I

guess, public engagment" (Logie, 2014). In this way, the key message of

evoking cultural change as a means of overcoming women's inequality, is

stressed. The use of *ingrained oppression* and *same old attitudes* suggests a

resistance to change. Public engagement is a term repeated by Logie, and

refers to the involvement of multiple agencies and the community in order

to subdue disabling social constructions which inhibit the progression of

women throughout all areas of society. Logie acknowledges:

> Changing culture is one of those ongoing, never-ending struggles
>
> because culture's a negotiation, and we have multiple cultures, and if
>
> we manage to change one idea doesn't mean it's always gonna stay
>
> changed…it's a really dynamic thing (Logie, 2014).

Logie's message may lead to confusion. Cultural change and changing

culture are vastly different concepts, and suggesting that we change culture

to produce a uniform system of socially acceptable norms proves

problematic. As Logie stated, we do have multiple cultures present within

New Zealand and yes, negotiation is vital for these cultures to be able to co-

exist. However, cultural change by way of reforming social norms around

gender equality is the concept most applicable to the issue. Logie is right in

saying that changing one idea may not lead to permanent reform and

correctly acknowledges the dynamic nature of cultural practice; however,

her message here does not demonstrate a convincing knowledge of what is involved in cultural change.

One of the key areas where cultural and social change through collaboration is prevalent, is to do with the topic of gender-based violence. The community is seen as a tool to assist in decreasing the level of gender-based violence. Logie suggested:

> Each community develops its own response between what different organisations work in that community…those groups…work together and share information and come up with the best community response but that is constantly being evaluated and feedback has been passed up around what's working and what's not (Logie, 2014).

This bottom-up approach to solving the issue of violence and ultimately, gender inequality, demonstrates an effective use of collaboration to evoke cultural change. The community is more likely to be familiar with those perpetuating violence amongst those in their area, and are therefore, more equipped to determine the best response. The "It's Not OK" campaign mentioned in Chapter 3, is an effective example of empowering the community to spread the message that violence is not the answer. Cultural change is more effective when it begins at a grass-roots level, as community members are more likely to embrace measures erasing what they perceive to be a societal issue.

In terms of state intervention, Logie notes that the "starting point is getting the common understanding…using research so that people

understand what domestic violence is" (Logie, 2014). The policy document

states that in relation to violence, the Green Party will build an integrated

response and shared understanding, improve public knowledge, and

promote primary prevention (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014).

The focus has now shifted from social structure as a barrier, to the lack of

education as an obstacle preventing the removal of gender-based violence.

In this way, developing a research-based definition of gender-based

violence, is a step towards resolving the issue and ultimately enacting

gender equality. In terms of collaboration, Logies states:

> We need a whole system response; we can't just say we're gonna get
>
> on top of this by just looking at this little part of a picture because
>
> it's about income support policies and it's about tax policies, it's
>
> about our employment relations policies and about education, social
>
> services, support agencies and it's about our courts and our police.
>
> All of it (Logie, 2014).

In this way, the Green Party is seeking to reform the entire social system in

order to tackle the issue of gender-based violence. It is, however, fairly

difficult to see how income support, tax, and employment relations policies

could be used to limit the perpetuation of violence, other than in instances

when violence has already occurred. Education is an aspect of preventative

measures which seek to enhance or discourage behaviours around violence.

Logie mentioned the need for "really specific responses…to help [people]

then create those pathways…and how we might help identify when

something's going wrong" (Logie, 2014). Violent behaviour is often a

product of peer learning, especially amongst children (Hajjar, 2004). What is observed from close relationships such as parents or from friends can extend into other personal relationships later in life. Therefore, education appears to be an effective way of teaching appropriate behaviours.

The social construction of women as mothers.

The Green Party describes the role of women within their policy document:

> Women are workers, taxpayers, unemployed, business owners, mothers, students, farmers, and decision-makers. Their day-to-day experiences, and the different roles women play mean that women offer a unique and valuable perspective which must be included in the development of Government programs and priorities (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 334).

Whilst this quote identifies a variety of roles held by women, the current state of society means that they each bear a negative as well as a positive connotation. Women as workers, taxpayers, business owners, and farmers, demonstrates their economic potential as participants within society but I am reminded of the continuing presence of a gender pay gap. Women as unemployed, mothers, and decision-makers, reminds us of the absence of value in unpaid work but also displays the responsibilities women take and that they contribute positively to society professionally and domestically. Women as students suggests the potential that women have, only to be faced with the possibility of a glass ceiling, pay inequality, and challenging choices about whether to have children and combine caring for them with a

career, or pursue a career more single-mindedly.

In terms of the social construction of women as mothers, Logie acknowledges the assumption that "women choose to [be mothers]…and it can be positive, but that's working within a framework where the gender construction of us all is so tight" (Logie, 2014). Gendered stereotypes affect the social perception of women and allow people to form ideas about the actions they may choose to take. If a woman was to decide not to work, then she might be criticised for not participating adequately or contributing to society. If she were to forego having children altogether, some may view her choice as going against her biological purpose. In the same way, men who work a lot are often told to spend more time at home. However the social construction of men as breadwinners constrains this. Logie goes on to suggest that "most parents are mothers" (Logie, 2014) or that women are the primary carers of children. Women will likely follow their mother's lead when it comes to child-bearing and if their mother was their main caregiver, then they may seek to reflect this subconsciously. Logie also mentions compensation for women's unpaid work; "it is about going back to that basic gender role stereotype stuff, while we want to encourage good parental attachment…we need to be valuing that" (Logie, 2014). This statement brings to light a conflict within the Green Party ideology. Whilst they want to dismantle barriers and see women gain equality, they also want to encourage parental attachment in areas such as breastfeeding and maternal care associated with the mother. An interesting statement within the policy says that "women…continue to bear the burden of unpaid work" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 328). Referring to unpaid

work, usually associated with child-bearing, as a burden suggests that the product of such unpaid work (children) should also be seen as such. The element of participation previously discussed would suggest that the use of the word "burden" relates to the inability of women to contribute to society and the economy when they forego participation in exchange for motherhood.

Women's representation within the media.

The Green Party states that "there can be no full freedom of the press until women have an equal voice in news-gathering and dissemination processes" (Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2014, p. 330). In this way, Logie believes that it is necessary to be critical of the media, as "public broadcasting of democracy…has been severely undermined" and it is important for the public to have the "ability to deconstruct the current reality" (Logie, 2014). In this way, Logie is stating that the media no longer portray objective news that reflects the interests of the public. Instead, commercialisation and highly contested broadcasting space (Logie, 2014) means that it is the interests of elite groups that takes precedence. As a result, women's issues are not receiving air-time or are controversially reported. An example is demonstrated within the Roast Busters case brought to the attention of the public in late 2013. The case included a group of young men self-titled the "Roast Busters", who entered into sexual involvement with young women of a suspected criminal nature (Independent Police Conduct Authority, 2015). The initial story gained a large portion of media space but soon disappeared, with subsequent criminal charges being dropped due to

police mishandling of the case (Independent Police Conduct Authority, 2015). As a story showing the "perpetuation of rape culture" (Logie, 2014) within New Zealand, the case highlighted some aspects of society that were not deemed significant enough to gain more broadcast time. Logie suggests that "violence against women [is] reported in a way that minimises it" (Logie, 2014) thus reproducing such behaviour.

Within this section, key themes pertaining to the Green Party have been discussed based upon the data collected from the interview with Logie and the policy document. The four themes of *equality; cultural change and collaboration; the social construction of women as mothers;* and *disparities in women's representation through the media,* demonstrate the Green Party's understanding of inequality in New Zealand and how they intend to overcome such an issue. Participation and the need to create a stable economy are interesting factors loosely associated with a neoliberal ideology, and akin to the values of the National Party discussed within the next section.

The National Party

Two key themes were present within the data collected from the National Party: *obtaining equality of opportunity;* and *developing women in leadership through economic independence*. As a result, evidence will be taken from the data in order to further explain what the National Party aims to achieve in relation to gender equality within New Zealand. As the governing party which oversees the running of the Ministry of Women's

Affairs, the policies mentioned within this analysis are a reflection of how the Government views equality.

Obtaining equality of opportunity.

Louise Upston identified that:

> One of the values of the party is equal opportunity and you know, whether its education that focuses on having equal opportunities for young people in which case whether its male or female, Māori or Pacifica, Indian or Asian, whether they are from wealthy families or not; equality of opportunity—if you achieve a certain level of education then you have the same opportunities going forward. That's where our emphasis is (Upston, 2014).

Whilst Upston directly references formal equality to ensure equal opportunities, her mention of the diversity of New Zealand culture implies elements of equity. The National Party may be focused on providing equality of opportunity, but the acknowledgment that differences exist within society is akin to equity and the idea that not all people will thrive from receiving the same opportunities. Equity is also demonstrated in the notion that "it's about us as a country doing better and that's for everybody. It's not just for one group over another" (Upston, 2014). The idea that equality can be obtained through education is an interesting observation. The policy states that "The skills and qualifications women have affect the income they can potentially obtain from either paid work or self employment and innovative enterprises. Higher qualifications and higher

skills, in general, correlate to higher earnings" (New Zealand Government, 2015). Upston states that "there would be some who would argue [that] particularly in education, females are outperforming men, which is good" (Upston, 2014). If women are outperforming men within education, then why do such issues as the gender pay gap exist? An equitable approach would take into consideration the learning styles and capabilities of all students as a means to provide them with a tailored education resulting in equal outcomes. Whilst it may be "good" that women are outperforming men academically, the evidence of such an achievement is not reflected within the workforce.

Upston's comments and policy documents both recognise the presence of a gender pay gap and inequality in the ability to take leave and have children. As a result, the policy suggests provisions to focus on:

- the distribution of income and/or earnings between men and women

- policy solutions to reduce the gap between men's and women's income and/or earnings (the "gender pay gap")

- the measurement and monitoring of women's income over time

- the distribution of assets and liabilities between men and women

- women's retirement income prospects
  (New Zealand Government, 2015).

As opposed to policy which seeks to eliminate the gender pay gap, National has settled on the idea of creating equality of opportunity through distribution and reducing the gap. The idea that they also wish to focus on the measuring of income as well as women's retirement prospects, further

suggests the lack of motivation to enact social change and the development

of legislative action to combat rather than eliminate inequality. However,

Louise acknowledges that "we've still got a long way to go in terms of pay

equality" (Upston, 2014).

In terms of comparing equality in New Zealand to other countries,

Upston mentions our status as the first country to grant women the vote;

"New Zealand takes a lot of pride in it and that provides a really strong role

model for young women of this country" (Upston, 2014). This achievement

is undoubtedly something to be proud of, providing that one is aware of the

events surrounding the decision. Suggesting that the suffragette movement

provides a strong role model to younger women is an interesting

observation, given that most women take this opportunity to participate in

democracy for granted in accordance with post-feminism. Upston states that

"at least we are doing well as an economy and we can put more money into

those areas" (Upston, 2014). However, it remains to be seen whether money

and increased resourcing can solve the issue of gender inequality.

Developing women in leadership through economic

independence.

According to the National Party:

Income is an important aspect of women's economic independence.

Women who are able to generate a sufficient level of income to meet

their needs (which may also include dependents), who have control

over that income, and who are able to maintain that income in the

event of a shock (e.g. a relationship breakdown) can be considered economically independent (New Zealand Government, 2015).

Such economic independence can be achieved through the earning of a higher wage, usually associated with leadership. In this way, Upston states:

> The acknowledgement of the contribution [women] make and valuing their contribution and I think it's fair to say [that in] the areas of leadership and governance, we don't feel [they] have had that contribution made sufficiently…in terms of trying to get more women into those roles. Also enabling women more to participate in the economy…and making sure that they are succeeding (Upston, 2014).

What Upston is saying is that women's unpaid work is valuable, but their contribution is also needed within the workplace as a means to participate and boost the economy. National's answer to reducing inequality and tackling issues such as the gender pay gap, is to get more women into leadership roles and earning a higher wage; the product of receiving equal opportunities in education. Upston confirms this idea by stating National's aim of "lifting participation higher, achievement in all areas of education and that continued growth [as well as] government's role both at the private end and public sector" (Upston, 2014).

Whilst some may view paid parental leave and flexibility within the workplace as *socially* beneficial, the National Party views these provisions in a different light:

Provisions that enable parents to combine work and care are critical

for women to achieve greater economic independence and essential

for any strategy aimed at improving productivity and economic

growth. Paid parental leave, affordable quality childcare, flexible

working conditions (for men and women), and a tax-transfer system

that ensures work is worthwhile are key drivers of labour market

participation for women (New Zealand Government, 2015).

In this way, the National Party's key priority is of *economic growth and productivity*, with the issue of gender inequality being used to coerce women back into the workforce after having children and/or into leadership roles, as a means of generating a higher income. The participation of women within the workforce is the main aim, whilst initiatives such as paid parental leave and access to childcare are used to ensure that participation is made worthwhile for New Zealand women. Whether such measures have a significant impact on the issues relating to gender inequality, comes second to economic progression and overall productivity.

Through the thematic development of *obtaining equality of opportunity* and *developing women in leadership through economic independence,* it is clear that economic progression is at the forefront of National Party strategy. Whilst I do not dispute the importance of creating and maintaining a stable economy, using the issue of gender inequality as a disguise for a hidden agenda, does not do this particular issue any justice. It is the National Party's belief that helping more women attain leadership roles and higher wages will reduce the level of inequality in New Zealand.

However, the implementation of such a measure may allow the economy to progress while the issue of gender equality continues to be a problem in areas such as sexual harassment, protection orders and child custody.

The Labour Party

Major themes uncovered as a result of a thematic analysis of data collected from the interview transcript and policy document of the Labour Party, included: *creating an equal society, allowing women equal opportunities to participate,* and *identifying and eliminating situations of violence.* Each of these three themes will be discussed in depth with the use of evidence from the data collection phase.

Creating an equal society.

Beaumont's mention of the word "real" is a direct reference to the party's women's policy vision; "real equality, real opportunity and real choice for all women" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 1). When asked what the Labour Party's view on equality was, Beaumont replied:

> Basically, every person in this country has the ability to live their lives to their full potential to make the choices that best suit them and their families—and to not face barriers because they are a woman and you know, the words *real* they are deliberate because where you would go out to the world and say that you know, we are a very equal country; first country—we gave women the vote. No, we didn't actually, women got the vote. They worked really hard to

find some men who supported them. [They] won the right to vote (Beaumont, 2014).

Firstly, Beaumont refers to freedom of choice and the right of all people to make decisions about their lives and the lives of those within their family. She states that women should not be inhibited in performing these choices based on socially constructed barriers. In this way, the Labour Party wish to see genuine and lasting equality within New Zealand. Equality, as opposed to equity, is evident within the Labour Party vision. This is demonstrated in their use of the word "opportunity" rather than outcome. However, what is meant by equal opportunity is not made clear, in the sense that by *equal*, the Labour Party could refer to the intention to provide *equity* to women of different circumstances in order to achieve real equality. A focus is placed on allowing women the opportunity of freedom of choice in order to achieve equality. Beaumont identifies choice as decisions "that you might otherwise make, to travel or to buy something or to participate in something" (Beaumont, 2014). Furthermore, the idea that women won the right to vote as opposed to being given such a right, demonstrates a contested view of historical events. Where most would determine that New Zealand were the first country to *grant* women the vote, Beaumont makes a point of insisting that women *won* it for themselves. However, the policy document states that:

> New Zealanders believe in genuine equality amongst our people. We proved our commitment to this ideal early, becoming the world's first democracy to extend the vote to women some 118 years ago.

Today, after a century of progressive change, New Zealand women have full equality before the law (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 1).

The use of the word "extend" proposes the idea that women had the support of New Zealand during their campaign for the right to vote. Beaumont states that "They worked really hard to find some men who supported them" (Beaumont, 2014), which further demonstrates national support. The idea that New Zealand men extended the invitation to women in relation to the right to vote, reinforces the notion that "New Zealanders believe in genuine equality amongst our people" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 1). In this way, it is suggested that men also value the notion of equality. Beaumont identifies that:

> [W]e've always kind of considered ourselves to be a world leader and yet we are behind most OECD countries…Now we are ranking 7th overall out of 136 countries…[so] we've gone backwards two years in a row…we're not actually moving forward, we are going backwards (Beaumont, 2014).

Whilst women may have full equality before the law, this does not mean that New Zealand extends full equality to women beyond legislation, as is about to be discussed.

In relation to the current state of equality within New Zealand, Beaumont states that:

> The fact of the matter is that on any measure women are not equal in this country. Their choices are constrained and, you know, whether

that be because they are still doing a large share of family and caring

responsibilities; whether it be [that]…all their lifetime earnings will

be less but that doesn't matter whether they are a low paid worker

like a aged-care worker or whether they are a lawyer, their lifetime

earnings will be less. We want the reverse of that. We want people to

be able to, you know, live their life to their potential, and not be

constrained because you're a woman; not have negative

consequences from being a woman (Beaumont, 2014).

The policy document further reinforces the idea that New Zealand women

are not equal;

Women in New Zealand still, on average, earn less than men and

continue to be under-represented in workplace leadership

roles…Too many women feel forced to return to work earlier than

they wish after childbirth. Women still carry the overwhelming

responsibility for caring for others in their family and within the

community" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 1).

According to Labour then, an equal society is one which allows women the

freedom and flexibility of choice. This choice includes motherhood, income,

leadership opportunities and workplace flexibility. As a result, Labour has

ultimately extended this choice to include reproductive health. Their policy

document states that "An individual's choice to determine the number and

timing of one's children cannot be compromised…Labour recognises all

women have the right to make their own choices about their own bodies,

and should have access to abortion services" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 14). The idea that women are not equal despite having equality before the law, demonstrates an underlying social barrier which prevents a woman's freedom of choice. What a majority of inequality issues stem from are a woman's ability to bear children. In this way, Labour wish to give women the power to decide how they use their bodies, as opposed to enforcing the social ideal upon them that they must reproduce at some point in their lives. Labour view access to abortion services as a choice determining the number and timing of children, although the abortion debate remains complicated and controversial.

In terms of equitable outcomes, Labour addresses this by acknowledging diversity amongst women;

> We will work to achieve the best outcomes for all women, and implement all our policies with an awareness of the different needs of women of all ages, all ethnicities including tangata whenua, all abilities and all sexualities (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 2).

Beaumont also highlights diversity by stating that "there are concrete differences but of course not all women are equal either…we want our policies to be applicable and relevant to all women" (Beaumont, 2014). The recognition of differences in various groups of women in order to achieve equal outcomes is consistent with substantive equality or equity. A commitment to addressing issues such as the gender pay gap, paid parental leave, workplace flexibility and gender-based violence, reinforces Labour's recognition that "a comprehensive approach is necessary to address this

systematic and enduring inequality" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 3).

Labour's belief in the freedom of choice for women also extends to

providing women with the opportunity to participate within the economy

and society, identified within the next section.

Allowing women equal opportunities to participate.

Labour's value of providing women with equal opportunities to participate,

is strongly presented within the policy document and through Beaumont's

comments. Firstly, the policy document states:

> Labour will ensure that all women have the opportunity to thrive,
> succeed and reach their full potential by providing them with
> genuine choices and opportunities…We will make sure that *all*
> women have full and equal access to opportunities to develop and
> progress in the workforce and in society in general (The Labour
> Party, 2014, p. 2).

Providing women with increased opportunities through equal access,

describes an attempt to improve the current situation for women intertwined

with an idea to enact social change regarding stereotypes and role

expectancy. It is interesting to note the contrasting use of 'potential' within

the interview transcript of Beaumont:

> Some parts of our population are not being able to operate to their
> full potential. We all lose from them because we all lose that
> person's contribution if they are not being able to, you know,…use

[their] set of skills because you also want to be involved in raising

your child and you can't get work in that area and you end up doing

a part-time job which is a lot more lowly paid than what you were

getting and doesn't use the skills you developed. We're losing those

skills as a country (Beaumont, 2014).

In this sense, "potential" is being used to describe a person's contribution to

society through work. In this excerpt, Beaumont describes the undertaking

of part-time work as a loss of skills. Women often have part-time work as a

way of balancing their domestic responsibilities with the need or want of

acquiring an income. To label part-time work and a lower income as an

inhibitor of reaching your full potential, is to say that having children and

doing what is necessary to earn an income is costing the country valuable

skills and as a result, is costing the economy. Whilst many women may

want to obtain jobs where they are able to enact their specialisations, finding

part-time work with an element of flexibility which enables you to use your

skills is fairly rare. To label part-time work and a lower wage a loss of

valuable economic and societal contribution, demonstrates a lack of

compassion for the current situation faced by women, and also shows a lack

of action in terms of fixing the issue. Whilst Beaumont correctly identifies a

prominent issue, it is unclear whether the concern is of women's limited

choice or economic progression.

Participation is another word frequently used to enhance the value of

equality of opportunity, by the Labour Party. The policy document identifies

that:

The consequences of a lack of opportunity for women to undertake

non-traditional roles and/or to advance to senior levels have

implications for women in terms of authority, personal satisfaction

and income. Limited participation by women also has consequences

for organisations by denying access to a large pool of talent (The

Labour Party, 2014, p. 5).

The reference to non-traditional roles, implicitly feeds the stereotypical perception of women's roles within the household. This idea further demonstrates Labour's attempts to improve, rather than completely change the issue of women's inequality. Once again, the notion that limited participation is an economic loss is presented. The use of wording within the last sentence of the excerpt appeals to a sense of flattery; "a large pool of talent" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 5). On the other hand, this phrase alludes to the idea that such a pool of talent is only recognisable within the workplace, as a means of providing women with the opportunity to participate within the economic growth of the country. This notion is paradoxically approached from a social perspective within the policy document; "Work-life balance and caring-for-carers is a strong focus for Labour. We will ensure that paid parental leave and flexible working conditions allow women to participate fully and effectively in society" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 1). If we pair this idea with Beaumont's observation that part-time work is a loss of skills, it is clear that discrepancies are occuring between policy and spoken representation. This inconsistency could be attributed to and compared with the ideological discrepancy taking

place, in regards to conflicting ideas associated with the economy and societal obligations commonly associated with left wing parties.

Identifying and eliminating situations of violence.

The Labour Party views the issue of violence as a priority which requires immediate attention; "The level of violence against women and children—sexual and domestic—is unacceptable…family and sexual violence is clearly an increasing problem" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 6). Beaumont extends this concern for violence towards the community, stating that;

> The Roast Busters case last year really, I think [generated] an outpouring of community concern. I think it scratched the surface and people know there's a problem and you know, given 1 in 3 women experience intimate partner violence in their lifetime, there's a knowledge in the community that we've got a problem (Beaumont, 2014).

With the idea in mind that the community is somewhat aware of gender-based violence, it may appear useful to include the community in efforts to eliminate violence. However, the policy document states that the elimination of violence "requires leadership, namely political leadership at the highest level" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 10). On the other hand, the document does go on to include women's and community organisations, government agencies and New Zealand citizens in the fight for the elimination of violence, demonstrating a collaborative approach to solving an issue of

inequality. The Labour Party also alludes to an important insight, necessary for understanding the issue of violence:

> It is a hidden issue in our society and victims suffer stigma and shame. It is a complex issue involving power dynamics and requires a holistic and meaningful approach from Government (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 10).

In this way, forming an understanding of the power dynamics of such a complex issue is not an easy task. In terms of enhancing this understanding, Beaumont states:

> There are some sexual violence teams in place but I don't think that actually has gone right across the organisation and I don't think there has been resourcing to do that and we need that to operate better (Beaumont, 2014).

Resourcing appears to be a fundamental inhibitor of eliminating violence through awareness, according to Labour. Their policy mentions that:

> The highly successful "It's Not Okay" campaign has been scaled back to a targeted campaign of just $500,000 per year. Labour will implement a national awareness programme targeted at reducing sexual and domestic violence…We will invest $60 million in additional funding over four years and redirect existing funding to support immediate initiatives for eliminating violence against women and children (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 7).

The idea that current resourcing measures are failing to eliminate violence, suggests that in order to improve the situation, more money is needed. Once again, the idea of improvement through resourcing over social change is demonstrated. Whilst funding allows for a greater campaign into increasing awareness, the elimination of violence is further prolonged. The use of collaboration, however, demonstrates another action towards eliminating violence aside from resourcing, as Labour "adopt a collaborative, resourced, long-term New Zealand Action Plan to Eliminate Violence Against Women and Children in consultation with other parties and the sector" (The Labour Party, 2014, p. 7). Although resourcing is mentioned, collaboration acts as a tool for appropriately allocating resources in order to eliminate violence. Beaumont states that "in the end we need everybody committed to a plan of action; clear what their roles are and committed to actually working to eliminate this violence" (Beaumont, 2014). Resources count for nothing if you do not have the community support to help instigate change.

The three ideas discussed within this section of *creating an equal society; allowing women equal opportunities to participate;* and *identifying and eliminating situations of violence,* demonstrate the Labour Party's approach to solving issues of gender inequality. Whilst the Labour Party are motivated to eliminate gender inequality in New Zealand and become world leaders in this area, their approach of improvement as opposed to more radical social change leaves me contemplating whether resourcing and legislation can have the lasting effects on gender inequality that Labour hope they will have.

The Māori Party

Themes discovered as the result of the thematic analysis, consisted of *creating an equitable society; preserving the cultural identity of Māori and Pasifika women; and eliminating violence for Māori and Pasifika women through social change*. Each of these themes will be discussed in-depth with the use of evidence collected from policy and transcribed interview documents.

Creating an equitable society.

When asked to describe the Māori Party's view of equality, Marama Fox shared an interesting anecdote:

> So there's a difference between equity and equality. So, equity—if you imagine that there's a fence and on the other side the rugby game is being played, right? So there's the little short guy, a sort of medium height guy and a tall guy. Equity says that they all have the same box to stand on. Each of them gets a box to stand on. The tall guy can see the rugby, the medium guy can see the rugby, the short guy is standing on the same box but he can't see. So equity is they've all got the same. Equality says: I take the box from the tall guy because he doesn't need it and I give it to the short guy and now we all see…equality is about having targeted interventions; targeted programs for the people who need it the most to ensure equitable outcomes (Fox, 2014).

Whilst this anecdote is a great way to describe the difference between both of the concepts of equality and equity, it appears that Fox has confused the two. In fact, the first scenario describes equality, whereas the second highlights equity. Equality provides all people with equal opportunities, whilst equity focuses on equality of outcomes and may not provide the same opportunities to all involved (Cheyne et al., 2000). The following image portrays the correct version of the anecdote, with equality pictured on the left and equity on the right.

Retrieved from: http://thrivalroom.com/equality-vs-equity-two-images-that-perfectly-explaining-privilege-and-social-justice/
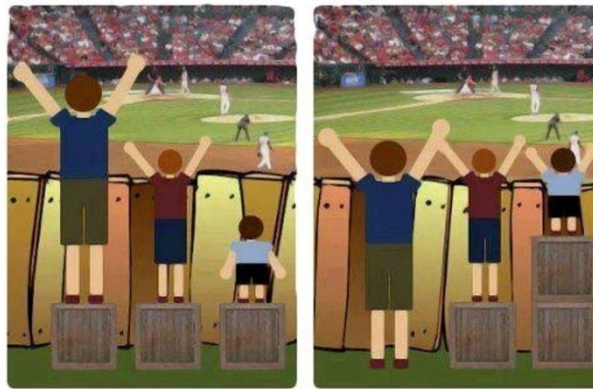
To further demonstrate equity, Fox focuses on the example of the Marae and Kaupapa Māori practice. During a Powhiri, or traditional Māori welcome, women are seated at the back whilst men take precedence at the front as a symbol of protection over the women. In relation to this, Fox states that "the woman has her place and the man has his and together at the end they sing. It's equal and different roles, right? Because we bring equal and different perspectives" (Fox, 2014). In this sense, women have vastly different roles to men, yet the end result is of equal significance to the overall process. Fox acknowledges that "we are equal to our men—not

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above, not below, but equal" (Fox, 2014). The policy document reinforces this principle by acknowledging that "in the way our culture recognises the respective mana (authority, prestige) of the male and female elements, this worldview is meaningfully represented in the way our party is led and governed" (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 3). The co-leadership of the party is shared between a representative of both genders, reflecting the importance of these differing perspectives in areas of governance.

A number of ongoing disparities exist within society as outlined by Fox:

> In New Zealand, when I was growing up at least, if you were female, that was a disadvantage in all of the statistics. There were disparities for females in education, there were disparities for females in the workplace, and in pay equity (Fox, 2014).

The policy document states that:

> Women make an enormous contribution to every aspect of our society…We remember the wisdom of the late Dr Irihapeti Ramsen "once were gardeners, once were astronomers, once were philosophers, once were lovers." We need to be proud of our capacity to be hunters and gatherers as well as scientists and businesswomen. Women also nurture and raise whanau – and that is a major contribution to our society (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 1).

Whilst ongoing disparities do exist, acknowledging the other contributions women make to society, such as raising children, can lead to an acceptance

of unpaid work. The terms "hunters", "gatherers", and "scientists" are usually associated with the traditional role of men as providers. Creating pride in the ability of women to fulfil these roles sees the Māori Party "empower women…to see their divine potential" (Fox, 2014).

Flexibility within the workplace is a key idea Fox repeats throughout the interview:

> Sometimes we want to have a slow return to work or we want to share paid parental leave with the husband, so we want to ensure that there is some flexibility—that we're not so rigid about either you're working or you're not, come or go; actually that's not as cut and dried as that, especially when you're a young mum and you need to pick up a couple of days to keep the continuity of your job (Fox, 2014).

The policy document further supports the idea of flexibility: "Other changes we would support include allowing employees to work limited days during the leave period, [and] flexible take up of unpaid leave" (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 1). The kind of flexibility that both Fox and the policy document speak of pertains to the idea that new parents should be able to dip in and out of unpaid leave. Whilst this idea seems beneficial to parents who are able to maintain their paid and unpaid work, employers may find it disruptive and unproductive. Families of a lower socio-economic group may find the unstable income resulting from flexible unpaid leave to be less than ideal. A woman's return to work is sometimes dependent on financial need.

However, this system may benefit fathers who would like more time at home with their child.

Preserving the cultural identity of Māori and Pasifika women.

In terms of preserving cultural identity through policy, Fox states:

> Now people keep saying that we support National but actually we support whoever has a good bill that supports Māori. So, if it comes from Sue [Moroney], if it comes from the Greens, if it comes from wherever, it doesn't matter to us as long as it supports Māori and women—Māori women (Fox, 2014).

Examples of legislation which the Māori Party acknowledges as supporting their women are seen in their policy document:

> We support the extension of leave entitlement to non-standard employees or those who have experienced gaps in employment, diversity of family arrangements which we believe will address some of the inequities that Māori and Pasifika women have experienced in current implementation of the scheme…We will monitor both pay equity and cultural competency in all agencies to ensure the quality of services, and equity of access and outcomes to bring out well-being (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 1).

As noted within Chapter 3, wellbeing is a significant Māori principle which outlines collective views as opposed to individual perspectives. The Māori Party abide by the principle of "rangatiratanga i.e. the expression of the

attributes of a rangatira (chief) as occurs in the act of weaving people together" (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 3). This idea of weaving people together reinforces a collective approach to social issues, and the support of policy which both benefits women and guarantees collective wellbeing. The concept of self-determination is evident in the sense that weaving people together can have implications for the preservation of culture. According to O'Sullivan (2001), self-determination "is concerned primarily with creating independence and autonomy for groups, not necessarily in isolation from wider society, but certainly apart from controls and regulations imposed from outside the would-be self-determining community" (p. 160). Collectivism is not a value shared by the wider community, so Māori to some extent are separated from the wider community. Indeed our diverse society does recognise the need for differing policies in varied cultural contexts, which is in line with an equitable approach. The act of "weaving people together" is, therefore, somewhat contradictory to the Māori beliefs of enhancing the wellbeing of the collective group. In this regard, the inclusive nature of the Māori Party's policy contradicts cultural beliefs such as rangatiratanga.

Fox points out that:

Māori women are shown as the highest voluntary giving people…Every census they are outstripping every other group and so I think that needs to be acknowledged and one of the things we're looking at in our employment economic policy is tax credits for voluntary work…If there is a Tangi for example, you've got a Māori

woman working 24 hours a day for 5 days, but then what is that

doing to the rest of the community? That's relieving the burden on

people in a time of great sorrow; great need and that's not

recognised (Fox, 2014).

Within most cultures, women maintain specific roles which are preserved in order to keep tradition alive. In applying a western perspective to Fox's comments, it is possible to see a differing view on voluntary and community interactions. Firstly, women donate their time in a number of situations including schools, committees, extra-curricular activities etc. The highest form of unpaid, voluntary work a woman can undertake is that of raising her children, which we have already established requires recognition. Whilst a Māori woman involved in a Tangi may be relieving a burden placed on the community, it is a part of her cultural upbringing. Secondly, to tarnish a cultural practice with tax reductions does not preserve that practice, but undermines its sacred nature. Whilst Western funerals take the best part of a day to complete, the idea of allowing women to receive monetary compensation for taking part in the service, does not seem fitting and instead casts a shadow over the ceremony. Western culture does not request the same level of participation from women as Māori culture does. As a result, it could be said that it is the responsibility of the community to add value to the time a woman sacrifices, rather than that of the state.

The Māori Party view a woman's reproductive health as a whānau issue, further solidifying the focus on the wellbeing of the collective;

> We believe that contraception is a whanau matter; that the issues around fertility, birth control, and reproduction should be discussed within the context of whanau. We agree services should be available, affordable or free…The protection and preservation of whakapapa and genealogy is fundamental to the health of our whanau. We believe the involvement of whanau in considering the wider context around abortion is important (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 2).

The idea that the decisions of an individual are important to the functioning of the collective is one not witnessed among Western communities. Discussing fertility and birth control with your family in a Western context, is often taboo and a topic off limits to a majority of the family. Where some women may wish to seek advice from their mothers, the Māori Party are encouraging the dissemination of information throughout the whānau, consisting not only of immediate family but also the extended network of relations. The preservation of genealogy and whakapapa also relates to the value of children in continuing the family line. In this way, abortion is seen as the failure to recognise the importance of continuation and the notion that children are a gift.

Fox agrees that in situations where abortion may be of concern to an individual woman, "we need to be ensuring that the whānau are involved" (Fox, 2014). The notion that the protection of genealogy through family involvement is essential to the health of the whole whānau, has two key implications. Firstly, this statement suggests that the preservation of children is important for maintaining and expanding the family, regardless

of the circumstances. The wellbeing of the collective is what is referred to as health, in the sense that preserving culture through children is a necessary part of Māori culture. Secondly, the involvement of whānau in considering the wider context, removes an element of choice from the woman. The involvement of whānau in decision-making is so as to determine the solution which best benefits the wellbeing of the collective. Whilst it may be important to consider the wider context, Western culture would argue that the situation by which the woman became pregnant awards her the right to make a decision. Seeking advice is important, but such counsel should not be forced upon an individual. Such an invasion of personal privacy may harm the individual and effectively reinforce inequality, as identified by Western culture. However, religious circles can be considered comparable to Māori culture, in the sense that collectivism is the ideal approach to important and life-changing situations.

Eliminating violence for Māori and Pasifika women through social change.

In relation to eliminating sexual and domestic violence, the Māori Party policy document states:

> We support the strategy introduced by Tariana Turia, *Achieving Intergenerational Change* which is about addressing violence issues that families face and weaving the strands of work together into an integrated, cohesive approach to ensure people are given the support they need to turn their lives around. *Achieving Intergenerational*

Change —A Whole-of-Government approach is an overarching

approach that will include a suite of activity to strengthen the family

violence system, and build on existing initiatives that are making a

real impact in communities. These initiatives include:

- The *E Tū Whānau* [Family Services] principles and framework

  which empowers whānau, hapū and iwi to respond to family

  violence by identifying solutions and implementing them.

- The *Pasifika Proud* principles and framework which encourages and

  supports Pacific communities to take ownership of the issue of

  family violence.

- The *It's not OK* campaign which has been successful in raising

  attention to the issue of family violence and preventing violence.

  The *It's not OK* campaign aims to change attitudes and behaviour

  that tolerate any kind of family violence, and encourages and

  supports New Zealanders to seek help

  (The Māori Party, 2014, p. 3).

The key focus of this aspect of the policy is on achieving intergenerational

change by addressing issues of violence as a collective and offering support

to perpetuators and victims of circumstances. The use of a collective

Government approach paired with community support consistently

represents the Māori principles of collective well-being. Instead of relying

on legislation, the Māori Party wishes to implement Māori and Pasifika

principles as a method of reproducing intergenerational change. The

mention of the "It's Not OK" campaign and its aim to change behaviours

associated with sexual and domestic violence, is consistent with an attitude

of social change as a means to resolve the issue, as opposed to legislative

action. Fox believes the issue of domestic violence is a problem, recalling

that:

> 80% of domestic violent crime is not reported. There's an epidemic
>
> in this country when 1 in 8 boys suffer domestic violence and 1 in 4
>
> women…It's an] understated sort of epidemic in this country and it
>
> has not been addressed properly (Fox, 2014).

The use of the word "epidemic" to describe the state of domestic violence in

New Zealand is suggestive of a rapidly spreading sickness. To imply that

such a sickness is understated and subtly enacted is also to suggest that

people may not be aware of their violent behaviour. Inferring that

perpetrators of violence have contracted a sickness, does not require them to

take ownership of their personal behaviour. However, the policy document

encourages communities to identify and take ownership of violence as a

societal issue, further reinforcing the principle of collective wellbeing.

Through the identification of the themes; *creating an equitable

society, preserving the cultural identity of Māori and Pasifika women,* and

eliminating violence for Māori and Pasifika women through social change,

it is evident that the Māori Party wish to reproduce the principle of

collectivism in order to improve the wellbeing of the wider whanau. In order

to do so, the party believes that social change, as opposed to heavy

legislation, is the key to bringing communities together in order to eliminate

negative social influences which impact on the wellbeing of the collective.

New Zealand First

A thematic analysis revealed the following themes amongst data collected from New Zealand First: *understanding and obtaining equality;* and *men as facilitators of social change.* Each of these themes will be discussed in detail with evidence, in order to highlight NZ First's position on gender equality. Whilst NZ First has no specific person dedicated to women's affairs, Deputy Leader Tracey Martin was able to provide information regarding the party's view on gender equality.

Understanding and obtaining equality.

Martin believes that socially reforming the ideas of inequality and equality would be one of the first steps to reforming the problem (Martin, 2014). She states that:

> [W]e have to come up with another word than equality because people don't get it…the words we're using at the moment don't resonate and I don't know why. I'd have to put a marketing person on to that I'm afraid (Martin, 2014).

The idea of deepening an understanding of equality is something which has been prevalent among other political parties within this study. However, the idea of marketing equality to the public and advertising the reformation of a societal issue is one I have not yet come across. Whilst gender equality is usually partnered with feminism, which to some is unattractive, the idea of developing a new term and making it more appealing to the public is more

suited to an advertising campaign than to direct social change. Whilst it is clear that campaigning can be effective, as demonstrated through the "It's Not OK" campaign, incentivizing an ideal society involving equality is in line with a neoliberal ideology. This idea is carried into the notion of moving more women into leadership. Martin states:

> I think that you start to incentivize smaller and medium sized businesses…You'd give them something to encourage [women] to come along or you could start really marketing that this is a cool course to do and supervise them to come to professional development (Martin, 2014).

The idea that businesses may need an incentive to hire women into those positions suggests that stereotypes associated with women in the workplace need to change. In this way, businesses should not need reinforcement to hire women into leadership roles, but should actually encourage women to apply. Equality is, therefore, demonstrated in the idea of providing women with equal opportunities to men, as opposed to encouraging businesses to apply equity to their employment practices and hire women who appear to be best suited to the position. In terms of awareness and closing the inequality gap, Martin states that the answer is education:

> Education so that it's actually accepted as true. There's 50% of the population that don't accept it as truth that there's any inequality out there…are young women really aware that they are not equal?...I

don't think that young women recognise that until they get out there

into the workforce and try to get past (Martin, 2014).

This observation is consistent with the negative effects of third wave

feminism discussed in Chapter 3. Whilst women may not be aware of

inequalities before they reach the workforce, education as a tool for making

people aware may not be the most appropriate implementation. Instead,

education could be used to encourage young men and women not to

conform to stereotypical traits associated with gender. However, this use of

education may not prove so effective, considering the indoctrination of

gendered stereotypes throughout all areas of society; the root cause of

gender inequality.

In terms of obtaining equality, Tracey states that NZ First's "overall

aim is just to gain equality. We talk about it all the time but we don't have it"

(Martin, 2014). This statement suggests that in the very least, equality

should be achieved despite other factors inhibiting its implementation.

These factors include the gender pay gap and the effects of child bearing on

workplace participation, according to Martin (2014). In terms of the gender

pay gap, Martin remarks that it "is a problem because you should not pay

somebody a different amount because of their gender, right?...his earnings

shouldn't be any more than her earnings" (Martin, 2014). In this way,

Martin identifies the need for women to have the opportunity to earn equally

as much as men. The NZ First policy document attempts to address the

gender pay gap by "rewarding and recognising those companies that run

professional courses to recognise unconscious bias…Pay inequality should

not exist in the Public Sector" (T. Martin, personal communication, August 13, 2014). The idea of addressing inequality within the workplace through incentives is once again reinforced through policy.

The issue of child bearing also plays a part in the ongoing inequality faced by women. Martin acknowledges that:

> If we are actually talking about women being able to provide for their children and women being able to care for their children then it's not just about working. How do we value and how do we support women to actually stay at home and look after their children and care for their children? How do we as a nation value that relationship?...there's a social pressure for women to go out and earn money—where is the support for a woman to stay at home? (Martin, 2014).

This observation calls for unpaid work to maintain the same value as paid work. On the other hand, the policy document states the desire to "extend opportunities for young mothers to remain in education and gain qualifications within a supportive school and community environment" (T. Martin, personal communication, August 13, 2014). Presumably, these qualifications are so that young mothers can enter the workforce. The aim is mostly directed at teen parents and their choice of career path. If value really does lie in unpaid work, then this attitude should also be extended towards teen parents, should they also wish to be a stay-at-home parent. Martin makes an interesting point when she acknowledges that "you do lose—you lose freedoms, you lose income, you lose all sorts of things when you have

children. It's part of having them, and it's part of the commitment to that

child" (Martin, 2014). Whilst these factors are true, the question must be

asked—should the loss of these factors inhibit women and should women

accept them as part of their fulfilment of traditional gender roles? If the loss

of these factors causes dissatisfaction and leads to further increases in

inequality, then it is clear that social change needs to be enacted.

Men as facilitators of social change.

In order to progress towards an equal society, Martin comments that:

> The group we have to change is men…there is an unconscious bias
>
> among men that needs to be addressed…they don't even realise they
>
> are doing it in most instances so that's an educational thing and we
>
> have to provide a carrot incentive for them to actually participate in
>
> workshops that breaks down those unconscious biases (Martin,
>
> 2014).

An unconscious bias can be understood as stereotypical roles which

underpin social interaction. In this way, men assume things about women's

traditional roles which have been reinforced throughout their lives. Women

also do the same for men. The suggestion that men are the only group that is

in need of change is, in a way, reproducing a stereotype. Whilst men remain

the dominant gender within society, encouraging them to lead social change

and enact equality allows the power dynamic to remain the same.

Attempting to break down these structural biases through incentives is also

not the most effective method. If these stereotypes have been reproduced

throughout the duration of a person's life, simply attending a workshop and receiving a reward may not be enough to socially reform the construction of traditional gender roles. Furthermore, Tracey suggests that we "get men into non-traditional areas like childcare and nursing at the same time as getting young women over to non-traditional areas like engineering" (Martin, 2014). Whilst this proposal is an obvious suggestion of role reversal, the use of "young women" as opposed to referring to women in general, suggests that women may not be as capable as men in performing non-traditional roles and would need to be trained at a younger age.

In terms of child bearing and paid parental leave, Martin remarks that "one of the things that the Right Honourable Winston Peters said was "why aren't we making men take part in this?"" (Martin, 2014). Martin then describes what it might be like for men to take a portion of paid parental leave:

> [They] will take it and then explain how fulfilled they feel and how it's made a difference to how they are able to interact with their children. Then we will start to get some of those warm fuzzy stories (Martin, 2014).

Whilst it would be ideal for women if men were able to take a significant portion of paid parental leave, as demonstrated within highly taxed Scandinavian countries, this model may not prove feasible within New Zealand given the reluctance of New Zealanders to surrender large amounts from their income. At the same time, having the father present within the early stages of a child's life can produce beneficial outcomes. Suggesting

that warm fuzzy stories will convince other parents to include the father in paid parental leave is not an effective tool for social change. It is important to note that fathers also face difficulties where parental leave is concerned, in regards to income decreases due to the pay differential between men and women, as well as leave restrictions. However, shared paid parental leave would alleviate some pressures associated with income.

The key themes presented within this section of *understanding and obtaining equality;* and *men as facilitators of social change,* demonstrate the position of NZ First on issues resulting in gender inequality. Whilst their methods of eliminating such an issue are not purely legislative, merit can be found in their identification of stereotypes and their focus on including men in the progression towards gender equality.

United Future

Two key themes which inform United Future's position on gender equality include *gender equality for all people;* and *eliminating violence through education.* United Future has chosen to name their policy "gender affairs" for reasons which will be made clear. Evidence from the collected data will be used to demonstrate the views of United Future on issues relating to gender equality in New Zealand.

Gender equality for all people

Judy Turner stated that equality means "equal access to social justice. I would describe it as an equal access to hope and equal access to support and services" (Turner, 2014). In this way, equality of opportunity is expressed in

the fair provision of support and services. The decision to change the name of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to that of gender affairs is an act of "recognising that the specific needs of both genders need to be addressed" (United Future, 2014, p. 1). Turner reinforces this decision by stating:

> In the six years I was in parliament…I had a lot of contact with men and men's groups who began to highlight for me the fact that there were a number of areas where males as a gender were perhaps disadvantaged by some systematic biased against men and so we began to wonder if those inequities; inequitable situations…would be] addressed as male gender specific issues (Turner, 2014).

It is clear that men also face disadvantages in areas such as paid parental leave and flexible working conditions, in relation to their ability to be as much a part of their children's lives as the mother. It can also be agreed upon that systematic stereotyping is also applicable to men as hunter-gatherers or breadwinners. However, combining inequalities associated with men and women as two vastly different issues, does not suggest a clear focus on ways to discourage gender inequality. The choice of United Future to only focus on the genders of male and female is a reproduction of gender inequality in itself. The choice to not include LBGT groups within the policy—although a complicated issue—suggests that the only two genders that are recognised are that of male and female. In terms of disadvantage associated with women, Turner recognises that "there is a real clear issue with woman disadvantage and they need to look at what drives this

disadvantage and address it" (Turner, 2014). In terms of addressing the paid parental leave and equal distribution issue, United Future wishes to:

- Promote better work-life balance for parents

- End gender discrimination, recognising that both women and men can face unwelcome discrimination

- Extend paid and unpaid parental leave to both parents

- Recognise the imperative for fathers to bond with their newborns by an extension of parental leave

- Support flexible working hours

  (United Future, 2014, p. 1).

These policies aim to support family outcomes for each member of the family (Turner, 2014), demonstrating a shift towards equity and the provision of equal outcomes.

In terms of promoting a better work-life balance, Turner acknowledges that:

Women would like to have a good career and be parents and the traditional role of woman to be the primary caregiver…but] that often didn't bode well with your ability to stay current now or stay up to speed to be current in your chosen career…we were also really mindful of an economy that was increasingly based around a two income family and the limitation it placed on people's choices around the way they'd like to parent (Turner, 2014).

The identification of the traditional roles of women paired with the desire to work presents itself as a difficult choice for women. Either women are expected to wholly commit to their career, or to creating a family, with short intermissions allowed back into the working world between children. As a result, Turner remarks that the option to stay at home with children is becoming a luxury; "to change from being a normal to a luxury—that has disturbed me a little bit because it meant that families actually had a decreasing level of choice" (Turner, 2014). The idea that some families require two incomes to survive means that their level of choice where children are concerned is steadily decreasing. In this regard, men and women are inhibited by their traditional roles; men in the sense that their income should support the family and women in terms of motherhood responsibilities. Further focus on traditional roles is demonstrated when Turner remarks:

> I just think that we need to be thinking about a woman's whole life, not just where her career is heading and that she's a really good teacher, but how does that translate into her home life, her access to define answers to housing, to medical support for her children…as a parent you have a huge amount of sacrifice and I'd like to think that we were a nation that was really was more class when it comes to raising nice kids (Turner, 2014).

Turner's reference to a woman's "whole life" namely includes that of raising children. In relation to this Turner acknowledges the amount of sacrifice a parent must make, yet attributes a woman's success to the ability

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to raise "nice kids".

In relation to the state of equality in New Zealand and historical events pertaining to women's rights, Turner comments:

> We are world leaders to be honest with you. In being first to be awarded the vote, I actually think it's more than that. I think we've got several Māori women [who are] leaders in their community and maybe I think it's difficult because we are very aware. I think women's issues have been well represented and continue to be well canvassed because they bring great hope. I think the risk will be taking your eye off the ball and losing ground, that will be terrible for all of us in New Zealand, you know? (Turner, 2014).

Turner clearly believes that the gender equality problem in New Zealand is fairly minor. Whilst she acknowledges its presence within society amongst men and women, it is difficult to distinguish how much progress we need to make in order for New Zealand to become a truly equal society. Turner's observation that New Zealanders are aware of the current state of inequality and that women's issues are well represented aligns with a third wave feminist perspective (Thompson, 2006). The idea that losing ground would prove terrible for New Zealand people makes me wonder about the current state of equality. Whilst conditions for women are vastly better than they have been in the past, more work is needed in order to truly make New Zealand a world leader and strong advocate of gender equality.

Eliminating violence through education.

In order to eliminate violence, United Future's policy recognised "that men and women are both perpetrators and victims" (United Future, 2014, p. 1). Turner commented:

> Family violence is probably the most urgent issue…[we] need to get serious about this and leave no stone unturned to get this sorted and improve our outcomes…we predominantly talk about half the problem. At the moment it is the male as the perpetrator and the women and children as the victim…women are by far the greater victims so I am not trying to play down a very serious end of offending…[but] as a nation we seem poorly skilled in conflict resolution, negotiation, [and] emotional control (Turner, 2014).

In situations of violence, United Future wishes to reverse the stereotypes of perpetrators and victims to include both genders. Whilst women face a large proportion of the violence that takes place in New Zealand, it is important to recognise that men endure such abuse at the hands of women also. Turner notes this idea by stating that:

> I think women are hugely important and we need to be proactive in terms of managing our own emotions, our own approach to differences of opinion and the need to negotiate in grown up ways other than violent ways…men are very loath to talk about the violence that they have suffered at the hands of a woman. It's a source of embarrassment to them (Turner, 2014)

The idea that as a nation, we are not equipped to deal with conflict in personal relationships suggests that education is needed in order to teach children tolerance of others, at an early age; "I think we need to look at how we parent our children and those matters around violence…we seem to have an unhealthy tolerance of violence and…we've had lots of opportunities in children's lives to decrease violent behaviour" (Turner, 2014). Placing the onus on parents to teach their children about violence and discourage violent behaviour is indicative of social change. If parents are to teach their children, then they must be aware that as a form of authority, they are enacting the part of a role model within their child's life and must mirror what they teach. In this way, what is witnessed within the home should allow a child to learn "how to appropriately disagree with somebody,…resolve differences of opinion and how to compromise and how to discuss" (Turner, 2014).

Through the analysis of key themes associated with United Future, it is clear to see that their focus lies with the inequality experienced by both men and women. Gender inequality among women is acknowledged as a significant issue. However, women are still limited in their choice to pursue a career or maintain a family. In terms of violence, the education that children receive at home mirrors the relationship of the parents. Therefore, conflict resolution is an important skill that both men and women should learn.

The Internet Party

A thematic analysis of data collected from the Internet Party revealed two key themes consisting of *implementing genuine equality;* and *manifestations*

of femininity and masculinity within society. The Internet Party has named

their policy "gender policy" as a means to address all forms of gender

inequality within society. Whilst an alliance was forged between the Internet

and Mana parties, the policy and interview discussed within this section are

purely associated with the views of the Internet Party and women's

spokesperson, Pani Farvid.

Implementing genuine equality.

The Internet Party policy states:

> As the first country to grant women the vote, New Zealand has a
>
> long way to go until we have genuine equality across all genders.
>
> The Internet Party believes that everyone, regardless of gender,
>
> should have the same access, rights, and privileges in daily life. This
>
> means that everyone should have the capacity to work and support
>
> themselves, live free from violence, have control over their body,
>
> and take on an equal share of unpaid labour. Greater equality is also
>
> needed when it comes to power and influence within New Zealand.
>
> The global gender gap index places New Zealand at number seven
>
> internationally and we can do much better. As a party we will
>
> address the current manifestations of gender inequality (e.g., gender
>
> pay gap) and create the conditions that promote an equal and just
>
> society for all, regardless of gender (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 1).

This opening paragraph openly acknowledges the presence of gender

inequality in New Zealand and advocates for equality of opportunity, in the

way that all people should have the same access to rights and privileges. The opening line distinguishes between achievement and progress noting that even as the first country to grant women the vote, inequality is still prevalent. The notion that greater equality is needed within leadership suggests a top-down change is required in order to enact equality. Projecting the responsibility onto those in Government also places a portion of the blame on their shoulders. The notion that New Zealand sits at number seven within the global gender gap index and that this is unacceptable, demonstrates the Internet Party's passion to see gender equality enacted within the community. Farvid mentioned that the overall aim of their policy is:

> To promote genuine gender equality within New Zealand while not just paying lip service…in the New Zealand context it's easy to think that we have reached equality…[but] it's not that simple and we're still facing challenges when it comes to true equality (Farvid, 2014).

The notion that New Zealanders believe equality has been achieved stems from the historical context of being the first country to grant women the vote (McGregor, 2013). Challenges inhibiting gender equality include "gender-based violence, gender pay gap, leadershipand paid parental leave" (Farvid, 2014). What is meant by the term "genuine equality" is further explained by Farvid:

Equality means that everybody in New Zealand no matter, you know, what you are, what you look like…they have the same sort of opportunities, privileges, rights as a citizen and capacity to achieve what they want…[For] some people their day is filled with much more difficulty than others. We also need to equalise that…we also need not just equality but equity (Farvid, 2014).

Whilst this explanation is still describing equality, the idea that some people's days are filled with more difficulty than others, leans more towards the notion of equity, taking into consideration the diversity of people who may need different provisions in order to experience genuine equality; "The Internet Party is aware that different groups of women face different issues" (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 5). In order to inhibit factors which reproduce gender inequality, policy states that:

The Internet Party will:

- Work to eradicate all forms of gender-based violence including sexual violence, intimate partner violence, family violence, online and offline harassment and men's violence against boys/men.
- Address current inequalities in the workforce, including the gender pay gap.
- Increase opportunity and capacity for leadership, public participation, and involvement in social decision making for all, regardless of gender.

- Increase paid parental leave (that mothers, fathers and other caregivers have access to) and increase government subsidised childcare

(The Internet Party, 2014, p. 1).

By identifying a number of forms of violence, the Internet Party is demonstrating an understanding of the issues relevant to the inequality debate and is seeking to actively resolve them. In relation to the issue of the gender pay gap, it is clear that "women tend to take more low-paid, lower status jobs especially after kids arrive…even if they are highly educated" (Farvid, 2014). However, in order to make steps towards a resolution, the Internet Party believes that education is an adequate and effective tool. Media literacy programs are an educational tool suggested by the Internet Party:

The current media saturated environment increasingly depicts extremely narrow definitions of appropriate womanhood and manhood, including highly sexualised and gendered displays. Girls and boys need the tools, from an early age, to critically dismantle stereotypical, violent, and unrealistic media content (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 2).

The aim of teaching children to be critical makes it

more acceptable, more palatable, that boys and girls can take on diverse roles in society—that the girl wants to grow up to be a police

woman or something that is traditionally male-dominated, it's not

such a big deal, and the same with boys (Farvid, 2014).

Allowing children to understand and critically examine their social

environment and the way gender is represented in the media, can contribute

to generational social change. Encouraging children to take on diverse roles

and strive towards a career in an area of passion rather than one which is

stereotypically prescribed, would break down gendered stereotypes and add

value to non-traditional roles. The Internet Party also lean towards the

notion that allowing women into diverse roles can contribute to an increase

in pay; reducing the gender pay gap and aiding equality.

Manifestations of femininity and masculinity within society.

According to Farvid, a necessary step towards obtaining gender equality is

to:

Change that framework of binary gender opposites where you know,

man has to be strong, aggressive, sexually driven, sexually

motivated, cohesive and…women being like helpless and a sexual

object, less sexually driven, less autonomous, less

independent…[It's about] not having to fit into a predefined very

sort of aggressive mode of manhood and woman (Farvid, 2014).

The most prevalent area which suffers from these frameworks is that of

gender-based violence; "The Internet Party believes that gender-based

violence is a major public health concern, a violation of human rights and

comes at an extremely high [cost] to New Zealand society" (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 2). As a result, the Internet Party proposes a three-pronged approach to combatting gender-based violence revolving around preventative measures;

> Preventing gender-based violence requires changing enduring norms and beliefs about the nature of gender and men's and women's roles within society…Immediate response after violence has occurred that encompasses both victim and perpetrator interventions…Long-term response after violence has occurred (The Internet Party, 2014, pp. 2-3).

It is the Internet Party's belief that dismantling defined notions of gender can also dissolve misconceived preconceptions around how someone associated with a particular gender should behave. As previously mentioned, society has associated men with aggression and dominance, and women with dependence and weakness. In situations of violence, whilst statistics do suggest that women are victims a majority of the time (Farvid, 2014), gendered stereotypes also affect the ways in which the role of perpetrator and victim are carried out. If men and women believe and invest in the preconceived notions of gender outlined for them by society, then it is very easy for them to fulfil societal expectations. Farvid observes that "dominant forms of masculinity are just as limiting to men as dominant forms of femininity are for women" (Farvid, 2014). This identification expands into the workforce; "the increasing number of women in paid work hasn't necessarily always been matched with an increase in the amount of men

participating in unpaid labour in the home" (Farvid, 2014). As women attempt to move into non-traditional areas of work, men are falling behind and further reinforcing their own stereotypes. And whilst "gender issues are everyone's problem" (Farvid, 2014), it is clear that as one gender advances, another is held back. Farvid remarks that:

> An ideal future would be that gender would not be a defining feature in how we make our decisions…how we act, how we dress, what we think, you know. It's very arbitrary really in terms of like chromosomes, in terms of how we are made biologically, it's very little chromosomal difference between men and women…but we sort of get moulded into masculine or feminine beings…[If we] dissipate gender expectations that are placed on women and men we can…reach our potential without sort of putting those very rigid and limiting stereotypes of masculinity and femininity (Farvid, 2014).

In this excerpt, Farvid highlights the biological differences separating men and women. The idea that the only element defining gender is biology, suggests that gender is a socially constructed notion which has been enforced upon individuals by the dominant group. In this way, gendered stereotypes are what prevent gender equality from being enacted, as men and women conform to societal notions of gender reproduced throughout societies;

> "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman [or man]". This powerful statement refers to the notion that sex and gender are

different things. Sex refers to the biological characteristics that distinguish one as boy or girl and gender denotes the [moulding] of boys and girls into masculine or feminine beings (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 1).

In this way, societal structures would need to change and adapt to accommodate the dismantling of gender as a social construction.

The Internet Party believes that an effective way to dismantle socially constructed ideas of gender is through education. A way they seek to uproot gender is through gender equality education, as outlined within their policy:

1. Gender equality education**:** Will be incorporated into New Zealand educational curricula from primary school to dismantle rigid gender binaries that promote gender inequality. The aim is to give boys and girls the opportunity to take on diverse roles and become powered to be themselves rather than fitting into predefined categories and expectations. A main focus will be on debunking polarised forms of masculinities and femininities and teaching ethical forms of sexual and relational practices towards all, no matter what their gender or sexual orientation (The Internet Party, 2014, p. 1).

The idea to dismantle the concept of gender within the early stages of a child's life is consistent with generational change. Whilst older generations may find it difficult to act out of the socially prescribed notions of gender, children are able to learn how to be critical in their observations of gender

stereotypes whilst also denouncing them. Empowering children to believe that they really can follow a career path of their choosing despite notions of gendered stereotypes can act as a bridge for future generations to become more accepting of individual choice. Genuine equality, as opposed to gender equality, is what the Internet Party wish to achieve by dismantling stereotypes and allowing equality to naturally form as a result of tolerance.

Through the analysis of key themes, such as *implementing equity and genuine equality* and *manifestations of femininity and masculinity within society,* it is evident that the Internet Party wishes to implement equality through education and societal change. The idea of dismantling socially constructed notions of gender is seen as a way to resolve issues of violence, pay inequality and leadership inequality. In this way, genuine equality is able to naturally occur through the reformation of gendered stereotypes, allowing children to be able to choose their career path and life goals without gender hindering their abilities.

Summary

The themes presented within this chapter and reinforced by evidence collected from the data, will be used to inform the critical discourse analysis and discussion. It is already evident through thematic examination that comparable and contrasting ideas exist between the themes of each political party and relate to their fundamental ideology. In this way, the themes already presented will be collapsed and reintegrated in order to form a list of comprehensive themes which help explain the key priorities of each political party; briefly uncovered through thematic analysis and further

developed through critical discourse analysis. The next chapter will seek to
further expand on linkages and distinctions, in order to evaluate the key,
overarching themes and further discuss party ideology.

CHAPTER 6

Critical Discourse Analysis and Discussion

Through the identification of key themes relevant to each participating

political party, deciphered from conducting a thematic analysis, the data

presented within this chapter draws on critical discourse analysis to build

upon those themes and identify connections and comparisons between

parties at the level of social and cultural practice. Individual party themes

have been summarised and combined in order to form the following

overarching themes: *equality and equity: cross-party understandings and*

perspectives; manifestations of gender; women's participation within the

economy and society; and *addressing and eliminating violence through*

education for cultural change. Key principles and latent values will be made

evident as I focus on language and word choice as textual markers of the

underlying social and cultural practices prioritised by each party, in an

attempt to develop these themes to reflect party ideology and an

understanding of gender equality issues within New Zealand.

Equality and Equity: Cross-Party Understandings and Perspectives

Throughout the duration of this research, it has become increasingly clear

that understandings of equality and equity differ between each party. This

section will seek to highlight the understandings and views of each political

party participating in this research, in order to work towards a conclusion

for the relevant research question. The social and cultural practices of each

party enacted textually and discursively, will be examined in accordance

with CDA in order to compare and contrast the perspectives and understandings of equality.

Throughout the Green Party's policy and interview, both equality and equity are used. The juxtaposition of "structural discrimination" is used to frame the issue of gender inequality as a systematic rejection of women's rights, similar to United Future's articulation of "systematic bias" to describe the perpetuation of gender inequality. The articulation of these terms reflects the failure of the system to cater for the needs and rights of women, allowing the blame to be placed at society's feet. United Future's juxtaposed phrase refers to the treatment of men in relation to parental leave. In this way, allowing men to enter into areas traditionally associated with women presents similar ideas to that of NZ First.

The Internet Party acknowledges that men and women actively reproduce gendered stereotypes, and are, therefore, both responsible for the issue of gender inequality. This thought process is similar to the neoliberal ideology of individualism shared by National, in the sense that individual choice and action affects movements towards or away from equality. Similarly, the Green Party and United Future have chosen to blame the foundations of society for gendered discrimination. Social messages are also labelled at fault for the reproduction of gender inequality, with media representations painting women out to be vulnerable and innocent, or being used to strengthen their traditional roles; a belief reinforced by the Internet Party.

The National Party aligns heavily with their neoliberal roots, advocating for equality of opportunity. However, reference is made to

equity in the identification of social and cultural diversity, demonstrating an ideological shift towards equality of outcome. A key area of focus within the inequality debate for National, resides in the issue of the gender pay gap. The National Party use the words *distribution, monitoring* and *measurement* as terms which seek to contain the issue of the gender pay gap and keep its effects to a minimum. These words are used as a substitute in order to move the discussion away from the elimination of the gender pay gap and towards containment of the issue. This idea further reinforces a neoliberal ideology and the notion that it is the choice of the individual to evoke society change and not the role of the state. Therefore, National is making attempts to improve the situation for women so as to satisfy public demand and remain true to their ideology.

A key word used by Labour to signify their commitment to obtaining equality is *real.* The articulation of *real* is juxtaposed with the words equality, choice and opportunity; part of Labour's women's equality philosophy. The resemblance to a neoliberal ideology is clearly demonstrated in the focus on equality of opportunity and freedom of choice. On the other hand, the choice of *real* to describe a form of equality is similar to the Internet Party's articulation of *genuine* equality. Labour briefly breaks away from neoliberalism in the acknowledgement that procedural equality, or equality before the law is not enough given the diverse nature of women, noting the need for equity to provide these women with equal treatment. They articulate equality through the use of *potential* and describe the obtainment of equality as the freedom for women to reach their potential. Relating equality and potential suggests that freedom of

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choice is an important principle for Labour and imposed limitations are unacceptable. As a result, they have used the limiting of women's choice as an excuse to intervene and suggest ways in which women's potential can be harnessed and achieved—thus evoking equality.

The Māori Party use storytelling to describe the concepts of equality and equity. However, whilst the narrative contained a descriptive understanding of the concepts, unfortunately Fox appeared to confuse them. This confusion has clearly been reflected amongst the other parties, yet not so vividly. In this sense, the understandings of equality and equity need further explanation, as suggested by NZ First.

With a focus on Māori and Pasifika women, further narratives explain the role of women within the Māori culture, in relation to a Powhiri and Tangi. Whilst women have different and sometimes domestically focused roles than that of men, recognition of the value of these positions is demonstrated through the idea that men and women have different yet equal roles. Although this statement presents itself as a paradox, it demonstrates the left wing perspective of equity in the acknowledgment that women and men are different, yet both hold an important place within the Māori culture. In this way, whilst Western culture is typically individualist and focused on equality of opportunity—as demonstrated by the Green's and National's focus on equality of choice—Māori culture is inherently outcome focused, in relation to enhancing the well being of the collective group and maintaining equity through cultural preservation.

The Māori Party also believes in *empowerment* and the encouragement of women to fulfil their potential, similar to Labour Party

beliefs. The articulation of empowerment suggests that women should be encouraged to fulfil their potential and pursue whatever path they wish to take. In this way, if women choose to have children, flexibility within the workplace should enable them to maintain their career and pursue motherhood. As a result, equity is achieved through the empowerment of women.

It is the belief of NZ First that equality should be replaced with a term which is identifiable and resonates with the public. As I have just discussed, equality and equity are terms which can create some confusion. The choice of Labour and the Internet party to pair equality with *real* and *genuine* reinforces the need for a more applicable and identifiable term. The Internet Party use genuine equality to describe the type of equality which should be enacted; sincere and meaningful equality. United Future appears to believe that equality within New Zealand is already genuine and in need of no drastic measures. The juxtaposition of *genuine equality* appears to indicate that all other forms of equality on offer from other parties are not specifically genuine. In this way, genuine equality is being used to replace equity and the wish to provide equality of outcome. NZ First's ideas to change the terms used to describe equality are, therefore, being enacted by the Internet Party. In this way, NZ First suggests the incorporation of marketing into this process as a means to help everyone fully understand what equality entails. The suggestion is also made that 50% of people do not believe that inequality exists; an example of partial reporting and misrepresentation. Therefore, incentives are promoted as a way to encourage women to obtain roles of leadership, as a trademark of neoliberal

ideology.

The articulation of marketing and incentives as a means to increase understanding and evoke change is consistent with the neoliberal trait of the carrot and the stick. The carrot is represented in the idea to provide incentives for those women who obtain non-traditional roles, whilst the stick is represented in the notion that if you do not understand or believe in inequality, you are unable to obtain it. Therefore, those who do not understand what inequality is are unable to receive a reward for actively dismantling stereotypes. This approach fails to recognise equitable outcomes, but is similar to the Internet Party's beliefs around the disassembling of gendered stereotypes. On the other hand, the use of marketing to define another term for equality could in fact produce an equitable outcome. In this way, making it easier for those who do not understand exactly what equality is through the introduction of a new term, can increase the literacy of such an issue and lead to social change.

United Future's whole approach to the issue of equality, as presented within the findings chapter, suggests that the overall issue is not as important as some of the other parties would describe; New Zealand is a world leader in equality movements and more women are beginning to move into non-traditional areas. United Future's approach to different aspects of equality makes it fairly difficult to determine what is needed in order for equality to come into effect and for the systematic bias to be dismantled, which would reinforce NZ First's ideas around the influence of marketing to enhance understanding.

The Internet Party articulate the use of education and critical teaching

as "palatable" in relation to the encouragement of boys and girls to pursue non-traditional roles. The articulation of *palatable* is to suggest that we shift from one norm to another. This idea of shifting norms is not dissimilar to Labour's articulation of *real* and NZ First's ideas around creating an identifiable term to describe equality, and is, therefore, consistent with the Internet Party's theme of societal and systematic upheaval as a means of evoking cultural change. In this way, encouraging boys and girls to pursue non-traditional roles would become the new satisfactory norm, as opposed to women and men remaining in their respective industries or areas. As discussed within the next section, the Internet Party wishes to dismantle the construction of gender as a way to gain equality. However, making it acceptable for men and women to move into non-traditional roles is an example of reversal and contradicts their intention to dissolve gender roles altogether.

Manifestations of Gender

Gender as a social construction constantly enables the reinforcement of stereotypes associated with the traditional role of men and women (see Chapter 3). Both the Internet Party and United Future wish to acknowledge the manifestations of gender through the adaptation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to include gender affairs. The Green Party is aware of social stereotypes surrounding the traditional role of women and the effect of these stereotypes on gender inequality. On the other hand, NZ First believes that addressing stereotypes associated with men is a key step to solving the issue of gender inequality within New Zealand. This section will

discuss each view associated with addressing manifestations of gender, as a means to create social change and instigate gender equality.

During the interview, Farvid referred to the societal enactment of gender as "arbitrary". The articulation of this word choice suggests that gender as a social construction is not a necessity, but rather a category determined on impulse by a presiding group. Similarly, United Future address inequality from a gendered perspective instead of leaning towards the inequality experienced solely by women. The views of these parties towards gender indicate elements of neoliberalism and the provision of equal opportunities to all. Equality of opportunity is also present in the statement that gender is arbitrary, which disregards the concept of "sex" and biological difference, which for some, socially determines their gendered identity. Whilst the Internet Party denies the idea that sex determines gender, they also demonstrate a left wing ideology in the idea that they neglect the choice of an individual to determine their identity and instead position inequality as a collective issue, as described within Māori principles. The dismantling of gendered stereotypes also affects the notion of identity, in allowing individuals to choose their gendered representation. As a result, the Internet Party demonstrates a focus on equality of opportunity through the notion that gender equality can be enacted if constructions of gender are dismantled, thus giving everyone the opportunity to experience equality.

Gender inequality is an ongoing debate within society. However, it appears that the Internet Party believe that by removing "gender", the problem will be halved; leaving only inequality. The idea that the Internet Party policy is named the *Gender Policy* and yet they wish to remove

societal constructions of gender, presents a paradox. Much like United Future and NZ First, the Internet Party recognise the need to include men, as well as women, within the discussion of gender inequality. However, openly articulating the wish to dismantle gender and yet promoting a policy reflecting gender in the title, does not demonstrate a coherent argument. The Internet Party has paradoxically promoted a concept which they wish to dismantle.

The Green Party focuses on the social construction of women as mothers and describes unpaid work as a "burden". This articulation of unpaid work as a burden can be compared to United Future's observation that allowing women to take leave or remain at home is increasingly becoming a *luxury*. Both of these ideas are towards a centrist ideology in the sense that they inadvertently acknowledge the obligation for women to participate within the economy, yet also identify a lack of value placed upon motherhood. The juxtaposition present in the phrase "unpaid work" suggests that any form of work is not valuable unless monetary compensation is obtained. Work, therefore, refers to notions of a task-driven attitude which requires a reward. All the while, the idea that this work primarily entails the raising of children alongside other domestic chores is forgotten.

United Future's description of unpaid work as a luxury, demonstrates the notion that the ability to obtain substantial leave and remain at home is increasingly difficult and therefore, such time should be cherished. The articulation of *burden* and *luxury* reflect the opposing views of motherhood and inability for women to have a career and raise children, without the added effects of gender inequality. Therefore, in order to obtain gender

equality, the notion of unpaid work may need to be reframed in a way that values the ability of mothers to bear and raise children, yet also allows fathers to share the "burden". Maybe then, motherhood will be viewed as a privilege which requires the attribution of significant value.

NZ First believes that in order to evoke gender equality, men need to facilitate change. This approach is relatable to the Māori Party's perspectives of collectivism and the enhancement of wellbeing. Labour acknowledges that men ultimately helped women in their campaign to gain the vote and that men facilitated change, also demonstrating collectivism. Martin refers to an "unconscious bias" amongst men. This juxtaposition reflects the inability of men to consciously control their bias towards other men. In this way, a male employer may only hire other men based on the socially constructed stereotypes which have been reproduced throughout his life. NZ First believes in education in order to dismantle this unconscious bias, similar to the Internet Party. However, an incentivized approach is recognised as a means to increase attendance to educational workshops and reward those who begin to acknowledge their own bias. Similarly, providing an incentive in exchange for participation is akin to National Party beliefs and a neoliberal ideology. Offering men rewards for enacting gender equality can only further produce inequalities. Men are already at a societal advantage in terms of income and leadership. The provision of incentives in order to enable men to help women does not appear to be an effective solution to the issue of gender inequality.

NZ First also uses reversal in the form of dismantling traditional roles, as a means to influence gender equality. In this way, encouraging men to

enter into female-dominated industries and women into male-dominated industries, should somehow balance out the workforce and increase equality. As previously mentioned in the last chapter, NZ First discusses gender alongside this idea with reference to men and young women. The articulation of "young" suggests the idea that extensive education will be required in order for women to fulfil the traditional roles of men; education which requires time and intelligence. In this way, the traditional roles of women are undermined and the suggestion is made that men should have no problem fitting into these roles. If this is the case, then enacting equality should be a fairly easy process, given that women are the disadvantaged gender. On the other hand, the suggestion that young women will eventually be able to enact traditional male roles reinforces stereotypes of women. Traditional women's work is just as complex as men's work and therefore, should not be underestimated as this only reproduces gendered stereotypes. As a result, NZ First is simplifying the issue of gender equality by enacting traditional role reversal, and further reproducing stereotypes.

Women's Participation within the Economy and Society

The repeated use of the word "participation" within the policies and interview transcripts of the Green Party; National Party; and Labour Party, clearly demonstrates a focus on increasing the participation of women within the economy and/or society in order to produce outcomes which can be measured—either through income or workplace position. Through applying CDA, I identified the participation of women as a key value of each of the previously mentioned parties. Therefore, this section will seek to

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explore the semantics and pragmatics associated with the use of "participation" to address the issue of gender inequality.

Within the Green Party policy, participation is a key word used to describe the necessary contribution asked of women in order to create an equitable society and by implication, a stable economy. This word choice can be interpreted in a number of ways and is often juxtaposed with the word "equitable". As previously discussed, equity focuses on equality of outcomes, recognising that differences are what result in the inability to achieve equality of opportunity. Therefore, ensuring that women are able to participate within society equitably, suggests that it is a value of the Green Party that all women should be encouraged to participate. In this way, a left-wing ideology is present in the idea that all women should be able to participate equitably.

As well as a pairing "participation" with "equitable", the Green Party also articulate within their policy the need to ensure the *ability* for women to participate. Grammar as a means to describe the pattern and structure of a sentence can be used to highlight the placement of *ability* before *participation.* Increasing or ensuring the ability of women to participate equitably, observes that many women face different situations and, therefore, require differing opportunities in order to participate fully. If the Green Party is able to cater to the different abilities of various groups of women, then the progression towards equity becomes more feasible. The result of participation, as the policy suggests, would be the formation of a stable economy and society.

In this way, the idea of "participation" is a concept which the Green

Party wishes to make a part of cultural practice by making it easier for women to participate within society and the economy. Women are then framed as the actioners of equality, whilst the Green Party act as facilitators. What is meant by that is, is if women participate within society, then it is implied that gender equality will follow. In this sense, women are able to instigate societal and cultural change through simply participating, allowing the Green Party to evoke agency and facilitate the change through policy. Therefore, the onus is placed upon women to participate in the process of change making and contribute towards society and the economy; an idea also articulated by the Labour Party. In turn, the hope is that a stable economy and gender equality will result as the product of increased female participation through individual choice; akin to the neoliberal ideology of individual choice influencing equality discussed in the next paragraph.

On the other hand, the National Party refer to participation in relation to *economic independence*; the ability of a woman to earn a sufficient income and maintain control over that income despite unexpected situations. Ability, therefore, is an idea shared by the Green Party as previously discussed. Participation is articulated through the focus on independence and the perspective that in order to become economically independent, the ability to participate within the workforce is needed; a view consistent with an iconic National Party, neoliberalist ideology of individualism and economic autonomy enacted by the free market. As a blatant juxtaposition, economic independence is being reframed by National as a significant way for a woman to prove her worth within society. Therefore, a woman's economic independence or, I would go as far as stating *value*, is determined

by her role within the workplace as well as by her income. When compared with the Green Party's view of participation and increasing a woman's ability to participate, a woman's *value* is, therefore, determined by her participation within the economy and society. In this sense, the economy stands to benefit from a woman's inclusion within leadership and within the workplace—equality is a secondary measure.

If a woman's value rests with her income, then what value is placed upon her ability to raise and care for children, alongside other domestic responsibilties? It appears as though a woman's ability to participate, as prescribed by the Green Party and the National Party, is being reframed to refer directly to the economy and income generation; not so much society. What women are being told by National, for example, is that they respect the choice of women to have children, but place a higher value on their participation within the workforce.

The National Party also paint economic independence as a way for women to become equal with men. What I mean by this, is that the gender pay gap indicates that women earn a lot less than men on average. For women to gain economic independence, is also to suggest that the pay gap is being closed; a possible tactic of containment to minimise the issue of gender inequality. However, acquiring sufficient income to meet the needs of a woman and possibly her dependent children does not articulate a closing pay gap.

The use of "sufficient" to express the amount of money one would need to be considered economically independent, implies that National only expect women to earn enough to adequately satisfy their needs. In this

respect, a shift has been created from focusing on women in higher paid positions, to women who are able to pay their bills, feed their children and put a little amount aside each week as savings. Lowering the threshold of economic independence means that many New Zealand women are able to obtain such a status. In my experience, this would describe a number of mothers and women who strive to provide for their families despite facing societial barriers of inequality. This would then suggest that National use economic independence and participation as a diversion from the real issue of gender inequality, and would accept that a majority of women in New Zealand are economically independent; mostly because they have no other choice than to provide for their families through supplementation of their husband's or partner's wages, or as a sole parent. Dependency, therefore, can be related to the Green Party's idea that unpaid work is a burden to women and by implication, the economy and society, as discussed previously. Women who participate and strive towards economic independence are then enhancing their worth and contributing towards economic development. Therefore, gender equality in this regard, is not on top of the National Party's agenda. Equality is the carrot which National has chosen to coerce women back into the workforce, in the form of paid parental leave and work flexibility provisions; economic independence is the term which supposedly awards women a slice of the male-dominated pie.

In comparison, Labour articulate participation in the context of providing all women with equal opportunities and access, to contribute to the workforce and society whilst also fulfilling their potential. Equality of opportunity is a focus shared by the National Party and a neoliberalist

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ideology. On the other hand, the articulation of potential also implies equity in the sense that a focus is placed on fulfilling potential and, therefore, creating equal outcomes for all women. This view is consistent with a more centrist ideology.

The articulation of *participation* to enhance *potential* demonstrates the importance of the contribution of women towards the economy and the significance of their freedom to do so; when women are unable to participate and reach their potential, the economy misses out on their skills. The Green Party and the National Party emphasise the importance of women's ability to participate in order to create a stable economy, whereas, Labour acknowledge the outcomes which result from an inability to participate.

The notion that women are not fulfilling their potential or using their skills is generally because they have to seek part-time work, or because they have chosen to stay at home altogether. In this regard, to label limited participation a loss of skills, denies women their freedom of choice prescribed by a neoliberal ideology. Whilst for the most part, women are unable to continue to utilise their expertise after childbirth, blatantly labelling their choices around flexible working conditions a failure to reach their potential, is to devalue an individual's perspective of *potential*. Some women may view childbearing as a means to fulfill their personal potential, whilst others may view the workplace as a forum to achieve professional potential. A woman should be able to choose freely and not have those choices disregarded by a political party on the basis that the country is losing money by not having them be a part of the workforce.

In this way, a focus on equality, as opposed to equity described by the Green Party, aligns the Labour Party with a neoliberal ideology. When the issue is framed in this way, Labour demonstrate traits akin to the National Party; economic progression is key and equality is secondary. On the other hand, the Green Party's articulation of *ability* supports Labour's representation of *potential*. As a result, both the Greens and Labour wish to increase the ability of women to fulfill their potential through participating within society and the economy, so as to create stability and maintain the specialised skills of women.

Eliminating Violence through Education for Cultural Change

In order to resolve the issue of gender-based violence within New Zealand education was identified as a key solution, closely followed by cultural change. Five parties consisting of the Labour Party; United Future; Internet Party; and the Māori Party, each responded to the issue of violence through their spokesperson and policy document. The application of CDA to the data uncovered the overarching idea that education and awareness raising can contribute to collaboration and cultural change. In this way, this section will seek to reflect on the position of each party in relation to gender-based violence and focus on social and cultural practices discovered through text.

The Labour Party place a focus on *awareness* as a way to eliminate violence through campaigning. The articulation of awareness identifies the need for education similar to that of United Future and the Internet Party, yet emphasises the lack of resources allocated to do so. The "It's Not OK" campaign is mentioned alongside the decrease in funding; suggesting that

reducing the resources of such a well known campaign is fueling the issue of violence. In this way, diversion is used to move the discussion away from awareness and towards a lack of resourcing; raising awareness of violence is important, yet this cannot be achieved unless we have money and resources necessary in order to initiate a national campaign. Furthermore, it could be said that Labour believe that money will fix the issue of gender-based violence, reinforcing a National Party and neoliberal approach to offering opportunities to be made aware, resulting in individual action to change the issue.

Whilst outlining the amount of funds Labour wishes to allocate to a national awareness campaign to increase community education, the use of pronouns and self-promotion are visible. The use of "we" clearly refers to the Labour Party, whilst the use of "invest" in regards to the amount suggests the idea that Labour wish to make it clear that they are committed to the future of New Zealand. Educating people and raising awareness each cost money; money which Labour are making clear that they intend to spend in order to evoke cultural change. Self-promotion is evident throughout the mention of the Labour Party and their intentions to work on behalf of New Zealanders to eliminate violence. On the other hand, of the four parties who identified violence as a priority, Labour were the only party to discuss resources and outline a plan of action in regards to fund allocation. The focus on resourcing is indicative of a social democratic ideology in the sense that those who are without appropriate resourcing and education should be provided for by the state. In this way, Labour are revealing their social democratic roots.

Labour also significantly highlights the use of collaboration across communities and agencies to eliminate violence. Labour believes that the elimination of violence requires government leadership and guidance from the top. The idea of evoking a top-down approach to cultural change treats society much like an organisation, yet is consistent with a left wing ideology which values state intervention and the provison of resources. In this sense, collaboration with the community comes at a much later stage of the change process, with legislation and funding being the key priorities. Awareness raising and collaboration are the terms highlighted by the Labour Party in order to disguise a focus on resourcing. In this way, the message being articulated suggests that violence cannot be eliminated without the proper resourcing and funds.

United Future also view education as the focal solution towards eliminating gender-based violence, yet believe such education should begin in the home rather than through marketing materials. As a party with origins in religion and Christian values, the notion that parents are responsible for educating their children is consistent with these values in the sense that the home is the heart of development. Enhancement and expressiveness are used to emphasis the serious issue of violence and for the need for no stone to be left unturned where solutions are concerned. United Future identifies a lack of ability in areas such as negotiation, conflict resolution and emotional control among New Zealanders in particular, and views this as the fundamental cause of rising levels of violence. Attributing violence to an individual's lack of skills, identifies a failure in the system to educate citizens on healthy relationships, but also shifts the blame directly to

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individuals. United Future clearly accepts this failure through the suggestion of education, yet also shifts the onus onto parents, recognising that it is the responsibility of parents to teach their children.

Education is used to highlight the lack of skills, and therefore, parents should be enacting healthy relationships in front of their children in order to teach conflict resolution and negotiation techniques. In a more abstract sense, the tax-payer funded government and education system have failed to instil the values of conflict resolution and so now, parents must step in and take full responsibility. Whilst some would argue that it is the responsibility of parents to teach their children about healthy relationships, a lack of education identified by United Future may suggest that parents themselves are not as educated in such an area. In this way, Labour's approach to awareness appears to be the missing piece to United Future's puzzle.

The Internet Party uses the phrase "major health concern" to describe the issue of gender-based violence; an example of enhancement. The juxtaposition of health and violence is consistent with a left wing ideology and the idea that anything which affects health or wellbeing is of concern to the state. In this way, the Internet Party are suggesting that the responsibility be placed on the shoulders of the collective, as reflected in Māori beliefs of collectivism and wellbeing. Much like the Labour Party and United Future, the Internet Party believes that education is the most effective tool for eliminating violence. If a man is taught to act masculine, aggressive, and dominant; and a woman to act feminine and maintain innocence, then what is to stop men from enacting the role of the perpetrator of violence and women the victim? In this way, the Internet Party believes that socialization

into a particular gender stereotype informs an individual's behaviour and, therefore, makes it easier for he or she to conform to societal notions of how he or she should behave. The articulation of education is not of enabling the system as United Future prescribes, but of neglecting it. As an idea more in line with Labour's articulation of awareness, the Internet Party believe that the current education that children receive through the schooling system reinforces gendered stereotypes and, therefore, reproduces situations of violence. The idea that the system is failing children in regards to stereotyping and, therefore, requires reformation, is consistent with a left wing ideology in the sense that accepting responsibility for such an issue is a form of state intervention. Therefore, empowering children to shed these stereotypes is seen as a way to inhibit the reproduction of masculine and feminine behaviour associated with the relationship between perpetrator and victim.

The Māori Party share Labour's focus on raising awareness, but develop this idea on a community level rather than through resourcing and public campaigns. Similarities can be drawn across all four parties in their approaches to the issue of violence through educational methods. However, the collective approach to violence demonstrated by the Māori Party shows a vastly different approach to the individualised responsibility of parents to teach their children. Whilst whānau is an important aspect of Māori culture, it is not just the responsibility of the parents to instil values into their children, but rather the whole community is involved.

Nominalization in the form of the *Achieving Intergenerational Change Strategy* instigated by the Māori Party is used to describe the role of

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communities in changing attitudes and behaviours towards violence. Awareness is therefore, built on the understanding that the overall goal is to achieve intergenerational change with the aid of the community. Where United Future placed the onus on parents, the Māori Party believes the responsibility lies with the entire community to identify and act on situations of violence in order to eliminate the issue. Rather than relying on legislation, the Māori Party wishes to create community initiatives to tackle the issue, reinforcing a collective approach to well-being. In this way, the Māori Party accept that by instigating intergenerational change, they are acknowledging the embedded nature of the problem within society and the large amount of time which will be required. On the other hand, this strategy also demonstrates a commitment to resolving the issue over time.

The articulation and enhancement of violence as an *epidemic* implies that it is spreading quickly and needs to be addressed. The articulation of this term is similar to the Internet Party's juxtaposition of health and violence. The use of epidemic usually implies sickness or disease and so pairing this term with violence further enhances the severity of the issue. For the Māori Party, community involvement is seen to be a way to limit violence before it becomes an even bigger issue, and stop it spreading. Therefore, the idea of intergenerational change suggests the need to teach children about violence and relationship building early, so that the current epidemic is unable to spread to future generations. Collectivism as a significant Māori principle is used to inform the idea of intergenerational change and recruit the help and support of the community in addressing gender-based violence.

Summary

The discussion presented within this chapter builds upon the findings chapter as a means to examine the priorities and messages of each of the participating parties, in relation to key themes. The ideological underpinnings of each party were revealed through the detailed analysis of CDA, which gave rise to some interesting results. Firstly, it is clear that the National Party have maintained a consistent ideological approach to gender equality. In this way, National's iconic neoliberal perspective of individual freedom and choice as a means to instigate social change, and minimal state intervention (Cheyne et al., 2000; New Zealand Parliament, 2014e) has been demonstrated throughout the analysis of data obtained through policy and an interview with Louise Upston.

The Internet Party, though new to the New Zealand political spectrum, demonstrated a comprehensive knowledge base and were consistent in their approach to collective equality through a social democractic lens (Cheyne et al., 2000; Giddens, 1998). This in part, may be a result of the leadership of Laila Harre and her strong left wing background. Whilst their policy may have demonstrated consistency and voiced a true concern for the state of gender inequality, their association with Kim Dotcom as sponsor and their alliance with the Mana Party overshadowed their intentions and hindered, rather than facilitated their election campaign.

The National Party's direct opponent, the Labour Party, have historical roots planted within left wing territory (Cheyne et al., 2000; Labour, 2015). However, their women's policy and interview suggest an

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attempted shift towards a more centrist ideology, resulting in some assertive neoliberal implications. Speculation would interpret their signficant loss in the general election of 2014 as a result of this shift, and attribute a decline in support to a lack of differentiation from the National Party. The Green Party notably attempted to maintain a social democratic view of gender equality, advocating for equity alongside notions of equality. However, a transition towards centrism is also present in the expression of the economy as a forum for citizen participation (Cheyne et al., 2000; Plachciak, 2013).

On the other hand, United Future preserved its foundations in centrism based upon religious principles within Christianity (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c). It is clear, however, that a fine line exists between centrism and neoliberalism and it is easy to overstep the boundary (Cheyne et al., 2000; Giddens, 1998). This idea is prevelant within the policy and interview of NZ First. Whilst their aim is similar to United Future in regards to the inclusion of both genders in order to resolve gender inequality (New Zealand Parliament, 2014c), their centristic values are overshadowed by their use of elaborate incentives, thus moving them towards a neoliberal ideology (Cheyne et al., 2000). Lastly, the Māori Party evidently embraced their choice to pursue ideals which benefit Māori and Pasifika women and enhance the wellbeing of their collective group (Cheyne et al., 2000; New Zealand Parliament, 2014d). In this way, the Māori Party maintain a social democratic view of issues associated with indigenous peoples.

Overall, it is clear within this research that New Zealand experienced a political shift towards centrist thinking in the general election of 2014, whether it was instigated deliberately by parties or enacted unintentionally.

The fine line between centrism and neoliberalism was tested within the policies outlined and analysed within this study, and may contribute to a deeper explanation of why historically left wing parties suffered significant loss in parliamentary seats and public support, as a result of their ideological alignment with established neoliberal parties. Younger left wing parties; namely the Internet Party, were unable to get a foot in the door of parliament; blocked by the mentality of national pride (McGregor, 2013)and the detest of foreign input spearheaded by Kim Dotcom, into the local democratic system. This notion of national pride is significant in understanding the implications for gender equality and the mentality of complacency discussed within Chapter 2. Based upon the ideological underpinnings presented within the themes of this chapter, the concluding chapter will now seek to identify the implications of perspectives of gender inequality in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion and Implications of the Research

The aim of this research was to determine the priorities of each of the participating political parties in relation to gender equality, and whether a general misunderstanding regarding the meaning of equality was what is inhibiting progress towards social change. What has become clear is that each party's definition of equality is influenced by their ideology, in accordance with a particular wave of feminism, which ultimately means that the interpretation of what equality entails is not universal.

The stages of feminism discussed within the literature have evidently played a role in the level of misunderstanding associated with the attainement of gender equality. The notion suggested by McGregor (2013) that New Zealand resides in a current state of complacency in regards to equality, is consistent with scholarly perspectives of third wave feminism (Kissling, 2012; McRobbie, 2004; Thompson, 2006). In this respect, the political shift towards centrism contributes to an understanding of why satisfaction with the current state of equality may exist, and aligns third wave feminism with a neoliberal ideology in relation to the focus on individual empowerment (Lorber, 2012). Second wave feminism, therefore, demonstrates attributes akin to social democracy, in relation to a collective approach to resolving gender inequality and the increased representation of minority groups within all aspects of society (Cheyne et al., 2000; Lorber, 2012).

According to political communication, this idea of complacency is the

result of persuasive policy and communication disseminated through political campaigns (Atkin & Rice, 2012) and endorsed through cultural hegemony (Heiner, 2013; Hopf, 2013; Lears, 1985; McNair, 1995), resulting in the acceptance of this idea as well as that of socially constructed gendered stereotypes (Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2015). The use of election campaign materials such as policy documents and interviews, demonstrates a heightened form of political propaganda within a New Zealand context. Therefore, the perspectives expressed within those campaigns are with the intention of obtaining votes. In this way, perspectives on gender equality presented within this research were engineered specifically for the 2014 election campaign with the aim of persuading the public to adhere to a particular ideology and endorse hierarchy-enhancing policies.

As a result, the current situation involving gender equality in a New Zealand context is as a result of varied perspectives and views of female entitlement, in accordance with specific positions in relation to political and feminist ideologies. Politicians and their parties are ultimately the legislative change agents within society (McNair, 1995). Therefore, it is important that they understand the significance of such an issue in order to effectively communicate its meaning and implications, rather than rely solely on ideology to formulate policy provisions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, Karl Marx (1868, as cited in Bryson, 1992) once suggested that "social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex" (p. 56). From what has been presented within this research, it is my opinion that New Zealand has very far to go before we can say that we have a firm *understanding* of equality,

let alone that we have *achieved* gender equality. My hope for this study is that it will highlight the need for cohesion in approaching societal issues at both the grass-roots level and within Government, in order to solidify an understanding of the concerns associated with gender equality and to formulate steps to eliminate the issue.

Limitations

This research does not take into consideration the views of the public in relation to the issue of gender inequality. Therefore, it cannot be determined if gender equality is of importance to the New Zealand public, other than assumed through the release of party policy directed at this issue. Data was obtained solely through policy documents and interviews with single party representatives. The use of campaign materials and interviews with other party representatives may have contributed to a greater understanding of party ideology and perspectives on equality. This study also did not investigate the issue of gender equality within the context of other countries, so as to draw comparisons and determine New Zealand's progress on the international stage.

All of the aspects mentioned above are important factors in examining the wider context of gender inequality, both within New Zealand and overseas. Researching these aspects would contribute to a greater knowledge of how the issue of gender equality is represented within politics and whether a firm understanding is demonstrated on the world stage.

Future Research

This study contributes to the knowledge of New Zealand men and women in making informed choices about the political party they wish to represent issues of gender inequality. Possibilities for further research revolve around the inclusion of other gendered identities. In a New Zealand context, other gendered identities are a fairly new adaptation of the categories of gender. Inequality is also experienced by this group of people, meaning that research could be undertaken to determine the view of political parties on other gendered categories and their actions to expand the issue of gender inequality to encompass this group.

Research could also be conducted in order to connect third wave feminism to the current state of gender inequality in terms of reducing complacency and enhancing an appreciation for previous feminist movements. Complacency has resulted in the existence of a separation between feminists and women, and further research could be used to bridge this gap in order to create a unified response to the issue of gender inequality, accepting that men are subject to social constructions of gender also.

Implications

The responses and perspectives present within this research have highlighted the need for education in matters pertaining to gender inequality. This research may assist politicians in developing a cohesive response to the issue of gender inequality, and also the public, as a means to inform them of

the relationship between ideology and societal issues. Whilst legislative action means that women have full equality under the law, it is clear that further action needs to be taken to ensure that women also have equality within society. Therefore, this research sought to bring to light areas in need of social change, through the examination of policy representative of political ideologies within New Zealand. In this way, policy acts as a gateway for societal change (Cheyne et al., 2000; McNair, 1995) and can highlight the need for social and cultural cohesion in the face of inequality.

Research contains the ability to inform, educate and initiate social and cultural change (Neuman, 2000). This study examined how the issue of gender inequality was represented within the New Zealand electoral campaigns of September 2014. It also sought to answer how each party aimed to resolve the issue of gender inequality through policy, and how the language used textually and discursively reflected an understanding of equality and the ideological position of each party. The findings and discussion support the notion that an understanding of equality is inexplicably linked to ideology, and that interpretation can affect the original message. Future research is required to determine the relationship of gender inequality to other gendered categories and also whether third wave feminism correctly identifies the current perspective on gender inequality. This research has the potential to assist political parties in highlighting their understanding of equality and developing ideas of the issues associated with creating an equal society. It may also highlight the need for action to extend beyond legislation, in order to effectively progress towards gender equality through social and cultural change.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

List of Guiding Questions

Interview Schedule

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My intention for these interviews is that they will be conducted semi-structured conversations with open-ended questions. Therefore, the following questions will be used to guide the discussion and will be introduced in order to keep the conversation focused.

1. Can you describe the main features of your party's women's policy?
2. How would you prioritise these features?
3. Which particular groups are you aiming to reach with this policy?
4. What is the overall aim of your women's policy?
5. What other policy areas are relevant to women's affairs? E.g. employment/equal rights
6. What strategies are you using to reach your targeted groups?
7. Which other members of your party are involved in spreading your party message about women's affairs?
8. How important is women's affairs to your party and why?
9. What is your party's message to the women of New Zealand?
10. What particular phrases/themes/stories are you using in order to get your message across?
11. What future do you envisage for the women of New Zealand?
12. What does equality mean to your party?

Appendix B

Table of Interviews

Participating Party	*Interviewee*	*Role Within the Party* (Prior to the 2014 election)	*Date of Interview*	*Place/Method of Interview*
The Green Party	Jan Logie	Women's Spokesperson	19 August 2014	Green Party HQ – Auckland
The National Party	Louise Upston	Senior Whip – MP for Taupo	11 September 2014	Louise Upston's Electorate Office – Cambridge
The Labour Party	Carol Beaumont	Women's Spokesperson	19 August 2014	Phil Goff's Electorate Office – Auckland
The Māori Party	Marama Fox	MP for Ikaroa Rawhiti	28 August 2014	Skype Interview
NZ First	Tracey Martin	Women's Spokesperson	19 August 2014	Skype Interview
United Future	Judy Turner	Deputy Leader	20 August 2014	Skype Interview
Internet Party	Pani Farvid	Gender Affairs Spokesperson	18 September 2014	Skype Interview

Ethical Approval

Application for Ethical Approval
Outline of Research Project

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> *Template:*
> Use clear and simple language. Avoid technical terms wherever possible.
> *Please allow **at least two weeks** for your application to be reviewed by the WMS Ethics Committee*
> *You must gain ethics approval prior to the commencement of data collection for your research project*
> *See How to fill out the form for guidance.*

1. Identify the project.

1.1 Title of Project

The race to bridge the gap: An analysis of women's policy in the lead up to the 2014 general election in New Zealand

1.2 Researcher(s) name and contact information

Roxanna Holdsworth
Email: roxie.holdsworth@gmail.com

1.3 Supervisor's name and contact information (if relevant)

Dr Alison Henderson
Ph: +64 7 838 4141
Email: alison@waikato.ac.nz

1.4 Anticipated date to begin data collection

28th July 2014

2. Describe the research.

2.1 Briefly outline what the project is about including your research goals and anticipated benefits. Include links with a research programme, if relevant.

This research study has two main aims. I would like to examine which specific policies related to women's affairs are represented in each political party campaign, and how these policies are communicated to the New Zealand public in the 2014 general election. Data will be collected both from policy documents and campaign materials and from interviews with spokespersons from each political party contesting the 2014 general election. The rhetorical and critical discourse analysis will focus particularly on what is considered to be 'equality' and will contribute to an understanding of whether issues relevant to New Zealand women have been addressed.

2.2 Briefly outline your method.

I have chosen to undertake an inductive research approach into this topic, given the fact that gender constructions are a prominent aspect of New Zealand society, yet women's equality is yet to be achieved. In order to obtain the data, document research will be undertaken alongside open-ended interviews with the various women's spokespeople from New Zealand political parties. I have decided to narrow the interviews to just one per party, so as to ensure that I am able to meet time constraints but also gain the appropriate information from those who concern themselves with women's affairs within their particular parties. In terms of document research, a written copy of each formal women's policy will be obtained from each party, as well as any relevant info-graphics and campaign materials. Analysis of the data will consist of a rhetorical and critical discourse analysis which will determine how meanings about women's issues are constructed for the New Zealand public in the lead up to the 2014 General Election.

2.3 Describe plans to give participants information about the research goals.

During the initial contact with the participants I will fully explain what the research entails and the goals I am aiming towards. Before the

interview, I will provide the participants with an information sheet which reiterates the research aims and goals.

2.4 Identify the expected outputs of this research (e.g., reports, publications, presentations), including who is likely to see or hear the reports or presentations on this research

Expected outputs of this research include a written report of the findings, which will be read by the research supervisor and examiner. A brief summary of the findings will also be given to the participants as a way of informing them of the possible outcomes of the study. The findings may also be presented at conferences and published in a scholarly journal.

2.5 Identify the physical location(s) for the research, the group or community to which your potential participants belong, and any private data or documents you will seek to access. Describe how you have access to the site, participants and data/documents. Identify how you obtain(ed) permission from relevant authorities/gatekeepers if appropriate and any conditions associated with access.

The location of the interviews may vary depending on the location of the participants. Each participant will belong to a political party and be the women's spokesperson for that party**.** The written policies will be obtained from the website of each party if possible and if this cannot be accomplished a copy will be requested from the women's spokesperson of the relevant party. Campaign materials should be mostly publicly available. The spokespersons will be able to identify the conditions of access to any campaign materials which they provide.

3. Obtain participants' informed consent, without coercion.
3.1 Describe how you will select participants (e.g., special criteria or characteristics) and how many will be involved.

Participants ideally should be the spokesperson for women's affairs within their relevant political party. Should this person not be available, another spokesperson will be sought as a replacement for the interview. A total of ten participants will be interviewed representing each of the parties contesting the 2014 general election.

3.2 Describe how you will invite them to participate.

Participants will be invited to be interviewed for this study via their parliamentary email address, with follow up contact by telephone if required.

3.3 Show how you provide prospective participants with all information relevant to their decision to participate. Attach your information sheet, cover letter, or introduction script. See document on informed consent for recommended content. Information should include, but is not limited to:

- **what you will ask them to do;**
- **how to refuse to answer any particular question, or withdraw any information they have provided at any time before completion of data collection;**
- **how and when to ask any further questions about the study or get more information.**
- **the form in which the findings will be disseminated and how participants can access a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.**

Participants will be asked to answer questions in an interview, and will able to refuse to answer any questions, or to withdraw any information at any time up to the date of the general election. Participants will have access to me through email or by phone to ask any questions about the research. A brief summary of the findings will be distributed to participants after the thesis has been written, if they request this.

3.4 Describe how you get their consent. (Attach a consent form if you use one.)

A consent form (attached) will be used.

3.5 Explain incentives and/or compulsion for participants to be involved in this study, including monetary payment, prizes, goods, services, or favours, either directly or indirectly.

N/A

4. Minimise deception.

4.1 If your research involves deception – this includes incomplete information to participants -- explain the rationale. Describe how and when you will provide full information or reveal the complete truth about the research including reasons for the deception.

No deception will be used during the interview process as I wish the participant to be fully aware of the information I wish to obtain.

5. Respect privacy and confidentiality

5.1 Explain how any publications and/or reports will have the participants' consent.

Participants will sign a consent form before the interview is conducted, whereby they give consent for the interview to be recorded and used in the research.

5.2 Explain how you will protect participants' identities (or why you will not).

Participants will be asked if they are hap[y for their name to be used in the report. If they request confidentiality, they will be referred to as the spokesperson for their political party.

5.3 Describe who will have access to the information/data collected from participants. Explain how you will protect or secure confidential information.

Only my supervisor and I will have access to the data. Recordings and transcripts of each interview will be stored in a locked office and destroyed upon the completion of the research.

6. Minimise risk to participants.

'Risk' includes physical injury, economic injury (i.e. insurability, credibility), social risk (i.e. working relationships), psychological risk, pain, stress, emotional distress, fatigue, embarrassment, and cultural dissonance and exploitation.

6.1 Where participants risk change from participating in this research compared to their daily lives, identify that risk and explain how your procedures minimize the consequences.

I do not anticipate any risk of change to participants.

6.2 Describe any way you are associated with participants that might influence the ethical appropriateness of you conducting this research – either favourably (e.g., same language or culture) or unfavourably (e.g., dependent relationships such as employer/employee, supervisor/worker, lecturer/student). As appropriate, describe the steps you will take to protect the participants.

I possess no relationship with the participants that may affect the ethical appropriateness of this study.

6.3 Describe any possible conflicts of interest and explain how you will protect participants' interests and maintain your objectivity.

I have ties with the National Party through previous involvement in Young Nats. I have held leadership positions within their social media team. However, my interest in this research study lies with determining the extent to which New Zealand women are affected by policy on women's affairs. I currently have no inside knowledge about National's participation in women's affairs and I intend to step down from my positions within the National Party in order to maintain objectivity and ensure there is no bias towards a particular party in my research.

7. Exercise social and cultural sensitivity.

7.1 Identify any areas in your research that are potentially sensitive, especially from participants' perspectives. Explain what you do to ensure your research procedures are sensitive (unlikely to be insensitive). Demonstrate familiarity with the culture as appropriate.

I do not anticipate any areas which would be potentially sensitive for participants, as the general election is carried out in the public domain.

7.2 **If the participants as a group differ from the researcher in ways relevant to the research, describe your procedures to ensure the research is culturally safe and non offensive for the participants.**

It is unlikely that participants will differ from the researcher in ways relevant to the research. Participants will be free to withdraw at any time before the conclusion of the study, should they feel that the research is not culturally safe.

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Overview
My name is Roxanna Holdsworth and I am a Masters student from the
Department of Management Communication at the University of Waikato
Management School. With guidance from Senior Lecturer, Dr Alison
Henderson, I am conducting a study titled "The race to bridge the gap: An
analysis of women's policy in the lead up to the 2014 general election
in New Zealand". If you have any questions about the project, you can
email me at roxie.holdsworth@gmail.com.

What is the research study about?
This research study has two main aims. I would like to examine which
specific policies related to women's affairs are represented in each political
party campaign, and how these policies are communicated to the New
Zealand public in the 2014 general election. Data will be collected both
from policy documents and campaign materials and from interviews with
spokespersons from each political party contesting the 2014 general
election.

What will you have to do and how long will it take?

I would like to conduct an in-depth discussion with you to understand how
your party is developing policy about women's affairs in New Zealand, and
how this policy is being communicated to the public in the election
campaign. The interview will be recorded, with your permission, and
should take approximately one hour to complete.

What will happen to the information collected?

The interview responses will be used to write a rhetorical analysis of the
discursive messages that underpin the different policy approaches to
women's affairs, with particular focus on what is considered to be
'equality'. Only I, as the Principal Researcher, and the Research
Supervisor will be privy to the interview notes and tapes, and after the
analysis is completed, the notes will be destroyed and tapes erased. As
election campaigns are conducted in the public domain, the party

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spokespersons may be referred to by name in any reports and publications resulting from this research. However, if confidentiality is requested by a participant, they will simply be referred to as a spokesperson for his or her party.

Declaration to participants

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

•Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time up until the date of the general election.
•Ask any further questions about the study which occur to you during your participation.
•See a copy of your interview transcript for editorial comment
•Be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.

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The race to bridge the gap: An analysis of women's policy in the lead up to the 2014 general election in New Zealand

Consent Form for Participants

I have read the **Information Sheet for Participants** for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the date of the general election, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the **Information Sheet**.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the **Information Sheet** form.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Name and contact information:

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Supervisor's Name and contact information:

Dr Alison Henderson
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