

# Leading Issues Journal

November 2004 Issue

*In this Issue:*

## *Enough*

**Speech by Patricia Hughes**

**Delivered in Perth at the Amnesty International Conference for Violence against Women as well as The Queen Street Mall launch, sponsored by The Body Shop as an advocate against Domestic Violence.**

Patricia Hughes was born in Brisbane and has become a full time writer after having started her career six years ago with her best selling narrative, *Daughters of Nazareth*. She followed her success with another non-fiction named *Enough* and now has moved onto crime thrillers, something she has always wanted to do. Patricia now lives on the Gold Coast where she has based her new crime novel, *Out of the Ashes*, released in October through Zeus Publishers. She has just completed a sequel to this latest thriller to be released next year.

In her speech, *Enough*, Patricia Hughes concludes with her observation:

"Up to HALF of you out there know someone who is in a domestic violence situation. Be aware of what's going on around you and then reach out and help those women. It's up to us as a society who really cares, to play an active part in the easing of this terrible situation."

If you are interested in helping someone who is experiencing domestic violence or if you are interested in gaining an awareness of the signs that lead to domestic violence, Ms Hughes article, *Enough* and her book also titled *Enough* is well worth a read.

## **Enough**

**Speech by Patricia Hughes**

**Delivered in Perth at the Amnesty International Conference for Violence against Women as well as The Queen Street Mall launch, sponsored by The Body Shop as an advocate against Domestic Violence.**

There is a culture of violence engulfing our world. To our shame, future generations will look back on this period of history and identify it as one of the most violent periods ever with the severity of war and terrorism. We are almost becoming immune to seeing it splashed all over the news and television on a daily basis. But with all the

expressions of violence, the worst is domestic violence. Women and children in huge numbers live in terror in their own homes, weighing up every word they say, always on the edge, afraid to relax and doing their best to please and calm their persecutors even knowing that their best will never be good enough to prevent the next attack.

Domestic violence is not just a curtain raiser for a much bigger event. It's an event in itself. People not directly involved in domestic violence don't believe that it's the serious social problem that it is. It's existed for centuries and has been hidden and ignored firstly by a society that sees it as a taboo subject to be swept under the carpet. And secondly, by the victims themselves who have chosen to keep quiet, mostly out of shame. The seriousness of this problem is diminished by the fact that like rape, the crime of domestic violence is under-reported because it usually occurs at home and with no witnesses.

One question everyone seems to ask is 'So why don't these women just leave?' One factor I'm sure you'll agree keeps women under the control of these men is they're scared. They have this underlying hope that the man's behaviour is just a one-off or two-off occurrence and it will stop. Unfortunately, most times it doesn't. Even when it seems it couldn't get any worse, not all women decide to leave their abusers.

A lot of women decide to stay for many reasons. One is economic dependence. They may have children and their husband is the sole provider so they have no money of their own. Some decide to stay because we all know that domestic violence is an attempt to establish dominance and control and this mistreatment breaks down their sense of self-worth already low after being told repeatedly how useless and worthless they are. The choice to stay is inevitable and overpowering and therefore they put up with the abuse. Another is that they are justifiably scared that leaving will not end the abuse. They find themselves in a Catch 22 situation where they are abused if they stay but then they are followed and terrorised if they leave. Statistics show that nearly HALF of all women murdered by their spouses are, at the time, separated or in the process of separating. We hear about this all the time on the news. All too often a woman knows she will be pursued by an enraged man. This is after she has made the decision to uproot herself and her children all with varying degrees of shame, low self-esteem and self worth.

Another reason is people who are abused often hate and love their abusers at the same time. Anger, confusion, fear and hurt all create a turmoil of emotions. What a lot of people don't realise is that these violent men can appear remorseful after every attack and show regret for their actions. These women are confused by this show of love and willingly stay in order to feel that warmth and acceptance. We all crave love and human contact and this is another major reason why women go back to their abusers.

So considering all of this, why isn't the question, 'How on earth do these women manage to leave at all?' And why do we never ask that question? Why do we always throw our hands up in horror and disbelief when someone keeps going back for more? Too often, you hear men say that it's 'her own fault' for going back. The trouble is these people don't understand that in these women's minds, they have nowhere else to go.

I **know** these women don't know where to turn or who to turn to because ten years ago, I was in this exact same position. Not many people seem to know the answers and even fewer people seem to care and no-one seems to understand the extent of your wounds both physical and psychological. People say wounds can't hurt but I beg to differ. Emotional wounds need to be dressed and attended to, and long after the bruises have healed, the words still remain to haunt and damage you. Being a punching bag and experiencing emotional abuse in the form of intimidation and humiliation are almost on a par as far as women are concerned. This is why the majority of women tend to withdraw from a society that regards domestic violence with such disregard.

Mainly because of the shame they feel, they hide their injuries and this only creates more pain in the way of loneliness. Shame keeps a lot of women quiet and sometimes they refuse to put their fears into words because the words make them concrete and inescapable. I myself went through terrible agonies to keep the truth to myself. So why did I accept this dreadful behaviour? Why did I let things go as far as I did? It took me many years to ask myself the same questions but when I did, the answer came quickly and succinctly: because I thought it was 'my fault'. Something in *me* not him. I'd read horror stories of women who end up with burn scars, broken limbs and dead children and like everyone else, I thought, 'That'll never happen to me.' But before I even realised it, I was a statistic. **One woman in every four who are abused by their partners.**

Those who work to provide safe places and relieve the suffering of victims and survivors of domestic violence have puzzled for many years over the fact that societies everywhere seem willing to tolerate extreme levels of violence against women and children by their male partners and ex-partners. But it's never too late and society **can** start to help these women NOW.

Prevention plays a huge part in the fix and in my book 'Enough', I've devised seven identifiable steps. The first step is Identifying Abusive Behaviour and the second is Recognising Abusers. Some forms of abuse are subtle and they can easily be denied. It can be as subtle as not liking the way their partner is treating you. At first they may appear kind, sensitive, affectionate and thoughtful but abusers have a low tolerance level and expect impossible standards that don't seem to apply to themselves. The patterns of aggression, anger, intimidation, manipulation and control begin to appear and leave victims dependent on their abusers.

The third step is preparing for emergencies and is really a short term one. It only covers you and your children *during* the violence. When the violence suddenly escalates, remain near a safe exit. Think ahead and have the contact number of someone you trust nearby.

The fourth step is getting help after a crisis. This comes in the form of shelters, hotlines and advocacy groups and a great number of them are listed at the back of my book as well as their contact numbers.

The fifth step is Making the decision to stay or leave. Making changes and taking action isn't easy, especially when you are psychologically fragile. You doubt your

own abilities. Thinking clearly in the midst of so much confusion and chaos is again not easy and should be done with professional help.

The last two steps are Remaining Abuse Free and Learning to heal and rebuild.

These last two steps are vital and I want to stress to women that there *is* a way out and you *can* make a new life for yourself. You hear people say, 'He ruined my life.' Believing that is a crime in itself because you are making yourself a victim for the rest of your life. There *is* another side and I'm living proof. I won't ever let myself forget those experiences because remembering is part of the healing process. In one respect, you remember the helplessness and utter desolation but you also know that it's something you've overcome, even though painfully. Sometimes it's a smell you remember. Sometimes it's a mannerism. Then suddenly, the memories are there again at the top of your mind. When those memories come back, don't let them drag you down. Recognise them as something you've freed yourself from. Clarify everything and put everything into perspective. Never let yourself forget those memories. Use them as positive reinforcement that you're a survivor and that you've come this far and will never go back. Say 'I used to be a victim but I'm not one anymore. I'm a survivor.'

If we are serious about wanting to rid our community of domestic violence, we have to employ a radical approach. We begin by asking questions like: Why do men and boys use violence with such ease? Why do non-violent men and boys feel so much pressure to fall into line? How early in life does the desire to degrade women and girls begin? How can we change this present culture of violence into a culture of harmony and acceptance?

Up to HALF of you out there know someone who is in a domestic violence situation. Be aware of what's going on around you and then reach out and help those women. It's up to us as a society who really cares, to play an active part in the easing of this terrible situation. *Every* society has a responsibility to respond to domestic violence as effectively as possible,

I'd like to finish with a quote from Edmund Burke, a 17<sup>th</sup> century Irish philosopher:

'The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good people to do nothing.'

---

## **\$8Billion Cost of Domestic Violence**

Michael McKinnon, FOI Editor, The Australian -- Saturday October 23  
2004

MORE than a quarter of a million Australian children live in homes afflicted by domestic violence in an "expensive epidemic" costing \$8.1 billion a year.

Each year 408,100 Australians are victims of domestic violence and 87 per cent of sufferers are women, says an Access Economics report prepared for Prime Minister John Howard.

The July 2004 report - Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy - released after a Freedom of Information request, also reveals the staggering toll on children who are raised in violent homes.

It estimates the second generation impacts cost about \$220 million a year, including increased juvenile and adult crime, and costs government \$125.5 million.

The total annual cost of domestic violence on children is estimated at \$769 million.

"There is evidence that children who witness domestic violence grow up to be victims or perpetrators of domestic violence themselves," it said.

The research found women had less chance of becoming domestic violence victims if they were older, better educated and employed. Women receiving welfare had a one-third increased chance of experiencing domestic violence.

Monash University National Research Centre for the Prevention of Child Abuse director Chris Goddard said the report was "shocking" but nevertheless underestimated the cost of domestic violence on children. "Domestic violence is an expensive epidemic in Australia. This report is valuable for bringing out the true cost and showing society the cost of ignoring the problem," said Associate Professor Goddard.

The report found 263,000 children lived with family violence, with about 181,200 children witnessing domestic violence in 2002-03. The report, commissioned by the Office of the Status of Women in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, found the largest component of the \$8.1 billion bill was the \$3.5 billion cost of physical and mental suffering as well as premature mortality.

"The total lifetime cost of domestic violence is estimated to be \$224,470 per victim experiencing domestic violence in 2002-03. Total lifetime costs are once again dominated by pain and suffering costs incurred by the victim," the report said, while the annual cost to perpetrators was \$555 million.

The report also found that in 2002-03, there were 37,437 years of healthy life lost associated with female victims. "The suffering and premature death associated with domestic violence against male victims is estimated to have cost \$938 million in 2002-03, with total victim costs of \$7 billion. Perpetrator costs were estimated at a further \$177 million and costs to children an additional \$330 million."

Research also showed that total health costs for female victims were \$314 million, with hospital costs accounting for \$145 million of that total.

**Source: The Australian**

[http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/common/story\\_page/0,5744,11158347%255E2702,00.htm](http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/common/story_page/0,5744,11158347%255E2702,00.htm)  
l)

---

## **Violence Begins at Home**

**By Ignacio Ramonet [Le Monde diplomatique July 2004] ]**

IN Europe right now the statistics of male violence against female partners are terrible. For European women aged 16-44 violence in the home is the primary cause of injury and death, more lethal than road accidents and cancer. Between 25% and 50% of women are victims of this violence. In Portugal 52.8% of women say that they have been violently treated by their husbands or partners. In Germany almost 300 women a year - or three women every four days - are killed by men with whom they used to live. In Britain one woman dies in similar circumstances every three days.

In Spain it is one every four days. In France six women die this way every month: 33% of them are knifed, 33% shot, 20% strangled and 10% beaten (1). In the 15 member states of the European Union (before enlargement to 25), more than 600 women die every year because of sexist brutality in the family (2).

The profile of the aggressor is not what you might imagine. There is a public perception that these types of killers tend to be from poor backgrounds and with little education. That is not the case. The death of the actress Marie Trintignant, who was killed on 6 August 2003 by her partner, a famous artist, is an example.

A report from the Council of Europe (3) says that "it is even proved that the incidence of domestic violence seems to increase with income and level of education". It stresses that in the Netherlands "almost half of all those who commit violence against women hold university degrees". In France attackers are usually men whose professional status gives them a degree of power. A sizeable percentage of the attackers are management personnel (67%), health professionals (25%) and officers in the police or army (4).

Another misconception is that violence of this kind is more common in the macho cultures of southern Europe than in northern countries.

Here too the image needs adjustment. Romania is the European country with the worst record: every year almost 13 in every million women there are killed by their male partners.

However, next on the dismal honours list come countries where women's rights are highly respected. In Finland more than eight in every million women are killed in the home every year: the list runs on down through Norway (6.58), Luxembourg (5.56), Denmark (5.42) and Sweden (4.59). Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland in fact come at the bottom of the list.

Such violence is worldwide: it happens in all countries, on all continents and in all social, economic, religious and cultural groups. Women of course may also be violent in their relationships with men; we didn't need the images of women soldiers from the United States torturing detainees in Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq to confirm that there are women torturers (5). Homosexual relationships are not exempt from violence, either. But mostly women are the victims of violence.

This violence - to which feminist groups have long drawn government attention (6) - is so virulent globally that we must regard it as a major violation of human rights. It is a major issue of public

health: not just the physical attacks, however murderous, but also psychological violence, threats and intimidation, and sexual brutality. In many cases all these forms of violence coincide.

The fact that this violence happens in the home of the victim has always been a pretext for authorities to wash their hands and declare that it is a private domestic matter. Such an attitude is a collective refusal to help people in danger. It is also shocking hypocrisy since by now we have learnt that the private is also political. This kind of violence is a reflection of historically unequal power relations between men and women, the result of the institution of patriarchy, a system based on the idea of a natural inferiority of women and a biological supremacy of men.

This system generates such violence. It needs to be eliminated by appropriate laws. Some may object that this will take time. So why not start immediately, as many feminist organisations have demanded, by setting up a permanent international tribunal on violence against women?

(1) Henrion Report, Ministry of Health, Paris, February 2001.

(2) See: It's in our hands: Stop violence against women, Amnesty International, London, 2004; Les violences contre les femmes en France: Une enquête nationale, La Documentation française, Paris, June 2002; the World Report on Violence and Health, chapter 4, "Intimate partner violence", World Health Organisation, Geneva, 2002.

(3) Olga Keltsova, Report on Domestic Violence, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, September 2002

(4) Henrion Report, op cit.

(5) See Gisèle Halimi, "Tortionnaire, nom féminin", Libération, Paris, 18 June 2004.

(6) See "Demands to Eliminate Violence Against Women", text presented by the Women's World March to the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, January 2002

Source: GSN & [Le Monde diplomatique July 2004]

---

## **The Road to a Republic**

On August 31, 2004 the Senate's Legal and Constitutional References Committee, chaired by Senator Nick Bolkus, finally released the Report, *The Road to a Republic* based on its inquiry into the Australian republic issue.

The Committee recognised that the 1999 constitutional referendum had left many Australians with mixed feelings. They had felt disengaged from the process, and the fundamental question of Australia's future as a republic or as a constitutional monarchy had not been answered.

With the view that Australians need the opportunity to properly address that question, and they need to be able to do so in a way that is fully informed, the Committee considered and examined a number of proposals for republic models, and concluded that the decision regarding a preferred republic model should be one for the Australian people.

For further information see: The Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee

Reconciliation: Off track

[http://www.aph.gov.au/senate/committee/legcon\\_ctte/reconciliation/report/report.pdf](http://www.aph.gov.au/senate/committee/legcon_ctte/reconciliation/report/report.pdf)

---

## **Senior Women Executives and the Cultures of Management**

This research project involved interviews with 255 female and male senior executives from higher education, the public service and 2 financial institutions. Interviews took place in 19 organisations in 5 Australian states.

The project described the experience of women executives; characteristics of cultures that sustain and support women; how cultures change when women are in senior positions; and the challenges still to be faced.

By getting into the ATN WEXDEV web-page [www.uts.edu.au/oth/wexdev](http://www.uts.edu.au/oth/wexdev) and following the lead to major research project findings you will find a summary report providing data comparing the three sectors where interviews took place and a number of papers on detailed findings in higher education. .

The forthcoming conference, Senior Women Executives and the Cultures of Management from 29 - 30 November 2004, will provide an unparalleled opportunity to debate and discuss the impact of women on senior management cultures in contemporary organisations, bringing together leading researchers, senior executive



women, male executives committed to change, with both Australian and international speakers. It is presented in partnership with the UTS School of Management, Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency and Chief Executive Women.

The conference brochure with registration information is now available at:  
[www.uts.edu.au/oth/wexdev](http://www.uts.edu.au/oth/wexdev)

---

## **Glass Ceiling on the Boards of the World's 200 Largest Companies**

A report released in October 2004 by Corporate Women Directors International on Women Directors in the Fortune Global 200 found only 10.4% of board seats are held by women in the 200 largest companies in the world. This first-ever report looked at corporations based in 21 countries, which were ranked by Fortune in 2004 by revenues.

The U.S. leads all other countries with all of its 78 companies in the Fortune Global 200 having women on their boards, for a total percentage of 17.8% of directorships held by women. Japan, the world's second largest economy, only had 3 companies out of the 27 on Fortune's Global 200 list having women on their board. Each of these companies only had one woman director for a total percentage of 0.7%. In Europe, the U.K.'s 20 largest companies had the best record in the region with 12.5% of board directors being female, while Italy had the worst record with only 1.7%.

Ranked number one in the world with the highest percentage of women directors on its board is Albertsons, a U.S. chain of food and drugstores, which had 5 women directors out of 10. At the October 8th launch of the report, Albertsons CEO Larry Johnston announced the addition of another female director, resulting in a female majority board of directors. "With 85% of our customers being women, it is simply good business for Albertsons to have women on its board and its senior management," stated Mr. Johnston. The number two ranked company was Norway's Statoil with 44.4% of its board directors being female.

Log on to <http://www.globewomen.com/> for additional findings and to secure copies of the 2004 CWDI report.

---

## **Training a Spotlight on Urban Citizenship: The Case of Women in London and Toronto**

Sylvia Bashevkin is Vice-Principal of University College in the University of Toronto and a professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

Best known for her research contributions in the field of women and politics, Bashevkin served in 1993-4 as President of the Canadian Political Science Association and in 2003-4 as President of the Women and Politics Research Section of the American Political Science Association. She is a senior fellow of Massey College in the University of Toronto, and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Sylvia Bashevkin's article, *Training a Spotlight on Urban Citizenship: The Case of Women in London and Toronto* is among the first to assess the urban citizenship implications of disparate metropolitan governance changes. Using the concept of citizen representation as its main conceptual anchor, the study examines longitudinal patterns in London and Toronto, two cities that underwent divergent institutional and political leadership experiences during the late 1990s and following. The empirical analysis addresses three dimensions of citizen representation in each location : the election of women to urban public office, the status of city “femocracies,” and the inclusion of feminist discourse in official spatial plans. It reports women’s citizenship status according to all three measures was considerably more robust under the GLA arrangement in London than the amalgamation scheme in Toronto . Within cities, representation on two of the three measures declined over time in both London and Toronto . The article concludes that institutional and leadership shifts can hold immediate and meaningful consequences for urban citizenship.

**Professor Sylvia Bashevkin's Paper:**

**TRAINING A SPOTLIGHT ON URBAN CITIZENSHIP : THE CASE OF WOMEN IN LONDON AND TORONTO**

TRAINING A SPOTLIGHT ON URBAN CITIZENSHIP : THE CASE OF WOMEN IN LONDON AND TORONTO



By Professor Sylvia Bashevkin

**Women and Local Governance Evening Forum at the University of Melbourne  
The Impacts of municipal amalgamations in London and Toronto - Evening  
Public Forum 6:30pm, Tuesday August 10, 2004**

---

# Training a Spotlight on Urban Citizenship : The Case of Women in London and Toronto \* Copyright Professor Sylvia Bashevkin

## Introduction

Social scientists are rarely able to conduct their research under such laboratory-like experimental conditions. Two large cities evolve in stable, Westminster-style, parliamentary systems. Each metropolitan area holds roughly 15 percent of the respective country's total population, and receives annually about half of its new immigrants (Buck et al., 2002 : 141; Anisef and Lanphier, 2003 : 3). Both serve as homes for powerful central governments that control cities -- the British national regime in London and the Ontario provincial government in Toronto .

The history of social mobilization in one city, London , is coloured from time to time by militant protest, often directed against the highly concentrated power of the British unitary state. In the other context, Toronto , civic engagement is for the most part moderate and measured, targeted at multiple levels of Canada 's decentralized federal political scheme.

During a few short years, institutional and leadership arrangements change fairly dramatically in both locations. In 1997, British voters elect a centre-left New Labour government with a solid urban base. Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour manifesto promises to renew local democracy, including in Britain 's largest city, as part of a commitment to end the excessive centralization of the Thatcher/Major years. In 1995, Ontario voters select a hard right Conservative regime with a predominantly outer suburban, small-town and rural base. Premier Mike Harris' Tory campaign platform promises to cut government waste, bureaucratic duplication and tax rates, in part by asserting a firm grip on central government authority.

Each regime develops an ambitious plan for major municipal governance changes. New Labour holds a referendum on the creation of a new strategic coordinating authority for London , which is endorsed by 72 percent of the voters who participate (Pimlott and Rao, 2002 : 70). New Labour retains the existing boroughs of London local government after establishing the Greater London Authority in 2000. Ontario Conservatives ignore a municipal referendum on their scheme to amalgamate six existing Toronto boroughs into a single megacity government, which is opposed by 76 percent of the voters who participate (Boudreau, 2000 : 14). Conservatives eliminate all borough governments in downtown and inner suburban Toronto once the amalgamated municipality is created in 1998.

Londoners elect their first mayor and 25 members of the new Greater London Assembly in 2000. Fourteen of the London Assembly Members (LAMs) represent geographically bounded zones and are elected using single member plurality rules, while eleven are London-wide members from party lists who are chosen under proportionality rules. Torontonians watch the unfolding of a massive game of musical chairs. From more than 100 council seats at the metropolitan and borough levels before amalgamation, Toronto 's municipal seat count shrinks to fewer than 50 by

2000. Local elections continue to operate under single member plurality rules, and political parties remain only partially visible to Toronto voters.i[1]

In London , central government elites orchestrate a highly contentious mayoral nomination process. They effectively deny the official Labour candidacy to Ken Livingstone, an urban new left veteran who led the Greater London Council (GLC) from 1981 until 1986, when it was shut down by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. Despite these machinations, Livingstone runs as an independent candidate and wins the London mayoralty in 2000 (D'Arcy and MacLean, 2000). In Toronto , central government elites endorse the 1997 mayoral candidacy of Mel Lastman, a suburban conservative. Lastman defeats downtown progressive Barbara Hall, whose leadership of the old City of Toronto had infuriated provincial Conservatives to the point that, according to some sources, they saw no choice but to eliminate the downtown unit just as Thatcher eliminated the GLC (Boudreau, 2000; Ibbitson, 1997 : 216, 243).

How would these disparate institutional and political leadership scenarios play out? Was the emergence of a left populist mayor pushing back against a moderate central government that promised to enhance local democracy, versus a conservative mayor allied with a hard right central government that sought to eliminate wasteful local boroughs, likely to hold meaningful implications for Londoners and Torontonians? Would a new London Assembly elected under partial proportionality rules make much difference? How much time would need to elapse before the consequences of these changes could be identified?

The citizenship implications of contemporary metropolitan restructuring, in its varied designs and locations, remain largely unknown. One stream of theorizing portrays urban reconfiguration as a damaging consequence of broader globalization pressures. According to this pessimistic line of thought, the fallout from supra-national developments directly threatens urban democracy; over time, citizen interests become marginalized by a hollowing out of traditional channels of public engagement. The shift from elected municipal governments to mixed models of public/private governance, for example, undermines progressive voices by reinforcing the clout of local, conservative and propertied interests (Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998). As markets surge and states retrench, a privileging of demands for competitiveness and efficiency works to constrain communities of interest other than large business ones (Andrew, 1997 : 139-41). In the words of urban theorist Engin Isin, reconfigured metropoli become "*empty shell[s] whose territory marks out the once-meaningful boundaries of the political*" (Isin, 2000 : 157; italics in the original).

A contrasting view holds that as opportunities narrow for citizen engagement at international and national levels, contemporary cities offer welcoming and, indeed, fruitful spaces for social mobilization (Magnusson, 1996). According to this relatively optimistic view, progressive local action may be enhanced by ongoing shifts associated with globalization and neo-liberalism. For example, the same integrative processes that tend to weaken nation-states might serve to assist trans-national social groups with strong grassroots networks.

Building on the work of political theorist Rian Voet, this study begins the task of plotting the consequences of disparate municipal restructuring experiences for

democratic citizenship. According to Voet, citizenship embraces far more than simply “membership in a state” as signified by the holding of a passport (Voet 1998 : 9). In Voet’s words,

Citizenship can, in principle, be both the relationships between a state and an individual citizen and the political relationships between citizens themselves. Citizenship might just refer to rights, but it can also refer to the duties, actions, virtues and opinions that follow from the above-mentioned relationships. (Voet, 1998 : 9)

She acknowledges that while numerous understandings of citizenship exist across a variety of philosophical traditions, these concepts tend to converge around a single focal point – namely, civic engagement in public decision-making.

At an empirical level, how can we measure urban citizenship? In Westminster-style political systems, citizenship claims are often framed with reference to the theme of political representation for both individuals and groups. Representational ideas infused nineteenth-century British arguments for female suffrage, for instance, that said women needed to carry or defend their interests in the political realm, so as to ensure all social talents were put to good use (see Voet 1998 : 101). More recently, second-wave feminist theories have laid out three main propositions that address political representation. First, according to their liberal or humanist variant, improving the formal political representation of women is a precondition for equality; wider representation not only engages more human talents in a society, but also reinforces the value of democratic participation among citizens of a polity. As Voet notes, this stream of thought emphasizes the importance of increasing numbers of female candidates and office-holders, as a route toward enhancing women’s presence in politics (*ibid.* : 103).

Second, difference or woman-centred feminists maintain women hold distinctive talents from those of men. Therefore, including more women in public life will make governments more responsive to women and will ensure the inclusion of “different and better values in politics” (*ibid.* : 104) Among the real-world strategies advocated by difference feminists are the establishment of specific women’s units, known as femocracies, in government bureaucracies (*ibid.*). Third, in the view of post-structural feminists, political representation occurs through the crucial vehicle of language or discourse, and not simply in the formal institutions of public office and public administration. By analyzing linguistic representations, post-structural analysts reveal the power of multiple interests in spoken as well as written text or, conversely, their lack of influence. In Voet’s words, this third variant endorses the opening up of public discourse toward “an inclusive politics that listens to the voices of groups for whom policy-making is intended” (*ibid.* : 105).

This study is among the first to subject Voet’s three-pronged vision of citizen representation to empirical testing. It assesses women’s citizenship and, in particular, their political representation in pre- and post-restructuring London and Toronto -- two cities characterized by divergent institutional and leadership experiences during recent years. The article focuses on three measures of urban citizenship, each of which is drawn from a specific strand of representational theory. First, we examine office-holding on municipal councils as an indicator of liberal political representation. Second, we explore the development of municipal femocracies as a measure of

difference representation. Third, the discussion evaluates official spatial planning texts in order to reveal a discursive dimension of representation that emerges from post-structural approaches. The article concludes with a speculative discussion of the implications of our findings for arguments about municipal restructuring, and with a look at future citizenship prospects in a reconfigured London and Toronto .

The main propositions that guide the empirical analysis can be summarized as follows. First, if the pessimistic view noted above is empirically correct, then we expect to find minimal evidence of women's electoral, bureaucratic or discursive representation in either London or Toronto during the contemporary period, and predict no increases over time in any of these measures. We refer to this proposition as the erosion thesis, because it suggests globalization pressures would weaken or extinguish democratic citizenship in contemporary cities. Second, if optimists are correct, then women's representation on all three levels will be similarly robust in London and Toronto , and will tend to rise over time. We term this the buoyancy thesis, since it predicts integrative pressures will create universal opportunities or openings for urban public engagement.

Finally, if specific institutional and leadership contexts make a difference, then we expect to find systematic variations across cities. In particular, we predict women's contemporary representation in London given a New Labour central government, left-of-centre mayor and renewed local democracy under the GLA design, would be considerably more promising than it was in Toronto with a right-wing Conservative provincial government, right-of-centre mayor and municipal amalgamation (including borough elimination) scheme. In terms of longitudinal variation within a single location, this approach suggests citizen representation would be enhanced over time in London , but diminished in Toronto . We call this the contextual thesis, because it maps democratic citizenship against the backdrop of particular urban institutional and leadership circumstances.

Overall, results reported below provide sustained confirmation of the contextual thesis. Women's citizenship on elective, bureaucratic and discursive levels varied systematically across locations, such that it was considerably more robust under the GLA arrangement in London than the amalgamation scenario in Toronto , and tended to improve markedly over time in terms of liberal representation in the former. With at least 40% women, the first two London assemblies were exceptional for any elected body in the Anglo-American world, and surpassed the roughly 30% level on the amalgamated Toronto council. The presence of an effective, albeit small, femocracy in the Greater London Authority compared with the absence of any such unit in the megacity. Feminist claims for improved public transit, affordable housing, childcare and employment provisions were reflected to a far greater extent in discussions of future spatial development in London than Toronto where, in fact, the word women never appeared in the text of the 2002 official plan.

In addition to using multiple indicators of citizenship, this study employs varied empirical sources. Data on public office-holding are drawn from published accounts. The discussions of femocracy and planning texts rely on official municipal documents, including archival sources that lay out the historical record, as well as 35 confidential interviews with contemporary experts and participants in London , and 22

in Toronto . The author conducted in-person interviews with respondents in both cities between October 2001 and June 2004.

## **Election to public office**

Historical research indicates fairly similar proportions of women were elected to local office in Britain and Canada . In Britain , Nirmala Rao's work showed that 12% of local councilors were female in 1965, compared with 25% in 1993 (Rao, 1999 : 296). In Canada, Linda Trimble's study reported that from a base of 15% of local council seats in major cities in 1984, women's numerical representation grew to 24% by 1993 (Trimble, 1995 : 94).

-- TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE --

At the local council level, data from London and Toronto also indicate close similarities. In 1994, women were about 27% of London 's local borough councilors, a figure that rose to 29% by 2002.<sup>ii[2]</sup> As shown in Table 1, considerable variation existed across boroughs. In inner London , female numerical representation in 2002 ranged widely from a low of 17.6% in Tower Hamlets to a high of 43.8% in Islington. In outer London , women's representation was lowest in Redbridge (20.6%) and highest in Croydon (35.7%).

-- TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE --

In pre-amalgamation Toronto , women held about 27% of borough council seats in 1991 and 24% in 1996. As reported in Table 2, these levels varied widely, from a low of 11.1% in East York to a high of 33.3% in North York in 1991, and from a low of 12.5% in East York to a high of 41.7% in Etobicoke in 1996. It is notable that through the mid-1990s, the total number of council seats tended to decline across the six Toronto boroughs. In three of the four boroughs where cuts in council size were especially large, declines in percentages of women elected were also quite dramatic. Between 1991 and 1996, as shown in Table 2, the percentage of women on the North York, Scarborough and Toronto city councils dropped significantly, by an average of 11%.

At the municipal level, women's representation on the Greater London Council was generally below 20%. In 1984-5, for example, females held 17 of 92 seats (18.5%), with Labour women claiming the bulk of those positions (9/17 or 53%; see Greater London Council, 1984). In Toronto, metropolitan-wide governance during the period prior to amalgamation rested in the hands of a 34-member Metro council, which included 28 directly elected ward members and six borough mayors, all drawn from older downtown and inner suburban districts. In 1996, women held approximately one-third of Metro council seats, including 9 of the 28 directly elected ward positions and two of the 6 local mayoral slots (Kovensky, 2001 : 11). This one-third level was approximately ten percent higher than the average representation of women on local Toronto borough councils in the same year.

In 2000, women won 40% of the positions on the new 25-member Greater London Assembly, where they constituted 75% of the Liberal Democratic, 44% of the Labour, 33% of the Green and 22% of the Conservative party groups (Gill, 2000 : 27). In

contrast to single member plurality electoral arrangements that prevailed in Toronto, the scheme in place for the first London Assembly elections offered voters two choices, one for a constituency member selected on the basis of first-past-the-post, and the second for a London-wide party list.

The list scheme, under which 11 of the 25 assembly members were elected, ensured some measure of proportionality and, as expected, tended to benefit smaller parties (notably the Liberal Democrats and Greens) as well as female candidates. Of the 11 members elected to the GLA in 2000 via party lists, five or 45.5% were women. Moreover, when vacancies opened up during subsequent years in Labour list positions, two women including the GLA's only black female member (Jennette Arnold) moved into these posts and brought women's numerical representation to 54.5% (6/11) of list positions and 44% (11/25) on the GLA overall.iii[3]

In the June 2004 London Assembly elections, women again won ten of the 25 seats, including five constituency and five list positions. As of 2004, women held 60% of the Liberal Democratic, 57% of Labour, half of the Green and 22% of the Conservative seats on the assembly.iv[4]

Once the province of Ontario imposed its amalgamation plans on Toronto, the total number of elective offices was more than halved, from over 100 positions in 1996 (34 Metro councilors and mayors plus 73 borough councilors) to only 45 in 2000 (44 megacity councilors and one mayor).v[5] As Myer Siemiatycki and Anver Saloojee posit with reference to ethnic and racial minority groups, fewer opportunities for "diverse representation" were available once amalgamation occurred, in part because the increasing geographical size and population of metropolitan wards created difficult obstacles for candidates with limited financial resources (Siemiatycki and Saloojee, 2002 : 257).

In the 1997 elections, women won about 28% of megacity council seats. In 2000, after that body was reduced by provincial fiat from 58 to 44 members, women held 29.5% of council seats (Kovensky, 2001 : 9). This figure rose slightly to 31.8% in 2003 (*Globe and Mail*, 2004 : A11). Parallel with Jeannette Arnold's status on the London Assembly, only one female member of the first three megacity councils – Olivia Chow – was from a visible minority background.

The approximately 30% of seats claimed by women on early megacity councils diverged little from their one-third share of 1996 Metro council seats. Yet this small quantitative gap likely masked important qualitative differences in political influence. For example, the executive clout of women under pre-amalgamation arrangements was considerable, given that two borough mayors out of six were female, including downtown mayor Barbara Hall.

Given that women held about 25% of local council posts and fewer than 20% of House of Commons seats in Britain during this period, the Greater London Assembly results are notable. Moreover, they stand as an unusually high watermark for numerical representation in any Anglo-American deliberative body, and are likely related to the introduction of partial proportionality arrangements.vi[6] As well, the GLA's creation alongside the boroughs, as a new institution without incumbents and



without a musical chairs competition like the one that unfolded in Toronto , probably assisted women's chances of securing seats.

In short, one dimension of restructuring in Britain 's largest city established a new high watermark for female representation. Proportions of women elected to the newly created London assembly were considerably above those in other deliberative bodies in the British capital, including borough councils and the House of Commons. In Toronto , by way of contrast, female representation on municipal councils tended to decline slightly or plateau with amalgamation, although they remained above levels in the federal and Ontario legislatures.

These results are inconsistent with the main prediction of the erosion thesis, that contemporary urban citizenship would be weak in both locations, as well as the buoyancy thesis, that it would be robust in both places. Instead, recent data tend to support a contextual argument to the effect that specific political circumstances in post-GLA London , notably an opening up of new assembly seats under partial proportionality rules, tended to assist female candidates in ways that were not available in Toronto . In London as well, increases in women's municipal representation over time support a buoyancy argument, by showing how the creation of a new body with new electoral arrangements can enhance female involvement.

We now turn to a second dimension of citizen representation, involving municipal bureaucracies.

## **Femocracies in London and Toronto**

During the 1970s and following, a variety of women's committees, equality departments and other agencies were created in urban bureaucracies. The Greater London Council Women's Committee, founded in 1982 and disbanded four years later when the entire GLC was dismantled, was one of the world's best-known and most generously funded experiments in municipal feminism. At its peak, the committee's support staff numbered about 100 and its annual budget was roughly £7 to 8 million -- much of which was spent on day care for the children of GLC employees, women's resource centres, and feminist issue campaigns in such areas as violence and reproductive health (Coote and Campbell, 1987 : 106-7).

Femocracy in pre-amalgamation Toronto never reached the staffing or budgetary heights of the GLC committee. The unit with the strongest municipal feminist presence, the downtown City of Toronto, created separate bodies to address the treatment of local government employees (the Equal Opportunities division in the personnel department), and the safety of women in public spaces (the Safe City Committee in the public health and planning bureaus). At its peak during the mid-1990s, Equal Opportunities had about 30 full-time staff and an annual budget of \$1.5 million, which went toward addressing the internal employment status of women, racial minorities, aboriginals and people with disabilities. Safe City had one employee during its ten-year existence, and an annual grants budget to external groups of \$500,000 (Whitzman, 2002 : 104).

Once elected as the first GLA mayor, Ken Livingstone named Anni Marjoram as the mayor's policy advisor on women's issues. In this position, Marjoram became the public face of a much smaller, more modestly resourced municipal feminist presence than the GLC version. In fact, Marjoram's control over one half-time secretary, one full-time policy assistant and no funds for grants to campaigning or service organizations revealed her lead role in a strategic femocracy, a tightly focused, coordinating unit that mirrored the overall strategic orientation of the entire GLA (see Pimlott and Rao, 2002; Travers, 2004).

After her appointment in 2000, Marjoram attempted to spread a women's equality agenda throughout the mayor's remit. In part, she pursued this goal via Livingstone's control over police, fire, transport and economic development agencies in London – using the personnel and budgets of other GLA units to finance initiatives in each area. As well, Marjoram worked to lever the mayor's longstanding links with feminist campaigning and service groups in a way that pressed each GLA agency to respond to women's needs.

One of her best-known public activities was convening Capitalwoman, a one-day conference held annually during the week of International Women's Day. Each event permitted Livingstone to publicize his initiatives, gather feedback from women's groups and individual London women, and build a crucial support base among female voters (see Mayor of London, March 2001, March 2002, March 2003, March 2004b). Sponsored by the GLA mayor and subsidized by a variety of unions, GLA agencies and corporate donors, Capitalwoman attracted more registrants every year, growing from just 270 participants in 2001 to more than 2500 in 2004 (interview sources).

In internal terms, Marjoram and her staff focused on the hiring and promotion of women to positions either inside the GLA or regulated by that body -- including as black cab drivers, London Underground drivers and firefighters (see Mayor of London, March 2004a). At an external level, her strategic femocracy undertook a series of high-profile campaigns, under the mayor's public leadership, that affected millions of Londoners who were not GLA employees. For example, Livingstone and Marjoram helped to craft the terms of a registration and licensing system for what had been illegal minicabs, in which hundreds of sexual assaults took place each year (see Mayor of London, March 2004b : 2). The GLA launched a Domestic Violence Strategy, designed to bring together the dozens of different organizations working on this issue across the inner and outer boroughs (see Mayor of London, November 2002).

During his first term as mayor, Livingstone introduced newer buses, lower bus fares, better lighting and signage at stops, more frequent night buses and additional bus lanes. These changes helped to improve the mobility of lower-income, often elderly women as well as young mothers who traveled with small children and bulky parcels (see Mayor of London, March 2004b : 27). He leveraged control over the London Development Agency to commit more than £3.1 million toward the creation of about 1700 affordable childcare spaces in Britain's capital city (see *ibid.* : 2). Moving beyond the GLA's formal remit, the mayor funded a skills audit of refugee women who arrived in Britain with professional qualifications, in order to ascertain how London's schools and hospitals might benefit from their employment (see Mayor of London, December 2002).

The active, visible role of the GLA's strategic femocracy had no parallel in post-amalgamation Toronto. Although the first megacity council created a task force on community access and equity, and later on an advisory committee on the status of women, these bodies were largely unknown and ineffective (see City of Toronto, March 2002). According to respondents who were interviewed for this study, including close observers of both bodies, neither the task force nor the committee exerted meaningful influence on the mayor's agenda or the work of city council.

In organizational terms, the equal opportunity unit in the City of Toronto personnel department was transferred following amalgamation to the office of the chief administrative officer (CAO), a Lastman appointee whose surveillance over employees was described by one respondent as "deeply distressing." The status of women committee held eight meetings at which a quorum was present between the 2000 and 2003 municipal elections, and is most remembered for releasing a fall 2001 report card on childcare in Toronto (see City of Toronto, 2003a, 2003b). Unlike municipal feminist activities in London during this same period, the Toronto childcare approach was highly reactive, and did not involve mayoral leadership.

Toronto's Safe City Committee also fell off the radar screens after amalgamation. Megacity councilors created a new Task Force on Community Safety, which was folded into the CAO's office in 1999 along with the rest of what had been the Healthy City office. Prior to amalgamation, the latter housed downtown planners and committee coordinators who worked on aging, community and race relations, and women's safety issues. Not only did the new task force draw most of its members from groups other than women's organizations, but also it had a neutered mandate in which the safety of women was but one small item (Whitzman, 2002 : 105).

Over time, then, municipal feminism in Toronto faded from view, and nearly disappeared entirely within six years of megacity creation. No proactive urban transportation, safety, childcare, employment or other policy initiative that held particular relevance to women citizens was announced during the first half-decade after amalgamation. This disappointing pattern through the Mel Lastman years contrasted quite sharply with the far more effective representational record of the GLA femocracy during Ken Livingstone's first mayoral term.

Once again, the data seem to disconfirm expectations that follow from an erosion thesis regarding minimal contemporary representation in both locations, and from a buoyancy thesis regarding robust patterns in both places. Rather, the differences between post-restructuring developments in London and Toronto tend to support a contextual interpretation. That is, the presence of an effective strategic femocracy in the GLA reflected the impact of a progressive mayor who appointed its members, and who devoted both fiscal resources and political legitimacy toward fulfilling their mandate. By way of contrast, the absence of any such presence in Toronto mirrored the conservative orientation of the first megacity mayor, who seemed far more concerned with controlling than enhancing citizen representation at a bureaucratic level.

From a longitudinal perspective, municipal feminism clearly declined in both cities. The extremely well-resourced GLC Women's Committee did not re-emerge in the GLA bureaucracy, although the strategic femocracy in the GLA mayor's office was,

given its size, remarkably effective. The modest municipal feminist presence that existed in the downtown City of Toronto prior to amalgamation seemed to be re-organized out of existence in the new megacity. By showing a common pattern of decline over time, albeit from vastly divergent starting points toward different conclusions, these patterns offer some support for erosion arguments.

## **Representation in official plans**

One offshoot of the Greater London Council Women's Committee, the Women and Planning Working Group, drew community activists and GLC employees together in "an attempt to bridge the wide gap between the autonomous women's movement and the local state." (Taylor, 1985 : 4) The group convened an open meeting to discuss the 1983 draft GLC spatial development plan, which was attended by more than 250 participants. As well, it distributed a postage-free questionnaire attached to a "Women Plan London" leaflet, which generated more than 600 responses (*ibid.* : 5). Working group efforts helped to ensure the last GLC plan included not only a section titled "Women in London" in a larger chapter called "Equality in London," but also frequent mention of challenges facing women throughout the text. The final GLC spatial development document included 212 pages of text, of which about seven were devoted to the stand-alone discussion of women (see Greater London Council, September 1984).

The last GLC plan explained the inclusion of a section about women as follows : "Women in London live in a city designed by men for men and have had little opportunity to influence or shape the urban environment. Planning policies, in regulating the use of land in the public interest and recognising that women form the majority of this public, can go a long way towards changing this." (*ibid.* : 87) The discussion argued that spatial development plans must take account of women's specific urban experiences – notably low paid, segregated and often insecure employment; burdensome responsibilities for unpaid care work; limited access to housing, particularly for poor women, older women, Afro-Caribbean families and women fleeing violence at home; and heavy reliance on deteriorating public services – especially bus service. It also noted the limited availability in London of childcare facilities and public spaces for women to meet (*ibid.* : 88-93).

Obviously, Margaret Thatcher's 1983 promise to shut down the GLC cast a long, dark shadow. This commitment led many feminists who commented on the last GLC plan to recommend that responsibility for implementing its provisions be given to the boroughs (Taylor, 1985 : 6). As a result, borough councils were charged in the final GLC plan with identifying local women's needs and developing responses to them, in areas including employment, childcare, personal safety, community facilities and future planning consultations (Greater London Council, September 1984 : 89-93).

The Women Plan London project inspired mirror activities in Toronto, and led to the founding in 1985 of a voluntary group known as Women Plan Toronto (WPT; see Wekerle 1999 : 112-14). Yet efforts to represent women in official plans, even during the pre-amalgamation period, produced relatively modest results. In the most

progressive unit that existed before megacity creation, the downtown City of Toronto, a May 1989 forum sponsored by the planning department listed Women Plan Toronto as one of the “special interest groups” in attendance (City of Toronto, June 1991 : 532).vii[7] In December of that year, WPT held a seminar titled “Official Plan Reviews and Women,” which attracted 12 participants (City of Toronto, January 1990). As part of a community consultation exercise, Toronto’s planning department distributed 190,000 questionnaires across the inner city, but only broke down the responses (about 2600 in all) by postal code (*ibid.*).

Downtown Toronto’s last draft plan, released in 1991, was 527 pages in length. It opened with a commitment to intensified urban development, focused overwhelmingly on the natural landscape and built form of the city, and contained no equality section. Women were mentioned in detailed explanations of specific safety and violence recommendations, but not in the provisions themselves. For example, recommendation 244 stated “it is the goal of Council to promote a safe city, where all people can safely use public spaces, day or night, without fear of violence, and where people are safe from violence” (City of Toronto, June 1991a : 51). The detailed text referred to survey data showing women were more afraid than men to walk in their neighbourhoods at night (City of Toronto, June 1991b : 314).

The specific relevance of other recommendations to women also remained, at best, implicit. On the childcare issue, the plan encouraged licensed, nonprofit facilities as well as subsidies from senior levels of government “for all eligible families” (City of Toronto, June 1991a : 52). Shelters for battered women were not mentioned by name, but rather by reference to “provisions of residential care facilities and crisis care facilities” (*ibid.* : 48). Captions accompanying a series of photographs of women referred to them as “seniors” or “people with disabilities” (City of Toronto, June 1991b : 317, 287).

Following sustained pressure from Women Plan Toronto, the Safe City Committee and other interests, the final text mentioned “women, children and persons with special needs” in a section about ensuring “that public safety and security are important considerations in City approvals of buildings, streetscaping, parks and other public and private open spaces.”viii[8] Yet other passages in the document continued the practice of referring to a generic category called “everyone” or “all people” in Toronto (see City of Toronto, September 1992 : sections 1.11, 1.13, 7.20).

Women’s representational voice was apparent in the text of post-restructuring spatial development documents in London. The Greater London Authority Act, passed by the House of Commons in 1999, identified sustainable development, urban health and equality of opportunity as the main themes guiding the next metropolitan plan (see Mayor of London, June 2002 : s.4C.1). Mayor Ken Livingstone’s subsequent vision statement, released in June 2002, reinforced the notion of “London as an exemplary sustainable world city,” but advanced a potentially more interventionist view of “three interwoven themes :

- Strong, diverse long term economic growth
- Social inclusivity to give all Londoners the opportunity to share in London’s future success

- Fundamental improvements in London's environment and use of resources" (Ken Livingstone, My vision for London, in *ibid.* : xi).

In total, the 2002 draft London plan was 419 pages in length.

Especially compared with the Toronto document of the same year, London's plan was quite detailed, directive and equity-oriented. On housing, for example, it established a goal of 23,000 new homes per year, with half of them targeted for low-income families and essential workers (including nurses, police officers and school teachers; see Mayor of London, June 2002 : s.3A.13, 3A.63). In the field of transit, the London plan recommended "massively improved public transport infrastructure," including two new cross-London rail lines as well as a 40 percent increase in bus capacity by 2011 (*ibid.*). In order to reduce traffic congestion and improve air quality, the document mapped out a central London zone in which congestion charges of £5 per day per vehicle would be imposed as of February 2003 (Mayor of London, June 2002 : s. 3C.44).

Women received frequent and explicit recognition in the draft plan, as one category within a larger group of disadvantaged "communities of interest and identity" (*ibid.* : s. 3A.90). According to the text, "the Mayor recognises that there are particular groups of Londoners for whom equality of opportunity has more resonance than for others. This relates to those people who suffer discrimination, or have particular needs, as a result of their race, sex, disability, age, sexual orientation or religion" (*ibid.* : s. 4C.12). With reference to employment, women were described in the 2002 plan as disproportionately low-wage, less skilled workers, often holding public sector jobs, who confronted specific impediments to economic participation including limited childcare provision and concerns about safety on public transit (*ibid.* : s. 3A.94). Teachers and nurses received particular attention as essential workers who faced an affordability crisis in London's high-cost housing market, and who relied heavily on public transportation to access job opportunities.

In early 2004, the GLA released a 317-page final plan, plus 85 pages of appendices, that built on the draft document and a series of public consultations. The 2004 plan reiterated the broad themes of the draft version, and explicitly acknowledged the limits of treating all Londoners in an undifferentiated way. According to the GLA document, "facilities that are provided for 'everyone' fail to recognise their particular needs" (Mayor of London, *The London plan* : 74). For example, *The London plan* proposed "to promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination" through employment and training policies targeted at "those women and young people and minority ethnic groups most in need" (*ibid.* : 9).

Unlike the last GLC plan, the final GLA text included one stand-alone paragraph and no explicit policies about women. The paragraph identified many of the same patterns noted in the GLC document, including lower earnings, reliance on public sector employment and public services (notably transport), and care responsibilities as central to women's lived experiences in London :

In the domestic arena, women still have the main responsibility for supporting children, elderly people and those with limiting illness. They are more likely to do the shopping and transport children alongside working, mainly part-time. Because of the inadequacy of public transport and because women often make a range of complex local journeys, they feel obliged to acquire cars. Those that cannot afford to are further restricted in job opportunities. Women need convenient, affordable and safe public transport and access to affordable childcare provision (*ibid.* : 72).

The text stated the mayor's intention to hold community consultations to ascertain how these equity goals would be fulfilled (see *ibid.* : 74).

The first official plan of the amalgamated Toronto was a relatively brief, 99-page text. It articulated four broad principles to guide future urban development, namely "diversity and opportunity, beauty, connectivity, and leadership and stewardship." (Dill and Bedford, 2002 : 2) The stated purpose of the Toronto plan was to stimulate future economic growth and, at the same time, ensure social and environmental well-being. In the words of the 2002 vision statement, Toronto should be "an attractive and safe city that evokes pride, passion and a sense of belonging -- a city where everybody cares about the quality of life" (*ibid.*). The use of the term everybody in this passage reflects the generally undifferentiated treatment of Toronto residents in the 2002 plan; human beings were consistently referred to as homogeneous "people" or, in the vision statement, "everybody," even though such crucial concepts as public safety and community belonging arguably resonated differently among particular sub-sets of the urban population (see *ibid.* : 5).

Rare exceptions to this pattern occurred in short passages dealing with the transportation of "people with disabilities," "the elderly" or "people with special needs" (*ibid.* : 30). The particular characteristics of individuals in these categories were not discussed; for example, elderly persons in Toronto in 2002 were disproportionately female, as were adult users of public transportation (see Murdie and Teixeira, 2000 : 220-1; Miller, 2000 : 184). Overall, the text of the Toronto plan focused overwhelmingly on the city's built environment – intensified land use at particular nodes, for example, rather than the human consequences (for better or worse) of urban development.

In terms of approaches to municipal governance, the Toronto plan adopted a hands-off orientation that privileged market forces. At no point did the text recommend aggressive intervention by public officials in such sectors as housing, transit, safety or childcare. Instead, the language of choice and opportunity dominated, including in the title of Chapter 1, "Making Choices." In discussing Toronto's limited supply of affordable housing, for example, the plan prioritized the need to "stimulate production of new private-sector rental housing," rather than to invest in direct or indirect public provision (Dill and Bedford 2002 : 8, 44). Moreover, the 2002 Toronto plan defined affordable rental costs as those equal to or less than average rents across an already expensive city, and not with reference to low-wage incomes.ix[9]

A parallel orientation appeared in discussions of Toronto's human capital and transit futures. The 2002 plan stressed the importance of attracting trained people to

Toronto, rather than devoting resources to upgrading the skills of existing city residents (see *ibid.* : 9). Human diversity and multiculturalism were assumed to be established characteristics of Toronto; these features were celebrated in the official plan, rather than interrogated as categories in need of further exploration or analysis. The plan did not probe, for example, whether the limited supply of affordable housing held particular consequences for specific groups, including low-income women. Similarly, the 2002 document proposed no major improvements to public transit infrastructure, and no concerted interventions to reduce reliance on automobiles. Instead, the text referred to "incremental expansion" of transit, and made few specific suggestions about discouraging the use of cars (*Ibid.* : 10).

Overall, the 2002 Toronto plan made not a sole reference to women. It acknowledged the role of voluntary community action in a brief illustrative section on the Task Force to Bring Back the Don [River] and the Tree Advocacy Program, two local environmental campaigns. The photograph accompanying the discussion of these groups showed five women planting trees, but the text described them as citizen volunteers (*ibid.* : 96). Childcare received no substantive treatment in the 2002 Toronto plan. Passing reference was made to a day care facility as one example of a local community institution, and as one allowable basis on which Toronto planners could grant increased densities to property developers (*ibid.* : 65, 83).

The contrast between GLA and megacity plans could hardly have been more stark. While the Toronto document referred not once to women, the London text offered multiple references to low-wage women workers, teachers, nurses, childcare provision as a barrier to employment, and so on. The extent to which the documents laid out aggressive plans to increase the supply of affordable housing, or improve public transportation systems, also differed widely, with the London text consistently more expansive and interventionist in its approach. Finally, the discussion in the English plan of urban diversity and equality was far more analytic and interrogative than in the Canadian one; the latter simply asserted Toronto was a diverse, multicultural city, apparently assuming that skills, jobs, housing, income and other attributes were distributed in an unproblematic manner among urban residents.

These results parallel those reported in earlier sections, in that they demonstrate limited support for a uniform pattern of either erosion or buoyancy in women's representation. Instead, by revealing considerably more discursive voice for women in the first GLA plan than the first megacity one, the data confirm contextual predictions that are grounded in specific post-reconfiguration circumstances. The gap between contemporary London and Toronto documents is revealed in an explicit post-structural statement from the 2004 GLA plan, identifying the limitations of a discourse of 'everyone.' Ironically, this undifferentiated approach dominated Toronto's 2002 plan.

In longitudinal terms, women's presence in the text of the last GLC plan was more visible than in the first GLA one, while the lone mention of women in the last City of Toronto plan was absent from the first megacity document. It is difficult to generalize about this decline in representation, however, since the difference between a lengthy stand-alone section on women in the GLC plan and no presence whatsoever in the megacity document is enormous. Yet the pattern of declining textual representation over time is common to both cities, and offers some support for an erosion argument.



## Conclusion

As a study of citizenship in the context of municipal restructuring, this discussion reveals women's representation along three distinct measures was consistently more robust in post-GLA London than post-amalgamation Toronto. The election of at least 40% women to the Greater London Assembly, the existence of an effective strategic femocracy in the Greater London Authority, and sustained attention to women's lived experiences of urban space in the text of the GLA official plan contrasted with lower levels of elected representation, no visible femocracy and no official plan presence for women in megacity Toronto.

By demonstrating systematic cross-city variations, these results appear to support contextual arguments that highlight the relevance of specific institutional and political leadership factors for contemporary urban citizenship. At the same time, they tend to disconfirm the expectations of the erosion and buoyancy theses, which proposed representation would either be uniformly weak or, conversely, strong in cities that underwent reconfiguration. Among the most striking generalizations that can be drawn from this finding is that institutional and leadership shifts can hold varied and meaningful consequences for urban citizenship – in this case, within a few years of the official restructuring date.

Data presented in this article also permit us to evaluate trends over time within cities. Comparing longitudinal patterns, we find that women's representation in bureaucratic and spatial planning terms indeed declined between the late GLC and early GLA years in London, and between the late City of Toronto and early megacity periods in Toronto. On the liberal citizenship measure, election to municipal office, longitudinal comparisons showed a significant increase in proportions of women from the late GLC to early GLA era, and a slight decline or plateau from pre-amalgamation Metro council to initial megacity council figures. Data on two of the three empirical yardsticks we use, the bureaucratic and spatial plan measures, thus confirm expectations that urban citizenship would decline over time within cities. Yet this view may gloss over more than it illuminates; that is, the approach obscures the degree to which femocracy and spatial planning discourse were unusually robust in late GLC London, and remained visible in post-GLA London, as well as the extent to which both phenomena were quite modest even at their height in pre-amalgamation Toronto, and virtually extinct during the megacity years.

If institutional and political leadership contexts played a crucial role in shaping representational patterns in London and Toronto, then how would changes at these levels affect urban citizenship? In purely speculative terms, it is worth considering the possible effects of recent elections in both locations. In London, the June 2004 elections returned Ken Livingstone to mayoral office, but weakened Labour's grip on the assembly by reducing that party's seat count from nine to seven (of 25). London Conservatives became the largest bloc on the assembly in 2004, by winning nine positions. Moreover, although Livingstone gained more votes in the 2004 first round than he did in 2000, his eventual win over Steven Norris was more narrow than in their initial contest.<sup>x[10]</sup>

Would these GLA results affect women's municipal representation? London Tories and Liberal Democrats criticized the size of the GLA staff, as well as the mayor's

taxation and spending records (Lydall 2004). Two assembly members elected in 2004 came from the UK Independence Party, a formation committed to closing down that body. Whether Livingstone could gain the support of the two Green party representatives on the assembly, to counter these other interests, remained to be seen. What remained obvious was Livingstone's longstanding record as a cagey left populist; he had survived many earlier political reversals and, dating from his GLC years, had consistently treated women's citizenship as an integral part of urban belonging.

In Canada, elections in fall 2003 produced a Liberal majority government in Ontario, followed by a left-of-centre mayor in Toronto. Some observers viewed the ascent of Dalton McGuinty as Ontario premier, David Miller as Toronto mayor, and then Paul Martin as federal Liberal party leader and prime minister as extremely promising from the perspective of metropolitan citizenship. Unlike the political executives who preceded them, McGuinty and Martin both represented urban constituencies, in Ottawa and Montreal respectively, and were seen as likely to support Miller and other mayors who demanded a "new deal" for Canada's cities (see Barber, 2004).

From the perspective of women's citizenship, however, the initial evidence was far from promising. Once elected, David Miller asked for a review of all existing advisory bodies in Toronto, and unilaterally announced which units would remain and which would end. As of the summer of 2004, his office continued to reserve judgment on the future of a city council advisory committee on the status of women. Miller delayed meeting with Toronto Women's Call to Action, a group formed in February 2004 to press for an effective advisory committee, a gender-based city budgeting process, and the inclusion of women's concerns in local planning activities.<sup>xi</sup>[11] At the provincial level, the McGuinty government claimed it could not address urban issues such as transport or childcare in the immediate future, given serious fiscal problems inherited from the Conservative years. Moreover, during their first six months in office, neither the mayor nor the premier showed any interest in pursuing institutional changes that would renew local democracy in Toronto.

In conclusion, by probing cross-city and cross-time variations in municipal citizenship, this account can be interpreted in both optimistic and pessimistic terms. As of mid-2004, there were reasonable grounds for hopefulness regarding representation in the global age -- if observers focused on the specific example of the Greater London Authority. At the same time, evidence from post-amalgamation Toronto, and from two of three longitudinal measures in London as well as Toronto, reinforced the case for pessimism, since they demonstrated the degree to which urban citizenship could stagnate or weaken.

Notes

\*I am grateful to Tristan Fehrenbach, Joy Fitzgibbon, Genevieve Johnson, Heather Murray and Annis May Timpson for their assistance on the research side, and to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for financial support of this study. Many thanks to Janet Boles, Sarah Childs, Beth Savan, Carolyn Whitzman and the IJURR assessors for their valuable comments on an earlier version.

---

## Portrayal of Women Within the UK's Media

Jennifer Drew is Chair of Object, ([www.object.org.uk](http://www.object.org.uk)), a UK voluntary organisation which challenges the sexualisation of women as commodities. She is also a member of The Sexual Violence Action and Awareness Network, a London based group which has arisen in response to lack of awareness concerning male violence perpetrated upon women and girls. Ms Drew is actively involved in challenging embedded rape myths and the legal system which is still male-defined and male-dominated. Jennifer Drew is also an active member of several women's organisations, including Womankind, Unifem, Coalition Against The Trafficking of Women and Rights of Women. She says of these groups:

"All these organisations seek not only to empower women, but also support and demand Women's Rights globally are a basic human right, not a gendered one."

Ms Drew has written a number of articles about sexual violence and female sexuality, which have been published in academic journals. She has considerable expertise in areas such as "domestic violence," gender, trafficking of women and also sexual violence.

In her article, *Portrayal of Women within the UK's Media*, Drew begins by commenting that, "A deadly malaise exists in the UK wherein the portrayal of women as sexual commodities, whose bodies can be exploited, ridiculed and degraded for hegemonic male sexual pleasure, is perceived as "light hearted" or "humorous."

She asks: "for whom is this exploitation aimed at? Why are men's bodies not routinely displayed in sexually submissive positions for women's pleasure? "

To view Jennifer Drew's article concerning the on-going and increasingly negative and even misogynistic portrayal of women within the UK 's media see:

**Jennifer Drew** is Chair of Object, ( ), a UK voluntary organisation which challenges the sexualisation of women as commodities. She is also a member of The Sexual Violence Action and Awareness Network, a London based group which has arisen in response to lack of awareness concerning male violence perpetrated upon women and girls. Ms Drew is actively involved in challenging

embedded rape myths and the legal system which is still male-defined and male-dominated. Jennifer Drew is also an active member of several women's organisations, including Womankind, Unifem, Coalition Against The Trafficking of Women and Rights of Women. Ms Drew has written a number of articles about sexual violence and female sexuality, which have been published in academic journals. She has considerable expertise in areas such as "domestic violence," gender, trafficking of women and also sexual violence.

## **PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN WITHIN THE UK 'S MEDIA**



**By Jennifer Drew**

A deadly malaise exists in the UK wherein the portrayal of women as sexual commodities, whose bodies can be exploited, ridiculed and degraded for hegemonic male sexual pleasure, is perceived as "light hearted" or "humorous." The question has to be asked, for whom is this exploitation aimed at? Why are men's bodies not routinely displayed in sexually submissive positions for women's pleasure?

Censorship has supposedly ceased in the UK but in reality it still exists, but is directed at any woman or man who dares to criticise the increasing sexualised use of women's bodies within the media, print and advertising industries. Women criticising the industry are accused of feminist essentialism, man-hating or adhering to out-dated 'political correctness.' There are also claims such critics are humourless, prudes, anti-sex, have no sense of humour etc. However, this is a clever ploy used to deflect attention away from the increasing devaluation and reduction of all women to purely sexual objects and the interlinking connection as to why here in the UK the numbers of reported rapes have trebled in the past decade. Why convictions for rape now stand at less than 6% and also why less than 20% rapes are reported to the police. ( .)

Accusations such as the above, seek to ignore the reality that sexualised images of women are used to subordinate, eroticise their own submission and maintain unequal gender power dynamics. (Leidholdt & Raymond 1990: 152).

Rather than the media reflecting society, it is increasingly promoting a sexist and misogynistic view of women as a group. Portraying women in advertising posters as sexualised objects of male pleasure and in sexually submissive positions reinforce the fallacy, women's sole role is to fulfil the needs and sexual demands of men. (Kilbourne 1999: 289). Likewise portraying young girls as sexualised images contributes to misogyny and the belief women are inferior to men and thus deserve to be dominated and controlled by men. (Kilbourne 1999: 289).

Within the last few years a proliferation of "men's magazines" have arisen. Hardly a week goes by without a new one being published. However, all these magazines have

the same tired stereotyping of women as sexualised objects, to be ridiculed and reduced to body parts for men's pleasure and gratification. Men too, are stereotypically portrayed in these magazines as only interested in football, computer games, sexually abusing women, sending in sexually explicit images of supposed girlfriends and/or partners, rating women's sexual organs and most importantly boasting of supposedly having huge penises and questionable sexual expertise. Alarming, a new range of men's magazines have been introduced into the market which are published weekly and only cost approximately £0.60 to purchase. Given the low cost, they are attracting a younger male teenage audience.

( )

Contrary to the widespread view that such magazines are "harmless" or "light-hearted," there is in fact a continuum between sexual abuse, interpersonal partner abuse and the way in which women are still perceived in our male-dominant culture. Teenage boys reading such misogynistic magazines learn as Lundy Bancroft succinctly states in his book "Why Does He Do That?" that women are perceived as inferior, unworthy of respect and valued only as sex objects for men. Men's magazines such as FHM and Loaded are in fact more hard-core than Playboy magazine. (<http://www.object.org.uk>).

With easy access to the internet, research has shown that one in four teenage boys has experienced exposure to unwanted sexual material. Plus numerous pornographic sites have images and stories claiming that male sexual abuse and rape of women and girls is sexy, erotic and humorous. The majority of music videos portray women as though they exist for men to sexually abuse. All these images reinforce the belief it is acceptable for men to abuse women sexually and physically. That within heterosexual relationships, the woman belongs to the man, and he is free to disrespect, disregard her wishes, verbally abuse, use physical and or sexual violence in order to maintain power and control. In fact, most abusive men feel they are the ones being denied their rights and entitlement, which is logical and rational given the fact our culture constantly reinforces the message women are devalued, do not deserve respect or equality and all are inferior to men as a group. (Bancroft 2002: 330). It is not surprising therefore that domestic violence or rather intimate male violence towards women is widespread in the UK and 1 in 5 young men and 1 in 10 young women believe violence against women is acceptable. (Fawcett Women & The Criminal Justice System 2004).

Yet we are supposedly living in a post-feminist era. Nothing could be further from the truth. Within the media and in particular the advertising industry, degrading and exploitative sexual images of women have been 'normalised' in order to sell products. It is a well-known fact that sex sells, but only women are reduced to sexual objects. The media still refuses to accept women like men do in fact lead diverse lives. Instead there is an increasing proliferation of naked, young, thin, white depilated women with small waists and large breasts, who are always photographed in various suggestive sexually submissive positions. Lesbian sexuality too has been co-opted and used to reinforce hegemonic heterosexism. It is always from the male fantasy standpoint which arrogantly presumes women will not be sexually satisfied until a 'real' heterosexual man arrives. (Kilbourne 1999: 260). Kevin Powell a black cultural critic in his book "Keepin' It Real" writes how he too has been influenced by the ways in which the media portrays white and black women as sexual commodities,

who are always sexually available for men's use. Powell also writes about the huge influence pop culture, including hip-hop has on promoting misogyny, hatred of both black and white women and internalised sexism. (Powell 1997: 130-138).

As Prof. Liz Kelly, of The Woman & Child Abuse Unit, London Metropolitan University, said when I spoke to her earlier this year, "This is what happens when we take our eyes off the ball." Post-feminism presumes that women have achieved all the rights they demanded and are now enjoying the benefits. Feminism itself has been twisted to mean something which women must be liberated from, in order to explore endless possibilities of sexual desire, which is linked to consumption and sexuality. As such, mainstreaming pornography as ways of exploring new ideas, in reality perpetuates images of female sexual subordination and exploitation. (Whelehan 2000: 85-86). Andre Lorde stated in 1979 "The Master's Tools will never dismantle the Master's House" and is still relevant today. (Lorde 1984: 110).

If women have supposedly gained equality with men, then why are not men's bodies routinely degraded, insulted and reduced to submissive body parts? Why are there no posters showing a group of fully clothed women surrounding a submissive totally naked man who is exposing his flaccid penis and being threatened with rape? Surely such an image would be "light hearted" and "humorous." However, in reality, here in the UK men's bodies are protected by law and cannot be displayed or used in advertising totally naked, the penis must always be coyly hidden.

Yet women's bodies can be flagrantly displayed with their vulvas shaved for men's voyeurism and purchase. This is not post-feminism but censorship wherein male bodies are protected by male-defined laws. In this way, the power of the penis is upheld, by denying public access and viewing. If penises were openly displayed in advertising etc. the illusion of phallic power would dissolve, with the reality that penises can be small, skinny, crooked, fat, or even semi-erect and very exposed, not intimidating but in fact just pieces of dangling flesh between a man's legs. (Nelson 1994: 244). If women were to become the 'looker' rather than the man, she becomes the subject and he is reduced to a sexual object and is therefore feminised. Only men are entitled to sexually objectify a naked woman's body. (Nelson 1994: 244). Irrespective of the fact research has shown many women in fact do enjoy looking at pictures of totally naked men. (Lancaster 2003: 133). Since women are supposedly equal to men why are not pornographers producing images of a man being pack raped by a group of women using a broomstick and smiling as he ejaculates or having a wire inserted into his penile opening since it must be pleasurable for him. Why have not pornographers saturated the market with these kinds of images in order to match what they have done to women. Surely this proves pornography and sexual exploitation is discriminatory. ( ).

Because the context would not be perceived as one of domination. Given the reality that women as a group do not have equal power and rights as men, stereotypes and prejudices have different meanings. Men are not perceived as the property of women rather it is the reverse, women's bodies are the property of men, and as such they have the right and are entitled to leer, comment on, touch and even rape, since men still retain both economic and social power over women as a group. (Kilbourne 2000). Degrading and sexist advertisements reinforce this gender inequality and the media is in effect claiming male power over women is normal and natural. What about her is

arousing and even whether she intends to arouse is also designated by the male .....His feelings become hers, his desire her desirability...his disdain, her degradation his ridicule her humiliation. (Johnson 1987: 55-6 quoted in Thomas & Kitzinger 1997).

Numerous magazines, newspaper tabloids and advertising all portray images of naked women in various sexually submissive and degrading poses. Feminism and the concept that women have as a right, sexual autonomy and human rights are irrelevant, instead these images reinforce heterosexism, sexism and the belief women are the sexual property of men. (Kilbourne 1999: 287).

The UK has a supposedly independent advisory body called The Advertising Standards Authority which is responsible for ensuring print advertising does not "cause widespread offence" or "offence to a minority." However, the Advertising Standards Authority is funded by the advertising industry and therefore cannot be completely objective. The above terms of reference are vague and make no allusion to gender inequality or sexism. As such, when complaints are made by individuals in respect of sexist and degrading portrayals of women's bodies, the ASA primarily rejects these complaints by claiming such advertisements are "light-hearted" and/or "inoffensive to many people." One wonders who are these "many people." Are they white, middle-class males perhaps? Unfortunately given the remit of the ASA, individuals cannot demand a fuller explanation or clarification of ASA decisions. (Women & Media Portrayal 2003 unpublished).

Exploiting, degrading and insulting women is apparently acceptable, but racism and homophobia are not. Laws have been passed wherein inciting racial hatred is illegal. Similarly inciting acts of homophobia are also illegal. I believe it is no coincidence that race and sexual orientation also apply to men as a group. Racist or homophobic hatred is primarily perceived as directed at men, since men are obviously represented within these groups. Yet reducing women to sexualised degrading objects is judged not offensive or promoting woman-hatred, despite the fact women are represented in all ethnicities and cultures.

Within the Civil Rights Movement in America, black women who were equally active within the Movement, were told their rights would have to take second place, since black men's rights had priority. (Rosen: 2000 109-110). So, too with Gay & Lesbian Rights, lesbian women's rights were and still are perceived as secondary to homosexual men's. (Rosen: 2000 166).

A draft Directive for Implementing The Principle of Equality Between Women and Men was announced by the European Commission in 2000 The proposed legislation stated that hatred solely on the grounds of sex should be no more acceptable than racial hatred and as such sexist insults and degrading images of women within the media are attacks upon their freedom of action and expression. The influence of the media was recognised in that it is not gender neutral but in fact has social consequences which impinge on all aspects of women's lives, which can reinforce and justify male violence against women. However, a concerted campaign opposing this Directive is being waged by the media and insurance industries which have resulted in no decision at present being taken by the Commission.

( ).

An excellent example of rampant sexism and double standards within the media is the case wherein a women's organisation was refused the right to display a poster on various commercial sites. The reason given by both ASA and also the owners of the Billboard sites was the poster was degrading and offensive to women! Poppy is a woman's organisation which seeks to help women escaping trafficking and sexual exploitation within the UK, by providing accommodation and services. This organisation wished to publicise the ever-increasing trafficking of women into the UK so they could be raped and sexually abused by men seeking sexual servicing. The poster was not sexually explicit, instead it showed a box with the face of a young woman as the contents. The wording along the top section of the cardboard box said "Here's Faduma." On the bottom section of the box are the words "She'll do what you want! She has to – she's trapped! Take advantage of her now! The box is placed on a bed and adjacent to the box is a pair of men's trousers. The strapline says "Stop The Traffick." No woman was portrayed naked and in a sexually submissive position. The meaning was explicit, women are trafficked because men as a group believe it is their right and entitlement to purchase women's bodies for sexual gratification. Hence the poster could not be displayed.

( ..).

Yet a poster displayed on London's Underground was deemed acceptable. This portrayed a minor female celebrity on all fours in an animalistic pose, implying anal sexual intercourse. Her breasts were prominently displayed and she was dressed in miniscule clothing.

Two other recent advertisements too have ridiculed female sexuality and promoted sexual abuse. One advertisement in the magazine Mountain Bike Rider featured the photograph of a mountain bike. The caption stated the bicycle like women enjoys being spanked, abused and having marathon 'riding' sessions etc. The advertisers claimed mountain bike riding was male-dominated and as such the advertisement would be appropriate to their readers. The advertisers also argued the sexual innuendo in their advertising was in keeping with the range of Cove Mountain Bikes being sold, since various bicycle models are called "Stiffie," "G-Spot," "handjob," "Playmate" and "Hooker." The Cove brochure states "The G-Spot is hard to find" and "This one gives you a good licking" in reference to the G-Spot model and "the bonus is you only have to pay once for a lifetime of loving" referring to the Hooker model. Although these advertisements trivialised and degraded female sexuality it was judged "light hearted and humorous" by ASA. (london3rdwave 26-8-04 ). Given the advertisers logic and reasoning, does this mean it is acceptable for certain magazines which are aimed say at white groups can include racist advertising and it is apparently acceptable for women's magazines to carry advertisements showing men in sexually submissive positions and trivialising their penises. I think not.

As long as women continue to be perceived as sex objects, they will not threaten the unequal power structure. Naked women lack power and by retaining popular images of women as naked or near naked so women's socio-economic inequality is maintained. (Nelson 1999: 99). Any woman defined by men as not sexy loses the popular culture's praise but gains the power to be herself. This explains in part why lesbian hatred is so prevalent, since such women do not conform to the male idea of appropriate feminine behaviour. (Nelson 1999: 99).



The print industry and its self-regulating body, The Press Complaints Commission too, does not have any guidelines in relation to gender inequality and sexism. Hence the increasing use of graphic sexual images of young women in the down market tabloid press cannot be challenged. (Women & The Media unpublished).

The pressure group Object has been set up in order to challenge the increasing mainstreaming of the sexualisation and cynical exploitation of women of all ethnicities and sexual orientation for profit within the media and advertising industries.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bancroft, Lundy, (2002) Inside The Minds of Angry and Controlling Men Why Does He Do That? New York , G.P. Putnam's Sons

<http://www.dianarussell.com>

Fawcett Society (2004) Women And The Criminal Justice System London

Johnson, Alan G. (1997) The Gender Knot Unravelling Our Patriarchal Legacy, Philadelphia , Temple University Press

Kilbourne, Jean (1999) Can't Buy My Love How Advertising Changes The Way We Think And Feel New York , Simon & Schuster

Lancaster, Roger, (2003) The Trouble With Nature Sex In Science and Popular Culture, California , University of California

Leidholdt Dorchen et al (1990) The Sexual Liberals And The Attack On Feminism New York , Teachers College Press

Lorde, Andre (1984) Sister Outsider Essays and Speeches New York , The Crossing Press

Nelson, Mariah, (1994 edition) The Stronger Women Get, The More Men Love Football Sexism And The Culture Of Sport London , The Women's Press  
<http://www.object.org.uk..>

Powell, Kevin, (1997) Keepin' It Real Post-MTV Reflections On Race, Sex and Politics New York , Ballantine Books

Rakhoff, Sasha (2004) Women And The Media Potrayal UK (Unpublished)

Rosen, Ruth (2000) The World Split Open How The Modern Women's Movement Changed America Middlesex, Penguin Books

Whelehan, Imelda (2000) Overloaded Popular Culture And The Future Of Feminism London , The Women's Press <http://www.womenlobby.org>.

---

## **Fourth Howard Ministry**

To view Prime Minister John Howard's appointments for the fourth Howard Ministry which was sworn in on 26 October 2004 at Government House in Canberra, see:

**[http://www.pm.gov.au/news/media\\_releases/media\\_Release1134.html](http://www.pm.gov.au/news/media_releases/media_Release1134.html)**

---

## **Parameters for the report to the National Executive on the 2004 Federal Election result for the ALP**

The 26 November meeting of the ALP National Executive will receive a report and recommendations on the outcome of the 2004 federal election.

This will be based on a detailed review of all aspects of the campaign.

The report will draw on extensive analysis by people with expertise and campaign experience from outside the campaign headquarters.

A final report will be prepared by the members of the National Executive Committee for presentation to the November 23 National Executive meeting.

The report will examine, but not be limited to, the following areas:

- A full statistical analysis of the result - including key demographic analysis, senate results and the impact of preference arrangements;
- Policy and thematics - the development, timing and content of policy announcements. The use of those announcements to build themes and messages;
- Opinion polling conducted before and after the calling of the election, including that conducted by state branches;
- All aspects of campaign advertising including strategy, executions, and the media buy;
- Candidate selection, training and development
- Target seat campaigning and local strategy;
- Media and issues management;
- Fundraising;
- Campaign coordination, campaign strategy and decision making processes; and
- Campaign logistics, including the leader's travelling party, 40 day campaign schedule and shadow ministry itineraries.

Party units, affiliated unions, candidates and caucus members will be invited to make submissions to the report by Friday 12 November 2004.

Source: ALP.org.au

---

## **Nobel prize for an environmental activist breaks new ground**

The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded this year to Wangari Maathai, a Kenyan environmental activist and human rights campaigner. Maathai is the first African woman and the twelfth woman to win this prestigious award. Her work to preserve Africa's environment has spanned a period of around three decades. In the late 1970s, Maathai led a campaign called the Green Belt Movement to plant millions of trees across Africa to slow deforestation. The movement grew to include projects to preserve biodiversity, educate people about their environment and promote the rights of women and girls. Maathai was chosen from among a distinguished pool of 194 nominations, including former chief United Nations weapons inspector Hans Blix and the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohamed ElBaradei, this year's favourites for the Peace Prize. As always, the announcement of the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize this year has kicked up some dust. Critics of this year's choice are arguing that while conservation of the environment is a worthy cause, it is not as urgent a concern as is war, terrorism or nuclear proliferation. They are pointing out that awarding the peace prize to an environmental activist at a time when the world is reeling under violence, bloodshed and war is deflecting attention away from the bloodletting in Iraq, for instance, and undermining the potential of the Peace Prize in conflict resolution. While there is some truth in this, such arguments are based on a narrow understanding of issues like security and conflict.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to an environmental activist is a long-overdue recognition of the fact that wars are being fought not just over borders and boundaries but also over resources. It underlines the need to re-define security, keeping people as the main referents of security, not just the state. Those who are criticizing the Nobel Prize Committee for its decision to honour an environmental activist would do well to look closely at wars across the world. Deforestation, erosion and climate change have contributed to drought, food and water scarcity, which in turn have created tensions and conflict between populations and countries and displaced millions of people across the world. Maathai's laudable work shows that enhancing security for people will come not by investing more in weapons and armies but in ensuring food security through protecting our environment.

Awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to her should focus the attention of governments on human security.

Source: GSN & The Deccan Herald -- Wednesday October 13 2004

---

i[1] Left-of-centre New Democrats contesting municipal office in Toronto generally identified themselves as such, and were referred to in the media as NDP nominees. Candidates for local office who had run provincially or federally for the Liberal or Conservative parties, and were closely associated

---

with those parties, did not use party labels on their signs or literature at the municipal level.

ii[2] Data from 1994 are drawn from Barry et al., 1998: 65. The 2002 figures were kindly provided by Pauline McMahon of the Association of London Government.

iii[3] One woman Liberal Democrat among the initial GLA list members, Louise Bloom, resigned and was replaced by a man in 2002.

iv[4] These data were posted immediately after the 10 June 2004 elections on the GLA website at [www.london.gov.uk/assembly/lams\\_facts\\_cont.jsp](http://www.london.gov.uk/assembly/lams_facts_cont.jsp)

v[5] In the first megacity council elections in 1997, 58 seats were available.

vi[6] Among the only other results in this same range were those for the Scottish and Welsh assemblies, both of which also operated using partial proportionality schemes. See Mackay, 2001: chap. 2.

vii[7] Among the other groups in attendance were the Toronto Board of Trade and the Toronto Home Builders Association.

viii[8] Toronto City Council approved the final text on 20 July 1993. The paragraph on safety occurs in a section titled “The Pedestrian Environment” in City of Toronto, September 1992: s. 3.19.

ix[9] Although low wage incomes were obviously affected by earnings gaps between men and women workers, this pattern was ignored in the Toronto document. See Dill and Bedford, 2002: 47.

x[10] Livingstone won 667,877 first round votes in 2000, compared with 685,541 in 2004. He claimed 57.9 percent on the second count against Norris in 2000, versus 55.4 percent in 2004. See D’Arcy and MacLean, 2000: 268; and 2004 results posted at [www.thisislondon.co.uk/news/londonelections/articles/](http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/news/londonelections/articles/).

xi[11] Material on this organization can be found at

**Sylvia Bashevkin** ( ), Department of Political Science,  
University of Toronto, 15 King’s College Circle, Toronto, Ontario M5S 3H7, Canada

---

## References

Andrew C. (1997) Globalization and Local Action. In T.L. Thomas (ed.), *The politics of the city: a Canadian perspective*, Nelson, Toronto.

Andrew, C. and M. Goldsmith (1998) From Local Government to Local Governance – and Beyond? *International Political Science Review* 19.2, 101-17.

Anisef, P. and M. Lanphier (2003) Introduction: immigration and the accommodation of diversity. In P. Anisef and M. Lanphier (eds.), *The world in a city*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Barber, J. (2004) Your bill for a new deal is in the mail. *The Globe and Mail* 10 January, M2.

Barry, J., T. Honour and S. Palnitkar (1998) Gender and Urban Governance in Mumbai and London. *International Review of Women and Leadership* 4.2, 61-73.

Boudreau, J.-A. (2000) *The megacity saga: democracy and citizenship in this global age*. Black Rose, Montreal.

Buck, N., I. Gordon, P. Hall, M. Harloe and M. Kleinman (2002) *Working capital: life and labour in contemporary London*. Routledge, London.

City of Toronto (January 1990). *Planning Toronto's future: a compendium of community views, part 1*. Planning and Development Department, Toronto.

---

City of Toronto (June 1991a) *Cityplan 91 proposals recommendations*. Planning and Development Department, Toronto.

City of Toronto (June 1991b) *Cityplan '91 proposals report*. Planning and Development Department, Toronto.

City of Toronto (September 1992) *Draft official plan part 1 consolidation: cityplan final recommendations*. Planning and Development Department, Toronto.

City of Toronto (March 2002) *Status report: implementation of the recommendations of the final report of the task force on community access and equity*. Chief administrator's office, Toronto.

City of Toronto (2003a) *Advisory committee on the status of women accomplishments – February 2001 – June 2003*.

City of Toronto (2003b) *Diversity advocate's meeting with the community advisory committees and working groups, 15 September 2003*.

Coote, A. and B. Campbell (1987) *Sweet freedom: the struggle for women's liberation*. Blackwell, Oxford.

D'Arcy, M. and R. MacLean (2000) *Nightmare! The race to become London's mayor*. Politico's, London.

Dill, P.M. and P.J. Bedford (2002) *Toronto official plan*. Urban Development Services, Toronto.

---

Gill, B. (2000) *Losing out locally: women and local government*. Fawcett Society, London.

*Globe and Mail* (2004) Inside City Hall. 30 January, A11.

Greater London Council (1984) *Members of the Council, 1984-5*. Greater London Council, County Hall, London, July.

Greater London Council (September 1984) *The greater London development plan: as proposed to be altered by the Greater London Council*. GLC, London.

Ibbitson, J. (1997) *Promised Land: inside the Mike Harris revolution*. Prentice-Hall Canada, Scarborough.

Isin, E.F. (2000) Governing Cities Without Government. In E.F. Isin (ed.), *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, Routledge, London.

Kovensky, J. (2001) A case study examining representation of women on Toronto city council pre-amalgamation (1996) and post-amalgamation (2000). Paper prepared for POL 2316F, University of Toronto.