Expanding and Implementing the Emily's List Principles

Sociology Internship Report

The University of Melbourne

Kit Muirhead 2019

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For over 23 years, Emily's List has played a significant role in developing effective policy advocacy, raising both funds and public awareness to support progressive ALP women's representation in parliament. The work of this organisation is modelled off its five key principles of Equity, Choice, Equal Pay, Childcare and Diversity, all of which ensure that supported Emily's List candidates and policy advocacy work is up to date with the most progressive debates and discussions regarding women's rights and equity in Australia.

The purpose of this report is to compile evidence, drawing on contemporary feminist theory, to highlight how the principles of Childcare, Equal Pay, Diversity and Equity may be updated and renewed.[1] An analysis of current federal public policy, specifically those of Paid Parental Leave and ParentsNEXT will highlight where certain policy areas are failing to meet the requirements of these principles. Finally, this report will draw on social movement theory to highlight how best EMILY's List as an organisation can mobilise effective policy change in these areas. The social movement theories of Political Process Theory, Framing Theory and Resource Mobilisation Theory will be empirically grounded through drawing on the case studies of the Marriage Equality Campaign and Big Step's Campaign.

This report found that the current definition of Equal Pay, Childcare, Diversity and Equity are out of date with current feminist theory, debates and discussions. It found that,

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[1] The principle of Choice is not included in this report due to the recent and extensive work Emily's List has devoted to women's reproductive rights and the decriminalisation of abortion in 2019.

when updated, these principles uncover significant barriers to gender equality embedded in federal policy such as ParentsNEXT and Paid Parental Leave. Lastly, it found that Political Process Theory (PPT), Framing Theory and Resource Mobilisation Theory each offer valuable insight into how Emily's List can effectively pursue this policy change to fulfil the Emily's List principles of Equal Pay and Childcare.

Thus, it is recommended the principle of Equal Pay be updated to account for the many different factors that contribute to the gender pay gap, namely occupational segregation and gendered discrimination in both the private and public spheres. It advises that 'early childhood education' is added to the principle of Childcare and recommends considering changing the word 'women' to 'parents' under this definition on the Emily's List website. This more accurately acknowledges the need to tackle both occupational and domestic labour segregation along gender lines. For the principle of Diversity, the report recommends expanding upon sexuality, specifying different types of diversity, changing equality to equity and supporting self-determination rather than reconciliation. Lastly, it advises that the presence and burden of women's unpaid labour be acknowledged under the definition of Equity.

It is also recommended that the Emily's List advocacy team work to make ParentsNEXT voluntary whilst also advocating for paid parental leave to extend beyond the newborn phase of parenting and to change the language associated with "dad and partner pay" that currently reinforces traditional and patriarchal caring roles.

Lastly, it advises that Emily's List be aware of political opportunities under PPT for *attracting* the attention of the target audience; understand the importance of framing for *engaging* the target audience and recognise the value in effectively mobilising resources for prompting the target audience to take effective *action* towards policy change in these areas. Ultimately this will ensure the goals of Emily's List principles can be better fulfilled.
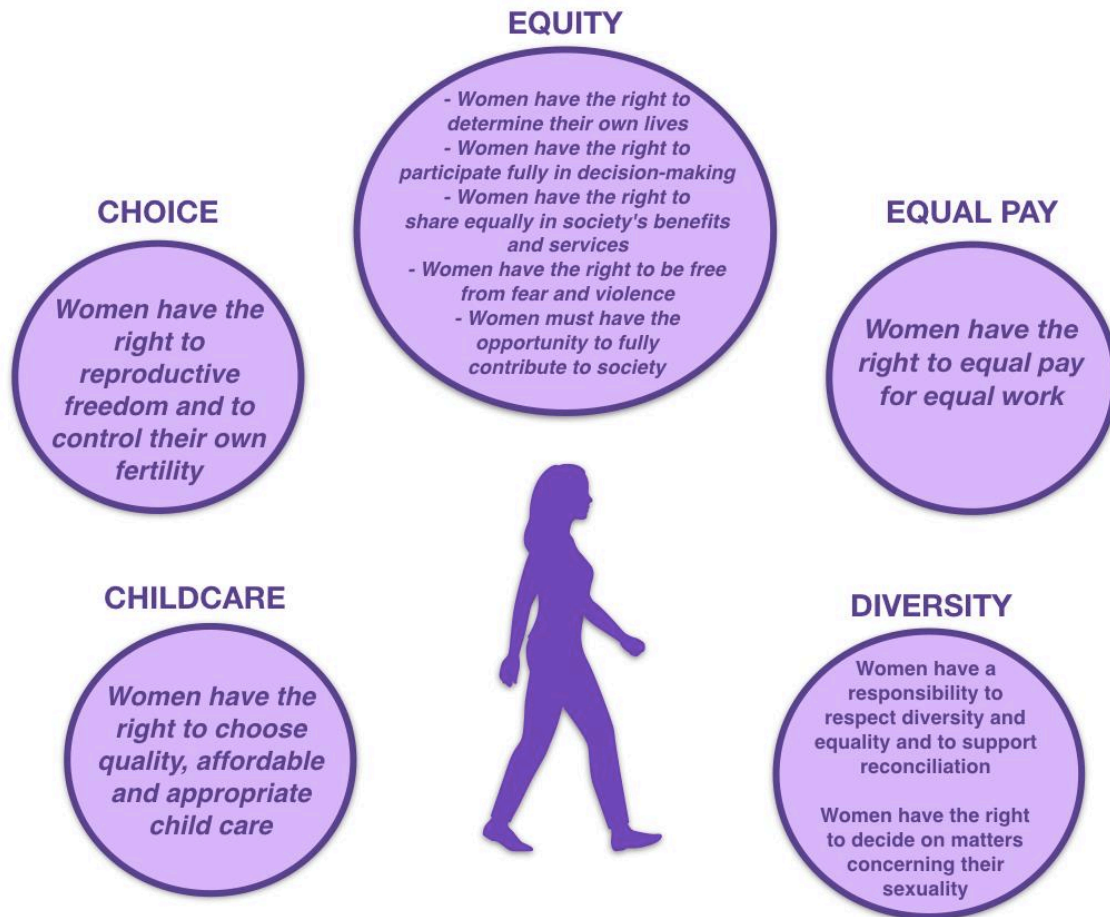
1. INTRODUCTION

Since its establishment in 1996, Emily's List Australia, a political organisation established to assist progressive Labor women into politics, has played a momentous role in furthering the rights and equity of Australian women. Modelled off a similar organisation in the United States, EMILY stands for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" and highlights how early intervention and support for women candidates helps them 'rise' to political positions of power. Over the last 23 years, Emily's List has raised over $5 million in funds to support progressive Labor Women, resulting in a total of 267 women candidates being elected to state and Federal Parliaments (Emily's List, 2015).

In addition to candidate support, Emily's List provides comprehensive training in political skills development, strategic campaign planning, government lobbying, social change advocacy and affirmative action strategies, to women as well as community, public, private and philanthropic sectors (Emily's List, 2019).

This work is shaped by Emily's List's five principles, Model 1. These principles are essential for guiding the direction of policy advocacy as well as ensuring Emily's List

candidates reflect such values in parliament and their own policy development (Emily's List, 2019).

EQUITY

- Women have the right to determine their own lives
- Women have the right to participate fully in decision-making
- Women have the right to share equally in society's benefits and services
- Women have the right to be free from fear and violence
- Women must have the opportunity to fully contribute to society

CHOICE

Women have the right to reproductive freedom and to control their own fertility

EQUAL PAY

Women have the right to equal pay for equal work

CHILDCARE

Women have the right to choose quality, affordable and appropriate child care

DIVERSITY

Women have a responsibility to respect diversity and equality and to support reconciliation

Women have the right to decide on matters concerning their sexuality

Model 1

1.1 Significance of Report

Established in 1996, the principles of Emily's list are well overdue for revision and renewal. For Emily's List supported candidates to produce progressive and effective feminist policy, the organisation must ensure its principles reflect current feminist debates and issues. Secondly, establishing *where* barriers to achieving these principles' goals exist in federal policy

is significant for guiding further directions and targets for the organisation's policy advocacy team. Lastly, understanding *how* shortcomings within federal policy can be overcome through advocacy provides Emily's List with the resources and information necessary to substantially challenge current patriarchal attitudes and practices within federal policy and Australian society at large. Ultimately, identifying and addressing such barriers is essential for developing a more equal, just and safe society for Australian women.

1.2 Report Aims

This report aims to provide recommendations regarding how to expand the Emily's List principles of Equal Pay, Childcare, Diversity and Equity in line with current literature and policy debates. It will identify aspects of federal policy that play a role in preventing gender equity in Australian society and outline how the barriers to these principles and patriarchal policies can be overcome through strategic campaigning and social movement building.

1.3 Methodology

This report was developed primarily through desktop analysis and informal conversations with Emily's List staff and members. The desktop analysis consisted primarily of literature reviews of both peer-reviewed journals and books as well as an evaluation of current federal policy.

1.4 Structure

This report is laid out in three sections.

1) *Expanding the Principles*

This section provides a review of and recommendations for updating and expanding the principles of Equal Pay, Childcare, Diversity and Equity.

2) *Current Barriers to Advancing the Goals of the Principles*

ParentsNEXT and Paid Parental Leave will be drawn on to demonstrate current federal government policies that are preventing the Emily's List principles from being fulfilled.

3) *How to Overcome the Barriers to Achieving EL's Principles*

How to *attract*, *engage,* and encourage the public to take effective *action* towards changing these policies will be evaluated through Political Process Theory, Framing Theory and Resource Mobilisation Theory. The Big Steps Campaign and GetUp's Marriage Equality campaign are compared and offer insight into the most effective mechanisms for aligning federal policy with Emily's List goals.

2. EXPANDING THE PRINCIPLES

2.1 Equal Pay

The current definition of Equal Pay includes:

"Women have the right to equal pay for equal work"

Equal pay for women is a critical principle that stresses the importance of financial equality in ensuring the social fairness and safety of Australian women. At a time when rates of poverty amongst single mothers continue to sky-rocket and women over the age of 55 have taken the lead as the fastest-growing homeless demographic, actions towards achieving this principle must reflect the most up-to-date research, findings and discourses surrounding the gender pay gap (Pradolin, 2018).

The current definition does not adequately encompass the structural inequalities that underpin the gender pay gap. The term "equal pay for equal work" must be expanded upon to account for the role of gender discrimination in both the public *and* private sphere in maintaining the financial subordination of Australian women.

2.1.2   Expanding past 'equal pay for equal work'

To understand why *Equal Pay for Equal Work* is limited, it is essential to first unpack the definition of 'equal pay for equal work' versus the definition of 'gender pay equity'. Equal pay for equal work argues that individuals in the same workplace, completing the same tasks, must receive the same pay. The theoretical right to equal pay for equal work was achieved in 1969 when the federal government eliminated the principle that men were entitled to be paid 25% more than women (Gring-Pemble & Chen, 2018, pp.82). Drawing on this, Libby Lyon's (2019), Director of the WGEA, highlights that organisations who abide by 'equal pay for equal work', "should not expect a pat on the back for meeting their requirements under the law". Thus, in line with many feminist scholars, Lyon's argues that the definition of 'equal pay for equal work' does not adequately address the contemporary structural barriers to gender pay equity such as gendered discrimination, occupational segregation and the inequitable distribution of caring responsibilities (Gring-Pemble & Chen, 2018).

Many feminists have adopted the term "gender pay equity" as this describes the gender pay gap, as "the difference between the average earnings of women and men in the workforce, expressed as a percentage of men's earnings" (Lyons, 2019). Thus, the term 'gender pay equity' encompasses the many cultural and structural inequalities in both the public *and* private sphere that currently maintain the gender pay gap (Lyons, 2019).

Model 2 describes several structural inequalities within the public sphere that are not currently acknowledged under the definition of 'equal pay for equal work'. Here, it becomes clear that even when women are legally entitled to equal pay for equal work, many patriarchal mechanisms, work to maintain the inferior financial position of Australian women.

GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

JOB SEGREGATION	○ **Female dominated industries (beauty, teaching + education) are paid less than male dominated industries (mining, construction, engineering)** ○ **Influenced by cultural understandings of typically 'feminine' work being of lesser worth than typically 'masculine' occupations in neo-liberal society.** ○ **When women move into male dominated industries of "traditional higher status" such occupations have steadily become less valued + received lower pay.** **(Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2019).**
HIRING	○ **Jobs favouring male candidates use "masculine stereotyped words" to dissuade female candidates from applying** ○ **Women applicants receive less interview offers, despite being just as qualified as their male counterparts** ○ **When women exhibit typically 'male' traits such as confidence and assertiveness, they are considered to be less "likeable" and therefore receive a "like-ability penalty" in hiring processes** **(Foley, Cooper & Mosseri, 2019).**
PROMOTIONS	○ **Women are given fewer "challenging assignments", limiting their career development** ○ **Feminine leadership styles are undervalued in workplaces.** ○ **Women are 30% more likely to be told they needed "more experience to be ready for promotion", with only 50% of these women saying they were "given the opportunity to gain more experience".** **(Foley, Cooper & Mosseri, 2019).**

Model 2

Secondly, 'Equal pay for equal work' ignores the role of the unequal distribution of caring and domestic labour in maintaining the gender pay gap**.** Such an allocation is premised on essentialist conceptions of womanhood as intrinsically maternal (Riley, 1983, pp.194). These effects and their relationship to pay inequity is outlined in Model 3 and will be further touched on in section 2.4 under the principle of Equity.

GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE HOME

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DOMESTIC AND CARING LABOUR

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○ Career interruptions that come with childbirth and parenting responsibilities disproportionately prevent women from progressing to higher professional levels that are associated with higher pay (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2019).

○ 64.4% of the average Australian women's week is devoted to domestic labour, compared to only 36.1% of the average Australian man's week. This unequal distribution of domestic labour results in higher levels of women opting for part-time employment, once again lowering women's average earnings as a percentage of the average male wage (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

○ 'Private' sphere issues are exacerbated by poorly equipped and expensive early childhood education and care options (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2019).

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Model 3

Thus, gender biases and entrenched patriarchal mechanisms of control are often subtle and multifaceted, permeating the public, private and policy spheres. Ultimately the current definition of "equal pay for equal work" does not encompass the hidden and complex gender biases that underlie the gender pay gap and must be expanded. A potential updated definition is outlined below:

Recommendations:
- Women have the right to equal pay for equal work and work of equal value or comparable worth.
- Women have the right to participate in a workforce free from discrimination.
- Women have the right to the equal division of domestic labour.

2.2 Childcare

The current definition of childcare as an Emily's List Principle includes:

"Women have the right to choose quality, affordable and appropriate childcare."

Quality, affordable and appropriate 'childcare' is essential in giving women the freedom to maintain long-term, uninterrupted employment and ultimately contribute to reducing the gender pay gap (Heckman, 2011). The term "affordable" ensures childcare is available to all women, regardless of their socio-economic status. The word "appropriate" ensues that such services are suitable for the needs of the *all* parents, communities and cultural standards and the word "quality" highlights the need for childcare that not only assists mothers but additionally benefits children (Emily's List, 2019).

Despite these strengths, certain elements of the definition are out of date with current literature regarding childcare and early childhood education. Thus, this section will outline these weaknesses and provide two recommendations for updating the current childcare principle and definition. These recommendations agree with the imminent decision to add Early Childhood Education to the Childcare Principle in the Emily's List Constitution (M. Overall, personal communication, October 18, 2019). Further to the constitutional change, expanding the explanatory notes on the Emily's List website, and all communications, to use the word 'parents' rather than 'women' in relation to Early Childhood Education and Care, is recommended.
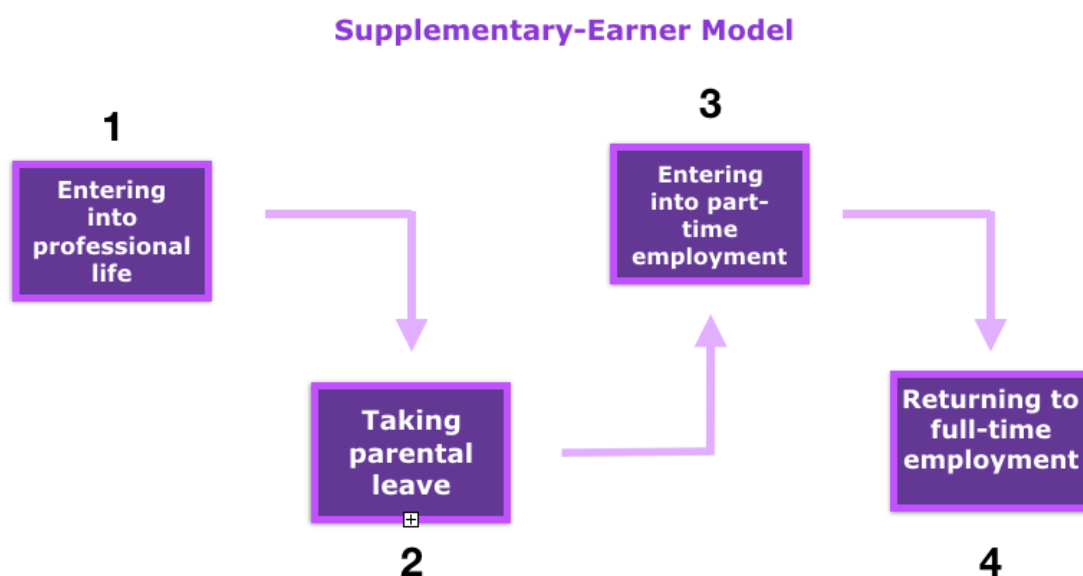
2.2.1 Early Childhood Education

As new research has emerged regarding the role of occupational segregation in driving the gender pay gap, discourses regarding childcare have begun to shift. This has seen the movement away from the term 'childcare' to 'early childhood education' and is emblematic of the extensive training, qualifications and skills required for understanding how to both care for *and* effectively educate young children (Learey, 2014). In comparison to 'early childhood education', 'childcare' encompasses anything from babysitting, to afterschool care to everyday caring duties of parents and, although a vital aspect society, it does not do justice to the professional nature of early childhood education (Big Steps Campaign, 2019). Therefore, associating early childhood education with the term childcare fails to disrupt patriarchal discourses that underpin unequal pay for early childhood educators.

Delivering professional pay to early childhood educators is essential for closing the gender pay gap. Currently, early childhood educators, the majority of whom are women, are paid 30% less than primary school teachers, despite teaching children only a few years apart in age (Big Steps Campaign, 2019). As such, the industry is currently struggling to both find and retain quality staff, who are increasingly shifting towards better-paid professions. Additionally, with a lack of quality educators comes a lack of quality education services, significantly limiting the options for mothers who wish to return to work (Heckman, 2011). Adding early childhood education under the definition of childcare works to shift cultural attitudes and alter the pattern of job segregation in favour of both early childhood educators and mothers who wish to return to work.

2.2.2 Changing 'Women' to 'Parents'

To achieve gender equality in the home, workplace and society more generally, traditional assumptions regarding the caring roles of both men and women must be shifted. Currently, Australian society subscribes to the 'supplementary-earner model'. As outlined in model 4, the four stages of a woman's working life mirror those of their child's development (Second Gender Equality Report, 2017, pp.13).[2]

Supplementary-Earner Model

1
Entering into professional life

2
Taking parental leave

3
Entering into part-time employment

4
Returning to full-time employment

Model 4

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2 This model is primarily hetero-normative and is not applicable to all families and/or parental working arrangements.

Adopting a feminist lens, it becomes clear that the 'supplementary-earner model' is little more than a "variation" of the 'breadwinner model', in which the man is the sole financial provider whilst the woman must sacrifice her career progression for private care work (Second Gender Equality Report, 2017, pp.13). Australian society must move away from a 'supplementary-earner model' towards an 'earner-carer model' in which caring and financial responsibilities are divided equally between both parents. Here, conditions are constructed that "allow people to take up employment on an equal footing, without having to forego private care work" (Second Gender Equality Report, 2017, pp.16).

Drawing on these models, the *exclusive* use of the term 'women' in the current definition of childcare may be interpreted as naturalizing, rather than challenging the belief that women must bear a double load of paid work *and* caring arrangements. With exemptions from the EO Act to allow for women autonomous control, it would be injudicious for Emily's List to change the term from 'women' to 'parents' in the constitution's definition of childcare (M. Overall, personal communication, November 10, 2019). It is therefore recommended that this action be implemented upon the explanatory notes on the Emily's List website. This will work to normalise the role of the father as a carer and highlights that *both* parents are equally entitled to return to work after having a child.

Recommendations:
- Early Childcare Education should be added to the principle of Childcare.
- Change from 'women' to 'parents' on the Emily's List website.

2.3 Diversity

The current definition of Diversity as an Emily's List Principle includes:

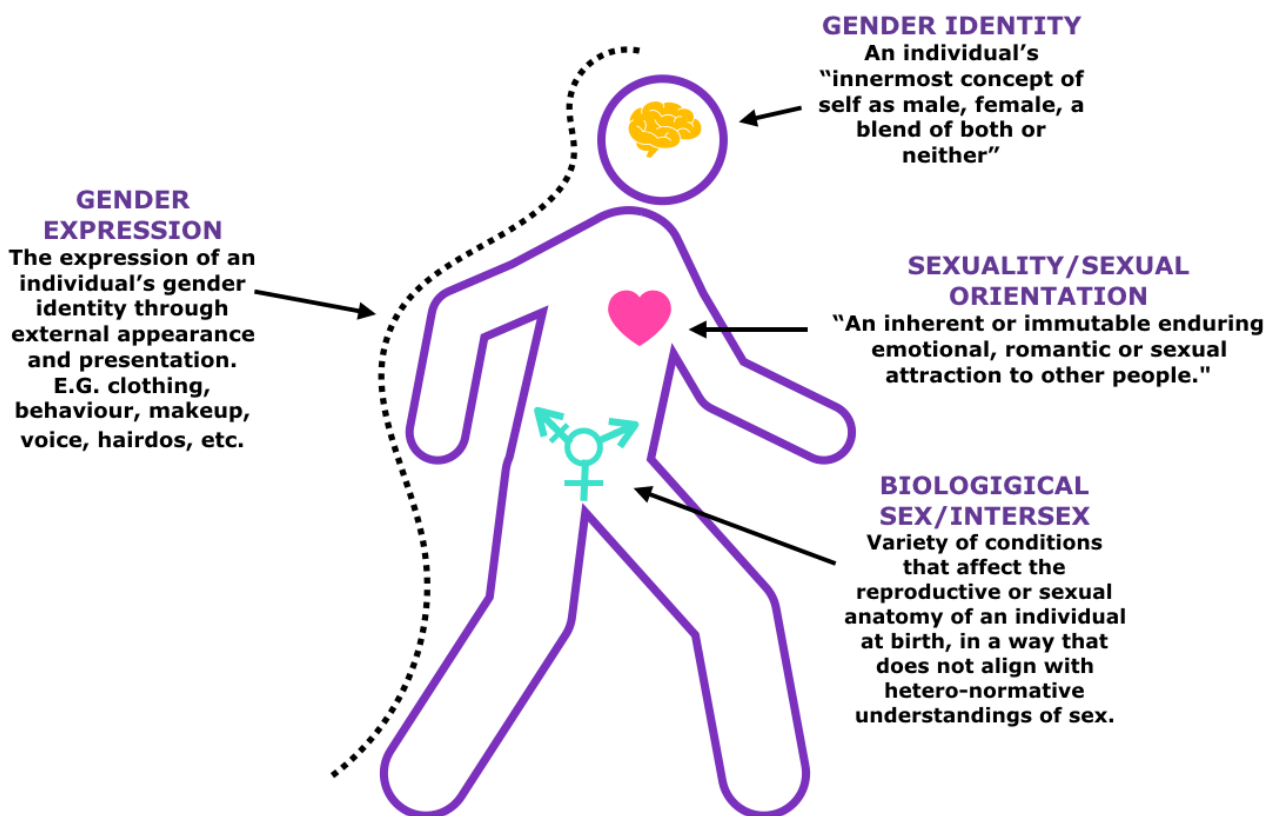*"Women have a responsibility to respect diversity and equality and to support reconciliation."*

"Women have the right to decide on matters concerning their sexuality."

In practice, Emily's List has made significant moves towards fulfilling the principle of Diversity in research, policy and training. Stephanie Millione's 2019 Julia Gillard Next Generation Internship Report, *'A Truly Representative Democracy'*, is but one clear example of this commitment that is forging new pathways for Indigenous and CALD women in politics. To update the definition of diversity in line with the organisation's current policy objectives, it is recommended to expand upon sexuality, specify different types of diversity, change equality to equity and focus on supporting self-determination rather than reconciliation.

2.3.1 Expanding Upon Sexuality

The use of the word "woman" rather than "female" in the definition of diversity is an important contribution that ensures the inclusion of trans-women. Nevertheless, exclusively using the term "sexuality" fails to comprehensively include each LGBTIQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer +) individual.

Model 6 outlines the various definitions that must be considered when acknowledging the diversity of LGBTIQ+ women as outlined by the *Sex Discrimination Amendment (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Intersex Status) Act 2013.* This amendment ensures that it is both illegal to discriminate against people of a different biological sex and "unlawful to discriminate against a person on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity and intersex status under federal law" (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2019).[3]
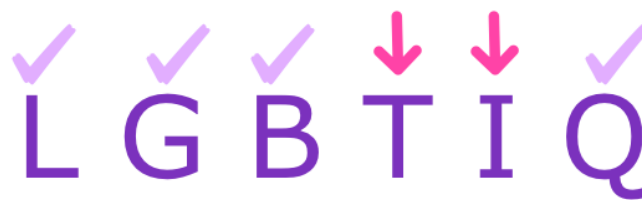
GENDER IDENTITY
An individual's "innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither"

GENDER EXPRESSION
The expression of an individual's gender identity through external appearance and presentation. E.G. clothing, behaviour, makeup, voice, hairdos, etc.

SEXUALITY/SEXUAL ORIENTATION
"An inherent or immutable enduring emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to other people."

BIOLOGIGICAL SEX/INTERSEX
Variety of conditions that affect the reproductive or sexual anatomy of an individual at birth, in a way that does not align with hetero-normative understandings of sex.

Model 5

Information sourced from Teaching Tolerance, 2015.

[3] In this legislation, gender identity is inclusive of gender expression.

As exemplified by model 5, the term "sexuality" only covers one of four terms used to describe the LGBTIQ+ community. The current definition covers Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Queer women, however, excludes women who identify as transgender and intersex, both of which "do not imply any specific sexual orientation", yet still represent important aspects of gender diversity (Teaching Tolerance, 2015):
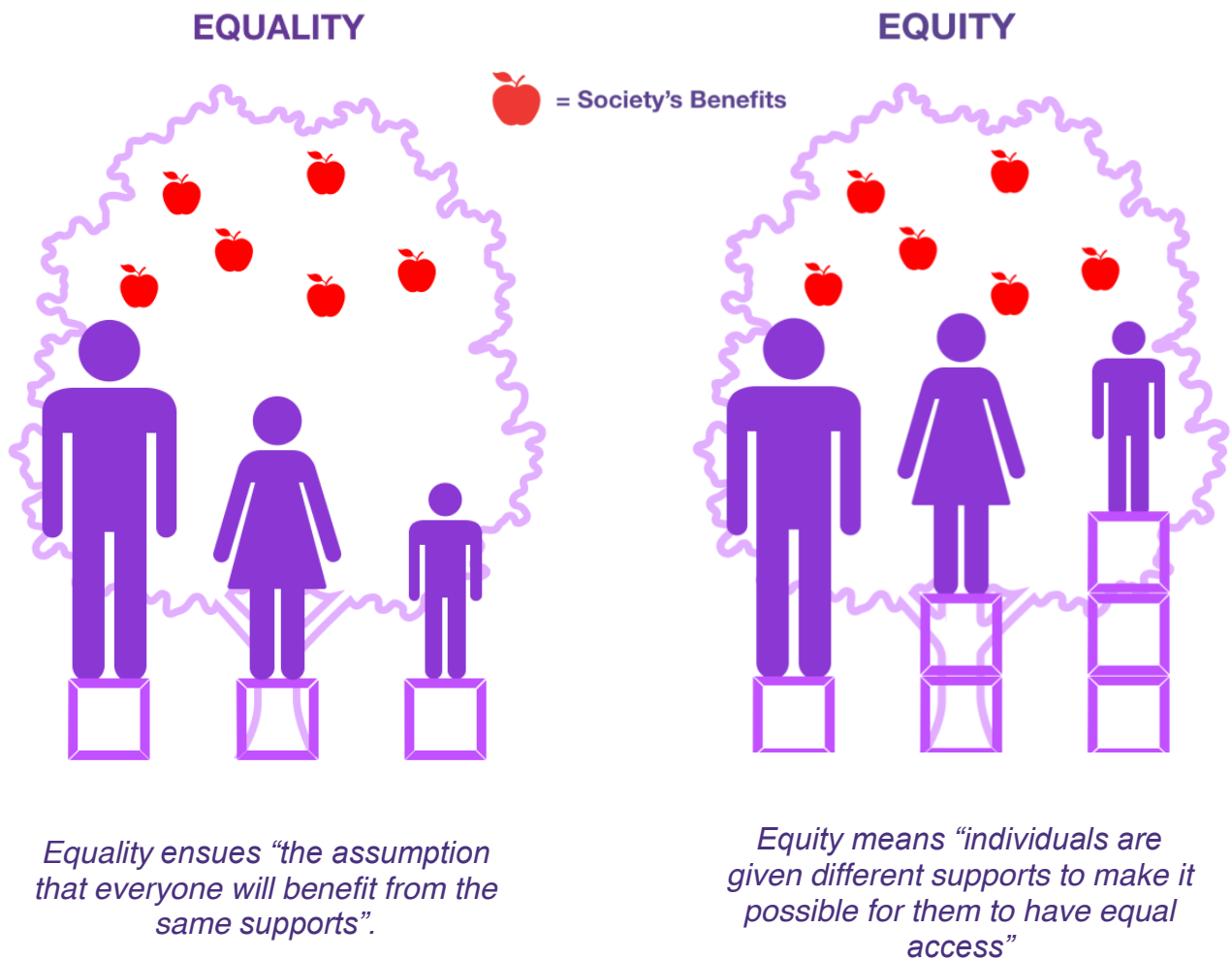

Exclusively using the term 'sexuality' lends itself to outdated discourses that discount the many nuances embedded within women's diverse sexual and gendered identities. To accurately reflect current discourses and legislation, the definition of diversity should be expanded to include the terms gender identity, gender expression and intersex status.

2.3.2 Changing Equality to Equity

According to current literature, the term 'equality' is somewhat redundant. As a result, it is recommended that Emily's List instead use the term 'equity' to better represent the organisation's commitment to diversity.

Model 6 demonstrates the difference between equality and equity.

EQUALITY

EQUITY

🍎 = Society's Benefits

Equality ensues "the assumption that everyone will benefit from the same supports".

Equity means "individuals are given different supports to make it possible for them to have equal access"

Model 6

Information sourced from Institute for Social Change, 2016.

As exhibited, providing the same supports will not deliver equal access to society's benefits to every member of a community. This is because it does not account for the structural inequalities, such as gendered discrimination, that favour some groups over others. As an organisation, Emily's List recognises the importance of positive discrimination. Affirmative action within the Labor Party is a prime example of this. As a result, it is imperative that Emily's

List change the term equality to equity to adequately emulate the organisation's commitment to equal treatment and diversity.

2.3.3 Specify Different Types of Diversity

Secondly, it is recommended that the term 'diversity' be expanded upon to ensure all types of diversities are accounted for in the definition. Whilst the definition touches on sexuality and Indigeneity as two aspects of diversity, it excludes a range of other diversities, such as cultural and linguistic diversity, disability, socio-economic standing, age and intersex status. Exclusively using the term 'diversity' risks homogenising the various and distinct experiences of diverse women into one standardised category.

2.3.4 Changing Reconciliation to Self-Determination

Despite acknowledging the distinct experiences of Indigenous women, the term 'reconciliation' carries a handful of negative connotations as pinpointed by modern Indigenous Right's Movements. As a result, it is recommended that the term 'self-determination' replace reconciliation under the definition of Diversity.

The process of reconciliation was a major policy goal for Indigenous activists throughout the late 20th century and early 21st century. Reconciliation offers a chance to engage in truth-telling, self-determination and partnership building between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. In theory, such a process impels white Australia to reflect on colonisation as an

ongoing structure that continues to perpetuate inequality and injustice throughout Indigenous communities (Maddison, 2019, pp.128).

Despite these strengths, the process of reconciliation has numerous faults, many of which work to maintain Indigenous people's position in Australia as 'second-class' citizens. Problems with reconciliation identified by the Indigenous community include:

- Reconciliation is used as a strictly symbolic measure that ultimately fails to produce structural reform, reparations or a treaty agreement (Gunstone, 2009, pp.147).
- The victim group is held responsible for the labour of reconciliation. Indigenous people must find it within themselves to forgive historical and contemporary injustice, rather than placing the responsibility on the perpetrators (Maddison, 2019, pp.138).
- Reconciliation positions colonisation as an "event" of the past that must be forgiven (Wolfe, 2006, pp.56). This ignores the current role of the state in perpetuating colonial structures in today's society.
- Reconciliation is viewed as little more than a nation building agenda, a way of absolving "settler guilt" and repairing Australia's human rights reputation on the world stage. According to Maddison (2019, p.154), this is "deeply at odds with Indigenous aspirations, who aren't seeking inclusion and aren't seeking to be a part of the larger fabric of white Australia".

The term 'Reconciliation' is highly contentious and has both positives and negatives in regard to supporting Indigenous rights and equality. This report recommends using the term 'self-determination' as this is reflective of both historical and current efforts for Indigenous rights

and is widely cited as the sole ingredient to achieving autonomy, justice and equality for Indigenous communities (Edney, 2001).

Recommendations:

- Women have a responsibility to respect diversity of age, cultural background, disability, gender or gender identity, Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identity, sexual orientation, intersex status and socio-economic background and work to achieve equity and justice for such groups.
- Women have a responsibility to support self-determination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

2.4 Equity

The current definition of Equity as an Emily's List Principle includes:

"Women have the right to determine their own lives

Women have the right to participate fully in decision-making

Women have the right to share equally in society's benefits and services

Women have the right to be free from fear and violence

Women must have the opportunity to fully contribute to society"

Equity is a central principle that encompasses the overarching ethos, goals and practice of Emily's List as an organisation. The current definition reflects this; however, it is

recommended that the principle of Equity be expanded to acknowledge the presence, worth and inequity of women's unpaid domestic labour.[4]
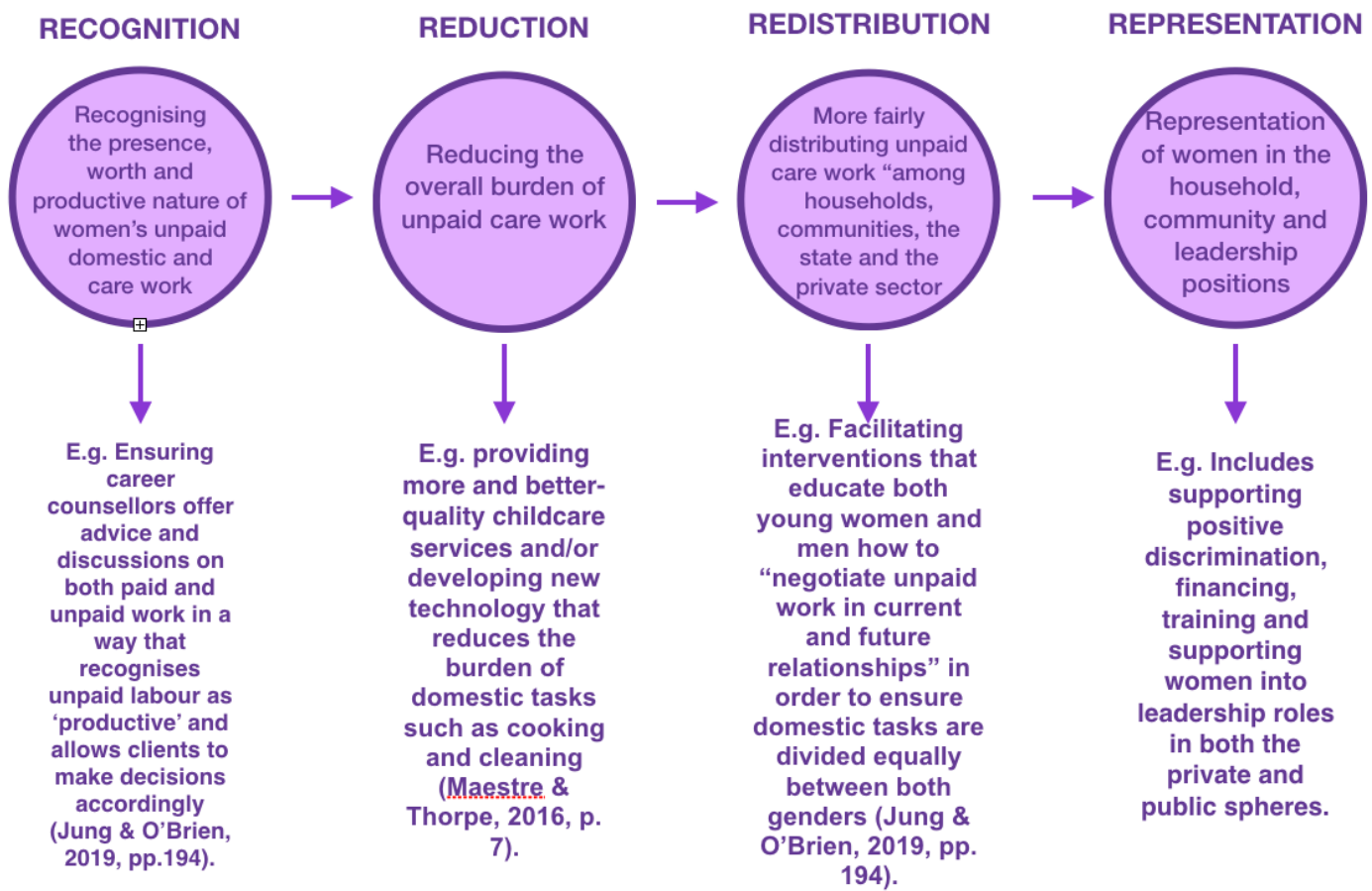
Whilst many women draw pleasure and a sense of achievement from unpaid work, the concealed, inequitable and draining nature of this labour remains problematic when adopting a feminist lens. Australian women undertake 72% of all unpaid domestic work, on average devoting 13.1 more hours per week to these tasks than Australian men (Alberiei, 2019). As has been touched on under the principles of Equal Pay (section 2.1) and Childcare (section 2.2), women's unpaid labour contributes significantly to the gender pay gap, propagates poor mental and physical health, has negative relational effects and restricts women's mobility, ultimately "perpetuating women's unequal status in society" (Maestre & Thorpe, 2016, p.4).

Gender role socialisation, cultural values, and a general lack of appreciation for care work within a neo-liberal society all work to ensure the burden of unpaid labour not only remains with women, but notably, remains "invisible" (Maestre & Thorpe, 2016, p.8). In 2016, the WGEA reported that despite not being included in GDP, "the monetary value of unpaid care work in Australia has been estimated to be $650.1 billion, the equivalent of 50.6% of GDP" (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2016, pp.3). Despite these significant contributions, not only to the maintenance of strong familial structures but additionally to national poverty reduction and economic growth, the 'invisible' nature of women's unpaid labour maintains that such contributions go both unappreciated and uncompensated.

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[4] Women's unpaid labour varies according to different contexts, however it can be broadly encapsulated through "the third-party rule of work: if a third person could hypothetically be paid to do the activity, it is considered work" (Jung & O'Brien, 2017, pp.185). This includes care work of the elderly, young, sick or disabled as well as general domestic labour such as cooking, cleaning and washing.

Although beyond the scope of this report, model 5 offers a brief analysis into how the value and inequity of women's unpaid labour may be exposed and resolved. This process is often referred to as the 4 R's; *Recognition, Reduction, Redistribution and Representation* (Maestre & Thorpe, 2016, p.5):

ADDRESSING WOMEN'S UNPAID LABOUR IN PRACTICE

RECOGNITION

Recognising the presence, worth and productive nature of women's unpaid domestic and care work

E.g. Ensuring career counsellors offer advice and discussions on both paid and unpaid work in a way that recognises unpaid labour as 'productive' and allows clients to make decisions accordingly (Jung & O'Brien, 2019, pp.194).

REDUCTION

Reducing the overall burden of unpaid care work

E.g. providing more and better-quality childcare services and/or developing new technology that reduces the burden of domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning (Maestre & Thorpe, 2016, p. 7).

REDISTRIBUTION

More fairly distributing unpaid care work "among households, communities, the state and the private sector

E.g. Facilitating interventions that educate both young women and men how to "negotiate unpaid work in current and future relationships" in order to ensure domestic tasks are divided equally between both genders (Jung & O'Brien, 2019, pp. 194).

REPRESENTATION

Representation of women in the household, community and leadership positions

E.g. Includes supporting positive discrimination, financing, training and supporting women into leadership roles in both the private and public spheres.

Model 5

Research shows that addressing unpaid labour fosters women's self-confidence and agency within communities, enhances educational outcomes, improves women's health and safety

for families, and ultimately supports gender equity more broadly (Chopra & Zambelli, 2017). As a result, it is recommended that the principle of equity be expanded to *Recognise* women's unpaid domestic and care work. Once acknowledged in the definition of Equity, Emily's List can more effectively advocate for the *Reduction* of unpaid labour, the *Redistribution* of domestic tasks and the *Representation* of women in both the private and public spheres.

> **Recommendation:**
> - Women deserve to participate equally in unpaid care work and have the economic and social value of this this labour appropriately acknowledged.

3. Current Barriers to Fulfilling the Goals of the Principles

This section outlines several challenges and barriers to achieving the goals of the principles. Specifically, the principles of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity will be explored in relation to the government's Paid Parental Leave Scheme and the ParentsNEXT framework, ultimately offering recommendations for future policy advocacy in these areas.

3.1 ParentsNext framework

The ParentsNEXT framework was established in 2016 to "help parents with children under six, plan and prepare for future study or employment" through providing training and employment plans to unemployed parents (Department of Human Services, 2019). Since its implementation, however, the program has received significant criticism, with many arguing the program is designed to punish, rather than assist parents in diverse and disadvantaged positions. With three-quarters of all participants appointed to the program being single mothers and 14,000 of the total 73,000 participants identifying as Indigenous, these claims are justified (Henriques-Gomes, 2019).

To effectively interrogate the weaknesses of this policy, I will draw on Carol Bacchi's (2009) work, ultimately asking, 'what is the problem represented to be?' in this public policy. Here, Bacchi (2009, pp.21) argues that "what one proposes to do about something reveals what one thinks is problematic and needs to change". Designing strict and inflexible 'Participation Plans' that force mother's compliance by threatening to reduce or remove their Centrelink payments reveals the government's belief that the individual's behaviour (for instance women's 'unwillingness' to get a job or increase training) is the sole problem that needs to be changed in order to improve women's workforce participation (Hermant, 2019). By problematizing women's individual behaviours, the government avoids tackling the structural issues, such as gender discrimination, poor childcare and early education services and women's unpaid domestic labour that *actually* underpin women's low workforce participation. Presented with a "catch 22", single mothers under the ParentsNEXT scheme are expected to work and yet are not provided with the resources, such as affordable and

accessible early childhood education, that are needed for many women to return to work. Because of this, ParentsNEXT is enhancing, rather than ameliorating financial strain for single mothers.

Policy is imbued with multiple social biases that seek to *produce* problems according to a specific set of beliefs and values (Bacchi, 2009). By placing individual improvement at the centre of the policy discourse, the government can justify its use of punitive mechanisms that ultimately seek to punish single mothers for averting the normative nuclear family framework. Thus, this paper recommends that Emily's List should advocate for ParentsNEXT to be voluntary.

This recommendation diverges significantly from the ALP's current policy platform for ParentsNEXT, in which the party seeks to "ease the compliance system for ParentsNEXT" (Henriques-Gomes, 2019). Thus, Emily's List will need to convince Labor MP's of the importance of taking this policy change to the next level. Making ParentsNEXT voluntary positions this scheme as a temporary measure to assist mothers whilst the structural issues underpinning women's low workforce participation, such as improving childcare services and eliminating gender discrimination, are simultaneously addressed.

Recommendations:
- Emily's List should advocate for ParentsNEXT to be made voluntary.

3.2 Paid Parental Leave

Paid parental leave includes 18 weeks of national minimum wage pay and is available for "employers who are the primary caregivers to a newborn or adopted child" (Department of Social Services, 2019). Although paid parental leave has significantly contributed to destabilising attitudes and practices that maintain women's low workforce participation, certain elements of this policy still produce obstacles to achieving the goals of the Emily's List principles of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Care, Diversity and Equity.

Gender biases are exemplified within the "dad and partner pay" section of the scheme. This states that "working dads or partners" are "eligible for up to two weeks' pay at the rate of national minimum wage" compared to the 18 weeks of 'primary caregivers' (Department of Social Services, 2019). The deliberate choice of the word 'dad' rather than simply 'partner pay' automatically positions the mother as the primary caregiver and father as the primary breadwinner. This reinforces hegemonic gender roles, aiding, rather than destabilising the supplementary-earner model touched on in section two. This language has concrete effects on working fathers. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2017), only "one in 20 Australian fathers take primary parental leave". The endemic stigmatisation of men who take paternity leave in the private sector is a major contributor to these low numbers (Crabb, 2019). Schemes such as Paid Parental Leave need to recognise how policy language can reinforce rather than challenge patriarchal values, attitudes and behaviours surrounding traditional gender roles.

It is also recommended that Emily's List take actions to develop a paid parental leave policy that extends beyond the newborn stage of parenting. To efficiently work towards closing the gender pay gap, mums *and* dads must have access to Paid Parental Leave until their children become legally independent. This includes during school holidays and must be sensitive to a diverse range of contexts, for example, providing parents of disabled children with the flexibility necessary to attend frequent medical appointments. In today's economy, where a one-income household is no longer sufficient, it is clear the 'juggle struggle' that is, juggling domestic labour, caring duties and paid work is having a significant toll on families and in particular, women (Bowers, 2015). Paid parental leave must be updated to fulfil the goals of the Emily's List's principles of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity.

These recommendations will work to normalise the role of fathers as caregivers and destabilise entrenched gender roles that currently maintain the gender pay gap. These recommendations diverge quite significantly from the ALP's current policy platform for Paid Parental Leave, in which the party seeks to increase paid leave for primary carers from 18 to 26 weeks and extend the policy to two years unpaid parental leave (Labor National Platform, 2018, pp.95). Thus, Emily's List will need to both engage the public and work internally to promote enthusiasm for these policy changes within the ALP.

Recommendations:
- Emily's List should advocate to eliminate 'dad and partner pay' in favour of 'partner pay'.
- Advocate for paid parental leave to be extended beyond the stages of newborn parenting.

4. How to Overcome Current Barriers to Fulfilling the Goals of the Principles

The present structure of the Paid Parental Leave scheme and ParentsNEXT framework are preventing the goals of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity from being achieved. *How* Emily's List can change these policies will be explored through three social movement theories that show how to *attract*, *engage* and convince the secondary audience (voters, media and corporations) and thereby influence the primary target audience (politicians) to take viable *action* towards social change (Unsicker, 2013, pp.31-32).

Being a partisan organisation and with the electoral defeat of the ALP in the 2019 federal election, Emily's List is not currently in a position to directly advocate for legislative change to a receptive primary audience. Thus, the organisation must mobilise the secondary target audience, in this case, the community, who can exercise their electoral power to pressure the conservative government into designing gender-equal policies that better reflect the values of the population.
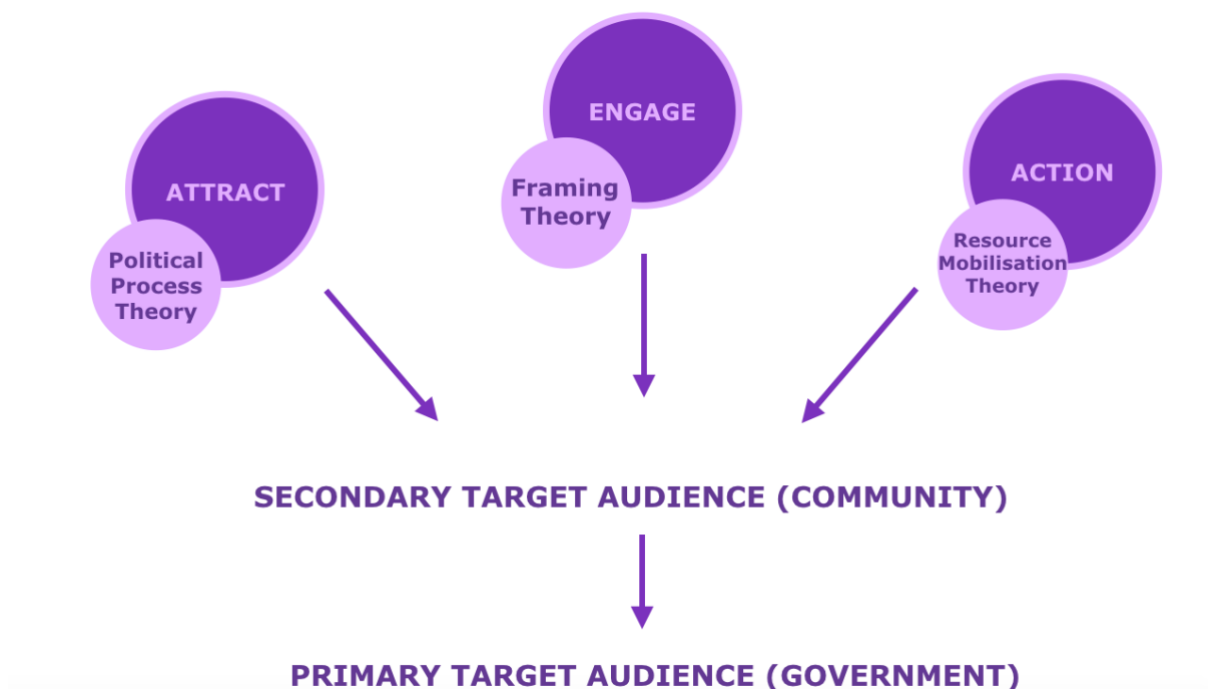
Model 6

4.1   Political Process Theory (PPT)

4.1.1 Political Opportunities

According to PTT, once a strong sense of grievance and injustice has been recognised amongst a collective, the success of social change relies on making the most of 'Political Opportunities' (Grosser & McCarthy, 2018, pp.1105-1107). This theory offers valuable insight into the best time to *'attract the attention'* of the target audiences, however for this insight to be gained Emily's List must be sensitive to the weaknesses of this theory.

Traditionally, political opportunities represent a vulnerability in the current political system that allows advocates to more easily alter the status quo. These opportunities commonly include electoral uncertainty, disunion within a political party, increased political pluralism and/or a rise in political enfranchisement (Cragun et al, 2014, pp.233-234).

Gender quotas in the Labor party is an example of a successful social movement that developed from a clear political opportunity. Here the opportunity was formed through Labor's defeat in the 1975 federal election, that ultimately led the party to reassess how its under-representation of women could be limiting voter support (McCann, 2013, pp.12-13). This provided feminist advocates with an opportunity to attract attention to affirmative action, resulting in what now stands to be a successful gender quota of 50% female representation by 2025 within the ALP preselected candidates (Status of Women Report, 2015, pp.2).

4.2.2 Weaknesses of PPT

PPT has been criticised for "ignoring the cultural factors that might be strong enough to mitigate the effect of political factors" (Grosser & McCarthy, 2018, pp.1107). For instance, although the postal vote produced conditions that allowed for the success of the Marriage Equality movement, one cannot isolate this from the decades of cultural pressure by the LGBTIQ+ community that potentially *caused* this political opportunity (Rugg, 2019). Thus, it would be detrimental to ignore the historical role of past advocates and the presence of

cultural shifts that provide additional opportunities for attracting attention to a need for social change.

PPT has also been criticised for viewing political opportunities as consistently favourable for social movement groups (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Case in point, the postal vote did not favour the LGBTIQ+ community and was highly detrimental, resulting in a homophobic 'No Vote Campaign' that demonised LGBTIQ+ communities and families (Rugg, 2019). As a result, the LGBTIQ+ community did not choose to take up this political opportunity but was rather forced into participating by a conservative government. Ultimately PPT does not recognise that such political opportunities are often not desired, nor work in favour of marginalised communities.

Additionally, not all political opportunities depend on whether the political system is vulnerable or strong but can instead emerge from everyday political dealings (Bevington, 2005). For instance, political opportunities under the Big Steps campaign often involved holding politicians accountable for their uneducated comments surrounding early childhood education (T. Hicks, personal communication, September 10, 2019). When Prime Minister Scott Morrison accused early childhood education of being a "money pit", the Big Steps campaign issued a public statement on social media stating:

"Early education is an investment in our future – not a 'money pit'. This is a government who has never valued the positive benefits of early education" (Big Steps Campaign, 2019).

Here, the campaign "issued a challenge" to the government and used this opportunity to attract the public's attention to the insufficient value placed on early childhood education (Grosser & McCarthy, 2018).

Ultimately when these weaknesses are accounted for, Emily's List will be able to better identify various political opportunities, be better equipped to deal with adversity derived from them and be better able to pair cultural change with different political opportunities. This will allow Emily's List to understand the best time to *'attract attention'* to the inadequacies of ParentsNEXT and Paid Parental Leave, thereby better positioning the organisation to fulfil the goals of the principles of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity.

Emily's List needs to:
- Acknowledge the importance of political opportunities for *attracting* the attention of the secondary target audience.
- Understand the role of culture in producing political opportunities.
- Recognise and prepare for political opportunities that do not favour the desired outcomes of the campaign.
- Identify and take advantage of the 'small-scale' political opportunities that do not depend on the weaknesses of the entire political system.

4.2 Framing Theory

According to Snow and Benford, (1992, pp.137) social movements adopt certain frames to "resonate or fit" with the values of their target audiences. Framing is essential for *'engaging'* both the primary and secondary target audiences (Aaker, 2010).

Sally Rugg (2019, pp.142), the Executive Director of Change.org, highlights that the 'No' campaign deliberately framed their opposition to marriage equality through placing 'children', rather than 'sin', at the centre of their campaign frame. The notion that children would be harmed without a mum *and* a dad, "tapped into generations of engineered social panic regarding LGBTIQ people and children" (Rugg, 2019, pp.14). Similarly, the Big Step's campaign used the mantra "value our future" as a frame to highlight the role early education plays in promoting national productivity, economic prosperity and social benefits, thereby appealing to the neo-liberal government that is currently in power (Big Steps Campaign, 2019).

Importantly however, Tamika Hicks, Manager and Founder of the Big Steps Campaign, highlights the need to adjust frames according to different contexts and audiences and underscores the role that failing to do so had in the flop of the campaign's goal for Labor to win the 2019 election (T. Hicks, personal communication, October 10, 2019). The Yes campaign was more apt at dealing with this, highlighting that whilst the overarching frame of

fairness called on Australia's culture of having a 'fair-go', more conservative audiences were delivered the frame of 'commitment' that fit exclusively with conventional values:

"The institution of marriage is the foundation of our society – every couple should be able to commit to one another" (Rugg, 2019, pp.143)*.*

In campaigning for changes to ParentsNEXT and Paid Parental Leave, Emily's List will need to pay particular attention to these contextual nuances. Ultimately, the act of 'framing' is essential for policy advocacy as it "develops a clear philosophy to ensure consensus", resulting in a larger secondary audience base and which is harder for those in power to ignore (Hollands & Vail, 2012, pp.30).

Emily's List needs to:
- Acknowledge the importance of framing a campaign message for *engaging* the secondary target audience.
- Be flexible to develop frames that are sensitive to different contexts and audiences.

4.3   Resource Mobilisation Theory

Resource mobilisation theory argues that getting the public to successfully *take action* is dependent upon access to, and manipulation of, resources such as time, volunteers, skills, money and campaign tactics (Grosser & McCarthy, 2018, pp.1108-1109). Emily's List can draw on coalition building and social media to ensure the organisation is employing a variety of different activisms. This will better mobilise the secondary audience to *take action* towards

tackling the weaknesses within Paid Parental Leave and ParentsNEXT, thereby fulfilling the goals of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Care, Diversity and Equity.

4.3.1   Different Types of Activism

To mobilise resources in a way that produces the most effective action, organisations need to understand that successful social movements rely on a variety of different types of activism, all of which serve "different purposes at different times" (Rugg, 2019, pp.211).

Different forms of activism are exemplified in Model 7. Activism that is highly controlled with low levels of disruption includes something that is very much approved by those in power, such as a Breast Cancer Awareness Campaign parliamentary morning tea. Tactics that sit in the upper left-hand quadrant may include asking Emily's List members to send a letter to their local MP regarding a specific cause. This is minimally disruptive, although, Emily's List as a central body, has little control over what these members will write to their local MP's (Rugg, 2019, pp.212).

The lower right quadrant includes activism like France's Yellow Vest Movement. Here, there was high civil disruption and minimal levels of centralised control, with people acting off their collective anger rather than an organised strategy (McAuley, 2019). An example of activism in the lower right quadrant is the 2016 canoe protest that saw 1500 people from Australia and the South Pacific take to the sea to halt mining ships (Davidson, 2014). This protest required high levels of strategic control to both organise and keep protestors safe but

was deeply disapproved of by both mining corporations and the government as both disruptive and reckless (Rugg, 2019, pp.212).
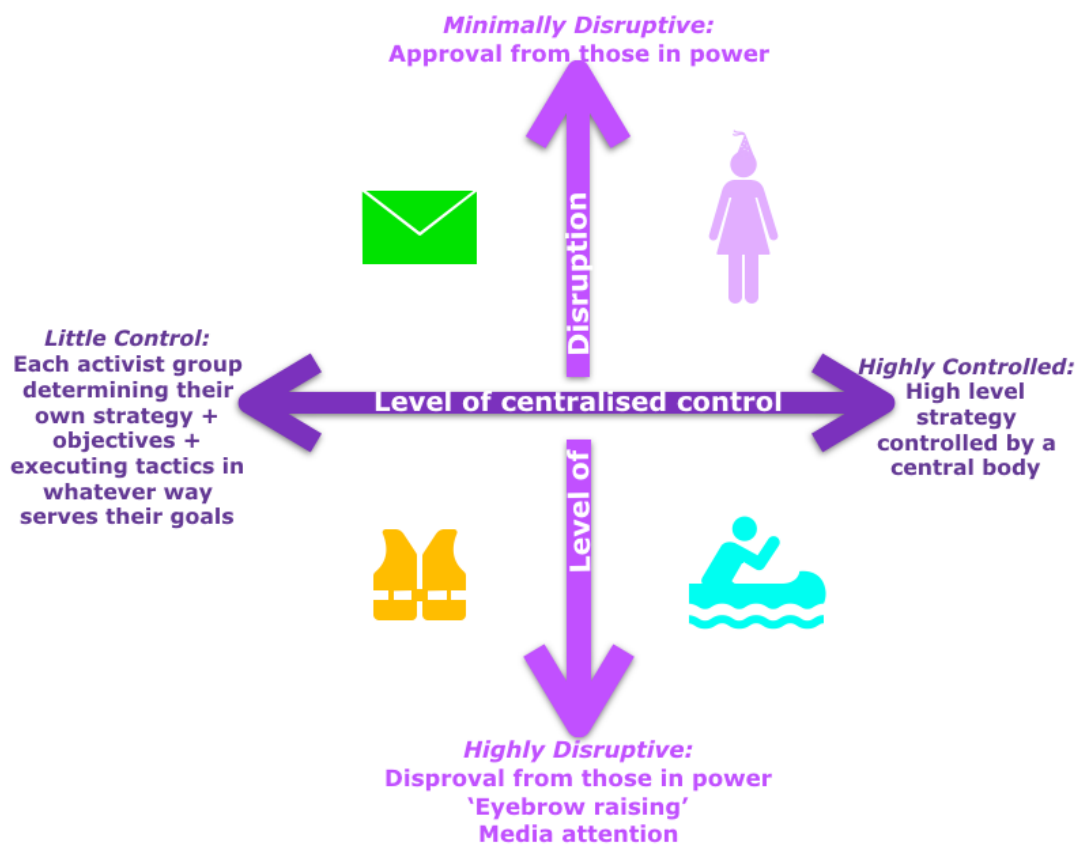
Model 7

High levels of centralised control are essential for developing a clear strategy with a strong articulation of a campaign's vision and goals. Whereas low levels of centralised control may result in messy and ineffective strategy, this remains vital for ensuring the bulk of the work is distributed, ensuring "limitless people can apply their talent and time to work towards the goals and values that bring strategy to life" (Rugg, 2019, pp.213). High levels of disruption such as demonstrations and walk-offs are vital for awareness-raising and for "energising the community", however, are unlikely to effectively change the hearts and minds of conservative MP's (Rugg, 2019, pp.214). Alternatively, low levels of disruption that employ "evidence-

based education", such as working *with* members of the bureaucracy, are significantly more effective for changing the ingrained values of those in power (Briscoe et al. 2016). This is exhibited through the Big Step's Campaign (T. Hicks, personal communication, October 12, 2019):

Axis of Centralised Control:

→ **High levels of centralised control** for strategy making, resulting in a clear goal to assist Labor, who supported equal pay for early childhood educators, to win the 2019 federal election.

→ **Decentralise the bulk of the work.** The campaign encouraged members of the public to write letters to their local MP's and divided the workload amongst several coalition partners such as Early Childcare Australia, Australian Childcare Alliance and Child Care for Children. They additionally used social media to produce a "blitz" of information throughout Australian childcare centres and TAFES.

Axis of Disruption:

→ **Highly disruptive techniques**, including early educators 'walk-offs' that raised awareness for parents and the public and energised early childhood educators to speak up against occupational segregation.

→ **Minimally disruptive activism**. The campaign worked in alliance with those in power by supporting "MP visits" and "Leader Events" that stressed the economic and social benefits of improving pay for early childhood educators.

Being a partisan organisation, Emily's List often favours techniques that include working with those in power, rather than highly disruptive techniques that may harm the legitimacy of Emily's List ALP candidates. As a result, the organisation must look to coalition building and social media campaigns to ensure disruptive campaign strategies are still being employed to energise the community to take worthwhile action.

Recommendations:
- Develop strategy that is exclusively controlled by Emily's List to ensure clarity and purpose
- The bulk of the campaign work is decentralised through mobilising coalition groups, social media, Emily's List members and volunteers.
- As a partisan organisation, Emily's List is limited to low levels of disruptive activism and should reserve these tactics for working collaboratively with those in power.
- Coalition members are essential for producing disruptive activism that raises public awareness.

4.3.2 Coalition Building

As a partisan organisation, taking disruptive action that is disapproved by those in power, may be harmful to Emily's List's ultimate objective of achieving more ALP women representatives in parliament during election time. Nevertheless, disruptive techniques are essential for raising public awareness and inspiring passion within communities to take viable steps towards social change (Rugg, 2019, pp.80). Coalitions must, therefore, be established to both decentralise the bulk of advocacy work for Emily's List and in doing so, adopt the responsibility of producing disruptive tactics.

Rugg (2019, pp.86) talks of the importance of engaging a large platform of actors in contributing to the success of the Yes Campaign:

"GetUp would bring the tech, the Equality Campaign would bring the brand, the unions would bring the community-organising oomph […] Whether it was political lobbying, legal work, media and communications or organising protests, our power was derived from people with different areas of expertise working together".

To achieve the ambitions of Equal Pay and Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity, it is recommended that Emily's List target coalition members who are already involved in advocating for policy change around ParentsNEXT and Paid Parental Leave.

For example, potential coalition members for changing ParentsNEXT may include:

- Parents Against ParentsNEXT
- Jobs Australia
- SNAICC National Voice for Our Children
- The Council of Single Mothers
- Human Rights Law Centre

These partners are essential for decentralising the workload by bringing a diversity of strengths to the campaign. The Council of Single Mothers and SNAICC will represent the

diverse voices of those most affected by the scheme, that is, single mothers and Indigenous parents (Tuffield, 2019). Working alongside these two groups Parents Against ParentsNEXT can employ several disruptive tactics such as organising protests and/or appointment boycotts (Parents Against ParentsNEXT, 2019). Having already spoken out against the scheme, Jobs Australia, as a service provider, wields significant internal influence for bolstering collaborative activism tactics (Henriques-Gomes, 2018). The Human Rights Law Centre has also expressed concern regarding the scheme's infringement of Australia's obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and would be valuable in highlighting legal discontinuities within this scheme (Human Rights Law Centre, 2019).

Each of these actors is necessary for both ensuring Emily's List can decentralise the bulk of the activism work, whilst also ensuring a variety of activisms are employed in a way that most effectively prompts both target audiences to take action.

Coalition Difficulties

Within feminist coalitions there is a tendency to produce an image of unity, however often, such attempts homogenise women's diverse experiences in a way that suppresses the voices of those doubly marginalised by the status quo. Ultimately policy advocacy will only be effective if it avoids "glossing over the important differences in people's lives" (Cole & Luna, 2010, pp.87).

Thus, in forming these coalitions, Emily's List must understand the potential presence of conflicting ideologies and consider divides that may exist between coalition members based on a history of power and privilege. For instance, historical and current tensions between white feminism and Indigenous rights groups must be acknowledged when working with Indigenous-led groups such as SNAICC.[5] Feminist theorist Holly Jeanine Boux (2016, pp.3) highlights that coalitions must embrace and "engage with conflicting goals" over attempting to produce a "false unity". Ultimately it is pivotal to remember that often issues are not exclusively feminist but also cultural, ethnic and socio-economic.

Additionally, some organisations may be reluctant to work with Emily's List due to the organisation's affiliation with the ALP. This affiliation may disrupt the agendas of certain organisations who must remain bipartisan to further their advocacy goals. Forming 'silent' coalitions that are not announced publicly must be considered as a method for overcoming this difficulty.

Emily's List needs to:
- Acknowledge the importance of forming coalitions for decentralising the bulk of the activism.
- Acknowledge that coalition members are essential for producing disruptive activism that energises the community to *take action.*
- Be sensitive to and address the cultural, political and historical power imbalances that may arise within coalitions.
- Consider the value of 'silent' coalitions.

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[5] For example, the historical role of white feminists in separating Indigenous children from their families must be acknowledged as a potential site of mistrust between these two groups (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, pp.154).

4.3.3 Taking Action through Social Media

Whilst Emily's List does not have the resources to produce public action through disruptive tactics, it can employ social media in a way that actively mobilizes the community and continues to decentralize the bulk of the advocacy work in a non-disruptive manner. Aaker (2010) stresses that social media is essential for developing a sense of community and providing a "platform that others can add to, take from and alter" autonomously, thereby empowering the secondary target audience to take substantial action with little disruptive intervention by Emily's List.

1) Easy

Emily's List needs to acknowledge that members of today's society are extremely time poor. The Yes Campaign was well aware of this. They disseminated a clear and easy request throughout their social media platforms, asking community members to "*put the yes vote with their keys and drop it off on their way to work*" (Rugg, 2019, pp.101). In advocating to change Paid Parental Leave and ParentsNEXT, Emily's List could design easy tasks such as providing followers with a pre-written template of an email they can send to their local MP's. By designing a straight-forward request, advocates can ensure busy individuals can contribute to the campaign's goals in the easiest possible way.

Further, research highlights that "small goals" leads people to "more ambitious behaviors, often without bigger intervention" (Aaker 2010). Asking Emily's List followers to share a status may lead them to engage in a rally organized by one of the coalition members, thereby decentralizing the bulk of activism work and supporting a diversity of activisms.

2) Fun

According to Aaker (2010), "gameplay, competition, humor and rewards" can be used through social media to empower others to take action. Same-sex marriage activist and Sex Worker, Gala advertised that if her clients delivered her their YES vote, she would provide her usual services topless with no additional fee (Rugg, 2019, pp.208-210). Gala took to social media to deliver this message.

Emily's List may advertise the annual Polka Dot Ball through social media, basing the theme on an Emily's List Principle that corresponds to a relevant area of policy advocacy (e.g. for ParentsNEXT the theme may be Childcare or Equal Pay). In the month leading up to the event, Emily's List could present quizzes regarding current debates, news, and policies on Childcare or Equal Pay through the organization's Facebook page. Whoever participates the most in these online 'competitions' could receive an award during the Polka Dot Ball, thereby raising funds for the organization and spreading public awareness of an issue. Making a social media campaign fun is essential for better engaging and therefore empowering followers to take more active steps towards achieving an advocacy goal (Aaker 2010).

3) Tailored

Aaker (2010) highlights that "People gravitate to programs in which they perceive they are uniquely advantaged to have a disproportionate impact". The Big Step's Campaign does

this by using the 'top fan' algorithm to award the most active Big Step's Facebook members. It is also essential to keep followers up to date regarding even the smallest successes in policy advocacy (T. Hicks, personal communication, September 10, 2019). By employing both the 'top fan' tactic and keeping followers informed of the latest advocacy achievements Emily's List can ensure people feel like they have a comparative advantage at *actually* making social change occur, thereby encouraging them to pursue further action and spread the word.

Social media assists in decentralizing the bulk of advocacy work by providing followers with a platform to autonomously engage with a cause and allows Emily's List to garner public *action* without causing disruption.

Emily's List needs to:
- Design social media campaigns that are *fun*, *tailored* and provide an *easy* request for action.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, this report aims to outline how Emily's List can achieve its purpose as a political organisation by fulfilling the goals of its five principles. This has focussed primarily on the principles of Equal Pay, Childcare, Diversity and Equity and has demonstrated that such principles shape *what* programs Emily's List should target in federal policy and *how* to best push these changes through a conservative government.

For Emily's List to continue to produce successful policy advocacy, the principles of Childcare and Equal Pay need to be expanded to reflect the role of gender discrimination in the workplace, the impact of occupational segregation and the unequal distribution of caring roles in the private sphere. Under the principle of Diversity, the term sexuality must be expanded, different types of diversity must be identified, equality should be changed to equity and self-determination, rather than reconciliation, should be supported. Lastly, the presence and burden of women's unpaid labour should be acknowledged under the principle of Equity.

To fulfil the ambitions of these principles, it is recommended that Emily's List advocates for ParentsNEXT to become voluntary and pushes to both extend Paid Parental Leave past the newborn phase of parenting and alter language surrounding 'dad and partner pay'. These changes will assist in helping mother's deal with the 'juggle struggle', normalise the earner-carer model and contribute to closing the gender pay gap in Australian society.

Demonstrating how these policy changes can be accomplished, this report drew on social movement theory to outline how to *attract*, *engage* and prompt *action* from the secondary target audiences in a way that fulfils the Emily's List principles of Equal Pay, Early Childhood Education and Childcare, Diversity and Equity.

Ultimately, Emily's List must expand their principles in line with current feminist theory, debates and discussions to inform worthwhile policy that improves women's rights in Australian society. The recommendations outlined in this paper give insight into how the organisation can do this in regard to boosting the financial equality of women, enhancing

female workforce participation and closing the gender pay gap, all of which will contribute to

a fairer, more gender-equitable Australian society.

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