

## Sexism and the Cartoonists' Licence

### Abstract

Australian cartoonists are occasionally criticised for using sexist stereotypes in their caricatures of women politicians. A few years ago, Labor's current Deputy Leader, Jenny Macklin, was scathing in her criticism of the way cartoonists depicted Meg Lees during her negotiations with Prime Minister Howard over the passage of the GST during 1999 and the defection of Cheryl Kernot to the ALP in 1997. A number of cartoons, particularly those by Bill Leak and Mark Knight, implied that it was Lees and Kernot's *sexual* persona rather than their capacity for rational argument that won over the male politicians with whom they dealt. This article focuses on the predominately middle aged Australian male editorial cartoonists' who grapple with developing suitable caricatures of women politician and asks whether sexist stereotypes tend to define their work.

## Sexism and the Cartoonists' Licence

Are the cartoons below offensive and demeaning to the women politicians they depict? Labor's current deputy leader, Jenny Macklin, argues they are and has chastised cartoonists for their lack of imagination and frequent use of sexist caricatures.



**Cartoon 1**

Senator Meg Lees with the Prime Minister  
Mark Knight, Herald Sun, 29 May 1999



**Cartoon 2**

Senator Meg Lees holding the "whip hand" with the Prime Minister Bill Leak, The Weekend Australian, 22-23 May 1999



**Cartoon 3**

Cheryl Kernot in bed with Labor leader Beazley and his deputy, Evans

Bill Leak, *The Weekend Australian*, 18-19 October 1997

Over the last decade or so increasing numbers of women entered our parliaments, made their mark as ministers, a couple became state premiers and, in general, wielded legislative power with sufficient frequency to become household names. Not surprisingly cartoonists felt cause to comment on the virtues, or otherwise, of their actions and, in so doing, brought to bare the full brunt of their craft upon those not used to it. The nub of the following discussion concerns assessing whether or not Macklin and her supporters are really rather thin skinned or, do they have a case against cartoonists who are mainly male, and middle aged to boot. The question is, should cartoonists enjoy a 'licence' to draw and comment outside the standards of censorship which govern official public or private sector publications?

On the face of it, is not difficult to see how some cartoons offended some feminists, many of whom perceive the 1990s more generally as involving a 'backlash' against the women's movement. Jenny Macklin is hardly alone in her disgust with what she sees as cheap sexist stereotyping which fails to see 'the politician that is the woman'. The desire to censor those who offend us is common enough, and not always without some merit, but when women politicians ask for special treatment at the hands of the cartoonists they undermine the wider claim to equality of treatment (Eveline and Booth 1997: 116). Cartoonists' lampooning of politicians, male or female, is quintessentially about cutting those who wield power down to size; to remind the powerful that they are one of us, afterall. The problem for those who seek some form of conscious self censorship from cartoonists who grapple with caricatures and punchlines for the female parliamentary subject is that they risk belittling women polities by implying that they are fragile, to 'thin-skinned' and

always likely to struggle at playing the ‘man's game’ of politics. The purpose here is to show that while sexist cartoons appear from time to time they are not so prevalent and nor are they limited to superficial interpretation, something Macklin and her supporters seem to ready to utter.

What makes some political cartoons provocative? In my view the best cartoons help us find the kernel of truth in what otherwise appears as the inexplicable or perplexing actions of our political leaders. Finding the “truth” may indeed be hurtful, as Patti Miller points out it often involves censuring behaviour and attitudes ‘through the powerful force of ridicule, or “laughing with knives”’ (Miller 2002). Libel laws may quell a journalist’s spirit but drawing blood is a licence cartoonists must enjoy if their art is to have integrity and purpose. It’s often said that they are the modern day court jesters ‘set apart by their licence to mock the king’ (Seymore-Ure 1997: 2) and as Joan Kerr points out, “What black and white artists throughout the ages have had in common is ‘not from the maleness, whiteness or gloominess, but a missionary zeal to show us as we are, warts and all — indeed, warts above all — in ways that we all understand and appreciate’ (Kerr 1999: 78). If the political kings have bled for years at the cartoonists’ hands why should the emergent queens be granted special immunity?

Metaphor, stereotype and archetype all play a part in defining political cartoons. Political cartoonists use metaphor in an effort to strike an immediate chord with their audience and to help drive home their message stereotypes and archetypes fill their frames. Not surprisingly relationships forged in the bedroom feature prominently when cartoonists try to capture instantly the essence of a political deal or

cover up. Whether bedroom scenarios render stereotypes or archetypes is open to interpretation, but it is clearly a site rich with metaphors playing on lust and sexual guile, insecurities and peccadilloes and, of course, power relations. Stereotypes tend to play on hazy assumptions about the subject's identity in a light hearted manner and is always instantly recognisable. On the other hand archetypes, while overlapping in some respects with stereotypes, tend to conjure something more by referring to something universal about human relationships. They refer to recurring mythological motifs, images and psychic instincts of the human species that may be symbolically elaborated in various ways. Cartoonist with *The Australian*, Bill Leak, defends himself in part by suggesting that his images and caricatures rely more on archetypal connotations than mere cheap sexist stereotypes. In a moment I'll look more closely at his case, and some cartoons, but first a brief pause to consider what might constitute a sexist cartoon.

Sexist caricature of women involves the use of stereotypes which are, by any public and recognised standard, rooted in false and oppressive assumptions concerning female behaviour. Invariably such false assumptions prompt discriminatory social attitudes and foster stereotypes which demean women via appeal to their gender rather than reference to the position they may hold, or potentially hold, within a social grouping, political party or institution. Sexist cartoons are, therefore, those focused squarely on some aspects of a woman politician's gender, rather than a demonstrable character flaw or physical feature worthy of exaggeration and ridicule. In general, sexist stereotyping may occur when it depicts, in derogatory manner, motherhood, housewifery, obsessive dress/fashion consciousness or when sexual, rather than, strategic political guile is used to gain political advantage. In effect it is

not fair play to poke fun at women politicians via implied sexual or romantic temptations. To a point this is reasonable and certainly in the past gender stereotypes often saw male politicians depicted in cross dress as women. In such instances the feminine 'roles' equate with political weakness or failure. For example, at the time of Australian federation and the first national government it was commonplace for cartoonists to cast doubts upon political leaders' masculinity by drawing them as housewives, midwives, nurses, washer women and in various states of cross dress (Castle and Pringle 1993:138 and Sawyer 2002: 3-4). Cartoon 4 depicts Australia's first Prime Minister, Edmund Barton, as maternal housewife with the clear implication drawing him as a woman denotes ridicule.



**Cartoon 4**  
 Prime Minister Edmund Barton  
 Hop, The Bulletin 1900 (King 1978:83)

Under the head line ‘Polka dots to GST spots: a woman's life in Politics Ink’, *The Age* reported Jenny Macklin's charge and in similar vein the, *The Australian*, ‘Sexist cartoonists given the whip hand (Macklin 1999 and MacDonald 1999). Before too long the issue spread with feature articles appearing on the op-ed pages (Sullivan 1999). The passage below taken from Macklin's (1999a) press release captures the flavour of the debate.

I can't believe, that after all this time, our cartoonists cannot take women in politics seriously.

They are fixated on sexual imagery when they draw women in power and seem incapable of seeing beyond female archetypes: Joan Kirner [Victorian State Premier] was the frumpy house wife, Cheryl Kernot [former Democrat leader] was the bride seduced, and now we have Senator Lees [Democrat leader at the time] depicted as a prostitute.

The sheer volume of images that depict Senator Lees in an overt sexual situation is extraordinary.

She went on to say that while ‘some of the drawings display elements of humour and allegory’ they overall ‘paint a sorry picture about the inability of our political satirists to see the politician that is the woman’ (Macklin 1999). Ron Tandberg, respected cartoonist with *The Age* concurred, saying, ‘I think women have got reason to be angry about the way they are portrayed. When cartoonists go on to GST spots and things like that (they) have nothing to say’ (Tandberg cited in MacDonald 1999). The Lees GST spot and whip hand cartoons refer to the power Lees commanded as leader of the Democrats during the passage of the Howard government's Goods and Services Tax (the GST) through the Senate. With Labor implacably opposed, the government required support from Australian Democrats. By forcing the government to water down unpopular elements of the tax Lees, as the newly appointed Democrats leader, was able to stamp her authority on the party. For Leak, and



most commentators, it appeared that Lees did indeed hold metaphorically speaking, 'the whip hand', as cartoons 2 and 5 vividly indicate.



### Cartoon 5

Senator Meg Lees with a belligerent Prime Minister during the GST negotiations.  
Bill Leak, The Weekend Australian, May 1999

Not amused, Macklin bemoaned the fact that 'yet again most of our cartoonists have displayed a limited and narrow view of senior women in politics'. Her main points were that cartoonists have a limited and unimaginative view of senior women in politics and that they frequently stereotyped women as housewives and objects male sexual gratification. In a nutshell, her complaint is that while it is true that male politicians are also trivialised and often mercilessly so, she feels that there is far less variety of caricature when it comes to cartoonists' depiction of women politicians.

So far this year we have seen the Prime Minister depicted as lifeguard, poet, cat, professor, Very Small Man, sun bather, Darth Vader, jockey –

many of these *in relation to* the GST. A similar range of imagery might just as easily be applied to women (Macklin 1999).

Leak chose to defend himself, and by extension, many of his colleagues, first in writing and then more belligerently using his craft. The latter - cartoon 6 – while predicable as a larrikin response to Macklin undoubtedly undermined, in the minds of some, the strength of his written defence.



**Cartoon 6**

Jenny Macklin lampooned.  
Bill Leak, *The Weekend Australian*, 22-23 May 1999

Patti Miller reports of her interviews with many Australian cartoonists that Leak 'is the only one who states without hesitation that he would not self-censor on any topic, although he says he would approach with trepidation the trinity of church, feminism and gun control because 'lobbyists or activists in each of these have no sense of humour'' (Miller 2002: 18 and Turner 2000: 213-226). Accordingly, Leak is

among the more strident cartoonists and it comes as no surprise to find that Leak is well schooled in defending himself. Defending his caricatures of Lees and Kernot Leak argues he uses appropriate metaphors for the power relations which with Lees depicts her as the dominant partner. While conceding that some may see sexual stereotypes at work they should also see that the roles portrayed are essentially of equal partners to a political deal. He observed that it's common place for cartoonists to exaggerate physical features and wryly notes that no one complained about his caricatures of portly Senator Mal Colston who he drew bigger and uglier than 'Jabba the Hutt' (Leak 1999 also see Grombrich 1978 on physiognomic caricature). Obviously bemused by the fuss, Leak points out that some women politicians purchase and display his cartoons; for example, dominatrix Lees adorns her office.

How should we view Leak's depiction of Lees as dominatrix? If we perceive sexism at work then Lees becomes a prostitute who enjoys momentary power when dealing with a powerful man who has paid for the service. Clearly the image is sexist if we assume Howard has paid for the 'pleasure' but equally valid is the view that these cartoons could refer to a private arrangement between two lovers or 'players' where Lees is clearly in control; relaxed and enjoying herself greatly. On the other hand, the cartoonist may be pointing out that Lees prostituted her party's principled opposition to the GST in return for recognition of her leadership. Yet it is also possible that Leak may be trying to say something much more about the Prime Minister - his impotence perhaps. It is not uncommon for Leak to ridicule the PM, for example, confronted by the Hanson phenomenon we find a PM both impotent and uncertain in bed with Pauline (National Museum, 1998, pages 4 and 40). Human sexual relationships present many possible archetypal metaphors which are likely to

strike immediate chords of recognition and perhaps should not be so readily construed as sexist stereotyping.

Lets briefly look at some cartoons of two prominent 1990s women politicians, Joan Kirner and Cheryl Kernot. The website accompanying the article is also important for it presents additional cartoons dealing Carmen Lawrence's dilemmas over the so-called 'Easton Affair', Ros Kelly's 'sports-rorts affair', Bronwyn Bishop's leadership ambitions and Pauline Hanson's foray into politics.<sup>1</sup>

Joan Kirner became Premier of Victoria in August 1990 when the premier elect John Cain resigned over a series of failures in the finance sector. She inherited a political nightmare and the cartoonists reveled in their depictions of an embattled Premier, but it was their focus on Kirner's appearance that drew the ire of many feminists. According to Elizabeth van Acker, Kirner endured an unrelenting array of offensive caricatures that either focussed on her physical appearance or presented her as a housewife baffled and out of her depth (van Acker 1999: 152). For her part Joan Kirner expressed particular dislike toward *Sun Herald* cartoonist Geoffrey Hook's frequent depiction of her in a polka dot dress (cartoons 7 and 8), a garment she pointed out she'd never worn (Kirner & Rayner 1999: 95 ). Hook's caricatures certainly convey a sense of ridicule regarding Kirner's credentials to lead her State but are these examples of sexist stereotyping? Cartoonist with the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*, Cathy Wilcox, offers some particularly useful insights into the matter. She observed how women are generally quite sensitive when it comes to caricature, especially over their appearance. As a young cartoonist she recalls losing a lot of

---

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/politics/cartoons.htm> . Archived at the Flinders University Library are the hard copy reproductions of the cartoons and accompanying commentary.



girlfriends due to her caricatures and that while 'It might be a terribly sexist thing to say' it is fact that 'physical beauty is so prized among women, anything that undermines that is likely to hit harder than for men' (cited in Este: 1999). Mindful of this she says that 'while I would cartoon on any topic, I sometimes notice I am reluctant to go in hard on women politicians who are already copping enough' (cited in Miller 2002: 18). While Hook's polka dots are not particularly clever they do convey a clown like disposition, a method common in what Grombrich terms, 'the cartoonist's armoury' (Grombrich 1978, also see Seymour-Ure 1997).



#### Cartoon 8

Premier Kirner depicted here with Prime Minister, Hawke and Treasurer, Keating negotiating the state's debt problems.

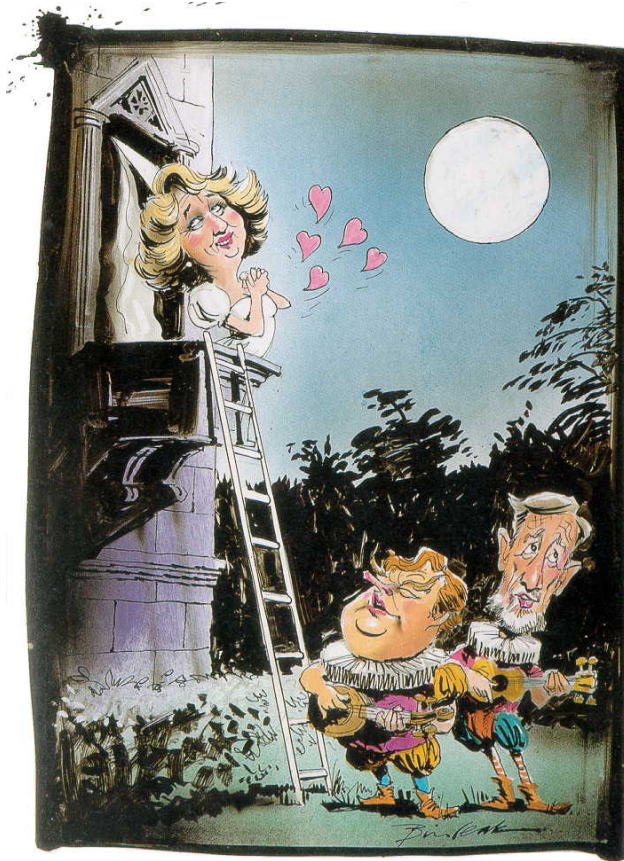
Jeff Hook, *Herald Sun* 4 March 1991

It is reported that when Kirner asked Hook why he drew the polka dot dress he replied with references to other politicians, 'Well, Mrs Kirner, I know how to draw Henry Bolte, and I know how to draw Bob Hawke, or John Cain, or Paul Keating, but I've never had to draw a woman in power before and I don't know how to draw you (Hook cited by Kirner and Rayner 1999: 95). This honest admission of difficulty derives from the obvious fact that few women have occupied positions of power and it should not be construed somehow as an admission that his cartoons are sexist. The point at issue concerns cartoonists' endeavours to diminish the importance of prominent persons by presenting them as ordinary or foolish. Such diminishment of a politician's stature seems to be the best interpretation of Kirner in polka dots. Well known in this regard is the example of *The Guardian's* cartoonist Stephen Bell's caricatures of former British Prime Minister John Major. Bell often drew Major with Y-front underpants worn outside his trousers because, as Bell explains, the 'underpants are simply a metaphor for uselessness...I was looking at his record in office hitherto. It was a sorry tale of non-achievement...so I drew him as a crap Superman (cited in Seymour-Ure 1997: 15). Notwithstanding his admission of difficulty drawing Kirner, Hook's caricatures seem to follow the same thread, they question the leader of a party that had lost its way and making the leader look foolish was fair game. A case may be put that this is unfair but, at the time, many Victorians, probably shared Hook's sentiment.

While Hook's cartoons of Kirner are memorable there is only mixed evidence to support Jane Sullivan's (1999) view, that 'there were endless cartoons of her as a fat,

frumpy housewife in polka dot dresses and moccies'. While polka dots abound, my examination of the *Sun Herald*, between August 1990 and June 1991 failed to reveal Kirner wearing moccasins. In general cartoonists endeavoured to comment upon Kirner's first State budget and the general malaise of the Victorian government in classic manner, by playing on facial appearance, hair style and physical size (refer to the website). For the most part they are rather unremarkable cartoons but each is competent as comic commentary; they are faintly amusing and not particularly sexist.

Leading a minor party holding the balance of power in the Senate affords power disproportionate to actual electoral support. For a time Cheryl Kernot enjoyed such power until she figured on defecting to Labor and one day becoming a minister (or more, perhaps!). Cartoonists had a field day pondering the roles played by Labor leaders Kim Beazley and Gareth Evans in encouraging her defection and,

**Cartoons 9**

Leach, *The Australian*, October 1997





**Cartoons 10**

Leak, *The Australian*, October 1997

as were to later learn courtesy of journalist, Laurie Oakes, their intuitions were particularly prescient regarding suitor Evans! Bill Leak was the chief 'culprit' for his images of the bedroom (cartoon 3), a vain Juliet being flattered by her suitors - Gareth Evans and Kim Beazley - and a parody of the bare breasted heroine from Delacroix's 'Liberty Leading the People' (cartoons 9 and 10). Kernot complained that the cartoonists 'set out to rob me of a conscious will to make a decision' (cited in Este 1999).

These images drew fire from Macklin and Sullivan, but do they deserve to? At first blush Leak's use of the 'bedroom' metaphor seems to employ gender stereotyping of a sexist kind but is more ambiguous on closer analysis. While perhaps somewhat *passé*, activities between the sheets are, for the most part, reasonable metaphoric

means to convey the view that people, especially politicians, will do anything to secure power. Moreover, the bedroom is often a source for memorable cartoons. For example Leak's cartoons during 2003-04 of Prime Minister Howard in bed with President Bush (*Australian* 24/1/04) or curtly telling his wife, during Bush's visit to Australian, to vacate the bed – 'Au contraire, you'll be sleeping in Melanie's room and George will be in here with ME! (*Australian* 21/10/03) – are memorable for their cutting satire and, undoubtedly, their unlikely candidature for display within the PM's office or home. These cartoons set the PM up for deep ridicule whereas Kernot depicted in bed with Beazley and Evans is far from the submissive woman, rather she is apparently in control of the situation (cartoon 3). Kernot as Juliet, a damsel wooed by Labor's princes, does imply a potential sexist stereotype but the cartoon may also be simply an innocent reflection on how flattery so often works as a 'means to an end', in which case its depiction here is hardly misplaced. Leak stressed that his bare-breasted Kernot 'Leading the People' is a portrayal of her as a heroine, of itself not a particularly dis-empowering sexist image (Leak 1999). However, the roles of Beazley and Evans contrast sharply with their counterparts in the original painting. Delacroix paints the figures below his heroine as serious and worried, whereas Leak's Beazley appears full of himself and his eyes even a little sinister. His grin betrays a sense of manipulation and for Evans sheer joy at the capture - perhaps? Have they conned the 'beauty' in their hunt for electoral success and in the process disrobed the PM?

Historically the portrayal of women bare breasted was symbolic of power and nurture, and harks back to statues of Roman goddess. This is the intent of Delacroix's 'Liberty Leading the People', but the same cannot, however, be said in today's context. As audience, we ponder here a sexualised image but one which invites

complicated analysis. The cartoon lacks the mechanical obviousness of sexism for it is plausible that it depicts Kernot triumphant about to deliver on her dream – a woman whose sexuality is neither repressed or demonised. On this interpretation the imagery may be viewed as subverting sexist stereotyping. Leak responded to those who wrote and complained about his Delacroix parody by wryly observing that 'People see what they want to see in cartoons' and that while Kernot is part naked so is John Howard, from the waist down, in the cartoon's foreground.

Turning to the broader landscape of cartoons dealing with Kernot's defection we find caricatures making little in terms of exaggeration of physical features or recourse to sexist stereotypes (see website). For example, Spooner sketches Kernot as 'Xena Warrior Princess' about to rescue Beazley from the preying two headed 'Costello-Howard' monster while Pryor warns of the likelihood of Kernot confronting 'culture shock' in her new party as the factional heavies 'welcome' her to their ranks (*Canberra Times*, 16 October 1997; Spooner 1999: 20 and website). This cartoon is instantly recognisable and raises the question, are we viewing the image of a helpless woman confronting 'The Machine'? If so, the cartoon has sexist connotations, but the people being stereotyped here as grotesque manipulators are men; the sexism could well be anti-male.

Moving from the defection to the time of Kernot's campaign launch for what turned out to be a rather marginal Labor held seat, cartoonist Nicholson produced a potentially controversial cartoon (cartoon 11). Kernot appears as a vamp in full evening dress and says to an implied Kim Beazley 'Is that a policy in your pocket or are you just pleased to see me' – sadly for Beazley it looks like he was only ever

implied. The sexist stereotyping and sexual innuendo are obvious enough, but the context less so. Kernot had appeared recently resplendent on the front page of the *Australian Women's Weekly* dressed in red chiton evening dress and feather boa. This action demonstrated her preparedness to play to stereotypes if they would help her electoral fortunes and Nicholson is simply taking the opportunity to expose a possible double standard. Politicians constantly play at manipulating their images for political advantage and here Kernot 'gets what she deserves' in this parody of her own rather craven attempt to remain in the public eye. Clever parody should not be admonished because it may be interpreted as sexist, rather, it should flourish as a crucial element of a cartoonist's licence to expose the nation's political elite to comic and satirical criticism.



**Cartoon 11**

Kernot asking Labor leader, Kim Beasley, for 'policy guidance' in the lead up to the 1998 Federal Election

Peter Nicholson, *The Australian*, 30 March 1998

## Conclusion

Recent reflections on the quality of Australian political cartooning point toward different conclusions. Peter Coleman argues that political correctness has undermined its quality and boldness while Craig McGregor is confident that the 'golden age of cartooning is right now' (Coleman 1996: 6 and McGregor 1998). A notable dissenter here is Hogan who argues that political cartoonists lack balance in their criticisms of political leaders and this, in turn, acts to undermine public confidence in our democratic institutions (Hogan 2001). It seems that both the art of the political cartoon and their licence to mock the kings and queens of parliamentary life is not well appreciated in some quarters. The call for self-censorship, and implicitly for editorial censorship, issuing from some feminists poses a threat to the art of cartooning. The purpose here is to defend the cartoonists charged with sexist depiction of Australian women politicians in the late 1990s. I've argued that while many cartoons dealing with prominent and powerful female politicians cause feminist ire they are open in most instances to quite varied interpretation. Effective political cartooning requires, as Seymour-Ure (1997: 12) suggests, the 'wide-eyed innocence or child's ability to spot that the Emperor has no clothes' and Australian political cartoonists are quiet expert at this task. The lesson Cathy Wilcox drew from her days at school drawing her girlfriends is salutary in this regard for maybe a number of powerful women politicians are simply too sensitive to the lampooning they receive. Given the historic absence of women in Australian parliaments, this is perhaps not a surprising human reaction. It is not so much a case of the cartoonists being sexist troglodytes, but rather, a problem for powerful and successful women to come to terms with being ridiculed by artists who enjoy, and should continue to enjoy, an important immunity from prosecution.

## References

- Castles, J and H. Pringle. 1993. 'Sovereignty and sexual identity in political cartoons'. In S. Magarey, S. Rowley and S. Sheridan (eds) *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Coleman, P. 1996. 'The joker and the thief'. *Crossings, Bulletin of the International Australian Studies Association* 1 (2), 10-13.
- Este, J. 1999. 'Drawing Female Fire'. *The Australian 'Media' June 17-25*, 25 June
- Eveline, F. and M. Booth, 1997. Who Are You, Really? Feminism and the Female. *Politian Australian Feminist Studies* 12 (25), 105-118.
- Gombrich, E. H. 1978. *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*. Oxford: Phaidon Press.
- Harari, F. 1995. 'Women in Retreat'. *Weekend Australian* 22-23 April.
- Hodge, A. 2000. 'Cartoonists' nibs prick political folly'. *The Australian* March 31, p. 15
- Hogan, M. 2001. Cartoonists and Political Cynicism. *The Drawing Board: An Australian Review of Public Affairs* 2 (1) July, 27-50.
- Kerr, J. 1999. *Artists and Cartoonists In Black and White*. Sydney: Southwood Press.
- King, J. 1979. *The Other Side of the Coin: A Cartoon History of Australia*. Sydney: Cassell.
- Kirner, J and M. Rayner. 1999. *Women's Power Handbook*. Melbourne: Viking.
- Leak, B. 1999. Crusader gets her knickers in a twist. *The Australian*, 6 June.
- MacDonald, J. 1999. Polka dots to GST spots: a woman's life in Politics Ink'. *The Age*, 5 June.
- Macklin, J. 1999. 'The evidence is the naked truth'. *The Australian*, 6 June.
- 1999a *Press Release. Federal Member for Jagajaga*, 7 June
- McGregor, C. 1998. 'Drawing Blood'. *The Age* 4 April.
- Miller, P. 2002. 'Laughing With Knives'. *Good Weekend, Sydney Morning Herald*, July 13, 14-18.
- Mitchell, S. 1996. *The Scent of Power: On the Trail of Women and Power in Australian Politics*. Sydney & Melbourne: Angus and Robertson.

National Museum. 1999. *Bringing the House Down: 12 Months of Australian Political Humour*. Canberra: National Museum.

— *Bringing the House Down 1998*

— *Bringing the House Down 1997*

Sawer, M. 2002. 'Cartoons For The Cause: Cartooning for Equality in Australia. *Ejournalist* 1 (2) 1-14

Seymour-Ure, C. 1997. 'Drawn and Quartered: How Wide a World for the Political Cartoon?' *The Hocken Lecture 1996*. The Hocken Library & the New Zealand Cartoon Archive Trust (The Printing Department, University of Otago, Dunedin), 1-43.

Spooner, J. 1999. *A Spooner in the Works*. Melbourne: Text Publishing

Sullivan, J. 1999. 'Let's draw a line through sexist cartoonists'. *The Age*, 14 June.

Turner, A. 2000. *In Their Image: Contemporary Australian Cartoonists*. National Library of Australia.

van Acker, E. 1999. *Different Voices: Gender and Politics in Australia*. South Melbourne : Macmillan Education.