



Women elected to councils in the 2024 Victorian local government elections

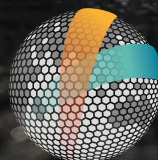
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Executive summary

The Victorian government had a stated goal of 50/50 gender representation in Victoria's local councils by 2025. This goal has not been achieved, but the trend is heading in the right direction.

In the 2024 elections, 44.8% of people elected to local councils in Victoria were women. This is an increase from 43.2% in 2020, and a sharp increase from 38% in 2016.

Since 2016, most councils moved from a multi-member ward electoral system to single-member ward electoral systems. This shift raised concerns that fewer women would be elected to councils. Our research has not found a strong correlation between electoral system and the election of women since 2016.

There is a marked geographical difference in the rates of women elected to local councils. Small rural and rural councils had fewer female councillors, with 8 having only one woman on council.

In contrast, 57% of councillors in metropolitan areas are women, and 16 metropolitan councils have majority female councillors.

Undertaking this research was challenging because gender data of candidates is not collected.

Recommendations

1. The 50/50 target in Victorian local councils is an important goal that should continue to drive policy and investment.
2. As required by the *Gender Equality Act 2020*, a gender audit should be conducted following any major change to electoral rules.
3. The VEC should collect gender data for all candidates running in all elections. This will require an amendment to the Local Government (Electoral) Regulations Act 2020. This data is already collected in NSW, so this reform will align Victoria with national best practice.
4. In addition to gender data, other identity data should also be collected so these can be tracked too.
5. To track and study different types of councils, all agencies in Victoria should use one type of categorisation. We prefer the MAV system of classification, which distributes local councils between categories more evenly.
6. More research is needed into the impact of funding and support programs; incumbency; and workplace safety and other working conditions on women's decisions to stand or run again for election. More research is also needed to understand the dramatic success of women in the 2020 election, what lessons can be learned, and whether those lessons could be replicated.



Introduction

In its *Gender Equality Strategy and Action Plan 2023-2027* (Victorian Government 2023), the Victorian State Government adopted a target of 50% women mayors and councillors in local government by 2025¹. Colloquially referred to as '50/50 by 2025', the target is one of 110 actions to create a gender equal state. The *Gender Equality Strategy and Action Plan 2023-2027* recognises that addressing gender inequality requires systemic and structural reform² (Victorian Government 2023: 5), and that the *Gender Equality Act 2020* is the 'strongest lever for change'. The *Gender Equality Act 2020* requires all public sector organisations including local councils to develop gender equality action plans and conduct workplace gender audits against 7 indicators, including striving for equal representation in leadership (Victorian Government 2023: 41).

Victorian Local Council elections are held every four years. Since 2016, the Victorian State Government has implemented changes to the way that local councils are elected. At the 2016 Local Council elections, most councils (49 of 79 councils) were elected using a multi-member ward structure, in which there are fewer wards and each ward has multiple members. The number of councils elected using the multi-member ward system was reduced in the 2020 election (39 of 79 councils) and further in 2024 (11 of 79 councils). By 2024, most local councils had changed to a single-member ward structure, in which there are more wards but each ward elects only one member (8 councils in 2016, 16 councils in 2020, and 46 councils in 2024).

The most dramatic tranche of changes came into effect in the October 2024 Local Government Elections as a result of amendments to the Victorian local government legislation,² which the government described as 'the most ambitious reform to the local government sector in over 30 years' (Victorian Government 2020). In addition to the shift to single-member wards, these reforms sought to improve financial management and community engagement; set clearer standards of behaviour for elected representatives; increase council and councillor accountability and transparency of council decisions; and make changes to election processes and candidate requirements (Victorian Government 2020).

The largest debate was over the policy's likely impact on women elected to local councils.³ The then Minister for Local Government, the Hon. Adem Somiyurek, argued that the changes to the electoral

systems would 'lower the barriers to entry for new participants in the democratic process' (Willingham 2019). However, critics warned that the reforms would have the opposite impact, and instead lead to fewer women being elected to local government (Chisholm 2023; Jenkins 2019; Topsfield and Millar 2019), thereby undermining its 50/50 by 2025 target. Similar concerns were raised by the CEO of Women for Election, Licia Heath, who pointed to the broader potential negative impacts of the changes on women's political representation: 'If you diminish the percentage of female and diverse candidates at local government, it stands to reason that you're going to diminish that in state and federal politics as well' (Chisholm 2019).⁴

The 50/50 by 2025 target set out in the *Gender Equality Strategy and Action Plan 2023-2027* has not been achieved, although we are heading in the right direction. In 2024, 44.8% of elected councillors were women. This is a slight increase from 43.2% in 2020, and a significant jump from 38% in 2016. Although the total number of female councillors across the state increased from 269 in 2020 to 286 in 2024, the proportion of female councillors remained steady, due to the overall increase in available seats (from 620 to 636) (Victorian Local Governance Association 2024).

To understand whether the number of women elected to councils was impacted by the shift away from multi-member wards to single-member wards, Deakin's Parliamentary Research Unit conducted an analysis of the Victorian Local Government election outcomes in 2016, 2020 and 2024. Our three primary research questions are as follows:

Research questions

- What impact has the shift from multi-member wards to single-member wards had on women's election to local government in Victoria?
- Will the number of female candidates decrease when there are more single-member electoral systems?
- Is the election of women consistent across the state, or are some types of councils more likely than others to elect women?

¹Victorian Government, 2023, Our Equal State: Victoria's gender equality strategy and action plan 2023-2027. The Strategy and Action Plan reminds us that 'under the Gender Equality Act 2020, defined entities must conduct a gender impact assessment (GIA) on any new policies, programs and services that have a direct and significant impact on the public, or those up for review'.

²The Local Government Act 1989 was replaced by the Local Government Act 2020.

³Concerns were also raised about the potential negative impact of the electoral reforms on the representation of minor parties (Topsfield and Millar 2019), while the absence of any cap on electoral campaign donations and gifts was also identified as major problem with the reforms (Jenkins 2019).

⁴One minor change to the Act that may have the potential to improve women's participation in local government was the removal of the requirement for candidates to put their address on election materials, which was seen as a security and/or privacy risk for many female candidates (Davis 2020).

Women in local government

Achieving gender equality in local councils is important for both descriptive and substantive representation of women. Descriptive representation means that governments at all levels reflect the community that they service, and that women who aspire to elected office do not face unequal barriers to achieving this goal. Embedded in local communities, local government delivers community-based services including health, caring, parenting, social cohesion and inclusion services. Substantive representation means that decision makers for these programs should include people with lived experience (Celis and Childs 2008). Enhancing and supporting women's careers in local government also has a positive benefit for women's representation in politics more broadly, because local government is an important pathway for a political career at state and federal level.

In 2020, women held 35% of elected council positions in Australian local governments (Carson et al. 2021: 71). Many states including Victoria have targets to increase that level of representation to 50/50, and to this end have implemented strategies designed to encourage and support women to run for election, including women's leadership and mentoring programs. However, the goal of achieving gender equality in local councils has proved stubbornly out of reach. Australian and international research suggests there might be three reasons for this: electoral systems that are more likely to produce male victors; not enough female candidates; and the working conditions of the role making it difficult to retain women once they have been elected.

Electoral systems and the descriptive representation of women

International scholarship on electoral systems suggests that a move from multi-member wards to single-member wards would result in fewer women being elected. Different electoral systems produce certain electoral outcomes: this is known as Duverger's law. Single-member ward systems are more likely to produce contests between two powerful political parties because voters will cast their ballot in a more risk-averse way to ensure that their least-favourite candidate is not elected. In contrast, multi-member ward systems and proportional representational systems are more likely to result in the election of women and diverse people and candidates from minor parties.

However, the Victorian situation differs from most international examples. Most literature on multi-member systems comes from Europe where party lists and party preselection is used. In cases with party lists, the party will often apply a quota, or may head the list with a prominent (often male) candidate and have other candidates 'ride' on the ticket. If there are three vacancies, parties will pre-select three candidates with a balance of genders, but if it is a single-member system, the same considerations do not apply. The Victorian system is not a party-based proportional system and most council candidates do not express a party affiliation (even if they have one). Therefore, candidates cannot 'ride' party recognition.

Attracting enough female candidates

Programs that encourage and support female candidates to run for elected office are implemented throughout the world, including Australia. Ensuring that there are enough female candidates running for election is vital for achieving gender equality in election outcomes, but there are many cultural, political or economic barriers for women stepping up as candidates. Research conducted by Coral Ross outlines the positive impact of programs that encourage and support women to run in the US, England and Wales, Canada, Sweden and Germany (Ross 2021). In Victoria there are many such programs, although funding and resources vary.⁵ The Victorian advocacy organisation 1000 Women Standing identified this target for the 2024 elections to ensure there are sufficient candidates to enable a 50/50 outcome.

With so many variables, scholars have been unable to definitively answer the question of whether electorates prefer to elect female or male candidates. One study (Belschner et al. 2024) has suggested that while electorates generally favour men over women (with a split of about 65-35), voters who prefer women do so more intensely, in effect cancelling out the overall preference for male candidates within the electorate and returning an 'even' outcome.

Conditions of the role

The problem is not in *attracting* women to run for local council elections but *retaining* women in those roles once they have been elected. There is now substantial research on the experiences of women in local government in Victoria that indicates bullying, harassment, and safety are widespread problems (see PWC 2022). Research conducted by Sandra Wilson for the Australian Women's Local Government Association Victoria (ALGWA Vic) reported a substantial number of women who have served one or more terms as an elected councillor who made the decision not to run for election again (Wilson 2021). That study cited a range of reasons that women councillors 'stepped away' from councils in Victoria, including poor pay and conditions; toxic council cultures including bullying and discrimination; and a level of general lack of safety brought about by the public role. Women reported experiencing sexual harassment, assault, attacks on social media, and other harmful treatment from council colleagues and members of the public. These findings have been confirmed by other studies of women's negative experiences serving in local government (see also Carson and Ruppanner 2021; McCrane 2022; Carson et al. 2024).

⁵ For example, the Victorian Local Government Association has the 'Tap Her on the Shoulder' program and the City of Greater Geelong has a Women in Local Democracy (WiLD) program.

Methods

The study compared electoral data from Victorian local council elections in 2016, 2020 and 2024 to ascertain if the shift in electoral system had an impact on the number of women elected.

Determining candidates' gender

The Victorian Electoral Commission (VEC) and Victorian Government do not collect data on the sex or gender of candidates for local council elections. In lieu of this data, we inspected individual photos and statements provided by candidates in each council for the 2016, 2020 and 2024 elections and compiled a 'best guess' of the gender identity of each candidate and winner. Given that gender-identity is a self-identity, this method has clear limitations. Furthermore, we applied binary categories (man-woman), which the research team acknowledges is also problematic. This painstaking process was further complicated by the fact that candidate statements are predominantly written in first-person and thus devoid of pronouns. Where there was ambiguity, the team conducted basic online searches (such as checking a candidate's LinkedIn account).

Exclusion of Melbourne City Council and uncontested councils

Apart from calculation of the overall number of women elected in each election (which appears in Table 4), the Melbourne City Council was excluded from the data due to its significantly distinct electoral system.

In each election, one council did not run an election (a different council each election). The 77 other local councils are included in our calculations, with some exceptions. The changes to the electoral system were cited as a cause of 42 wards across the state being uncontested in 2024. Five of these were two-member wards, so a total of 47 councillors were elected unopposed. Yarriambiack Shire in north-west Victoria – had the same number of candidates as council positions, so although the positions were uncontested, Yarriambiack was counted as one of our 77 councils in the 2024 data. (Bell and Krieg 2024).⁶

Classification of local government areas

The VEC and Municipal Association of Victoria (MAV) each group local government areas (LGAs) into different categories based upon council type and location as set out in Tables 1 and 2 below. We used the VEC categories in our data analysis. However, as noted in Recommendation #3, we recommend all Victorian agencies agree on a single way of categorising. We prefer the MAV form of categorisation because it provides a more even distribution of councils between categories.

⁶ In small rural councils like Yarriambiack it's often hard to raise enough candidates to have contested elections. Nevertheless, the large number of uncontested wards in 2024 points to the impact of the electoral changes. The introduction of mandatory training for candidates may also have been a disincentive for people to nominate (Bell and Krieg 2024).

Small Shire		Large Shire	
Hindmarsh Shire Loddon Shire Mansfield Shire Murrindindi Shire Pyrenees Shire Queenscliffe Borough Towong Shire West Wimmera Shire	Alpine Shire Ararat Rural City Benalla Rural City Central Goldfields Shire Gannawarra Shire Hepburn Shire Indigo Shire Northern Grampians Shire Strathbogie Shire Yarriambiack Shire	Bass Coast Shire Baw Baw Shire Campaspe Shire Colac Otway Shire Corangamite Shire East Gippsland Shire Glenelg Shire Golden Plains Shire Mount Alexander Shire Moyne Shire South Gippsland Shire Southern Grampians Shire Surf Coast Shire Swan Hill Rural City Wellington Shire	Macedon Ranges Shire Mitchell Shire Moorabool Shire
Small Rural	Rural		Rural Interface

Table 1. VEC and MAV classifications of rural LGAs

MAV	Regional City	Interface	Middle-Outer Metro	Inner Metro
	Ballarat City Greater Bendigo Greater Geelong Greater Shepparton Horsham Rural City Latrobe City Mildura Rural City Wangaratta Rural City Warrnambool City Wodonga City	Cardinia Shire Casey City Hume City Melton City Mornington Peninsula Shire Nillumbik Shire Whittlesea City Wyndham City Yarra Ranges Shire	Banyule City Bayside City Boroondara City Brimbank City Frankston City Glen Eira City Greater Dandenong Kingston City Knox City Manningham City Maroondah City Monash City Whitehorse City	Darebin City Hobsons Bay City Maribyrnong City Merri-bek City Melbourne City Moonee Valley City Port Phillip City Stonnington City Yarra City
VEC	Regional Urban	Metro Interface	Metro	

Table 2. VEC and MAV classifications of urban LGAs

Victorian local government electoral systems: 2016-2024

This data tracks the number of single-member, multi-member and unsubdivided ward structures across Victoria’s 79 local government areas (LGAs) for the elections in held 2016, 2020 and 2024.

Single-member wards have one member elected from each ward (typically 7, 9 or 11); multi-member wards return multiple members (for example, 3 wards of 3 members); and unsubdivided councils have a single ward from which all their candidates are elected (typically 7 or 9).

As Table 3 demonstrates, since 2016 there has been an overall shift from multi-member to single-member electoral systems have seen a shift from multi-member to single-member wards; in 2016 there were 49 councils with multi-member ward structures and eight with single-member wards. In 2024 these figures were 11 and 46 respectively. Meanwhile, the number of unsubdivided municipalities has remained almost constant (from 19 to 20) (See Appendix 1 for full details).

	2016	2020	2024
Councils with single-member wards	8	16	46
Councils with multi-member and mixed-structure wards	49	39	11
Unsubdivided	19	21	20

Table 3. Changes in ward structures in Victorian LGAs: 2016-2024

Findings

Women’s representation in Victoria’s local councils has increased since 2016. As Table 4 shows, there was a sharp increase in 2020, then a smaller increase in 2024.

	2016	2020	2024
All winners	624	629	645
Female winners	237	272	289
% of female winners	38%	43.2%	44.8%

Table 4. Overall number of women elected to local government in Victoria (including Melbourne City Council)

Overall levels of female representation have increased

As shown in Table 5 below, the number of female candidates and the number of women elected to local government in Victoria since 2016 has increased, while the number of councils with only one or fewer female councillors has more than halved. This indicates that the shift to a majority of councils with single-member wards has not reduced the representation of women and has occurred at the same time that female representation has actually increased.

	2016	2020	2024
% of candidates who were women	33.1%	38.1%	39.1%
% of winners who were women	38.1%	43.7%	44.9%
number of councils with 1 woman or fewer	16	8	7

Table 5. Percentage of female candidates and winners (excluding MCC)

Unsubdivided wards do poorly on women's representation; single-member wards shoot ahead

Overall, there are eight councils that have had female majorities after all three elections; seven of them have changed to single-member and retained their female majorities and one has been unsubdivided at all three elections.

Table 5 seems to indicate an overall trend of women outperforming men in terms of candidate success. However, a council-by-council analysis suggests this is not a consistent trend across all council types. Women outperformed men in some smaller councils, particularly where there were more female candidates in smaller candidate pools. In larger councils there was a ceiling of women's representation just below 50%.

Unsubdivided councils regularly elect fewer women, with a small increase from 32% in 2016 to 35% in 2024. The proportion of women elected in multi-member wards has also been relatively stable, with 41%, 45% and 43% of successful candidates being female in 2016, 2020 and 2024 respectively. The biggest change has been in councils with a single-member ward structure, where between the 2016 and 2020 elections the female representation increased from 32% to 49% (see Table 4).

% of winners who were women	2016	2020	2024
in single-member wards	32%	49%	49%
in multi-member wards	41%	45%	43%
in unsubdivided	32%	36%	35%

Table 6. Percentage of women elected by ward structure: 2016-2024 (excluding MCC)

Women are better represented in metropolitan councils

Since 2016, all LGA types have seen increased female representation, although the increases in rural areas have been only marginal. Meanwhile, the number of women elected in rural interface councils increased from 36% in 2016 to 48% in 2020 before declining to 41% in 2024. A similar pattern occurred in the metro interface, where the proportion of women elected rose from 36% in 2016, to 46% in 2020 and then dropped to 39% in 2024.

% of winners who were women	2016	2020	2024
in small rural	35%	32%	42%
in rural	36%	38%	37%
in rural interface	36%	48%	41%
in regional urban	33%	42%	44%
in metro interface	36%	46%	39%
in metro	44%	52%	57%

Table 7. Percentage of women elected by LGA location: 2016-2024

In 2024, seven councils had only one woman elected in 2024: Alpine Shire, Gannawarra Shire, Hindmarsh Shire, Loddon Shire, Swan Hill Rural City, Towong Shire, and Yarra Ranges Shire. These are all small rural or rural councils, except Yarra Ranges Shire, which is in the category of metropolitan interface.

By contrast, 16 metropolitan councils elected a majority of female councillors in 2024. These are Banyule, Bayside*, Brimbank*, Dandenong (Greater), Darebin*, Frankston, Glen Eira, Hobson Bays, Kingston, Knox*, Manningham*, Maroondah*, Maribyrnong, Merri-Bek, Moonee Valley*, Stonnington*. The councils marked with an asterisk (*) also elected a female majority in 2020.

Metro interface councils: the number of female candidates remained steady, but the number of women elected peaked in 2020

In metro interface councils, the number of successful female candidates increased from 36% in 2016 to 46.3% in 2020. However, when the number of multi-member wards was reduced to none ahead of the 2024 election, the proportion of women elected dropped back to 38.5%. Across all three elections, the proportion of female candidates has remained relatively stable, ranging between 32% and 36% (see Table 7). Our research is not able to determine the extent to which the peak in 2020 and the decline in 2024 can be attributed to electoral system or other factors (such as relating to Covid).

	2016	2020	2024
% of female candidates	32.1%	36.0%	33.8%
% of female winners	36.0%	46.3%	38.5%
single-member wards	16	25	91
multi-member wards	73	42	0

Table 8. Percentage of female candidates and percentage women elected in metro interface councils by ward structure: 2016-2024

Female winners remain steady despite more female candidates

As shown in Table 8, across all LGAs, approximately the same percentage of women won regardless of candidate pool size and what proportion of the pool were women. This data indicates marginal gain from efforts to increase the number of female candidates, such as the organisation 100 Women Standing and WiLD in Geelong. More research is needed to understand the correlation between the number of candidates and electoral success. Moreover, as different funding models were implemented in 2020 and 2024 to encourage and support women to stand, further research is needed to determine which model is more effective.

	2016	2020	2024
% of candidates who were women	33%	38%	39%
% of candidates who were female winners	11%	13%	13%
% of female candidates who won	34%	33%	34%

Table 9. Percentage of female candidates, percentage female candidates who were female and successful, and percentage of female candidates were successful: 2016-2024

Conclusion

Victoria has failed to meet its 50/50 by 2025 target, but the trend is heading in the right direction. Overall, we find that overall women's representation in local government has increased since 2016. The largest jump in 2020 was followed by a more modest increase in 2024.

There is an observable difference in geographic region. Metropolitan councils are well-represented by women, with 16 councils having majority female councils in 2024. In contrast, councils in rural and small rural areas have the lowest number of female councillors, with seven councils having only one woman in 2024.

We did not find a clear correlation between electoral system or candidate pool and the success of female candidates. Given that, these findings make an interesting contribution (and contradiction) to international scholarship that indicates women are better served by multi-member ward systems. The Victorian convention that local council candidates do not identify party affiliation might be the reason for the disparity.

Areas for further research

When the electoral system reforms were announced, David Clark (MAV) expressed concern that single-councillor wards 'favour the major political groupings' and 'you don't get that representation across the community'. He feared that across a whole local government area, a single candidate might win enough votes to be elected, but 'in a single member ward, you'd never get enough [votes] to get those kinds of people on council' (Chisholm 2019). Our analysis focused on the election outcomes for women, and we do not have an answer for the question of whether the changes impacted the success of independent candidates or those aligned with the Victorian Greens, the Victorian Socialists, or other minor parties.

The most significant change was the dramatic improvement in the 2020 elections, indicating other factors more impactful to women's success than the change of electoral system. More research is needed into the 2020 election outcomes, and whether the lessons could be applied in future elections. These might include whether training and support programs were better targeted in the lead-up to the 2020 elections than in 2024. Further research should also investigate the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, lockdowns (especially impacting metropolitan Melbourne), and the collective uptake of zoom for community meetings had an impact on the 2020 election.

More research is also needed to understand the impact of poor workplace conditions for councillors and its impact on women standing, or running again, for election. Some councils that experienced significant change in the proportion of women councillors indicate this might be the issue. For example, in the Yarra Ranges Council, where the proportion of female councillors rose from 11% in 2016 to 44% in 2020 before returning to 11% in 2024, and where only a third of the candidates in 2024 were women, one 2020 female candidate who declined to nominate for most recent election cited personal safety issues and the return to physical campaigning after the largely online campaigning of 2020 as reasons why women may not have run this time (van Loon 2024). In the City of Geelong, meanwhile, the number of female candidates at the 2024 election more than doubled from 11 in 2020 to 23 in 2024 (Keech 2024). However, the number of women elected declined from four of 11 in 2020 to three of 11 in 2024. Hence, more research is needed on the impact of cultural issues and workplace safety on the number of women who run for local council.

Finally, more research is needed to understand if incumbency correlates with women's success. To what extent are women who have served one or more terms likely to be returned, and is this rate higher than women who are challenging for the first time? Research on this question will give insight into whether success accumulates over election cycles, or whether each election should be understood as a clean slate.

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Appendix 1: Change in Victorian Local Government Structure

Existing single-member wards	Change to single-member wards	Existing multi-member wards
Banyule (9 councillors)	Ballarat (9 councillors - change from 3 x 3)	Bass Coast (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Bayside (7 councillors - changed 2020)	Brimbank (11 councillors, change from 3 x 3, 1 x 2)	Baw Baw (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Boroondara (11 councillors)	Casey (12 councillors, change 5 x 2, 1 x 1)	Buloke (6 councillors, 3 x 2, change from 1 x 3, 2 x 2)
Cardinia (9 councillors - changed 2020)	Central Goldfields (7 councillors, change from 1 x 4, 3 x 1)	Hindmarsh (6 councillors, 3 x 2)
Darebin (9 councillors - changed 2020)	Corangamite (7 councillors, change from 1 x 3, 4 x 1)	Macedon Ranges (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Greater Dandenong (11 councillors - changed 2020)	Frankston (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	Mitchell (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Kingston (11 councillors - changed 2020)	Glen Eira (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	Northern Grampians (6 councillors, 3 x 2, change from 1 x 3, 1 x 2, 2 x 1)
Knox (9 councillors)	Greater Bendigo (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	South Gippsland (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Loddon (5 councillors)	Greater Geelong (11 councillors, change from 3 x 3, 1 x 2)	Wellington (9 councillors, 3 x 3)
Manningham (9 councillors - changed 2020)	Greater Shepparton (9 councillors, change from 1 x 9)	Yarriambiack (6 councillors, 3 x 2, change from 1 x 3, 2 x 2)
Maroondah (9 councillors - changed 2020)	Hobsons Bay (7 councillors, change from 2 x 3, 1 x 2)	
Murrindindi (7 councillors)	Horsham (7 councillors, change from 1 x 7)	
Nillumbik (7 councillors)	Hume (11 councillors, change from 2 x 4, 1 x 3)	
Pyrenees (5 councillors)	Latrobe (9 councillors, change from 1 x 4, 2 x 2, 1 x 1)	
Whitehorse (11 councillors - changed 2020)	Maribyrnong (7 councillors, change from 1 x 3, 2 x 2)	

Change to multi-member wards	Unsubdivided	Change to Unsubdivided
Surf Coast (9 councillors, 3 x 3, change from 1 x 4, 2 x 2, 1 x 1)	Alpine (7 councillors)	Campaspe (9 councillors, change from 2 x 3, 3 x 1)
	Ararat (7 councillors)	Gannawarra (7 councillors, change from 1 x 3, 1 x 2, 2 x 1)
	Benalla (7 councillors)	Hepburn (7 councillors, change from 2 x 2, 3 x 1)
	Colac Otway (7 councillors)	Moorabool (9 councillors, change from 1 x 4, 3 x 1)
	East Gippsland (9 councillors)	Strathbogie (7 councillors, change from 2 x 2, 3 x 1)
	Glenelg (7 councillors)	
	Golden Plains (7 councillors)	
	Indigo (7 councillors)	
	Mansfield (5 councillors)	
	Melbourne (11 councillors)	
	Moyne (7 councillors)	
	Queenscliffe (5 councillors)	
	Southern Grampians (7 councillors)	
	Swan Hill (7 councillors)	
	Towong (5 councillors)	

Appendix 1: Change in Victorian Local Government Structure

Existing single-member wards	Change to single-member wards	Existing multi-member wards
Yarra Ranges (9 councillors)	Melton (10 councillors, change from 1 x 4, 1 x 3, 1 x 2)	
	Merri-bek (11 councillors, change from 2 x 4, 1 x 3)	
	Mildura (9 councillors, change from 1 x 9)	
	Monash (11 councillors, change from 3 x 3, 1 x 2)	
	Moonee Valley (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	
	Mornington Peninsula (11 councillors, change from 2 x 3, 1 x 2, 3 x 1)	
	Mount Alexander (8 councillors, change from 1 x 3, 4 x 1)	
	Port Phillip (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	
	Stonnington (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	
	Wangaratta (7 councillors, change from 1 x 4, 3 x 1)	
	Warrnambool (7 councillors, change from 1 x 7)	
	Whittlesea (11 councillors, change from 2 x 4, 1 x 3)	
	Wodonga (7 councillors, change from 1 x 7)	
	Wyndham (11 councillors, change from 2 x 4, 1 x 3)	
	Yarra (9 councillors, change from 3 x 3)	

Change to multi-member wards	Unsubdivided	Change to Unsubdivided
	West Wimmera (5 councillors)	



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