

REPORT

GI grant for 2017 Signature Event

How the Personal became Political:

Re-assessing Australia's Revolutions in Gender and Sexuality in the 1970s'

TO Professor Margaret Jolly, Convenor, ANU Gender Institute
FROM Professor Angela Woollacott
School of History, CASS
x. 52715 E Angela.Woollacott@anu.edu.au
DATE 5 December 2017

The Gender Institute-funded symposium '[How the Personal became Political](#)' was held on 6-7 March 2017, in the China in the World building. It was a much-acclaimed success, attracting 75 attendees, and generating great energy and interest. The 2-day conference brought together several generations of scholars and activists, from those who fought the 1970s battles, to HDR students and ECR scholars for whom those battles are history of significant current relevance. We were especially pleased that the Grant enabled us to reimburse travel expenses for 6 ECRs from interstate, whom we selected from applicants.

The keynote lecture by Elizabeth Reid, Women's Adviser to Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, was an especially powerful part of the program. The lecture was recorded and it has since been available on the GI and School of History websites as a [podcast](#).

Media coverage:

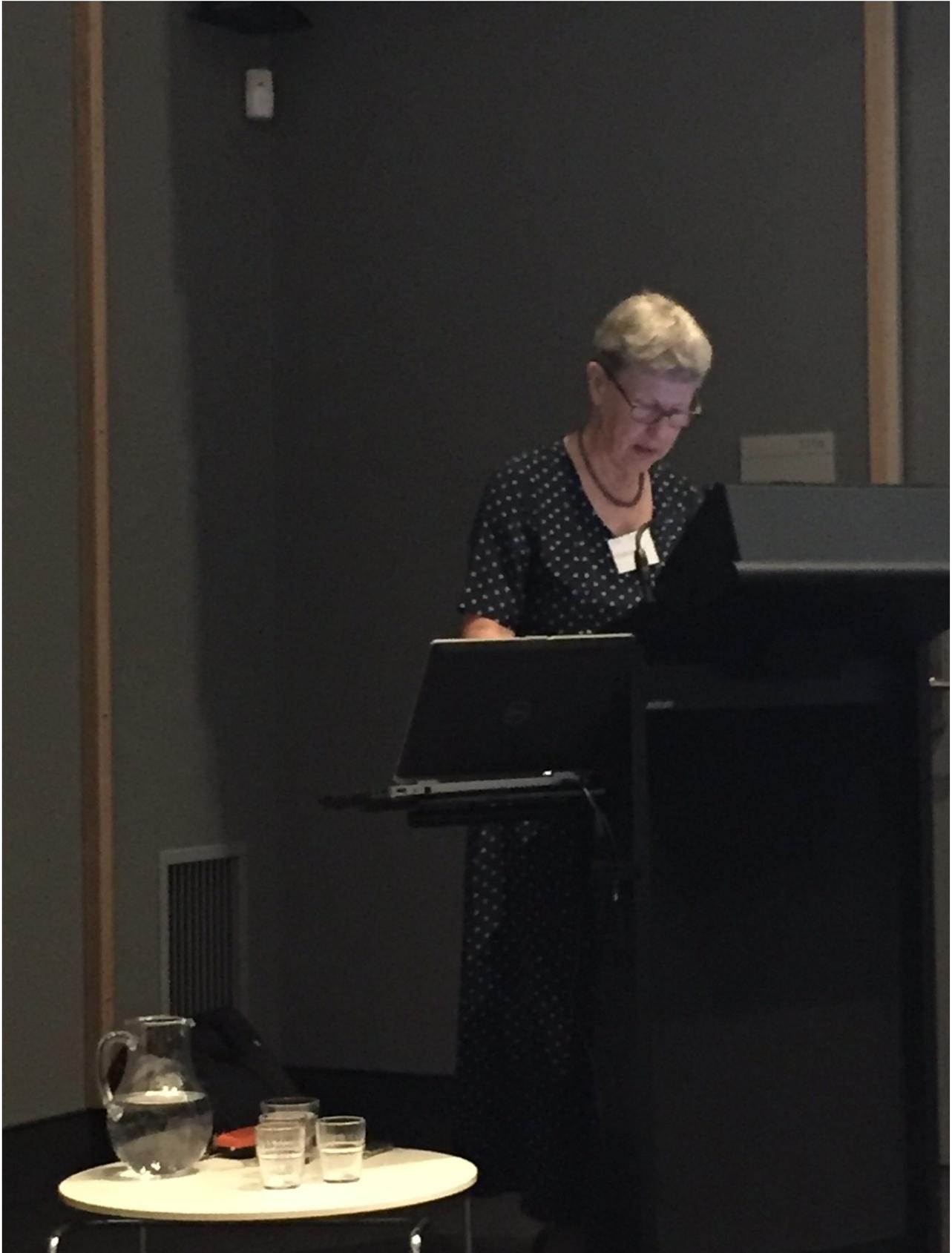
The conference was widely discussed on social media: *Lilith* (the feminist history journal) live-tweeted the entire conference, and further social media coverage was generated by Michelle Arrow's post for the VIDA Blog (an initiative of the Australian Women's History Network). The post, part of VIDA's series on 'Inspirational women', was a tribute to our keynote speaker, Elizabeth Reid, and it was widely shared online during and after the conference. The post can be found at: <http://www.auswhn.org.au/blog/elizabeth-reid/>. The conference was also reviewed on the VIDA blog by Dr Chelsea Barnett, and the post can be read here: <http://www.auswhn.org.au/blog/personal-became-political/>.

Publication outcomes:

Conference co-convenors Angela Woollacott (ANU) and Michelle Arrow (Macquarie University) are co-editing two collections selected from papers presented.

How the Personal became Political: Australia's Revolutions in Gender and Sexuality in the 1970s will be published as a Special Issue of *Australian Feminist Studies* in 2018, with Elizabeth Reid's keynote lecture as the lead article, plus 8 other articles.

Everyday Revolutions: Remaking Gender, Sexuality and Society in 1970s Australia is under review for publication with ANU Press. It will comprise 14 chapters; we expect to submit the full manuscript for review in January 2018.



Elizabeth Reid



The three femocrats: Elizabeth Reid keynote lecturer, centre, with Sara Dowse and Lyndall Ryan

**How the Personal Became Political:
Re-Assessing Australia's Revolutions in Gender and Sexuality in the 1970s**

A Symposium celebrating the ANU Gender Institute's 6th Anniversary and International Women's Day
6-7 March 2017
China in the World Bldg., Auditorium and Seminar Room

PROGRAM

Monday 6 March

Plenary sessions will be in the Auditorium

<p>9 - 10:30</p> <p>Acknowledgement of Country: Georgia Mokak (ANU student) Welcome to ANU: Professor Richard Baker, Pro-Vice Chancellor Introduction from Gender Institute: Professor Margaret Jolly</p> <p>KEYNOTE: Elizabeth Reid (AO, FASSA, FAIIA) How the Personal became Political: The Feminist Movement of the 70s Chair: Professor Lyndall Ryan</p>			
10:30 – 11 Morning Tea			
11:30-1pm	<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>Auditorium Making the Domestic Political (Chair: Judith Smart) Donna Lee Brien, 'Changing society plate by plate: Australian 1970s women food writers as activists' Carroll Pursell, 'Making the political personal: gender and sustainable lifestyles in 1970s Australia' Kerreen Reiger, 'Birth rights: on or off the Australian health agenda?'</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>Seminar Room CAMP, Gay and the Military Closet (Chair: Carolyn Strange) Catherine Freyne 'A phone called PAF: CAMP counselling in the 1970s' Noah Riseman, 'When the personal was <i>not</i> political: Gay and Lesbian military service in 1960s-70s Australia'</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>Auditorium Making the Domestic Political (Chair: Judith Smart) Donna Lee Brien, 'Changing society plate by plate: Australian 1970s women food writers as activists' Carroll Pursell, 'Making the political personal: gender and sustainable lifestyles in 1970s Australia' Kerreen Reiger, 'Birth rights: on or off the Australian health agenda?'</p>	<p>Seminar Room CAMP, Gay and the Military Closet (Chair: Carolyn Strange) Catherine Freyne 'A phone called PAF: CAMP counselling in the 1970s' Noah Riseman, 'When the personal was <i>not</i> political: Gay and Lesbian military service in 1960s-70s Australia'</p>
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1 – 2pm Lunch			
<p>2 – 3:30 Plenary – Questioning Gendered Structures (Chair: Marian Simms) Amanda Laugesen, 'Changing Man Made Language: Gender and Language in the 1970s' Julie McLeod, 'Feminism, sexism and schooling in the 1970s' Georgine Clarsen, 'Of girls and spanners: politics, space, women's bodies and male trades'</p>			

3:30 – 4pm – Afternoon tea		
4:00 – 5:30	Auditorium Violence and testimony (Chair: Rosanne Kennedy) Isobelle Barrett Meyering, "Speaking Out": Making the Personal the Political at the Sydney Women's Commission (1973-1975) Catherine Kevin, 'Creative work: feminist representations of domestic violence in the 1970s' Michelle Arrow, "He's got a backward image of being a man": Domestic violence and the Royal Commission on Human Relationships'	Seminar Room Gender and Power (Chair: Angela Woollacott) Chelsea Barnett, "Pity the poor bachelor"?: Representations of single men in 1970s Australia' Bethany Phillips-Peddlesden, 'A man for his time?: Whitlam, gender, and the claiming of political authority' Nicole Moore, "Put on dark glasses and a blind man's head": Poetic defamation and the question of feminist privacy in 1970s Australia'
5:30 Drinks reception		
7 pm Conference Dinner at participants' own expense, Copper Chimney, 24 West Row (Melbourne Bldg.), Civic		

Tuesday 7 March

9-10:30 Plenary – Campaigns for Bodily Autonomy (Chair: Marian Quartly) Barbara Baird, 'How abortion became a public and political matter yet its provision remained in private medical hands' Clare Parker, 'Private, Public, Political, Legal: Abortion and Homosexual Law Reform and the Question of South Australian Exceptionalism' Susan Currie, 'One doctor's prescription: Moving health from the personal to the political'		
10:30 – 11 Morning Tea		
11:30-1pm	Auditorium Feminist Cultural Productions (Chair: Karen Downing) Trish Luker, 'Women into Print: Feminist Presses in Australia' Catriona Moore and Catherine Speck, 'How the personal became (and remains) political in the visual arts' Elizabeth Emery, 'Subversive Stitches: Needlework as Activism within Australian Feminist Art of the 1970s'	Seminar Room Women's Rights, Legal rights, Human Rights (Chair: Fiona Jenkins) Emma Sarian, 'Women's Rights are Human Rights? The absence of human rights in 1970s activist discourse' Kim Rubenstein, 'Women Lawyers as catalysts? Insights from oral history on "How the personal became political"' Angela Woollacott, 'Partners in Progress: Don Dunstan, Deborah McCulloch and women's rights in 1970s South Australia'
1 – 2pm Lunch		

2:00 – 3:30pm	Auditorium Unfinished Business (Chair: Marian Sawer) Murray Goot, 'Gendered agendas: Public Opinion Polls in Australia from the 1940s to the 1970s' Heather Brook, 'Fear and the <i>Family Law Act</i> (1975)' Frank Bongiorno, "'A Sexual Somersault'? The Personal and the Political in the 1980s'	Seminar Room The Women's Liberation Movement (Chair: Jill Matthews) Susan Magarey, "'Hairy-legged monsters in boiler suits": the beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement' Evan Smith, 'When the Personal is Too Political: ASIO's monitoring of the women's liberation movement in Australia in the 1970s' Kate Laing, 'Peace Politics and Women's Liberation'
3:30 – 4pm – Afternoon tea		
<p style="text-align: center;">4 – 5:30 Final Plenary: Enacting and Remembering Liberation (Chair: Michelle Arrow)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Jon Piccini, 'Between the personal and the political: Dennis Altman, <i>Homosexual</i> and the meaning of liberation' Carolyn D'Cruz, 'Activism and the origins of gender, sexuality and diversity studies' Catherine Dwyer, 'Brazen Hussies: A Women's Movement documentary in development'</p>		

To logon to (ANU SECURE) Wi-Fi for conference guests who are not from the ANU:

Username: a186854

Password: TLCSS2014\$

Abstracts and bios can be found on the conference website:

<http://genderinstitute.anu.edu.au/how-personal-became-political-re-assessing-australias-revolutions-gender-and-sexuality-1970s>

How The Personal Became Political: Re-Assessing Australia's Revolutions In Gender And Sexuality In The 1970s

Abstracts and Presenter Biographies

Michelle Arrow

'He's got a backward image of being a man': Domestic violence and the Royal Commission on Human Relationships

Domestic violence rapidly emerged as a significant issue for the Women's Liberation movement in the early 1970s. The seemingly intractable problem of men's violence towards their partners and children became gradually visible through key women's movement actions like the 1974 Women's Commission and the movement responded by establishing several feminist refuges around Australia. Activists and femocrats worked together to secure government funding and support for these refuges by the mid-1970s, and by the 1980s, most state governments had begun to systematically address domestic violence through inquiries, task forces and policy frameworks.

In the history of the response to domestic violence in Australia, the Royal Commission on Human Relationships has been accorded a minor role, yet it was one of the first sustained government inquiries into the prevalence, causes and impacts of domestic violence. While not established specifically to inquire into domestic violence, the testimony the commissioners heard on the subject prompted them to complete two research studies and they made fifteen recommendations on domestic violence in their final report. The Commission advanced an understanding of domestic violence not as personal pathology but as an expression of dysfunctional and restrictive gender roles and identities. As part of my ongoing research into the Royal Commission on Human Relationships, this paper investigates the way the Commission framed and understood domestic violence as a gendered problem in mid-1970s Australia. In particular, it will demonstrate the ways that the Commission made the personal political through the privileging of activist expertise and survivor experience in its gathering of submissions, research program, and the final report.

Michelle Arrow is Associate Professor in Modern History at Macquarie University. Her books include *Friday on Our Minds: Popular Culture in Australia Since 1945* (2009) and *Upstaged* (2002). Together with Catherine Freyne and Timothy Nicastrì, Michelle won the 2014 NSW Premier's Multimedia History Prize for the radio documentary 'Public Intimacies: the 1974-1977 Royal Commission on Human Relationships'. She held a National Library of Australia Fellowship in 2016 for her current research project, a feminist history of the 1970s in Australia, which also draws on the records of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships.

Barbara Baird

How abortion became a public and political matter yet its provision remained in private medical hands

Abortion was a key issue in the 1970s for both Women's Liberationists and more politically moderate women who became involved in the Women's Electoral Lobby. What had previously been not only personal and private but indeed criminalised and often secret became subject to public and political story-telling, complaint and demand by feminists and other women. But unlike the UK, where in the wake of law reform abortion was provided through a national health system, and unlike the USA where in the wake of *Roe v Wade* significant numbers of feminists were involved in setting up their own abortion clinics, abortion in Australia in the 1970s came to

be provided predominantly through the private sector of doctor owned clinics (except in SA and the NT). The paper will first give an account of this period of provision of abortion services in Australia. It will then use this narrative to tease out the coincidence between the explosion of public political speech about abortion and the absence of public or collective feminist responsibility for women's access to safe, affordable abortion services. This disconnect will then be the basis for a re-assessment of the gender and sexual revolutions of the 1970s. The paper will consider whether the provision of abortion services in Australia that developed at this time was an early the model for the neo-liberal provision of health care more generally.

Barbara Baird works in the discipline of Women's Studies at Flinders University in Adelaide, an institution built on the land of the Kaurana people. She recognises that their sovereignty has never been ceded. Her research has concerned the histories and politics of sexuality and reproduction in Australia in the C20th and C21st, with a particular interest in their constitution through discourses of race and national identity. In the last few years she has returned to an earlier focus on abortion and has been working on a project about the provision of abortion services in Australia since 1990. She has published in Australian and overseas journals of history, sexuality and gender studies.

Chelsea Barnett

"Pity the poor bachelor"? Representations of single men in 1970s Australia

Upon the death of Gough Whitlam in 2014, the former prime minister was remembered as "[coming] to embody a period in Australian history which ... was one of rapid and unparalleled change." Tributes such as these affirmed the popular memory of the 1970s as a period not just of reform and change, but as the moment in which the Australian nation finally came "into line with modern social democracies." The cultural world of the Australian 1970s certainly embraced this "new" progressiveness, particularly towards gender. *Pix* magazine (which would become *Pix/People* in 1972) enthusiastically and openly addressed its readers on a range of matters, including marriage, divorce, the pill, and abortion. In doing so, the magazine functioned as a public space in which "personal" concerns could be explored and navigated. While *Pix* was engaged in a complex conversation around understandings of femininity and masculinity, much of the magazine's content was predicated on the often implicit figure of the single man. This paper seeks to explore how *Pix* imagined and represented the single man in the context of the transformative 1970s. Was he the "poor victimised bachelor" that one letter-writer claimed, forced to "take out girls, even if only for his own sanity," or did his singleness represent broader concerns unfolding in the period? Accordingly, this paper will interrogate understandings of masculinity when operating outside the continuing legitimacy of the marital union.

Chelsea Barnett completed her PhD at Macquarie University in 2016, for which she researched masculinity and Australian films of the fifties. She has been published in *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*, *Media International Australia*, and *Journal of Australian Studies*, in which her paper was awarded the 2015 John Barrett Award for Australian Studies

Isabelle Barrett Meyering

'Speaking Out': Making the Personal the Political at the Sydney Women's Commissions (1973-1975)

In March 1973, a Women's Commission was held in Sydney at which women were invited to 'speak out' publicly about their experiences of discrimination and violence. The organisers were overwhelmed when over 400 women turned up, 138 of whom are recorded to have testified over the course of the weekend. This exercise in 'mass conscious-raising', as one organiser put it,

would become the model for further commissions held by Sydney activists, including the Women Against the Violent Society Forum (March 1974) and Women and Girls: Our Experience in the Schools (September 1974). The format had its zenith in International Women's Year (IWY) in 1975, when a series of commissions took women's liberation into the suburbs. More than 500 women attended events in Bankstown, Campbelltown, Chatswood, Hurstville, Liverpool, Parramatta and Penrith. A Sydney-wide commission also took place at which activists deliberated over whether or not IWY had 'changed women's lives'. Drawing on archival materials and available transcripts, this paper will examine the importance of the commission model as a tool for gathering evidence of women's experiences and validating personal testimony as a form of political discourse. Additionally, the paper will use the commissions to explore how activists sought to build a more inclusive feminist space. At the time, the movement's claim to represent 'all women' was coming under increasing scrutiny. Focusing on the speak-outs that took place in predominately working-class and migrant areas, the paper will underline the crucial role that personal testimony played in mediating emerging internal debates over the limits of 'sisterhood' and reshaping feminist agendas.

Isobelle Barrett Meyering is a final stage PhD candidate in the School of Humanities and Languages at UNSW. Her doctoral research examines the history of children's liberation as part of Australian feminist politics in the 1970s. Isobelle has taught in history and gender studies at UNSW and worked as a research assistant at the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse from 2009 to 2013.

Frank Bongiorno

'A Sexual Somersault'? The Personal and the Political in the 1980s

Australia's 1970s are usually recalled as an era of gender and sexual revolution, and of social and protest movement politics more generally. The decade that followed is understood more ambivalently. A recent book on the United States in the period called the 1980s 'a critical and transitional decade'. In Australia, the era saw many of the ideas of the 1970s become embedded in legislation and institutions, via anti-sex discrimination legislation, the decriminalisation of male homosexuality, and the spread of sex education in the wake of the AIDS crisis. The sex and gender revolution was also discernible in pressures for non-sexist language, challenges to men-only sporting clubs, the rise of de facto relationships, and women's entry into occupations traditionally dominated by men. Yet this change was sometimes sharply contested, in an era widely understood as less propitious for social and political transformation than the 1970s. This paper explores the personal and the political in the context of the transition from the 1970s to the 1980s, asking what happened to 1960s and 1970s social and protest movement goals as that era of rapid change crystallised in the 1980s as a memory of a very different and more 'radical' era.

Frank Bongiorno lectures in the School of History at the Australian National University and is the author of *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* and *The Eighties: The Decade That Transformed Australia*.

Heather Brook

Fear and the *Family Law Act* (1975)

In 1974, the Australian parliament debated a bill that would transform Australian marriage and divorce. Enacted in 1975, after protracted, record-breaking parliamentary debate, the *Family Law Act* brought the personal and political together in ways that reshaped the meaning and effects of being married in Australia. The new provisions were not always represented as being

in women's interests, yet they constitute one of the most important legislative interventions for Australian women in living memory. In this presentation, I review how the passage of the Family Law bill was reported and discussed in two daily newspapers, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Mirror*. Press reports will be examined alongside 'opinion' pieces (including letters to the editor) to identify a number of fears at the heart of resistance to the *Family Law Act's* sweeping changes. Whether those fears were borne out or baseless will be assessed relative to historical and contemporary debates about conjugality.

Heather Brook is a senior lecturer in the School of Social & Policy Studies at Flinders University, where she teaches and researches women's studies. She is the author of many articles, including "Re-orientation: marriage, heteronormativity, and heterodox paths" (*Feminist Theory*, forthcoming); "Zombie Law" (*Feminist Legal Studies*, 2014) and "Dark Tourism" (*Law/Text/Culture*, 2011). Her most recent book, *Conjugality*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) explores the politics of marriage and marriage-like relationships.

Donna Lee Brien

Changing society plate by plate: Australian 1970s women food writers as activists

1968 was not only a year famous for revolutions, but also saw the publication of *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*. The paper suggests more commonalities than differences between the work of Fulton and that of Germaine Greer, whose landmark feminist text, *The Female Eunuch*, was published in 1970. While both books went on to become classics, with many editions, overseas printings and considerable and enduring fame for their authors, Greer's work promoted the release of women from lives of household drudgery but Fulton's could be seen as encouraging them to stay there. This paper, instead, suggests that Australian women food writers such as Fulton have long been activists, but not often recognized as such, focusing on women food writers of the 1970s to begin to investigate their work in this regard. While the food writing published in magazines and cookbooks has often been thought of as providing useful, but relatively banal, practical skills-based information to its readers, reassessment suggests that this form of domestically-focused writing and publishing is much more outward looking and political than this. Some food writers in this decade can be seen to be engaging with a range of important, and even revolutionary, issues that moves their work into the realm of gender politics. In this, Australian food writers not only provide commentary on important issues that affect their readers, they have also long been, I suggest, forward-thinking activists, advocating and campaigning for change.

Donna Lee Brien is Professor of Creative Industries at Central Queensland University, Australia. Co-founding convenor of the Australasian Food Studies Network, Donna is on the Editorial Advisory Boards of the *Australasian Journal of Popular Culture*, *Locale: the Australasian-Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies* and *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses*, and Past President of the Australasian Association of Writing Programs. She has been writing about food writers and their influence since 2006 and has edited a number of special food studies themed issues of peer reviewed journals. Her next book is *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Literature and Food*, coedited with Lorna-Piatti-Farnell (forthcoming, Routledge 2017).

Georgine Clarsen

Of girls and spanners: politics, space, women's bodies and male trades

Women's attempts to move into trade work that traditionally has been coded male is an area of 1970s feminist campaigning in Australia that often has been forgotten and under-theorised.

Activists' assertions that "girls can do anything" or exhortations to "give a girl a spanner" had, by the 1980s, led to the establishment of small government-funded agencies to expand women's employment options and encourage us to enter into domains of technological knowledge, where much masculine power resided. But such campaigns were about much more than the economy or technological knowledge. Women's aspirations to enter trade work simultaneously constituted a politics of space and embodiment. For women who picked up spanners and hammers, learned to wire houses, or began to operate printing presses, *being there* as female bodies "out of place" in a male world in itself constituted a politics of the personal that was inescapably fraught.

A feminist politics of working in male trades was played out in both symbolic and material terms. Workers' overalls worn as fashion items became symbolic of the blurring of both class distinctions and "sex-role stereotypes", to use the term adopted by second-wave feminism. A language and style that drew on some of the skills, knowledges, compartments and socialites of working class men infused female activism. Metaphors of "tool kits", "workshops", "scaffolding" and "drilling down" continues to animate policy documents and the imaginary of making change.

But for those women who moved into male trades, occupying masculine spaces and performing bodily actions that seemed quintessentially male – such as exposure to weather and dirt, hard physical work, muscular strength, a "knack" with tools, or control of heavy machinery – were practices that were more-than-representational. They did not have to be articulated for a political claim to be made. In this sense, picking up a spanner was a politics of the personal that was primarily performative, in that it was made through bodies and the ways that bodies differently occupied spaces. In this paper I will explore some of the women in trades campaigns of the 1970s and the angle of vision they can add to understanding the complexities of feminist activism more generally.

Georgine Clarsen teaches Australian history in the Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts at the University of Wollongong. She has published in the area of women's engagements with automobile technology and the role of automobility in the creation of settler identities and space in twentieth-century Australia. Georgine picked up a spanner in the 1970s and became a qualified car mechanic. She worked for many years as the production manager of the Australian performing company, Circus Oz.

Susan Currie

One doctor's prescription - moving health from the personal to the political

Dr Janet Irwin was Director of the UQ Health Service from 1974 to 1988. She had a comprehensive view of health and was instrumental in getting UQ to acknowledge that sexual harassment was an occupational health and safety issue. She carried out surveys on sexual harassment and convinced other universities to follow suit. Unwanted pregnancies proving a major issue for students, she spoke out both at the university and in public about the need for access to contraceptives, and was particularly scathing about a police raid on contraceptive vending machines at the university at the instigation of the Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Along with the organisation, Children by Choice, she led a successful campaign against extreme anti-abortion legislation proposed by his government. She was an outspoken member of the National Women's Advisory Council and the Hawke Better Health Commission. Appointed to the

Queensland Criminal Justice Commission by the incoming and reformist Goss government, she had significant input into reports on prostitution and medical cannabis.

Susan Currie BA/LLB (UQ) MA(Research)/MLaws (QUT) PhD (CQU) is the author of 'A Prescription for Action: the life of Dr Janet Irwin' published by ASP in October 2016. She has worked as a lawyer, academic, teacher and librarian. Susan is a member of the Australian Women's History Network and the Australian Women and Gender Studies Association.

Carolyn D'Cruz

Activism and the origins of gender, sexuality and diversity studies

Working in the field of Gender Sexuality and Diversity Studies (GSDS) presents a specific form of navigating the boundaries between personal identity, professional decorum and political engagement. Unlike many other fields of inquiry, GSDS does not proclaim to be independent of values when staking knowledge claims. From its inception this interdisciplinary field has openly embraced lived experience, activist voices and non-traditional forms of accumulating knowledge and writing. The practice of drawing from personal experience has often fuelled the grounds from which other critics have dismissed or devalued the work that is produced in areas of study that have connections to social movements for being too political and supposedly not objective. This paper argues that the very process that forced articulations of the personal into political and theoretical terms produces a more refined and better-equipped negotiation of private, public and professional matters. It will use examples of how the early beginnings of Women's studies, cultural studies, Gay and Lesbian Studies, and post-colonial theory were all connected to activist and policy concerns in which these new areas of study were emerging. As many of these fields of inquiry are still fighting to maintain their institutional presence in the academy, the question of how the personal continues its engagement with the political is as urgent as it ever has been.

Carolyn D'Cruz is Senior Lecturer (and only dedicated staff member) in the Gender Sexuality and Diversity Studies Program at La Trobe University. The university attempted to discontinue the program in 2012, but we survived and continue to grow. Carolyn is author of *Identity Politics in Deconstruction: Calculating with the Incalculable* and co-editor of *After Homosexual: The Legacies of Gay Liberation*.

Catherine Dwyer

Brazen Hussies: A Women's movement documentary in development

Catherine was a Post-Production Associate Producer, Researcher and Assistant Editor on the acclaimed documentary feature film SHE'S BEAUTIFUL WHEN SHE'S ANGRY (Mary Dore, 2014). The film surveys the birth of the US women's liberation movement from 1966-1971. SHE'S BEAUTIFUL WHEN SHE'S ANGRY won the Audience Award for Best Documentary at the Sydney Mardi Gras Film Festival 2015; was one of the People's Choice Awards at the 2015 Melbourne International Film Festival; and won Best Documentary at the Hamburg International Queer Film Festival 2015.

Currently **Catherine Dwyer** is developing the feature documentary BRAZEN HUSSIES with producers Philipa Campey and Andrea Foxworthy, and consultant producer Sue Maslin. BRAZEN HUSSIES will tell story of the Women's Movement in Australia in the early 1970s. BRAZEN HUSSIES will chart the widespread impact of women's demands for equality, combing archive

footage, photographs, and headlines with in-depth personal accounts to reveal an exciting and revolutionary chapter in Australian history.

Elizabeth Emery

Subversive Stitches: Needlework as Activism within Australian Feminist Art of the 1970's

The 1970's was a period of radical change within Australian visual arts discourse which saw an increasing critique of the cultural representation of gender and the position of women in the history of art. Part of the re-evaluation of women in art was the reclaiming of creative practices traditionally attributed to the domestic feminine sphere. Needlework, long undervalued and derided by dominant patriarchal culture, was reclaimed within the feminist art movement as an important site of women's history, creative practice and representation of lived experience. For feminist artists of the 1970's reclaiming the denigrated history of needlework was a method of activism that transformed the personal site of domestic labour into a frontline political issue. As a tool of feminist art-activism needlework, with its associations with the home, the domestic, the abject and the female body, potently brought to life the feminist ethos of, *personal is political*. This paper positions needlework as a creative strategy of activism that was used as a tool of critique within the politics of Australian feminist art. The paper will discuss how needlework was used within Australian feminist art of the 1970's to explore the personal, lived experiences of women, the undervalued history of women's labour and the subsequent political issues arising from this. The paper will draw upon the work of key Australian feminist artists from the period whose textile based artistic practice in turn correlated with the burgeoning body politics of Women's Liberation.

Elizabeth Emery is a feminist scholar, artist and educator working at the intersection of textiles history, feminist theory and activist politics. Her work as an artist and researcher centres on the subversive use of textiles as a creative strategy of resistance within the history of women's domestic labour and in feminist movements. Elizabeth is currently sessional lecturer of Art History and Textiles Studio at the University of South Australia, School of Art, and is a PhD candidate in Women's Studies at Flinders University.

Catherine Freyne

A phone called PAF: CAMP counselling in the 1970s

This paper explores the complex relationship between the personal and the political in the activities and evolution of CAMP – the Campaign Against Moral Persecution – in its first decade. Founded in Sydney in 1970 and quickly taking hold nationally, CAMP Inc was Australia's first openly homosexual political organisation. It aimed to liberate and redefine the position of "the homosexual" in Australian society. This objective was pursued in part through law reform advocacy and the promotion of rational public discussion about homosexuality to challenge commonly held negative perceptions. Alongside such outward-facing activism was CAMP's focus on encouraging homosexual people to "come out", on providing contexts for homosexual sociability away from the "commercial scene" and on communicating "Gay Pride" through consciousness raising. A key mechanism here was the "Phone-A-Friend" (PaF) service established in 1973. In 1981, CAMP NSW was renamed the Gays Counselling Service of NSW, a change that suggests a shift in emphasis from political campaigning to welfare service provision. This paper draws upon the records of the Gays Counselling Service of NSW and interprets some of the personal stories and predicaments of people who corresponded with CAMP in terms of the broader socio-political context of the 1970s.

Catherine Freyne is an award-winning historian and media producer. As a PhD candidate at UTS, she is combining history, family memoir and sexuality studies in a research project called *The family as closet: Gay married men in Australia, 1950-2000*.

Murray Goot

Questions of Gender: Public Opinion Polls and the Sexual Revolution

In 1941, the first Gallup poll conducted in Australia by Roy Morgan, included a question about equal pay; published in Keith Murdoch's Melbourne *Herald* and in associated papers across Australia, it showed majority support for the proposition that men and women should receive equal pay for doing 'the same work'. For years afterwards, the results would be promoted by Australian Public Opinion Polls (the Gallup Method) and the question presented the first it had ever asked. Until 1969, when the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission granted women 'equal pay for equal work', it afforded a conservative polling organisation the opportunity to show its modern progressive face: public opinion appeared to be ahead of public policy, and the poll was the public's champion.

In what other ways was gender inscribed in the polls conducted between the early 1940s, when the Gallup Poll was the only poll conducted nationally, and the end of the 1960s, when other polls began to emerge? How did polling organisations in the 1970s – not just Morgan (polling for the *Herald & Weekly Times* and later *The Bulletin*) but also ANOP (for *The Australian*), ASRB and Irving Saulwick (for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Age*), and McNair Anderson (for the *Herald & Weekly Times*) – respond to shifts in the public policy debate around issues of gender and sexuality promoted by the rise of the women's movement, Gay liberation and the Royal Commission on Human Relationships? And what explains the differences as well as the similarities in the polling organisations' various responses?

After 1973, when the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission declared that equal pay should include work of 'equal value', Morgan's question about 'equal pay' – a question he had asked a dozen times since 1941 – disappeared. No new question about 'equal pay' replaced it. When a question about 'equal pay' next appeared, in 2008, it was the same question Morgan had asked from 1941 to 1966. The sample not only endorsed 'equal pay'; the response was almost unanimous. But from the 1970s, the debate had moved on.

Murray Goot is an Emeritus Professor in the Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University and a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. In 1975 he was hired by the Special Minister of State to organise the Women and Politics Conference. He has written widely on public opinion, political parties and on politics and the media.

Catherine Kevin

The cultural production of feminist meanings of domestic violence in the 1970s

In the 1970s, 'domestic violence' entered the official and popular lexicon. This was a reflection of growing activism and, in turn, administrative engagement in the issue of gendered violence. Creative representations of such violence also flourished in feminist activist circles where film-makers made documentaries, graphic artists made posters and images for feminist publications, while poets, song-writers and story-tellers grappled with the issue in their writing. This paper situates a selection of feminist creative representations in the wider context of the women's refuge movement and specific feminist actions such as the protests against the imprisonment of

Victoria Roberts for murdering her violent husband. It seeks to analyse the role of creative production in the feminist work of exposing and addressing domestic violence in this period.

Catherine Kevin is a Senior Lecturer in History at Flinders University. She has published on the histories of pregnancy and miscarriage, feminism, post-WWII refugee women and the making of the film *Jedda* (1955). Her work has appeared in a range of journals including *Women's History Review*, *South Atlantic Quarterly* and *Australian Feminist Studies*. She is in the early stages of a collaborative project with Ann Curthoys and Zora Simic on a history of domestic violence in Australia since 1788.

Kate Laing

Peace Politics and Women's Liberation

Older traditions of women's activism expressed through the peace movement met with newer women's groups formed on university campuses in the 1970s after the explosion of peace activism against the Vietnam War. Not only did some activists from older women's organisations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom find it difficult to position themselves within the new feminist framework of analysis, but some new women's groups looked on the women's peace movement as reinforcing maternalist discourses of femininity that they were trying to challenge. This paper will look at the complicated way that the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s engaged with peace politics in Australia, especially as peace was a major theme in the UN Decade for Women 1975-1985.

Kate Laing is a PhD candidate at Latrobe University, with supervisors Dr Roland Burke and Professor Marilyn Lake. Her thesis looks at the history of women's internationalism in Australia through a study of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She completed a Bachelor of Arts (Hons) and a Master of US Studies at the University of Sydney, and was a National Library of Australia Norman McCann Summer Scholar in 2014. She was a member of the *Lilith Journal* collective from 2013-2015, and has published in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Latrobe Journal* 2015, and *History Australia* forthcoming in 2017.

Amanda Laugesen

Challenging Man Made Language: Gender and Language in the 1970s

The 1970s marks an important decade in the history of language in Australia. It marks a period where 'Australian English', especially as captured in the stereotypical 'ocker', became celebrated in Australian culture. Dictionaries produced in Australia and reflecting Australian words and usages were first published in the 1970s. The freeing up of taboo language saw increased use of such language in popular culture and in the public domain. But the 1970s also saw an increased attention to, and debates about, sexist language. Feminists sought to re-shape public discourse and language to eliminate sexist language and to call attention to the ways in which language reflected discrimination. By transforming language, it would be possible to help eliminate gender discrimination and transform society. The 1980s would see the institutionalization of these efforts in Australia in official guides for Commonwealth and ABC usage, as well as a broader awareness of the politics of language.

This paper is an attempt to trace the complicated contours of gender and language in Australia in the 1970s. It examines attitudes towards, and the cultural politics of, language through this tumultuous and significant decade.

Dr Amanda Laugesen is a historian and lexicographer, and currently Director of the Australian National Dictionary Centre. She has published widely in American and Australian history. She

was Managing Editor of the second edition of the *Australian National Dictionary* (2016). Her most recent monograph is *Books for the World: American Publishers and the Global Cultural Cold War* (forthcoming, University of Massachusetts Press). This paper emerges from a broader project tracing the history of attitudes towards language in Australia, especially the construction of what is considered 'bad' and 'unacceptable' language across time.

Trish Luker

Women into Print: Feminist Presses in Australia

During the 1970s, published women's writing grew exponentially in Australia, inspired by second wave feminist theory and activism and fostered by women's increased access to higher education. New feminist writing explored areas of women's lived experience with attention to sexuality, family and new forms of community, reflecting the burgeoning interest in alternative, non-patriarchal and anti-capitalist working lives and personal relationships. While mainstream publishing houses recognised the market for conventional women's writing, they were initially unprepared to take on new authors or innovative writing that challenged mainstream genres.

At the same time, feminist interest in controlling the means of book production and publishing by taking on skills traditionally identified as masculine, such as printing, gave rise to a small number of feminist printing and publishing ventures in Australia. Sybylla Feminist Press was established in Melbourne in 1976, initially to provide access to printing facilities to support the growth in feminist periodicals, flyers, posters and cards created for women's movement activities. By the early 1980s, it had begun a small publishing program including fiction and non-fiction that explored feminist and left perspectives, with a special interest in new writing and innovative styles. Sybylla Press operated on the principles of the feminist politics of the time, adopting collective, non-hierarchical decision-making and skill-sharing, with wage parity based on the printing union award wages.

In Sydney, Women's Redress Press was established, initially as a feminist book packaging co-operative that provided constructive feedback and training in editing and publishing skills to women whose manuscripts had been rejected by mainstream publishers. Within a couple of years, it had become a publisher run by volunteer staff and went on to publish a diverse list of women's and feminist fiction and non-fiction, particularly anthologies including previously unpublished women writers.

However, by the 1990s, mainstream publishers had recognised the commercial viability of feminist writing, including the significant growth of women's studies texts. Many established imprints employed feminist editors and took on the republication of key out-of-print texts. It appeared that the rationale for independent feminist presses no longer existed. Combined with commercial challenges and depleted energy, this led Sybylla Feminist Press and Redress Press to winding up.

While academic feminism has pursued avid interest in literary and communications theory, media and popular culture, the role of feminist publishing is rarely acknowledged. The emergence of feminist presses in the 1970s in Australia, and elsewhere, has received very little scholarly attention (Murray 2004). Now, the shift to a digital age has profoundly changed the materiality of all forms of publishing. At the same time, it has prompted an archival turn in feminist attention, concerned with the documentary and cultural products of feminist

activism (Eichhorn 2013). In this paper, I will investigate the possibilities offered by such an approach to an understanding of the role of feminist presses in Australia.

Dr Trish Luker is based at the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney. Her research focus is in interdisciplinary studies of law and humanities, particularly in relation to documentary practices, court processes and evidence law. She is co-editor of *Australian Feminist Judgments: Righting and Rewriting Law* (2014). She is currently working on a project called 'What is a Document: Evidentiary Challenges in the Digital Age', that investigates developments in cultural theory in the humanities and information science and their application in challenging out-dated evidentiary frameworks in law. Trish was a member of Sybylla Feminist Press during the 1980s.

Susan Magarey

'Hairy-legged monsters in boiler suits': the beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement

'My friends and I used to buy *Vogue* magazine and look at the women in it and think – O aren't they beautiful. And we used to get makeup and copy them. I used to straighten my hair, set it and curl it and sleep on it, and I couldn't get a good night's sleep because they [the curlers] really hurt. [Un-named author, 'Great Experimentation', in Carol Jerrems & Virginia Fraser, *A Book About Australian Women* (Outback Press) Fitzroy, 1974, p.84.]

Beauty meant boyfriends, marriage and a house of your own, just as our mothers had desired in the 1940s-1960s. But beauty usually required an array of aids and equipment, devices to improve upon nature. Abruptly, all that beauty became oppressive.

Bodies were a central concern in the Women's Liberation Movement. Many of those concerns gained public, even legislative, recognition during the 1970s. But one bodily concern which is still with us is one with which Women's Liberation began: the oppressions of beauty.

This paper is an account of the beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement and its efforts to render the personal oppressions of beauty political.

Susan Magarey, AM, FASSA, PhD, most recently author of *Dangerous Ideas: Women's Liberation – Women's Studies – Around the World* (Adelaide University Press) 2015

<http://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/dangerous-ideas>, founder and founding editor of *Australian Feminist Studies*.

Julie McLeod

Feminism, sexism and schooling in the 1970s

Feminism was an influential movement in education in the 1970s, with – in the case of Australia and elsewhere – formal state-based policies developed on equal opportunity and non-sexist education as well as substantial school-based and grass-roots activity. Within teacher unions and curriculum associations, there was an upswell of publications, dedicated committees and high profile activism. The impact of this work was felt across curriculum and school programs and in heightened attention to 'gender in education' as a category of policy, pedagogical and scholarly attention. This encompassed sustained attention to the sex role, sexuality education and new constructions of the personal, evident in curriculum strategies that engaged 'values clarification' in which the personal became not only political but pedagogical. The 1970s was also the era of de-schooling schools, a time when a raft of radical ideas and alternatives to

regular schooling were in the air – this included changing and less hierarchical relations between teachers and students, and calls for participatory and democratic schooling in which the socially transformative potential of education was to the forefront. Feminist agendas were crucial to this, and education was in turn a crucial site for feminist endeavours, a site for the realization and enactment of new ways of being girls and boys, women and men. Schooling or different forms of ‘education as socialisation’ were thus often held out as offering solutions for or mediating the social and political hopes of feminism. Yet in both cultural memory and more formal historical accounts of 1970s education, there is a risk of inscribing a bifurcated historical narrative, where feminism is ‘on the sidelines’. This has roots in, among others, the story of progressive and radical reform in education not being sufficiently attuned to feminist agendas, and equally, of histories of feminism and education tending to tell a more introspective history of its own genesis, rise and fall, for example. This paper seeks to bring together the somewhat artificially separated histories of these two self-consciously politically progressive movements. In doing so, it sees them not simply as both instances of the 70s zeitgeist, but as also demanding to be read against and with each other, in order to expand and deepen understanding of radical education during this time, including its contradictions and blind-spots as well as those of feminism.

Julie McLeod’s expertise is in the history and sociology of education, with a focus on youth identities, gender, curriculum, education reform and social change. This encompasses qualitative and historical studies of subjectivity and schooling, as well as genealogies of educational expertise and systems of reason about adolescence and youth identity. Her work is internationally recognized for its methodological innovation, notably in historical, qualitative and longitudinal studies of young people and social change. She has developed influential interdisciplinary approaches, drawn from history and sociology, which bring distinctive temporal and comparative perspectives to understanding educational reform and curriculum experimentation. This is evident in her current project on the history of progressive education in Australia. Other research projects include an oral history study of Australian teachers and students across the mid-decades of the twentieth century, and an historical study of colonialism, education and internationalism in the interwar Pacific. She is also conducting a suite of new and revisited longitudinal and cross-generational studies of young people, their parents and senior schooling.

Nicole Moore

“Put on dark glasses and a blind man’s head”: Poetic defamation and the question of feminist privacy in 1970s Australia

The first and only successful defamation case about poetry in Australia was brought against the writer Dorothy Hewett by her first husband, left-wing lawyer Lloyd Davies, as part of a series of high-profile prosecutions of Hewett and her collaborators through 1974-1978. This well-discussed case, in that the charges went to Hewett’s portrayal of Davies’ family life and their previous sexual history, is an analogue for broader cultural clashes of the decade, in which the boundaries of the private sphere, and personal and domestic life, were challenged by adventurous forms of feminist cultural production that in turn were met with outrage, shock or, as in this case, principled opposition on the grounds of privacy.

Drawing on new research, this paper seeks to explicate the cultural storm that blew up around the case, tracing its notable connections to mid-seventies protest culture, and to resituate the offending material in international feminist literary and cultural trends of the period, now being revisited via new approaches to historical poetics. The complex question of how poetic defamation is defined, as a linguistic and legal fact, can be answered with regard to its

situational history. Further than this, the case poses significant questions about feminist critiques of privacy as a political formation, rather than a human right. At stake is the investment of avant-gardist culture in breaking open forms of human sociality that protect as well as stifle, and the changing status of literary form and fictivity in that endeavour.

Her ARC Future Fellowship allows **Nicole Moore** to work on a biography of the Australian writer Dorothy Hewett. Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at UNSW Canberra, she is current president of the Australian University Heads of English (AUHE).

Catriona Moore and Catherine Speck

How the personal became (and remains) political in the visual arts

This paper will consider how second wave feminism ushered in major changes in the visual arts in Australia around the idea that the personal is political, and how those events were a part of a transnational movement in the visual arts. While writers such as Germaine Greer in Britain began a trend to return to the archive to recover 'lost' women artists, and Linda Nochlin in the US challenged the status quo with her provocative essay 'Why have There Been No Great Women Artists?' (1971), Australian women artists were mobilising to set up Women's Art Movements in each of Melbourne (1974), Sydney (1975) and Adelaide (1976), and a Slide Register in Melbourne in 1975. These groups were run as collectives, facilitating studio and exhibition-based consciousness-raising as a means to analyse the political implications of women's personal experiences through the forms, materials and processes of visual art. The idea that 'the personal is political' grounded a speculative feminist aesthetics which challenged the narrowly-conceived formalist canon of late modernism. 'The personal is political' introduced radically new content, materials and forms of art practice that are now characterised as central to postmodern and contemporary art, however the debt to feminist ideas (and the social movement from which these were derived) is still largely unacknowledged. We will examine how art by Ann Newmarch, Elizabeth Gertsakis, Vivienne Binns and others formulated these ideas through a radical feminine aesthetic, along with key exhibitions such as The Women's Show of 1977. Alongside the actions of women's groups, alternative art spaces like the Ewing and Paton Galleries in Melbourne under Kiffy Rubbo's direction hosted exhibitions exploring the relation between women artists personal experiences and artistic practice, such as *Australian Women Artists One Hundred Years: 1840-1940* which reclaimed the history of women's art for International Women Year in 1975, and was opened by Elizabeth Reid.

Finally the paper will ask whether the personal is political remains an enabling, trans-generational slogan. We will look at how so-called 'third wave' feminist artists use this idea in a variety of activist-oriented art practices through examining 'personal-political' artworks and organisational strategies including Vote for Me! and FRAN in Adelaide, Brisbane's LEVEL collective, Janis, Favour Economy, Soda_Jerk, the Barbara Cleveland Institute and others in Sydney, Melbourne's F-Word and #Dear Minister For Women in Hobart.

Catriona Moore is a Senior Lecturer in Art History and Film Studies at the University of Sydney. Over the past forty years, Moore has written many articles, reviews and catalogue essays on feminism in the visual arts. Her work has helped to pioneer Australian feminist scholarship in this area, through early books like *Indecent Exposures: Australian Feminist Photography 1970-1990*, Allen & Unwin, 1994 and her editorial work on *Dissonance: Twenty Years of Australian Feminist Art Writing*, Allen & Unwin, 1994 (from which her introductory chapter 'Once Upon a Time' was reprinted in Jones, Amelia (Ed), *Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, Routledge, 2009). More recent work includes co-editing (with Jacqueline Millner & Georgina Cole) *Art and*

Feminism: Twenty-First Century Perspectives- Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art 2015. Her most recent research, *Contemporary Art and Feminism*, (with Jacqueline Millner) is currently under consideration by Bloomsbury Academic.

Catherine Speck is Professor of Art History at the University of Adelaide. Her publications include *Painting Ghosts: Australian Women Artists in Wartime* (Craftsman House /Thames and Hudson, 2004); *Heysen to Heysen: Selected Letters of Hans Heysen and Nora Heysen* (National Library of Australia, 2011), *Beyond the Battlefield: Women Artists of the Two World Wars* (Reaktion, 2014), 'Forging Culture: Australian art in the Nineteenth Century', in Michelle Facos (ed), *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Art* (Wiley Blackwell, 2016) and *Australian Art Exhibitions: A New Story* (Thames and Hudson, 2017). She is a member of the Fay Gale Centre for Research into Gender, and the Adelaide Critics Circle.

Clare Parker

Private, Public, Political, Legal: Abortion and Homosexual Law Reform and the Question of South Australian Exceptionalism

Following three decades of social conservatism under Premier Tom Playford, three premiers oversaw a raft of legislation that revolutionised South Australians' private and working lives. In this paper I focus on two of these key reforms: the legalisation of abortion and male homosexual activity. I first analyse the shift from private to public conversation that was crucial to getting the issues on the political agenda, and then consider a second shift: how the reforms went from the political agenda to the statute books. How was it that the South Australian parliament managed to pass these reforms before any other Australian parliament did the same? I reflect on the history of the state, from the earliest colonial times to the post-WWII era, to show how a few quirks of demography and party politics helped to make the SA parliament particularly receptive to the debates about abortion and homosexuality in the 1960s and 1970s.

Clare Parker is a postdoctoral Research Associate in the Kent Law School at the University of Kent, where she is working on the AHRC-funded grant, *The Abortion Act (1967): A Biography*. Clare is an interdisciplinary historian whose research focuses on the governance of sex and sexuality in the twentieth century, with a particular interest in the role of lobby groups and the use of conscience votes in parliament. Her publications and teaching have spanned social, medical and legislative history, and contemporary politics. She is also a Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide.

Bethany Phillips-Peddlesden

A man for his time?: Whitlam, gender, and the claiming of political authority

In 1972 Labor Party leader Gough Whitlam campaigned on a platform of social reform, with a number of policies that promised to transform Australian gender relations. Once elected, Whitlam famously began to govern in a 'ministry of two' before the full election results were confirmed. This act, and his earlier rejection of direction from the Labor Party executive of '12 witless men,' represented Whitlam's preference for direct control. As a leader, Whitlam was portrayed as a forceful physical presence and a strong leader. Judith Brett has identified such an authoritative style and policy control as central to the Liberal Party's understanding of political leadership, embodied in the figure of Robert Menzies. Whitlam could be seen in some ways as a return to this authoritative style. At the same time, Whitlam's government facilitated new notions of decentralised, feminist or grass roots power in Australia. But was this shift balanced and legitimated by the maintenance of more traditional authoritative figures at the top level of the political system? This paper will seek to answer this question by examining Whitlam's

gendered presentation of political authority. At the same time, Whitlam's wife Margaret was the most public and political prime ministerial wife since Enid Lyons. This paper will therefore also examine the role Margaret Whitlam played in shaping public perception of the Whitlam government's gender politics and her husband as a man and leader. It will explore how Whitlam claimed and contested political authority, how he appealed to voters using a particular style of masculinity which simultaneously supported and undermined the emerging challenge to existing gender relations in Australian politics and society.

Bethany Phillips-Peddlesden is an Australian History PhD candidate, tutor and research assistant at the University of Melbourne. Her thesis examines the intersections of power and gender in the lives of Australian Prime Ministers. She was a member and Submissions Manager on the Australian Women's History Network's *Lilith* Editorial Collective; one of the Postgraduate Representatives for the Australian Historical Association from 2014-2016; an NLA Summer scholar and has recently been awarded a 2016 AHA/National Archives of Australia postgraduate scholarship.

Jon Piccini

Between the personal and the political: Dennis Altman, *Homosexual* and the meaning of liberation

The 1970s were in many ways transformative for Australian society. 'Fixed, fast-frozen relations' were challenged in ways never previously thought possible. White Australia ended, the reality of indigenous dispossession was forced onto the national consciousness, and as this conference explores, the personal became political. This paper adds to our understanding of this tumultuous decade by exploring a micro-history of the publication of Dennis Altman's *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (1971/2). It looks closely at the work itself and Altman's personal archive to explore the different reactions the author's brief minor celebrity engendered in the form of letters, reviews and polemic. In so doing, the complexities of making the personal political are explored, with particular emphasis given to Altman's theory of 'liberation'. Melding Marxism with Black Power and Psychoanalysis, liberation for Altman – much like similar employments by the second wave feminist movement – meant more than just "the absence of oppression" in personal relations, but a social, and necessarily political, revolution. Yet, Altman's marrying of political theory and everyday life was not deeply controversial, revealing significant contestation and debates around politicising the personal in Australian radical movements and broader society.

Jon Piccini is a Teaching & Research Fellow at the University of Queensland, where he is working on a history of human rights in Australia. His first book, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s* was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2016.

Carroll Pursell

Making the Political Personal: Gender and Sustainable Lifestyles in 1970s Australia

By 1973 two periodicals, *Earth Garden* and *Grass Roots*, were addressing an imagined community of Australians who were seeking to establish "sustainable" life styles in what seemed to some to be an increasingly commodified world, by moving "back-to-the land." These two journals offered their readers encouragement and practical advice on ways to adopt systems of food and energy production, shelter, and entertainment that were small scale, locally made, and simple to understand and use. Neither *Earth Garden* nor *Grass Roots* did much to directly address the gender dimensions of their subject, though some articles and correspondence did at least point toward them. Critiques of the British and American manifestations of this

transnational movement, however, suggest ways in which the gender implications of the Australian experience can be discovered and analysed.

Carroll Pursell is an Adjunct Professor of History at the Australian National University, and the Adeline Barry Davee Professor (*emeritus*) at Case Western Reserve University, Ohio, USA. His latest book is *From Playgrounds to PlayStation: The Interaction of Technology and Play* (2015). He is at work on a book *When Small Was Beautiful* covering the rise and fall of the Appropriate Technology movement in the United States during the 1970s.

Kerreen Reiger

Birth Rights: on or off the Australian feminist health agenda?

'In view of the analyses of the medical takeover of reproduction and the need to reassert women's bodily autonomy, one would expect that support for childbirth reform would be high on a feminist political agenda. This has hardly been so in Australia, however.' (Reiger 1999a)

This symposium offers an opportunity to reconsider such issues, now in light of both contemporary feminist maternalist theories and recent policy developments. As a field of political action in the 1970s, Australian feminism was strong on asserting women's access to contraception and abortion services but relatively mute on women's childbearing experiences. This contrasted with salient theoretical debates in Britain and North America and the significance of organizations such as Our Bodies, Our Selves. Both the role of the state and the counter culture context in Australia provided a different set of parameters than in other Anglo countries, yet the particularity of Australian feminism warrants further exploration. For this symposium I will consider such questions through exploring 1970s developments that eventually provided the basis for substantial institutional reform of maternity care and the mobilisation of midwives. I have been revisiting such historical issues recently in light of working on a biography of Murray Enkin, an international birth reformer and lead speaker at the *Birth and Being* conference in Australia in 1979. Although the 'mothers' organisations' that flourished in the 1970s have since struggled to sustain community and political presence, and new technologies and globalised inequalities have made reproductive politics still more complex, recent theoretical frames encourage reconsideration of earlier developments. In particular, 'matrixial theory' and the international movement for human rights in childbirth provide particularly apposite lenses for doing so.

Kerreen Reiger has a national and international reputation as an Australian historical sociologist examining changes in family life, especially women's experience, and health care. She has taught for many years at La Trobe University in Sociology and in the Women's Studies, now Gender, Sexuality and Diversity Studies (GSDS) programs and published widely on social theory and struggles over defining maternity care needs. As Director of Women's Studies in the early 2000s, she oversaw the program's transition to the broader field of GSDS, and was a founding member of the community advocacy organisation, the Maternity Coalition. She continues to be involved with issues of maternity care policy and professional practice.

Noah Riseman

When the personal was *not* political: Gay and Lesbian military service in 1970s Australia

The 1970s witnessed the beginning of gay and lesbian visibility and activism in Australia.

Law reform associations and liberation organisations emerged across the major cities,

pushing numerous equality causes ranging from the rights of lesbian mothers to, most prominently, campaigns to decriminalise homosexual acts. One theme conspicuously low-key amidst this activism was the question of gay and lesbian service in Australia's military. Longstanding regulations banned gays, lesbians and bisexuals from serving, and those who were caught were normally dishonourably discharged. The services' respective police and intelligence services also intermittently embarked on 'witch-hunts' – practices which became even more pronounced in the 1980s. Though CAMP Inc sporadically addressed the ban on gay and lesbian military service, discharged servicemen and women rarely took up the cause. This is in stark contrast to the United States, where there were numerous high-profile discharges, public campaigns and legal challenges to discrimination against gay and lesbian service personnel. This paper examines the low-key status of military reform in the 1970s, questioning why in Australia, for most discharged servicemen and women, the personal did not become political.

Noah Riseman is an Associate Professor of History at Australian Catholic University, where he specialises in LGBTI and Indigenous history. He is the co-author of *Defending Country: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service since 1945* (2016) and *Defending Whose Country? Indigenous Soldiers in the Pacific War* (2012). This paper derives from an ARC project on the history of LGBTI military service in Australia.

Kim Rubenstein

Women Lawyers as catalysts? Insights from oral history on 'How the personal became political'

In an entry on law and leadership I wrote, with Hollie Kerwin (see <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0624b.htm>) "The history of Australian feminism is heavily populated with the names and actions of women lawyers. From the early decades of the 20th century, women lawyers have acted as advisers to women's organisations on matters affecting women's rights and equality before the law. As early as 1905, the annual conference of the National Council of Women of Victoria (NCWV) heard a paper by Flos Grieg on 'Some Points of Law Relating to Women and Children', dealing with 'some anomalies of the divorce law' (*Argus*, 26 October 1905, 6). In the 1920s, NSW's Sibyl Morrison addressed a federal conference of the NCWs on the same issue and served for many years as the NSW Council's laws committee convenor (J. O'Brien, 1986). In the interwar years, Joan Rosanove regularly advised the Victorian Council on marriage and divorce law too; marriage, she told them should be based on 'the idea of partnership and equality', rather than the husband's ownership of the wife (Norris, 67-9). From World War I, Anna Brennan, the second woman admitted to practise in Victoria, was advising NCWV on questions relating to the nationality of married women and she represented the Australian NCW on a Commonwealth government committee of inquiry into the subject during World War II (Campbell & Morgen). Roma Mitchell, too, was an advisor to South Australia's NCW as well as laws convenor for the NCW of Australia in the 1950s. Second-wave feminists similarly turned to women lawyers for advice and comment. In the 1970s, the pages of 'Accent', the 'women's section' of the Victorian broadsheet, the *Age*, reported that '[t]wo Melbourne solicitors, Eve Mahlab and Judy Hogg, say they are "overwhelmed" with the way the law reflects the traditional view of women' (reprinted in Kon, 28-9). Mahlab and Hogg worked alongside and within the Women's Electoral Lobby through the decade, campaigning for reform to family law and rape law (Latreille, in Kon, 28-9), to end sexist advertising of legal and non-legal employment (Mahlab & Rubenstein), to enable no-fault divorces and 'the recognition of non-cash contribution made by women in the home' (Mahlab,

1974, 15).

Drawing from interviews conducted in an oral history project on trailblazing women lawyers this paper investigates the ways in which women were motivated to become lawyers or use law as 'feminists' (to the extent they even did) in the 1970s. Why did some trailblazing women lawyers see law as their way to work towards gender equality in the 1970s and others didn't? How essential was it to have a new and growing set of women lawyers from diverse backgrounds to ensure that matters personal become political and to becoming the subject of legislative reform?

Kim Rubenstein is a Professor in the ANU College of Law at the Australian National University. From 2006 through to 2015 she was the Director of the Centre for International and Public law at the ANU, and she was the Inaugural Convenor of the ANU Gender Institute in 2011-2012 and has been on its management committee since 2011. Kim's area of expertise revolves around citizenship issues, and this paper is drawn from two of her ARC projects – a Linkage project gathering oral histories of Trailblazing Women Lawyers (LP120200367), and a Discovery Project on the Federal Court as an Archive (DP130101954). In 2012 she was appointed an ANU Public Policy Fellow and was named in the first batch of Westpac '100 Women of Influence' Australian Financial Review awards for her work in public policy. In October 2013 she was awarded the inaugural Edna Ryan award for 'leading feminist changes in the public sphere'.

Emma Sarian

Women's Rights Are Human Rights? The absence of human rights in 1970s activist discourse

While conducting a research project on the history of human rights discourses in Australian activism, an increasingly obvious absence in the archives began to demand attention. Between the formation of the UN in the 40s and 50s, and its coming of age in the 80s and 90s, there appeared a gap in the late 60s to 70s where human rights seemed hardly to figure at all in the discourses of feminist activism. Feminist historians such as Marilyn Lake were some of the earliest to note the importance of understanding these discourses, in their production of possibilities and limitations for articulating political demands. This paper builds on their work in looking to understand how claims for women's rights were shaped by the emerging discourse of human rights in the twentieth century. It lays out a broad history of women's rights organisations and their relationship to the UN and human rights, before turning more closely to the 1970s in order to draw out the ways in which this relationship was reconfigured by the new and more revolutionary politics of this period. In doing so, it suggests that the discourse of human rights was used by women's rights activists in often novel ways, but that it was ultimately unable to provide a meaningful way to engage with the world as it was conceived by activists in the 1970s.

Emma Sarian is a PhD candidate in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University. Her thesis traces the history of human rights discourse in Australia and its relationship to the rights-claiming practices of Aboriginal and women's rights activists during the twentieth century.

Evan Smith

When the Personal is Too Political: ASIO's monitoring of the women's liberation movement in Australia in the 1970s

In the official history of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), there is only one mention of the women's liberation movement, amongst a bunch of other social movements that emerged in Australia in the late 1960s and early 1970s, alongside the anti-Vietnam War and Aboriginal rights movements. However we know from the files released by the National Archives of Australia that ASIO heavily monitored the women's liberation movement in Australia, just as it did with most social and protest movements that existed at the time. Concerned about the crossover between the women's liberation movement and other protest movements, ASIO were particularly worried about the entry of the various far left groups, such as Communists, Trotskyists and Maoists, into the women's liberation movement, even though these groups were very much divided about the issue of women's rights during this period. This paper will examine the ASIO files on the numerous bodies of the Australian women's liberation movement and the anxiety that the authorities felt about the 'threat' of the personal becoming too politicised.

Evan Smith is a Visiting Adjunct Fellow in the School of History and International Relations at Flinders University. He has written widely on the left and the policing of protest movements in Britain and Australia, and is currently co-editing (with Jon Piccini and Matthew Worley) a volume of the history of the radical left in Australia since 1945.

Angela Woollacott

Partners in Progress: Don Dunstan, Deborah McCulloch and women's rights in 1970s South Australia

When Gough Whitlam appointed Elizabeth Reid in 1973, she was the first Women's Advisor to a head of state anywhere. But the idea took off quickly across Australia. Between 1976 and 1986 all seven Australian states and territories appointed women's advisors. In South Australia, in May 1976 the reforming ALP premier Don Dunstan appointed Deborah McCulloch as his Women's Advisor; she was the third to be appointed at the state level following Victoria and Tasmania. This paper will draw on oral history interviews with McCulloch to assess what being South Australia's first Women's Advisor meant; what the marching orders and challenges were; and what both McCulloch and Dunstan considered her (and his) major achievements. The paper will outline what was specific to South Australia, as well as what were the commonalities and the shared national and international influences for women's advisors to heads of government and their work for women's rights in 1970s Australia.

Angela Woollacott is the Manning Clark Professor of History at the Australian National University, and the Immediate Past President of the Australian Historical Association. Her latest book *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) was shortlisted for the Queensland Literary Awards—University of Southern Queensland History Prize. She is researching and writing a biography of Don Dunstan, the transformative Premier of South Australia in the 1960s-70s, funded by an Australian Research Council Discovery Grant.