LIVING FEMINISM
RESHAPING AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTIONS

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This program of publications arises from the School's initiative in sponsoring a fundamental rethinking of Australia's key institutions before the centenary of Federation in 2001.

Published in this program will be the work of scholars from the Australian National University and elsewhere who are researching and writing on the institutions of the nation. The scope of the program includes the institutions of public governance, intergovernmental relations, Aboriginal Australia, gender, population, the environment, the economy, business, the labour market, the welfare state, the city, education, the media, criminal justice and the Constitution.

Brian Galligan  A Federal Republic
Patrick Troy (ed.)  Australian Cities
Ian Marsh  Beyond the Two Party System
Elim Papadakis  Environmental Politics and Institutional Change
This book is dedicated to two generations of feminists: Edna, Julia and Lyndall. Edna Ryan was a political ‘mother’ to many Australian feminists. Lyndall has been unfailing in her intellectual and emotional generosity as a colleague, while also showing me the deft ways in which feminist academics can use their position and knowledge to work for feminist outcomes.
LIVING FEMINISM

THE IMPACT OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT ON THREE GENERATIONS OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

CHILLA BULBECK
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Preface

In 1993 Anne Summers wrote a letter addressed to ‘women who were born since 1969’, claiming that the world in which they came of age was ‘almost unrecognisable’ to women like herself, born a generation earlier. She reminded these ‘daughters’ that abortion was no longer illegal and dangerous, that married and pregnant women were no longer fired, that women were now entitled to the same wages as men, that women no longer went to university to find husbands, that more women could be seen in politics and management (Summers 1993:195). Thus, according to Summers, a revolution has occurred but those born after its effects had become commonplace are unaware of the revolution.

I envisaged this book as my own ‘letter to the next generation’, a celebration of the tidal wave of post-war feminism. From my own history, such a celebration seemed called for. I am an exceptionally lucky beneficiary of feminism. On the occasions when I have considered an abortion, I have always been in a jurisdiction which allowed it. My job depends on feminism, and I am an extremely highly paid woman, earning about four times the average income for women and about twice that of men. Marlene Goldsmith (1994:181) suggests women with ‘Dr’ in front of their names are taken more seriously; certainly I rarely interact with men who are other than respectful, at least superficially. Feminism has allowed me to refute the need for male emotional support and approval; I look to female friends rather than male lovers for my affirmation. Like many young women, I was ‘date raped’ during my university days although I did not define the experience as rape. While I was sexually assaulted four years ago while jogging, the other sustaining messages in my life allowed me to resist the assault and recover relatively speedily.

Born half-way through this century into the complacency of white middle-class Australia’s post-war boom, I was given enough positive
messages to notice the contradictory ones. As the eldest child in my family, I learned both to hand my dad a spanner as he fixed the car and to time a roast dinner following my mother’s instructions. Although my parents expected all their children to complete university degrees and pursue interesting careers, my brother’s household chores were limited to outside tasks. While university entrance was the expectation at the private girls’ school I attended, we were to remain feminine as well as ambitious (see also Kaplan 1996:15). A school friend was not allowed to study three science subjects because it was ‘unfeminine’; I was advised by a well-meaning teacher to curb my independence if I wanted boys to like me (she was probably right). Although anti-Vietnam war protests coloured my university days, I can remember reading Germaine Greer’s *The Female Eunuch*, although I cannot remember who told me to read it or what I made of it. For me, women novelists like Lisa Alther and Fay Weldon offered a far more powerful message – that failed heterosexual relations were the fault of inadequate men and not their independent, clever, female protagonists. However, feminism’s message did not reach me forcefully enough to prevent me from marrying in the hope that I would deflect the taunt: ‘No wonder she’s not married, she’s so fat, she’s so ugly’. But I knew enough about women’s liberation to expect my husband to do half the housework, although he didn’t. When we divorced, a scarce two years later, I had enough sense to keep the house which he agreed to in exchange for the car and a good deal of money.

Anne Summers and I share not only the same alma mater, but also a similar ethnic and class background. Australian feminism has long been criticised for solely serving the interests of white middle-class women, despite (or perhaps because of) the lack of research concerning changes in the lives and attitudes of women who did not ‘make’ women’s liberation. My conviction that I would write a celebratory letter to the next generation has been undermined by the weight of testimony from women who do not share my privileged class and ethnic background. While some of the sixty women with whom I spoke share at least some of my privilege, I also spoke with women who are not white and middle-class, who did not make the women’s movement, who live or have lived outside the capital cities, who are daughters facing today’s harsher economic climate. In general, these women have struggled on far more fronts than I have.

These women told me about their experiences of education, work, marriage and motherhood; about discrimination and inequality; about early dreams sometimes lately realised. But more significantly, they spoke to me about how they have changed; how they redefined themselves and their relationships in the light of new opportunities, how they grappled with feminism and its vertiginous possibilities. They revealed
PREFACE

how lives defined by nappies, economic necessity, or difficult marriages intersected with both the structural changes in women's opportunities for education, work, independent living and the new interpretations of those changes offered by feminism. This is not, then, another book about 'official' feminism, based on archives or interviews with those who made it happen, but a book about how 'ordinary' women grappled with the meanings of the women's movement in terms of their own lives.

This is a book about two years, and about eighty years, and about thousands of years. Most immediately, it is a book concerning how sixty women across three generations thought about their lives and feminism in 1994 and 1995 when I spoke to them. But in their reminiscences, women have understood the present in terms of life histories which stretch back for up to eighty years. These life histories, in turn, are embedded in a longer chain of women’s activism, which feminists like to think is older than the coining of feminism as a term in the early nineteenth century, an activism which includes rebellious actions of women in Europe in the fifteenth century, in Arabia in the seventh century and India in the eighth century (Rowbotham 1992:8, 18–19). In Australia, it might be claimed that feminism is older than white colonisation, part of the dreamings of Indigenous Australian women who tell of matriarchs, both legendary and temporal.

Heartfelt thanks go to those women who opened their lives and their houses to me: Jan Anderson, Nadine Behan, Laila Bjornsson, Auriel Bloomfield, Noela Blackmore, Berenice Carrington, Kerry Charlton, Mayra Christiansen, Barbara Colledge, Del Douglas, Hanna Drewiecki, Margaret Ekeberg, Deanna Eriksen, Audrey Evans, Yasmin Evans, Sue Ferguson, Teresa Forest, Indrani Ganguly, Rachel Grahame, Fiorenza Jones, Glenn Keller, Therese Ngoc Le Dang, Margaret Lewins, Alison Main, Valerie Hall Mathews, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Matina Mottee, Halina Netzel, Pat O’Hara, Gisela Possin, Yvonne Protheroe, Gladys Revelo, Lea Stevens, Shirley Su-Lan Huang, Amber Stanley, Rita Tomasella, Lita Vidal, Joan Whetton, Agnes Whiten, Mary Wilkins, Gerda Willemsen, Vera Woodward. And those who know who they are: Anna, Aquarius, Catherine, Claudia, Glenda, Grace, Helen, Jennifer, Lucinda, Martha, Melinda, Myra, Nikita, Phylis, Rosemary, Sage, Shona, Willow.

In particular, I would like to thank Halina Netzel, now sadly no longer with us, for offering me access to her superb network of women from different ethnic backgrounds in Brisbane; Aileen Moreton-Robinson for trusting me with introductions to Indigenous Australian relatives and friends; Angela Toppin (President of the Peninsula Branch of the Association of Women Educators) and Rosemary McBain (of FNQ Family Resource Services) for identifying contacts in Cairns; and Agnes
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Whiten for suggesting further contacts with women active in ethnic women's affairs.

I thank Peter Mayer for alerting me to Anne Summers' and Collette Snowden's honours theses, and sending me copies of same; Jan Young for locating several New Zealand references; the Office of the Status of Women for sending me Riley-Smith's focus group analyses in 1992; Peter McDonald for his comments on the life chances data used to construct table A1.1; and Thelma Hunter for suggesting that I interview 'generations' of women rather than merely baby boomers. A substantial proportion of the research for, and draft preparation of, this book was undertaken in 1995 when I was a visiting fellow with the Reshaping Australian Institutions Project in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. I would like to thank Carol Bacchi, Deborah Mitchell and John Braithwaite for their contributions towards establishing a gender strand within the Project, Frank Jones of the Sociology Department for welcoming me as a visitor and providing financial support for the transcription of some of the interview tapes. For tape transcription, I thank Beverley Bullpitt, Margaret Tyrie, Janice Mitchell, and Karen Yarrow. Finally, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their constructive responses to earlier drafts and Phillipa McGuinness of Cambridge University Press for her enthusiasm and support for the project.
List of Women Who Told Their Biographies for the Book
(in alphabetical order within each generation)

The Grandmothers

Aquarius was born in 1927 in England, one of two children. Her parents were unskilled workers and Aquarius left school at the age of fourteen and has been a telephonist, factory worker, sales assistant, and bar worker. She emigrated to Australia with her first husband and her four children; she now lives with her third husband.

Barbara was born in 1925 in Woodley, England, one of a family of seven children. Her father leased a confectionery-cum-tobacconist shop and her mother was often unemployed. Barbara has worked as an assistant nurse and shop assistant. She has married three times and is now widowed. In 1992 she enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts course when she could not afford the materials needed for a fine arts course.

Fiorenza, born in 1930 in Milan, Italy, was an only child. Her father was an administrative clerk and her mother a ‘modern woman’. Fiorenza emigrated to England where she met her husband; they moved to Africa and then Australia. She has raised four children, and completed a Diploma in Accounting, a Diploma in Community Work and a Bachelor of Arts (1991). She has worked in secretarial positions and is now a community development worker.

Glenn was born in 1922 in Tenterfield, New South Wales, to an orchardist family, one of two children. Her family background is English and Anglo-Australian. Although her teachers urged her to study medicine, Glenn became a qualified general nurse and later a geriatric nurse. After marriage and two children, Glenn worked in the family mixed business, returning to nursing when her husband died.

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Halina was born in the early 1920s to a wealthy Polish family, she had two siblings. When she and her husband emigrated to Australia after the Second World War, Halina worked in a factory, became an accredited interpreter and a tireless worker in the Brisbane community, including the presenter of programs on ethnic radio, 2EB. She passed away in 1996, leaving a husband and son.

Joan was born in 1917 in Adelaide to an Irish-Australian family; she has ten siblings. Her father was a cabinet maker and her mother a school teacher before she married. After clerical work during and after the war, Joan returned to university as a mature-age student, completing a social work diploma. She worked with Indigenous Australians in Darwin and New South Wales, her husband travelling with her to her work destinations. She is now widowed and has not had children.

Margaret was born in 1931 in Melbourne to a family of Celtic background, one of five children. Her father was in commerce. Margaret worked as a secretary and assistant, particularly in legal firms, in Melbourne, Papua New Guinea and Brisbane. She raised four children, is separated, and enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts course in 1993.

Matina was born in 1931 in Hobart to parents of Greek background, one of a family of six children. Her father ran a small business. After marrying and raising four children, Matina returned to paid work as an ethnic community worker and administrator. She has completed a Diploma in Community Organisations.

Myra, Anglo-Australian, was born in 1928 at Eden Hills on the fringes of Adelaide, and had a sister and a brother. Her father was a furniture maker and city shop owner. She left school at fourteen to become a shop assistant in the family shop. She married and raised four children, as well as working in the family shop.

Pat was born in 1925 in England, one of a family of three children. Because her family was poor she left school at the age of sixteen. She migrated to Australia with her first husband. After leaving him she ran a post office, worked in an import business and moved to Cairns with her third husband where she became active in the Women’s Electoral Lobby and other women’s groups. She has five children, including those in melded families.

Vera was born in 1914 in Atherton, Queensland, of Anglo-Australian background. She had three siblings. Her father owned a drapery
business in which she worked after she completed her junior certificate. After the Second World War, during which she married and had a child, Vera co-managed the family cane farm, and was a partner and manager of a mixed business shop. She has long been active in community service in Cairns, especially the Girl Guides. She had four children, of whom three survive.

**Yvonne**, Anglo-Australian, was born in 1929 in Rockhampton, Queensland, in a family of two children. Her father was a saddler. She completed senior school year. She has two sons by her first marriage and a daughter by her second marriage, and between marriages worked as a senior clerk to support her family. She is active in the Queensland Country Women's Association and other community groups.

**The Mothers**

**Agnes** was born in 1942 in the Philippines. Her parents were public servants. Agnes completed a Bachelor of Engineering (Metallurgy) and worked as an engineer in the Philippines before meeting her husband and migrating to Australia. They have two sons. Agnes has been extensively involved in community work, has completed a Master of Science (Metallurgy) and a Bachelor of Arts (Japanese), and was the first Women's Advisor to the Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane in Queensland.

**Alison** was born in 1937 in Sydney, the only child of a couple with an Anglo-Australian background. Her father was a psychiatrist. Alison studied architecture when she left school, and worked as an architect for many years. She has no children but is now in a heterosexual partnership and has pursued a new career as an artist, following the completion of a master’s degree in this field.

**Amber** was born in 1941 in Mullumbimby, New South Wales, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of three children. Her father left when the children were young and her mother worked in a number of small businesses in country towns. Amber married, gave birth to seven children (of whom four survive), and worked long hours on the family farms where she raised her children. Amber was finally able to return to study, choosing social work.

**Anna** was born in 1951 in Adelaide, one of two children. Her parents are post-war migrants from Latvia who ran a small business. After finishing her schooling, Anna completed a Bachelor of Economics degree and
then a Master of Urban and Regional Planning degree. She worked as a town planner and public servant before marrying and working in the family business with her husband. They have two sons.

**Audrey** was born in 1933 in Longreach, Queensland, one in a family of ten children. Her mother was an Indigenous Australian foundling and her father worked in casual and unskilled labouring jobs. After leaving school Audrey worked in milk bars and a factory. Her family consists of four children, of whom **Yasmin** is her oldest daughter. Audrey has been married twice and is now widowed. She returned to study as a mature-age student, including enrolment in a masters degree.

**Auriel** was born in 1954 in Canberra. She is an Indigenous Australian, her father a temporary public servant (all his working life) and her mother a housewife. She has a brother, is married and has no children. After working as a typist and typist controller, Auriel completed a degree in communications and has since been a senior public servant in a number of departments.

**Catherine** was born in 1947 in England, one of three children. Her parents were factory workers. She gained teaching qualifications after leaving school, married and had two sons. She returned to teaching soon after her first son was born and worked as a ministerial advisor before becoming a senior TAFE administrator.

**Claudia** was born of Anglo-Celtic Australian background in 1940 in Brisbane, one of two children. Her father was a radio technician. Claudia worked as a nurse’s aide, researcher and bookkeeper before marrying and having seven children. She returned to mature-age study, divorced, completed a doctoral dissertation and became an academic.

**Deanna** was born in 1943 in Brisbane to an Anglo-Australian family, one of six daughters. Her father was a labourer. Deanna left school, completed a commercial course and worked as a book-keeper until she married. She had five children, returned to study and divorced. She has completed a degree and a Diploma of Education, hoping to return to her teenage dream of teaching.

**Del** was born in 1930 in the Philippines. Her father was an army engineer. Del has a Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education and a masters (incomplete), and worked as a teacher-librarian in Manila before migrating to Australia after her first husband died. She has five children. Del remarried in Australia but was unable to find work.
matching her qualifications and experience. She works in a voluntary capacity for the Filipino community in Brisbane.

**Gerda** was born in 1947 in Holland, one of a family of eight children. Her father was a paper maker. Gerda became a dress-maker before she married. She has had fourteen children, of whom thirteen survive.

**Gisela** was born in 1945 in Germany of Estonian background. She is an only child and her mother, working in hospital and hotel domestic work, raised Gisela on her own. After leaving high school, Gisela became a librarian. She married, had a son, and lived in Papua New Guinea for a time before divorcing. She later returned to study as a mature-age student to complete her Bachelor of Arts degree and professional diploma, working as a librarian since her divorce.

**Glenda** was born in 1949 in Maryborough, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of three children. Her father was a council worker. She completed a Bachelor of Arts degree on leaving school, worked as a teacher and later completed a Bachelor of Laws degree and now has her own legal practice. She lives in a lesbian partnership with **Shona**.

**Grace** was born in 1943 in Townsville, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of two children. Her father was an office worker. Grace married and raised two children while working as a teacher-aid librarian. She returned to study as a mature-age student, completing a Bachelor of Arts degree and a Graduate Diploma in Adult Vocational Education. She is now separated.

**Hanna** was born in the late 1940s in Poland, and completed an engineering degree after leaving school. After some setbacks she gained employment in Australia as an engineer. She is married and has two children.

**Helen** was born in 1945 in Dalby, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of three children. She worked as a nurse, married a bank worker, and raised four children, including **Jennifer**. When the children were old enough, Helen worked in community health services and as an electoral officer before returning to study to complete a nursing degree.

**Jan** was born in 1943 in Atherton, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of two children. Her father was a clerk and her mother a casual dress-making teacher. Jan completed her high school certificate, and worked as a stenographer/accounting machine operator prior to her marriage to a sugar-cane farmer. The couple have three children.
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Jane is the fictitious name of one of the mothers who asked that her true identity be disguised in relation to a discussion of reproductive choices.

Laila was born in 1945 in Norway. Her father was a gynaecologist and obstetrician, her mother a receptionist. Laila completed an art college degree, working as a receptionist and artist. She had three children before migrating with her husband to Australia, and has since had a further child. She is completing a Bachelor of Arts degree.

Lea was born in 1947 in Adelaide to an Anglo-Australian family, one of three children. She completed a Bachelor of Science degree and became a school principal, before entering parliament. She is married with two sons.

Lucinda was born in 1940 in Asia of European-background parents. She studied music and worked as a stenographer before marrying and having two children. She is now in her second marriage.

Marg was born in 1943 in Melbourne to an Anglo-Australian family, one of four children. Her father owned a dry-cleaning business. After completing high school, Marg did a commercial course and worked as a secretary prior to her marriage. She has two grown children, and returned to study as a mature-age student. She is now a senior public servant.

Martha, an Indigenous Australian, was born in the 1930s in south-east Queensland. She is married and gained a university degree as a mature-age student.

Mary was born in 1936 in Sydney to an Anglo-Australian family, one of three children. Her father owned a produce business which her mother took over when he died while the children were still young. Her mother also ran an SP bookmaking business. Mary married, moved to the country and had three children. She left her husband because of his alcoholism and returned to Sydney. She has completed a business course, and more recently, a welfare certificate. Mary is a community worker.

Noela was born in 1935 in Cairns, Queensland, to a family of Irish background, one of two children. Her father was a swimming pool manager and her mother the manager of the canteen at the pool. On finishing school Noela completed a degree and became a physical education teacher, joined the Sisters of Mercy where she taught, and later completed a Master of Arts in religious studies in the United States.
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She left the Sisters and is now a senior co-ordinator in a Catholic girls' school.

Phylis was born in 1940 in Melbourne of Anglo- and Greek-background parents, one of two children. Her mother was a sex worker and her father a gambler and pimp. Phylis left school at thirteen and worked in a number of unskilled jobs before marrying. She had four children before leaving her husband. She returned to mature-age study and is now enrolled in a doctoral dissertation.

Rachel, of Anglo-Australian background, born in 1939 in Inverell, Queensland, is one of a family of five daughters. Her father was a country doctor. Rachel completed a Bachelor of Arts in politics, married and had three children, returning to the workforce as a teacher when the children were old enough. Rachel enrolled in a Master of Literature course in 1993 and has been a researcher for the Australian Dictionary of Biography.

Rita was born in 1946 in Italy to an Italian family of Austrian descent. Her family migrated to rural Australia in the post-war years. Rita left school at the age of sixteen, worked in factories and restaurants until she met her husband. They have three children and built up a catering business together.

Sage was born in 1944 in Bundaberg, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian family, one of four children. Her father was a high school principal. Sage completed a degree, became a teacher, married and raised a son and two daughters, Rosemary and Willow. She divorced her husband, returned to teaching and is now head of a high school English and Performing Arts department. She lives in a lesbian relationship.

Shirley was born in the mid-1940s in Taiwan. She and her husband own separate businesses and have four children.

Shona was born in 1950 in Brisbane to a Celtic-Australian family, one of five children. Her father was a managing director of a medium-sized business. On leaving school she trained as a teacher, working in the profession until she became an academic. She recently completed a Master of Education degree and lives in a lesbian partnership with Glenda.

Sue was born in 1946 in Brisbane, the only child in an Anglo-Australian family. Her father was an aircraft engineer, her mother a chief censor.
during the war, working as a teacher after Sue was born. Sue is married to a teacher and also teaches. She has two sons and has returned to mature-age study to complete a Bachelor of Education degree and enrol in a Master’s course in Women’s Studies.

Teresa was born in 1949 in Lancashire, England, one of three children. Her father was a factory worker and her mother a spinner. She completed a Bachelor of Arts degree on leaving school in Australia and later enrolled in a Master of Arts course and completed a Graduate Diploma in Counselling. She rose in the education sector to become a school principal and is now a business woman. She has one son.

Therese was born in the late 1940s in Vietnam, her father was a doctor. She gained a degree in politics and economics and worked as a vice-consul. She and her family escaped as refugees after the fall of Saigon. Her husband died shortly after their arrival in Australia, leaving her to raise their three children. Therese has worked in the public service and is active in Vietnamese community organisations.

Valerie was born in 1941 in Mossman, Queensland, to an Anglo-Australian sugar farming family, one of two children. Valerie completed a three-year course in kindergarten training, becoming a kindergarten director before marrying her husband, who is now an Archbishop. She has raised five children as well as working in the church in a voluntary capacity.

The Daughters

Aileen was born in 1956 in Brisbane to an Indigenous Australian family, one of two children. For many years she did not know her father’s identity, and her mother worked as a domestic or was unemployed. Aileen was raised by her grandmother, had two children of whom one survives, and is married. She has worked in a number of senior public service positions after completing her Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology. She is presently an academic and enrolled in a doctoral dissertation.

Berenece was born in 1962 in Newcastle upon Tyme, England, one of six children. Her parents were teachers. On leaving school Berenece returned to England from Australia, completing a Master of Arts (Visual Arts) degree. She worked as a lecturer, artist and community arts development officer before returning to doctoral studies in 1994. She and her heterosexual partner own a small property in a town in rural South Australia.
Gladys was born in 1956 in Uruguay, one of three children. Her father was a public servant. In Australia, Gladys has completed TAFE courses, worked as a community worker and ministerial advisor. She is married and has three children.

Indrani was born in the late 1950s in New Delhi, the only child of a communications engineer and amateur actor. She completed a master’s degree in India and a doctorate in Australia, working in India before returning to Australia to marry, work as a policy officer and raise her small son.

Jennifer was born in the late 1960s in north Queensland. Her mother is Helen. Jennifer completed a Bachelor of Science degree after leaving school, and worked briefly as a laboratory assistant before becoming a police officer. She is married with a baby son.

Kerry was born in 1958 in Brisbane to an Indigenous Australian family, one of eight children. Her mother was a hotel cook. Kerry married and has three children. She worked as a kindergarten assistant, typist, bookkeeper and teacher aide before completing a degree in early childhood education. She is now a senior policy officer and divorced.

Lita was born in 1957 in Lima, one of seven children. Her father was a public servant. Lita completed a degree in social work, and emigrated to Australia where she left her first husband. She has worked as a social worker, remarried in Australia and has no children.

Mayra was born in 1956 in Brisbane to a melded Muslim family, one of ten children. Her father was a refugee from Yugoslavia who worked in factories in Australia. Mayra left school after intermediate, worked in service jobs before marrying and having two daughters. Since leaving her husband she has returned to study, enrolling in a Bachelor of Psychology course.

Melinda was born in 1969 in Ontario to an Anglo-Australian family, one of two children. Her father is an academic and her mother a senior public servant. Melinda completed her High School Certificate and a business course, working as an administrative assistant. She is single.

Nadine was born in 1957, one of three children in a northern New South Wales Anglo-Australian family of tomato farmers. She has completed a Bachelor of Arts degree, a Bachelor of Laws degree and a Diploma of Broadcast Journalism. Nadine is single, has a son, has worked as a sex worker and is now a community lawyer.
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Nikita was born in 1957 in Brisbane to a large Indigenous Australian family. Her mother was a service worker. Nikita worked as a secretary before returning to study. She has completed a human services degree, and worked in the clerical, secretarial, welfare, administration and training fields. She is separated and has three children.

Rosemary was born in the late 1960s in Darwin. Her mother is Sage. Rosemary worked as a model before returning to university to complete a degree in film studies. She is single.

Willow was born in the late 1960s in Darwin. Her mother is Sage. Willow left school in grade 11, completing a secretarial course. She is single and has worked as a waitress, model, labourer and office manager. In 1996 she enrolled in a creative arts/film degree.

Yasmin was born in 1972 in Mount Isa, Queensland. Her father worked in the army and mining industry and her mother is Audrey. She worked briefly in an office after leaving school before enrolling in a Bachelor of Psychology course. She is engaged to be married to a Chinese-Australian.
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTU</td>
<td>Australian Council of Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIS</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Sport</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANESBWA</td>
<td>Association of Non-English Speaking Background Women of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMP</td>
<td>Campaign Against Moral Persecution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPOW!</td>
<td>Coalition of Participating Organisations of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>consciousness-raising</td>
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<tr>
<td>CWA</td>
<td>Country Women’s Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEET</td>
<td>Department of Employment, Education and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEO</td>
<td>Equal Employment Opportunities</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNQ</td>
<td>Far North Queensland</td>
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<td>IDPOL</td>
<td>identity politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>IUD</td>
<td>intra-uterine device</td>
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<tr>
<td>IVF</td>
<td>in vitro fertilisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEAT</td>
<td>National Education and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>NES</td>
<td>non-English speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPAL</td>
<td>One People of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSL</td>
<td>Returned Services League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Technical and Further Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEAS</td>
<td>Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW</td>
<td>Union of Australian Women</td>
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<td>WEL</td>
<td>Women’s Electoral Lobby</td>
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<td>WICH</td>
<td>Women in Industry, Contraception and Health</td>
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