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JAMES COOK
UNIVERSITY
AUSTRALIA

WOMEN SERVING IN THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY

THE PATH TOWARDS EQUALITY 1960 TO 2015

Thesis submitted by

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts, Society and Education

James Cook University

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DEDICATION

To three inspirational women

My mother Valma Jean and my grandmothers Clarice Elizabeth and Jessie

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

STATEMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

My supervisors, Associate Professor Debra Miles and Doctor Claire Brennan provided feedback on my thesis.

My husband, John Reghenzani, also read and critiqued my thesis.

The Sea Power Centre – Australia located in Canberra, which houses many historical Naval documents, gave me unfettered access to their collection. I acknowledge the Centre's Senior Historical Officer, John Perryman, for his assistance.

In 2015, I was one of three Parliamentary Library scholars. The annually awarded scholarships give the successful scholars six weeks privileged access to the library, experience working in the Australian Parliament, and interaction with expert librarians and researchers in the Parliamentary Library. The scholarship did not include a stipend but an $1,800 honorarium was paid on the conclusion of the six-week placement. During my time in the Parliamentary Library, I was located in the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security (FADS) section headed by Doctor Nigel Brew. Nigel and his staff offered me their friendship and support, for which I was most grateful as I was working in a new environment. In particular, I would like to acknowledge my mentor Nicole Brangwin who is a senior researcher in the FADS section and also a member of the Royal Australian Air Force Reserve. Both Nigel and Nicole provided comment and suggestions on the paper I wrote.[1] The library's central enquiry staff headed up by Leo Terpstra offered much needed guidance when I was looking for hard copy and online parliamentary tabled material. Finally, I thank Doctor Dianne Heriot, the Parliamentary Librarian, for offering such an opportunity.

Many thanks also to Rona Chadwick and Matt Golding for granting permission to use their cartoons in my thesis. Every reasonable effort has been made to gain permission and acknowledge the owners of copyright material. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.

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[1] The paper was entitled, "Women in the ADF: six decades of policy change (1950 to 2011)". See: http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/APF/Past_Scholarship_research)

ABSTRACT

During my research project I analysed women's participation in the Royal Australian Navy (RAN). Women's participation in the Navy workforce as uniformed members began in 1941 when 14 women commenced non-combatant duties in the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS). In 1988, Kathryn Spurling conducted a study of the WRANS covering the period 1939-1960. She found the women who served during the period suffered severe discrimination; the major factor being the societal view of women's work where the dominant definition of femininity and the role of women were in no way compatible with the attributes of seafaring and naval warfare.

The aim of my research was to identify what has changed for women serving in the RAN since 1960. Has workplace discrimination been replaced with equal employment opportunities? If so, what were the drivers of the change? I explored the answers to these questions by examining official documents, such as legislation, policies and practices, and combining them with the perspectives of Navy women. To discover the answers, I employed a joint disciplinary approach—women's studies and history. I chose a feminist methodology as it stresses the need to keep gender at the heart of the inquiry. As the military was a non-traditional area of employment for women prior to WWII and remains so, the interrelationships of gender and power are, I consider, critical to understanding women's participation in the Navy given that the Navy has been led by men for over a century.

My research revealed that wars in the twentieth century created opportunities for women to enter the labour market in unprecedented numbers. The five and a half decades from 1960 saw a transformation of women's role in the labour market and a progressive change to sex-role stereotyping in employment. As a result of legislative changes driven by feminist activism, women can now have careers and not just a job. During the period of the study, women's participation in the Navy rose by 15.8 per cent. However, the progress has not been without significant issues. When sea service opened to women, three women serving on the combatant HMAS *Swan* in 1992 made allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault. The inappropriate behaviour led to cultural reform within the Navy. Organisational strategies since then have been ongoing and have demonstrated that the Navy leadership has been committed to cultural change. Navy women now have equal

employment opportunities and equal conditions of service. Nevertheless, these do not equate to equality of outcomes.

I conclude that although feminist activists and enlightened governments have transformed the values of present day Australian society, there are still remnants of a patriarchal society and misogynist behaviour. This resistance is slowly being removed as more and more people in Australian society become less tolerant of such behaviour. Inroads have been made towards gender employment equality over the past 55 years. Women in the Navy have demonstrated that gender is no barrier to accomplishing the mission. Today women command and serve in all classes on Australian Navy ships. However, while women now have the same opportunities as men, there remains an imbalance in the number of women serving. In 2010, women comprised 18.4 per cent of the Navy. This figure has only increased 0.4 per cent in the subsequent five years. If Navy is to meet their workforce targets in coming decades, recruiting and retaining women in the full spectrum of positions must remain one of their top priorities. A true indicator of equality will be a continuing increase in the number of women serving in the Navy, particularly in the senior leadership roles and across occupations.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AC	Companion of the Order of Australia
ACMAT-N	Assistant Chief of Materiel-Navy
ACNB	Australian Commonwealth Naval Board
ACPERS-N	Assistant Chief of Personnel-Navy
ACSC	Australian Command and Staff College
ADC	Australian Defence College
ADF	Australian Defence Force
ADFA	Australian Defence Force Academy
ADML	Admiral
ADO	Australian Defence Organisation
AEC	Australian Education Council
AM	Member of the Order of Australia
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AO	Officer of the Order of Australia
APS	Australian Public Service
AWAS	Australian Women's Army Service
BOI	Board of Inquiry
CA	Chief of Army
CAPT	Captain (Royal Australian Navy)
CDF	Chief of Defence Force
CDFS	Chief of Defence Force Staff (later CDF, replaced Chairman CSC)
CDRE	Commodore
CMDR	Commander
CN	Chief of Navy
CNS	Chief of Naval Staff
CNSAC	Chief of Naval Staff Advisory Committee
CO	Commanding Officer
COSC	Chiefs of Staff Committee
CP	Australian Country Party
CPO	Chief Petty Officer
CPS	Commonwealth Public Service
CSC	Chiefs of Staff Committee
CSC	Conspicuous Service Cross
CSM	Conspicuous Service Medal
CWR	Chief Wran
DAR	Defence Annual Report

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DCNP   Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel
Defence   Department of Defence
DDG   Guided missile destroyer (Perth class)
DEO   Defence Equity Organisation
DMT   Director of Manning and Training
DPE   Defence Personnel Executive
DWP   Defence White Paper
DWRANS   Director WRANS

EEO   Equal Employment Opportunity
DNMP   Director Naval Manpower
DNTE   Director Navy Training and Education
DO   Divisional Officer
DWP   Defence White Paper

FCPB   Fremantle Class Patrol Boat
FFG   Guided missile frigate (Adelaide class)

GWR   Good Working Relationships Project / Program

HMAS   Her Majesty's Australian Ship
HOD   Head of Department
HRH   Her Royal Highness

IWY   International Women's Year

LIB   Liberal Party of Australia
LCDR   Lieutenant Commander

MC   Maritime Commander
MHQ   Maritime Headquarters

NP   The Nationals (formerly the National Party of Australia)

OAM   Medal of the Order of Australia
OCS   Officer Cadet School
OIC   Officer in Charge
OTC   Officers' Training Course

PM   Prime Minister
PO   Petty Officer
POWR   Petty Officer WRAN

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RAAFNS	Royal Australian Air Force Nursing Service
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RAANC	Royal Australian Army Nursing Corps
RANCBA	RAN Communications Branch Association
RANNS	Royal Australian Navy Nursing Service
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RANC	Royal Australian Naval College
RMC	Royal Military College
RMIT	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
RN	Royal Navy
RSL	Returned Services League
RST	Radio Supervisor Teletype
SBA	Sick Berth Attendant
SDA	*Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth)
SWIM	Senior Women in Management
UNSW	University of New South Wales
UOW	Unit Officer WRANS
VADM	Vice Admiral
WAAAF	Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force
WEL	Women's Electoral Lobby
WO	Warrant Officer
WOWR	Warrant Officer Wran
WRAAC	Women's Royal Australian Army Corp
WRAAF	Women's Royal Australian Air Force
Wran	Term used for female rating in the WRANS
WRANS	Women's Royal Australian Naval Service
WRNS	Women's Royal Naval Service
XO	Executive Officer

WRANS / RAN RANK STRUCTURE

The information in Table FM-1 complements the Navy Badges of Rank in the Australian Defence Force poster below. The comparative lists provide the reader of the thesis a guide to understanding the Navy rank structures prior to women being members of the Royal Australian Navy. The notes describe the dates when changes in the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS) ranks occurred and the RAN ranks were adopted by the Women's Service. From 1 September 1991, only the RAN ranks were used by Navy women.

Table FM-1: A comparison of WRANS and RAN rank structures and titles

WRANS	RAN
OFFICERS	
	Admiral
	Vice Admiral
	Rear Admiral
	Commodore
Superintendent[a]	Captain
Chief Officer[b]	Commander
First Officer[b]	Lieutenant Commander
Second Officer[b]	Lieutenant
Third Officer[b]	Sub-Lieutenant
WRAN Officer Cadet[c]	Midshipman
JUNIOR RATINGS	
Warrant Officer Wran[d]	Warrant Officer
Chief Wran	Chief Petty Officer
Petty Officer Wran	Petty Officer
Leading Wran	Leading Seaman
Senior Wran[e]	Able Seaman
Wran	Seaman
Wran*[e]	Seaman*
Recruit Wran	Recruit

Notes:

(a)   In 1971, the Superintendent rank was replaced with the equivalent RAN rank.

(b)   In 1979, the ranks of Chief Officer, First Officer, Second Officer and Third Officer were replaced with RAN ranks.

(c)   Women officers were referred to as WRAN Officer Cadets until they graduated from the RAN College at the end of 1980. At the following graduation on 02 July 1981, their rank had been changed to Midshipmen.

(d)   The Warrant Officer rank was introduced on 1 December 1971.

(e)   The Senior Wran, Wran* and Seaman* ranks were introduced in 1974. Prior to the change, Wrans retained the Recruit Wran rank for six months and then were promoted to Wran. The next available rank was Leading Wran.

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A GUIDE TO NAVY RANKS AND THE ASSOCIATED BADGE OF RANK

AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE FORCE
BADGES OF RANK AND SPECIAL INSIGNIA

NAVY

| Admiral ADML | Vice Admiral VADM | Rear Admiral RADM | Commodore CDRE | Captain CAPT | Commander CMDR | Lieutenant Commander LCDR | Lieutenant LEUT | Sub Lieutenant SBLT | Acting Sub Lieutenant ASLT | Midshipman MIDN |

ARMY

| General GEN | Lieutenant General LTGEN | Major General MAJGEN | Brigadier BRIG | Colonel COL | Lieutenant Colonel LTCOL | Major MAJ | Captain CAPT | Lieutenant LT | 2nd Lieutenant 2LT |

AIR FORCE

| Air Chief Marshal ACM | Air Marshal AIRMSHL | Air Vice-Marshal AVM | Air Commodore AIRCDRE | Group Captain GPCAPT | Wing Commander WGCDR | Squadron Leader SQNLDR | Flight Lieutenant FLTLT | Flying Officer FLGOFF | Pilot Officer PLTOFF | Officer Cadet OFFCDT |

NAVY

| Warrant Officer of the Navy WO-N | Warrant Officer WO | Chief Petty Officer CPO | Petty Officer PO | Leading Seaman LS | Able Seaman AB | Seaman SMN |

ARMY

| Regimental Sergeant Major of the Army RSM-A | Warrant Officer Class 1 WO1 | Warrant Officer Class 2 WO2 | Staff Sergeant SSGT | Sergeant SGT | Corporal or Bombardier CPL/BDR | Lance Corporal or Lance Bombardier LCPL/LBDR | No Insignia Private PTE |

AIR FORCE

| Warrant Officer of the Air Force WOFF-AF | Warrant Officer WOFF | Flight Sergeant FSGT | Sergeant SGT | Corporal CPL | Leading Aircraftman/ Aircraftwoman LAC/W | Aircraftman/ Aircraftwoman AC/W | Non-Commissioned Officer Cadet NCOCDT |

Plate FM-1: A comparison of rank badges in the Australian Defence Force

Note: An electronic copy of this chart is available at:
http://www.defence.gov.au/badges/Badges_of_rank.pdf

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

These pictures depict the changing role for women in the Royal Australian Navy

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

Images:

Collage at top half of page: a selection of pictures of women serving in the WRANS

The pictures are:

Top row: a WRANS recruit class, a Wran in summer uniform (with gloves) raising the flag, Wran Stewards being given training by a male Petty Officer

Second row: members of the WRANS involved in protocol duties—forming an informal guard for Princess Alexandra, Wran in winter uniform (with gloves and handbag)

Third row: at work in HMAS *Coonawarra* (Darwin) in working rig, Wrans forming a guard (c1980s), a group of Wrans preparing for Divisions (ships' company parade and march past the Commanding Officer of the ship)

Collage at bottom half of page: a selection of pictures of women serving in the RAN

Fourth row: on board a ship and preparing for boarding party duties, medical staff on board a ship, Commanding Officer on bridge of ship, junior officer on bridge of ship

Last row: a senior sailor and a junior sailor performing ceremonial duties, a Commander with her daughter, women submariners, supervising in the operations room on board a ship, preparing for boarding party, in the ship's galley, in the ship's personnel office

Sources: various, such as NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval – Facebook, RANCBA website, Defence Image Library and *Navy News*.

1.1   WOMEN IN THE NAVY - BACKGROUND

Patriarchy as a system is historical: it has a beginning in history … it can be ended by historical process.

Gerda Lerner (1986)

In 2011, the Navy celebrated its 100th birthday. That same year, Rear Admiral Robyn Walker, RAN[2] became the Navy's first female Admiral and the Australian Defence Force's (ADF) first female Surgeon General. Why did it take so long for women to gain senior roles in the RAN, especially given women have been lobbying for equal rights and senior employment opportunities in the general community for the same period of time? This is the question that sparked my interest in this research.

My interest in the topic of Navy women's employment comes from my own experience. I joined the Navy in 1973. At the time, women did not serve in the RAN but in an auxiliary service of the RAN, the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service known as the WRANS. I spent 12 years in the WRANS until the Service was disestablished in 1985 and women were seamlessly transferred to the RAN. I then spent a further 23 years in the RAN before transferring to the Royal Australian Naval Reserves. For the past eight years, I have been an active Reservist working approximately 100 days each year. My current rank is Commander. I am one of a small group of women who have held every non-commissioned rank before transferring to the Officer corps under the Warrant Officer scheme. In 1997, I was commissioned and granted the rank of Lieutenant with three years' seniority. Table 1 above provides a list of the ranks in the WRANS and the RAN.

1.2   PURPOSE, AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose of my research was to contribute to an understanding of the barriers and hurdles confronted by women seeking employment equality in the RAN, a non-traditional area of employment for women. By documenting the advances made by Australian Navy women, I am contributing to the historical literature of women's journeys to gain equal status in the workforce. Their story will add to and enrich the already multifaceted discourses of women's struggles and achievements to gain gender equality. The aim of my

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[2]   RAN is the abbreviation for Royal Australian Navy. This abbreviation is used as a post-nominal by all Australian Naval officers in the permanent force. Officers in the Naval Reserve, even if performing full-time service, use the post-nominal RANR. WRANS Officers used WRANS as a post-nominal.

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research was to document the history of women serving in the Navy over five and a half decades commencing in 1960. Contemporary stories of Australian military women are sparse; see for example Gisela Kaplan's (1995) bibliography of women in Australia from 1945. Also, acknowledgement of their achievements are not well documented; see for example Yvonne Smith's (1988) time line of women's contribution to history.

To guide me in my research, I developed the following research questions. These were:

- What changes occurred in Navy women's employment from 1960 to 2015 and why?

- How were the changes integrating women into the sea environment managed from an organisational perspective and what were the experiences of serving women?

My objectives in answering these two questions were firstly to contribute to the historical record of women serving in Australia's military; secondly to create a chronology of Navy women's history and a list of their significant achievements; and thirdly to inform past, present and future generations of women serving in the Navy of their history. Overall, I believe the results will contribute to increased understanding of the actual and potential contribution women have made and will in the future make to the Navy arm of Australia's Defence Force.

1.3   STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

1.3.1 Chapter 1 – Introduction

This introductory chapter provides an outline of the purpose, aims and objectives of my thesis and my interest in the topic. In this section, I explain how I have structured my thesis. I then go on to discuss three theses that I drew on due to the military nature of the topic. The reasons I chose to conduct the research using a feminist qualitative methodology is explained and I position my feminist view by outlining the journey of Australian feminists who have fought for equal employment opportunities. I also clarify the limits of my thesis. I now turn to a brief overview of the contents of the remaining thesis chapters.

1.3.2 Chapter 2 – Literature Review

From my experience, women's employment in the Navy has been influenced by changing societal values. After preliminary reading, I narrowed down two aspects that affected women's employment during the period of my study. These were changes in societal attitudes towards women's role in society and education reform for girls. The role wars (particularly World Wars I and II) played in influencing women's work outside the home was investigated as was women's role as reflected in the media, and the remuneration women were given for their work outside the home. As my belief that education plays a significant part in the types of work available to women outside the home, literature on education reform for girls at both the national and state/territory levels was also reviewed. My research on these topics then leads to a discussion on how labour market and educational reforms influenced women's workforce participation. Finally, I outline the gap in the literature in respect to women's participation in the Australian Navy workforce and as such the need for this research.

1.3.3 Chapter 3 – Methodology

Chapter 3 outlines the way in which I approached and carried out the research. In discussing the methodology that has guided this inquiry, I first explain my choice of using a feminist qualitative methodology. As a Navy "insider", I also provide a personal life history in this chapter. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the primary method I employed to analyse the data. Other theories could have been adopted. For example, Standpoint theory is a feminist critique of traditional scholarship. Research using this theory involves a non-objective interpretation of women's lives. According to Janet Boles and Diane Hoeveler (2004):

> Standpoint theory suggests that since all research (and knowledge) is produced from a particular standpoint (or social location) and **"dominant"** (male) standpoints prevail, other perspectives remain hidden. Women's views are less partial and incomplete because their views are shaped by unique experiences within a **patriarchal** society. Standpoint theory assumes that those who gain most from positions of power and privilege (and who sustain systems that ensure them) are least equipped to see the bias, while those most marginalised (e.g., women) see it most clearly. (pp. 304-305)

CDA scholars are socio-politically committed to social equality and justice. They are particularly interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse (van Dijk, 2009). I selected CDA over Standpoint theory as for reasons discussed in this Chapter, analysis of written texts was used to tell Navy women's story and the tenets of CDA more closely matched my liberal feminist views. These tenets are: CDA addresses social problems, power relations are discursive, discourse constitutes society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated, discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and discourse is a form of social action (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

While Chapter 3 discusses CDA in-depth, I provide here a short overview of the CDA tools used. Van Dijk's Ideological Schema was used in Chapter 4 to describe and evaluate the structure and lifestyle of the WRANS during the period 1960 to 1984. Van Dijk's Event Model was used as a foundation and expanded on in Chapter 5 to evaluate the changes implemented during the period 1985 to 2015 to create an integrated Navy. Dauber, Fink and Yolles' *A Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* in conjunction with van Dijk's Event Model was used in Chapter 6 to examine and evaluate the change in culture with women integrated into the Navy. In Chapter 7, I adopt a feminist method to acknowledge Navy women's achievements.

1.3.4   Chapter 4 – The Wrannery

This chapter describes the structure and lifestyle of the WRANS between 1960 and 1984. Without this background, there is no way to identify and evaluate significant events or turning points in Navy women's journey towards employment equality. The story of the WRANS during this 24-year period is told by adopting van Dijk's Ideological Schema, which identifies five components (membership devices, typical acts, aims, relations with other groups, and resources) and raises questions to ask when analysing each component.

1.3.5   Chapter 5 – Creating an Integrated Navy

Chapter 5 charts the changes in Navy women's employment with a focus on the legislative process, which legitimised the changes. The chapter explores the transition of women from the WRANS organisation to the Navy organisation and the changes in employment opportunities. The barriers to women's integration in the Navy and the initiatives that were

implemented to reduce or overcome the barriers are discussed. To analyse the changes, I used van Dijk's Event Model, which incorporates the setting, participants, and actions or events, to answer the questions: What Happened? Why? What were the drivers? How did the organisation react? What were the outcomes? The events were operationalised by including a timeline of significant events in Navy women's employment. The chronology can be found at Appendix 1. The organisation's reactions and the outcomes of changes are analysed using CDA discourse types. These are explained in detail in Chapter 3. This chapter does not discuss harassment or culture as this topic is covered in Chapter 6.

1.3.6   Chapter 6 – Changing Culture

The decision for women to serve at sea was sealed in 1985 with the repeal of the *Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulations*. However, because the RAN was formed in 1911, a 74-year masculine culture on Navy ships existed and limited preparation occurred prior to introducing women into the seagoing environment. An event on board HMAS *Swan* in 1992, which involved women complaining of sexual harassment and sexual assault, became the catalyst for cultural change in the Navy. Using van Dijk's Event Model, this chapter describes the event, the outcomes of the Navy Board of Inquiry and the subsequent Senate Inquiry. I then concluded the chapter with an evaluation of the success of the initiatives introduced to reform the culture within the Navy by adopting Dauber, Fink and Yolles' *A Configuration Model of Organizational Culture*.

1.3.7   Chapter 7 – The March of Navy Women

In chapter 7, I take the feminist approach of acknowledging women's contribution to society. Acknowledgement of women's achievements has been neglected in the history books until recent times. In the 1970s and 1980s reports on education reform recommended the highlighting of women's achievements as school curriculum material did not reflect the contribution of women to history and in contemporary society. In more recent times, governments and organisations have promoted the contribution of women through various awards and honour rolls. This chapter contributes to the growing list of achievements of Australian women by documenting the accomplishments of Navy women; those women who have achieved a first and made the path for women travelling the path behind them easier to navigate.

1.3.8 Chapter 8 – Conclusion

The conclusion of the thesis draws together the analysis in the preceding chapters. In so doing, I return to the research questions posed. The outcomes of the research questions then informed the gap that remains in women achieving full equality in the Navy and recommendations to bridge the gap are presented. I also offer some suggestions for further research.

1.4 PAST STUDIES

My research has been influenced by the work of three other researchers who have explored similar terrain. However, the contribution of this project and the subsequent thesis are simultaneously unique from and validating to previous work. Kathryn Spurling's (1988) Master's thesis, *The Women's Royal Australian Naval Service: a study in discrimination 1939 – 1960*, traces the establishment of the WRANS during WWII and the Service's demise at the end of the war. She addresses the limitations of the women's employment opportunities during the war period and the frustrations of serving women. Spurling (1988) provides a comprehensive discussion on the protracted road to a permanent WRANS (pp. 229-262). She (Spurling, 1988) vividly describes the hurdles faced by the peacetime Directors in gaining acceptance of the WRANS by the Navy male leadership who "remained uncommitted to such a scheme and subsequently failed to ensure successful implementation" (pp. 296-297).

Katerina Agostino's (1997a) doctoral thesis, *Femininities and Masculinities in the Royal Australian Navy: Workplace Discourses*, examines Navy's culture and its effects on women's integration and retention. Her connection to the Navy was as the wife of a Navy Chaplain. Agostino's research began against the backdrop of allegations of sexual harassment made by three women serving on board HMAS *Swan* in 1992, an impending Senate Inquiry and Navy leaders who she believed were highly sensitive to research that focused on women's work (1997a, pp. 9, 35). She explored how military women's participation has been constructed within the feminist and peace discourses, which viewed the military as a masculine endeavour. She explored how men construct each other within their workplace culture and the mechanisms women adopt to fit into male dominated workplaces in the seagoing environment. Agostino found collective male activities help preserve the tradition of the male-centred world on ships, where hegemonic masculinity remains the key cultural definer. She concluded that both women and gay men are minorities in the Navy and,

therefore, marginalised in their work spheres through the sexual expressions of the dominant group, heterosexual men.

Donna Bridges' (2005) doctoral thesis, *"The Gendered Battlefield" Women in the Australian Defence Force*, sought to understand and critically discuss gender inequality in the ADF as a barrier to full integration. Coming from a pacifist position, she initially wanted to understand why women would want to join the ADF. Her position evolved and her primary focus was to discover why women were being excluded from combat roles. She concluded that women were excluded from certain roles in the ADF based on the mythology that women's service is inferior to that of males.

Agostino's and Bridges' theses added to the material used in constructing my thesis. While there were some similarities in the purpose and aims of our theses, my research begins in 1960, the year Spurling concluded her study of the WRANS. Following on from Spurling, I also explored the changes in societal attitude towards women's workforce participation and how these changes affected women serving in the Navy. Like Agostino, I use the *Swan* event as a case study in my chapter on culture but review it from a different perspective and I draw different conclusions noting that 13 years has elapsed since her thesis was published. Since Bridges' thesis was published, unrestricted access to combat roles was announced by the Gillard Government in 2011 with ADF women being entitled to apply for a career in all combat roles from 2013 and direct entry recruitment expected from January 2016. My research approach differs from Bridges' in that only one chapter of my thesis focuses on the integration of women into the RAN. I discuss the implementation by examining the Australian federal government's role in effecting change to ADF women's employment, which then influenced the manner in which the Navy carried out the government's rulings. Where Bridges incorporated a chronology of women's integration into the ADF, I have included a chronology that is an annotated history of women's service in the Navy. Some of the dates are the same as they affected all Australian Defence women, but my annotated history provides more Navy specific elements, all of which are individually referenced.

1.5   TELLING THE STORY THROUGH A FEMINIST LENS

I chose from the outset of this project to take a joint disciplinary approach, one that encompassed women's studies and history. I identify with being a feminist as I believe in women having economic independence and equal opportunity in employment. Two and a

half years after commencing my first job in the workforce, which was working for the Queensland Public Service, I experienced workplace discrimination when a restructure saw not the men but the women in the office without a Year 12 education relegated to a typing pool despite their years of experience. Similarly, during my time in the permanent Navy I also experienced and witnessed discriminatory career practices. In the first case, I did not have any expertise to complain so I acted by resigning from the public service and joining the WRANS. In the latter case, the type of protest available to me was constrained due to the nature of the Navy's disciplined environment and structural barriers. Nevertheless, I did petition my views in the fight for equitable practices.

I took a more proactive role in feminist activism in the 1990s when I was stationed in Perth, Western Australia. I became a member of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL). A national, independent, non-party political Australian women's rights group established in 1972, WEL combines the broad feminist policy agenda of the American National Organization for Women (NOW) and the interest of America's National Women's Political Caucus dedicated to increasing women's participation in the political process and creating a true women's political power base to achieve equality for all women. During my time as a member of the WEL Perth Chapter, I participated in a project cataloguing and archiving the Chapter's records. This project instilled in me the importance of preserving material that recounts women's history. How could WEL's story be told if such material was destroyed rather than preserved?

According to Sophie Watson (1998), WEL is "the most organised group of liberal feminists in Australia" and "their activism has produced a great deal of improvement in women's conditions in Australia" (p. 451) . The terms *feminist* and *feminism* started to be used in America (Cott, 1987) and Australia (Allen, 1994, p. 83) around the time of WWI. Nancy Cott (1987) has argued that the term feminism, which replaced the older term "the Woman Movement" in describing the battle for women's rights, signalled a new phase in thinking about women's emancipation. According to Cott, self-styled feminists continued to be concerned about political rights but also sought a social revolution; they demanded a transformation of the ideas of submission and femininity that had been inculcated into women; they demanded new personal freedoms including autonomy and sexual freedom (pp. 1-21). Not all feminists will agree with Cott because the views of feminists are wide ranging and the term feminism has been expanded to include many different strands such as liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, postmodern feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism to name a few (Tong, 1989). Consequently, feminism is not one coherent

and homogeneous theory but a term that has many definitions and interpretations with feminists embracing only one strand or a mix of views.

As a feminist, I connected with feminist Gerda Lerner's quote at the beginning of the chapter. Lerner was an American historian instrumental during the 1960s and 1970s in legitimising women's history and women's studies in the academic curriculum. During the 1980s when researching the topic of patriarchy, published in the two volumes *Creation of patriarchy* (Lerner, 1986) and *Creation of Feminist Consciousness* (Lerner, 1993), she adopted a radical feminist view of patriarchy that argues patriarchy is the first and ultimate source of all oppression and must be overthrown if women are to gain equality.

While I agree with Lerner, I position myself more as a liberal feminist. Liberal feminism is part of the mainstream of feminist political and social theory and has the most long-term history. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) was the first major liberal feminist text. Wollstonecraft describes women as rational agents whose "inferiority" is due primarily to inferior education. Wollstonecraft argues that this can be redressed by equality of opportunity for women. Contemporary liberal feminism shares Wollstonecraft's optimism that the roots of women's oppression lie simply in women's lack of equal civil rights and educational opportunities. Liberal feminism seeks equality with men in the public sphere, contending that constraints on women derive from the lack of equal civil rights and can be remedied by legal and social reforms (Hines, 2008).

Rather than focus upon an over-riding cause of women's inequality, for example patriarchy, liberal feminists tend to highlight issues such as cultural gender stereotyping and gender divisions in the home and employment. Liberal feminists argue that these aspects of gender inequality can be ended through equal opportunities legislation and other democratic measures (Hines, 2008). Although I principally position myself as a liberal feminist and advocate for equal employment and education opportunities, I do not ignore the influence of patriarchy in shaping Australian society and the RAN. For the reasons outline in this section, this is why I wear my feminist lens in recording the history of Australian Navy women's journey towards employment equality.

1.6   POSITIONING MY FEMINIST VIEW IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

To position my feminist view in the Australian context, I provide in this section a brief historical overview of my understanding of the development of liberal feminism in the

twentieth century. Equality in employment and education was not an early goal of feminists. According to Lake (1999), feminists in the early twentieth century sought independence and freedom rather than equality. In particular, Australian feminists, since the winning of suffrage, stressed the goal of economic independence for all women, whether married, single, Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal, women working as homemakers or in the paid workforce. To achieve this goal, Lake (1999) argues they advocated a combination of different reforms such as:

> legislation to require husbands to share their family wage and to grant ownership to wives of household savings; motherhood endowment and later a supporting parent's benefit; the public provision of child care; and equal pay or the rate for the job. (p. 5)

Lake (1999) continues to argue that as time passed feminists realised that the only way women would enjoy their own income was by following men into the labour market (p. 5).

In the 1930s, feminists led by Linda Littlejohn, an ardent advocate of economic and equal citizen rights (Rischbieth, 1964, p. 84), formed the Australian Branch of Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker (ODI). The organisation's single goal was absolute equality for women and men in the paid workforce (Damousi, 1998; Lake, 1999, pp. 167-168; Prichard, 1998). ODI was opposed to restrictive or protective regulations enacted specifically for women workers, such as night work and maternity leave, as they discriminated against women and kept them in a position of inferiority. In her report following the inaugural International Conference of ODI, Littlejohn stated:

> [ODI] is opposed to special restrictions placed on women because they are women; since such restrictions do irreparable harm to women by lowering her status. Moreover, they maintain many employments and processes as monopolies for men; limit woman in her choice of employment; and so lower her rate of wages. Such protections do not protect women. They do, in fact protect men, while inflicting serious economic injury on all women. (Heagney, 1935, p. 174)

Attacks on women's paid employment can be traced back to the era of the Great Depression. During these hard times, which continued up until the start of WWII in 1939, women workers were accused of stealing men's jobs and intruding in their sphere of work. For example, writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1934, Keith Mackenzie promoted his doctrine of masculinism as Australia's only salvation from economic disaster. He disagreed

with the idea of women entering the professions such as doctors, lawyers, politicians, dentists, and university lecturers. He argued that in the interests of the nation women should not only refrain from entering professions but also be withdrawn from industry and replaced with men. A woman's role in Mackenzie's view was in the home as a wife and mother (1934, p. 11). Similarly, Labor journalist Warren Denning (1938) wrote an article "The Economic Woman" and claimed women were doing two enormously harmful things:

> they are displacing men in whose sphere they have intruded, and they are not producing in the field where they were created to produce—that is, they are not making homes and bearing the children our nation so desperately needs. (p. 38)

In women's defence, Jessie Street, Australian suffragette, feminist and human rights campaigner, replied to these comments. In a 20 February 1934 letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Street (22 February 1934) argued that women needed work just as much as men and to sack them to make way for men would not cure unemployment but only shift the burden on to the shoulders of women who were already handicapped by prejudice, customs and lack of status and opportunity (p. 3). Women who did work carried an extra burden as home-making was still considered a woman's role. For example, a recent website describing the history of the Great Depression states, "if a woman had worked all day scrubbing floors to bring in some money, her unemployed husband would still expect her to cook dinner and keep the house in order" (Australian Government, 2009).

Attacks not only occurred on women's work but also on their training, such as the need to train them for clerical positions rather than in the domestic sciences, which girls would need for their future in the home. For example, when debating the Supply Bill for the funding of Technical and Further Education Colleges in the Queensland Legislative Assembly in 1932, the member for Toowong (Country and Progressive National party), James Maxwell, stated:

> To me, one of the noblest walks of life that a boy can follow is that of a tradesman, and in the case of a girl I think she should be trained to take her place in the home, because, after all, the girls of to-day will be the mothers of the future. (Parliament of Queensland. Legislative Assembly, 1932, p. 1169)

The member for Fitzroy, Jens Peterson (Country and Progressive National party), supported his colleague arguing:

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> The Department of Public Instruction–and I say it without bitterness–has set too much importance on a girl having typewriting or shorthand writing qualifications rather than on being fully equipped in regard to domestic hygiene. I would like to see a system introduced whereby the girls who go through a course of domestic hygiene and thus better fit themselves to be wives are given a higher degree than those who merely tick a typewriter all day long. We should call a halt in that direction. (Parliament of Queensland. Legislative Assembly, 1932, p. 1169)

He went on to state that girls should be inculcated in the belief that:

> it is a great honour to become an efficient housewife and thoroughly to understand domestic hygiene in all its branches, not so much for the purpose of becoming a serf to her husband, but to put her in a position to conduct her own home. (Parliament of Queensland. Legislative Assembly, 1932, p. 1169)

The views expressed by these two Parliamentarians is a societal attitude that was reinforced in the following decades and which still exists in some quarters today, particularly the view that women and not men are responsible for the maintenance of the home as well as the primary child carers.

During WWII, training and employment opportunities did open up for women. Sheila McClemans, a contemporary of Street, was appointed to lead the WRANS in WWII. McClemans was not the first choice for the position.[3] She was, nonetheless, a most suitable choice. McClemans was one of the earliest law graduates in Western Australian and was admitted to the Bar in 1933 (L. Davies, 2000, p. 22). Unable to find work in the midst of the Depression, she and Molly Kingston, her friend and fellow graduate, founded Kingston & McClemans, the first all-female law firm in the State (L. Davies, 2000, p. 60). After the partnership with Kingston was dissolved in 1939, McClemans worked for the law firm Hardwick, Slattery & Gibson. In her professional life, McClemans was confident, competent, knowledgeable, trustworthy and a reasonable advocate (L. Davies, 2000, p. 64). She was also according to Davies (2000) "a stickler for the rules of professional ethics and etiquette, good manners and proper deference to those in authority" (2000, p. 87), characteristics that made her a highly suitable candidate for military service. Her

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[3] Annette Oldfield was selected by the Navy on 12 November 1942 to be the First Officer of the WRANS. However, a month later she resigned. The Minister for the Navy was unwilling to discuss the reasons. Davies' (2000) research indicates the resignation occurred when the Navy became aware that Oldfield had falsely exaggerated her qualifications, although in her defence, the wording of the recruitment notice was misleading (pp. 92-96).

application to join the WRANS included two references. One was from an old friend, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Moseley, who took leave from the Bench to assume the post of Deputy Director of Military Security. He stated she possessed "wide knowledge" and was "eminently fitted for her administrative post in the Navy" (L. Davies, 2000, p. 92). The other reference was from Ross McDonald, a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia, who had taught McClemans at law school. The following extract from his letter contains a fascinating example of unconscious sexism, typical of the time:

> She is possessed of really good abilities and a temperament which I am sure would enable her to secure the best results from those working with and under her. I know that for some years she has been Secretary of the infant Health Association and more latterly Vice President of that Association. She has had an exceptional business experience *for a woman* [emphasis added] and knowledge of business and administrative matters, and should be well fitted for an executive position in which organising ability is required. (L. Davies, 2000, p. 92)

In the 1940s and 1950s after the WRANS was disbanded, McClemans played a prominent part in Western Australia's leading feminist organisation, the Women's Services Guild. Her mother, Ada McClemans, had also been a tireless worker for the Women's Service Guild as well as a Justice of the Peace[4] and a qualified nursing sister (L. Davies, 2000, p. 62). The whole of McClemans working life, including her naval service, was devoted to the needs of women and their social advancement. In particular, McClemans was a supporter of women's equality. For example, representing The Federation of University Women, she was one of the four signatories on the 1951 Declaration of Equality (Plate 1-1).

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[4]   Women in Western Australia (WA) were granted the right to serve as Justices of the Peace in 1920 when the WA Government passed an amendment to the *Justices Act* (Rischbieth, 1964, p. 40).

Declaration

OCTOBER 22ND 1951

We The Australian Federation of Women Voters ...... The Federation of University Women ...... The Business & Professional Women's Clubs ......The Soroptomists Clubs unanimously declare ourselves in favour of the complete equality of men and women in all social, economical, political and legal spheres, and pledge ourselves to work for the unpredjudiced acceptance by all authorities of the principle of equality which postulates equal — opportunity, responsibility and reward

THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION OF WOMEN VOTERS
A. G. Wheaton

THE BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS
Clara Behrend

THE FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
Sheila McClemans

THE SOROPTOMISTS CLUBS
Gertrude W Ruston

Plate 1-1: 1951 Declaration of Equality

> Sheila McClemans, the first Director WRANS, after leaving the Service was a tireless worker for women's equality. She was one of four women who signed the 1951 Declaration of Equality. She did so on behalf of the Federation of University Women. Representatives from the Australian Federation of Women Voters (AFWV), the Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the Soroptimists Clubs also signed the declaration at the AFWV Triennial Conference in Perth in 1951. **Source:** (Rischbieth, 1964, p. 99)

One aspect of inequality was women's rates of pay. Like women in the civilian workforce who were paid less than men, servicewomen also were paid considerably less than servicemen. In July 1942, Erna Keighley, then President of the United Associations of Women, wrote to the Minister for the Army urging that women in the auxiliary services be rendered eligible for all the benefits available to men—deferred pay, repatriation benefits, pensions and postal concessions. Keighley (31 July 1942) wrote: "There is a growing discontent all over the Commonwealth at the discrimination against women in the defence forces". She reasoned that if discrimination applying to benefits was ended, the only question remaining for settlement would be the question of equal pay: "we trust that the Government will soon give consideration to this most vital matter".

In the following two decades, the question of equal pay remained high on the list of feminist issues. Throughout the 1950s, women's organisations and trade union women continued to campaign for equal pay, focussing on submissions to industrial courts as well as to parliaments. At the Ninth Triennial Conference of the Australian Federation of Women Voters in 1951, the resolutions carried at the conference included lobbying of the Commonwealth Government on the issue of equal pay (rate for the job irrespective of sex) (Rischbieth, 1964, pp. 104-105). Success in achieving equal pay was in sight by the end of the decade. In 1958, the New South Wales State government passed the *Industrial Arbitration (Female Rates) Amendment Act No. 42 1958* (NSW) for workers on State awards performing essentially the same work as men (NSW Government, 31 August 2011). In the same year, the Australian Council of Trade Unions submitted to women's pressure and convened a national conference on equal pay and working conditions in Sydney (Lake, 1999, p. 212). The Council also presented a petition signed by 62,000 people to the Minister for Labour and Industry, Harold Holt, urging the government to honour its decision to implement the 1951 International Labor Office (ILO) convention on equal pay (Lake, 1999, p. 212). Trade union women and feminist organisations kept up their campaigns into the 1960s, when an upsurge in the demand for labour saw a softening of traditional opposition to married women working (Lake, 1999, p. 212). Finally, in 1966, the federal parliament passed legislation removing the marriage bar in the Commonwealth Public Service and banks, thus opening up new opportunities for women seeking permanency and promotion (Lake, 1999, p. 212; Minns, 2004, p. 46). These conditions flowed on to the women's military services.

The 1970s saw the emergence of "state feminism", which was initiated by the Whitlam Labor government when they were elected to office in 1972. Whitlam had a liberal vision

of equality. He consolidated his support with the women's movement soon after taking office with three highly symbolic measures: he removed the luxury tax from contraceptives, introduced paid maternity leave for Commonwealth public servants and introduced a supporting mothers' benefit to enable single women to keep their children (Lake, 1999, p. 254). He also appointed Elizabeth Reid, a philosopher and tutor at the Australian National University, as his women's affairs adviser. She became the prototypical "femocrat", a distinctly Australian term for a feminist bureaucrat. Reid's role was to translate feminist ideals into government policy (Lake, 1999, p. 254). Her achievements included securing Commonwealth underwriting of the delivery of a range of new women's services such as women's refuges, rape crisis centres, women's health centres, child care and equal opportunity polices in education, training and employment (Lake, 1999, p. 256). Education is one of the most powerful ways in which the state reproduces the gender and social relations of production. The basic structure and practice of education is therefore a central concern of feminist theory, which aims to show how schools reproduce female subordination (Humm, 1995, p. 76).

The political recognition of women in the bureaucracy continued in the Fraser Coalition government years. In 1975, under the influence of Sara Dowse, who worked in the Women's Affairs Branch of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet,[5] Fraser wrote to the Ministers of Health, Education, Social Security, Aboriginal Affairs, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Environment, Housing and Community Development and to the Attorney-General asking them to consider establishing women's policy units "to give proper consideration to the concerns and rights of women in the formulation of policy and the administration of programs" (Lake, 1999, pp. 260-261). While Defence is missing from the above list of departments, the three women's services did have representatives who were advocating and formulating policy. Their representatives were the Directors of the women's services. In Navy's case, this was Captain Barbara MacLeod who was appointed Director WRANS in 1973 and served in this capacity for seven years (Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356). MacLeod had succeeded Captain Joan Streeter who had served as the Director for 15 years (Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356). Streeter's achievements included seeing Wrans[6] serve in Singapore, the first overseas draft for Wrans, and the granting of permanent status in lieu of the original four-year agreement. To this she added the right of Wrans to contribute to Defence's retirement benefits fund and in doing so encouraged women to make a career of the Service. Nevertheless, she was very

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[5]   The Branch became the Office of the Status of Women.
[6]   The different uses of the acronym WRANS are explained on page xix and in Chapter 4. For ease, the term WRANS refers to the Service and the term Wran refers to a rating in the Service.

conservative in her expectations of Navy women's future because she doubted there would ever come a day when the Navy would be full of women Admirals (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 267).

MacLeod's expectations for Navy women's employment opportunities was much greater than Streeter's. Although she claimed not to be a "women's lib advocate", she had definite views on the place and role of women in a changing society:

> If you mean by women's lib, do I believe in wider job opportunities for women either in or out of the Service, then yes, I am a women's libber. Women are demanding a more meaningful place in today's changing society and winning their demands. When I first came into the Navy there were only two avenues for employment open to WRANS officers—administration and communications. Today, as a result of the untiring efforts of Captain Streeter, there are many more job opportunities for both Wrans and officers. (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 266)

MacLeod saw the implementation of two important conditions of service for women: maternity leave and equal pay (Barrie, 2000, p. 4; Vale, 2004). She led by example achieving many firsts for Navy women. For example, she was the first WRANS officer to be posted to the staff of the Flag Officer Commanding East Australia where she assumed the role of Commander of WRANS, and she was the first woman to attend the Australian Services Staff College for senior management (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 266). Streeter's and MacLeod's successes, while only incremental, proved their advocacy was succeeding. Their successes were a marked improvement because as Spurling (1988) pointed out, past Directors were often not listened to and excluded from the decision making process (pp. 311-317).

By the early 1980s, women had made dramatic inroads into Commonwealth and State bureaucracies. Between 1975 and 1982, the number of permanent women officers in the Second Division of the Commonwealth Public Service had increased from two to 27, at which time women comprised one quarter of the Third Division and one half of the Fourth Division.[7] According to Lake (1999) "equal opportunities seemed to be within the reach of women—especially if they were white, English speaking, and tertiary educated" (p. 262).

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[7]   The *Public Service Act 1902* (Cth) defined four divisions. The first and senior division was the Administrative Division. The second was the Professional Division; the third the Clerical Division and the fourth the General Division. Only the third and fourth divisions were open to women and permanency was not guaranteed in the third division. The divisional structure was not abolished until 1984 with the passing of the *Public Service Reform Act* 1984 (Cth).

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The *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) (SDA) marked a turning point for women's equality. The legislation was also the culmination of the long campaign for equality in the workforce by feminists throughout the twentieth century. Fittingly, Susan Ryan, who was an experienced activist and feminist, presided over the passage of the Bill in her capacity as Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women (Lake, 1999, p. 263). She was ably assisted in translating feminist ideals into public policy by Anne Summers,[8] Head of the Office of the Status of Women between 1983 and 1986 (Lake, 1999, p. 263). The SDA did, however, permit the ADF to exempt women from combat and combat-relation positions. These exemptions started to be relaxed from the 1990s but would not be finally removed until 2011.

The SDA was supplemented in 1986 by the *Affirmative Action Act 1986 (*Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) (Cth), which required companies employing over 100 employees and institutions of higher education to implement affirmative action programs that would address structural disadvantage and act to remove barriers to equality. Although the Act did not apply to government bodies, the ADF did develop and implement strategies to increase the number of women in the Services and to expand their employment opportunities. Ten years after the introduction of the Act, Clare Burton (1996) conducted two studies into the barriers impeding the progress of women in the ADF and the reasons why more women were not making the ADF a long-term career. She found that the phrase "affirmative action" was viewed by many people in the ADF as "undesirable preferential treatment" from the initial phase beginning with active recruitment strategies through to career circumstances such as appointment or promotion (1996, pp. ES-11). She argued that "time alone, without the support of active interventionist strategies, will not solve the problem of discrimination against women in the ADF" (1996, pp. ES-2). Her first recommendation was for the ADF to create an Employment Equity or Equal Employment Opportunity Unit to develop strategic, long-term planning processes for the effective elimination of all forms of discrimination and harassment (Burton, 1996, p. 201). On 1 July 1997, the Defence Equity Organisation was established (Department of Defence, 1998, p. 31).

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[8]   Anne Summers has been an activist and theorist in the women's movement since the 1970s. She established the journal *Refractory Girl* in 1973. Her influential history of Australian women, *Damned Whores and God's Polic*e, was published in 1975. To mark the books 40th anniversary a three-day conference was hosted by the University of Technology Sydney from 21-23 September 2015.

During the 1990s, there was a revolt by young feminists who accused the "old guard" of being an "old girls club", who looked out for each other but did little to help young women find their way. Catherine Lumby (1996), an emergent author and cultural theorist at the time, agreed that the older generation of feminists were "locking out" younger women (p. 1). She claimed that feminism was no longer a revolution but an institution. Kathy Bail (1996) asserted young women of the 1990s wanted to be considered as people first and women second. She (Bail, 1996) coined the phrase DIY (Do It Yourself) Feminism and her book of the same name brought together a collection of young feminist voices in an appeal to the new generation. Bail promoted the concept of Girl Power in which feminism was now a matter of attitude and lifestyle rather than politics (Hopkins, 2002, p. 18). Another young feminist creating a new memory narrative about feminism was Virginia Trioli. She (Trioli, 1996) argued that women's actions were not as visible as those of their agitating predecessors because they now worked from within the system, rather than outside it. Moreover, women not men were holding them back because they saw the next generation a threat to their hard-won power. Trioli (1996) concluded that early feminist strategies had failed and their advocates should move on gracefully and leave the playing field to young women, who were much better able to deal with the complex issues of the present (p. 9).

Another narrative that appeared in the 1990s was "feminism failed me" with the argument that feminism had not delivered on its promises. Despite the rhetoric by what has been labelled "third wave feminists" the earlier feminists' successes had given women the freedom of choice, an initial goal of feminism. Women in the 1990s could choose between a career or having a family and staying at home or they could combine the two. Many current Navy women are examples of this gain as they combine a career with a family. Marjorie Bayliss (nee Reid), who was one of the first direct entry WRAN Officer Cadets in 1962, has a daughter in the Navy, Katherine Richards. Commodore Richards, RAN graduated from the Australian Defence Force Academy in 1991 and was promoted to Commodore in 2014. She is the Navy's first one-star engineer. To achieve success in her field, Richards had to spend many of her early years at sea. Her mother reminded her that time was running out to have children and asked her if doing so would affect her career. Richards said not at all, which is borne out by her current family status of a husband in the Army and their three children. In 2015, she assumed the role of Director General of Engineering – Navy and the Director General Technical Seaworthiness. Richards' Navy career opportunities differ significantly from her mother's whose naval career was cut short due to the marriage bar although she was a qualified accountant (M. Bayliss, personal

communication, January 26, 2016; K. Richards, personal communication, January 25, 2016).

Despite the new feminist narratives, my view is that women of the second wave feminist generation have been pioneers and are inspirational role models, particularly in respect to their career achievements. Just a few examples are Pat O'Shane who became the first Aboriginal barrister in 1976. In 1979 she was appointed a Member of the New South Wales Metropolitan Water, Sewerage and Drainage Board—the first female member in the Board's 91-year history (Kovacic & Henningham, 2009). In 1985, Sallyanne Atkinson became Queensland's first female Lord Mayor when elected to the Brisbane City Council. She held the position for six years (Department of Communities Child Safety and Disability Services, 2015). In 1992, Justice Elizabeth Evatt, among her many other achievements, became the first Australian to be elected to the United Nations Human Rights Committee (Halonkin, 2014). I think many forget how men have and in many case still dominate as decision makers in the public service space. If it was not for our feminists driving change throughout the twentieth century from both the outside and inside the establishment, where would women be today? Presenting a history of women serving in Australia's Navy over a period of five and a half decades is a study in political history. As Lake (1999) describes, feminism is "a politics, not an effect of biology" (p. 16).

This section frames my position primarily as a liberal feminist who believes women are entitled to equal employment and education opportunities and that these goals are achievable through legal and social reform.

1.7   PARTIAL ANSWER TO MY INITIAL QUESTION

A partial answer to my original question of why it has taken so long for women to gain senior roles in the RAN has its origins in the 1940s when the demands of WWII created unusual opportunities for women. Women were exposed to fields of employment that were previously exclusively male because as men went to fight the war, women backfilled their positions (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997, p. 5).

One of the women's military services formed during WWII was the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS). On 18 April 1941, the Minister for the Navy approved the employment of twelve telegraphists and two attendants. However, the approval was given reluctantly and the Minister deemed no publicity was to be given to this break in

tradition (Curtis-Otter, 1975, pp. 4-5). The following year, more women were recruited to fill workforce shortages. Positions offered included motor transport drivers, clerical assistants, storekeepers, cooks and sick berth attendants. Although these roles were essentially womanly occupations, Margaret Curtis-Otter (1975), who was a journalist before joining the WRANS, states there was "a hint of the shape of things to come when "gunnery girls" in overalls could debate the relative merits of their work with, for instance, Wrans who assessed the magnetic attraction of vessels as they crossed the degaussing range" (p. 6).

In hindsight, Curtis-Otter's predictions were overly confident. Despite the efforts and achievements of the women who served in the military during the war, the patriarchal attitude that had existed prior to the formation of the women's services resurfaced at the end of the war. The result was the disestablishing of the women's services. However, workforce shortages due to the demands of the Korean War and national service in a time of full employment led to the reconstitution of the WRANS four years later on 23 December 1950, albeit with significant reluctance from the Naval Board (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 60; Royal Australian Navy, 1951; Spurling, 1988, pp. 232-241). The initial categories offered to women were telegraphist, writer, sick berth attendant, stores assistant, cook, steward and regulating[9] (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 60). In 1952 following an inquiry into conditions of service in the Australian Armed Forces, the RAN was granted the right to employ women in categories other than those originally laid down (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, pp. 60-61). For example, the Motor Transport Driver and Radar Plot categories were opened to the Wrans in 1957; in 1961, the Wran Radio Operator Teletype specialist qualification was introduced; and in 1965 the Linguist category of the Communications Branch was introduced for sailors and Wrans (see Appendix 1).

In the post-war period, many women returned to their traditional housewife role. In fact, women were asked to return to the home so that employment opportunities could be created for men returning from the war (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997, p. 5; Spurling, 1988, pp. 266-267, 344). Nevertheless, the war years opened the door to the notion that women did not have to choose between a career and marriage; the two were not incompatible (Stephenson, 1970, p. 1). This was not an option for women who joined the post-war WRANS. When the WRANS were reconstituted in 1950, a long-term career for women serving in the Navy was possible only for those who remained single, as women were

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[9]   The Regulating Branch was the administrative arm of the Service.

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discharged on marriage (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171; Spurling, 1988, p. 279). Furthermore, despite Navy women working beside men doing the same job, their pay was only two-thirds the male wage (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171). Most notable was that women were denied the opportunity to serve at sea as their employment was restricted to positions ashore. Spurling (1988) argued that the sea exclusion resulted in women not attaining status and prestige (p. 344). According to Cooper (2001), sea experience was necessary for women to attain the same professional ability as their male counterparts (p. 171). Undoubtedly, the patriarchal attitude of those serving in the Defence ministry and the Navy leadership persisted along traditional lines by excluding women from the exclusive "male club". After all, how could sailors maintain the supposedly elitist masculine endeavour of the "warrior" if women were allowed to serve at sea?

In the 1960s, enhancements to Navy women's employment occurred with the lifting of the marriage bar in 1968 (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171). In the 1970s, WRANS were granted equal pay (H. Smith, 1990, p. 129) and in the 63-year history of the Royal Australian Naval College, WRANS officer cadets commenced training at the Naval College rather than at HMAS *Cerberus*, the primary training establishment for sailors and Wrans (Jones, 2001a, p. 225). A host of small but vital changes, such as officer rank titles, disciplinary codes and promotion rules were gradually altered so that male and female conditions of service became more closely aligned. The impetus for these changes was generated from the national and international endeavours of the various women's movements, and some were not warmly received within the Defence Force. One example of unwelcome change by the Navy and the other Services was the 1975 introduction of maternity leave and the right of Servicewomen to remain in the Defence Force after the birth of their children (Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 35). Millicent Poole & Janice Langan-Fox (1997) argued that although the notion of the "career woman" had reached a level of social acceptability, there were still problems in women achieving access and equity (p. 6). Defence's reluctance to introduce maternity leave demonstrated the ambivalent attitudes towards women and their "careers".

One constraint that frustrated many Navy women was their exclusion from serving at sea. This changed with the enactment of the SDA in 1984. However, the posting of a handful of women on board a training ship was only a token gesture. Women were still excluded from serving in combat and combat related positions, a constraint endorsed by senior Servicemen and by the Federal Government (Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 35). Women did progress, nevertheless, in other areas. For example, in 1984 the first two female

apprentices were recruited (*Navy News*, 1986c, p. 8); in 1986, women were included in the first intake of students at the Australian Defence Force Academy, a tri-service co-educational college (Jones, 2001a); and in 1988, Sub-Lieutenant Janine Narbutas became the first female officer to gain a Bridge Watchkeeping Certificate (Gould, 2013b, p. 10; *Navy News*, 1988b, p. 7). The first permanent sea postings for women to major surface combatants occurred in the 1990s (see Appendix 1). The employment of women at sea was not without its difficulties. On one ship, HMAS *Swan*, allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault surfaced in 1992, which culminated in a Senate Inquiry (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994) and the reinvigoration of the Navy's patriarchal culture. As mentioned in Section 1.3, this issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

At the turn of the twentieth century, 15 years after women started going to sea, women's sea roles continued to expand. In 1997, Lieutenant Jennifer Daetz became the first woman to command a ship, the survey vessel HMAS *Shepparton* (Daetz, 2013, p. 15; Spurling, 2001, p. 283). Two years later in 1999, 12 women submariners joined HMA Ships *Collins* and *Farncomb*, which according to Spurling (2001) was "a step watched closely by other navies that had yet to make the advance" (p. 283). The following year, Lieutenant Commander Michele Miller was the first woman to command a Patrol Boat, the Fremantle Class HMAS *Bunbury*. Miller made history in 2007 when she became the first woman to command one of Navy's major surface combatants, the ANZAC Class frigate HMAS *Perth* (Miller, 2013, p. 90).

As the time-line above shows, the path towards equality for Navy women has occurred at a slow pace. As further discussed in section 2.5, women in senior leadership positions can still be lauded as exceptions to the rule. There are various reasons for this, from changes in societal attitudes to the willingness to build new ships that have been designed to accommodate mixed gender crewing. For example, the Armidale class patrol boat, first commissioned in 2005, finally included mix gender accommodation for junior ratings; the planning and building of which took six years (Heron & Powell, 2007). Formerly, only female officers could be accommodated on board the previous class of patrol boat (Fremantle class). The reasons outlined above only partially answer why it has taken so long for women to gain senior roles in the RAN. Changing societal attitudes required feminist activism to shift the view that the only role for women was in the home. Women also have the right to equal status in the labour market, which can only be achieved by

equality of opportunity in education and inspired leadership at both the political and military levels to implement and drive the reform of unequal policies.

In my thesis, I explore in depth the various reasons outlined for the changes in Navy women's employment opportunity. At the preliminary stage of my research, I posited that a degree of prejudice existed against women (based on fixed, conventional ideas rather than overt hostility) and has operated and in some cases still operates over large areas of employment in Australia including the Navy. According to the former Sex Discrimination Commission, Elizabeth Broderick, societal attitudes are changing; an example being the decreasing tolerance for inappropriate behaviour (Fanning, 2016). Broderick affirmed that as patriarchy is a human construct, people can change it. In assuming this stance, she reaffirmed Lerner's quote leading this chapter. Although the pace of change has been slow in the Navy, change in Navy women's employment and education opportunities have, as I demonstrate in my thesis, occurred. Broderick's and Lerner's beliefs that patriarchy as a system can be ended by people over time thus resonates with my feminist views.

1.8   BOUNDARIES OF THE THESIS

This thesis is about women in the Navy and the changes to their employment in the five and a half decades from 1960. While Navy women have shared with other Defence women in the benefits of legislative decisions and in more recent times Defence policies, each Service has a unique past and operational role. Therefore, the role of women in the Royal Australian Army and the Royal Australian Air Force when mentioned are discussed only in relation to the overarching legislation and policies.

The research did not seek to explore where race, ethnicity or class intersect with gender. While some strands of feminism, such as socialist feminism, would not exclude such a discussion, my predominantly liberal feminist position allows me to keep a focus on gender. These factors of race, ethnicity, class and sexual orientation are relevant and do impact on the culture of the ADF, nevertheless, a boundary was drawn. A discussion on the topic of culture is limited to the cultural reform that took place when women began serving at sea, because women on ships was a significant shift in the way "business" was done in the Navy. Chapter 6 of the thesis is devoted to this issue.

The boundaries of the thesis also prevent discussion and analysis of the experiences of men in the Navy. Male members in the Navy also face barriers to their careers.

Furthermore, they have experienced discrimination and harassment. For example Burchett's (2011) investigation into the military justice system indicated 71 per cent of the submissions came from male service personnel (Annex I pp. 3-7). The enquiry received 488 submissions and identified 18 categories of complaint. Numbering a total of 148 submissions, "abuse of authority" was the highest complaint among submissions. The second highest category was "harassment" with 132 complaints. This was followed by "intimidation" with 89 submissions and "victimisation" rated 85 submissions. There were also 69 submissions alleging assault. More recently, the Leeuwin Report released in June 2014 (Defence Abuse Response Taskforce) is based on the personal accounts of more than 200 complainants who trained at HMAS *Leeuwin*, a Junior Recruit Training Establishment for boys operated by the Royal Australian Navy in Fremantle, Western Australian from 1960 to 1984. Virtually all of the complainants were Junior Recruits aged between 15 and 17 years at the time of the reported abuse. So while I acknowledge that some men in the RAN have also suffered in their careers as a result of discrimination and harassment, this research focuses on Navy women.

1.9   CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this introductory chapter, I explained my interest in the topic. I then outlined the purpose, aims and objectives of the study of women serving in the Navy between the five and a half decades 1960 to 2015. Following this, I sketched the structure of my thesis and discussed the influence of three other researchers who have explored similar terrain. I then explained why I bring a feminist view to the research; a view that is predominantly liberal feminist but one that also incorporates radical and socialist feminist thought. To position my feminist view in the Australian context, I subsequently provided a brief historical overview of my understanding of the development of liberal feminism in the twentieth century. This led me to give the reader of the thesis a partial answer to my initial question of why it has taken so long for women to gain senior roles in the RAN. Finally, I defined the boundaries of my thesis.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

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2.1   INTRODUCTION

Women have been fighting for equal citizenship rights for at least a century as explained in the previous chapter. The fundamental reason for women's unequal status has been the sex-role stereotyping of men and women. The female stereotype paints women as passive, nurturant, emotional and impractical, opposites to the male stereotype characteristics of activity, aggression, dominance and technical proficiency (Anti-Sexist Working Party, 1991, p. 135). By assigning certain characteristics to women and men and then determining what roles they perform, gender has become a social construct. Raewyn Connell (1987) contends that gender is a large-scale and dynamic social structure not just a matter of personal identity. She argues how power is contextually and historically shaped and regulated and linked to the benefits and costs of "emphasised femininity" based on "compliance … and accommodating the desires and interest of men" and "hegemonic masculinity" characterised by power, authority, aggression, technical competence and heterosexuality" (p. 183).

According to Alloway (1995), these binaries, unless understood and challenged, will perpetuate:

> Gendered ways of being that give girls relative to boys lower paid and less socially prestigious levels of education and work, inequitable access to public sources of power, and disproportionate family responsibilities … [and] an order that privileges boys in terms of future earning capacity and establishment of positions of social power. (p. 12)

Because gender is a social construct, gender identities do not need to be static or fixed but can be dynamic, ongoing, changing and changeable. But to do such requires action. Even with the force of the feminist movement, women's progress in gaining acceptance in the fields of employment deemed suitable for men only, such as in the parliament, the military, science, technology, engineering and medicine, has been slow. Education is a major factor in giving women access to these fields of employment. Without access to a broad education and then the opportunity to gain meaningful employment in a transparent, competitive workforce environment and in all fields of employment women are denied the freedom to develop their talents, actively participate in top-level public decision making and having economic independence.

The topic of my thesis focuses on equal employment opportunities for women serving in the Royal Australian Navy (RAN)[10] over the past 55 years. To understand the employment environment of the time period, I explore the social and political settings. In Australia, Western societal values and attitudes dictated what roles were appropriate for girls and boys, men and women. It was these attitudes, which led to male and female stereotyping (Anti-Sexist Working Party, 1991, p. 134). The reasons for the changing attitudes to women's education and workforce participation are explored in this literature review in four sections. The first section briefly discusses how wars (in particular the two world wars and the Korean War) in the twentieth century created employment opportunities for women in non-traditional fields of employment. The next section reviews women's work following these wars. The third section focuses on educational reforms for girls at the federal, state and territory levels to improve employment opportunities for women. The last section draws the preceding sections together to provide some examples of the influence of reforms in the labour market and educational sector. Before summarising the chapter, the gap in the literature in respect to the Navy women's story is discussed.

2.2   WOMEN'S WORK AND WAR

In October 1913, the first ships of the newly formed RAN sailed into Sydney Harbour (Stevens, 2011, p. 35). Ten months later on 3 August 1913, two days before the British Empire declared war on Germany, the Commonwealth Government of Australia announced the RAN would be placed under the Admiralty's control and an expeditionary force of 20,000 men would be despatched to any destination desired by Britain (Stevens, 2001a, pp. 31-32). As the First World War (WWI) unfolded, the British government urged women to support the war effort by volunteering to work in a variety of jobs, including munitions factories as depicted in the recruiting poster shown in Plate 2-1 (Stearman, 1999, p. 13).

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[10]   In this chapter the RAN will be referred to as the Navy. Where other navies are mentioned, the country will be specified for example the United States Navy.

ON HER
THEIR LIVES DEPEND

WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS

Enrol at once

In WWI, British women contributed to the war effort in non-traditional roles such as munition workers. However, Australian women were confined to more traditional roles such as cooks and first aiders.

Plate 2-1: WW1 poster recruiting British women as munitions workers
Source: Poster by unknown artist, Ministry of Munitions Great Britain, 1916, lithograph on paper, 49x76cm Art. IWM PST 0402

Posters like the one in Plate 2-1 demonstrate the pursuit of women as worthy contributors to all aspects of the war effort. However, the story was vastly different for Australian women, despite the Australian government's commitment to the "motherland" in respect to ships and men. While many women in Australia wanted to be actively involved in war-related jobs, such as cooks, stretcher bearers, motor car drivers, interpreters and munitions workers, the government would not allow such participation. Instead, women were confined to the traditional area of women's work, mainly in the clothing and footwear, food and printing sectors, with some increase taking place in the clerical, shop assistant and teaching areas (Lewis & Gurry, 2001).

Although Australian women worked outside the home prior to WWI, particularly poor women who had no other means of support, never before were men's jobs, such as factory workers, clerks and general office workers, open to women. Nevertheless, women's workforce contribution in Australia rose only 13 per cent to 37 per cent during the period 1914 to 1918. This increase was small given the Australian men lost to military service during WWI was close to half a million, which represented about 10 per cent of the male population (Department of Defence, 2008c, p. 9; First World War 1914-18, n.d.). The reason for the small increase in women's participation was due to complaints and

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

resistance, which came mainly from the union movement who feared women's increased involvement in traditional male jobs would lower wages (Damousi, 1992; Damousi & Lake, 1995; Lewis & Gurry, 2001). To counter the perceived threat to masculinity, Joy Damousi (1992) argues that war propaganda "defined masculinity in terms of heroism and violent aggression and femininity as motherhood, maternity and sacrifice" (p. 351). Consequently, progress made in the women's movement suffered a setback as "women's rights were considered peripheral and indeed divisive" to the war effort (Damousi, 1992, p. 351). These regressive conditions continued after the war. According to Suzanne Fabian and Morag Loh (1983):

> The percentage of women in the paid workforce and the percentage of married women in the paid workforce dropped well below what it had been at the start of the century. The number of social justice measures such as those that had been brought in after women won the vote, stopped, except for schemes to alleviate conditions for returned soldiers – and these were too few and too little. (p. 117)

While the small increase in Australian women's workforce participation in WWI was a hint of things to come in the 1940s and beyond, this was not the case in the USA and UK. In these countries women were not only employed in the civilian sector but also in women's defence auxiliaries. For example, Brian Mitchell (1998) reveals that in the USA "the Navy enlisted some 12,500 "yeomanettes" in the Naval Reserve, circumventing a law requiring all sailors to be assigned to vessels by assigning the women, on paper only, to riverboats on the Potomac" (p. 3). Similarly, the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) was established in 1917 (Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992). The only Australian women to participate in active service during WWI were members of the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS). From 1914 until 1919 as many as 2,000 served in theatres of war (Dennis, Grey, Morris, Prior, & Bou, 2008, p. 62), which included service on hospital ships and troop transport ships in the Mediterranean and on the high seas (Barker, 1989, p. 4). Twenty years were to pass before Australian women's participation rates in the workforce changed; WWII was to be the watershed for this change.

Following the example of its allies, Australian women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers during World War II (WWII), although not to the extent of women in Britain or the United States of America (USA). Kaye Stearman (1999) reports that in Britain women joined the war effort in large numbers. She states that numbers were influenced by the introduction in 1941 of compulsory national service for unmarried women aged between 20 and 30 and that by mid-1943, 90 per cent of single women and

80 per cent of married women were employed in the armed forces or industry. The story was similar in the USA, where there was a 460 per cent increase in the number of women in heavy industry.

Although Australia had no compulsory service for women, when war was declared in 1939 civilians were required to complete National Register cards on which were listed their occupations, qualifications and skills (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 320). Women were called to help the nation in its hour of need and they responded. The number of Australian women employed in industry between 1939 and 1943 exploded from 1,000 to 145,000 (Skwirk Online Education, 2015). The increase in the number of women employed was also reflected in women's military roles beyond that of nursing and caring for the troops through organisations such as the Red Cross, the Cheer-Up Society and the Trench Comfort Fund (Adam-Smith, 1984). Women were needed on the home front to fill vacant civilian jobs, and within two years of the start of the war, women's military organisations were also formed. The development of these organisations came about despite initial reservations by the Minister for Defence, Geoffrey Street, who did not see women having a wartime role beyond such things as relief and mercy work, canteen work, transport work, and non-Government activities (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 139). These organisations, some of which are represented in Plate 2-2, were classified as auxiliary services and as such deemed to be additional or supplementary arms of the permanent services. Over 60,000 women enlisted in the women's services during the war (Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2008, p. 42; J. A. Thomson, 1991, p. 348).

Plate 2-2: WWII poster recruiting Australian women to auxiliary service organisations
Source: Poster by Maurice Bramley, 1943, lithograph on paper, 49x60cm AWM ARTV08836

From the left, the poster depicts six women members of the three services (Navy, Army and Air Force); army and civilian nurses; and a factory worker or a member of the land army.

Apart from the AANS, which was established on 1 July 1902,[11] the first women's service to form during WWII was the Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force (WAAAF) in March 1941, followed by the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS) in October 1941 and the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS) in October 1942[12] (Australia. Royal

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[11]   In 1947 the AANS was transferred to the Interim Army and a year later granted the 'Royal' designation. The Australian Regular Army (ARA) was formed in 1947 from the post-war Permanent Military Forces. While the ARA was being established, the Interim Army existed until its extinguishment in 1952 (see Sligo, 1997). In July 1949, the RAANS became part of the ARA and in February 1951 was granted corps status. Voluntary Aid Detachments (VAD) worked as orderlies or aides to the trained sisters of the AANS. In 1916, they were recognised by the Australian Government as auxiliaries to the Medical Service. In December 1942, full-time VAD were formed into the Australian Army Medical Women's Service (AAMWS), which was absorbed in to the RAANS in 1951. (Australia. Army. Australian Army Nursing Service, 2008; Bomford, 2001, p. 11).

[12]   The first wave of women was made up of 12 wireless telegraphists and two other telegraphists who had volunteered to serve as cooks. They joined HMAS *Harman* in April 1941 but due to the RAN's reluctance to accept women, they were not officially sworn in as enlisted personnel until 1 October 1942. This date is regarded as the formal foundation date for the organisation although the RAN drew up conditions of service in July 1942.

Australian Navy, 2008; Dennis, Grey, Morris, Prior, & Bou, 2008, pp. 605, 607). The Royal Australian Air Force Nursing Service (RAAFNS) was established in July 1940 and by December 1945, 616 women were serving. Although disbanded at the end of the war, the Service was re-established in 1948 (Royal Australian Air Force Nursing Service (RAAFNS). (1940-), 2009). In October 1942, 23 qualified nursing sisters began duty in RAN hospitals when the Royal Australian Naval Nursing Service (RANNS) was inaugurated (Royal Australian Naval Nursing Service (RANNS), 2009); their number never exceeded 60 (Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2008, p. 42; J. A. Thomson, 1991, p. 348) and the Service was disestablished in 1948 and not re-established until 1964 (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 62).

In the WAAAF and WRANS, women commenced work in the communications area as wireless telegraphists (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 229; Curtis-Otter, 1975, p. 5). The first AWAS personnel were enlisted in traditional women's occupations such as clerks, typists, stenographers, cooks and motor transport drivers (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 252; Bomford, 2001, p. 6). Before long, the other two services were also employing women in such roles. Although these jobs were still "essentially womanly" occupations (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 216), before the end of the war women were working in most jobs, for example, WAAAF women were employed in 73 workforce categories (musterings) and "did everything but fly" (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 235). A year before the end of the war, orders had come through to approve women's discharges on request in areas where their work was not absolutely essential as this would free up jobs for men also being demobilised. According to Adam-Smith (1984), at no other point in Australian history had women been so emancipated from the tyranny of the home, family and conventional society. Yet while a small percentage of women took up reconstruction and rehabilitation classes or went into small businesses, the majority of women (75 per cent) did not pursue long term employment as they intended to marry and have children (Adam-Smith, 1984, pp. 362-365). This pursuit of the traditional woman's role as a "home builder" was promoted and perpetuated by politicians during the war as shown in Plate 2-3 and at the end of the war by Military Chaplains and Christian organisations such as the League of Soldiers' Friends (Church of England) in conjunction with the Fellowship of Marriage of the Mothers' Union (Adam-Smith, 1984, pp. 367-368). In 1947, both the AWAS and the WAAAF were disbanded (Heywood, 2002a, 2002b). Australia was not the only country to discharge women and encourage them to return to the home. However, unlike in Australia where the women's defence auxiliary services were disestablished, the UK and the USA maintained theirs,

albeit on a much reduced scale (Gluck, 1987; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992; B. Mitchell, 1998)
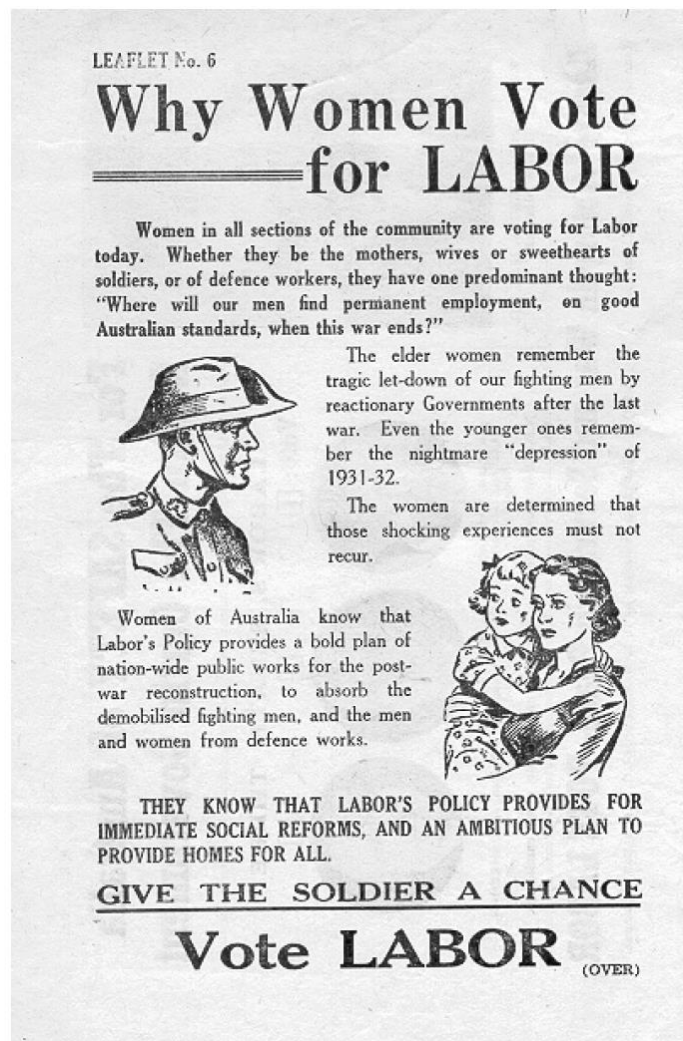
Plate 2-3: "Why women vote for Labor" poster
Source: Original held by Batty Library: 1719A/17.6

> Despite the need for women in the labour force during WWII, women were reminded through propaganda such as the leaflet above that women's real place in society was in the home, caring for her family.

On 2 September 1946, the WRANS were officially disbanded (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 156). However, within a few years, workforce shortages due to the demands of the Korean War and national service in a time of full employment led to the reconstitution of the three women's services in 1950 (Dennis et al., 2008, pp. 605, 607; Royal Australian Navy, 1951). The WRANS kept their WWII title but the other two services were renamed as the Women's Royal Australian Air Force (WRAAF) and the Women's Australian Army Corps;

the latter was granted Royal status in 1951 and became the Women's Royal Australian Army Corps (WRAAC) (Dennis et al., 2008, p. 607).

The advertisements for the WRANS attracted 3,000 applications for 300 positions (Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 34). Although there was a strong response to the recruitment campaign, the initial WRANS establishment was five officers and 295 ratings. According to Alastair Cooper (2001), the need to maintain a separate administrative structure limited their effective strength (p. 171). While women were an ideal recruiting pool to make-up workforce shortfalls and release men for service at sea, the Naval Board's reluctance to reinstitute the WRANS (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171) was no doubt a major factor in keeping a cap on the number of WRANS (Spurling, 1988). Cooper (2001) stated the Board's attitude "might be seen to have lacked vision, but its attitude also reflected wider Australian society" (p. 171). Spurling (1988) argued that the Navy's senior leadership treated the WRANS as a separate Service when it was supposed to be an auxiliary Service, despite the fact that they determined the administrative requirements of the WRANS including the Service's complement (see Spurling's Chapter 8). Cooper's and Spurling's observations demonstrate that pre-WWII attitudes towards women's work had returned despite the demands on Navy's workforce as a result of Australia's involvement with the Korean War. However, the Naval Board's attitude may have never really altered from their WWII position as during the period 1941 to 1946 the WRANS enlistments numbered only 2,063 whereas the WAAAF enlisted 26,591 and the AWAS 24,160 (J. A. Thomson, 1991, p. 348).

2.3   SOCIETAL ATTITUDES

2.3.1 Women's work after WWII

The post-war period of the 1950s brought new prosperity to Australia, which continued into the 1960s due to advanced technologies such as household labour-saving devices, the automobile production line, television, satellite and telecommunications (Batstone, 1999; Department of Communications Information Technology and the Arts, 2001). The period also brought a closer relationship with the United States of America (USA), economically, politically and intellectually. For example, there was strong growth in Australian imports from the USA so much so that by the 1970s it had a similar share to that of the United Kingdom (UK) at approximately 25 per cent of the total value (Trewin, 2001, p. 1037); 1951

saw the signing of the ANZUS Treaty (D. Gray, 2009, p. 141; R. Ward, 1965, p. 253);[13] and Australians were very influenced by American pop culture when television was introduced in 1956 (Arrow, 2009, p. 144).

Also in the 1960s, an issue for middle class American women boiled to the surface and began to be discussed in the mainstream media (Friedan, 1963, p. 22). The issue concerned the dissatisfaction women were experiencing as stay-at-home mums and housewives. Betty Friedan (1963), an American writer, activist and feminist, declared that the voice within women could no longer be ignored; the voice that was saying, "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home" (p. 32). The dissatisfaction was reinforced through USA television shows depicting women enjoying careers, such as *That Girl* and the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, by reflecting the changing aspirations of women (see Kutulas, 2005; Zrzavy, 2005). To put pressure on the Equal Opportunity Commission to take up its mandate on sex discrimination, Friedan was one of 300 American women who chartered the National Organisation for Women (NOW), which today is the largest feminist organisation in the USA (see www.now.org); Friedan was also the organisation's first president (Freedman, 2002, p. 85; Humm, 1995, p. 103). The theme of women's liberation was taken up around the globe including in Australia.

In Australia in 1961, the trend was for women to marry young. The median age for first brides was 21 years, and it was common for women to have their first baby in their early 20s; the fertility rate was 3.5 babies per woman (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Oct 2011). However, by the late 1960s, Australian women also began to question the restrictive roles society had placed on them and many showed their dissatisfaction through protests and pressured governments in a bid to gain equal rights in all aspects of life including the workplace, education, politics and sport (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Oct 2011). From 1974, the median age of first marriages for women started to increase and continued to increase steadily reaching 25.3 per cent in 1995 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997). The increase in the median age of women marrying reflects a protest to the traditional role of women in the home. To raise women's issues and push for changes that would result in extensive social change for women, Australian groups were formed, such as the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), along the lines of NOW (M. Sawer, with Radford, G., 2008). Australian feminist magazines such as *Mejane: A Woman's Liberation Newspaper* in 1971

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[13]   The ANZUS Treaty was a military alliance between the USA and Australia, and Australia and NZ but not between the USA and NZ. The Treaty was a security pact, which only committed to consultation at the time of a threat.

and *Refractory Girl* in 1972 also started appearing (Spongberg, 2008) and provided another means of giving a voice to the movement.

The economic prosperity of the 1960s in Australia resulted in a growing demand for workers with the unemployment rate standing at two percent between the late 1960s and early 1970s (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001).[14] During the 1950s, there had been a steady increase in the types of consumer goods available (Batstone, 1999, p. 108; Horne, 1972, p. 257). A slogan in one of the State elections in the 1940s touting "a refrigerator in every home" was realised a decade later (Horne, 1972, p. 257). However, to afford all the new household luxuries, such as the TV, the electric washing machine and the family car, two incomes were required (Magarey, 2009, p. 187). While workforce demands and the new labour-saving devices made it possible for middle class married women to get paid work outside the home, and a steadily increasing number did so, many did not because of the widespread persistence of the mid-Victorian belief that a woman's place was in the home (Stephenson, 1970, p. 18; R. Ward, 1965, p. 288). From the mid-1950s to the late-1960s, there was almost a 10 per cent increase in the number of women working, which accounted for 31.2 per cent of all employed persons (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Just over half of these women were married. Overall, the figures indicate that while many women were not in the paid workforce, the trend was changing as can be seen in Table 2-1 below.

Table 2-1: Statistics of women in the Australian workforce 1954 to 1998 – selected indicators

Year[a]	Women aged 15–64 in work (%)	Female workforce as proportion of total workforce (%)	Married women as proportion of female workforce (%)	Married women in work (%)	Total women employed ('000)
1954	29	22.8	30.9	7.0	824.0
1968	41.7	31.2	55.1	17.2	1,577.5
1978	46.4	35.4	61.5	21.8	2,139.9
1988	54.4	40.2	60.6	24.4	2.977.2
1998	58.9	43.3	60.7	26.3	3,687.0

Note: [a] June 1954, August 1968, and March in subsequent years.
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics—Australian Social Trends (1998).

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14   The Australian Bureau of Statistics started collecting unemployment data in 1966.

By 2012, the percentage of women participating in the workforce had risen to 45 per cent compared with just 30 per cent fifty years previously (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Mar 2012). Mackay (1993) argued the rise in the workforce participation of married women and women with dependent children was due to the growth in consumerism and the trend towards materialism (p. 27). Despite the increased participation of women in the workforce in the 1960s, they were poorly paid receiving only 75 per cent of a male's salary (Encel, 1971, p. 57; Short, 1986, p. 317). A major reason for this was tied to pregnancy as contraceptives were still inefficient and as a result women were considered unreliable employees due to the unavailability of trustworthy contraceptives that would allow for family planning (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Oct 2011; R. Ward, 1965, p. 288). As Ward also pointed out, those middle class women who had children and wanted to return to work found it difficult as there was an appalling absence of crèches and child-minding centres. Notwithstanding, WEL produced a series of books, such as Lola Mathews' *Going Back to Work* as an aid to those women returning to the workforce (Horne, 1972, p. 281).

White (1981) argued that the "Australian Way of Life" after WWII, which focused on women in the home, resulted in a dual image of the role of women in Australian society. On the one hand, they were central to the new Australian identity in a way they had not been before because they dominated the family home and as such they were the targets of marketing. On the other hand, their role was restricted because they had little opportunity to experience activities outside the home, unlike men who had many outlets such as workers, fathers, sportsmen, beer-drinkers, and home handymen. So while women had been finally given a role in the dominant image of Australia, it was one that worked to keep them in their place (R. White, 1981, p. 165). This image was reinforced through the media.

2.3.2 Women's role as reflected in the media

The new medium of TV helped perpetuate the traditional role of women (R. White, 1981, p. 162). Popular American sitcoms shown on Australian TV, such as *Father Knows Best* (1954–1966), the *Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961–1966) and *Bewitched* (1964–1972), portrayed family life with the man "the head of the family" and the woman a stay at home housewife. The latter show, selected as one of the best 50 shows of all times by TV Guide (The Associated Press, 2009), portrays a housewife with a magical talent but this is a talent she is not allowed to use freely as her husband has forbidden it and wants her to lead the life of a typical suburban housewife. When using her talent, she is portrayed as feeling guilty.

In the earlier show, *Father Knows Best*, Billy Gray, who played the son Bud, reveals how the show maintained the wholesome family myth when in a 1983 interview, he stated:

> I wish there was some way I could tell the kids not to believe it. The dialogue, the situations, the characters they were all totally false. The show did everyone a disservice. The girls were always trained to use their feminine wiles, to pretend to be helpless to attract men. The show contributed to a lot of the problems between men and women that we see today....'Father Knows Best' purported to be a reasonable facsimile of life. And the bad thing is, the model is so deceitful. (Hall, n.d.)

In the *Dick Van Dyke Show*, one of the characters, Sally Rogers, had a successful comedy-writing career, wore a variety of Jackie Kennedy suits, and lived in a "cool Manhattan apartment" but although she had a boyfriend, he was not the committing type (Kutulas, 2005). In describing her character, Kutulas (2005) said, "Her story offered female viewers the chance to vicariously experience independence and career achievement while reassuring everyone that staying home was the most rewarding choice a woman could make" (p. 218). Married women's role in the home was also accepted during the 1950s and 1960s in Australian and for women serving in the WRANS this was reflected in the marriage bar, which required women to be discharged on marriage.

TV advertising and other forms of media also contributed to the continuation of the typical suburban housewife image. As Embree (1970) explained:

> Another prevailing myth of the consumer economy is that the new innovations create leisure time for the consumer ... especially ... the housewife consumer ... special cleaners for windows, floors, carpets, sinks, toilets, furniture etc. are supposed to release women from household drudgery. In actuality they impose a highly elaborate routine on that drudgery. Cleaning the home becomes more and more a highly specialized routine linked to the consumption of highly specialized cleaning products. The cosmetic industry follows the same pattern. From the old image demanding only a dab of powder and lipstick, a new image is imposed ... The American woman is not only tied to the image created for her by the mass media and their consumption-minded commercials; but that image itself ties her into a routinized rather than a liberated role. (p. 185)

Gillett (1972) argued that women were "seduced and baited by high pressure, highly sophisticated advertising; the worst features of this pressure being the unhealthy querying of woman's sense of inadequacy, ability, acceptance, capability and intelligence" (p. 138).

In an analysis of Australian magazine advertisements, Dowling (1978) found print media advertising transmitted the currently held value and belief systems of a particular society and did not create new behaviour patterns. In other words, advertising was not a leader but rather a mirror of society. He concluded that "Australian advertising is reasonably well matched to the Australian woman's dominant perceived role of mother-family" (p. 72). This perception was also reflected in policy concerning women's employment on marriage. For example, a 1958 committee set up by the Commonwealth government to investigate recruitment to the Commonwealth Public Service recommended the marriage bar on women be lifted but this recommendation was not enacted until 1966 (Encel, 1971, p. 59). Another three years elapsed before this flowed on to Navy women (Royal Australian Navy, 1986).

Dowling (1978) was also surprised to find the virtual absence of the career stereotype, particularly in advertisements appearing in women's magazines such as *Cleo*, which was first published in 1972, and which its editor, Ita Buttrose (herself a career woman), described as progressive (Pitt, 2011). On the other hand, TV shows began to portray the independent woman pursuing a career rather than merely doing a job. For example, *That Girl* (1966–1971), about an aspiring actress who moves to New York City, was the first sitcom to focus on a single woman who was not a domestic or living with her parents. The show was a forerunner to the highly successful *Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–1977) that portrayed for the first time a never-married, independent career woman as the central character, and *Murphy Brown* (1988–1998) about a tough female media personality who had smashed the glass ceiling (see Kutulas, 2005; Zrzavy, 2005). Zrzavy (2005) argues that women-centred shows like *The Doris Day Show* (1968–1973) helped "facilitate the cultural dialogue about the women's movements during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s" (p. 216). According to Taylor (1989) the development of Doris Day's character chronicled the progression of "prime-time" feminism (p. 85). This popular representation of feminists allowed "the viewer to identify with the 'new woman' while hanging on to older ideals of femininity" (E. Taylor, 1989, p. 89).

The Navy was also ambivalent in respect to the role of women. For example, *Navy News* featured for 28 years what became known as the Page 3 Girl, a young female in a swimsuit or other skimpy garments in a provocative pose.[15] When the practice ceased in 1993, the reasons given by the Chief of Naval Staff were that such representations of women were

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[15]   The first edition of *Navy News* was issued on Friday, July 18, 1958. The Page 3 Girl was first seen in the 6 August 1965 edition.

no longer appropriate in the era of equal opportunity and that the practice was seen by many as "offensive, degrading to women and significantly at odds with Navy's initiative to eradicate all forms of discrimination from the workplace" (MacDougall, 1993a, p. 3).[16] The Navy was progressive in this respect because around the same period, a further study into gender bias in Australian television advertisements found commercials conformed to the widely criticised patterns of Western television, which presented a highly stereotyped picture of males and females. The authors were amazed that "sex role stereotypes in Australian television commercials persist[ed] in traditional mode despite governmental, professional and popular pressures towards a more egalitarian society" (Mazzella, Durkin, Cerini, & Buralli, 1992, p. 257).

2.3.3 Women's work and remuneration

A significant turning point for women's independence and progress towards equal employment opportunity was the release of the contraceptive pill in January 1961 (Bongiorno, 2009, p. 160). While the pill's arrival is often seen as the symbol of the 1960s sexual revolution, its most important influence was in transforming women's status as participants in the economy. While feminists, including Germaine Greer (1986, pp. 105-107), criticised the pill for its adverse health effects, improvements during the 1970s alleviated the health risks and saw a recovery in usage. For many women, the pill gave them the freedom to choose the path of their lives. As one woman, Deborah McCulloch, explained during an episode of the current affairs television show *George Negus Tonight* (2004) devoted to "The Sixties":

> It took us some years to recognise that in fact we could have a measure of freedom that the books we read, the guidance we had received from women older than ourselves and from society at large no longer applied. As far as I'm concerned, being able to not have a child through those years has been unbelievably significant in my life. I've been set free to work, which is my passion.

Access to this freedom was also highlighted by an Australian authority on oral contraception who in 1975 stated, "It is quite possible that changes in attitudes related to sexual activity and reproduction grew out of the possibility of confident freedom from untimely pregnancy". He added that women's ability to control their fertility had assisted

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[16]   The topic of the Page 3 Girl is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

their demands for equal pay for equal work, a cause that came to fruition in the 1970s (Lavis, 1975, p. 62).

Feminist debates have included questions about whether equal rights should be a central focus in social change for women, or whether this limits citizenship to men's activities in the public sphere. Pateman (1988, 1989) argued that individual rights rested on a masculine conception of the individual and that women were involved in a sexual contract. She identified a dual model of citizenship based on "man-the-soldier" and "woman-the-mother". Another feminist view of citizenship was put forward by Hernes (1987) who identified the male citizenship role of breadwinner and paid worker while women were relegated to "citizen-mothers".

In Australia, as elsewhere, the state has been slow to provide women with either civil or political rights.[17] For example, the granting of women's full political rights took 65 years. Not until just before the turn of the twentieth century in 1894 did the first State in Australia, South Australia,[18] recognise women as citizens and gave them the right to vote. Enfranchisement was granted to women in all States and federally by 1908, but it took another 18 years to extend political rights to the right to sit in parliament across the whole country; the last State being New South Wales in 1926.[19] The first woman to be elected to an Australian parliament was Edith Cowan who was elected to the Legislative Assembly in Perth, Western Australia in 1921; a further 21 years and 38 years elapsed before a woman was elected to the federal parliament and the South Australian parliament respectively (the latter being the last State to elect a woman as a State representative) (M. Sawer & Simms, 1993; Women and the Right To Vote, 2012). This timeline of 65 years is evidence that progress towards women gaining equal rights is a slow process. For women to fully participate in society, economic and social rights must sit beside political and civil rights. According to Weeks (1996) the "time-lag between the technicality of women's access to political rights and the actual shift to women's active participation in public decision making says much about cultural assumptions and practices of citizenship" (p. 75). Her view was supported by the attitudes of two senior politicians. The first was Billy Hughes to Dame Enid Lyons on 21 August 1943 after she took her seat in parliament as the first woman elected to the House of Representatives. He said:

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[17]   Indigenous Australians were not granted civil and political rights until the 1960s (Australian Electoral Commission, 2006, pp. 7-8; National Museum of Australia, 2007).

[18]   At the time South Australia was a colony as the Federation of all Australian colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia did not occur until 1901.

[19]   The right to sit in the NSW Legislative Assembly was granted in 1918, however, the right to sit in the Legislative Council was not given until 1926.

Ah, my girl, it was very pleasant to see you there today; ah very pleasant. But ah remember! Let there be no talk of the equality of the sexes! Ah, there you sat, like a bird of paradise among carrion crows. (Lyons, 1972, p. 7)

This patronising and sexist attitude was reflected again nearly 40 years later in Sir William McMahon's comment to Ros Kelly, Member for Canberra: "I must thank the honourable *gentleman* [emphasis added] for the very pleasant and persuasive way she has presented her case" (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 26 February 1981; Daley, 1982, p. 71).

A number of women's organisations formed around the turn of the twentieth century with the aim of campaigning vigorously for various aspects of women's rights. For example, the Australian Federation of Women Voters established in the 1920s conceived of women's citizenship as requiring "economic independence, equal pay or the rate for the job, child endowment (to cover the costs of raising children) and motherhood endowment (as remuneration for their work of motherhood)" (Lake, 1994, p. 28). In 1907, the Harvester Judgement marked the origin of the concept of the minimum wage based on the economic needs of employees rather than a market for labour. However, noting the dominant ideology of the time was that a woman's place was in the home, the judgement was based on the principle of enabling the male worker to meet the needs of a dependant wife and three children (Higgins, 1907).

During the years of WWII, the prevailing attitude that the male earned the wage changed as women were essential to Australia's industrial effort (R. Ward, 1965, pp. 251-252). Women were in uniform and performing the same work as men, although only being paid two-thirds of the male rate for the same work; a rate that continued when the WRANS were reformed in 1951 (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171). Women were working in factories in greater numbers and due to the efforts of the Women's Employment Board were being paid up to 90 per cent of men's wages and in some cases they were on equal pay (Encel, 1971, p. 57; Minns, 2004, p. 42), and while these advances were lost under peace-time awards, a precedent had been set for the future. However, not until 1969, nearly a quarter of a century after WWII ended, did the Australian Parliament enact equal pay for women, but as Smith (1990) pointed out, "attitudes and behaviour are less easily changed and real equality has lagged behind legal equality" (p. 129); a view also argued by Rimmer and Rimmer (1997). The Australian based cartoonist and feminist activist, Rona Chadwick, captures the sentiment of the attitude towards women receiving equal pay for equal work in Plate 2-4.

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015
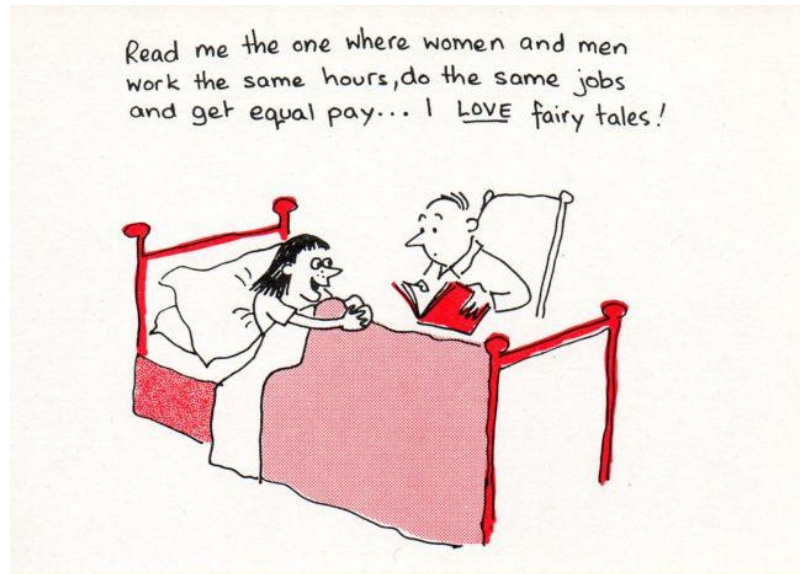
Plate 2-4: Rona Chadwick Cartoon © 1988
(permission to use image granted 21 July 2015)

The Equal Pay Case of 1969, while a step forward for women, was in reality a statement of principle. The Commission declared it accepted the principle of equal pay for equal work and the elimination of discrimination based on sex alone. However, five years elapsed before a female minimum wage was set (Short, 1986, p. 320) and another 15 years before the introduction of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth), which followed Australia's 1983 ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The impact of this legislation on women's employment in the Navy is discussed further in Chapter 5. The next section of the literature review examines the role education reform had on improving the employment opportunities for women in the paid workforce.

2.4   EDUCATION REFORMS FOR GIRLS

In school books, the Dick and Jane syndrome reinforced our emerging attitudes. The arithmetic books posed appropriate conundrums: "Ann has three pies . . . Dan has three rockets . . ." We read the nuances between the lines: Ann keeps her eye on the oven: Dan sets his sights on the moon . . .

Letty Cottin Pogrebin (1971)

2.4.1 Societal expectations of education for girls

Previous sections of this literature review have provided a contextual understanding of the way societal roles have underpinned the social construction of gender and vice versa.

Schools have played a critical role in perpetuating the social construct of masculinities and femininities through the type of education offered to girls and boys in the Anglo-Australian context. By the end of the eighteenth century, educationalists such as Elly Singer (1992) believed that education was the key to "a better and more democratic community" (p. 36). By the start of the twentieth century, Dewey argued education played an integral part in social change by preparing the child to participate in society (Longstreet & Shane, 1993). In the 1950s following WWII, the Australian secondary education system was transformed due to the needs of an industrial based economy. In response, schools prepared the majority of young people to leave school by the age of 15 and to take up jobs in an economy dominated by manufacturing, farming and business (Spearritt, 1975; Stephenson, 1970). As Johanna Wyn (2009) explains, "then, and through to the early 1970s, young women took on paid work only as a prelude to becoming married and being a parent", as they were "not expected to have careers, but were expected to become wives and mothers" (pp. 3, 5).

After the release of a survey in the early 1960s (Radford, 1962), which described the type of institution attended and courses undertaken by students leaving secondary school, there was very limited research conducted on Australian school leavers (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, p. 50). Towards the end of the 1960s, studies into girls' education were conducted by N. Cooper (1969) and Jean Martin (1972). Their work identified and questioned certain characteristics of Australian education such as girls' lower retention rates, choice of a narrower range of school subjects and receipt of fewer Commonwealth Scholarship awards. They also drew attention to the lower qualifications of teachers in girls' schools compared with boys' schools, and to the fact that the general level of educational qualifications among women was considerably lower than that among men.

Around the same time in America, Martina Horner (1970, 1972) published research on achievement motivation. She suggested girls were actually motivated to avoid success in situations involving direct competition with boys, especially in traditional male areas of the curriculum. Horner found that both males and females anticipated negative personal consequences following on girls' academic success. Her studies established that adolescents evaluate themselves and others according to the dominant societal stereotypes, described as viewing "competence, independence, competition and intellectual achievement as qualities basically inconsistent with femininity though positively related to masculinity" (Horner, 1972, p. 157). Aggression and (by implication)

masculine qualities inherent in the capacity to master intellectual problems, attack difficulties and make final decisions were considered by Horner's sample to be fundamentally incompatible with femininity. For the females, anticipation of success against male competitors not only posed a threat to their sense of femininity and self-esteem, but also served as a potential basis for social rejection.

Jane Gaskell and Sandra Taylor (2003) stated the secondary status of women in 1970 was clearly reflected in education statistics (p. 154). For example, in the Australian context, they stated that women represented 38 per cent of those enrolled in universities; 57 per cent of the teaching force; were "rare" as principles; and held no positions on the council of Queensland Teachers Union. They argued cultural norms were even more appalling. They stated:

> Stereotypes of women with aprons predominated in early readers and textbooks; girls were channelled into home economics and out of mathematics and science; women teachers could not wear pants in their classrooms and employers questioned them about their marital status. (p. 154)

Rosalie Stephenson's (1970) research found that women who did attend university in the 1960s predominantly extended their "general, or cultural education by entering arts courses" rather than "commit themselves to the professions or to a clearly-defined vocational goal" (pp. 23-24). Her findings are reflected in Table 2-2, which shows the degree streams of 1966 Australian universities women graduates (Stephenson, 1970, p. 24):

Table 2-2: 1966 degree streams of Australian universities women graduates

Degree Type	Percentage
Arts	50
Science	25
Medicine	9
Economics	5
Architecture, Dentistry, Law, Agricultural or Veterinary Science or Engineering	< 2

Stephenson (1970) stated the reasons for those degree types attracting less than 2 per cent of women were due to a number of factors. One cause was inadequate secondary education in the sciences. Another was the result of societal values that not only encouraged girls to give in easily but also instilled in them an unwillingness to undertake

long and demanding courses of study. There was also the traditional belief that certain fields of interest were not feminine.

Sex role stereotyping was also evident in vocational assessment instruments used to test students' abilities. An analysis of three typical Australian produced and distributed vocational psychology tests by Richard Sweet (1974) revealed that males were offered outdoor jobs, such as plumbing, bricklaying and farming, or managerial jobs, such as bank managers, town clerks or sales representatives. Females on the other hand were offered indoor jobs, such as dressmaking, housekeeping, sales assistants or secretarial work. Sweet concluded that the difference between the female and male versions of the practical, clerical and outdoor scales embodied strong sex-role stereotyping and a marked bias against females.

Between 1975 and 1987, there was an increase in research in girls' education. For example, in 1975, several researchers (Hawkes, Dryen, Torsh, & Hannan) initially documented schools' lower resourcing of sport and physical education for girls. This was followed up four years later by Coles (1979). With the increase in youth unemployment in the late 1970s, particularly among females, more researchers began to expand on the research of Cooper (1969) and Martin (1972). In general, the new wave of research confirmed the comparative educational disadvantage of girls documented in earlier studies. For example, the research on school readers and texts by Wignell (1976) and the Australian College of Education Tasmania (1977) lent more support to the earlier finding that school readers were dominated by male role models (see Bradley & Mortimer, 1973; Healy & Ryan, 1975). Two Commonwealth Government reports on education and employment confirmed that girls, as a group, were handicapped by having their career options closed off in school years (Myers, 1980; Williams, 1979). Bradley (1979) published a paper on the underrepresentation of females in positions of authority in schools and education systems, and the potentially inhibiting effect of this on girls' career aspirations. In following years, Hutchinson (1980) and Coles (1981) contributed to the research.

The 1980s saw a rise in research on girls' participation in maths and science subjects. For example, Wallsgrove (1980) conducted explanatory research into women's under-participation in science and mathematics as a consequence of a competitive, patriarchal, capitalist society. He argued science is power, so science is defined as masculine. Wolleat, Pedro, Becker and Fennema (1980) showed that girls, more strongly than boys, attributed success in mathematics to unstable factors such as an easy test or a day when they felt

"good". However, girls more strongly than boys, attributed failure to stable factors such as an intrinsic ability. Leder (1979, 1980, 1982) explored the relationship between fear of success and sex difference in mathematics performance and participation for Australian students. One of her findings was that a high fear of success was incompatible with high performance and continued participation in mathematics and that this incompatibility increased with grade level. In her view, this highlighted the effect of environmental pressures on mathematics-related sex differences, and emphasised the need to counteract the gender coding of school subjects. Clearly the consequence of applying gender labels to school subjects like mathematics created an "imposter syndrome" effect (Kearns, 2015, pp. 2, 19). This syndrome, which can carry through to a person's adult life and inhibit their belief in their success, is discussed further in Chapter 7.

In 1980, the Department of Education and Science UK published their report *Girls and Science*. The report produced some evidence that parents encouraged the development of nurturant and interpersonal skills in their daughters and spatial and practical skills in their sons; an emphasis seen to be dictated by culturally determined images of appropriate female and male behaviour. Historical research into the family influence on the education of girls highlighted the closeness of the tie between the family and the education system and the manner in which the "family-education couple" (Althusser, 1971; David, 1980) acted to hold back progress in girls' education (see also Stephenson, 1970, pp. 17, 23). Work by MacKinnon (1982), Porter (1983) and Trotman (1982) examined this influence in the Australian context. In 1981, research into sex differences in participation and achievement in school subjects demonstrated that even when subjects are not formally sex-differentiated by schools, girls and boys still tended to gravitate respectively to traditional female and male subject areas (S. Brown & Fitzpatrick, 1981; Earley, 1981; O'Donnell & Craney, 1981).

For about two decades commencing in the mid-1970s, the educational needs of girls had prominence in education policy. By the mid-1990s, the language shifted to gender issues, and in the twenty-first century, education policy was discussed in terms of education for Australian children. The following two parts of this section trace educational reforms at the federal and state/territory government levels during the 50 years of the study.

2.4.2 Policy in relation to education for girls – the Federal Level

The development of federal education policies during the period of this study falls into five main phases: The Whitlam Labor government of 1972-1975; the Fraser Coalition years up to 1983; the Hawke and Keating Labor governments from 1983 to 1996; a decade of the Howard Liberal government; followed by the Rudd/Gillard Labor era from 2007 until 2013. The policy initiatives of these governments in relation to education for girls are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Whitlam's term 1972-1975. The election of the reformist Whitlam Labor government in 1972 signalled the beginning of government action on women's issues. In 1973, Whitlam set up the Schools Commission to advise the federal government on policy issues. One of the Commission's major themes was equality and they defined girls as a disadvantaged group needing special attention (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975). In their ground-breaking and comprehensive report, *Girls, School and Society*, the Schools Commission Study Group (1975) examined "the extent of underachievement by women and girls in education and its contribution to the inferior status of women" (p. 1). The explanatory framework rested largely on sex-role socialisation, and its approach was to bring women to a male norm. In announcing the enquiry, the then Minister for Education, Kim Beazley, said, "For far too long girls have been under-achieving in school and ending their formal education early. This has restricted the career and life chances open to them" (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, p. 2).

In summary, the Commission found that:

- girls were less likely than boys to remain in school beyond compulsory age;
- girls' subject choices limited subsequent educational and employment opportunities;
- females aged 16 to 20 were less likely than males of comparable background to be in full-time education;
- less than one-third of students studying for qualifications at post-school level were female;
- there was a great disparity between the sexes in industrial and technical training, which strongly attracted boys;

- women workers were strongly concentrated in traditional female occupations, and full-time women workers earned on average considerably less than men, and few rise to high levels of pay or responsibility;
- educational opportunities for women re-entering the workforce were very limited;
- girls were less confident and ambitious than boys, less inclined to see themselves as able to influence their lives, and learned to define themselves as accommodating and relatively incompetent in public action arenas; and
- what it meant to be female or male in a particular social context is largely learned (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, pp. 154-155).

The Commission (1975) argued that schools reinforce gender stereotypes by using biased curriculum materials, failing to accommodate the needs of certain (non-stereotypic) families, not using materials presenting women in important social roles, under-valuing the skills of interpersonal relationships, and not appointing women to positions of high administrative responsibility in schools and school systems (pp. 156-157). They proposed a range of "directions of action" on curriculum, teacher development and practice, promotion systems, vocational guidance, research, and recurrent education, and stressed the importance of a national coordinated approach (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, pp. 159-164). They also recommended the establishment of an Advisory Committee on the Education of Girls and Women, which would offer policy advice and perform a range of tasks including:

Work with the Curriculum Development Centre and publishers to promote the production of non-sexist school materials, materials suitable for use in the consideration at school level of sex roles and sexuality and appreciative of the contribution of women to history and in contemporary society;

Investigate the possibilities of legislation as a means of promoting sex equality in schools;

Promulgating the policy of encouraging students of both sexes in primary and secondary schools to consider all subjects irrespective of their 'masculine' or 'feminine' connotations and encourage teachers and parents along these lines; and

Promote the development of vocational information and advice which contains strong realistic encouragement for girls and women to consider the whole gamut of occupations rather than restrict their aspirations in terms of occupational sex role

stereotypes; assist vocational guidance agencies to promote the recognition of women's abilities and counteract prejudice against the employment of women. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, pp. 167-168)

Girls, School and Society presented a case for schooling reform in Australia based on societal and economic changes. The inadequate treatment of women in the curriculum was leading girls to lose confidence, to have lower self-esteem and to do poorly in life beyond school. Furthermore, changes in society both in work and lifestyle required explicit critical attention in the curriculum, not just a taken-for-granted stereotyping and channelling of paths.

Fraser's term 1975-1983. When the Fraser Coalition government was elected, women's issues were given a lower priority and federal programs were cut back but not eliminated (Lake, 1999, p. 260). Six years elapsed before the Commonwealth Schools Commission established in 1981 a Schools Commission Working Party on schooling for girls in the Eighties (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984). The resultant report, *Girls and Tomorrow* (Commonwealth Schools Commission), was released in July 1984, a year after the election of the Hawke Labor government. The report put girls' education issues back more firmly on the agenda. The report stated:

> Action is urgently required to redress the neglect of girls in classroom practices; to remove the limitations placed on girls' aspirations, competence and opportunities by a curriculum which neglects women's achievements and circumscribes girls' life options; to allow women and men to participate equally in the governance of schooling; and to reverse the increasing predominance of men in school hierarchies. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p. vii)

The report noted that, despite convincing evidence in *Girls, School and Society* of the educational disadvantages suffered by girls, nine years later females continued to be disadvantaged by an education that limited their options in and out of school. The lack of appropriate prior study in mathematics, science and technology blocked girls' entry into many areas of post-school training, education, and employment. Existing education systems, the report argued, produced and reproduced undesirable, gender-based divisions in society manifest in, for example, a high degree of occupational segregation by sex. The report observed that in 1977 the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development found Australia had the "highest level of occupational segregation by sex of all countries it studied" (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, pp. 3-4).

The report also noted evidence of distinctive, gender-based post-school education pathways: males predominated at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and university, and females at colleges of advanced education (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, pp. 5-7). In terms of subject choice, the report observed that girls had made inroads into some areas previously dominated by males such as medicine, law, dentistry, economics and business studies. The shift was, however, accompanied by an increasing concentration of women in the fields of education, the humanities, and paramedical studies (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p. 4). One of the priorities for action recommended by the Working Party was the development of a national policy, which was a significant step as traditionally and constitutionally schooling is the responsibility of the Australian State/Territory governments. The authors of the report argued that "Women have the potential to contribute significantly to economic recovery. Their earnings are often crucial to the economic security of their families and are essential to strengthening consumer demand" (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p. 7).

Hawke's term 1983-1991. In 1987, three years after the release of *Girls and Tomorrow*, *The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987) was presented to Senator Susan Ryan, the Hawke Labor government's Minister for Education (1983-87). Ryan, a feminist and former teacher, had been a member of the committee that produced the 1975 *Girls School and Society*. The national policy, a first in the area of education, articulated four priority areas towards remedying gender disadvantage: raising awareness of the educational needs of girls; equal access to and participation in appropriate curriculum; provision of a supportive and challenging school environment; and equitable resource allocation. As with earlier policies, the influence of the "new feminism" was instrumental in realising the national policy (Daws, 1997; Gaskell & Taylor, 2003; Kenway, 1990; Yates, 1993). The policy tended towards liberal feminism, emphasising the access of girls to existing forms of education (Kenway, 1990; Yates, 1993), but included discourses that dealt with sexuality and sexual harassment, affirmed female culture and experiences, and introduced a critical view of the education of boys (S. Taylor, Lingard, Rizvi, & Henry, 1997).

Keating's term 1991-1996. In 1992, five years after the release of *The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools*, a review of the policy was conducted by the Australian Education Council (AEC), made up of federal and state education ministers and representatives of government authorities. The review, *National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-97*, retained the four key objectives of the 1987 national policy and

proposed eight new priorities designed to "ensure equal educational outcomes for girls and boys" (Australian Education Council, 1993, p. vii). The first priority, *examining the construction of gender*, signalled a shift in terminology. The second priority was *eliminating sex-based harassment*, defined as including sexist harassment, sexual harassment and gender-based harassment (Australian Education Council, 1993, p. 11). There was also a focus on *improving the educational outcomes of girls who benefit least from schooling* such as girls who were Indigenous, from non-English speaking backgrounds*,* or who lived in rural and remote areas or in poverty; and *addressing the needs of girls at risk*, for example girls who had significant responsibilities that may have included caring for younger children or managing household tasks (Australian Education Council, 1993).

In 1994, the Gender Equity Taskforce was established to further investigate gender issues in schools, in particular, the impact of issues on the educational experiences and outcomes for both girls and boys and for different groups of boys and girls. The Taskforce's report, *Gender Equity: A framework for Australian schools* (Gender Equity Taskforce, 1997), further shifted the focus from the education of girls to gender equity and a concern about the education of boys. The document's consistent referral to both girls and boys gave the impression that there was no systematic advantage or disadvantage to any group on any of the issues (Daws, 1997, p. 104). In her opening address at a conference promoting gender equity in early 1995, the federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Sue Walpole, caveated the message sent by the Gender Equity Taskforce. She said "... the life experience of many boys and men is impoverished by restrictive and self-destructive notions of masculinity". She went on to say that boys need to be "assisted" to challenge aggressive behaviour and to ensure a more equitable distribution of unpaid work (MCEETYA, 1994, p. 5).

Howard's term 1996-2007. Howard (2010) believed in applying the "time-honoured Liberal principle of choice" whenever practical (p. 487). In his first speech delivered in 1974 in the Australian Parliament House of Representatives, he emphasised the importance of freedom of choice in education (Howard, 2010, p. 72). During his term as Prime Minister, his views on choice were reflected not only in education policy but also in policy dealing with women's issues. In contrast to Labor policy, the Howard government championed the growth of independent schools (Howard, 2010, p. 243).[20] As a consequence, the Howard Government's policy saw a 34 per cent rise in the number of Australian children in primary

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[20]   The policy of direct government assistance to independent (principally Catholic) schools was introduced in the early 1960s by the Menzies Liberal government (Howard, 2010, pp. 31-32).

and secondary education in non-government schools. Howard (2010) maintained, "There is no country in the world which has embraced freedom of choice in education more faithfully than Australia" (p. 487). This approach saw, however, a decline in the public share of tertiary education spending (Tiffen & Gittins, 2009).

Rudd/Gillard terms 2007-2013. The Rudd Labor government, in which later Prime Minister Julia Gillard[21] was the Education Minister, promised the delivery of an "education revolution". Underlying this policy was the Rudd government's shift towards a dominant economic purpose with almost every major government document and statement emphasising the importance of education to the development of human capital (see for example Australian Labor Party, 2007; Gillard, 2008b). The Rudd Labor government was responsible for bringing to fruition a national curriculum, which had been on the political agenda for several decades. Even this document is justified in terms of its contribution to building human capital. In a major statement, Minister Gillard (2008a) claimed the proposed national curriculum would be "... future-oriented and will equip our young people with the essential skills, knowledge and capabilities to compete internationally and thrive in the globalised economies of the future" (p. 6).

Equity was also featured as a major goal of the education revolution. Minister Gillard argued that those from disadvantaged backgrounds should not be denied the opportunities that come from education (Gillard, 2008b). Her description of disadvantaged included students from low socio-economic backgrounds, Indigenous Australians, and Australians from regional and remote areas, thus there was a shift away from girls as a group being considered disadvantaged.

2.4.3 Policy in relation to education for girls – the Australian States and Territories Level

Although the federal government has played an important role in developing and legitimising a feminist critique in education and in funding equity initiatives, Australian State governments are constitutionally responsible for education. While section 51 of the Australian Constitution enumerates limits on Commonwealth involvement in the residual powers of the States, section 96 provides the Commonwealth with the power to grant money to any state (see also section 122 in relation to Territories). Consequently, the Commonwealth grants financial assistance to the States/Territories but often with conditions attached, which gives the Commonwealth influential power over

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[21]   Julia Gillard became Prime Minister on 24 June 2010 after Rudd lost the support of his party.

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State/Territory legislative practices (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, pp. 6-7). An overview of the Commonwealth legislation states, "the Commonwealth has exerted significant control over universities in this way even though it has no specific power in relation to education" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 7). The influence of the Commonwealth through the 1975 *Girls, School and Society* Report (Commonwealth Schools Commission) was beneficial as it prompted State/Territory education departments to set up special committees to investigate sexism in education. The subsequent reports reinforced the findings of *Girls, School and Society* and in response, Directors-General of Education in the States and Territories issued the following policy statements aimed at eliminating sexist practices and appointed special officers to promote non-sexist education:

New South Wales, 1979: *Towards Non-Sexist Education* (Memorandum to Principals);

Northern Territory, 1979: *Towards Non-Sexist Education* (Circular to Principals);

Tasmania, 1979: *The Elimination of Sexism in Schools* (Tasmanian Education Gazette);

Western Australia, 1980: *Equality in Education with Particular Reference to Women and Girls* (Policy from Director-General's Office, gazetted);

Victoria, 1980: *Towards Non-Sexist Education* (Memorandum to Principals);

Australian Capital Territory, 1980: *Sexism in Education Policy Statement*;

Queensland, 1981: *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys*; and

South Australia, 1983: *Equal Opportunities: The Education of Girls in Government Schools* (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p. 8).

Another driver for raising the profile of girls' educational needs in Australian States and Territories during the 1970s and 1980s was feminist activism. According to Ward (1998), Women's liberation groups were "local in organisation, urban in setting and extremely varied" (p. 524). Educational issues were part of the agenda and many women involved were teachers. In the early 1970s, the Australian Women's Education Coalition (AWEC) was formed to lobby for policies to improve the education of women and girls. The Coalition produced a newsletter, *Bluestocking*, and organised national conferences (Australian Women's Education Coalition, 1975). During the period the newsletter was published (1975-1985), it reflected the mixture of radical cultural politics and liberal reformist agendas of the women's movement and included articles on "Women's learning centres" and "Making curriculum relevant for girls" (Gaskell & Taylor, 2003, p. 157). The work of the

AWEC was significant as the organisation created an educational network in each State/Territory, which helped shape the development of education policy for women and girls across the country.

In January 1985, the year following the introduction of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth), a motion to prepare a report in cooperation with all State and Territory Education Systems was passed at a meeting of the AEC. The motion was:

> The conference of Directors-General of Education, using the office of the Education Department of Victoria, collect materials from each State School System which answer the questions:
>
> (1) what interceptive actions and programs have contributed to enhance educational outcomes for girls? and
>
> (2) what factors have inhibited change in educational outcomes for girls? (Education Department Victoria, 1985, p. 3)

The subsequent report, *Education for Girls*, had nine major conclusions, which are summarised in the following paragraphs (Education Department Victoria, 1985, pp. 6-7).

Education Department Policies. Most State and Territory education systems had general policies of education that aimed to develop the potential of all students and prepare them for a worthwhile post-school life. All systems had stated policies of equal opportunity for girls and boys. The report showed that for girls more than boys, these valued aims were not being met.

Post-school life. Post-school life was, in general, demonstrably different for girls and boys in the areas of continuing education and employment/unemployment despite policy statements supporting equal opportunity. These differences tended to disadvantage girls by affecting their chances of economic independence and the development of their human potential.

Subject choice and aspirations. The subject choice and aspirations of girls and boys varied markedly. In the majority of cases, schools were virtually providing a different education to the sexes. As a result, boys often lacked a balanced humanities enriched education, while most girls were left technologically illiterate and deprived of a wide range of post-schooling options.

Retention rates. The retention rates of both girls and boys had increased over the previous 10 years. However, there was no evidence to suggest that girls, who stayed at school on average longer than boys, received any advantages from this in terms of continuing education and access to employment.

Curriculum. In general, the curriculum still presented a male-biased view of society and did not appear to provide girls with concepts of post-school life in which they could fully develop their potential and achieve a measure of economic independence.

Career education. Girls were, in general, still selecting subjects that limited their career options to a narrow range of traditional female vocations.

Classroom methodology and differential treatment. Classroom methods and the treatment of girls by teachers and male students were limiting the learning potential of girls and affecting their subject choice. The differences in treatment, encouragement, awareness, orientation and assessment were not simply the "natural" way to treat girls and boys but considered educational issues of the most fundamental kind because they affected learning.

School-based equal opportunity projects. Many valuable projects aimed at assisting girls' education and eliminating sexism were operating across Australia. However, mechanisms for providing system-wide influence and impact were limited or non-existent.

Resources. The resources provided for Equal Opportunity for girls and the elimination of sexism in education at both system and school level varied widely from State to State.

Following the 1985 release of *Education for Girls*, which highlighted the inconsistences in education between the Australian States/Territories, the national approach to education was maintained but as can be seen from the following list, there was a move from a concern about girls being a disadvantaged group to an inclusive and national curriculum:

1987   The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools
1992   The National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-97
1997   Gender Equity Framework for Australian Schools
2008   National Curriculum announced
2013   National Curriculum introduced

Although a national curriculum from Kindergarten to Year 12 has been introduced for schools in all Australian States and Territories (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2011), the credentialing, and related assessment requirements and processes remain the responsibility of the States and Territories (Board of Studies NSW, 2011). As such, consistency across the country cannot be guaranteed, which in the long term can affect the subjects studied by girls and therefore, as history as shown, their future employment opportunities.

The reform of the educational curriculum for girls commenced by the Whitlam government in the early 1970s recognised the need to eliminate gender stereotyping in society. Each of the four successive governments contributed to improving educational standards for both girls and boys. By 2010, the Rudd government's policy was referring to the importance of education and human capital for the economy of Australia. The proactive role of the federal government in legitimising a feminist critique in education and in funding equity initiatives stimulated the State and Territories to also embrace reform. This dual approach in education reform has led to labour market reform for women.

In the next section, I provide several representative examples of the outcome of education reform on the employment opportunities for women in civilian society and how these opportunities compared to those available to women in the Navy.

2.5 LABOUR MARKET AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS INFLUENCE ON WOMEN'S WORKFORCE PARTICIPATION

During WWII, women were employed in significant numbers and in a diverse range of jobs. Apart from the military services, the Commonwealth Public Service (CPS) was a prime example of new employment positions being open to women, particularly as any changes in conditions of service in the CPS usually flowed on to the military services. Minns (2004) states that jobs for women in the CPS "had been largely or exclusively male preserves to that time" (p. 51). While a legislative "blind eye" was turned due to workforce shortages during WWII, peacetime saw a return to the old chauvinism. However, in 1949, four years after the end of the war, changes were made in the CPS that saw restrictions lifted on women entering the Clerical or Third Division of the CPS. Since Federation, only the lowest entry level to the CPS was open to women. This was the fourth or General Division. The reason for the change, which affected unmarried women only, was unclear but may have been driven by either gender equality considerations or by WWII experience (Minns, 2004,

p. 51). Regardless, the decision was "expected to assist in overcoming staff shortages at that time" (Minns, 2004, p. 51). Recruiting women into the workforce during periods of labour shortages appeared to be a trend that started during WWI, with the subsequent caveat that they return to the home, quietly, when the shortages passed.

Up until 1966, the *Public Service Act 1922* (Cth) precluded married women from working in the Service despite their educational qualifications and the recommendation in 1958 by the Boyer Committee on Public Service Recruitment to remove the bar as it was "anachronistic" (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 2 December 1965, p. 3498; M. Sawer, 2001, p. 85). Six years later when conservative Prime Minister Menzies (Liberal Party) was asked what the Government's intentions were regarding the lifting of the bar, he stated the matter had been considered but the Government did "not propose, at present, to vary existing arrangements" (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 9 April 1964, p. 996).

On the other hand, Bill Hayden (Australian Labor Party), the federal member for Oxley, was an ardent advocate for the lifting of the bar. He began raising the issue in Parliament, including making a major speech (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 14 October 1965, pp. 1861-1864) and introducing an unsuccessful Private Member's Motion on the subject (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 2 December 1965, pp. 3485-3490). Finally, a Bill removing the marriage bar and introducing confinement leave was introduced in October 1966 by Leslie Bury, the Minister for Labour and National Service (Holt Coalition Government). On 18 November 1966, the *Public Service Act (No.2) 1966* (Cth) allowed for the permanent appointment of women in the CPS and introduced unpaid maternity leave provisions. Australia became the last democratic country to lift the marriage bar (M. Sawer, 2001).[22] Women in the ADF had to wait another three years before the bar was lifted. Many women's careers were either destroyed or delayed because of the marriage bar restrictions, which ignored women's abilities and perpetuated the attitude that a married woman's place was in the home.

The barriers to a career were also compounded by the attitude of men in senior leadership positions towards training opportunities for women, an attitude that was reflected in the education policy at the time. For example, a senior CPS bureaucrat, A.R. Taysom (an officer of the Trade Commissioner Service), argued in an internal document (a minute) to his

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[22]   For a comprehensive review of this topic, see (*Removal of the Commonwealth marriage bar: a documentary history*, 1996), Marian Sawer (ed); and Mandarins, Ministers and the Bar on Married Women (Sheridan & Stretton, March 2004).

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director that training women was not cost effective because they left the Service to marry (1963).[23] The male bureaucrat's sexist attitude is an example of how women were discriminated against during the early 1960s. In the internal correspondence, Taysom conceded "a relatively young attractive woman could operate with some effectiveness, in a subordinate capacity". Nevertheless, he went on to state that "such an appointee would not stay young and attractive for ever and later on could well become a problem". He listed nine reasons for not hiring women commissioners, including: the inefficiency in training women as "most of them would probably marry within five years"; the difficulties women would face eliciting information from businessmen; matters of character such as the inability to withstand the long term "severe strains and stresses, mentally and physically" of the job; having to deal with the extra duties of running a household and managing the entertainment; and the long-term "spinster lady" who stays with the organisation often becomes "a battleaxe with the passing years" whereas "a man usually mellows" (Taysom, 1963).[24] Commenting on the document's sentiments, historian Michael McKernan said the exchange between the male bureaucrats reflected the retreat from the wartime experience of women's workforce participation (Szego, 2005). Thus the marriage bar not only limited women's ability to participate in the workforce but also restricted their training opportunities. By choosing marriage, women were doubly punished because they were also prevented from having economic independence.

Attitudes like Taysom's towards women in the paid workforce prevented many women, and particularly married women, having careers in the CPS. Such attitudes were consistently displayed in other government departments such as Defence. For example, in 1978 Air Marshal Sir James Rowland, Chief of the Air Staff, said to a parliamentary standing committee on the likelihood of women pilots in the RAAF, "Do you want me to spend $1M of your money producing a Mirage pilot who is going to leave in a couple of years?" (Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 1979, p. 1158).

The view that women had jobs and not careers was also held by most women. Judith Ann (1970) writing about her job in an American insurance company stated that she and her friends "assumed that all this talk about future "better jobs" was only conditional on our

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[23]   The document, displayed in March 2005 at Canberra's National Archives, was located on a file entitled, "Appointment of Female Trade Commissioners (Policy)".

[24]   The Minute was written in the context of the proposal to appoint Freda Beryl Wilson as Australia's first female trade commissioner. The proposed appointee had been manager of Australia's Trade Office in Los Angeles for several years and, for short periods previously, had run an Australian Trade Office in San Francisco. Alan Carmody, the Deputy Director, recorded on the file that the appointment related only to Wilson and was not to be seen "in any sense as a precedent".

single status, and it was our firm belief that at the end of all present suffering lay the final reward: marriage" (pp. 89-90). Later, she worked as a private secretary to the editor-in-chief of a bridal magazine. In this job, Ann (1970) said, "I had achieved the highest job rung available to girls of limited education, or for that matter, to most girls, no matter what their education" (p. 96). Her perception of the job being glamorous, gained from watching the 1950s television show *Private Secretary*, was in reality quite different. Ann (1970) recounted:

> Well, I knew that I was letting myself in for such basically uncreative tasks as typing letters, filing, and opening mail. After all, I was a realistic girl, I needed bread, and I was prepared to sell my skills and labor [sic] to survive—I had done it before and I didn't expect this job to be much different from the others. I must confess, however, that I was not prepared for what I soon discovered was the bulk of a private secretary's work: balancing my boss's checkbook; making his coffee in an electric coffee-pot and then washing the pot and cups; dusting his office; Xeroxing his income-tax records; even at one point washing baseboards. It seemed incredible to me at first that a human being, very much like myself in appearance and basic needs, seemed incapable of the simplest tasks: sharpening his own pencils or answering his own phone. I finally realized, however, that it was probably not that the tasks themselves were so physically debilitating to my boss; the degrading division of labor was just the quickest way of enforcing the sexual hierarchy in employment. (p. 96)

Kutulas' analysis of the influence of such shows as *Private Secretary* argues that women's workplace experience depicted a distinctly gendered experience. Unlike men, women's choices were either jobs or families but not both. Moreover, women's jobs "were not glamorous; they were teachers and secretaries, echoing the reality of a gender-segregated workplace that limited real women's employment possibilities" (Kutulas, 2005, p. 218).

An Australian example of women's employment being confined and sex-stereotyped can be found in the story of Queensland policewomen. In 1969, the number of women in the Queensland Police Force was very limited; 22 women in a police force of over 3,220 sworn officers (less than 1 per cent). Most of these women were employed in the Police Women Section attached to Brisbane's Criminal Investigation Branch carrying out secretarial and welfare-oriented duties (Prenzler & Wimshurst, 1997). In the Navy in the same year, the number of women employed was significantly more at nearly 4 per cent (29 WRAN Officers, 651 WRANS and 20 RANNS) (see Appendix 3 and Archer, 1969, p. 80). However, the jobs offered to women joining the WRANS also followed, like the women in the

Queensland Police Force, the traditional female roles. The WRANS jobs were concentrated in the areas of domestic duties such as Stewards and Cooks; nursing such as Sick Bay Attendants; and secretarial such as Shorthand Typists. The exceptions were communications, which was the first category for WRANS established during the WWII era, Radar Plotters and Motor Transport Drivers. There were no rigid educational qualifications required for entry into the WRANS but there were some category specific requirements, for example Shorthand Typists were required to pass a typing test at a speed of 30 words per minute (wpm) and a shorthand test at 80 wpm (Director General of Recruiting, 1970b).

In 1973, a decade after the Department of Trade Minute, the Australian Public Service produced a recruiting brochure targeting women and promoting the benefits of working in Canberra. The opportunities offered were for typists, stenographers and secretaries—the traditional workforce roles women did prior to WWII. The brochure shows in picture album format "a week in the life of 3 young girls" (Public Service Board, 1973). These jobs reflected the types of subjects being offered to girls in high school and the vocational choices taken up at TAFE colleges. The brochure also reinforced the gender-segregated workplace by depicting men in the management role; for example, one photo shows a man sitting behind a large desk dictating correspondence to a female secretary, who sat on the other side of the desk with her notepad and pencil, while another shows a man offering a woman advice inferring the man has more knowledge (see Plate 2-5). The handwritten quip attached to the latter picture also suggests a more personal attitude—the idea of finding a husband.

Because I can
type at 50 w.p.m.
I get a bonus.

They also pay extra allowances for short-
hand speeds and some girls get a boarding
allowance to help them meet their living
expenses. The Government provides private
hotels for staff, so the cost of accommodation
is reasonable.

This is Ian. He's very nice
but a bit shy. Ian works
in my department ... So
we see quite a bit of each
other.

The working conditions are great. Most offices
are air conditioned. The hours are good and
most of the people are young, like you.
We get four weeks' holiday a year
and sick leave and other benefits are generous.
There's a good superannuation scheme, too.

Plate 2-5: Brochure depicting sex stereotyping roles in the workplace

This above image, taken from a 12-page 1973 Australian
Pubic Service recruiting brochure, is advertising for "girls" to
come and work in Canberra, Australia's national capital and
the home of Australia's Parliament. The jobs on offer are the
"traditional" jobs offered to women at the time—typist,
stenographer and secretary.

Even when women were well educated, they still faced barriers to specific careers. In 1976, despite holding exceptional educational qualifications and skills, Deborah Wardley (later Lawrie) was repeatedly rejected by an Australian airline, Ansett Airlines, for a position as a pilot. Wardley was a high school mathematics and science teacher. She had gained her pilot's licence in 1971 at the age of 18, a commercial pilot's licence in 1973 and had logged 2,600 flying hours (L. Porter, 2004). Knowing she was better qualified than some of the men being employed by Ansett Airlines, Wardley filed a claim with the Victorian Equal Opportunity Board, the first sex discrimination in employment case contested before the Board (Equal Opportunity Commission Victoria, 2001). The Board ruled that Ansett's refusal to employ Wardley was illegal and ordered Ansett to include her in their next pilots training program. Although Ansett employed Wardley, they appealed the decision to the High Court, who dismissed the appeal in 1980 (High Court of Australia). A decade later, Natasha Perry who went on to become a Qantas international pilot was told by a careers counsellor that she should re-evaluate her decision to pursue a career in aviation because it was not a suitable field of employment for a woman. Perry found such an attitude unusual for an all-girls school, which she thought would be encouraging girls to follow their desires. She went on to say that this was the only occasion she faced resistance to her career choice (Edmistone, 2011, p. 8). Perry's experience showed that despite decades of education reform for girls, there were still women who held on to the old values of career sex-stereotyping despite the fact that women were proving their capability in all types of careers.

In 1987, seven years after Wardley's legal victory, the first female pilots were enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). Robyn Williams was the dux of the course and went on to become the RAAF's first female test pilot (Australian Government, 2008). Another decade elapsed before Sub-Lieutenant Natalee McDougall (22 years old) graduated in 1998 alongside her five male counterparts. She made history being the first female to graduate as a pilot in the RAN in its 50 years of Naval Aviation (Davis, 1998a, p. 1).

The 1980s also saw several women appointed to leadership roles. For example, in 1985, Helen Williams became the first female head of a government department at the federal level when she became the Secretary of the Department of Education; in 1986, Joan Child became the first female speaker in the Federal House of Representatives and Janine Haines the first woman to lead an Australian political party, the Australian Democrats; in 1987, Justice Mary Gaudron became the first female judge of the High Court of Australia (Brentnall, 2013, p. 4); in 1988, Commander Liz Coles became the first female Commanding

Officer of a Navy shore establishment (*Navy News*, 1988g, p. 8); and in 1989, Rosemary Follett became the first female leader of an Australian state or territory government when she became Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory (Brentnall, 2013, p. 5).

The 1990s brought further progress in respect to Navy women's employment opportunities. On 5 April 1990, the Chief of Naval Staff announced that nearly all sea-going workforce roles (billets) would be opened to women (Defence News Release). The reasons given to the change in policy were to give women a better career structure, to increase posting flexibility and to allow women training and experience in all aspects of naval operations. While the reasons given did align with the principles of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth), another major factor in the change was the shortfall of labour in the Navy (Jones, 2001b, p. 255). This was reflected in the increase in the employment of women officers between 1990 and 1991, which at 2.1 per cent saw the greatest increase in the number of women in the Service between 1950 and 2015 (see Appendix 3). The effect of the policy was to remove most employment barriers to women serving in the Navy. Although accommodation still restricted sea service options, in 1991 and 1992 women were posted to ships deployed on operations (Royal Australian Navy, 1993, p. 3, Annexure 13.1; 1994, Annexure C). In 1992, Captain Carolyn Brand was appointed the first female Commander of the Australian Mine Warfare Force and Commanding Officer of the Navy shore establishment HMAS *Waterhen* (Gould, 2013b, p. 10). Five years later in 1997, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Lieutenant Jennifer Daetz (later Captain) became the first female to command a Navy ship, the survey vessel HMAS *Shepparton* (II) (Daetz, 2013, p. 15) and in 1999, 12 women submariners joined the Australian submarines *Collins* and *Farncomb* (*Navy News*, 1999c, p. 1).

Also in the 1990s, the work of Rear Admiral Grace Hopper USN,[25] a pioneer in the field of computing, was acknowledged as encouraging women worldwide to pursue this field of work. Her work inspired the inaugural Grace Hopper Celebration of Women in Computing

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[25]   When Hopper gained her PhD in 1934, she was one of four women in a doctoral program of ten students and her doctorate in mathematics was a rare accomplishment in its day. During my research, I discovered that Hopper was the senior mathematician on the team developing a new computer called UNIVAC I (UNIVersal Automatic Computer I), which became the second commercial computer produced in the United States. The UNIVAC-418 was the computing hardware used to introduce in the Australian Defence Force the first Automatic Message Switching System (AMS). The system became operational in 1973 in a new facility named the Defence Communications Automatic Relay Station (DEFCOMMARS) Canberra. At various times throughout the 1970s and 1980s, I worked at the Station, which had a Navy workforce, as an operator, watch manager and computer controller. Although unaware of Hopper's influence on my career, through her brilliance in and devotion to her craft, I was able to participate in the field of computing in its pioneering years.

Conference in 1994 (Anita Borg Institute, 2014). The inaugural conference attracted 500 attendees. Twenty years later, the conference with the theme "Everywhere. Everyone." was sold-out with nearly 8,000 attendees, representing 800 organisations from 41 countries, including Australia. Attending high school in Queensland in the 1990s, Jenine Beekhuyzen, was inspired by the work of Hopper and has gone on to share her passion for Information Technology (IT) and promote the benefits of careers in IT through her website, educational sessions and mentoring women in technology (2008).

The first decade of the twenty-first century also saw several major milestones for women. In 2001, Christine Nixon, who joined the Victorian Police Force in 1972 soon after leaving year 12 and who as a mature-age student was a graduate of Harvard University (Nixon & Chandler, 2011, pp. 21, 29), became the first female to head an Australian police force when she was appointed Chief Commissioner of Victoria Police. In 2002, Jenny Macklin a graduate of the University of Melbourne with a BA in Commerce (Hons) became Deputy Leader of the Australian Labor Party, the first woman to be Deputy Leader of either of the two major Australian political parties. In the same year, Marion Scrymgour, who did not take up tertiary training after high school but who as a mature-age student undertook correspondence courses in book-keeping, accounting, administration and health economics became a minister in the Northern Territory Government (Northern Territory Government, 2010). She was the Labor Party Deputy Chief Minister of the Northern Territory from November 2007 until February 2009, and was the highest-ranked Indigenous person in government in Australia's history (Brentnall, 2013, p. 6). In 2005, Robyn Walker, who qualified as a medical practitioner in 1982 and joined the Navy in 1991, became the first female to reach the rank of Commodore (Department of Defence, 2011a). In 2007, Julia Gillard, a graduate of Melbourne University who went on to work as a solicitor and a partner in the Melbourne law firm Slater and Gordon (Prime Minister of Australia, 2013), became the first female Deputy Prime Minister of Australia (Brentnall, 2013, p. 6). Also in 2007, Commander Michele Miller, who holds an honours degree in science through the Australian Defence Force Academy and post-graduate degrees (Macquarie University, 2013) became the first female Commanding Officer of a major surface combatant, the ANZAC Class Frigate HMAS *Perth* (Sea Power Centre Australia, 2006). In 2008, Quentin Bryce was appointed the first female Australian Governor-General. A graduate of the University of Queensland in the 1965s, she has had a rich and distinguished career as an academic, lawyer, community and human rights advocate, senior public officer, university college principal, and vice-regal representative in Queensland (Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2014). In 2009, Anna

Bligh, who gained a BA from the University of Queensland in 1980 (Australian Politics, 2012), became the first woman popularly elected to the position of state premier (Brentnall, 2013, p. 6; Queensland Government, 2015).[26] The following year, Julia Gillard became the first female Prime Minister of Australia. In 2011, Commodore Walker was the first Navy woman to be promoted to Rear Admiral. She assumed the position of Commander Joint Health and Surgeon General Australian Defence Force (Walker, 2011).

Walker's promotion to Rear Admiral was history making for Navy women. However, while not discounting her commitment and achievement in reaching two-star rank, her field of employment in health is associated with the traditional female occupation of nursing, albeit a doctor of medicine carries more status. Within the ADF, star rank is awarded to officers with mainstream military front line experience. In the RAN, maritime warfare officers dominate at this level. Therefore, true equality for Navy women will not be achieved until women who have trained in non-traditional fields of employment, such as maritime warfare, are promoted to two-star rank.

The above examples demonstrate how feminist activism has given women the opportunity to have careers outside the home. The years in which these women achieved a first is an indication of how slow the progress has been for women to gain senior leadership roles in Australian society, particularly in the public service sector. Because women in such roles are still in the minority, these examples should be lauded as exceptions. While these women should be acknowledged and congratulated on their achievements, until there is a greater mass of women in similar roles, the fight for equal opportunity in employment must be maintained.

2.6   THE GAP

The examples given in the above section are those of women who have gained prominence in their fields. There are many more women who have benefited from the labour and education reforms of the past 50 years. Their stories are told through various means such as books, documentaries, on the internet through websites, uploaded documents and social media, and even in museums such as the National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame in

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26   Bligh was sworn in as Premier on 13 September 2007 following the resignation of Peter Beattie and led her party to victory during the 2009 election. Carmen Lawrence was the first woman premier in 1990 but her rise to the position was not the result of a state election but like Bligh's initial appointment the result of a leadership change.

Alice Springs. However, the story of women serving in Australia's Navy has not been told in full.

An overview of women's participation in the Australian Navy has been recorded in books and magazines, for example, in chapters of military history publications such as *An Outline of Australian Navy History* (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976) and *The Australian Centenary History of Defence Volume III: The Royal Australian Navy (Stevens, 2001b)*. Some of the Australian Navy annuals feature stories about women in the Navy as do some popular national magazines such as the *Woman's Day* and the *Women's Weekly*.

Several recollections have been written about the WRANS during the WWII period. One is *W.R.A.N.S.: Women's Royal Australian Naval Service* by Margaret Curtis-Otter (Curtis-Otter, 1975), who served in the WRANS during WWII and reached the rank of First Officer and the position of second-in-charge of the WRANS. Her book provides an insight into Navy women's lives during the war years. She finishes her story with a five-page synopsis of the background of the reformation of the WRANS and some of the changed conditions of service for women up until 1975. Another is *Ships Belles: The story of the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service in war and peace 1941-1985* by Shirley Fenton Huie (2000), who was a wireless telegraphist in the wartime WRANS. The focus of the book is the WRANS role during WWII. The last chapter is devoted to the post-war WRANS. Several pages of the last chapter explore the reformation of the WRANS, followed by four pages of discussion that focus mainly on the career of two women. The chapter finishes with the inclusion of a brief history of the WRANS from 1951 to 1974. The history is a copy of a Defence Paper written by Second Officer June Baker WRANS when she was Assistant Director WRANS (1974).[27] The impetus for writing the paper was a direction from Prime Minister Whitlam to Defence to review the role of women in the Navy as Whitlam, who believed in social justice and equality of opportunity, was eager to improve the status of all Australian women. The aim of the paper was to inform the review committee by tracing the history of the reformation of the WRANS, the progress in the conditions of service for women over a 20-year period and the outstanding differences in conditions of service between the women serving in the WRANS and the members of the RAN. The Paper, a copy of which

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[27]   Annexes A to C are not included and the document is not attributed to Second Officer June Baker. Rather the author's words on page 279 "For the purposes of this book, Maureen Weir has supplied the excellent and detailed report which now follows" implies the material was written by Weir. The bulk of the material in the chapter prior to this section appears to have been extracted from Spurling's Master's thesis without any acknowledgement.

was located at the HMAS *Cerberus* museum, was unreferenced. Nevertheless, it provided a valuable resource in authenticating other sources.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, one Master's thesis and two PhD theses were located during the literature review. Kathryn Spurling, who served in the WRANS between 1966 and 1968 (Stevens, 2001b, p. XIV), documented the history of the WRANS covering the period 1939 to 1960 in her unpublished Master's thesis, *The Women's Royal Australian Naval Service: A Study in Discrimination, 1939–1960* (1988). A portion of her thesis was published as "Willing volunteers, resisting society, reluctant Navy: The troubled first years of the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service" (Spurling, 1996). She found the women serving during the period suffered severe discrimination; the major factor being the societal view of women's work where the dominant definition of femininity and the role of women were in no way compatible with the attributes of seafaring and naval warfare.

Katerina Agostino's PhD thesis, *Femininities and Masculinities in the Royal Australian Navy: Workplace Discourses*, examined Navy's culture and its effects on women's integration and retention (1997a). She begins her research from the early 1990s, therefore there is a 30 years gap between the work of Spurling and Agostino. Donna Bridges, *"The Gendered Battlefield" Women in the Australian Defence Force*, investigated gender inequality in the Australian Defence Force as a barrier to full integration (Bridges, 2005). Again, her work only tells a portion of Navy women's story to full employment equality.

During my research, I discovered that the contemporary role of women in the Navy is not discussed or explored in any detail in currently available material. This thesis therefore fills the gap in the literature in respect to the changes to employment opportunities for women who served in the WRANS and the Royal Australian Navy in modern times.

2.7   CHAPTER SUMMARY

In choosing my thesis topic and developing an initial design to answer my research questions, I posited that women's employment opportunities in the Navy during the five and a half decades between 1960 and 2015 were, like women in civilian employment, shaped by the education offered to girls and societal attitudes towards women's participation in the labour market. These themes then became central to my literature review.

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The literature revealed that women's workforce participation increased significantly during WWII, particularly in industry. A shortage of servicemen during WWII also led to the formation of women's military arms. However, progress towards women's greater participation in the workforce was reversed at the end of the war when women were forced out of the workforce and back into their traditional role in the home. Labour shortages in the 1950s due to Australia's involvement in the Korean War resulted in a reversal of attitudes to women's workforce participation, which including the reformation of the women's military services.

Attitudes were also influenced by post-war prosperity and the rise in consumerism. To afford the new lifestyle, women had to work. However, their role in society was confused by mixed messages in the mainstream media, particularly in advertising and television shows. Advertising was touting new products for the housewife to give them more leisure time, yet women had to work to afford the new luxuries. Television shows portrayed married women in the home not having careers. The latter did not start to seriously change until the late 1970s when women (albeit single women) began being portrayed in television shows as having careers. At the same time a significant breakthrough for women occurred with the availability of the contraceptive pill, which assisted in the transformation of women's status as participants in the economy.

However, there were still barriers to women's full participation in the labour market. One of the main obstacles was deficiencies in the school education being offered to girls. Governments from the 1970s began to address this issue by reforming the curriculum. Even before reforms in education began, if a woman was well educated, marriage precluded her from working in some sectors of the workforce such as the CPS and the military. Barriers to women's workforce participation, such as the marriage and pregnancy bars and combat restrictions, were mechanisms protecting the male workforce. These barriers were gradually removed, at least formally, as women, influenced by second-wave feminism, demanded greater workforce participation, and enlightened governments, such as Whitlam's, acknowledged women's talents and championed their participation in society as equals.

My literature review identified a trend in women's workforce participation, that is, in times of labour shortages women's workforce participation increased and this was particularly the case for Navy women. In the 1960s and 1970s, the type of employment Navy women engaged in was, like their sisters in the civilian sector, influenced by the traditional labour

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roles for women, which was perpetuated by the school curriculum. In later decades, the opportunities open to Navy women increased due to reforms in education and labour shortages. However, there is limited detail afforded to the story of Navy women, especially during their contribution between 1960 and 2015, a time during which their employment opportunities significantly changed. This thesis addresses this shortfall.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY
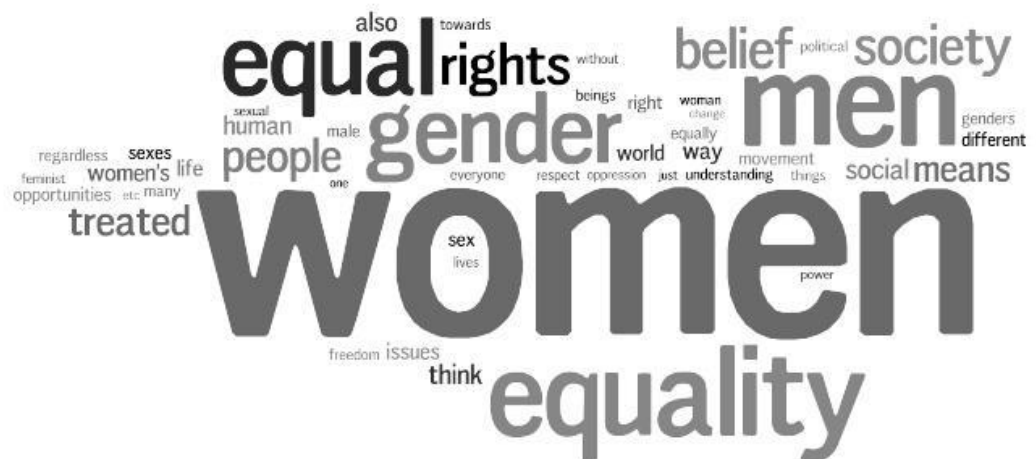
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3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the methodology used in my research on women serving in the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS) and the Royal Australian Navy (RAN).[28] I also address the assumptions I brought to the research and subsequent dilemmas faced. The ultimate goal was to tell a story that encompasses both the organisation's and the individual's perspectives of the increasing participation of women in the Navy on their journey towards full integration into the Navy workforce. The aim of the research was not to collect and compile statistics but to understand what happened—the why and the how. From the outset, the project was seen as taking a joint disciplinary approach—women's studies and history. After researching several methodological approaches, I was drawn to a feminist methodology because it includes paying attention to the importance of gender as a central element of social life (Fonow & Cook, 2005; Harding, 1987), challenging the norm of objectivity to incorporate subjectivity into research (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1996; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Harding, 1987; Harding & Norberg, 2005), and empowering women through social research (Acker et al., 1996; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Harding, 1987; Harding & Norberg, 2005; Oakley, 1998; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Reinharz, 1992). These features of a feminist methodology are usually informed by extensive reflexivity throughout the research process (Acker et al., 1996; Harding, 1987; Reinharz, 1992).

At the heart of feminism is the belief that women are oppressed (Stanley & Wise, 1983). Accepting and recognising this as a problem is the reason why feminists do feminist research. Feminist research according to Yoland Wadsworth (2001):

> resolves around the need to know and understand better the nature of the hurt we sustain as a group – a group which is subordinated on the grounds of our female gender. This is not 'knowledge for its own sake' but rather is knowledge explicitly dedicated to bringing about change and improvement in our situation as women. (pp. 1-2)

In understanding knowledge and creating knowledge:

> Feminists employ a variety of strategies for creating knowledge about women and their social worlds which often lies hidden from mainstream society. A feminist

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[28]   The RAN will be referred to throughout the chapter as the Navy. Where other Navies are mentioned, the country will precede the word, for example, United States Navy (USN), British Royal Navy (BRN).

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approach to knowledge building recognizes the essential importance of examining women's experience. It often takes a critical stance toward traditional knowledge-building claims that argue for "universal truths". Research conducted within a feminist framework is attentive to issues of difference, the questioning of social power, resistance to scientific oppression, and has a commitment to political activism and social justice. (S.N. Hesse-Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2004)

Feminists have not, however, agreed on what makes a piece of research feminist. Nevertheless, they have advocated that research is feminist when it is not only about women, but also for women and by women (Fonow & Cook, 1991; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Reinharz, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Wadsworth, 2001). My research meets these three components and can therefore be classed as a piece of feminist research.

In this chapter, I intend to expand on why a feminist methodology was adopted for the study. Next, I provide through a reflective process my personal connection to the topic. I then go on to explain how I turned the abstract into reality by doing some preliminary research and developing a research design. I discuss the methods I chose to conduct the research and how these changed in the process due to issues with ethical clearance. Finally, I describe how and why I accessed the material for my research, and the tool used to record the collected data.

3.2   FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I position myself primarily within the liberal feminist strand. Nevertheless, this research does not locate itself within only this strand. Feminism, like most broad-based philosophical perspectives, accommodates several strands. Some of these are liberal, Marxist, radical, psychoanalytic, socialist, existentialist, or postmodern (Tong, 1989). Although there are many feminist strands or perspectives, each "attempts to describe women's oppression, to explain its causes and consequences, and to prescribe strategies for women's liberation" (Tong, 1989, p. 13). While there is insufficient space to comment on a host of feminist strands, I will discuss here, in addition to liberal feminist thought, radical and socialist feminism as these two strands have also influenced my feminist lens.

3.2.1 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism has its roots in the eighteenth century with Mary Wollstonecraft's, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Wollstonecraft argued women, like men, were rational beings and entitled to be treated as autonomous decision-makers. To achieve such ends, she believed in women having equality of opportunity in education and employment, which would provide economic independence. In the nineteenth century, Harriet Taylor Mill and John Stuart Mill continued to advocate for equal rights for men and women. In her essay, "Enfranchisement of Women", Taylor Mill (1981) purported that women should have access to higher education, partnerships (participation) in productive industry, and a coequal share in the political and legal spheres.

Contemporary liberal feminists tend to agree that the values and structures of liberal democracy have the potential to end the oppression of women if women are allowed to fully participate in these values and structures. Thus, unlike radical feminists and socialist feminists, liberal feminists do not believe that there needs to be new political, economic and social categories to end gender oppression. Liberal feminists want women fully enfranchised into the social systems of corporate, government, economic and educational life and work to end gender segregation, gender discrimination in all areas of public life and gender-based laws. They seek legal and public solutions to the problems affecting women (McHugh, 2007). With their roots in classical liberalism, feminist liberalism relies upon rationality and the "reasoned argument" to create change (Jaggar, 1988, p. 181). Verity Burgmann (1993) in analysing the effectiveness of social movements on Australian politics and society acknowledged that:

> It was liberal feminism that had the greatest impact on mainstream society, appealing to many women who … identified with its liberal ideas of equality of rights for women with men. That it was liberal feminism which most affected the mores of the wider society was facilitated by the fact that it was the least challenging of the feminisms, the least offensive to men, the one whose demands could be met with the least anxiety. (p. 83)

While many other strands of contemporary feminist theory define themselves in reaction against traditional liberal feminism, without liberal feminist efforts many of the educational, legal and professional/occupational gains for individual women may not have been achieved (Putnam Tong, 1998). Thus opportunities for individual empowerment and increased social freedom for some women can be directly attributable to liberal feminist

endeavours. The major criticism against liberal feminism is that it assumes that change can happen within the existing male-dominated social structure. This position fails to acknowledge that this stand demands that women must completely surrender to patriarchal values, norms and ways of being. In other words, to be equal, women must be like men (Enriques, 2000).

3.2.2 Radical feminism

A second type of feminism, radical feminism, celebrates women's difference from men. Because radical feminists identify women's difference from men as a source of strength, they argue that female qualities such as gentleness, emotion, nurturing, creativity, and consensus have consistently been devalued. To correct this, radical feminism aims to connect women with their own innate strengths and with each other. In radical feminist discourse, patriarchy, the systemisation of the oppression of women by social structures such as marriage, heterosexuality, laws, policies and even language, explains women's position in society (McHugh, 2007).

Radical feminism evolved out of the women's liberation movement of the 1960s. Like socialist feminists, radical feminists argue that new political, economic and social categories need to be constructed to end patriarchy, which is assumed by radical feminists to be the oldest and most fundamental form of oppression in society. Radical feminists emphasise that all men, regardless of other variables such as race and class, oppress all women (Burgmann, 1993). Marysia Zalewski (2000) commenting on radical feminists' approach to patriarchy, asserted:

> The structural theory of patriarchy suggested it wasn't simply men who were the problem but all things associated with men and masculinity. This meant not only did men dominate – but so did masculine values, ideas and typical modes of living. This basically covered everything, including such things as the mind, knowledge and emotion. Or science. … It's not just that men were largely responsible for producing scientific knowledge or machines (although they were). The more significant point was that men and the values and priorities of masculinity were responsible for deciding and controlling what counted as scientific knowledge, or anything else. Radical feminists decided to turn that upside down and place women at the centre. (p. 12)

Among radical feminists there exists a diverse range of views though in general their focus is on sexuality, gender and reproduction as the core sources of women's oppression (Putnam Tong, 1998). Another central view of radical feminism is the belief that the personal is political and that woman-centeredness can be the basis of a future society (Eisenstein, 1984). By politicising women's personal experiences, radical feminist theorising has exposed previously invisible social issues, such as pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment, rape, and violence against women. While not necessarily presenting a consensual view around such issues, radical feminism has highlighted their existence and provided a political analysis of issues previously dismissed as private, and caused by an individual's personal inadequacy (Putnam Tong, 1998). As a result, these issues have moved from the margins to the centre of political and social consciousness.

A major criticism of radical feminism is that supporters of the strand simplify the issues and therefore tend to suggest that men are the victimisers and women the victims. This is a very broad view as not all women are victims and not all men corrupt. Therefore, by taking an essentialist standpoint, radical feminists run the risk of "doing unto others that which they do not want done unto themselves and other oppressed groups" (Putnam Tong, 1998, p. 88). Postmodern feminists have been one of the strongest critics of radical feminists. Mandel (1995) states, "If, as the post-structuralists argue, experience is multiple, fractured and diverse, whose experience counts as 'real'? … Generalizing from one point of view erases, ignores or invalidates the experiences of others" (p. 34). Criticisms of radical feminism have spurred on this strand of feminist and led to a greater body of radical feminist writing, which addresses the issues raised.

3.2.3 Socialist feminism

Socialist feminists are among those who have incorporated the radical feminists' concept of patriarchal ideology. But unlike radical and liberal feminists, socialist feminists do not focus exclusively on gender to account for women's position. An analysis of class and economic conditions are central elements of socialist feminism. Unlike liberal feminists who believe that there is an adequate existing political structure that needs to be fully realised to end women's oppression, socialist feminists argue for a new system. Socialist feminists believe that the ownership of the means of production as well as the patriarchal social structures need to be transformed because the roots of women's oppression lie in the total economic system of capitalism (E. Reed, 1970). According to Jaggar (1988):

> Socialist feminists claim that a full understanding of the capitalist system requires a recognition of the way it is structured by male dominance and, conversely, that a full understanding of contemporary male dominance requires a recognition of the way it is organized by the capitalist division of labor. (p. 123)

Like other forms of feminism, socialist feminists work to break down the distinction between the public and private spheres. They analyse the gendered nature of work, childcare, pregnancy and birth, and bodily practices such as weight management and grooming as products of historical construction not essential and/or biological. Social feminism has paid a significant part in analysing women's work in the home as both crucial to the functioning of capitalism and consistently undervalued, and for the most part invisible. Social feminists have also been proponents of debating the meaning and construction of feminism for women who are other than white, middle class, Western and able bodied (Zalewski, 2000). Their undertakings have acknowledged the existence of differences between women and to debate the meaning and consequences of such differences. As Putnam Tong (1998) points out:

> Do women, simply because they are women, see reality differently from men? Although the answer to this question is a qualified yes, the fact remains that even if women see reality differently to men, not all women see reality the same. A women's race, class, ethnicity, age, sexual preference, physical condition, or psychological condition, for example will affect what position she occupies on the feminist standpoint platform. Realizing this, many socialist feminists have begun to consider seriously the 'epistemological consequences' of the differences as well as the similarities among women. (p. 128)

One major critique of socialist feminism is that it relies on a concept of sexual division of labour to explore the relations between women's subordination, specific economic systems and specific ways of organising sexuality. The rise of post-modernist ideas and the collapse of state socialist governments around the world in the late 1980s and early 1990s, has meant that socialist feminist ideas are not as prominent as they once were. Nevertheless, it remains a strand of feminist thought.

Having given some background to the strands of feminism that have influenced my feminist position, I now expand on the features that make this thesis a piece of feminist research.

3.2.4 The importance of gender

A feminist methodology stresses the need to keep gender at the heart of inquiry (Fonow & Cook, 2005; Harding, 1987). Shulamit Reinharz (1992) wrote, "Feminist social research utilizes feminist theory in part because other theoretical traditions ignore or downplay the interaction of gender and power" (p. 249). In a non-traditional area of employment for women such as the Navy, these aspects of gender and power are critical for understanding women's participation in the Navy. For over a century, the Navy has been led by men. This has placed men in a power position where they have been the decision makers, and thus controlled employment opportunities for Navy servicewomen. Navy's history has therefore been written from a male perspective. By adopting a feminist methodology, the influence of gender and power became central to telling the organisational story.

Men as the central figures of society can be traced back to Australian history written in the early twentieth century where there was a succession of stories about male explorers, pioneers, gold diggers, bushmen and Anzacs. These men though often defeated in their endeavours never despaired. They were always prepared to have a go, and they were always loyal to their (male) mates (Hancock, 1930) thus giving them a hero image. Where were the women? The absence of women from constructions of Australian history and national identity was critiqued by two feminists in the mid-1970s. In *Damned Whores and God's Police: the colonization of women in Australia* (1975), Anne Summers sets out to challenge the dominant stereotype of women in Australian culture, which she claimed revolved around a good girl/bad girl binary that denied women any "cultural potency or economic independence" (p. 20). Miriam Dixson in *The real Matilda: women and identity in Australia 1788 - 1975* (1976) also explored the ways in which women had been represented or not represented in Australian history, which to her was a "history of misogyny" (p. 11).

Feminist historian Gerda Lerner in *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986) revised Frederick Engels theory of the subjugation of women. She agreed with Engels 1884 theory that male control over women gradually formed during the long transition to settled agriculture (see Engels, 2004). She added to Engels's theory arguing that reproductive labour was key to man's subordination of women. According to Lerner, women were the first slaves and all other forms of enslavement built upon female reproductive slavery. She stated, "Economic oppression and exploitation are based as much on the commodification of female sexuality and the appropriation by men of women's labor [sic] power and her reproductive power

as on the direct economic acquisition for resources and persons" (p. 217). Due to this power structure, women were subordinate to men throughout their lives and they went from one male protector, the father, to another, the husband. Furthermore, according to Lerner (1986), women were not only deprived of the right to be educated but also their contributions to society were ignored thus rendering them invisible in the making of history. Moreover, Lerner argues patriarchy has survived because of the cooperation of women. She stated:

> This cooperation is secured by a variety of means: gender indoctrination; educational deprivation; the denial to women of knowledge of their history; the dividing of women, one from the other, by defining 'respectability' and 'deviance' according to women's sexual activities; by restraints and outright coercion; by discrimination in access to economic resources and political power; and by awarding class privileges to conforming women. (Lerner, 1986, p. 217)

Lerner's explanation of the concept of patriarchy, which follows a radical feminist approach, provides a common understanding of the subordinate role women have played in the Navy. Patriarchal societies are hierarchical in that, at a minimum, they are a two-class society (Boles & Hoeveler, 2004, p. 253). For 64 years, this was the case with the Navy and the WRANS until the WRANS were disestablished and women were integrated into the Navy. However, despite integration, gender equality did not automatically occur, therefore, the importance of the inclusion of gender as a focal discussion point in this thesis.

3.2.5 Empowering women by acknowledging their experiences

Incorporating women's voices is also an important feature of a feminist methodology. Doing so recognises the value of women's personal, lived experiences. Alison Easton (1996) offered sound advice when she stated the construction of knowledge is transformed when women are listened to thoughtfully, analytically, critically and respectfully. Easton (1996) reminded me that:

> We need to understand that 'experience' is not simply an individualistic matter. What is subjective is also collective and shared; it is part of the world of social and economic institutions, language and other cultural practices, and is a continuous process by which we come to have a sense of ourselves and our place in the social order. (p. 4)

This was an important quote for me as Easton's view supported my own view that Navy women would have collective and shared experiences based on Navy cultural practices (Minichiello, Aroni, & Hays, 2008, p. 10).

3.2.6 Empowering women by acknowledging their contributions

I was also influenced by Adrienne Rich, an American poet, civil rights activist and feminist. She argued women need knowledge of their own history (1987, pp. 1-2). Therefore, telling the story of Navy women's struggles, survival and accomplishments, which is also my own story, fits within a feminist methodology (Easton, 1996, p. 2).

Rich's view is not an isolated one. In opposing the backlash against feminist advances that started in the 1980s, both Naomi Wolf (1993) and Natasha Walter (1998) have argued that women should celebrate their achievements. As women, including Navy women, tend to downplay their achievements, I decided to adopt Wolf and Walter's reasoning and profile those who succeeded in achieving a first for Navy women. Wolf and Walter also argue that women should realise their potential strength and compete on equal terms with men to gain success, which is a starting point for improving women's situation in other areas of life. As Wolf and Walter's arguments are in accord with my feminist views, I was convinced the inclusion of a list of Navy women's firsts would be both a celebration of Navy women's achievements and an important historical record as Navy women's firsts have not been formally documented.

3.2.7 Another approach

Some, like Martyn Hammersley (1992), assert there is no distinct feminist methodology. One way of dealing with such assertions is to adopt Beverley Skeggs's (1997) technique of approaching the variety and contradictions of feminist principles and practice by asking "Where is feminism?" rather than "What is feminism?" I found value in incorporating this approach into my methodology as it allowed me to show how feminist views and activism manifested themselves in different ways and how changes in one area influenced changes in another. For example, changes in education for girls significantly influenced employment opportunities for women. In addition, by asking "Where is feminism?" in the context of the research, I could measure Australian Navy women's journey in terms of how far they have travelled towards employment equality. In doing so, I could apply the subjects of broader

social change and social justice, which is an underlying concern in feminist research, to their story (Fonow & Cook, 1991, 2005).

3.2.8 Incorporating subjectivity into research

A feminist methodology stresses the importance of a researcher acknowledging subjectivity and bias, both of self and of research participants (Reinharz, 1992) and to be transparent about the personal frame of reference (Higgs, 2001). Reflexivity has become a highly valued tool in feminist research to critically evaluate and publicly recognise one's epistemological location. According to Sharlene Hesse-Biber and Michelle Yaiser, reflexivity is (2004):

> the process through which a researcher recognizes, examines, and understands how her social background, positionality, and assumptions affect the practice of research. The researcher is as much a product of society and its structures and institutions as the participants she is studying. One's own beliefs, backgrounds, and feelings become part of the process of knowledge construction. … Reflexivity also requires that the researcher makes visible to both the research audience and possibly the participants one's own social locations and identities. (p. 115)

Such reflexivity has been an enduring feature of this research from its very conception. As detailed in Chapter 1, the topic for this research was developed from within my own experiences and personal history. Many feminist authors and researchers began their writing with the personal connection they had to the topic. Adrienne Rich drew on her connection to motherhood (1976), Shulamit Reinharz (1988a, 1988b) discussed her experience of miscarriage, Ruth Harriet Jacobs (1979) discussed her own aging, Susan Borg and Judith Lasker (1981) discussed their connection to failed pregnancy, Marcia Millman (1980) used her experience to understand being overweight, and Lillian Rubin (1976) used her experience to study what it means to be a working-class woman. Taking a lead from these women, the next section of this chapter gives my personal connection to situate me in relation to the research.

3.3   A PERSONAL LIFE HISTORY

Life histories are a record of a person's life in letters, diaries and autobiography. Life histories play an important role in the production of feminist knowledge because they reveal the content of women's lives and can also provide a feminist with a deeper

understanding of women's culture by linking experience and consciousness (Geiger, 1986). Life histories are also action oriented because collectively they can help women understand the similarity of women's experiences (Mies, 1983). For example, women become aware of the sociological and historical roots of their suffering in documenting and analysing their life histories. By making their stories public, women acknowledge that their own experiences have social origins. As the aim of my research is to tell the story of a 55-year period in the life history of women in an organisation, I feel it necessary to explain my part in that history. I spent 35 years in the Permanent Navy[29] and continue my involvement with the Navy as an active Reservist. Being an "insider to the topic", I came to the study with "insider status" (Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 116), and a privileged position of trust. Throughout the research project, I have had to continually reflect on my insider status to avoid accepting behaviours, policy and practices as the "norm".

To adhere to Deborah Padgett's (1998) warning against using reflexivity as unauthorized autobiographical self-indulgence, I have tried to keep my story simple while also following Ramazanoglu and Holland's (2002) advice that reflexivity "is particularly important given the interrelation of politics, ethics and epistemology in feminist research" (p. 158). Using reflexivity allowed me to situate my sensitivity to the process of collecting data in a known environment, one I came to with assumptions and notions of normality that can impact on the creation of knowledge.

I often wondered where I got my drive to pursue a career in the Navy. On reflection, I was inspired by my mother and my grandmother. My maternal grandmother was born in 1907 and had two children. She did not work outside the home until 1943. When she was 36, she started work at the Toowoomba Foundry making ammunitions. Five years later in 1948, she started work at a prominent Brisbane hotel as a housemaid. She rose to be the Head Housekeeper and towards the end of her 21-year career at the Hotel Carlton her duties expanded to include the role of Maître D' during the breakfast service; a role more commonly held by a man (Mackay, 2008, p. 82; Shaver, May/June 1993, pp. 54-55).[30] My mother became a licensed publican in 1960 at the age of 34 after having six children and one miscarriage. At the time, her oldest child was 11 years old and the youngest 10 months old. She combined being a mother who nurtured and cared for her children with also being a successful business woman.

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[29] The term Permanent Navy replaced the term Permanent Naval Force, which means full-time service.

[30] In her article, Beverly Shaver reveals that Gisele St. Onge was a pioneer in the role of Maitre D', for at the time of writing the article, St. Onge was the only female Maître D' in the cruise industry.

Without realising it at the time, these two women were my role models. Both started off in traditional roles as housewives and both went to work out of necessity. One worked primarily in a traditional female job as a hotel housekeeper but nonetheless rose to be a manager in the hotel restaurant, which at the time was predominantly a male role; the other demonstrated how she was able to successfully combine being a mother with working in a non-traditional area of employment, a pub, which in the post-WWI era was a male dominated space (Wright, 2003). These women as well as myself and many others have been pursuing a more democratic society (Denzin, 2001) where employment opportunities for women should be the same as those available to men. In asserting this view, I acknowledge that the environment of my upbringing was similar to the one I entered when I joined the WRANS. My foundational years took place in a family setting that was predominantly female as it included four sisters[31] and a number of female cooks, placed within the broader space of a male dominated environment that excluded women. The WRANS environment was a reflection of my upbringing environment as the WRANS were a female community encompassed within a male dominated space where the men were the decision makers. Because of my upbringing environment, I accepted the WRANS structure as the norm.

I was born in 1954 into a white, working-class family. As was the norm coming from such a background, my father wanted me to take a job when I finished year 10 despite my ambition to complete year 12 and go to teacher's college. My ambition to become a teacher was an example of the narrow career choices girls of my era were counselled to follow and working class parents' views that higher education was not important for young women (Stephenson, 1970, pp. 14-25). In 1970, following my father's advice, I joined the Queensland State Public Service and commenced work at the Queensland State Government Insurance Office as a clerk-typist. The position involved taking shorthand, typing correspondence, and serving at the Workers' Compensation counter, which included answering claim queries as well as interviewing claimants and recording their accident statements. Due to a restructure of the public service two and a half years later, all the women in the office without a year 12 education found themselves relegated to the newly formed typing pool. However, the same condition was not applied to the male staff, which I found not only discriminatory but also disempowering. Due to the restricted role and the limited prospects of advancements, I looked for employment elsewhere and found

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[31] My mother had a son before I was born but he died within hours of his birth. She later gave birth to another son. My surviving brother is the youngest in the family and was born when I was 15 years old.

the WRANS offered a wider choice of jobs for my education level with the added bonus of a different and even adventurous lifestyle (Reghenzani, 2013, p. 65).

In 1973 at the age of 18, I joined the WRANS as a recruit communicator. At the time, I recall being told the average "life of a WRAN" was two years. This was due to women being discharged on marriage prior to 1969 and up until 1974 being discharged on falling pregnant. I had no intention of doing either as I immediately loved the work and the lifestyle. I, however, did marry in 1977 but I never had children. I was ambitious and the lack of a year 12 education did not hold be back from advancement. Within nine years I was promoted to Chief WRAN, the second highest non-commissioned rank. In between being a recruit and a Chief, I held the rank titles of Wran, Senior Wran, Leading Wran and Petty Officer Wran. Promotion to the highest non-commissioned rank, Warrant Officer, was competitive as there was only one position at this rank in my category, Radio Operator Teletype. This category name can be misleading as the jobs in my branch varied and included cryptography, working with computers from the early 1970s and management responsibilities.

In 1986, a decision was made to create a second Warrant Officer's position in my category at the Communications School HMAS *Cerberus*.[32] The impetus for the creation of the new position was the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) (SDA), which led to the repealing of *The Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulation*s in 1985. Within two years of the SDA, women's participation rates in the Navy had risen nearly two percent from 6.0 per cent to 7.9 per cent and had an average increase of 1 per cent over the next four years (see Appendix 3). As a result, the Navy needed to provide junior female sailors at *Cerberus*, Navy's premier training establishment, with more female role models. I was promoted to fill the Warrant Officer's position at the Communications School.

I spent 10 years as a Warrant Officer and had four postings in that rank. My third posting was in late 1991 as the Officer-in-Charge of the communications station at Garden Island in Western Australia, which is the location of HMAS *Stirling* (Navy's primary base on the west coast). Bidding for this position was my first experience of opposition to a female assuming what had traditionally been a role allocated to a male. The argument from some of my male counterparts was that I could not perform the role due to my lack of sea experience. Successful counter arguments were submitted to the Director of Sailors' Postings and I was posted to the position. One such counter argument was that as a Chief

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[32]   The Warrant Officer rank, introduced in 1971, was the highest non-commissioned rank.

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

I had served as the Traffic Supervisor (equivalent to an Operations Manager) in the Fleet Communications Centre at Garden Island, Sydney and been awarded a Fleet Commander's Commendation from Admiral Knox for outstanding service in the role (*Navy News*, 1986b, p. 6) (see Plate 3-1). Furthermore, in 1990, I had also been awarded an Order of Australia Medal for services to Naval Communications (see Plate 3-2).[33]   I was particularly fortunate to have as my Director at the time, Commander Patricia Downes RAN, who was an outspoken advocate on Navy women's employment opportunities. Downes had experienced a similar situation six years earlier when applying for a position on the staff of the USA Naval Attaché in Washington DC; a position she was well qualified to fill. Her promotion to Commander 12 months after assuming the position was confirmation of her ability to perform the role (P. Downes, personal communication, January 29, 2016).

An incident occurred when I first arrived at *Stirling*, which demonstrated the imbalance of women serving in the most senior non-commissioned rank. I was at the Pass Office arranging for an access pass to the Island for my husband when two young, male, junior sailors entered the Pass Office. I did not hear the exchange that took place between the two sailors as I was engaged with the customer support person but my husband, who had been a sailor for 11 years, later told me that they were amazed as they had not previously seen a female Warrant Officer. This incident occurred 20 years after the Warrant Officer rank was introduced and 17 years after the first woman had been promoted to the rank (*Navy News*, 1974, p. 6; 1979e, p. 2)

During the early stages of my three-year posting to *Stirling*, my second-in-charge was also a female. Chief Petty Officer Robyn Kenna came to me one day concerned that rumours were circulating that we had not obtained our positions based on merit but rather by "sleeping with the right people". This was my first experience of covert harassment. Both Kenna and I were insulted by this form of intimidation not only for us but also for our spouses. However, as there was no defined perpetrator, I thought the best position was to ignore such innuendo and to demonstrate our professionalism by conducting, as we had always done, our work efficiently, ethically and with integrity and honesty. Although the innuendos died down, such discriminatory behaviour was not officially addressed until the

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[33]   The surname appearing on the citations in Plates 3-1 and 3-2 is that of my first married name, Wootton. Ten and a half years after the death of my husband, Paul Wootton, I married John Reghenzani.

introduction of the Good Working Relationships Program (GWR) and the Navy Values in the mid-1990s.[34]

ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY

Commendation

CHIEF PETTY OFFICER WRAN RADIO SUPERVISOR TELETYPE

CHRISTINE ANNE WOOTTON, W114823

FLEET HEADQUARTERS

The Fleet Communications and Electronic Warfare Officer has brought to my attention your outstanding service and devotion to duty as the Traffic Supervisor in the Fleet Communications Centre.

In early 1985 you were tasked with the introduction and rationalisation of a complex computer aided message distribution system in the Fleet Communications Centre. The drive, enthusiasm and professional approach you displayed during this task have contributed to considerable administrative cost-savings and the increased efficiency of Fleet Headquarters.

Your willing and dedicated approach to your duty reflects great credit upon yourself, the Communications Branch and the Royal Australian Navy.

(I.W. KNOX)
Rear Admiral RAN
Fleet Commander

May 1986

Plate 3-1: Fleet Commander's Commendation awarded to Chief Petty Officer Wootton

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34   Chapter 6 discusses these initiatives, including the GWR program, which was introduced as one component of reforming the patriarchal culture that existed within the Navy.

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                    ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY

             ORDER OF AUSTRALIA - MILITARY DIVISION

        TO BE AWARDED THE MEDAL OF THE ORDER OF AUSTRALIA

                   QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY 1990


     W114823 WARRANT OFFICER WRAN RADIO SUPERVISOR TELETYPE CHRISTINE
     ANNE WOOTTON


                 For Service to the Royal Australian Navy in the Field
     of Naval Communications.


                 Warrant Officer Wran Christine Anne Wootton joined the
     RAN on 23 February 1973 as a Recruit Wran Radio Operator. She
     specialised in teletype communications, and has served with
     distinction in a wide variety of shore communications postings,
     including five years as the traffic supervisor in the Fleet
     Communications Centre in Sydney.  She was promoted to Petty
     Officer Radio Supervisor in 1977 and to Warrant Officer in 1987.

                 In 1979 she served for three months on exchange with
     the Royal New Zealand Navy, during which time she developed a
     communications reporting system for the New Zealand Defence
     Communications Network.

                 In 1985 she was responsible for introducing and
     rationalising a computer aided message distribution system
     in the Fleet Communications Centre.  This she did with skill and
     initiative, with the result of considerable cost savings and
     increased efficiency.

                 Since 1988 she has served on the staff of the Director
     of Naval Communications. Her primary designated duty has been the
     responsibility for all registered, accountable publications and
     equipment, and she has carried out this duty with exceptional
     care and attention to the necessary detail. She has also assisted
     the officer responsible for naval communications and
     cryptographic security policy, and for prolonged periods has
     acted as the policy adviser in the absence of a desk officer.
     This advice is required to be given, not only to RAN units, but
     to members of the other Services, HQADF and outside agencies. The
     depth and breadth of Warrant Officer Wootton's knowledge,
     together with her clear, concise and helpful manner of
     communicating this advice, has resulted in her gaining a
     reputation as a 'centre of excellence' among her peers, superiors
     and subordinates on all aspects of communications security.

                 Warrant Officer Wootton's position in the Directorate
     of Naval Communications has associated with it, the titular head
     of the female members of the Communications branch.  In this
     regard she has shown, by example and by positive encouragement,
     a compassionate but firm concern for the welfare of all female
     communications personnel, and an equally steadfast loyalty to the
     requirements of the Navy.  She is an exemplary model for members
     of all communications categories, all senior ranks and all
     female naval personnel.

     Residential Address:
     63 Darling Street
     Barton ACT
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Plate 3-2: Medal of the Order of Australia citation for Warrant Officer Wootton

For several years before taking up my posting to the West, I had started to think of my future beyond the Navy. My desire to gain higher education had been smouldering but I had ignored it thinking, "I'm not smart enough to go to university". In 1993 at the start of my second year at *Stirling*, I finally took the initiative and studied year 12 English and history at the Rockingham Technical and Further Education (TAFE) campus. This led me to being accepted into the undergraduate program at Murdoch University. Being motivated by the feminist agenda of equal rights for women, I was interested in the concept of power

so initially focused my undergraduate studies in the area of politics. After five and a half years of part-time study, I gained a Bachelor of Arts (BA) with a double major in Politics and International Studies, and Asian Studies. Half way through the BA, my husband was diagnosed with cancer, which changed our plans to settle in the West.[35] I subsequently accepted a commission in 1997 and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant with three years' seniority. An opportunity to transfer to commissioned rank had been offered to me in 1976 when I was a Leading Wran. Although I only had a year 10 education, the Service had a full-time education program designed to breach the education gap to qualify for officer rank. I was tempted but I did not accept the offer as I had recently become engaged to a junior sailor, who later became my husband, and at that time officers being married to junior ratings (male or female) was not acceptable practice.[36]

Traditionally, those promoted to officer through the Warrant Officer Entry Scheme only achieved the rank of Lieutenant Commander. This was an unwritten rule that demonstrated a bias against this path to commissioned rank. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, several of my male counterparts who were also commissioned through this scheme were promoted to Commander.[37] Their promotions encouraged me to aspire to the higher rank. Regrettably, my one and only female contemporary was told by a male senior officer that she would never be promoted above Lieutenant Commander as she had not served at sea. This attitude discriminated against women as sea experience was only one factor in the criteria for promotion and many of our male colleagues who did not meet every criterion were promoted. Furthermore, previous WRANS Officers had made careers in the Communications field and reached the rank of Commander, such as Downes mentioned above and Commander Norma Uhlmann who specialised in the intelligence arm of the communications branch. That females were discriminated against in such circumstances is hard to prove because while there are promotion rules, the system remains highly subjective. Five years after transferring to the Navy Reserves and having worked in two Navy Reserve Commander positions part-time for four years,[38] I was recognised for my efforts and was promoted to Commander on 1 January 2014. However, without a female

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[35]   My husband died 18 months later at the age of 43.

[36]   A friend, Commander Susan Way RANR, when holding the rank of Leading Wran went down this path. Her husband, a Petty Officer, resigned from the Navy when she was commissioned as a WRANS Officer.

[37]   The main form of promotion for Officers is through a panel system. There is a system where points are given for certain criteria. The Officer with the highest number of points is not automatically selected for promotion. The judgement of the panel is the deciding factor after a round-table discussion. The process is therefore a mix of the objective and the subjective.

[38]   My annual reserve commitment was approximately 100 days per year.

advocate to champion my case during the panel discussion, I believe my efforts alone would have been insufficient.[39]

Undertaking the BA sparked my interest in lifelong learning. Consequently, I continued to study and gained two graduate certificates, a graduate diploma and two masters. My experiences and length of service in the Navy, where I have not only witnessed but also lived through significant changes, encouraged me to embark on this PhD. My experiences and observations led me to read feminist theories and consequently to the discovery of discourses circulating in our society. Glenda MacNaughton (1998) distinguishes between discourse being merely "talk between people" and discourse in respect to feminist theory where "discourse refers to the historically and culturally specific categories through which we give meaning to our lives, practice our lives, invest emotionally in our lives and constitute our social structures" (p. 158). My feminist lens led me to believe that women's changing participation in the Navy was influenced by changes in societal values and by the women working within the organisation, who displayed their talent for the job through their achievements. Together, these two components had the power to shape internal policy, practices and programs. My ultimate goal when taking on this doctorate was to document the story of Navy women over five and a half decades starting in the 1960s when the second wave of feminism began, and in so doing contribute not only to the understanding of the barriers and hurdles confronted by Navy women seeking employment equality but also to record Navy women's history between 1960 and 2015; a period of time in which I was an active participant for nearly four and a half of the five and a half decades.

3.4   GETTING STARTED

The first step in my research was to do a preliminary search of literature focusing on two of the study's themes: "education reform for girls and careers for women", and "organisational and cultural change in the military". The rationale for choosing the first theme was the belief that employment changes for women serving in the Navy were influenced by societal trends, which were then reflected in the education and labour market sectors. As access to a wider field of studies in secondary school grew for girls, such

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[39]   My female colleague was subsequently promoted but only after she convinced a senior, male Communications Officer that women of our era may not have had sea experience but to compensate were highly trained to be specialists in strategic communications, communications policy and information systems, networks and management, and like the women who served in the field in WWII to manage communications centres. Having gained an understanding of her background, he championed her case for promotion.

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

as manual arts and the sciences, this then created a broader awareness of employment opportunities and greater access to traditional male careers; for example, the mechanical and electrical trades, and the medical and legal professions. With this focus, the research approach for relevant material was sought using the following key phrases: female stereotypes, gender bias, changing role of women, women's employment and girls' education. As I read, I was guided by the bibliographic chain of papers and articles. The James Cook University Library catalogue was searched for material related to educational reports and policies, and material was found in peer reviewed journals, such as the *Journal of Sociology*; the *Australian Journal of Management*; *Sex Roles*; the *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*; the *British Journal of Sociology of Education*; *Gender, Work and Organization*; *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*; and *Education Research and Perspectives*.

Books written on social changes in Australia were also found to be useful. Two books by the social researcher and novelist Hugh Mackay (1993, 2008) provided material on the changing values, beliefs and perceptions of Australians and how they changed Australia over three decades from the 1970s. Another was a book section on a gendered welfare state in Australia. The first chapter in the section lists key documents and themes that have framed women's lives as citizens and workers (Weeks, 1996). The second chapter explores the meaning and consequences that responsibility for children had for women throughout the twentieth century; and how many of the benefits of reforms in social security and child care were offset by barriers that still exist for women in the labour market (D. Brennan, 1996). Another source was a documentary on the stories of Australian women during WWII. The back cover of the DVD states:

> Each experienced new opportunities and new challenges and in doing so learnt to stand on their own two feet. By war's end, they would no longer accept being treated as second-class citizens. The Second World War became a remarkable social catalyst for Australian women, and it was these women who helped lay the foundations for the making of a new outward-looking Australia. (Ainge, 2010)

A further source was a White Paper, "Breaking the Cultural Mould: The Key to Women's Career Success", commissioned by Hudson Global Resources & Human Capital Solutions and authored by Josephine Palermo (2004). Hudson commissioned the paper to "uncover the missing link in women's career success and to highlight the relevance of this issue for employers" because "despite a greater number of women in the workforce, and women achieving better than men in education, women continue to be underrepresented in the

ranks of management" (Palermo, 2004, p. 2). In examining this issue, the paper explored the role of organisational culture in either supporting or constraining the success of women in the workplace and investigated the benefits of gender diversity and what organisations can do to prevent ongoing gender bias.

The basis for researching the second theme, "organisational and cultural change in the military", was the belief that the Navy's culture would change and evolve with the increasing integration of women despite the institutionalised traditions. Such change would be inevitable as the military workforce's recruiting ground is civilian society and changes in societal beliefs and values towards the workplace role of women would eventually filter through. Changes to societal beliefs and values, and military conduct are reflected in the political arena through legislation, inquiries or as policy changes. Searches on this theme were conducted through the James Cook University Library databases for literature related to the integration of women into the Navy. Information was found in a variety of journals, such as the *Australian Journal*, *Armed Forces and Society*, and the *Journal of Sociology*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, three theses on the topic of Australia military women were also discovered.

3.5   RESEARCH DESIGN

3.5.1 Investigating the options

Before continuing my research, I found doing some background investigation into research design essential, the rationale being that the design would influence the methods. My initial intention was to review documentary sources and conduct fieldwork in the form of semi-structured interviews. Therefore, after comprehensive reading of the options, I chose a qualitative research approach as this suited the manner in which I was going to gather my data (Silverman, 2011). I was also aware when making my choice that while earlier feminist research favoured qualitative methods, that more recently quantitative methods have been accepted and adopted by feminist researchers (McCall, 2005; Oakley, 1998).

3.5.2 Organisational approval

My first step in gaining approval to undertake interviews was to seek organisational approval to conduct the research from the Navy. As I am a current serving member of the

Navy, such approval was mandatory. I submitted my request on 24 May 2012 and received approval on 31 July 2012 as shown in Plate 3-3.

UNCLASSIFIED
STAFF–IN–CONFIDENCE

NAVY ⚓ **ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY**
DIRECTOR GENERAL NAVY PEOPLE
R8-1-016, PO BOX 7909, CANBERRA BC ACT 2610
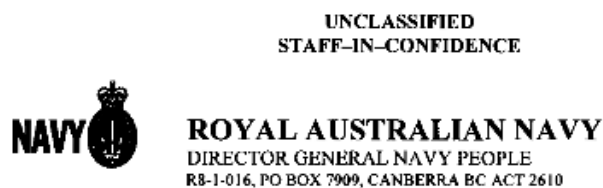
DGNP/OUT/2011/R11907124

LCDR C.A. Reghenzani
PO Box 204
MALANDA QLD 4885

Dear Lieutenant Commander Reghenzani

Reference:

A.   Health Manual Volume 23

ORGANISATIONAL CLEARANCE FOR RESEARCH

1.   Your request, submitted through the Commanding Officer HMAS *Cairns*, for organisational clearance prior to seeking ethics approval from the Australian Defence Human Research Ethics Committee fir you PhD research, *Women in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2010*, is approved.

2.   As there has been limited academic research conducted on women in the Navy, I would ask you provide this office with a copy of your completed thesis so it can be added to Navy's historical collection.

Yours sincerely

P.J. LEAVY
Commodore, RAN
Director General Navy People

3| July 2012

STAFF-IN-CONFIDENCE
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Plate 3-3: Organisational Clearance for Research

3.5.3 Ethics approval

James Cook University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) clearance followed with approval received on 31 October 2012. On 26 December 2012, an application to the Australian Defence HREC (ADHREC) was submitted. On 7 January 2013, additional information was requested from ADHREC covering six issues. The main issue was the requirement under Defence instructions to report any notifiable incidents such as sexual misconduct. If during the interviews, some research participants disclosed a notifiable incident and had not previously reported the matter, the participant would have breached the Defence Instruction (Order). Similarly, the researcher, who is an ADF member, would be in breach if a report was not raised. At the time of my submission, the legal ramifications regarding this issue had not been resolved. Nevertheless, I resubmitted the ADHREC application and, in respect to the main concern raised, incorporated my obligation to report such disclosure in the Invitation Letter, Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form. On 21 March 2013, ADHREC again failed to approve my application and this time listed 11 issues. I felt the list of concerns was not only onerous but also unachievable. The issues raised by ADHREC indicated that the ADF was risk averse to research being undertaken into women's work due to an external review being undertaken into the treatment of women in the ADF by Elizabeth Broderick, the Sex Discrimination Commissioner at the time.[40] Furthermore, Agostino (1997) when doing her research had found the Navy leaders highly sensitive to research that focused on women's work, therefore, I concluded that no matter how I dealt with ADHREC's concerns, approval would not be forthcoming.

ADHREC's denial of my ethics application is an example that patriarchal structures, which influences decision making, still exists in the ADF despite the Committee being made up of both men and women. I was disappointed that the Committee took a negative attitude towards my telling the Navy women's story especially considering my length of service and that I was not a disgruntled employee out to destroy the reputation of the Navy. I believe the telling of such stories can only enhance the image of Defence given it has as an organisation been slowly implementing changes to fully integrate women into the ADF. Despite the Committee's refusal, I was not dissuaded, and after discussion with James Cook

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[40]   Spurling (2000) found a similar level of distrust and lack of understanding between "academics" and those "in uniform" when organising the *Women in Uniform: Perceptions and Pathways* conference in 1999 (p. xiv).

University staff, I reshaped the methodology to incorporate women's lived experiences from publicly available sources. This revision did not require ethics clearance.

3.5.4 Understanding history

Next, I decided to gain a better understanding of the word *history*, which I found has several meanings: the events of the past, a record of the past, and a discipline that studies the past. Historiography on the other hand is the study of historical perspectives, not just the events. These explanations of historical research provided a foundation to explore the most appropriate data.

Feminist historians have been critical of historiography for ignoring gender in historical representations. According to Joan Kelly Gadol, feminism has restored women to history and restored history to women (Humm, 1992). One way they have achieved this is by producing detailed accounts of the experiences of women who were unacknowledged in traditional histories. Another focus has been to document the careers of powerful women including the groups in which they belonged (Rowbotham, 1974).

3.5.5 Understanding social behaviour

An aspect of my second question that needed research and explanation was the meaning of the word "cultural". An initial search for the meaning uncovered that around fifty years ago the anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckohn (1952) isolated 164 different definitions of culture. Since then, the number of definitions of organisational culture has grown significantly. Andrew Brown (1995, p. 6) promulgated a selection of some of the best known. The one I thought that most closely encapsulated the culture of the Navy was the following definition by Eldridge & Crombie (1974):

> The culture of an organization refers to the unique configuration of norms, values, beliefs, ways of behaving and so on that characterise the manner in which groups and individuals combine to get things done. The distinctiveness of a particular organization is intimately bound up with its history and the character-building effects of past decisions and past leaders. It is manifested in the folkways, mores, and the ideology to which members defer, as well as in the strategic choices made by the organization as a whole. (p. 89)

The reason for choosing this definition from such a wide selection is because in the 100 years the Australian Navy has been operating the organisation not only inherited norms from the British Navy in the form of customs and traditions, but also developed its own set of organisational values. The behaviour of Navy members is shaped by a discipline code, which is used in conjunction with the organisational values and the underpinning signature behaviours. The Navy due to its disciplined, sea-going components offers a distinct lifestyle. Furthermore, the views and decisions of past leaders have influenced the direction and development of the organisation so the definition makes sense in terms of the nature of the Navy.

Edgar Schein (1985) characterised culture as consisting of three levels. The most visible level being behaviour and artefacts, followed by values, and then assumptions and beliefs; and using these elements articulated a conceptual framework for analysing and intervening in the culture of organisations. Mary Jo Hatch (1993) significantly extends Schein's model because she argues Schein's model leaves gaps regarding the appreciation of organisational culture. She adds a fourth domain called "symbols" and she defines the processes of manifestation, realisation, symbolisation, and interpretation that link each element of the organisational culture construct. Her model provides a somewhat better understanding of interdependencies. Hatch believes that underlying the process of leadership and socialisation that Schein discusses, culture is constituted by local processes involving both change and stability. She suggests a model called Cultural Dynamics that combines Schein's theory with ideas drawn from symbolic-interpretive perspectives.

Schein's (1985) and Hatch's (1993) models did not however acknowledge the idea of external pressure on organisational culture, that is, the effects of the external environment as proposed by Lilach Sagiv and Shalom Schwartz (2007). Building on the work of Schein (1985) and Hatch and Cunliffe (2006), Dauber, Fink and Yolles' (2012b) created *A Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* (Figure 3-1). The model explores dynamic relationships between organisational culture, strategy, structure, and operations of an organisation (internal environment) and maps interactions with the external environment (task and legitimization environment). A major feature of the configuration model is its well-defined processes, which connect the elements of the model systematically to each other. This model provides an ideal framework to discuss the dynamism of organisational cultures and as such was used in the historical analysis of the cultural changes that took place in the Navy.
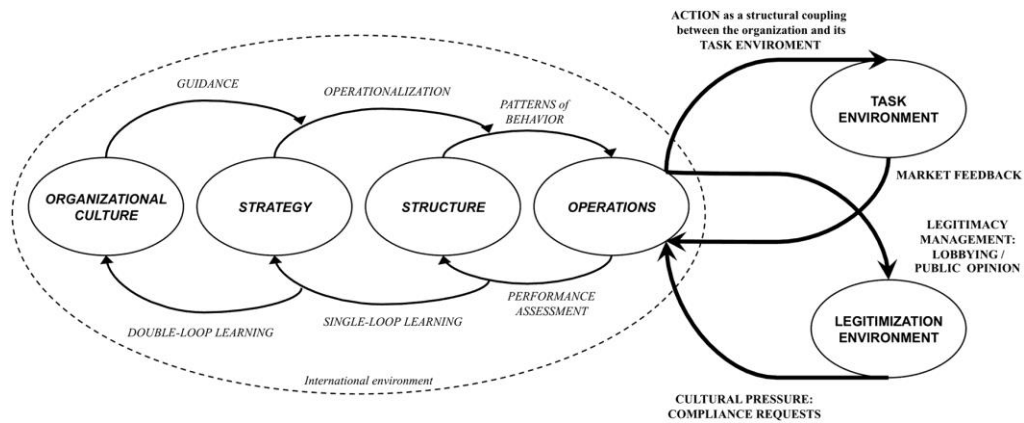
Figure 3-1: Configuration model of organizational culture: internal and external environment
Source: (Daniel Dauber, Gerhard Fink, & Maruice Yolles, 2012a, p. 11)

At this stage of my research, I started to map out a research design, which resulted in depicting my liberal feminist view. The bigger picture was society where changes with respect to women's participation in the workforce were legitimised in legislation, which in turn influenced organisational policy; in this case education policy for girls, and Defence policy for Navy women. In education, these changes would be reflected in curriculum changes, and within Navy, these changes would be visible in programs, policies and initiatives. An analysis of the outcome of the changes tells the story from two perspectives, the organisation's and the women's. The women's stories were necessary to bring authenticity and a personal touch to the research because without their voices, the story would be a bland historical account told from only one perspective, "his story". Although the women's stories were initially to be collected from 15 semi-structured interviews, a greater pool of publicly available stories became available during my research, which provided greater depth in telling "her story". The sources are discussed below in section 3.8.

3.6   METHODS

3.6.1 Narrative analysis

During the initial stage of my research, I considered using narrative analysis as this method is a recognised form of analysis used in a variety of disciplines including sociology and history (Neuman, 2011, p. 524). As data is analysed for its narrative form and elements, the focus becomes events and connections among them, and temporal features such as order, pace, duration and frequency become organising concepts (Neuman, 2011, p. 526).

A narrative analysis approach, and in particular one tool of narrative analysis, path dependency, resonated. Narrative analysis was not however adopted as my primary method. Further research revealed that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) would be a more appropriate method.

3.6.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA, sometimes called Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), is both an approach to research and a method. CDA is problem-orientated with a focus on studying social phenomena, (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2). CDS scholars are socio-politically committed to social equality and justice (van Dijk, 2009, p. 63). In particular, CDS scholars are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse (van Dijk, 2009, p. 63). Typical examples are discourses that ultimately (re)produce inequality of gender, race or class. Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997) summarise the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- The link between text and society is mediated
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- Discourse is a form of social action (pp. 271-280).

For this research, I adopted Teun van Dijk's CDS framework of the discourse-cognition-society triangle as it captures these tenets and offers a multidisciplinary orientation; the triangle being an analytical metaphor representing the major dimensions of critical analysis. These components of the triangle are discussed briefly in the following three paragraphs.

Discourse. Discourse is a controlling force in society as language is used to persuade and manipulate both individuals and social groups (Bloor & Bloor, 2007; van Dijk, 2009). Van Dijk describes discourse as a multidimensional social phenomenon. A phenomenon that encompasses a linguistic object, an action, a form of social interaction, a social practice, a

mental representation, a cultural product or an economic commodity (van Dijk, 2009, p. 67). As this list shows, discourse has a number of complex uses but according to Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor (2007) if generalised means the "symbolic human interaction in its many forms, whether directly through spoken or written language or via gesture, pictures, diagrams, films, or music" (p. 2). CDA analysts are concerned with the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and how this use plays out in social maintenance and change.

Cognition is the act or process of knowing. Van Dijk (2009) describes cognitive processes as "the production and comprehension of discourse/interaction on the basis of special mental models, controlled by context models, and based on knowledge and ideologies" (p. 65). Ideology being "the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups"; context models being "specific mental models of subjective representations (definitions) of the relevant properties of communicative situations, controlling discourse processing and adapting discourse to the social environment so that it is situationally appropriate"; and mental models being "the subjective representations of the events and situations observed, participated in or referred to by discourse" (van Dijk, 2009).

Society. In respect to van Dijk's triangle, society represents a complex configuration of situational structures at the local level as well as the broader societal structures. Situational structures at the local level include participants and their identities, roles and relationships engaging in spatiotemporally and institutionally situated, and goal-direction interaction (van Dijk, 2009, p. 66). Societal structures include organisations, groups and classes and their properties such as power relations (van Dijk, 2009, p. 66). This side of van Dijk's triangle also includes the cultural and historical dimensions of interaction and social structure. The three components of the triangle should not be seen as separate; they are interrelated. Individuals are language users and members of groups and communities, and together with their mental representations and discourses, are an inherent part of society.

CDA examines practices and customs in society both to discover and describe how they work and also to provide a critique of those practices. To do this, one must understand what is going on in an event and whether it maintains the existing social structure or is likely to change or revise it (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 3). Much social practice in complex, modern society is institutionalised, for example, government, education, the law, business and defence (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 5). Central to CDA is the understanding that discourse is an integral aspect of power and control (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 5). Power is held by both

institutions and individuals in contemporary society and any challenge to the status quo challenges those who hold power (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 355). While power is seldom absolute, the power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms and habits (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 355). Crucial in the enactment or exercise of group power is control not only over context but also over the structures of text and talk as well as topics, which plays a fundamental role in communication and interaction (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 356; 2001b).

Apart from the fundamental interface of personal mental models that account for specific discourses, a cognitive approach also needs to account for social cognition. Van Dijk describes social cognition as the beliefs or social representations, such as knowledge, attitudes, values, norms and ideologies, an individual shares with others of their group or community (2009, p. 78). Such representations also play a role in the construction of personal models. One of CDA's aims is to analyse specific discourses in this broader, social framework, for instance by trying to infer which shared social representations are being expressed or presupposed by discourse.

Van Dijk argues that the relation between discourse and society is not direct but needs to be mediated through a cognitive device, which he calls a context model (2009, p. 73). Context models are dynamic and continually adapted to the communicative situation because the knowledge of recipients is constantly changing as a result of the very discourse itself. Apart from context, meaning and interpretation are also crucial components of discourse analysis. Van Dijk defines meaning and interpretation in cognitive terms, that is, in terms of mental operations and representations. He states discourse is coherent if language users are able to construct mental models of events and situations, which he calls "event models" (2009, p. 76). Context models are a specific kind of event model, that is, a model of communicative events. Whereas context models are pragmatic, event models are semantic. Nevertheless, they both have similar schema. Context models consist of fundamental categories such as a spatiotemporal setting, participants (identities, roles, relationships; roles, knowledge, ideologies), and the ongoing social action (van Dijk, 2009, p. 74). Event models schema includes setting, participants and actions/events (van Dijk, 2009, p. 76).

Event models were used in two chapters of the thesis, Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 5, the event model was used to analyse significant events (turning points) in Navy women's journey towards equality. The event model, which incorporates the setting, participants

and actions or events, provided the foundation. But I wanted to know what happened, why, what were the drivers. To operationalise the events, I developed a timeline, which is included in Appendix 1 as Women Serving in the Royal Australian Navy: a chronology. I also wanted to know the reasons for the changes; were they driven by internal or external pressure, and when changes were made, what was the response of the internal and external stakeholders. This was important as different discourse structures are used in the reproduction of social dominance (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 354). Consequently, multiple discourse types or genres were analysed to guard against bias and ensure rigorous scholarship. Those used were:

- Organisational/institutional discourse for material created by the Australian Government, the ADF and the Navy;
- Professional discourse for material created by mainstream media and Defence Associations, such as the Returned Services League; and
- Internal and external stakeholder discourse, such as external reviews in to treatment of women in the ADF and Navy women's views (van Dijk, 2001a, pp. 362-363).

I also needed to know how the organisation reacted to the changes, especially if they were driven by external factors, and what were the outcomes. To guide my analysis of the events using my feminist lens, I developed the model at Figure 3-2.
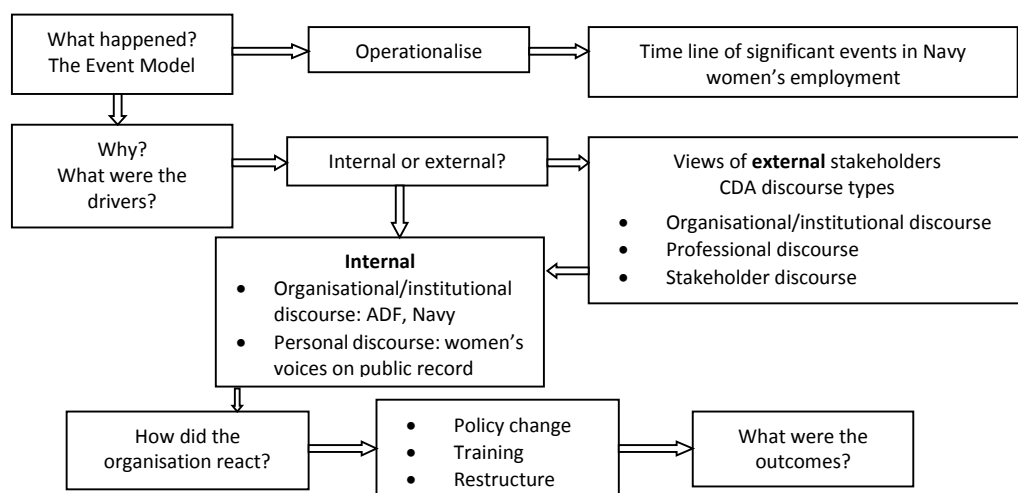

Figure 3-2: Model used to analyse the significant events in Chapter 5

In Chapter 6, the event model is used to describe the event that triggered cultural change in the Navy, the HMAS *Swan* event in 1992. The setting, participants, actions or events are laid out first. Dauber, Fink and Yolles' *A Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* at Figure 3-1 then provided the model to explore the internal and external responses, and the level of success of the subsequent reforms. The model is used as a tool to guide my feminist analysis. The model firstly allows the user to explore dynamic relationships between organisational culture, strategy, structure and operation of the organisation's internal environment and then to map the interactions with the external environment, which in the case of Defence are the external stakeholders, that is, the government and the general public. To expand further on the internal environment, the strategy component examines whether the event led to a single-loop process where strategy was changed or a double-loop learning process where not only strategy but the underlying assumptions of the organisation's cultural values are questioned and changed. The structure component examines what processes were implemented to meet the new strategy. Did these include new rules, new procedures, changes to levels of hierarchy or control? The operations component examines the success or otherwise of the changes. The driving question in this component is, "Did the behaviour change?" Followed by: Why or why not? Was there resistance? How did it manifest? What was the effect of any such resistance? And finally, What was the level of success?

Before undertaking the analysis of events, an ideological analysis of the WRANS as an organisation was conducted because ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced by discourse. This form of analysis was particularly important so changes could be measured during the analysis of events. The basic beliefs of an ideology, such as the equality of women and men in a feminist ideology, organise specific attitudes, that is, the socially shared opinions of a group, such as those in respect to sexual harassment, equal pay or glass ceilings on the job. These attitudes may influence specific event models, which ultimately may be related to discourse under the final control of context models (van Dijk, 2009, p. 79). Van Dijk's ideological schema was adopted to analyse women's role in the WRANS from 1960 to 1984 when the SDA became law and led to the integration of the WRANS into the RAN (van Dijk, 1995, pp. 146-149; 2009, p. 79). The basic categories in the schema are:

- membership devices (Who are We? Who do (do not) belong to Us?)
- typical acts (What do We do? What are Our activities? What is expected of Us? What norms and values do We respect in such activities?)

- aims (Why do We do it? What are the goals of these activities?)
- relations with other (opponent) groups (To which groups are We related?)
- resources, including access to public discourse (What are the resources We typically have – or do not have (privileged) access to?)

Each category formed a section in Chapter 4.

3.6.3 Statistical data

Since the second half of the twentieth century, a richer source of standardized data, such as censuses and surveys, has been collected and stored. According to Mike Savage (2011), "this allows the systematic study of social trends over the course of the twentieth century and especially since 1950" (p. 169). As an example, Savage cites the work of Halsey and Webb (2000) whose analysis of social trends in twentieth century Britain relied upon data from documentary and official data, which was reinforced by sample surveys conducted in different time periods. Similarly, the American political scientist Ronald Inglehart (1997) used attitude surveys from the 1960s, from 43 different nations, representing 70 per cent of the world's population, to show the steady rise of post-materialist values across the globe. In using the available data applicable to this study, the historical research techniques of external and internal criticism were applied in assessing reliability and validity (Guthrie, 2010, p. 101).

The ADF began conducting a census in 1991, which has been repeated every four years (Department of Defence, 2011b). Eight years later in 1999, the first Defence Attitude Survey was conducted. This survey has been re-administered annually since 2001. The voluntary survey provides an indicative picture of the ADF's organisational climate by capturing opinions and attitudes about a number of employment related topics, such as leadership, career management and working life (Department of Defence, 2008b), which in turn influence and shape future policies. In 2006, an environmental scan projecting to 2025 was conducted on Defence Personnel (Reich, Hearps, Cohn, Temple, & McDonald, 2006). The scan outlined future personnel challenges noting the changing demographics and workforce profiles in an era of global security demands. Personnel statistics are also supplied in the Defence Annual Reports. All these documents provided official data over different time periods and assisted in telling the organisational aspect of the story.

Similarly, education and labour market statistics for females are available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics and were analysed to measure trends. Care was taken though to ensure the context in which the statistics were collected was not removed (Savage, 2011, p. 172). Aspects of the data collection, such as sampling methods used, were considered; and statistics were not quoted in excessive detail to give the impression of scientific rigor, an action known as the fallacy of misplaced concreteness (Neuman, 2011, p. 374). To avoid such pitfalls, the collection of statistics were limited to statistics published from official sources for aggregates not the individual (Neuman, 2011, p. 376); for example, statistics measuring female participation rates in the Navy in different time periods and statistics measuring changes in female workforce participation.

3.7 ACCESSING MATERIAL TO TELL THE ORGANISATIONAL STORY

Geoffrey Walford (1994) emphasised that documentary evidence cannot simply be understood at face value as the story behind the production of each document needs to be probed and analysed. Similarly, Tim May (1993) drew attention to the need to examine factors surrounding the process of a document's production as well as its social context because documents both reflect and construct a social reality. With this awareness, qualitative researchers see documents as cultural objects that carry meaning in their own right (Neuman, 2011, p. 362). Nick Forster (1994) described how company documentation can reveal a great deal about the culture and image a company is trying to promote, both internally to its own employees and externally to customers and competitors.

Company documentation can be found in public archival records, which are prepared for the express purpose of examination by others. Such records include political and judicial reports, governmental documents, and media accounts (Denzin, 1978, p. 218). Private archival records consist of autobiographies, interviews, diaries, memoirs, logs and letters, photographs, films, self-observations and possessions (B. Ward, 2003). Michael Hill (1993) offers a range of strategies and techniques for archival research. While selection and description bias need to be considered (Neuman, 2011, p. 374) when choosing documents because they construct a particular version of reality (May, 1993), newspapers are also a useful medium to measure social events across time (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, & Soule, 2004, p. 76), as they provide a valuable source for triangulation to locate similarities and differences in perspective (Vidovich, 2003). Triangulation both within and between levels increases reliability and validity, or dependability, credibility and transferability of the research findings (M. B. Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The Defence website provides access to a wide range of publications, such as culture reviews, defence journals and annual reports. The latter was only available electronically from 1998 to the current year and only the current Defence White Paper (DWP) was accessible from the site. Previous annual reports and DWPs were accessed from the Parliamentary Library. I had privileged access to this library for six weeks in 2015 as a result of being one of three Parliamentary Library scholars for the year. During my time there, I was able to access hard copy material such as *Digests of Decisions and Announcements and Important Speeches by the Prime Minister* and an array of books written on Defence history; for example, *The Royal Australian Navy*, written to commemorate the Australian Centenary History of Defence 1901 to 2001, offered historical perspectives from a range of authors. I was also trained to efficiently search for Parliamentary online sources and found historical reports such as committee reports on Defence women's pay, relevant Hansard material and Parliamentary Papers.

Another resource of historical records was the National Library of Australia (NLA). Prior to 1960, the National Library and the Parliamentary Library were one institution. Consequently when an Act of Parliament formally separated them (Commonwealth of Australia, 1960), some parliamentary records went to the NLA. For example, the NLA holds Cabinet Papers for the Whitlam era (1972-75), which revealed details of funded initiatives to improve the status of women; and records dealing with the debate over the introduction of maternity leave for Defence women, which came into force in 1974.

The Navy website has downloadable copies of Commonwealth Navy Orders issued from the inception of the Navy in 1911 through to 1976 when this style of promulgating orders was discontinued. These orders cover a wide range of aspects that affected the day-to-day running of the Navy, including a section on personnel. They provided a rich source of material for the early years of my research timeline. The Sea Power Centre – Australia, whose mission includes the preservation, development and promotion of Australian naval history, has a collection of Royal Australian Navy historical documents. The Centre gave me open access to their collection, which included a 1965 edition at Change No 15, of the Australian Book of Reference (ABR) 1077, *WRANS Instructions*. This book was a valuable resource as it covered the WRANS regulations on Administration of the Service, General Instructions, Discipline, Conditions of Entry, Re-entry, Reengagement, Discharges, Pay and Allowances, Education, Leave, Dress, Medical and Dental, Swimming, and the WRANS Reserve.

Over the last decade, Navy has implemented and documented a number of cultural reform programs, such as Sea Change and New Generation Navy, and introduced "Brand Navy", a standard design brand for all forms of communication, to promote its image and reputation both internally and externally of the organisation. The Defence Annual Reports include comment on the progress of such programs. These documents were examined for evidence of cultural change promoting greater participation of women in the Services. *Navy News*, an official sanctioned newspaper published fortnightly since 1958, offered an abundant source of internal material including personal stories, policy changes, promotions and deployments.

3.8   ACCESSING MATERIAL TO TELL NAVY WOMEN'S 'LIVED' EXPERIENCE

A variety of avenues were used to access material to tell the lived experiences of Navy women. Stories from present and past members were available through newsletters and magazines of military organisations, such as WRANS Queensland,[41] the WRANS Association ACT, the Naval Association, the Naval Historical Society and the Navy League of Australia. Museums at naval establishments also had collections of historical documents relating to the WRANS. The use of word of mouth and flyers distributed at national WRANS reunions were other strategies employed to gain copies of historical material such as photographs and other types of ephemera. Other sources were posts placed on Navy affiliated social media sites, such as Facebook and websites, and publicly available media interviews.

Beverley Ward (2003) states life history materials include "any records or documents that throw light on the subjective actions of individuals or groups" (p. 33). This material can be classified as public or private archival records. Two books supplied a valuable insight into the life histories and views of Navy women. One was, *Something of Ourselves: The stories behind the members of the NAS (SA) WRANS Sub Section* (Morrison, 2014), with a collection of 42 personal stories of women and written by the women who joined the WRANS between the 1950s and 1970s. Twenty-one of these fell into the time period of my research and the stories were analysed for themes and statistics. The other, *Winning at Sea: The Story of Women at Sea in the RAN* (T. White, 2013), provided 52 stories from women, again written by the women, about their sea experiences. Commander Wendy Gould RAN (2013b), the Navy Women's Strategic Adviser at the time of publishing, stated the "stories

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[41]   In 2015, WRANS Queensland renamed their group to Navy Women (WRANS-RAN) Qld to recognise all women who have served and are serving in Australia's Navy and to convey to them that they are welcome to join their group.

provide a keyhole look at the last three decades through the eyes of those who can best tell the story, our serving women" (pp. 10-11). Other sources were also reviewed such as *Navy News*, public available government documents and mainstream media material. Some facts were checked through personal communication such as email and telephone. Where this was the case, the contact has been recorded as a "personal communication" and the person contacted and the date is given.

3.9 DATA COLLECTION TOOL

A table was developed to capture research data, such as the enacting of legislation, the introduction of or change to Navy and ADF policy, Australian Government directives to the ADF, changes within Australian education and similar data in the military of other countries. The table was structured in three columns: by year, legislation and people initiatives, and impacts or outcomes. The data was colour coded as shown in Table 3-1:

Table 3-1: Data collection tool coding

White	RAN women
Gold	RAN general
Green	Australian Army
Blue	Australian Air Force
Purple	ADF
Yellow	Australian Government
Grey	Other countries military
Brown	Australian education
Orange	Society

While the data included some statistical information, separate tables were designed to collect statistical data, for example, women's participation in the Australian workforce, Navy women's promotion charts, complements and participation rates in the senior leadership.

3.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have documented the methodological approach I adopted to conduct my research. I chose a feminist, qualitative methodology and provided some background of the three strands of feminism, liberal, radical and socialist, that have influenced my feminist views. I then discussed the features that are relevant in choosing a feminist methodology: the importance of gender, empowering women by acknowledging their

experiences and achievements, and why feminists incorporate subjectivity into their research. Having been a member of the WRANS since the early 1970s and as an active Navy Reservist at the time of writing this thesis, I acknowledged my insider status by providing a personal life history to explain my connection to the topic. I set out how I began my research and explained why I chose CDA as my primary research method and how this method was combined with theoretical models and statistical data to guide my analysis. I then explained the sources I used to collect my data and how I was unable to conduct interviews due to impediments in gaining ethical clearance from ADHREC. Despite this setback, I described how I was able to incorporate the experiences and views of Navy women by analysing their stories as told through written personal recollections, and through mainstream media material. Finally, I explained the way I managed my data.

CHAPTER 4

THE WRANNERY

1960 – 1984

Plate 4-1: The Wrannery HMAS *Cerberus* (c1960s) Front building – Grant Block

Plate 4-2: The Wrannery HMAS *Harman* (c1960s)

Plate 4-3: The Wrannery HMAS *Penguin* (c1960s)

Chapter 4 cover photos:

Plate 4-1: The picture shows the front of the WRANS Quarters complex at HMAS *Cerberus*, which is located in Western Port Bay, on Victoria's Mornington Peninsula and which is the Navy's premier training establishment. A sketch of the compound is given below in Diagram 4-1 and shows the building was named Grant Block. When the WRANS was reformed in 1950, the women were initially housed in huts on the Base as Grant Block accommodated midshipmen under training. From 1915 to 1930, cadet midshipmen were trained at the RAN College (RANC) at HMAS *Creswell*, Jervis Bay Territory. Funding cuts during the Great Depression forced the closure of the College in 1930, which then relocated the Flinders Naval Depot (HMAS *Cerberus*). The College buildings were leased as hotels and guesthouses, although the Navy retained use of the waterfront and some married quarters. The growth of *Cerberus* in the 1950s, led to overcrowding and in 1956 the government decided to return the RANC to its original site. The College was reopened in January 1958. The Grant Block complex then become the quarters for the WRANS. The block was later converted to office space, which is its current use.
(see Appendix 1 1958 entry and http://www.navy.gov.au/establishments/hmas-creswell and http://www.navy.gov.au/establishments/hmas-cerberus)

Plate 4-2: HMAS *Harman* Wrannery shows the entrance to Alexandra House, which was opened by Princess Alexandra in 1959. HMAS *Harman*, which is located in Canberra, commenced operating as the RAN Wireless/Transmitting Station on 20 April 1939. During WWII, *Harman* provided communications services for ships of the allied navies working in the Pacific region. The first servicewomen began work at *Harman* as telegraphers when the WRANS were formed in 1941. Alexandra House accommodated members of the WRANS from the late 1950s. Two other accommodation blocks were subsequently built, Gloucester House and Kent House. The names of the three buildings have a royal family connection. The three accommodation houses mentioned now provide mixed gender accommodation for officers and senior sailors. (see Appendix 1 1959 entry and also http://www.navy.gov.au/establishments/hmas-harman)

Plate 4-3: The HMAS *Penguin* accommodation huts were still being used in the 1970s as overflow accommodation as the WRANS accommodation block could not house all the Wrans accommodated at the Base. In 1973, the Navy purchased Bondi Travelodge Motel in Sydney as accommodation for members of the WRANS serving in HMAS *Kuttabul* (located in Potts Point and collocated with the historic Garden Island Dockyard facility) and HMAS *Watson* (located in Sydney Harbour South Head). HMAS *Kuttabul's* primary role is to provide administrative, training and logistics support to defence personnel employed within the Sydney area. HMAS *Watson* was commissioned as the RAN's Radar Training School on 14 March 1945. Today, *Watson* is the premier RAN maritime warfare training establishment. In 1974, members of the WRANS took up residence at the Bondi facility, which was later renamed Lady Gowrie House after Zara Eileen Hore-Ruthven, Countess of Gowrie (1879-1965), wife of the First Earl of Gowrie, the longest serving Governor-General of Australia (1936-44). The Countess was renowned for her work in promoting the welfare of children in Australia. In the 1980s the facility became mixed gender accommodation.
(see Appendix 1 1973 entry and also http://www.navy.gov.au/establishments/hmas-kuttabul and http://www.navy.gov.au/establishments/hmas-watson)

Source of *Cerberus* and *Harman* photos from the NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval Facebook page on 12 April 2014. The *Penguin* picture is from the private collection of Julie Robertson (Leading Wran Cook).

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the structure, role and lifestyle of the WRANS. Without this background, there is no way to identify and evaluate significant events or turning points in Navy women's journey towards employment equality. Who belonged to the WRANS? What did they do? What was expected of them? What were their relationships to other groups? What privileged access did they have? What restrictions did they have? Using van Dijk's ideological schema (1995, 2009), these are the questions answered in this chapter. Reed et al (1975) contend similar questions should have been asked by Australian historians writing about women in the workforce:

> Even where Australian historians have treated women (e.g. Jauncey, Madgwick) they
> have failed to ask what other women were doing. What was expected of them, what
> did they actually do, and most importantly, what did they think of what they did? (p.
> 151)

The first and subsequent Directors of the WRANS worked within a feminist framework to redress gender and structural inequities that limited Navy women's employment. In addition to their advocacy role, the Directors were responsible for the training, safety and wellbeing of the women, which on a day-to-day basis they delegated to WRANS Officers. However, the Directors were hindered by the Navy leadership who were the primary decision-makers. The male leaders determined the size and structure of the WRANS and what conditions of service flowed on to the women. Even when decisions were made at the ministerial or legislative levels, the Navy leadership were at times reluctant to implement the changes and delayed as much as possible (Spurling, 1988).

This chapter firstly discusses the origin and meaning of the term "Wrannery" and situates for the reader the first Wrannery women joining the WRANS in 1960 would have encountered. I then go on to explain the different uses of the acronym WRANS. This is followed by a discussion on the WRANS structure, the role of the WRANS and the lifestyle of the WRANS. I conclude with a chapter summary.

Limitations. The Royal Australian Navy Nursing Service (RANNS), being a separate service, did not form part of the WRANS and therefore is only briefly featured in this chapter. The RANNS was formed in April 1942 and, in the following October, 23 qualified nursing sisters began duty in Royal Australian Navy (RAN) hospitals under the control of Superintending Sister Laidlaw (Lieutenant equivalent) who was promoted to Matron (Lieutenant

Commander equivalent) on 15 June 1943 (Commonwealth Government, 2-30 June 1943, p. 10; Commonwealth of Australia, 1944). The Service was disestablished in 1948 but re-established in November 1964 (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 62).[42] Following the enactment of the *Sex Discrimination Act* (SDA) *1984*, the *Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulations* were repealed on 7 June 1985 at which time all women became part of the RAN (*Commonwealth of Australia*, 1985).

4.2 THE WRANNERY – ORIGIN AND MEANING

The term "The Wrannery" was used for the WRANS compound, which consisted of quarters and administration buildings. The WRANS Training School[43] also had classrooms, a gym and a parade ground. To site the HMAS *Cerberus* Wrannery, its location is highlighted on a map of the Navy Base at Plate 4-4. The compound of the *Cerberus* Wrannery in Diagram 4-1 shows by a broken line around the perimeter the invisible boundary of the quarters (Royal Australian Navy, 1979 Section 5).[44] Durville Block housed the administration offices and recruit class room. Recruits were accommodated in Grant Block, which also contained the WRANS galley, dining rooms, and dry canteen.[45] Ship's Company junior Wrans were housed in Murray Block. Mitchell Block provided accommodation for senior Wrans (Petty Officer and above), and officer cadets who were segregated on a separate floor or in a separate wing.

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[42]   The RANNS ranks were amended when the service was re-established. The Matron rank became equivalent to a Commander and a Superintending Sister equivalent to a Lieutenant Commander (Commonwealth of Australia, 1964). An explanation of ranks is provided with the front material.

[43]   Prior to 30 December 1966, the WRANS Training School was referred to as the WRANS Training Division (Royal Australian Navy, 1966e).

[44]   This is the site of the Wrannery from 1958 (see Appendix 1). Murray and Mitchell blocks were added later as the Wrans complement grew.

[45]   A dry canteen is one that does not sell alcohol.

WRANS Quarter HMAS *Cerberus* Boundary of complex

Plate 4-4: Aerial view of HMAS *Cerberus* highlighting the Wrannery complex.

The Wrannery complex is shown at the top, just off centre with a black border. This is where Wrans were housed from 1958 until the late 1980s during Recruit and Category training, and when living-in as Ship's Company Wrans.
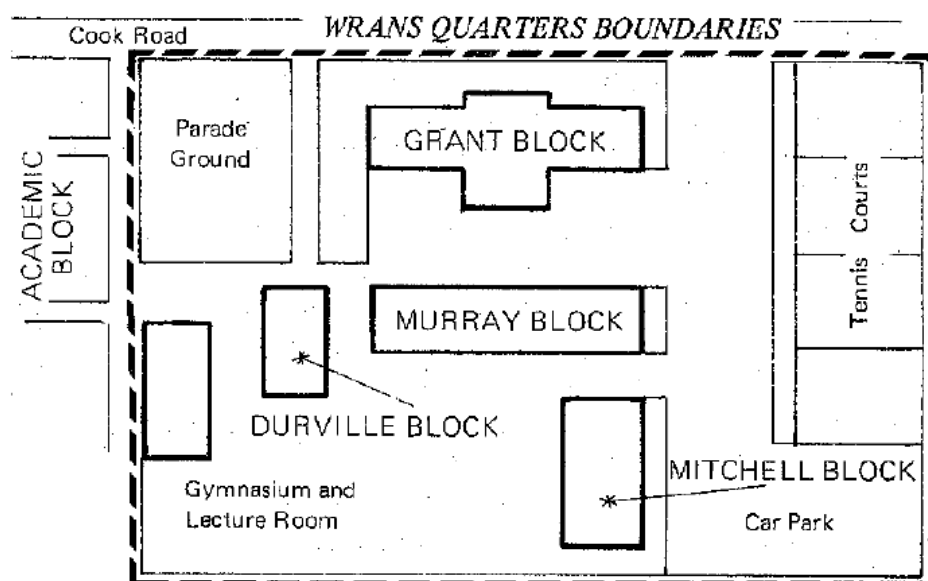
Diagram 4-1: The layout of the Wrannery complex with the entrance at Cook Road.

The Wrannery term was adopted from the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS). Known as the Wrens, on which the WRANS were modelled, "The Wrennery" was the term used for WRNS Quarters during WWII (Ursula Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 133). No doubt the term was borrowed from the alternate name for a convent, a nunnery, which also provided housing and living spaces for women only. The term was embraced from the beginning of the WRANS. In recalling her time in the WRANS during WWII, Pyatt (2014) stated, "In the Wrannery there was a warm friendliness towards newcomers and an instant family. I settled down to become a part of ship's company" (p. 327). There was even a popular ditty among young sailors:

> Never heard of jaunties
> Never heard of rounds
> Never knew the Wrannery
> Was bloody out of bounds.[46] (Adam-Smith, 1984, p. 225)

The second edition of *Navy News*, which began publication in 1958, eight years after the establishment of the peace-time WRANS, featured on page 4 a section called "Womens News" [sic] (*Navy News*, 1958). Centre page was the following piece entitled "Crumbs from the Wrannery":

> We were delighted to hear from so many of the girls, W.R.A.N.S., wives and sweethearts to tell us how pleased they were with the first issue of "Navy News", and to receive from the girls at H.M.A.S. Penguin a nice newsy epistle telling us of their new quarters. In fact, we liked the budget[47] so much, we've decided to run it fully in the hope that it will inspire many more of you lasses from other establishments to hop on to your typewriters or put pen to paper and send us along a nice newsy contribution to your own page. (*Navy News*, 1958, p. 4).

Van Dijk (2009) argues that language should be positioned in the social context. Colloquialisms such as "The Wrannery" for female accommodations were not uncommon. For example, Gorman House, a hostel built in the 1920s to accommodate junior, female, unmarried public servants when Canberra was established as the National Capital, was labelled the "Hen Coop" (Nugent, 2002, p. 32). While many users of the terms would not label them as offensive, negativity lurks under the surface of these slang expressions.

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[46]   The term *Jaunty* was originally applied to the Master-of-Arms, who was the head of the ship's police. *Rounds* is the term used for an inspection of the ship or a part of the ship.

[47]   Used in the archaic meaning: a quantity of written or printed material.

While the modern usage of the words convent or nunnery is associated with institutions of female monastics, in Elizabethan parlance, the term "nunnery" had the meaning of "a brothel". In Shakespeare's Hamlet, Hamlet tells Ophelia, "Get thee to a nunnery!" Thus his advice to Ophelia could mean either to take a vow of chastity or to become a prostitute. The meaning is ambiguous because Hamlet is telling Ophelia to never marry and have children ("Wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?") and either interpretation of the word would preclude such an outcome. However, the Oxford edition of the play argues that the term is not used in the colloquial sense unlike Nashe's *Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem*, where a nunnery is synonymous with a college of courtesans (Mabillard, 2014). Similarly, the term "hen" colloquially refers to a woman regarded as gossipy or foolish; therefore, a "hen house" is a place full of such women. The type of language used for women's accommodation reflects women's space and thus frames the social environment. In the case of Navy women's accommodation, the term "Wrannery" may have simply been aligned with that of a nunnery in its formal sense rather than the colloquial meaning of a brothel. Nonetheless, even in the formal sense, the nunnery invokes women of lower rank as men who served in the priesthood were superior and had greater power than nuns.

Words such as the Wrannery now form part of a lexicon of old Navy terms. Similarly, the language expressed in the *Navy News* quote, such as "typewriters", "girls", "lasses", "wives and sweethearts", places the newspaper editor's comment in a pre-1980s time period. During the 1980s desk-top computers replaced typewriters and in 1984, the SDA was the catalyst for the use of non-sexist language. Now organisations and institutions have guidelines on how to use gender-neutral and inclusive language (for example, see (James Cook University, 2013). In some circumstances, Navy has been slow to follow such guidelines. For example, for 100 years the Toast of the Day, a tradition at a Navy Mess Dinner, was on a Saturday "Wives and Sweethearts" with the reply "may they never meet". While the reply has a humourous overtone, the implication reflects a double standard. In 2012, the Tuesday toast, which was "Our Men", and the Saturday's toast were changed to "Our Sailors" and "Our Families" respectively thus acknowledging all sailors regardless of gender, and acknowledging those closest to members serving in the Navy (CN Australia, 2012). Chief of Navy (CN) at the time of the change, Vice Admiral Griggs, stated the changes formed part of the New Generation Navy Culture Project introduced in 2009. He went on to say in the signal promulgating the change:

> There will be some who will no doubt object to such a change and link it to some form
> of political correctness. I have deliberately taken an approach which preserves the
> essence of the toasts – however it is not defensible to exclude serving women or

some partners of our messmates. We cannot be viewed as a relevant and contemporary service if we do not institute sensible, appropriate and considered reform.

The Navy's toasts originate from the days of sail and were inherited from the Royal Navy (RN) and have been used throughout the RAN's history (CN Australia, 2012). Similar changes to the toasts were made in the RN and Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) (Allan, 2011; BBC News UK, 2013; Coghlan, 2013). In June 2013, six months after the RAN's announcement, the RN's Second Sea Lord, Vice-Admiral David Steel, announced the change to toasts in the RN, thus breaking a 200 year tradition (Coghlan, 2013). Despite RN women having served at sea for 23 years (Association of Wrens, 2012), the changes were not well received by some. The Former Chief of Defence Staff, Admiral Lord Boyce said, "In my view this is an unnecessary genuflection in the name of PC-manship and I have no intention of following it" (E. Davies, 2013). Such comments, especially from those who have served in senior positions, demonstrate the difficulties associated with cultural change in a mixed gender Navy. Even the words used by Boyce show his stubbornness in resisting genuine change. For example, the word genuflection suggests men should not bow-down to changes that accommodate women. Furthermore, he confuses his argument by attaching a male gender description to the abbreviation PC for political correctness. The RCN was well ahead of both the RAN and the RN as they announced changes to the toasts in 1999, 13 years earlier than the RAN and 14 years before the RN. Despite the length of time taken to make changes to the toasts, CN's initiative demonstrated his acknowledgement of changing social attitudes. His leadership in driving cultural change in the RAN was another step towards embedding the equal status of women in today's Navy.

4.3   DEFINITIONS

The term WRANS was used in several different ways. To avoid confusion, the definitions in Table 4-1 are provided:

Table 4-1: Meaning of various uses of the acronym WRANS

Term	Meaning
WRANS	used when referring to the Service as a whole
Wran or Wrans	used when referring to members of the WRANS other than officers; also used to denote part of a rank title, for example, Chief Wran, Leading Wrans, Wran Radio Operator Teletype
WRANS officers	used when referring to WRANS officers only. (Navy Office Canberra, 1965)

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4.4   WRANS STRUCTURE

Who are they? Who belonged to the WRANS?

The WRANS consisted of women commissioned as officers or enlisted as Wrans. WRANS Instructions stated:

> The special composition of the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service requires that the well-being of its members should be supervised as far as possible by women and that, within the Service, an esprit-de-corps should be created and encouraged. The organisation … exists specifically for these purposes and for certain other functions of the WRANS. Naval authorities are to recognise the special nature and functions of the WRANS and are to give to its officers every assistance and encouragement. (Navy Office Canberra, 1965, art 0102.3)

The language used in describing the composition of the WRANS established the gender divide. The "special" nature of the WRANS could be perceived as a divisive description; however, this was not the intent. The women who served in the WRANS during WWII left a proud legacy. A woman belonging to the WRANS was a member of an elite corps of women; they were "special" and in the first Director's words, "they were the best" (L. Davies, 2000; McClemans, 1946).[48] Serving in the WRANS was considered a great honour. In a general demobilisation message promulgated in 1945, Director McClemans said to her "ladies" that if in the future they were asked what they did during the war, there would be no better reply than "I was a WRAN" (L. Davies, 2000, p. 118). The "special" status of the WRANS continued when they were reformed. Thirty-one years after the service was re-established applicants were advised not to resign from their present job until notified they had been accepted for entry. The reason given was that the WRANS were "an elite, select service" and there were more applicants than vacancies (Director-General of Recruiting, 1981). This wording could also be a construed as a public relations device to promote the exclusiveness of the Service when in fact numbers were being kept low. For example, as shown in Appendix 3, the total number of women serving in the Navy in 1981 was 1,015 representing 5.9 per cent of the total Navy strength. At the same time there were 771 and 510 more women serving in the Army and the Air Force respectively. However, the Army's percentage of female personnel at 5.4 per cent was less than the Navy's. The Air Force had the greatest number of women serving as they represented 6.8 per cent of the Air Force (Reghenzani, 2015).

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[48]   McClemans wrote to the WRANS during her trip to attend the Commonwealth Victory March in London in the summer of 1946. Her letters are preserved in the museum at HMAS *Cerberus*. Extracts from the letters were included in Davies' biography of McClemans.

4.4.1 Joining Up

The women who joined the WRANS came from all over Australia. A typical swearing-in ceremony in 1960 is portrayed in Plate 4-5, where eight new recruits from various parts of NSW (Newcastle, Campsie, Hornsby, East Hills, Manly, Stanwell Park, Orange) were enlisted by Lieutenant Commander Clark-Smith at HMAS *Rushcutter* in Sydney (*Navy News*, 1960a). Prior to being "Sworn In", the new recruits were sent an enlistment notice similar to the one shown in Plate 4-6.

NAVY NEWS, June 3, 1960.   7

Plate 4-5: A typical swearing-in ceremony in 1960

Eight new recruits from various places in New South Wales. Left to right: M.D. Felton, M.J. Haragan, L.C. Dickson, D.H. Macintyre, M.A. Magill, E.A. McFadden, D. Honey and M.D. McTiernan

ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY

31.1031

Naval Recruiting Office,
130 Mary Street,
BRISBANE.   4000

23rd June, 1969

Dear Miss Geiszler,

NOTICE TO REPORT FOR ENLISTMENT IN THE WOMEN'S ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVAL SERVICE

I have pleasure in advising you that you have been selected for entry into the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service as a Recruit Wran Radio Operator.

You are requested to report to this office at 8.30 a.m. on Thursday, 17th July. You will be included in a draft of Recruit Wrans leaving Brisbane for HMAS CERBERUS on Sunday, 20th July providing you pass the final medical check on arrival. You should therefore make arrangements with your employer to safeguard your position in case you should fail in this check.

You are required again on Friday, 18th July to be "Sworn In" and for payment of your travelling expenses etc.

You are requested to acknowledge receipt of this communication IMMEDIATELY. If, for any reason, you are prevented from proceeding as instructed, you should inform this office and await further instructions.

YOUR ENGAGEMENT WILL BE FOR A PERIOD OF FOUR OR SIX YEARS.

You should bring with you sufficient money to enable you to arrive at HMAS CERBERUS with a minimum of four dollars. This amount, which should be sufficient to cover minor purchases until first pay day, may be banked on arrival at HMAS CERBERUS and drawn as you require it. This is not an instruction but advice.

A list of clothing you are advised to take is attached. Please forward your birth certificate to this office immediately.

Yours faithfully,

(B.P. SANDERS)
LIEUT. COMMANDER, R.A.N.,
NAVAL CAREERS OFFICER, QUEENSLAND.

Miss F. Geiszler,
21 Henderson St.,
BULIMBA.   4171

Encl.

Plate 4-6: An example of an Offer of Enlistment Letter – 1969

Certain criteria were required to join the WRANS. The conditions of entry to the WRANS in early 1960s are listed in Table 4.2.

Table 4-2: WRANS – conditions of entry

Condition of entry	Wran	WRANS Officer
Sex	Female	Female
Nationality	British subject or non-British migrant who had officially declared the intention to become naturalised	British subject and substantially of European descent
Residency	Resident of Australia	Resident of Australia
Medical Fitness	Pass the Naval Medical Examination	Pass the Naval Medical Examination
Age[49]	Over 18 years and under 30 years (Ex-servicewomen up to 35 years)	Over 21 years (Direct Entry)
Education	Pass Educational Test at approximately Grade VII standard, Victoria	Leaving Certificate (Victoria) or equivalent and preferably including such subjects as Social Science, Domestic Science, Educational or Secretarial Training and experience.
Marital Status	Unmarried or a widow without dependent children	Unmarried or a widow without dependent children
Period of Engagement	Initially for 5 or 6 years and then the option of further engagements for periods of 2, 3, 4 or 6 years up to 50 years of age, subject to recommendation and the requirements of the Service	Initially for 4 or 6 years with extensions of appointment up to retiring age, subject to requirements of the Service
Other Qualifications	Pass aptitude tests for suitability for training as a Radio Operator, Writer, Stores Assistant, Steward, Radar Plotter or Motor Transport Driver. Writers (General Duties) and Stores Assistant must be able to type, Writers (Shorthand Typists) must be trained stenographers and pass a trade test. Motor Transport Drivers must hold a current driving licence for a car.	

Women joining had to be British subjects or migrants willing to become naturalised; a resident of Australia; be single or widowed with no dependent children; be over 18 years old but under 30 if joining as a Wran or Wran officer but at least 21 to join as a direct entry officer. The women had to also pass the Navy medical examination. The education qualifications varied depending on the type of entry. Those joining as Wrans were required to pass an education test set at approximately Victorian Grade VII standard while Victoria's Leaving Certificate or equivalent was required for WRANS officer candidates. An aptitude

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[49] In late 1960, the entry age for Wrans was reduced to 17 so as to attract girls direct from school and to "'increase the 'life' of Wrans" (*Navy News*, 1960e).

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

test determined suitability for training in specific jobs, and the periods of engagement also varied, for example, the Wrans had a choice of five or six years and the WRANS Officers were offered four or six years. These conditions were atypical of other jobs available to women as women applying for positions such as a secretary or stores assistant would not have been required to undergo such testing or to commit to the position for several years. Therefore, the women joining the WRANS were seeking a job with an extraordinary lifestyle. Johnston (2014) states that after a visit to HMAS *Cerberus* to visit a boyfriend she was drawn to join the WRANS because of "the sense of order, everyone knowing where they were supposed to be, what they were supposed to be doing, [and] the touch of adventure in the making" (p. 224).

In the 1960s, most women left school after completing year 10 and went into paid employment. An analysis of 21 stories of women who joined the Navy in the 1960s and early 1970s (13 in 1960 and eight in 1970s) confirms this demographic fact as it applied to 11 of the cohort or 52 per cent (Morrison, 2014). The figure could have been higher as five women did not provide this information in their stories. Five in the group completed higher education with four joining the Navy on completion of high school and one after completing a degree. The woman who completed a degree, Elizabeth Scarce (nee Taylor), had a family history of Navy service, which was the main reason given by those who joined during the period analysed (57 per cent). Scarce married a fellow officer who was ultimately promoted to Admiral. On his retirement, he assumed the role of State Governor for South Australia. Scarce (2014) said that her time in the WRANS stood her in "good stead for serving in a Vice-Regal role" (p. 356). She discharged from the Navy due to pregnancy, which was one of three main reasons for leaving the service and responsible for 14 per cent of discharges. The only reasons more common were engagement expired and marriage, each responsible for 38 per cent of discharges. One woman left for compassionate reasons and another was discharged on medical grounds. A family tradition of military service, particularly of the father, has been shown to be an important factor in influencing enlistment for both females and males (Moss, 1994, p. 51). In 2006, Midshipman Elizabeth Clayton said, "I was raised by dad to embrace the RAN's values of honour, loyalty, courage, integrity and loyalty [sic] so it only stands to reason that I would pursue a career in the Navy" (Brooke, 2006).

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4.4.2 Reducing the entry age

In 1959 the WRANS were accorded permanent status in lieu of the original four-year engagement in an effort to reduce their poor retention rate and so to boost efficiency (Royal Australian Navy, 1961a). The change also allowed them to contribute to the Defence Forces superannuation fund. In late 1960, the entry age to join the WRANS was reduced from 18 to 17 to improve the career opportunities for women joining the service as a survey conducted by the Navy found females only spent on average three years in the service as they left at 21 to get married. The introduction of a younger entry age initiative was "expected to give girls an extra year in the service and so improve their chances of promotion" (Department of the Navy, 1961, p. 43). The caption of the photo in Plate 4-7 lists the bride as an ex-W.R.A.N. as was typical for the time (*Navy News*, 1960b, p. 10). The strategy to reduce the joining age was successful in that 11 of the 21 women (52 per cent) joining in the 1960s and early 1970s were 17 years old. The strategy was also successful in terms of increasing women's length of time in the service in that 12 of the 21 women (57 per cent) completed more than three years' service.

4.4.3 Bars to long term careers

However, despite the lowering of the entry age initiative, two major constraints barred women from pursuing a long term career. The first was the marriage bar. As Spurling (1988) pointed out, the bar was a protection mechanism for the male workforce and no amount of lobbying by then WRANS Director Cole for the bar to be lifted would change the attitude of the men in power (pp. 307-310). The bar was a regressive step for women because during WWII married women were permitted in the Services (Spurling, 1988, p. 279). Furthermore, the WRANS sister organisation, the WRNS, did not require discharge on marriage (Spurling, 1988, pp. 308-309). In the USA sister

NAVAL WEDDING

At St. Joseph's Church, Belmore, a wedding of true naval flavour took place when R.E.M. Cyril Rice of H.M.A.S. VOYAGER married ex-W.R.A.N. Cecile Phelan of Riverwood (formerly of H.M.A.S. PENGUIN). Father K. Ellis, Senior Naval Chaplain, officiated.

Plate 4-7: Wran marries in 1960s. Because of the marriage bar members of the WRANS had to discharge on marriage. So many brides appeared in *Navy News* referred to as ex-Wrans.

organisation, the marriage policies for the WAVES[50] keep changing. Godson (2001) states:

> At first, no member of the Women's Reserve could be married to a man in the armed forces. Women also could not marry during indoctrination or training periods. Such impractical regulations would cause the loss of well-qualified women or prevent their signing up, so the Navy amended its policy in October 1942. WAVES could marry men of any service except the Navy; marrying a naval officer or enlisted man brought immediate discharge. In March 1943, the Navy relented and allowed its women to marry naval men, after indoctrination and training. Still forbidden were women joining the same service, after marriage, as their husbands had. By August, WAVES could marry, with permission, during specialist training. (pp. 121-122)

America's entry into the Korean conflict in June 1950 saw rapid expansion of the WAVES.[51] At first, the Navy relied on the voluntary recall of women reservists. However, when the numbers were insufficient, the Navy turned to involuntary recall. For the first time in that country's history, women reservists were called up, just like the men, and the Navy accepted no excuses, including being married. Consequently, the policy excluding married women from serving in the WAVES was rescinded (Godson, 2001, pp. 181-182). Around the same time, the Navy lowered the minimum joining age of the WAVES from 20 to 18 (Godson, 2001, pp. 116, 182).

The marriage bar had a detrimental effect on women's careers and actually gave those in power an excuse to argue the inefficiency of the WRANS as money was wasted on training women (Spurling, 1988, p. 261). As highlighted in Chapter 2, this argument was used in the 1960s by senior male bureaucrats in the Commonwealth Public Service to impede the progress of women's careers. The argument was still being a used a decade later by the Chief of Air Staff in respect to training women pilots (Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 1979).

An example of the training loss the marriage exclusion had on women serving in the WRANS is Wran Motor Transport Driver Elizabeth Kitts who served only two years because she had to discharge on marriage (*Navy News*, 1961, p. 13); a familiar story. Another

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[50]   The acronym WAVES stands for "Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service". The term was also interchangeable with the "Women's Reserve" as the women were to be "*with*, not *in*, the Navy" (Godson, 2001, pp. 110-111).

[51]   The WRANS were reformed in 1950 due to Australia's commitment to the Korean War. The organisation's reformation was reluctantly agreed to by the Navy leadership, which was also the case when the WAVES were established in WWII. Godson (2001) reports that the Navy leadership were "overwhelmingly negative" to the idea of a women's service (pp.109-110).

example of loss, particularly in respect to long-term professional experience, is First Officer Eve Ekert who, when Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus*, had to end her 13-year career because she chose to marry (*Navy News*, 1960c).[52] The bar was not lifted until 1968, and another year elapsed before it began to be implemented. In effect, this was three years after the bar was lifted for women employed in the Commonwealth Public Service (Bomford, 2001, p. 75; *Public Service Act (No. 2) 1966*; Royal Australian Navy, 1969a). The driving force behind the removal of the marriage bar for Navy women was the Director of the WRANS (DWRANS), who like her predecessors pushed for the removal of the restriction (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 263; Spurling, 1988, pp. 308-309). Even when the bar was lifted, retention was conditional as the Navy had to have a need for the married woman's talents acquired through her training and experience in the Service and an appropriate position had to be available noting her expected domestic circumstances after marriage. Furthermore, married women were also not entitled to the same conditions of service as men, for example removal costs and married allowances were not payable to members of the WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, 1969a).

The second constraint was the pregnancy bar, which was not lifted until 1975 (National Archives of Australia, 1974; Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 35). This was an absurd rule and perpetuated the prevailing societal attitude that a woman's place was in the home caring for the children while the male breadwinner went to work.[53] The attitude of RAN officers was no different (Spurling, 1988, p. 295). The other hindrance for married women seeking work was the lack of child care facilities as highlighted in Chapter 2. Consequently, even with the lifting of the pregnancy bar, many Servicewomen were unable to maintain their careers due to the lack of available child care facilities. In 1986, Sue Hamilton from the Office of the Status of Women released her report on Supporting Service Families, which included the need for Defence to address the issue of child care for Service personnel and their spouses (Hamilton, 1986, p. 10). In developing strategies to meet the child care need, she suggested Defence as a starting point could remove the obstacles that precluded women living in married quarters operating a child minding facility. Two years later, a child care centre, which was a remodelled married quarter, was opened at HMAS *Cerberus* (*Navy News*, 1993a, p. 10).[54] Despite this step forward, the provision of adequate

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[52] Ekert was one of the pioneers of the WRANS having first joined as a Writer during WWII. She discharged as a Petty Officer and re-entered as the first recruit when the WRANS were re-established in 1950.

[53] The bar was not in place to protect women from workplace hazards. After the bar was lifted, pregnant women were not required to undertake any role that could harm them or their unborn child.

[54] A child care centre was not opened in Australia's Parliament House until 2009 (Sawer, 2015).

child care remained a critical barrier to women's career progression and a decade after Hamilton's Report the issue was again raised by Clare Burton (1996, pp. ES-29) in her report into the barriers impeding the progression of Servicewomen. The irony of the pregnancy bar was that the rule could be flouted; married members of the WRANS Reserve could be called up for duty despite having children. Acting Leading Wran Writer Bernadette Barnett was an example. Five years before the bar was lifted, she worked full-time for the Director of Personnel Services (Conditions) at Navy Office in Canberra despite having a son aged six and a husband who was serving as a Petty Officer (*Navy News*, 1970a, p. 8).

4.4.4 Outcome of the lifting of the marriage and pregnancy bars

Since the lifting of the marriage and pregnancy bars, many women have gone on to have long term careers in the Navy. A collection of Navy women's personal stories in the book *Winning at Sea: The Story of Women at Sea in the RAN*, commissioned by CN (Griggs, 2013) to celebrate the RAN's 100th anniversary, provides multiple examples of women enjoying long term careers.[55] One example not featured in the book but one that encapsulates the opportunities grasped is the story of Commander Glenda Shaw who transferred to the Reserves in December 2013 after a career of 41 years. She joined in 1972 from New South Wales because she thought she would gain "a good mix of training, job opportunity, adventure and travel" (Frank, 2013, p. 10). Shaw, who married and became a mother, illustrates the magnitude of the lifting of the marriage and pregnancy bars on women's careers. Commencing her career as a Wran Communicator, Shaw rose to the highest non-commissioned rank of Warrant Officer. In 1997, she commissioned as an officer at the rank of Lieutenant and was subsequently promoted a further two ranks to the rank of Commander. Such a pathway was always available to male members of the Navy. However, the women serving in the WRANS had to wait 25 years from their Service's re-establishment until they had equal opportunity in pursuing a long-term career combined with marriage and parenting.

In the 21 stories from the women members of the South Australian Naval Association of Australia WRANS Sub Section, 62 per cent of them stated the most memorable aspect of their service was the enduring friendships. Eileen Dunlop (nee Dent) (2004) who spent three years in the WRANS captured the women's sentiments:

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[55]   A longitudinal survey of cadet officers conducted in 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1992 found that in the combined data 1987-89 49 percent of females indicated they were very or fairly likely to serve 20 years. In 1992, this figure had risen to 54 per cent (Moss, 1994, p. 59).

I have made some wonderful friends – friends who share that special bond of a time long ago. We are all very passionate about our time in the WRANS and that will hopefully live on … long after I am gone. There is nothing like the salt water that flows in our veins and binds us all together. I am sure we can all remember the pain and heartache of those times, but that is nothing compared to all the good times we shared.

Life after the WRANS had its moments – the joy of becoming a grandmother, the happiness of the marriage of my brother and the birth of their sons, the sadness of losing both my parents within two years of each other, the sorrow of my sister losing the love of her life.

It is no more or less than anyone else has gone through in their lives, but one thing that has always made it either bearable or happier is the friendships I have made and kept over all these times: that special bond between '*Women in Uniform*'. (p. 136)

Dunlop's choice of words "the salt water that flows through our veins" is telling as she was from the era before women were allowed to serve at sea. Her prose signifies that the women serving in the WRANS had a real sense of belonging to the wider Navy. Her sentiments of enduring friendships were also held by women who joined in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s and who have served at sea during their careers. Commander Wendy Gould (2013a), who joined in 1982 as a Wran and who is still serving, said:

As a young girl living in country Queensland about to join the Navy, I would not have believed I would experience the things that I have in the Navy; that I could make so many friends; see so many places; and find the courage to do things I never thought possible. I certainly didn't appreciate the significance of what I was doing in the context of social change. (p. 89)

Passionate about the Navy, Commander Cath Hayes (2013), who joined in 1990 as a Seaman Officer, now known as a Maritime Warfare Officer, said:

The amazing thing about the Navy is that at no point in time are you alone in what you do. I have made enduring friendships, and shared the experience of hardship and tragic loss with shipmates that will forever remain an enduring and unbreakable bond. (p. 87)

Lieutenant Commander Jo Haynes (2013), who joined the Navy in January 1998 as a Maritime Warfare Officer, said, "Each posting has presented different challenges, unique

opportunities and lasting memories. I have met some amazing people along the way and formed lifelong friendships" (p. 27). Some of the other 52 women who like Haynes shared their sea experiences in *Winning at Sea: The Story of Women at Sea in the RAN* (2013) also expressed they faced challenges with feelings ranging from self-doubt to exhilaration. Many reported not only that they made lifelong friendships but also that they were mentored and supported during their careers by male officers and sailors.

In the late 2000s, a couple of years after finishing a degree in Communications and Media, Able Seaman Natalie Brennan decided to join the Navy. Commenting on her eight months posting in the Middle East as part of the Force Support Unit for Operation SLIPPER,[56] Brennan said (2013):

> What I would never expect was that … I would work with some of the most professional people I have ever met in a Tri-Service environment directly supporting thousands of troops in the Middle East and coming out the other side with lifelong friends. (p. 82)

Brennan is an example of the improved standard of education held by women today. She is also an example of the breadth of roles women can perform in today's Navy. As very few women gained tertiary education during the WRANS era, a woman holding a degree was entered as an officer, which reflected a class system where education provided a level of elitism. Now that women joining the Navy have access to the complete range of positions offered by the Navy, women can choose their career path. However, unlike Brennan, women joining the Navy in the 1960s were unable to serve overseas and the types of jobs available to them were limited as the next section reveals.

4.5   WRANS ROLE

What did they do? What were their relationships to other groups?

The WRANS were formed into a matrix type organisational structure because the members who made up the Service had administrative and operational reporting lines. Diagram 4.2, constructed from various sources, shows the skeleton structure and reporting lines.

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[56]   Operation Slipper was the Australian Defence Force's contribution to the war in Afghanistan from late 2001 to 31 December 2014.
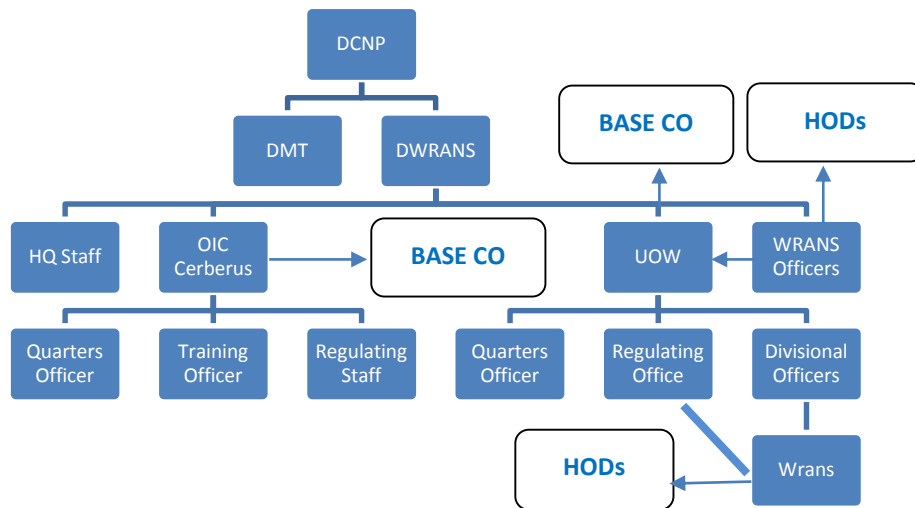
Diagram 4-2: WRANS organisational structure
Sources: (Navy Office Canberra, 1965; Royal Australian Navy, 1959b)

4.5.1 Director WRANS (DWRANS)

DWRANS was the head of the WRANS as can be seen from Diagram 4.1. She was the highest ranking female, initially holding the rank of Chief Officer, which was Commander equivalent, the most junior of the senior officer group. In 1968, the position was elevated to Superintendent rank, (Captain equivalent) (Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 34). Two years later, the Director General of Recruiting capitalised on this change and displayed the Superintendent rank on the front cover and throughout a recruiting brochure for direct entry officer candidates as demonstrated in Figure 4.6 (Director General of Recruiting, 1970a).
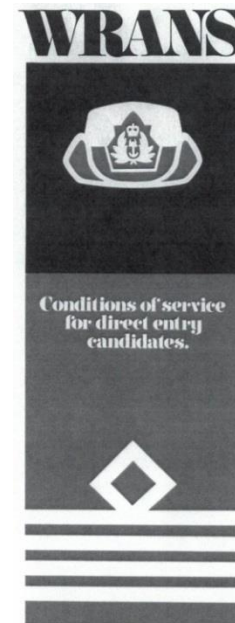
Plate 4-8: Extract from a WRANS recruiting brochure

The four strips are the Navy insignia for Captain rank. The WRANS Officers lacing had a diamond whereas the RAN equivalent has an executive curl (Perryman, 2011, pp. 242-243).

Four strips were obviously thought to be more appealing to women than three strips, which was the rank insignia for the Chief Officer rank. In 1971 the Superintendent rank was finally aligned to RAN ranks and became Captain (Baker, 1974, p. 8; Commonwealth of

Australia, 1971; Royal Australian Navy, 1971c).[57] The other rank titles for officers in the WRANS, WRANS Reserve and RANNS were not aligned with those of their male counterparts until 1979 (Commonwealth of Australia, 1979; Weil, 1979)[58].

DWRANS was responsible to the Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel[59] (DCNP) for "all matters appertaining to the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service, and for its morale and wellbeing" (Royal Australian Navy, 1959b). Commonwealth Navy Orders outlined her duties as listed in Table 4-3 (Royal Australian Navy, 1959b, 1962e). A perusal of her duties reveals she did not have absolute control over the WRANS. She was to be "consulted", provide "advice" or "share" responsibility. Nevertheless, she was in a strong position to influence the direction and development of the WRANS. The carte blanche approval she had for visits gave her a privileged position and endorsed her level of authority.

Table 4-3: Duties of Director WRANS (DWRANS)

Provide advice on all matters likely to affect the morale and wellbeing of WRANS personnel such as pay, conditions of service, accommodation, victualling, messing and clothing.
Advise on the recruitment, selection, appointment, training and promotion of WRANS officers and ratings as a member of the Training Panel.
Responsible, in conjunction with DMT,[60] for drafting (posting) of WRANS ratings.
Responsible for the performance of personnel under her control but not for WRANS officers and ratings working in other areas.
Provide advice on WRANS complements.
Authorised to visit any naval establishment in which WRANS personnel are employed, provided prior notice given to the administrative authority concerned and to the Commanding Officer of the establishment.

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[57]   According to Assistant DWRANS, Second Officer Baker, a proposal was submitted to the Naval Board to change the WRANS titles to align with those used in the RAN. However, she said the Naval Board only permitted "in its wisdom" DWRANS' title of Superintendent to be changed to Captain (Baker, 1974, p. 8). This change was reflected in a 1971 Commonwealth Statutory Rule and subsequently the WRANS Regulations. The rationale for the change was not explained in a Naval Order but a 1971 Naval Order on made-to-measure uniforms, where the entitlement on promotion to "Captain from Chief Officer" appeared, did reveal the change. In the previous year, the entitlement listed on promotion to Superintendent.

[58]   Weil's letter was located at HMAS *Cerberus* museum.

[59]   The Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel was responsible to the Chief of Naval Personal who was also the Second Naval Member of the Australian Commonwealth Naval Board (ACNB), which was established on 12 January 1905. The Second Naval member supervised personnel and reserves, discipline, stores, victualling and medical care. ACNB was abolished on 9 February 1976 along with the Air and Military Boards (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1975; Dennis, Grey, Morris, Prior, & Connor, 1995) due to the amalgamation of the armed services departments in 1973 into the Department of Defence.

[60]   Director of Manning and Training

4.5.2 WRANS Officers

WRANS Officers were drawn primarily by promoting Wrans, and from 1962, with direct entry officers filling any spare capacity. WRANS Officers had two professional streams available to them, administration or communications (Navy Office Canberra, 1965, art 0104.1). In 1964, a decision was made to have one common course for all WRANS Officers (Royal Australian Navy, 1964a). Three years later this decision was reversed as the practice was considered not cost effective (Royal Australian Navy, 1967); another example of retention issues related to the marriage and pregnancy bars. A 1970 recruiting brochure stated WRANS Officers were trained for appointment as Administrative, Secretarial or Communications Officers (Director General of Recruiting, 1970a). These fields continued to maintain the traditional type of roles previously decreed suitable for women to perform. For example, in Table 4-2 the minimum educational standard or qualifications for WRANS Officers was "Leaving Certificate (Victoria) or equivalent and preferably including such subjects as Social Science, Domestic Science, Educational or Secretarial Training and experience" (Royal Australian Navy, 1962c). These standards were visible in the 1960s in WRANS Officer Cadets (WROC) training. Third Officer Marjorie Reid, one of the first direct entry officers, stated she was required to attend typing classes even though she was a competent typist. Her class of four were also required to demonstrate their domestic science skills by planning and organising a luncheon for the Directors of the Women's Services (M. Bayliss, personal communication, January 26, 2016). Such practices were also visible in the 1970s as one of the tasks WROCs had to carry out during their Officers Training Course (OTC) was the preparation and service of a meal, which perpetuated women's domestic role. The pictures in Plate 4-9 show WROCs Barry and Kupke undertaking such a task.[61]

Plate 4-9: WROCs Maxine Kupke and Ann Barry completing an OTC task.

Preparing a meal was still a component of the WRANS OTC in the 1970s. The curriculum in respect to female cadet officers having to demonstrate their domestic skill had not changed since the 1960s. WROC Kupke closest in left photo. Both Kupke and Barry were Leading Wrans when selected for OTC.

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[61]   Photos are courtesy of author's private collection.

Until 1978, when the WRANS OTC was transferred to HMAS *Creswell* (Jackson, 1978, p. 3), direct entry applicants were required to complete Wrans recruit training (Navy Office Canberra, 1965 Art 0313). This practice created an awkward situation for the Wrans because during the training friendships were formed but on completion of the training the Wrans and WROCs were not permitted to speak to each other. This rule applied also to Wrans transferring to officers. The reason was to prevent fraternisation between the ranks. WRANS Instructions provide an example of the internal class hierarchy:

> WRANS officers are to make every effort to keep Chief Petty Officer and Petty Officer
> Wrans distinct from junior Wrans, and to instil in them a proper sense of their status
> and responsibilities. They are to be made to feel that confidence is reposed in them
> and are to be treated with the consideration due to the position of trust which they
> hold. (Navy Office Canberra, 1965 Art 0207)

Uniform. Uniform was also used to set the WROCs apart and to reinforce the transition to commissioned rank. At the commencement of officer training, WROCs exchanged their black tally band for a white one and flashes of gold lace were sewn on the shoulder seams of their uniform jackets and white summer dresses (Royal Australian Navy, 1972a). The picture in Plate 4-10 shows WROCs in their summer uniform with white tally bands and the gold shoulder flashes just visible. For comparison purposes, Plate 4-11 shows a group of Wrans wearing summer dress with the traditional black tally bands. From the change in the length of uniform from the 1960s photo to the one in the 1970s, the WRANS were clearly influenced by the fashion of the era—the mini skirt. While the use of distinguishing features in dress is acceptable to differentiate rank, uniform can be used to maintain a patriarchal cultural ideology as van Wijk and Finchilescu (2008) discovered when investigating the organisational culture of the South African Navy. This point is pursued further in Chapter 6.

Gaining employment qualifications. In 1965, the WRANS OTC general component ran over a 24-week period and covered subjects in supply, communications, administration, first aid and damage control. Additional training was given to WRANS Officers specialising in Communications (Royal Australian Navy, 1967). Four years later in 1971 training for WRANS Officers was amended and the duration of the general training was reduced to 19 weeks by reducing the pre OTC Communications training from six to two weeks and the OTC general training from 12 weeks to 11 weeks. The five weeks removed from the training were added to the post OTC Communication courses for WRANS Officers specialising as

Communication Officers (Royal Australian Navy, 1971a). The rationalisation of the training
was a further example of reducing training costs associated with women.

Plate: 4-10 WRANS OTC Class of 1971 in summer uniform with *Cerberus* tally bands.

The white tally bands indicate they are WRAN Officer Cadets. Sitting is First Officer
Norma Uhlmann WRANS who was the Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus*. The four
cadets from the left were Susan Shaw, Susan Waugh, Wendy Edwards and Marie
Le Rossignol. They were listed in the September 1971 Navy List. **Sources:** Picture
from NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval Facebook page on 12 April 2014

Plate 4-11: Wrans in summer uniform with HMAS *Harman* tally bands (c1960s).

From the left, Wran Radio Operators (Morse) Patricia Thurston, Sally Burden and Kerry Wines. **Source:** NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval Facebook page on 12 April 2014

From WROC to Midshipman. On 4 September 1978, 28 years after the WRANS were reformed and six years before the SDA, eight WROCs commenced training at HMAS *Creswell* with their male counterparts. The cohort consisted of five Wrans and three civilians. Their training was expanded to two years and included navigation, seamanship and on the job training. For the first time, women were also able to select supply (now logistics) as their primary qualification. Tom Jackson (1978), a Navy Public Relations Officer, reported that the male trainees were enthusiastic about joint training with women and all those he questioned believed "it was a dramatic step forward in training development", with some stating it could eventually lead to seagoing careers for WRANS Officers (p. 3). Seven of the WROCs graduated on 5 July 1979. Plate 4-12 shows one division of female cadets being inspected by Governor General Sir Zelman Cowan (Smart, 1979, p. 5).

Plate 4-12: Graduation Parade of the first group of WRANS Officers at HMAS *Creswell*

Left to right: WROC Joanne Fehervari, Lila Bilsborough and Gwyn Harlow being inspected by Governor General Sir Zelman Cowen, who is escorted by WROC Roslyn Fletcher.

WROCs proved they could meet the rigorous midshipmen training. At the next Graduation Parade on 29 November 1979, WROC Susan Williams, who at 18 had entered the college in March 1979, received one of the top awards. She was the first WROC to be awarded the Peter Mitchell Prize for Seamanship. The prize was awarded on the basis of results gained in two theory examinations plus a practical examination in rigging, knots and line handling. Williams gained 96 per cent overall, which was reported by Barrie Emart (1976), a Navy Public Relations Officer, as "an outstanding result achieved in the company of men with a Service background" (p. 6). Although still a minority, women continued to demonstrate their ability to train beside their male counterparts. For example, in 1987, Midshipman Wendy Gould was awarded the Commodore Sir James Ramsay prize for the best academic

performance and Sub-Lieutenant Jacqueline King was presented with the Naval Historical Society prize for the best naval history essay (*Navy News*, 1987a, p. 7; Royal Australian Navy, 2012, November 28). In 2006, Sub-Lieutenant Lana Tassotti was awarded the E.S. Cunningham Cup for outstanding leadership, officer-like qualities, and good influence amongst colleagues on course. Tassotti's classmate, Midshipman Tamara Malkki, was presented the Rear Admiral Hammond Memorial Sword, which is awarded for self-discipline, resolution, undeviating application and good influence among peers (Brooke, 2006).

Promotion. Initial appointments to the WRANS Officers List were on a four-year short service commission (SSC) with reappointment for further periods of four years on the recommendation of the senior officer. In 1957 reappointment for two, three or four years was introduced (Baker, 1974, p. 11). In 1959 when eligibility to contribute to the Defence Force Retirement Benefits Fund (DFRB) was extended to the WRANS, SSCs were extended to six years and extensions became two, four or six years (Royal Australian Navy, 1963b). In 1968 selected WRANS Officers with four years' service were offered a permanent commission (Royal Australian Navy, 1968b). During their service, WRANS Officers were promoted by selection. Promotion from Third Officer to Second Officer and then First Officer was based on length of service and age as shown in Table 4-4**.** However, because of the limited number of jobs available for senior WRANS Officers, promotion was limited as can be seen from the complement structure in Table 4-5 where in 1964 there was only one Chief Officer and two First Officers.[62]

Table 4-4: Promotion Chart for WRANS Officers

Rank	1961		1971		1973	
Promotion to	Minimum Age	Years of service	Minimum Age	Years of Service	Minimum Age	Years of Service
Captain					unspecified	Not set
Chief Officer	30	3	30	3	30	3
First Officer	27	4	27	4	27	4
Second Officer	23	2	23½	2	23½	2

Sources: (Royal Australian Navy, 1961b), (Royal Australian Navy, 1971a), (Royal Australian Navy, 1973)

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[62] The figures listed in Table 4-5 may differ from the official complements, that is the allocated number of positions, as they were drawn from the Navy Lists and Defence Reports. For example, Commonwealth Navy Order 222 of 1967 listed the WRANS Officers structure as 1 Chief Officer, 4 First Officers, 10 Second Officers and 20 Third Officers. Actual numbers not meeting the established numbers indicated that either recruiting targets were not being met or the Service had a retention issue.

Table 4-5: Navy Officer (women) numbers over five decades (Permanent Forces)

YEARS	1964[(a)(d)]		1974[(a)(d)]		1984[(b)(d)]		1994[(b)(d)]	2004[(b)(d)]	2014[(c)(d)]
RANKS	Officers (W = WRANS and R = RANNS)						Officers Women	Officers Women	Officers Women
	W	R	W	R	W	R			
Rear Admiral**									1
Commodore*									1
Captain							1	6	18
Chief Officer Matron Commander	1	1	3	1	4	2	10	13	47
First Officer Superintending Sister Lieutenant Commander	2	1	2	2	8	3	34	104	146
Second Officer Senior Sister Lieutenant	4	5	16	14	32	22	211	201	278
Third Officer Sister Sub-Lieutenant	10	13	10	10	37	2	87	73	71
Acting Sub Lieutenant					17	0	1	9	8
Officer Cadet Midshipman			4[(e)]		21	0	111	119	80
Total	**17**	**20**	**35**	**27**	**119**	**29**	**455**	**528**	**650**
Navy strength	**12,569**[(c)]		**16,141**[(c)]		**16,692**[(c)]		**14,778**[(c)]	**13,205**[(c)]	**13,761**[(c)]
Total % of Navy	**0.3%**		**0.4%**		**0.9%**		**3.1%**	**4.0%**	**4.7%**

Notes:

(a) Information sourced from September (biannual) Navy Lists except for RANNS in 1964. The latter was sourced from the March 1965 Navy List as the RANNS was not re-established until November 1964. The March 1965 document lists RANNS Officers serving with a seniority date of 2 November 1964. While the Navy strength given is that of June 1964, there was only an increase of 534 personnel by June 1965, plus the total number of women as at September 1965 remained the same, as such the percentage figure in 1965 did not change.

(b) Information sourced from June (annual) Navy Lists.

(c) Information sourced from the Defence Annual Report. Prior to 1994, reports did not include the word annual.

(d) The numbers are those serving full-time. In 1985, the *Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulations* were repealed and all women serving became part of the RAN. To provide true comparative figures, the numbers of women serving in the RANNS in 1964, 1974 and 1984 have also been listed.

(e) The 1974 Defence Report gives a total number of 62 women officers. The Navy List numbers are 31 WRANS Officers and 27 RANNS Officers, which totals 58. Therefore, the assumption is made that the remaining four officers were officer cadets.

The change in the number of women officers employed over five decades as shown in Table 4-5 reveals a growth of 4.3 per cent over the period. In 1964, the number of WRANS Officers employed was 17 and the RANNS was 20, which together represented 0.3 per cent of the Navy. There was only a 0.1 per cent change in the following decade. Between 1964 and 1984, the numbers had risen by 102, which represented a seven-fold increase; a clear indication of the change in attitudes to women's work with the lifting of the marriage and pregnancy bars. In 1994, 10 years after the introduction of the SDA and the integration of women into the RAN, the number of women serving in the Navy as officers was 455, which represented 3.1 per cent of the total Navy strength and an increase of 2.2 per cent over the decade; another indication that as more roles opened up for women in the Navy, there were women wanting to work in non-traditional military fields of employment such as warfare, engineering and legal. In the following two decades, the numbers rose to 528 and 650 respectively or 4.0 per cent and 4.7 per cent of the total Navy strength. Although the percentage of women officers in the Navy has increased by 3.8 per cent since they were integrated into the RAN, their numbers still lag behind as the percentage of male officers in the RAN in 2014 was 19.2 per cent (Department of Defence, 2014a, p. 148), 14.5 per cent more than women. The differential may indicate that only a small proportion of women are drawn to a military career. The under-representation of women was addressed in the 2012 Broderick Report into the treatment of women in the ADF (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a). The report made 21 recommendations to remedy the identified barriers to women's employment and progression. These included setting targets, providing flexible working arrangements, reviewing career models and developing strategies to overcome occupational segregation.

Those women who did make a career of the WRANS were promoted rapidly. For example, Plate 4-13 shows the participants of WRANS OTC 1962, which included in the middle front row WROC Marcia Chalmers. Four years later, she appears in Plate 4-14 as the course Training Officer. Chalmers' experience as a Wran no doubt aided her selection for promotion because she was a Petty Officer Wran with at least four years' experience when undertaking OTC. This is verified by features of her uniform in Plate 4-13: she is wearing a tricorn hat, which is issued on promotion to Petty Officer, and displaying a four-year long-service badge on the left arm of her jacket. Chalmers went on to serve in the position of Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus* and, from July 1983 until the position was abolished on 1 January 1985, as DWRANS.

Plate 4-13: WRANS OTC 1962

The class of 1962 included the first direct entries. At the rear left to right are WROCs Jennifer Robinson, Dorothy Nankervis and Marjorie Reid. Seated at the front is First Officer Barbara MacLeod (Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus*), WROC Marcia Chalmers and Acting First Officer Erica McNamara.

Plate 4-14: WRANS OTC 1966

Four years later, the class of 1966 shows Second Officer Marcia Chalmers as the course Training Officer. With a seniority of 24 October 1962 as a Third Officer and promoted to the rank of Second Officer on 30 June 1965, she served just over the minimum time in rank of two years as a Third Officer before being promoted to Second Officer.

While promotion was initially swift for WRANS Officers who did not marry, once promoted to higher ranks their careers became stagnant due to the lack of positions. This started to change in 1979 when after six years as DWRANS Captain Barbara MacLeod was offered a position outside the WRANS structure. She was appointed as the Director of Naval Industrial Policy (*Navy News*, 1979c, p. 3). Her opening placed another WRANS Officer, Chief Officer June Baker, in the position to take on the role of DWRANS. However, there was a drawback. The Navy leadership remained rigid in maintaining the WRANS Officers' complement and as a consequence Baker did not gain promotion to Captain along with the position. Nonetheless, Baker did go on to create another first for women in the Navy. In 1983, after 16 years in the Navy, she was the first woman to be appointed as an RAN Executive Officer (XO) when she became second-in-command of HMAS *Penguin*, a shore establishment on Sydney's middle harbour. After one week on the job she commented, "There may have been some surprise among the men when I was appointed. But if there was, they have got over it now" (Cunningham, 1983b, p. 3). These two examples show the Navy leadership was beginning to broaden their view on the positions women were capable of performing especially noting MacLeod's and Baker's appointments occurred six and two years respectively before the WRANS regulations were repealed and the WRANS were integrated into the RAN.

4.5.3 Officer-in-Charge (OIC) and Unit Officer WRANS (UOW)

In the administrative role WRANS Officers served as Headquarters (HQ) or establishment staff, as the OIC of the WRANS Training School *Cerberus* or as the Unit Officer WRANS (UOW) as depicted in Diagram 4-2. Both the OIC and UOW were considered Heads of Departments and had the same duties except the OIC had a training role function. For example, the OIC in 1960 was responsible for the training of 150 women (Navy News, 1960d, p. 1). These included recruits, officer cadets and regulators. In their roles, the incumbents had "direct access to the Commanding Officer (CO), on matters specially relating to her department" (Navy Office Canberra, 1965, art 0105).

The UOW's duties are listed in Table 4-6 (Navy Office Canberra, 1965, art 0105). An analysis of the duties of the UOW indicates she played the role of a pseudo mother and mentor. Maggie Humm's definition of "mother" describes this aspect of the UOW's role. Humm is influenced by Julia Kristeva who describes "mother" "as a maternal body which is both a site of subjugated socialised 'feminine' and is also the un-socialised 'pulsionistic' female subject with female power" (1995, p. 178). The UOW was in charge of a young group of

women. The joining age bracket of Wrans and WRANS Officers combined with the marriage and pregnancy bars were contributing factors. The UOW was both feared and loved (Johnston, 2014, p. 232). She was addressed by junior WRANS Officers and Wrans as Ma'am, which is a shortened version of madam and used as a title of respect.[63] The UOW's duties illustrate that like a mother she was responsible for the welfare of those in her charge including discipline, etiquette, appearance, domestic responsibilities and recreational activities. In her dual role as Head of Department (HOD) and "mother", she demonstrated the dynamics of societal culture that absorbs femininity into maternity.

Table 4-6: Duties – Unit Officer WRANS

Maintenance of the good order and well-being of members of the WRANS in her unit, keeping in close touch with those in her charge and being at all times ready to advise and assist.
Training in divisional duties of the junior WRANS Officers and senior ranks; by example instilling into them the necessity for firmness, tact and sympathy, coupled with unswerving fairness in all their dealings with subordinates.
The maintenance of the WRANS quarters with the assistance of any WRANS Quarters Officers and staff allocated for quarters duties.
The standard of appearance and proper maintenance of uniform of members of the WRANS, including periodical kit inspection.
Encouragement and supervision of off-duty activities, i.e. education and vocational training, sports and other forms of recreation.
Control of the WRANS staff provided to assist her in her duties.
Regulating office work in respect of WRANS, including accurate all unit administrative records and Wrans' personal records.
Encouraging Wrans under her control to seek higher rank.

The UOW Temporary Memorandum 02/70[64] issued to administer a visit by Her Royal Highness (HRH) Princess Anne, and shown at Plates 4-17 to 4-19, provides an example of her responsibilities. The administrative document sets out the routine for the event. The routine includes "clean ship"; the term used for cleaning the quarters. A note states the ablution areas[65] are not to be used after 0845 on the day of the event; this directive would

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[63] The term is still used today to address a female Officer or Warrant Officer, and also when addressing female royalty such as the Queen.

[64] The document was sourced from the NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval Facebook page on 22 March 2014.

[65] The term used for the bathroom and laundry facilities.

have been added to ensure the bathroom areas were spotless for HRH's inspection. Note 3 is a reminder to those attending the event of the correct form of address for HRH, which is "Your Royal Highness" when first presented and thereafter as "Ma'am". The remaining note provides a picture of the era of the event with the words "Hair may be left in rollers covered by a scarf" when Wrans attended breakfast before the event. In the 1950s and 1960s, many women styled their hair with rollers. In 1955, a hairdryer was issued to WRANS Units on the scale of one per 50 personnel (Royal Australian Navy, 1955). The issue was most likely a portable unit with a hood attachment, like the one shown in Plate 4-15 as the hairdryers of today were not available until the late 1970s (see Plate 4-16, which shows a type of hairdryer in the 1970s) (Sherrow, 2006, pp. 169-170). Johnston (2014) recalls that one night she found one of the Wrans in bed sound asleep with her hairdryer still operating. She turned it off only to be "roundly abused by that watch keeping Radio Operator who had hoped to have dry hair before going on duty" (Johnston, 2014, p. 244). Appearance was important as evidenced by the uniform inspection prior to the arrival of HRH.

Plate 4-15: Picture of a portable hairdryer c1950s

Plate 4-16: Picture of a 1970s style hairdryer

This type of hairdryer shown on the left, which came in a portable case, was issued to members of the WRANS on a ratio of 1:50. At the time, it was considered very modern. Today's style of hairdryer (forerunner on the right) was not available until the 1970s.

HMAS HARMAN,
ACT 2600

1 April, 1970

I left Harman on April 10 for fortnights leave and arrived in Darwin on 28th April 1974.

UNIT OFFICER, WRANS TEMPORARY MEMORANDUM 2/70

VISIT BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS ANNE

FRIDAY 24 APRIL, 1970

DRY WEATHER ROUTINE

THURSDAY 23 APRIL, 1970

1600	Closed gangway – ALL Wrans
1600 – 1930	Clean ship
1930	Rounds
2000	All Wrans fall in – Wrans Car Park as for Divisions. See attached list
2015 (app)	Open gangway

FRIDAY 24 APRIL, 1970

0600	Wakey wakey
0630	All Wrans turn to – clean ship
0900	Secure
0900 – 0915	Stand easy
0915 – 0945	Wrans clean into No.1's for Divisions
0945	Wrans fall in – Wrans Car Park – for inspection
1000 (app)	Wrans fall in on Parade Ground for Divisions
1031	Her Royal Highness arrives at Parade Ground Inspects No.1 Division
1037	Speeches – Her Royal Highness names new buildings
1040	Her Royal Highness walks to Kent House
1042	Her Royal Highness arrives at Kent House
1043	No.2 Division disperses quickly and discreetly to places in Gloucester House.
1047	Her Royal Highness leaves Kent House – to Alexandra House
1051	Her Royal Highness leaves Alexandra House – to Gloucester House.
1059	Her Royal Highness takes morning tea with Wrans and

Plate 4-17: UOW's 1970 Administration Order page 1

-2-

1128	Her Royal Highness signs Visitors Book.
1129	Her Royal Highness is farewelled by Captain
1130	Her Royal Highness departs for Government House.

WET WEATHER ROUTINE

THURSDAY 23 APRIL, 1970

As for Dry Weather Routine except Wrans fall in in Recreation Room, Alexandra House for final briefing.

FRIDAY 24 APRIL, 1970

0600 - 1015	As for Dry Weather Routine
1015	Wrans fall in - Recreation Room, Gloucester House
1030	Her Royal Highness arrives at Main Gate.
1032	Her Royal Highness arrives at Gloucester House - met by Captain.
1036	Her Royal Highness moves among assembled Wrans.
1041	Her Royal Highness to Alexandra House and Kent House.
1043	No.1 Division retires to Gymnasium
1051	Her Royal Highness to Gloucester House.
1059 - 1130	As for Dry Weather Routine
1120	No.1 Division to assemble in Wrans Car Park - CWR Reynolds and WRRS Louttit in charge.

NOTES

1. Wrans will proceed to breakfast on Friday 24 April. Civilian clothing may be worn. Hair may be left in rollers covered by a scarf.

2. Wrans who are presented to Her Royal Highness are to address her as "Your Royal Highness" when first presented and thereafter as "Ma'am".

3. Ablution areas are not to be used after 0845 on Friday 24

Plate 4-18: UOW's 1970 Administration Order page 2

APPENDIX A

NO.1 DIVISION	NO.2 DIVISION	KENT HOUSE
3RDO LEBRETON	3RDO PENNINGTON	CWRRSG ELLIOT
CWRRSM REYNOLDS	WRRST DAVEY	POWRRP CALVERT
WRRSM LOUTTIT	WRRSM BRADY	

NO.1 DIVISION

3RDO LEBRETON
CWRRSM REYNOLDS
WRRSM LOUTTIT

LWR TORRENS
    HALLETT
    McAVANEY
    PEARCE
    HOLGATE
    GERATHY
WR JOSE
    JENSEN
    RUMBLE
    HILEY
    GIBSON
    CARSON
    BARRY
    JEFFERS
    LANNSTROM
    GREENSLADE
    LANG
    TEMPLE
    WITTSCHEIBE
    McMURTRIE
    REDFEARN
    WHITE
    PERROTT
    LEWIS
    PIKE
    MARSTON
    BRODIE
    HANCOCK
    HOWSHIP
    KYTE
    JONES
    DANCE
    MORROW ←
    DAULBY
    HORN
    McLEOD
    TORRICE
    GREGSON
    KINGHORN
    BARNARD
    SPARKE
    PHILLIPS
    COOGAN
    MAGANN
    VINCENT
    ROBERTS
    SHEEHAN

NO.2 DIVISION

3RDO PENNINGTON
WRRST DAVEY
WRRSM BRADY

LWR MINCHENTON
    BEATTIE
    KUPKE
    WANSTALL
    WADE
    CLARKE
    ALDRIDGE
WR TULLETT K.
    TULLETT S.
    SANDAVER
    HARMAN
    ANDERSON
    CUMMING
    EDWARDS
    BONNEY
    WAPSHOTT
    BIRD
    HIGGINS
    JACOBSON
    GLASS
    SISSON
    HARTLEY
    VARDON
    BURGH
    LAW
    McLACHLAN
    PORTER
    ROBSON
WRRS DAVIS
    DWYER
LWR ASHPOLE
    FULLERTON
    HEANEY
    JEFFREY
WR TERRAHE
    BARR
    HARRISS

STEWARDS - GLOUCESTER
        HOUSE

POWR DAWES
LWR KEENAN
    VAN MASTRIGHT
WR PEEL
    TRANTER
    HARRIS

KENT HOUSE

CWRRSG ELLIOT
POWRRP CALVERT

ALEXANDRA HOUSE

POWRSTD DAWES

GLOUCESTER HOUSE - CABINS

26 - LWR BEATTIE
25 - WR McLACHLAN
30 - WR LAW
33 - WR PORTER
34 - LWR KUPKE
50 - LWR WANSTALL
56 - LWR WADE

GLOUCESTER HOUSE - R/ROOM

3RDO PENNINGTON
3RDO LEBRETON
POWR KASZMAROWSKI
POWR BURKHARDT
WRRS BRADY
LWR CLARKE
    ALDRIDGE
    REED (STAND BY DIVS)
WR TULLETT K.
    TULLETT S.
    SANDAVER
    HARMAN
    ANDERSON
    CUMMING
    EDWARDS
    BONNEY
    WAPSHOTT
    BIRD
    HIGGINS
    JACOBSON
    GLASS
    SISSON
    HARTLEY
    VARDON
    BURGH
WRRS DAVEY & HUSBAND
WRRS DAVIS & HUSBAND
WRRS DWYER & HUSBAND
LWR ASHPOLE & HUSBAND
LWR FULLERTON & HUSBAND
LWR HEANEY & HUSBAND
LWR JEFFREY & HUSBAND

Plate 4-19: UOW's 1970 Administration Order page 3

WRANS Officers and Wrans not employed in WRANS organisational duties, that is, those employed in other naval duties such as communications, stores, drivers, and stenographers, were responsible to their various HODs for the performance of these duties. However, as shown in Diagram 4-2, everyday administrative and disciplinary matters were referred to the staff in the Regulating Office, which was the administration arm of WRANS units.

4.5.4 Divisional System

A unique feature of the Navy is the Divisional System. Throughout the history of the RAN ships' companies have been grouped into Divisions. The system operates as part of the basic personnel management organisation. Each Wran was assigned a Divisional Officer (DO) who was responsible for the welfare, instruction and promotion of the Wrans allocated to her care. The DO's responsibilities included inspecting uniforms to ensure they were maintained; ensuring Wrans conformed to the uniform standards in appearance; encouragement to attend social functions, participate in sports and professional courses; and the maintenance of records pertaining to her Division (Royal Australian Navy, 1979 Section 4). The DO was the first person to see when a Wran had a Service or personal matter to resolve (Royal Australian Navy, 1979). All requests or complaints were passed to the UOW through the DO as shown in Diagram 4-2. If the matter was work related, the Wran would consult her HOD who would consult the UOW before taking any action (Navy Office Canberra, 1965 Art 0105.4). There was a specific request form (still used today) and a strict protocol for the wording of requests with examples placed on notice boards.[66] Johnston (2014) recalls the requests started with, "To see Unit Officer, through Divisional Officer, for permission to …" (p. 232). After normal working hours, the Duty WRANS Officer was the point of contact for urgent matters. In 2012 when addressing recruits at their Passing Out Parade, Chief of Navy Vice Admiral Griggs, reinforced the importance of the Divisional System when he said, "The divisional system remains the backbone of our Navy's structure. It provides the sailor with leadership, direction and discipline, all key elements of Navy life" (Kemp, 2012, p. 3).

4.5.5 Wrans

Recruit training. The Wrans recruit training expanded over the 1960s and 1970s from three and a half weeks to five weeks. For example, in 1963 six recruit courses were held with a course number range of 15 to 30 (Royal Australian Navy, 1962a, 1963c). By 1976, eight courses were being held each year with course numbers set at between 20 and 40 (Royal Australian Navy, 1975b). In 1982 Wrans training was transferred to the HMAS *Cerberus* Recruit School (Gould, 2013a) but the 12-week co-ed classes did not commence until the second half of 1984 (RANCBA, 2015), the same year the SDA was introduced.

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[66] Request forms came in an A4 notepad and were printed on green paper. They were colloquially named "Green Grenades".

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

The Wrans Recruit Training Course was designed to train personnel in the basic principles of naval discipline, routines, drill (also known as parade training), first aid, fire-fighting and conditions of service affecting Wrans. Additionally, the training encouraged the development of high standards of personal behaviour, hygiene and self-discipline. First Aid training was introduced in 1963 for both men and women but the decision to extend the training to women occurred four months after the initial decision (Royal Australian Navy, 1963e).[67] In 1964, swimming instruction and a test consisting of being able to swim for 50 yards fully clothed, and to remain afloat for at least three minutes on completion of the swim was introduced so Wrans could travel on board any RAN vessel or craft without having to wear a life jacket (Royal Australian Navy, 1964d). In 1966, Character Guidance was incorporated into the initial training for members of the WRANS and the RAN (Royal Australian Navy, 1966b). The majority of the lectures and instruction were given by WRANS Officers and senior Wrans (Petty Officer and above) but some subjects, such as parade training, was given by sailors from the Gunnery School (Wrans Training School, 1969).

Employment categories. In the 1960s, nine employment categories were open to women. These categories were Communications Operator, with two sub-specialisations of Morse and teletype; Radar Plotter; Writer, with two sub-specialisations—general duties and shorthand typist;[68] Stores Assistant (Victualling); Regulating; Motor Transport Driver; Cook; Steward; and Sick Berth Attendant (SBA). The duties associated with these categories are described in Table 4-7 (Secretary Department of the Navy, 1969). Some of these categories were the traditional pre-WWII type of roles women performed, for example, Wran Writers performed clerical work such as filing, typing and shorthand, and SBAs performed nursing duties. Anne Currie (2014) who served as a Wran Writer from 1964 to 1970 said her first posting was to the Commodore's Office at HMAS *Cerberus*, which "involved taking dictation from the Commodore and his Secretary and typing correspondence as well as making endless brews for the Officers" (p. 36). Wrans being tasked with "tea lady"[69] duties was a common practice before the introduction of the SDA. After the SDA supervisors were not permitted to task employees with personal type duties such as making drinks or collecting dry-cleaning.

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[67]   An explanation for the earlier exclusion of women was not given in the promulgated order.

[68]   The Wran Writer Shorthand Typist Category was abolished on 1 January 1975 (Royal Australian Navy, 1974f).

[69]   A "tea lady" was a woman employed to make tea in the workplace. The Australian Bureau of Statistics reported that tea ladies were still doing the rounds in the 1960s (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Oct 2011). The tea lady was still at work in Defence offices in Canberra in the 1970s moving down the hallways with a trolley holding an urn of hot water, cups and saucers, tea, coffee, milk, sugar and biscuits.

Table 4-7: A description of Wrans employment categories in 1960

Wrans employment category	Duties of the category
Radio Communication Operators (RO) In 1961, specialised categories were introduced, Morse (M) and Teletype (T) (Royal Australian Navy, 1961c).	After their training at the Naval Signal School HMAS *Cerberus*, Wrans worked in communication stations, primarily in Canberra and Darwin. Duties included receiving and sending signals by more and teletype as well as coding messages for despatch and transposing coded messages into plain language. Most Wrans in this category were shift workers.
Radar Plot (RP)	Wrans in this category were trained at HMAS *Watson* in Sydney at the Direction and Torpedo and Anti-Submarine School. Wrans were employed in the Action Speed Tactical Teacher, which simulated action conditions at sea. As part of the training exercises, the Wrans created and maintained a complete plot or map of all movements of the ships involved. Training in the use and operation of Radar was given at the Leading Wran rank.
Writers General Duties (GD) and Stenographers (ST)	Wran Writers fell into two specialisations, typists and stenographers (shorthand-typists). After initial training at HMAS *Cerberus*, typists were posted for general office duties. Stenographers had to pass a trade test before entering. They were attached to the Staffs of Senior Officers and required to perform duties such as recording minutes of meetings, conferences and Boards of Inquiry. Their work was considered to be "exacting and often confidential, demanding a high standard of integrity and skill".
Stores Assistant (Victualling)	Those aspiring to enter this category also had to have some typing ability and preferably some knowledge of elementary book-keeping. After training, they were employed in victualling stores where they dealt with the issue of rations and clothing, the maintenance of stock ledgers and various other records, and the compiling of victualling orders.
Regulating Category	A special category for which there was no direct entry. The Regulating Wran was chosen from serving ratings who showed an aptitude for the work of "factotum" to the Administrative Officer WRANS. Those chosen underwent a 20-week course and after qualifying were promoted to Leading Wran.
Motor Transport Driver	To enter this category required the possession of a current driving licence. After a short course to familiarise them with Naval Transport Regulations, current rules of the road and simple vehicle maintenance, they were assigned as drivers of trucks carrying loads up to one ton, staff cars and Land Rovers.
Cooks **Stewards** **Sick Berth Attendants (SBA)**	These categories were offered in support of women in the WRANS. Cooks and Stewards were employed only in WRANS quarters and the Sick Berth Attendants cared for women in Naval Sick Bays or Hospitals.

Susan Johnston (2014) who was a Wran Writer in the early 1960s also recalls performing brew making tasks:

> One important task needed to be learned: 'the brew!' First your spoonful of coffee, creamed with sugar and a small amount of water. This was whisked for quite a long time, to achieve a light creamy coloured consistency. Then the boiled water was stirred in, followed by a dob of milk. Some cocoa powder, if available, was then sprinkled on top — *Pusser's*[70] *Cappuccino*! (p. 243)

The job of making brews (that is cups of tea and coffee) was not confined to Wran Writers. Grace Anderson (2014) who served as a Wran Radio Operator Teletype from 1964 to 1968 had similar recollections:

> Working in 1RS[71] was interesting and very satisfying. When I first got there I was the only WRAN on the watch, but they did get a Leading WRAN to come on and keep me company. In those days they seemed to think if you were female your job was to make the coffee, so I was sent to the brew room to make coffee for the watch: now I had never seen instant coffee, as my parents were tea drinkers and there was no label on the tin so, in my wisdom I thought, '*Make it like Milo, two teaspoonsful to every cup*'. Well it would have been good to have had a movie camera, as they were all spitting it out and someone grabbed me by the collar and showed me how to make it. (p. 337)

The "tea lady" duties of the Wrans were sustained into the 1970s. The author remembers how she and her counterparts were required to collect and or refill the "fanny of milk" from the main galley to use in workplace brews. The "fanny" was a metal container the size of a regular bucket with a carry handle and sometimes a lid. Plate 4-20 is a likeness.[72] Although considered at the time to be standard Navy terminology, the word was sexist and disrespectful to women as fanny is a crude word used to describe female genitalia. The use of such language was accepted by Wrans and used by sailors who would not have given its usage much thought because the word was embedded Navy jargon. Similarly, the collection of the milk being a Wran's duty would not have been consciously linked to a

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[70]   The term 'pusser' is a slang word for the Navy.
[71]   1RS was the abbreviation for Number 1 Radio Station, which was at the Communications Establishment HMAS *Harman* in Canberra.
[72]   In the picture of the HMAS *Harman* Wrannery on the first page of the chapter, a "fanny" can be seen sitting on the ledge in front of the Wrans.

woman's domestic responsibility as such duties were entrenched in society. The tasks of milk collection and brew making being assigned to women were an example of the division of labour and the sex-stereotyping of roles. In addition, the delegating of such duties to women demonstrated the power held by men in the workplace.

Plate 4-20: Milk container, referred to as a "fanny"

The "fanny" was filled with milk and carried to work locations by Wrans. The allocation of such a task to women, which was seen as a domestic duty and therefore a woman's duty, demonstrates the division of labour that occurred prior to the introduction of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth).

A number of the Wrans categories were non-traditional jobs that had been performed by women during WWII such as communication operators, radar plotters and drivers. Terril O'Doherty (2014) a Wran Motor Transport Driver for five years in the 1970s told how a group of four Wrans took part in a competition against their male course members to change a tyre. She said, "we won hands down!" (p. 345). These Wrans proved that women could perform job related tasks equal to or better than their male counterparts.

A broadening of duties in various categories began to occur in the 1960s. For example, in 1963, Wran Writer duties were extended to include pay and Captain's Office duties, and the General Duties sub-specialisation was abolished. The change allowed Wran Writers to be employed in Pay Offices and Accounts Offices. Helga Jongewaard (2014), who was a Wran Writer in the early 1970s, recalls her time working in the Pay Office at HMAS *Cerberus* where she was responsible for the fortnightly pays of over 300 male recruits and their instructors:

> Pays were done manually which meant a lengthy paper trail, and pay rises had us working very long hours for days on end, but we were rewarded with an extra day's leave on the coming weekends. I loved this job and enjoyed every moment there. The atmosphere was always friendly, with lots of laughs, and pay day always put a smile on my face. I would go with the paymaster to the male recruits pay area, where I would call out each surname, and up they would march, halting in front of us, having to say the last three number of their official service number whilst saluting. I, in turn would give them a wink, a big smile or a little wave, as I marked off their names from

the pay register, while the paymaster gave them their pay envelope. Pay days were most enjoyable. (p. 214)

Jongewaard's comments reveal that Wrans were very capable of performing pay office duties despite the challenge of the labour-intensive work. Her description of the office atmosphere indicates a harmonious working environment. Her playfulness during the formal process of issuing pays such as where she would give the male recruits a "wink … or a little wave" may appear flirtatious and therefore unprofessional. However, her behaviour was a sign of the times where some Wrans acknowledged the fragility of the length of their tenure and thus did not take their jobs too seriously as they knew they would be discharged on marriage and or pregnancy. The expectation of women serving in the WRANS was no different to their counterparts in the civilian workforce. In the 1960s and 1970s, most women had jobs not careers, as the harsh reality was that during this period most women discharged on marriage or when they became pregnant as there was limited support for working women with children. Jongewaard's reflection is an example that Wrans enjoyed their work and were willing to work long hours but at the same time they were aware that they could not combine their service with marriage and a family.

In 1965, the Naval Board approved the introduction of a Linguist Category of the Communication Branch of the RAN and the WRANS. Entry to the category was to be by transfer from any branch or category. Wrans in this category were employed to carry out interpreter duties in selected shore establishments and were promoted to Leading Wran Linguist on successful completion of the training with promotion prospects to Petty Office Wran and Chief Wran Linguist (Royal Australian Navy, 1964b).

A 1970 Recruiting Brochure indicated the continuing trend of expanding Wrans duties. For example, Stewards who were considered suitable were posted to duties in Naval Wardrooms as well as WRANS Quarters; SBAs could be employed in General Sick Quarters and attend all inpatients not just women, and were recognised in most States of Australia as qualified Registered Nursing Aides (Director General of Recruiting, 1970b). In 1974 the title of the SBA category was changed to the Medical Branch and sailors and Wrans working in the Branch were referred to as Medics instead of SBAs. Nine specialist qualifications became available in the Branch however Wrans could only apply for five: X-ray Assistant, Operating Room Assistant, Laboratory Assistant, Dispenser and Advanced Nursing (Royal Australian Navy, 1974e). The reason they were excluded from the remaining specialist qualifications of Hygiene Inspector, Aviation Medicine, Underwater Medicine and Masseur

was not explained in the Navy Order. Given women studied domestic science, the duties of a Hygiene Inspector would have been a most suitable role for a Wran. However, a patriarchal attitude still existed in the 1970s and as such a Wran would have been considered suitable to carry out only an assistant's role and not a management position across the wider Navy.

In 1974, the Navy introduced the first technical trade for women, the Electronic Technical Communications (ETC) Category referred to colloquially as "greenies". Those selected for the ETC category undertook the same training as ETC sailors. In total, the initial training was 150 days followed by task books for up skill training (Royal Australian Navy, 1974b). Chief Petty Officer Judy Lambert joined the Navy in 1977 as a Wran ETC. In 1979 when serving in Darwin her skills were required by one of Navy's patrol boats and although women were not posted to sea at the time, she was seconded as the ship needed a "greenie" for maintenance trials. She was a willing volunteer and said, "… my hand was up like a shot. Shorts, T-shirt and my brown plastic sandals, those were the days" (Lambert, 2013, p. 51).

The Wran Dental Category was also introduced in 1975. Those chosen to serve in the category were employed in selected shore establishments in place of dental sailors and eligible on a competitive basis for selection in the Hygienist sub-specialisation and Dental Mechanic Category (Royal Australian Navy, 1975a). In most cases, category training for Wrans was the same as for sailors of equivalent categories. The main variations occurred due to sea-going knowledge requirements. For example, male Radar Plots were given an extra 10 days training for seamanship and sailors in the communications category of signals (comparable to Wran Radio Operator Teletype) received 65 extra days training in subjects covering sea-going requirements such as fleetwork and visual signals (Baker, 1974, pp. E-1 to E-2). Although performing the same duties ashore as their male counterparts, Wrans were paid less. For example, a review of pay in 1972 recommended WRANS officers and senior Wran non-commissioned officers receive 80 per cent of the male rate of pay (Australia. Woodward Report, 1972, pp. 27, 31-32). The differential was not due to the fact that men went to sea as a Seagoing Allowance was paid for this aspect of service life (Australia. Woodward Report, 1972, p. 72). Rather, the Woodward Report Committee (1972) determined that women did not fall within the "Profession of Arms" concept and as such they did not share the same breadth of training or experience as men (p. 27). Regardless of the reason given, the view that Navy women should receive less remuneration than Navy men was a reflection of societal standards. This view was changed

after work value studies were undertaken and equal pay for the WRANS was introduced in 1978 (Australia. Committee of Reference for Defence Force Pay, Coldham, & Australia. Department of Defence, 1977).

Coinciding with the introduction of the SDA in 1984 was the first intake of female Navy apprentices (Department of Defence, 1984, p. 62). Two years later, Apprentices Rita Sgro and Susan Burt graduated and had paved the way for the 14 female apprentices that followed them and were under training at HMAS *Nirimba* at the time of their graduation. At the apprentices' passing out parade, the Commanding Officer of HMAS *Nirimba*, the Navy's apprentice training establishment, said, "Today is very special because the graduating classes of apprentices include, for the first time in the 30 year history of HMAS *Nirimba*, two delightful young ladies" (*Navy News*, 1986c, p. 8). Numerous categories still however remained unavailable to Wrans such as the aviation and gunnery categories, and clearance diving.

Promotion. In the 1960s Wrans remained in the rank of Recruit for six months (Director General of Recruiting, 1970b). They were then encouraged to qualify for promotion to the higher ranks of Leading Wran, Petty Officer and Chief Wran. The rank of Warrant Officer was introduced in the WRANS and the RAN on 1 December 1971 (Royal Australian Navy, 1971e). As the senior non-commissioned officers in the Navy, those promoted to Warrant Officer performed primarily a managerial role in their specialisation but with scope to assume duties and responsibilities outside their own branches to broaden their knowledge. In September 1972, nearly a year after the introduction of the rank, Lenore (Lennie) Maiden who joined as a Wran Steward in 1956 was the first Wran to be promoted to Warrant Officer (*Navy News*, 1974, p. 6; 1979e, p. 2). She is shown receiving her Warrant in Plate 4-21.

Plate 4-21: Lennie Maiden, the first WRANS Warrant Officer, being presented with her Warrant

Maiden is being presented her Warrant in 1974 by the Commanding Officer HMAS *Cerberus*, Captain L.J. McInerney, RAN. The rank had been introduced in the WRANS and the RAN on 1 December 1971.

In 1974 a new rank structure for sailors and Wrans was introduced. The primary change for Wrans was the introduction of the Wran* rank, indicating a Wran under training, and the Senior Wran rank as an equivalent to the Able Seaman rank. The Wran rank was kept to align with the RAN rank of Seaman (Royal Australian Navy, 1974d). A 1981 WRANS recruiting brochure advised prospective recruits:

> On completion of the Recruit Wran Training Course, the Recruit becomes a Wran and undergoes further training in her particular category. Approximately 12 months after completing category training a Wran is promoted to Senior Wran after which she is encouraged to apply for promotion to higher ranks of Leading Wran, Petty Officer Wran, Chief Wran and Warrant Officer Wran. Qualified serving Wrans may also be chosen to apply for officer training. (Director-General of Recruiting)[73]

Wrans advanced category courses for promotion (also referred to as Command Test Part 3 and previously known as Branch Technical Tests) were mostly identical to their male counterparts (Baker, 1974, pp. 15, 19) as were Command Tests 1 and 2 (the latter tests were introduced in 1974). Command Test 1 examined a candidate's leadership qualities in

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[73]   The rank chart on page xix of the thesis shows these changes.

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areas such as squad drill and firefighting, except Wrans were not examined in the physical training component. In Command Test 2 a candidate's knowledge of conditions of service were tested. The questions were the same except where conditions of service for Wrans and sailors differed (Baker, 1974, p. 20). Once passing the three command test components for promotion, Wrans and sailors were selected for promotion based on a performance score. In addition, they had to have a recommendation for promotion, be medically fit and meet the minimum Very Good Conduct periods, which were one year for promotion to Leading Seaman/Wran, 18 months for promotion to Petty Officer and three years for promotion to Chief Petty Officer. Sailors were also required to have a minimum length of sea time and complete advanced NBCD[74] training (Baker, 1974, p. 21). Susan Johnston (2014) describing her duties in the promotions section of the Personnel Directorate in the early 1960s said:

> … we processed the personal assessment forms of naval personnel. All this was done manually, using a card index system. We received the evaluation forms, and allocated a number of points, weighted according to the rate occupied. Emphasis was given to different areas, dependant on seniority. The categories included: performance in the rate, dress and appearance, conduct and — all important — Power of Command. We used a Perspex card which was placed over the evaluation form and then we calculated the number of points in each category. This was then transferred to the individual's card. (p. 242)

Complement. Like the WRANS Officers, the Wrans complement grew over the decades. Table 4-8 shows that in the 20 years between 1960 and 1980 the numbers almost tripled from 296 to 858, representing a 2.3 per cent increase of the overall Navy strength. The increase reflects changes in employment policy. During the period labour shortages forced management to increase the Wrans complement. For example in 1964, 68 Wrans were employed at the Naval Air Station in Nowra (Department of Defence, 1964, p. 20), and by the following year a further 50 Wran SBAs replaced sailors in shore positions (Department of Defence, 1965, p. 24). Also during the period, the marriage and pregnancy bars were lifted and the increase in numbers shows these policy initiatives retained women in the Service. In the decade 1980 to 1990, the numbers almost doubled, which reflected the popularity of the policy changes to women's employment, such as the opening of sea positions and more categories due to the disestablishment of the WRANS and their member's amalgamation into the RAN.

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74   NBCD is the abbreviation for nuclear, biological, chemical defence and damage control.

In the next decade, the growth shows only a 0.1 per cent increase but there was a decline in the overall total number of navy personnel. This was due to the downsizing of the Navy as a result of Defence efficiency programs such as the commercialisation of positions under the Commercial Support Program (1990-1997) and the outsourcing of jobs under the Defence Reform Program (1997-2001) (M. Thomson, 2013).

In the decade between 2000 and 2010, female sailor ranks as a percentage of Navy strength rose 3.7 per cent. The increase during this period is also a reflection of policy changes. The Navy became more attractive due to the expansion of positions available to women as a consequence of multiple policy changes from the removal of the marriage and pregnancy bars to the lifting of the combat-related and most of the combat restrictions. These changes are explained in more detail in the next chapter. In summary, over the five decades 1960 to 2010, women's participation in the Wrans/sailors ranks rose 11 per cent, which while showing progress in the recruitment and retention of women, remains too low if measured in terms of equal representation in the Navy workforce.

Table 4-8: Wrans/Sailors and non-commissioned officers (women) – statistics over five decades

YEARS	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
RANKS	Wrans	Wrans	Wrans	Sailors Women	Sailors Women	Sailors Women
Total women	296	645	858	1,572	1,353	1,890
Navy strength	10,598	17,304	16,961	15,656	12,527	13,670
as a % of Navy strength	2.8%	3.7%	5.1%	10.0%	10.1%	13.8%

4.5.6 WRANS Reserve (WRANSR)

The WRANSR was established in 1968 with a predicted strength of 600 to provide a reserve of trained women who could be called on for continuous full time service in time of war or in time of a defence emergency (Royal Australian Navy, 1968d).[75] Women serving in the WRANSR could also volunteer to fill vacancies in the establishment of the WRANS or for short periods during exercises. Members of the WRANSR consisted of former WRANS Officers and Wrans. Eligibility for the WRANSR included having at least 12 months' satisfactory service, being not older than 45 years of age, holding the rank of Wran or

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[75]   See also Australian Navy Order 62/71—Women's Royal Australian Naval Service Reserve.

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above, and being medically fit. The period of enlistment was initially five years followed by the option of re-enlistments for further periods of two years. As shown in Table 4-9, by 1970, 143 women were serving in the WRANSR. Fifteen years later, the number had dropped to 27, representing 2.5 per cent of the Navy Reserve strength; a decrease of 3.5 per cent. This was not a reflection of women's volunteer status but of planned workforce savings as a result of increasing rates of pay, which in 1973-74 accounted for 64 per cent of Defence outlay. From 1972, the total Reserve numbers declined, reaching a low of 917 in 1978. From 1994, the number of Reservists steadily increased and by 2014, women represented 20.6 per cent of the Navy Reserve Force. The higher proportion of women serving in today's Reserves compared to the permanent Navy indicates women favour the flexible arrangements of the Reserves where they can work either part-time or for short periods of continuous full-time service. When carrying out service, members of the WRANSR were required to abide by the same rules and regulations as the WRANS. These are discussed in the next section.

Table 4-9: Women serving in the Reserves – Officers and Wrans/Sailors

YEARS	1970[b]	1985[d]	1994	2004	2014
Total Women[a]	143	27	203	500	1,051
Navy Reserve strength[a]	2383[c]	1092	1,429	2,532	5,109
Women as a % of Navy Reserve strength	6%	2.5%	14.2%	19.7%	20.6%

Notes:

(a)   Information sourced from Defence Reports.

(b)   The WRANSR came in to force on 11 July 1968 with a predicted strength of 600. The 1970 Defence Report listed that the WRANSR comprised two officers and 141 Wrans (p. 26).

(c)   Navy Reserve strength for the years 1969 to 1983 are listed on page 88 of the 1983 Defence Report.

(d)   Figures taken from Defence Report 1987-88 as previous reports did not provide a breakdown by gender (p. 109). From 1972, the Reserve numbers declined reaching a low of 917 in 1978. This was due to planned workforce savings as a result of increasing rates of pay. The 1974 Defence Report stated that despite the savings the cost of the workforce in 1973-74 accounted for 64 per cent of Defence outlay (p. 18).

4.6   WRANS LIFESTYLE

What was expected of them? What privileges did they have? What restrictions did they have?

4.6.1 Additional duties

All members of the WRANS kept duties outside normal working hours except shift-workers such as those employed in communications. The Ship's Company was divided into working parties (watches) for leave and duty as a working party was required in every ship and establishment at all times (Royal Australian Navy, 1979, Section 6 Leave and routines). A member of the working party was not permitted to proceed ashore during their term of duty. Helga Jongewaard (2014) recalls keeping duty weekends in 1971 in the Regulating Office at the HMAS *Harman* Wrans Quarters. Her duty entailed operating the switchboard, which required answering and transferring incoming telephone calls to an extension in the Wrans Quarters (p. 218). Susan Johnson (2014) also recalls "answering telephone calls, making pipes (not of the smoking variety!) and doing lights out rounds" (pp. 243-244). Pipes were made on a public address system. The pipe could be isolated to specific areas such as the Wrans Quarters or broadcasted to the whole base. All orders issued over the piping system were to be carried out immediately. Because of shared accommodation, a "lights out, pipe down" routine existed. Lights out, pipe down occurred at 2230 daily. Bed lamps could be used for reading purposes to 2300 on Sunday to Thursday and to 2359 on Friday and Saturday (Royal Australian Navy, 1979, Section 7 Lights Out Pipe Down). Wrans working the day shift did not need an alarm clock as "Wakey-Wakey" was piped by the duty personnel. Susan Johnston (2014) said, "We were all pitifully grateful when 'Lights out Pipe Down' was ordered. Ah! The soothing sound of the - - - - blaring call: "Wakey-Wakey! You've got to be kidding!" (p. 226). One task of the Duty Senior Wran was to ask if anyone had a complaint about their meal. Johnstone (2014) remembers the duty Wran banging on the dining table with the handle of a knife and asking "Any complaints?" in a tone guaranteed to ensure there were none (p. 225). Performing additional duties did not carry with it any additional pay or benefit.

4.6.2 Quarters rounds

Cleanliness of the quarters was paramount due to communal living. To ensure accommodation and recreational spaces were thoroughly cleaned and tidy, and no safety issues were present, "rounds" were carried out regularly. Quarters Officers Rounds were

conducted Monday to Friday, UOW's Rounds were conducted weekly and Captain's Rounds were conducted as promulgated, usually on a monthly basis. Recruit Wrans were also required to stand rounds[76] during Duty Instructors Rounds Monday to Thursday (Royal Australian Navy, 1979, Section 8 Rounds). Cabins or compartments not up to standard resulted in standing rounds on future occasions or extra duties. Rounds are still conducted on ships and establishments to ensure safety standards are being maintained.

4.6.3 Dress

Wrans were expected to pay particular attention to their appearance. This aspect was drilled into them from the beginning. The Wran Recruit Handbook dictated they must keep make up fresh and discreet; make sure their hair was neatly trimmed and did not straggle on the collar; wear their hair in a bun with no loose ends if long; keep their stockings free of snags and ladders; ensure their clothes were well pressed, free from lint and dust, and all buttons were intact; and ensure their shoes were well polished, soled and heeled at all times (Royal Australian Navy, 1979, Section 9 Personal). The care of uniforms, referred to as kit, formed part of the Wrans recruit training and kit musters for Wrans were regularly carried out by Divisional Officers to ensure the kit was appropriately maintained. The July 1972 RAN Uniform Instructions stated:

> Hair must be neatly arranged and the back hair must not fall below the collar. Wigs may be worn, but not coloured hair ribbons and other ornaments. Exaggerated hair styles and colours are not permitted. Hair styles generally must be adapted to permit the correct wearing of uniform head dress; head dress is not to be adapted to suit a hair style. (Royal Australian Navy, 1972b, Article 0401)

Article 0401 also stated that make-up and perfume could be used in moderation and the wearing of earrings was not permitted. In the pursuing decades, some changes have been made to conform to societal standards. For example, women are now able to wear earrings although they can only wear one in the lobe of each ear and they must be a plain gold, silver or clear stone stud no wider than 4 millimetres and a sleeper no wider than 1 centimetre in diameter. A pearl earring is also permitted with evening dress. Apart from wedding rings, a plain ring can be worn on the right hand. Hair colouring must still be complementary to the individual and the military image. Hair is not to extend below the lower edge of the buttoned shirt collar, and may be worn in a bun, roll or braid as long as

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[76] The term "stand rounds" means to be in attendance and at attention when the duty officer enters the compartment. One person is assigned to report the compartment.

it does not interfere with the head dress. When at sea, on operations or playing sport, women may wear their hair in plain or braided "pony tails". An instruction to Recruit Wrans in the 1960s stated:

> Your appearance is an outward sign of your personality, a neat, tidy mind is reflected in the way you dress, and being women, it will be a matter of pride that you always look your best. The uniform that you wear has been established and maintained with great honour and pride. See that you live up to it. (Wrans Training School, c1960s)[77]

When reading the above paragraph through my feminist lens, the content reveals that women were expected to maintain an extremely high standard of dress. This expectation was a reflection of societal standards where women had to dress conservatively, for example, prior to the 1980s women wore gloves and hats when they went "out". So did the members of the WRANS. When I was serving in Canberra in the 1970s, if civilian dress was worn to work, the standard was a dress, skirt suit or pants suit. Pants and a shirt or pants and a jumper were unacceptable and disobedience to the rules could result in disciplinary action being taken. The only members of the WRANS who were issued with pants (referred to as bells) as a part of their uniform were drivers and communicators who did shift work. Bells were made of a black serge and only worn in winter as night wear, with a polar neck jumper and a jacket. The three items formed a "suit". The standard conforms with what was the expected standard for women teachers in the 1970s—pants were not permitted wear in the classroom (Gaskell & Taylor, 2003). Dressing conservatively prevented women from becoming a sexual object, which was how women were portrayed in the movies post WWII and in pin-ups (Mulvey, 1992).

Humm (1995) argues the nature of women's dress is a gendered construct and used in a patriarchal society to control women. Alvesson and Billing also argue that dress is a highly gendered artefact and may serve to convey corporate values regarding the roles or status of women and men. In fact, they can become a subtle, yet effective, mechanism of gender oppression. In their study of the gender integration in South African Navy ships, van Wijk and Finchilescu (2008) stated that the women, whose primary uniform consisted of a white dress with stockings and heeled shoes, saw their uniforms as artefacts of oppression. According to van Wijk and Finshilescu the women's uniform "was not an expression of their identity, but an enforcement of a separate identity on them" (p. 244).

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[77]   Document sourced from HMAS *Cerberus* museum.

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In the 1960s, the expected standard of dress for the members of the WRANS is reflected in a 1962 letter from DWRANS to the OIC WRANS HMAS *Cerberus* following anniversary celebrations, which is shown at Plate 4-22.[78] DWRANS said, "I was particularly impressed with the appearance of the Wrans, and felt very proud to be their Director. Throughout last weekend I was continually congratulated on the behaviour and bearing of all Wrans" (Streeter, 1962). The Director's letter indicates that the expected dress and bearing standards were strictly adhered to by those in charge.
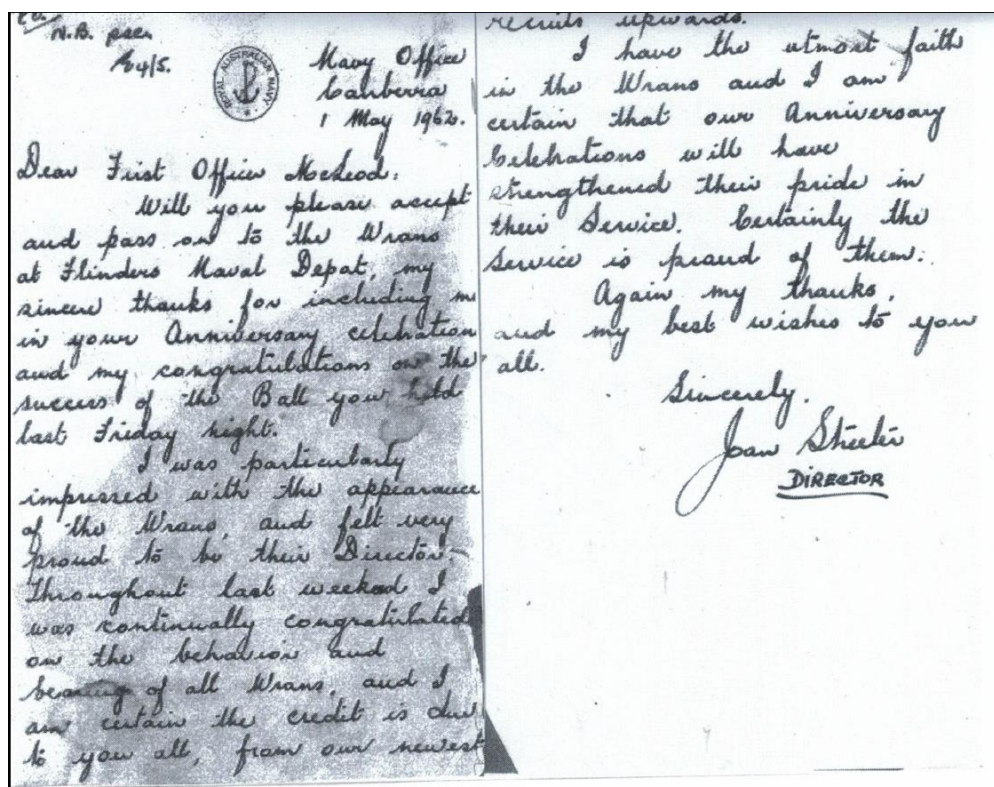
Plate 4-22: A 1962 Director WRANS thank you letter

Director WRANS, Chief Officer Streeter WRANS, wrote to First Officer MacLeod WRANS, Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus* congratulating the women in her unit on the success of their anniversary ball. The Director informed MacLeod that she was very impressed with the appearance of the Wrans and proud of them. The letter demonstrates that the members of the WRANS lived up to the Director's expectation. The letter is also a sign that senior female officers by maintaining feminine standards of dress for women reduced the status of women serving in the patriarchal structure of the Navy.

In the 1980s, when members of the WRANS started going to sea, changes in dress rules were slow to be implemented. Plate 5-4 shows that when the first group of WRANS Officers went on their training cruise in 1980, they wore dressers and not trousers or shorts like

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[78]   Copy obtained from HMAS *Cerberus* museum.

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the men. When Peta Irving was serving on HMAS *Jervis Bay* as the Deputy Supply Officer in the 1980s, she was called to the Captain's office and informed by the Commanding Officer that the women serving on the ship were no longer allowed to wear shorts on the ship. Commander June Baker, WRANS had seen the ship entering Sydney Harbour and the order came down that women were not permitted to wear shorts as this form of uniform was unfeminine. According to Irving, the Commanding Officer of *Jervis Bay* only applied this code when the ship was entering Sydney Harbour. Irving also reported that the women's black shoes had tapered heels, like a court shoe, and therefore the women serving at sea had to be mindful of this safety risk (P. Irving, personal communication, November 8, 2015).

The examples provided in this section reveal that the WRANS dress was institutionalised and changes to remove discriminatory aspects of women's uniform were slow to occur. Senior female officers' views of femininity played a role in delaying the changes. However, inspired leadership, such as that of the Commanding Officer of *Jervis Bay*, recognised the practicality of uniformity for men and women, particularly in the sea environment. As discussed in Chapter 6, in the mid-1990s, the RAN began formally standardising uniforms as one strategy to bring about gender equality.

4.6.4 Identification

Like all RAN personnel, WRANS had to always carry their identity card (ID). The information on the ID included a picture of the holder, the holder's name and rank, date of birth and service or official number. The ID card, like the one at Plate 4-23, had to be presented on many occasions such as on entering a Navy ship or establishment and on pay day before the introduction of electronic funds transfer.

All members of the Navy must carry an Identity (ID) card. The card gives them access to Bases, ships and work locations. When pay was issued manually, the ID card had to be presented. **Source:** copy supplied by Susan Halpin.

Plate 4-23: An example of a Wrans Identity Card

The service or official number given to Navy women as personal identifiers has changed over the decades. The first woman enlisted in the Navy was assigned the number WR/1 (Jennings, 2006, p. 174). Official numbers were changed in 1956 due to the introduction of a new Navy pay accounting scheme (Royal Australian Navy, 1956a). For WRANS ratings, their numbers in the WR 4000 series were discontinued and the indicator WR dropped. The new series of numbers allocated were R.84001 to R.88000, the letter reflecting the term "rating" but the number system indicating the gender. For example, Recruit Wran Stewardess Agnes Lenore (Lennie) Maiden's number changed from WR4591 to R84951. Most officers including WRANS Officers were allocated numbers in the series O.1 to O.7000, with the letter O reflecting the Navy member was an officer and with no discerning gender mark. For example, Acting First Officer J. Streeter WRANS was allocated number O.1126 and Lieutenant M.T. Streeter RAN number O.1125 (Royal Australian Navy, 1956b).

Nine years later the numbering system was again changed because of the introduction of an electronic data processing system (Royal Australian Navy, 1965b). Personnel kept their existing numbers but the alphabetical prefixes were changed. WRANS Officers were changed from the letter O, which was kept for male officers, to the letter L (for lady). The ratings prefix was changed from the letter R, which was kept for sailors, to the letter W (for Wran) as shown in Plate 4-23. Wran Reservists were identified with the letter K and WRANS Officers in the Reserve with the letter Q. Technology was again the driver for the next and latest change to Navy personnel identification numbers. On the 27 August 2001, the Navy Personnel Management System known as NPEMS, which used the 1965 system of service numbers, was replaced with a new ADF wide system, the Personnel Management Key Solution known as PMKeyS. As a result, new seven-digit identification numbers were issued to all Navy personnel for all administrative purposes (Lukaitis, 2001, p. 2; *Navy News*, 2001a, p. 9). The removal of the letter prefix removed the mechanism to identify the gender and employment status of the person. However, technology and not hierarchal decision-making was the driver for the introduction of another feature paving the way to a more equitable workplace.

4.6.5 Discipline

Another type of card, the Short Leave Card, also known as the police or station card (see Plate 4-24), was used by Wrans living in Wrans Quarters (Johnston, 2014). Every time a Wran left the quarters, whether it was on base or ashore, the short leave card had to be handed-in at the Wrans Regulating Office on departure and collected on return. While a

form of restriction, the routine was instigated for safety reasons as a duty of care practice. Johnston (2014) recalls:

> Authority was carefully structured. Everybody knew who was in charge and what was expected in the way of behaviour. Standing Orders was required reading, and you needed to initial that you had read and understood the orders. The immediate person of authority was the Leading WRAN on the wing. We had an encounter with ours one Sunday morning, when there was altogether too much noise in our cabin. The Leading WRAN confiscated the Police Cards of all those involved … these had to be lodged with the Regulating Office in return for a chitty to attend, say, the movies, or a dance or leave — a record of who was where. As it happened, I was in the shower at the time, so retained my Police Card, which was fortunate, there being a dance that evening. It was suggested that I show solidarity by turning in the card — but, heck! I had a date! On return from the dance, I found the contents of several ashtrays, along with quite a few 'Goffers' caps in my bunk. It was a bit of a lesson in comradeship for me, and not easily forgotten. (pp. 230-231).

As the outcome of Johnston's anecdote reveals, "discipline" was not always meted out by those in authority.
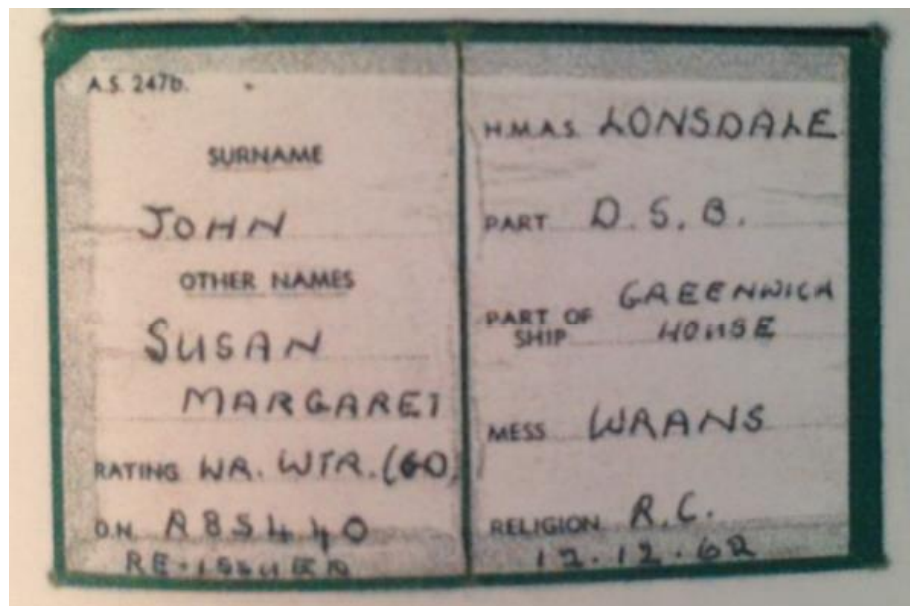
Plate 4-24: An example of a 1960s Short Leave Card

A simile of a short leave card, also known as a police or station card. This style of card had to be handed in to the WRANS Regulating Office when Wrans left the boundaries of the Wrans Quarters and collected on return so the Duty Personnel knew the location of all Quarters residents. **Source:** (Johnston, 2014, p. 246)

All Wrans were reminded that they belonged to a Service that had a tradition for smartness, discipline and efficiency. As such they were required to carry out their duties and conduct themselves in accordance with their Ship's Standing Orders and their WRANS Unit's Orders. They were to treat all those in authority with the utmost respect and obey any order given immediately and without question. They were to carry out their duties with zeal and alacrity. Members of the WRANS were to be aware of how conspicuous they were in uniform, particularly in public areas. They were therefore to avoid any behaviour that would cause adverse criticism of the Service (Royal Australian Navy, 1979, Section 3 Conduct). From 1969, all Wrans who broke the rules were charged under the *Defence Force Discipline Act* 1957, which had been modified to include members of the WRANS, RANNS and WRANSR (Royal Australian Navy, 1969b). Previously, a separate disciplinary code for women existed (Secretary Department of the Navy, 1969, p. 4). Members of the WRANS could be charged for even the most minor of transgressions, such as failing to wear their white gloves on hot days.

The colloquial term used for being charged was "run-in" and the charged person was seen at a "table", similar to a magistrate's court arrangement. There were three disciplinary tiers: the Officer of the Day table, the UOW's table or the Captain's table; the more serious the alleged crime, the higher the table. The smallest misdemeanour resulted in a discipline charge. When serving at HMAS *Coonawarra* in Darwin in the late 1960s, early 1970s, Lesley Hutton (2014) was charged for being 15 minutes adrift. At the time, Wrans leave expired at midnight and Hutton had been invited to go to Mandorah across the bay and the distance caused her to return late to the base. For being absent without official leave she received one day's loss of pay and two days' stoppage of leave. She said, "the punishment was a sign of the times as we were subjected to very strict rules and harsh penalties" (p. 172). Merrilyn Hill (2014) also recalls being charged along with her workmate Liz Gill for missing the work bus to Bonshaw Receiving Station (HMAS *Harman*, Canberra) as they were playing in the snow and forgot the time. Hill (2014) said their excuse was that they were a couple of "country kids who hadn't experienced snow before and became lost in the enjoyment of the moment!" (p. 195). They received "chooks", a term for extra duties, which in their case consisted of cleaning all the road gutters outside the WRANS Quarters at HMAS *Harman* (M. E. Hill, 2014, p. 195).

Although the Navy demanded high standards from the members of the WRANS, the sailors of the RAN had to uphold similar standards. For example, sailors also kept duties, had short-leave cards and were punished for breaking the regulations. The WRANS behaviour

and dress code was, however, more strictly imposed. This was an expression of patriarchal structures within the Navy, which are designed to control women.

4.7   CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a foundation for understanding the role and lifestyle of women who served in the WRANS. It has shown that that throughout the 1960s the WRANS mirrored the social values of women's work. Being an arm of the military, the WRANS had a code of conduct that set high standards in dress, bearing and behaviour. Failure to maintain the standards resulted in disciplinary action. These high standards placed on the women's service demonstrate that the organisation was set-up within a patriarchal structure that allowed the male leadership to determine the rules and regulations that controlled the women employed in the service. Because such standards were so institutionalised in the WRANS and in many respects reflected societal values, the standards were supported by the senior female leadership. These standards started to be equalised from the mid-1990s.

The work life expectancy of the women who served in the WRANS during the 1960s and early 1970s was very short; most did not complete their original four-year engagement as they were required to leave the Service on marriage. When this rule was rescinded, women still faced the pregnancy bar, which required women to discharge should they become pregnant. These rules resulted in many women having short-term careers in the Navy and were in fact mechanisms to control women's participation in the workforce. Women's training and experience was a loss to the Navy although beneficial to the women themselves if they pursued civilian careers. Nevertheless, other changes occurred in the lead up to the SDA. A WRANS Reserve was established in 1978 thus providing ex-fulltime personnel with the opportunity to return to continuous full-time service for short periods. The rank of Warrant Officer was introduced in 1971 and less than a year later the first female was promoted to that rank. One of the most significant changes was the grant of equal pay in 1978.

The chapter has also highlighted how changes in societal attitudes to women's workforce participation have been reflected in the Navy in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For example, in 2012 gender-neutral language was finally adopted for Navy toasts. In 1978, initial training for WRANS Officers became co-educational with WROCs completing the same training as their male counterparts and proving their abilities by

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winning course awards. Other employment categories for Wrans, such as linguist, ETC and dental, also opened up in the 1970s. The first intake of female Navy apprentices and the combining of recruit training for Wrans and sailors coincided with the introduction of the SDA in 1984.

The ability of women to access more roles and competently perform the duties in these roles has been reflected in the growth of women serving in the Navy. However, despite the progress made by Navy women, their numbers remain low. The under-representation of women was addressed in the 2012 Sex Discrimination Commissioner's Review into the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force (Broderick Report) (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a). The Report was an independent review of the effectiveness of cultural change strategies and initiatives for increasing the representation of women in Defence, particularly the senior ranks.

The next chapter illustrates that women did not reach flag rank[79] until 2011, 27 years after the SDA became law. Similarly, a woman has never been selected for the position of Warrant Officer of the Navy,[80] established in 1993. These examples indicate that the Navy as an organisation is still male-centric, and strategies are required to not only attract more women and retain them but also to acknowledge women's abilities by appointing them to senior positions. The next chapter charts the progress of Navy women's employment. The barriers to women's integration and the initiatives that were implemented to reduce or overcome the barriers are discussed.

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[79]   Flag rank is generally associated with the rank of Rear Admiral and above.
[80]   This position is the most senior position for sailors within the Navy and is only held by one incumbent at a time for tenure of normally three years. The appointee works directly for the Chief of Navy representing the voice of sailors.

CHAPTER 5

CREATING AN INTEGRATED NAVY

PART 1: PRE 1984

PART 2: POST 1984

A sentiment ahead of its time?
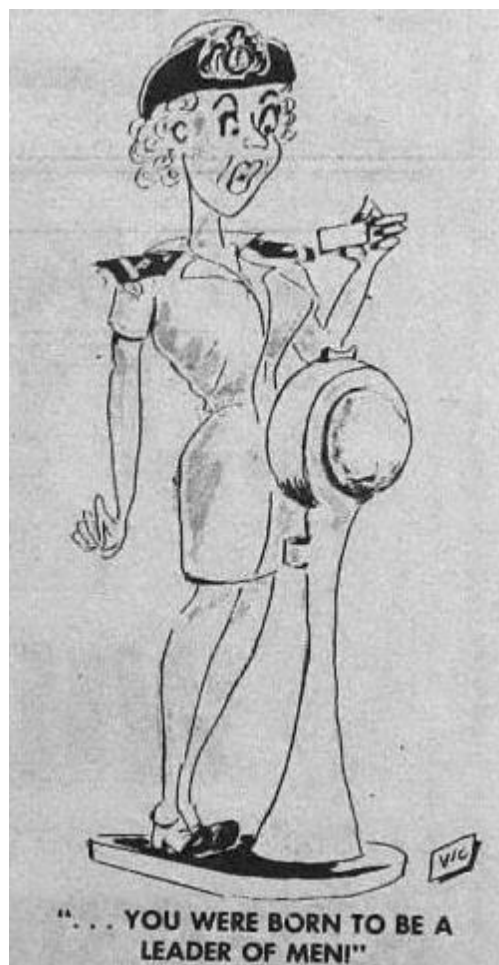
Plate 5-1: picture from *Navy News* 1968, June 7

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5.1   INTRODUCTION

> From 1999-2013 I have been lucky enough to experience a touch of where the Navy
> came from; serving with sailors who came from male only crews, women who
> originally served as WRAN's or who were the first females to be integrated into all
> male crews. I was privileged enough to be involved in the process of change and its
> trials and success.
>
> (Leading Seaman Alee-Marie Scarfone, 2013, p. 78)

The previous chapter described the structure and lifestyle of the WRANS predominantly covering the period from 1960 to 1984 when the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) (SDA) was introduced. The Act led to the WRANS being disestablished in 1985 and those serving being seamlessly transferred to the Royal Australian Navy (RAN). To evaluate what changes occurred in women's employment following the integration of the members of the WRANS into the RAN, van Dijk's Event Model is used as a foundation and coupled with a variety of questions. What happened? Why? What were the drivers? Were the drivers driven by internal or external pressure. How did the organisation react to the changes, especially if they were driven by external factors, and what were the outcomes? To describe my analysis using a feminist lens, I developed the model at Figure 3-2 in Chapter 3. As a feminist with a primarily liberalist view, the Australian Parliament's legislative history is central to this chapter.

The chapter has two parts. The first examines the federal government's role in influencing changes to ADF women's employment prior to the 1984 SDA and the second examines their role after the SDA. While the focus is on Navy women's employment, any legislative changes also applied to women serving in the Australian Army and Air Force, which is the reason for using the term ADF and for providing some examples of how the changes affected all Australian military women. To operationalise the changes, an annotated chronology primarily focused on Navy initiatives is provided at Appendix 1. The chronology documents the history of the changes in Navy women's employment from 1950, when the federal cabinet authorised the reestablishment of the Women's Services, to 2011 when the Minister for Defence announced that the federal government formally agreed to the removal of all gender restrictions for ADF combat roles.

Limitations. Cultural change is not addressed in depth in this chapter. Since the release of a 1994 Senate report on Sexual Harassment in the ADF, there have been 13 reviews held into the behaviour of ADF personnel, six of which specifically relate to women. Because

changing culture was seen as such an important factor in achieving a successful integration of the WRANS and the RAN, the next chapter has been devoted to the issue.

5.1.1 A serendipitous tale

In the early 1960s, the Naval Board accepted a trophy from the Ex-WRANS Re-Union Committee to mark the WRANS twenty-first birthday (Royal Australian Navy, 1963f). The trophy was to be known as the Sheila McClemans Trophy, after the first Director WRANS, and be awarded to the winner of the WRANS Efficiency Competition. The trophy was presented annually to the establishment which, proportionately, had the greatest number of Wrans ratings who qualified for higher rank during the year.[81] This included Wrans qualifying for promotion to Leading Wran, Petty Officer and Chief Petty Officer. The trophy was to be held by the winner during the calendar year. The competition commenced on 1 January 1963 with the inaugural winner holding the trophy during 1964. The trophy was a plain 10-inch silver platter and inscribed:

<div style="border:1px solid">

Sheila Mary McClemans, O.B.E.

First Director WRANS

1943 – 1946

Efficiency Trophy

Presented to the Women's Royal Australian

Naval Service by former WRANS on the 21st

</div>

The currency of the trophy was twenty-one years after which it was to become the mess property of the most successful establishment. The last awarding of the trophy would have occurred in 1984, the year the SDA became law. Who could have envisaged that the end date of the trophy would coincide with this event? The following year, the WRANS and the RAN Nursing Service ceased to exist on 2 June 1985 when the Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulations were repealed and members of the WRANS and the RAN Nursing Service were incorporated into the RAN. Plates 5-1 and 5-2 show Second Officers Guy and

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[81] In 1966, the Second Member of the Naval Board considered that the conditions under which the award of the trophy were too narrow. Consequently, the selection criteria were broadened to include the composite point scores awarded by DWRANS following her annual visit to Wrans Units. During her visits, DWRANS allocated points for: bearing and appearance of Wrans, overall presentation of quarters for rounds, general efficiency of Wrans in their respective departments, annual reports by Unit Officers, any charitable projects undertaken, sporting results, and any other occurrences or activities indicative of effort and efficiency (*Navy News*, 1967a, p. 11).

Elliott accepting the Sheila McClemans Trophy in 1967 and 1979 respectively (*Navy News*, 1967a, p. 11; 1979b, p. 10).

Plate 5-2: Presentation of the Sheila McClemans Trophy in 1967

HMAS *Penguin* Wrans were winners of the trophy for 1966. In the photo, Rear Admiral Morrison, Flag Officer-in-Charge East Australian Area, presents the trophy to HMAS *Penguin* Unit Officer WRANS, Second Officer Judith Guy.
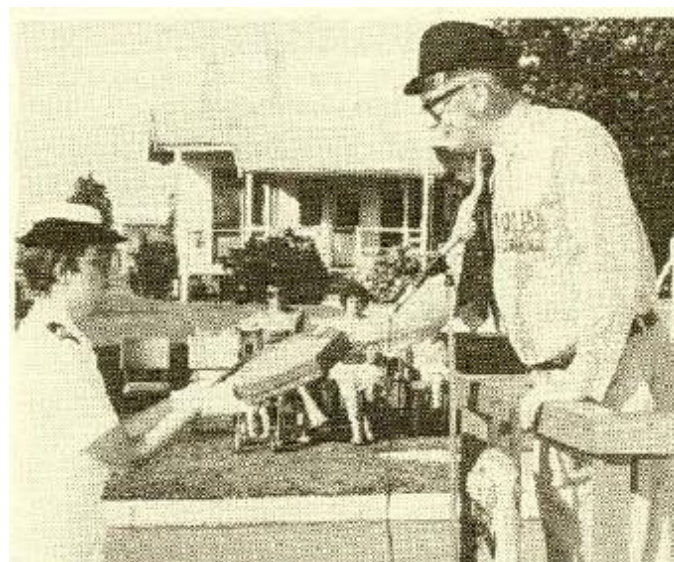
SHEILA McLEMANS TROPHY was won jointly by the WRANS at COONAWARRA and ALBATROSS. Here 2NDO Elliott accepts the trophy from Justice Forster on behalf of the COONAWARRA WRANS.

Plate 5-3: Presentation of the Sheila McClemans Trophy in 1979

5.2 BEFORE THE *SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT 1984*

In 1943, Labor Prime Minister Curtin[82] reassured male employees that not only would all women employed under war conditions be removed from employment when the men returned, but also that this is what women would want. He stated:

> I believe that in this country where there is no great numerical disparity between the sexes most women will ultimately be absorbed in the home ... I agree that the natural urge for motherhood, husband and home is the great motivating force in a woman's life. (Curtin, 1943, p. 10)

The same year, Senator Cameron (ALP) comforted male trade unionists concerned by female employment during wartime with the thought that an invasion of women into industry was preferable to a Japanese invasion. He said: "To the unions who protest against employment of women's labour I say I would far rather run the risk of additional women in industry than that of allowing Japanese to land on our shores" (Commonwealth Government, 16-24 December 1941, p. 12). Male concerns about women's workforce participation persisted through subsequent decades. For example, in his 1970 first speech Paul Keating deplored the fact that "husbands have been forced to send their wives to work in order to provide the necessaries of life". He asserted:

> Family life is the very basis of our nationhood. In the past couple of years the government has boasted about the increasing number of women in the workforce. Rather than something to be proud of, I feel that this is something of which we should be ashamed. (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 17 March 1970, pp. 514-515)

These political statements reveal that traditional societal attitudes persisted over nearly three decades. Women's labour in the paid workforce was a necessity in fighting the war, but their traditional place was in the home predominantly as wives and mothers. After WWII, Australia was involved in several other wars including the Korean War (1950-1953); the Vietnam War (1962-1975); Iraq: the First Gulf War (1990-1991); Iraq: the Second Gulf War (2003-2009); and peacekeeping and humanitarian operations since 1947. Servicewomen have played a key role in these events. For example, the WRANS were

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[82]   See Appendix 2 for a list of key leaders in the Australian Parliament and the ADF during the period 1949 to 2013, which covers the period of the chronology.

reformed in support of the Korean War (see Appendix 1). The RANNS was re-established in response to the Vietnam War (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 62). In 1963 during the early stages of the Vietnam War, the Minister for the Navy, Senator Gordon (later Prime Minister), announced that the WRANS would be expanded by 68 positions and the women would begin serving at the Naval Air Station in Nowra (Department of Defence, 1964, p. 20; *Navy News*, 1963d, p. 10). During the period of the First Gulf War, which coincided with the lifting of the combat-related restriction for women serving in the ADF, the number of female Navy officers grew by 2.1 per cent, which was the greatest annual growth in the 65 years between 1950 and 2015 (see Appendix 3). During the Second Gulf War, the average annual growth was 0.2 per cent. The greatest growth of women in the Navy occurred in the 1990s. Between 1995 and 1996, the growth was 1.5 per cent, which was a reflection of the lifting of most combat restrictions in late 1992.

5.2.1 Whitlam Government (1972-1975)

In the 1970s, under the leadership of Gough Whitlam, attitudes such as Keating's began to change. The Whitlam Labor Government (1972-75) demonstrated a commitment to women's affairs. In his 1974 election policy speech, Whitlam (1974) stated, "For the first time Australia has a government seriously concerned to give equality of opportunity to women". Susan Mitchell (2014) reported that Whitlam's "upbringing had given him the greatest respect for women as equals". Whitlam was supported by his wife, Margaret, who was not afraid to speak her mind, saying "I'm prepared to voice my own opinion, my own personal opinion on things, even if they're political" (Leslie, 2012). Margaret Whitlam was a social worker who was committed to social justice and an outspoken advocate on women's issues. She was an enthusiastic proponent of Whitlam during and beyond his political career (*Sydney Morning Herald*, March 17, 2012). In tribute to Margaret Whitlam, Prime Minister Julia Gillard (*Sydney Morning Herald*, March 17, 2012) said, "Margaret was an accomplished woman in her own right, with an abiding commitment to social issues, reflecting her own professional training, as well as a tireless advocate … for women's rights" and an inspiration to many women "to lead lives of greater ambition and purpose".

The following year, 1975, was a watershed for women when the United Nations General Assembly designated this year as International Women's Year (IWY), acknowledging the growing global women's liberation movement (United Nations, 2012). To acknowledge this milestone, the Whitlam Government funded initiatives to improve the status of women. In his submission to Cabinet for $2 million for the funding of the initiatives, Whitlam argued

that women's talents[83] were underutilised. In particular, his aims were to achieve equality of opportunity between women and men, remove discrimination against women, and acknowledge women's role in the economic, social and cultural development of the country (National Archives of Australia, 1975). Many projects were funded including a conference on "Women and Politics" from 30 August to 6 September 1975, which attracted about 700 women (National Archives of Australia, 2012; M. Sawer, 2006). At the opening of the conference, Prime Minister Whitlam (1975) said:

> For most of this country's history women have lived without visible political power; they have been excluded from almost all levels of government in our society. The momentous decisions which affect how all people live have been made by a minority of individuals who happen to be born white and male.... We live in this man-made, man-defined and man-controlled world. (p. 1)

The contrast with his Labor predecessor, Curtin, some 30 years earlier shows the influence of the second wave feminist movement. Johnson (2000) argues the Whitlam Government began the process of establishing the federal femocracy. Through the establishment of specialist bureaucratic units, femocrats were able to challenge traditional concepts of women's citizenship entitlements, for example, they used government to improve women's pay and working conditions, and reform discriminatory laws (Johnson, 2000, p. 185). One initiative of the Whitlam Government was the introduction of 12 weeks paid maternity leave and 40 weeks unpaid leave for female Commonwealth employees (Whitlam, 03 April 1973). However, the initiative did not apply to members of the Defence Force ("Maternity Leave (Australian Government Employees)," 1973). Army leaders advocated for the adoption of maternity leave provisions but the other two services opposed the recommendation (National Archives of Australia, 1973). The Labor Minister for Defence, Lance Barnard, supported the Army's recommendation and from 7 January 1974 servicewomen became entitled to twelve weeks paid maternity leave and twelve months unpaid leave (National Archives of Australia, 1974).

A letter to the Minister of Defence Lance Barnard on 10 July 1974 from Prime Minister Whitlam directed Defence investigate new employment opportunities for women noting that 1975 had been proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly as International Women's Year (Baker, 1974, p. 1). The working party's report recommended women

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[83]   Thirty-eight years later, a Defence initiative included a talent management program designed to ensure that high performing women were given maximum opportunity to progress their careers.

should be permitted to serve on active service at home and abroad, but not in combat roles (Jones, 2001a, p. 224).

5.2.2 Fraser Government (1975-1983)

While the Whitlam Government was in office for only three years, many of its feminist reforms survived under the subsequent Coalition (conservative) government of Malcolm Fraser (1975-83). For example, the 1976 Defence White Paper (DWP) stated:

> The Government intends that women in the Services should now have greater job opportunities and closer equality with men in training and conditions of service. It has also been accepted that women would be permitted to serve in areas where hostilities were in progress, but they would not be employed as combatants or at sea. (Commonwealth of Australia, 1976, p. 32)

Two years later aspects of this policy statement became a reality. For example, as revealed in the previous chapter, in 1978 servicewomen were granted equal pay (Australia. Committee of Reference for Defence Force Pay et al., 1977) and in 1979 married servicewomen became eligible for subsidised service housing, but not for removal costs (Bomford, 2001, p. 103). In addition, although the DWP stated women would not serve at sea, Minister Killen, the Minister for Defence, announced in 1980 that WRANS Officers training would include sea training cruises to prepare them for their widening naval duties. Plate 5-4 shows some of the trainees on the bridge wing of HMAS *Jervis Bay*. The Director of WRANS, Commander June Baker said:

> I strongly support the decision to embark Midshipman WRANS undergoing SL [supplementary list] training in HMAS JERVIS BAY as part of their training program. I see the move as being essential in the preparation of such WRANS Officers for their future duties, and consequently as a major breakthrough in efforts to widen the scope of employment for not only WRANS Officers but for all members of the WRANS. (*Navy News*, 1980a)

Minister Killen's decision was the start of many changes in Navy employment opportunities for women. Attitudes towards women's roles in the civilian labour market were changing as a result of the Fraser Coalition Government's 1980 signing of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Consequently, changes were required in the defence forces to keep pace with the civilian labour market.

Plate 5-4: First group of female midshipmen go to sea

> The above photo shows three of the first group of six midshipmen WRANS to go to sea in an RAN vessel. The women are aboard HMAS *Jervis Bay* as she approaches Cairns in May 1980. Those visible are from the left Mary Hemingway and Christine Fowler (hidden and only showing the back of her head is Francesca Davis). Behind the trainees not completely visible is Lieutenant Meryl Payne who was the trainees escort officer (C. Fowler, personal communication, November 28, 2016).

5.2.3 Hawke Government (1983-1984)

In 1983, the Hawke-led Labor Government ratified CEDAW. A year after ratification, this international commitment became national legislation with the passing of the *S*DA. The SDA prohibits any form of discrimination on the basis of sex, marital status, pregnancy or potential pregnancy[84] in a range of areas of public life, including employment and education (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1984). The Act was to be a turning point for women serving in the ADF. The SDA did not require the exclusion of women from

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[84]   Potential pregnancy was added to the Act in 1995 (*Sex Discrimination Amendment Act 1995* No. 165 refers).

combat or combat-related activities but did give the ADF an exemption for the employment of women in combat and combat-related roles.[85] Defence Instructions stated:

> A matter of particular relevance to the Defence Force is the exemption concerning employment of women in the Defence Force … it is not unlawful for a person to discriminate against a woman on the ground of her sex in connection with employment, engagement or appointment in the Defence Force in a position involving performance of combat or combat-related duties.(Department of Defence, 1986, p. 2)

Nevertheless, the SDA required a definition of combat and combat-related duties in order to specify the area where it did not apply. These two kinds of duties were defined respectively as follows:

> Duties requiring a person to commit, or to participate directly in the commission of, an act of violence against an adversary in time of war; and Duties requiring a person to work in support of, and in close proximity to, a person performing combat duties, being work performed in circumstances in which the person performing the work may be killed or injured by an act of violence committed by an adversary. (*Sex Discrimination Regulations*)

Despite these restrictions placed on servicewomen's workforce participation, the Hawke Government undertook to open more positions in the ADF to women, consistent with maintaining combat preparedness. In August 1984, Minister for Defence Gordon Scholes, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women Susan Ryan and Attorney-General Gareth Evans announced the opening to women of 17,000 positions within the Defence Force on the basis of merit in competition with men (Reghenzani, 2015).

On 3 September 1984, the Navy announced that all women who joined from this date were liable for sea service, but that sea service was voluntary for women who had joined prior to 1984 (Royal Australian Navy, 1993, p. 277). While Navy's intentions were admirable by not putting in place retrospectivity for a new policy, as Burton (1996) pointed out, the changes left many women abandoned because they had been trained in non-seagoing fields. Consequently, they had a limited career path, particularly as sea-going experience became a promotion criterion.

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[85] Australia's ratification of CEDAW included a reservation specifically excepting women from full employment in the ADF.

While the Navy did little to redress the career issues faced by pre-1984 women (Burton, 1996, p. 114), it did several years prior to the enactment of the SDA improve the opportunities for women. For example, when Jane McMahon joined the Navy on 15 January 1982, she became the Navy's first woman to join the Instructor Branch (*Navy News*, 1982b, p. 8). Jane had a Graduate Diploma of Education and a Bachelor of Science degree with a major in mathematics; a degree not common in the 1980s and one that is still being promoted today for women to pursue due to the slow uptake of science degrees by women.[86] The year before, two other categories opened up to women: the Physical Training Instructor category and the Naval Stores category (*Navy News*, 1982b, p. 8). In 1983, the first WRANS Officer also qualified as a ship's diver (*Navy News*, 1983b) and the first WRANS Officer engineer was appointed (*Navy News*, 1983d).

At the time, the number of women in the engineering field was even less that those in the science areas, which may account for why the Navy did not recruit women to the engineering branch sooner. A Bureau of Labour Market Research report revealed that in 1984 women made up less than 1 per cent of Australian engineers and less than 5 per cent of new graduates (Bureau of Labour Market Research, 1985, p. 18). These figures reflect the gender bias in careers and vocational guidance given to girls. Byrne[87] found that "counsellors, teachers and parents do not have an accurate knowledge and understanding of either modern engineering or the capacity of girls and women to succeed in all forms of the profession" (Bureau of Labour Market Research, 1985, p. 15). Furthermore, social and attitudinal barriers included engineering seen as masculine and incompatible with normal femininity and family roles (Bureau of Labour Market Research, 1985, p. 15). A decade later attitudes were changing, albeit slowly, as the Australian Bureau of Statistics reported that "courses which have been traditionally dominated by men are gradually moving towards equal participation. In particular, the engineering/surveying field, which had 8% female participation in 1988, had increased to 11% in 1992" (Australian bureau of Statistics, 1994, p. 3). Science however had only risen by 1.1 per cent during the five year period, although the percentage of women undertaking the course was greater at 37.6 per cent than those studying engineering/surveying (Australian bureau of Statistics, 1994, pp. 3-4). In 2014, the Navy promoted its first female one-star engineer (see Appendix 5).

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[86] See for example Ada Lovelace Day celebrating the achievements of women in science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM) http://findingada.com/ and Making STEM sexy http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/drive/making-stem-sexy/6703398.

[87] Byrne was commissioned in to write a report for the labour market study on the pattern of growth of women in engineering in Australian and overseas over the previous decade.

Other fields were also opening up to Navy women. Although delayed by six years due to legal issues, the Naval Police Branch finally opened to women in 1982. Volunteers were called for from in-service women and the first Naval Police Qualifying Course of 1983 started with three women. The dux of the course of 21 participants was Constable Sue Branson with a score of 98.6 per cent. The *Navy News* article (1983c) reporting the changes stated, "the Commanding Officer, HMAS KUTTABUL, Commander D.C. McLaren, saw the girls as Request persons to be Promoted or Recategorised into the rank of constable in the Naval Police" (p. 8). The article went on to say, "It is policy that the girls will be involved in every facet of Naval Police work". Therefore, there were no restrictions placed on women serving in the Naval Police Branch. They were to be accorded the same responsibilities as their male counterparts. But when would the men of the Branch be referred to as boys or more appropriately the "girls" be accorded the same respect as men and be referred to as women? In 1983, language still played a significant part in demeaning the role of women and therefore lowering their status.

A Naval Policewoman, Angelique Robinson, who joined the Branch in 1984 as a Recruit Constable advised that prior to enlisting she was interviewed by the then Command Police Officer. She stated:

> One of his questions should have raised warning bells with me as he asked, "How would you handle working closely with male members in a patrol car doing rounds and then having to meet his wife?" I did not initially understand the question and asked him to clarify his meaning. Basically he assumed I would have an affair with a male I was working with and how I would cope confronting his wife at a later time. I find this style of thinking sexist, presumptuous and disrespectful … as if women couldn't have a working relationship with a member of the opposite sex. (A. Robinson, personal communication July 5, 2014)

After joining, Robinson found she was only the sixth female in the Branch. She stated, "it became clear to me very early that the males did not want or tolerate females in the Branch". She recalled that during her first posting to Garden Island, the two-story police station only had one toilet marked "gents" downstairs and another marked "gents" upstairs. When she asked where the female toilets were located, she was told to use the gents. Later, she asked the station sergeant if a female sanitary disposal unit could be placed in the toilet and was told "We can't put one of them in the men's toilet". To remedy the problem, she had to obtain the assistance of the Senior Medical Officer at the HMAS *Kuttabul* Health Centre. Within a week, the upstairs toilet had a female sanitary disposal

unit; "much to the disgust of my male counterparts", she said. In a similar vein, she was asked by her shift sergeant one day to inform him when she was having her menstrual cycle so he could, "accommodate her mood swings". She said she never informed him but was "flabbergasted and mortified at such a request" (A. Robinson, personal communication, July 5, 2014). Robinson's experience was not uncommon. Darlene Iskra (2010) reported that opponents of women's participation in the United States Navy, who held fears that women would disrupt unit effectiveness, cited behaviours such as fraternisation, sexual misconduct and the competition for sexual favours as reasons for excluding women (p. 24). Although the Navy was showing progress in providing women with more employment opportunities, as Robinson's story reveals, some men still displayed dissatisfaction and or resentment towards women invading their spaces. For example, the inclusion of a female's sanitary container in a previous male space would have disrupted the patriarchal structure of the Police Station.

The topic of women serving at sea was often discussed by the hierarchy. Marcia Chalmers reports that prior to taking over as Director WRANS in 1983, she was serving in the Directorate of the Director General Service Conditions (a tri-service directorate) when she attended a meeting where the topic was discussed. She recalled being the only woman at the meeting. As she listened to the conversation, she became both enraged and bemused as the arguments being raised against women going to sea by the men at the table were the lack of separate toilets and bathroom facilities for the women. Moreover, a view was being expressed that Navy wives were not in favour of women serving at sea because they feared servicewomen would be "vamps" and break up marriages. When Chalmers was invited by the Chair to comment, she expressed her disappointment that the men in the room were suggesting servicewomen had lower moral standards than the women working in civilian careers. She pointed out that those in the Navy considered themselves a family and what family home has gender specific toilet and bathroom facilities. Chalmers's anecdote illustrates the attitudes held by males in authority just prior to the introduction of the SDA— attitudes that reinforced a misogynist outlook towards women invading a masculine space. Nevertheless, in recounting her anecdote, Chalmers said she is delighted that women are now serving as Commanding Officers of warships and deploying to operational areas (M. Chalmers, personal communication, January 29, 2016).

The progress being made in Navy women's employment opportunities when compared with overseas trends showed the RAN lagged behind some navies in allowing women to serve at sea but were ahead of others. For example, the Norwegian Parliament voted in

1984 in favour of allowing women to serve in combat roles (H. Smith, 1990, p. 128). Six years earlier in November 1978, the American Congress amended the law to permit the permanent assignment of women to hospital ships, naval transports, and support ships (Iskra, 2010, p. 170; Sadler, 1999, p. 47). This followed the recommendation of the USA's Navy leaders for women to be assigned to noncombat ships and the successful challenge of the ship-exclusion policy in the federal court by several Navy women (Iskra, 2010, p. 170; Sadler, 1999, p. 47). Legal action was also the catalyst for changes to occur in the Canadian Forces (CF). In 1989, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ordered the CF to carry out full integration of women within 10 years (Winslow & Dunn, 2002, p. 659).

5.3   AFTER THE *SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT 1984*

5.3.1 Hawke Government (1984-1991)

The Hawke Labor Government's 1987 DWP reaffirmed the 1984 commitment to women serving in the ADF. The chapter on Defence Personnel stated:

> The Australian Government's strong commitment to eliminating discrimination against women was evidenced by its ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1983 and passage of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1984. A major focus of the Sex Discrimination Act is the elimination of discrimination in employment. In this context the Government agreed to exemptions for combat and combat-related duties in the ADF on the understanding that as many positions as possible would be open to women consistent with maintaining combat preparedness.

> Prior to the implementation of the Sex Discrimination Act and new Defence Force employment policies in 1984, the proportion of women in the Defence Force was 6.5 per cent. Although there was no common policy among the Services on employment areas for women, they were generally allocated to the traditional areas of female employment.

> Since the introduction of the Sex Discrimination Act and Government reviews of ADF employment policies, the number of women in the ADF has increased steadily under the present Government, with some 5 760 (or 8.4 per cent) serving as at 31 December 1986—a 30 percent increase over the 1984 figure. About 21 750 (35 per cent) of the positions in the Regular component of the ADF are now open to women in competition with men. A further review is underway to expand employment

opportunities available to women in the ADF. The Government will continue to make available as many positions as possible on merit. (Department of Defence, 1987, pp. 92-92)

Soon after the SDA, the Navy opened several sea billets to women. For example, in 1987, two officers were posted to the oceanographic research vessel HMAS *Cook*. The following year, two officers were posted to the hydrographic survey ship HMAS *Moresby* and the destroyer tender HMAS *Stalwart*. In 1989, two officers were posted to HMAS *Flinders*.

Further policy changes affecting the employment of women occurred in 1990, three years after the release of the 1987 DWP. With the support of the government, Defence decided to permit women to occupy combat-related roles from which they had previously been excluded. While women were still denied employment in traditional combat roles such as clearance diving, the infantry, and piloting or flying in fighter aircraft, they were moving progressively closer to the "front line". The Navy took the initiative when the Chief of Naval Staff announced on 5 April 1990 that nearly all sea-going workforce roles (billets) would be opened to women, who would be permitted to serve in peacetime on all ships except submarines, subject to the provision of suitable accommodation (Defence News Release, 1990, April 5; Royal Australian Navy, 1993, p. 278). A year before in 1989, the RAN estimated a maximum of 3,300 women could be absorbed into the RAN. However, of the nearly 8,000 unlimited billets identified, only 437 were at sea because of the lack of suitable accommodation, which in time would be eased with the introduction of new ships such as the Anzac class frigates (Jones, 2001b).

On 30 May 1990, one month after the Chief of Naval Staff's announcement, the Hawke Labor Government's Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, Gordon Bilney, and the Chief of Defence Force, General Peter Gration, announced similar changes across the entire ADF (Bilney, 1990, May 30). All positions defined as "combat related" were to be opened up to women.[88] In response to a question in Parliament on the issue, Bilney said, "we have not let women engage in … combat" citing the reason that it exposes women to the risk of being killed or injured by an enemy. He went on to say that the primary objective of lifting the restriction on combat-related duties was to give women "a broader range of quality career opportunities in the armed services, commensurate with those they enjoy under this Government in other walks of life" (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of

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[88]   The *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) was not amended to remove the combat-related restriction until 5 March 1996 as a trial was to take place with Defence reporting back to the Government in 1993.

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

Representatives, 31 May 1990, pp. 940-941). In the Air Force, this meant that all positions were opened up to women except for jobs in combat aircraft and ground defence (the Air Force equivalent of the infantry), resulting in about 94 per cent of some 22,500 positions being made available to women. In the Army, the changes meant that women were eligible for over 55 per cent of positions (about 17,000 out of 30,000) compared previously with 19 per cent, but women were still excluded from service with the corps of armour, artillery, infantry and combat engineers. For Navy women, the initiative allowed women to continue serving at sea during times of conflict, which meant they could take primary combat roles (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 31 May 1990, pp. 940-941). The removal of the combat-related restriction was a step forward in the recognition of professional equality for ADF women. For Navy women, the removal had even greater significance as they were now able to participate in a combat capacity on all warships except submarines.

The decision to open combat related positions caused a variety of reactions. The secretary of the Victorian Returned Services League, Bruce Ruxton, was widely quoted on radio and in the press as saying that "females are not physically fit enough to do the job that males do in combat" and that the Chiefs of Staff must have "rocks between their ears" to make such a move (*Canberra Times*, 1990, p. 4). Ruxton's comments demonstrate the feminist view that arguments of biology are often used to limit women's workforce participation (Tong, 1989). By contrast, a female Flying Officer had a radical feminist view towards the Chief of Defence Force's (CDF) decision in maintaining the exclusion from combat as she described his stance as "archaic" and "behind the times" (Thompson, 1990, p. 1). The Opposition spokeswoman on defence personnel, Jocelyn Newman, welcomed the changes thus acknowledging her position as a liberal feminist one where incremental change will occur through changes in legislation or policy (H. Smith, 1990, p. 126). James Dunn (1989) from the Human Rights Council of Australia said Ruxton's opposition and that of Alf Garland, the National President of the Returned Services League of Australia, revealed an ignorance of the meaning of human rights (p. 8). As an ex-serviceman himself, Dunn explain he could see no case for the exclusion of women from any military role. The mix of reactions demonstrated that some were cautious to venture into unchartered waters whereas others were willing to take risks.

5.3.2 Keating Government (1991-1996)

Although the combat-related restriction in the SDA was not removed until 5 March 1996, the implementation of the change occurred relatively quickly. For example, the first group of female sailors (two officers and five junior sailors) to experience service in a combat zone were those posted to HMAS *Westralia*, a fuel tanker, when the ship deployed on 2 January 1991 for the Arabian Gulf on Operation DAMASK, Australia's contribution to the First Gulf War (Royal Australian Navy, 1993, p. 3, Annexure 13.1). Women also joined HMAS *Sydney*, a major surface combatant, in 1992 and during the ship's 1993 deployment on Operation DAMASK, there were 35 women (two officers, three Petty Officers, and 30 junior sailors) included in the ship's complement of 216. The ship's commanding officer, Mark Bonser, reported that having women on board "had not effected [sic] the ship's operational effectiveness" and had in fact "proved most beneficial" for several reasons. These included women participating in boarding teams when the ships boarded "had mixed gender crews and/or passengers by reducing any tension or apprehension among the women and children" and in portraying Australia's commitment to providing equal opportunity to women (Royal Australian Navy, 1994, Annexure C). Also in 1991, ADF women were selected to deploy to Cambodia to serve with the United Nations Transitional Authority and six women achieved RAAF aircrew selection (Department of Defence, 1992, p. 26).

However, there can be disadvantages when change is implemented too quickly. This was evidenced by the HMAS *Swan* event in 1992 when women serving on board the ship made allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault. The event led to a Naval Board of Inquiry and a Senate inquiry in 1993. One of the main contributing factors was the lack of adequate preparation given not only to the women who were serving on a warship for the first time but also to the male crew who were about to face a major change in their operational workplace. The *Swan* event is used as a case study in the next chapter to examine cultural change within the Navy.

In April 1992 the Lavarch Report, *Half Way to Equal, Report of the Inquiry into Equal Opportunity* and *Equal Status for Women in Australia,* recommended that Section 43 of the SDA be amended to remove the exclusion of women from combat duties (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992, p. LII). On 3 November 1992, the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, Gordon Bilney, acknowledged the Government (Keating Labor) had recognised the principle of equal rights

and equal opportunities for all its citizens by lifting the combat-related restrictions on women in the ADF (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 3 November 1992, p. 2373). Furthermore, Bilney stated, "In fact, prior to the Lavarch report, I had already asked the Chief of the Defence Force, General Gration, to … go on to examine that very question of combat employment for women" (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 3 November 1992, p. 2374). The following month on the 18 December, Bilney announced the opening of several combat positions to women (Australia. Minister for Defence Science and Personnel (Gordon Bilney), 1992). In the Air Force, women could fly every type of aircraft including combat aircraft, and the only category of employment not open to them would be air field defence guards. In the Army, over 80 per cent of positions would be made available to women, but exemptions for the combat arms (infantry, armour, artillery, and combat engineers) would remain in place. In the Navy, women could serve on all ships including submarines and were excluded only from the hazardous occupation of mine clearance diver. This is in stark contrast to what occurred in the US Navy where women did not serve on submarines until 2011, but were Explosive Ordnance Disposal and salvage divers since 1975 (Iskra, 2010).

ADF women were not the only female pioneers in male dominated jobs; similar advances were being made by women in other male dominated careers. In 1992, Sharelle Quinn became Australia's first female international captain with Qantas airlines (Wells, 2009). The year before Dame Roma Mitchell became governor of South Australia (Ashelford, 1992). She was the first woman to hold vice-regal office anywhere in Australia. A keen advocate of women's rights, she was an exemplary role model for women achieving many other firsts. She was the first woman to be made a Queen's Counsel (1962), the first to be made a Justice of a Supreme Court (1965) and the first to be a chancellor of an Australian University (University of Adelaide, 1983–90). On 7 March 1992, the first 10 Australian Anglican women priests were ordained at St George's Cathedral in Perth. This was 48 years after the first Anglican woman was ordained in Hong Kong. The ordination, carried out by Archbishop Peter Carnley, occurred despite no clear legislation having passed through the General Synod. Later that year on 21 November 1992, the General Synod passed legislation that opened the way for Australian dioceses who wished to ordain women (Anglican Church of Australia, 2012).

The story overseas was similar. At the request of the Navy, the American Congress approved in December 1993 the repeal of the combat-ship-exclusion law. In March 1994, the first women reported for duty aboard the aircraft carrier USS *Eisenhower*. The decision

was driven by workforce needs and the changing views of the public and military personnel regarding women serving in combat ships (Iskra, 2010, p. 176; Sadler, 1999, p. 47). In Britain, due to falling recruitment and recognising the best use was not being made of "woman power", the government announced in early 1990 that women would be permitted to serve on Royal Navy warships. The first 20 volunteers of officers and ratings joined HMS *Brilliant*, a Type 22 frigate (Association of Wrens, 2012; Ministry of Defence, 2012). Similar initiatives also occurred in other fields, for example, in 1995, Eileen Collins became the first female shuttle pilot and the first female to command a space shuttle mission (Moskowitz, 2011, July 6) although NASA had been training women for space flight since 1978 (Weitekamp, 2015). To witness her first flight, Collins invited the surviving members of the Mercury 13 (NASA Administrator (Ed.), March 23, 2005). Project Mercury was the name given to the testing regime to select America's first astronauts. Only seven of the 31 males tested passed and they became known as the Mercury Seven.[89] A fact not commonly known was that 25 women were also tested in the early 1960s and 13 passed all the tests, most with higher marks than the men (Weitekamp, 2015). While they were deemed more suitable than the men to go into space, they were not chosen because "they were the right stuff, but the wrong sex" (Graham, 1999, p. 11).

5.3.3 Howard Government (1996-2007)

In 1996, the Howard Coalition Government took office and according to some feminists began to dismantle the progress made towards employment opportunities for Australian women. Ann Summers (2003a), who had been a political advisor to Prime Minister Keating (Labor), summarised the changes when she wrote:

> In 1996, shortly after being elected to office, the Howard government began its assault on the employment opportunities of women. It could do this with relative impunity because ... over its first year in office it had taken the precaution of abolishing or enfeebling all the government agencies charged with protecting women's entitlements and monitoring their equality. With the Women's Bureau shut down, the Sex Discrimination Commissioner forced from office[90] and the Office of the Status of Women's budget and influence slashed, there were no internal obstacles to turning back the clock for women. (pp. 142-143)

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[89] All seven astronauts (Shepard, Grissom, Glenn, Carpenter, Schirra, Cooper and Slayton) went on missions into space. Only one, Shepard, went to the moon.

[90] Sex Discrimination Commissioner Susan Halliday, a Howard Government appointee, resigned from the position in 2001. Her departure led to speculation the office maybe disbanded, but this was not the case. When in office, Halliday clashed with the Government over winding back anti-discrimination laws, arguing that the Government's gender policies were too conservative.

Howard (1995) came into office arguing that "special interests" groups had benefited under the Hawke and Keating Labor governments (p. 4). Johnson (2000) argues that while Howard was vague about who constituted these "special interests", the list of cuts to the femocracy indicated feminists were included amongst them (p. 191). She also argued his contentious attacks on political correctness, his reinstitution of sexists terms such as "chairman" in legislation and his dislike of terms of address such as "Ms" were further evidence of his conservative gender politics (p. 191). Murray (2010) confirms this view claiming Howard had a "mainstreaming" approach to most policies and was disinclined to treat women's issues separately (p. 229). Summers (2003b) during her lecture entitled *The End of Equality? Australian Women and the Howard Government* argued Howard's culling of agencies that monitored and protected women's status and rights was the first part of his assault on the employment opportunities for women. The second occurred through the use of government policy, such as childcare, employment, social security and taxation, to skew women's employment choices, so those women with children were driven financially out of the workforce and into full-time motherhood (D. Brennan, 1998; Murray, 2010, p. 229; Summers, 2003a). Howard championed part-time work as the only economic option for mothers (Summers, 2003b). Howard was against paid-maternity leave and in favour of family tax refund schemes such as the baby bonus (Campo, 2009).[91] The policy was delivered under the slogan "opportunity and choice", with the government suggesting that such a payment would enable more women "to exercise choice in balancing family and workplace responsibilities" (Liberal Party of Australia, 2001, p. 2).

Miles (2004) argued the primary reason why Howard's dismantling of the women's movement advances occurred was due to the demise in feminist activism. She pointed out young women of the 1990s believed the battles to be won because "feminism and the women's movement have been transformed in 'Girl Power' or 'DIY' feminism where young women and girls claim they can do what they want when they want and experience no inequality" (p. 99). Howard's view was that the feminist battle had been won. He stated:

> We are in the post-feminist stage of the debate. The good thing about this stage is
> that I think we have broken through some of the old stereotypes. I find that for the
> under 30s women ... the feminist battle has been won. That is not an issue. Of course,
> a woman has a right to a career. Of course, women are as good as men. Of course,
> they are entitled to the same promotion and they can do it as well. Of course. That is
> accepted ... (Hewett, 2002)

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[91]   The baby bonus was a policy that financially rewarded mothers who stayed out of the workforce, whereas maternity leave favoured those within the workforce.

Despite the rhetoric of women's rights and entitlements, women's choices under the Howard Government's policies were limited as the policies were aimed at keeping women with family responsibilities in the home. In his speech at the *Women in Uniform: Pathway and Perceptions Conference*, the Minister for Veterans' Affairs and Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence, Bruce Scott (13 May 1999), indicated societal attitudes towards the limitations of women in the workforce were changing and had "been broken down to an extent that would have been impossible to imagine a hundred years ago" (p. 2). He reinforced capability not gender was the key principle in respect to the ADF's workforce but acknowledged a critical mass of women needed to be achieved. However, with women representing only 13.4 per cent[92] of the ADF (Department of Defence, 1998, p. 164) the concept of mainstreaming was premature and demonstrated that the Howard Government policies reflected a regression to attitudes held during Curtin's period of office 50 years previously. The absence of critical mass and its impediment to women's career progress was again raised 13 years later in the Broderick Report. The Report stated that women's acceptance by male colleagues would most likely not occur until the presence of women as Defence personnel was equally balanced across occupations and in leadership positions (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a, p. 302).

When Howard began dismantling women's departments and agencies, Burton (1996) identified that within the ADF issues relating to work/family accommodations were predominantly women's issues. Thus servicewomen who wanted to combine a career with a family fell into the category of receiving "special privileges" (p. 164) reinforcing Howard's view that Labor had placed career women in the "special interests" category. Burton found that women with family responsibilities were "penalised through perceptions of their lack of career commitment, through men's (and some women's) resentment of their perceived favoured treatment and through a general lack of flexibility in work arrangements" (p. 166). She recommended Defence policies and procedures be altered to give members with families greater flexibility in their work arrangements , because the attitude "women want their cake and eat it too" was driving servicewomen out of their careers (pp. 163-167). Burton (1996) acknowledged that there were costs associated with such changes, and as one senior Naval Officer commented:

> We have to pay to get and keep the right people ... that is a small cost in comparison
> to training. A person has to get a child out of care at 6 pm and pays a dollar a minute

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[92] This figure is taken from the 30 June 1998 Defence Annual Report as the 1999 figures would not have been available at the time of the speech.

thereafter. The people pay for the child care place yet we need them at the workplace, sometimes until 7 or 8 at night. There is much to be gained by looking at the intrinsic value of that ... and the cost of training these expensive people. Millions of dollars for training, whereas we are only talking thousands for child care. (p. 168)

To keep women with family responsibilities in the ADF, more flexible work policies needed to be implemented to dispel the myth of separate spheres of work and family described by Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977). Furthermore, practices, which influence attitudes, needed to be changed, although as Iskra (2010) explained, "attitudes are more difficult to change, even in the face of practical considerations" (p. 105). Without such changes, ADF servicewomen had very little choice just like other career orientated women who were disadvantaged by the Howard Government's "opportunity and choice" policy.

Four years after Burton's study, the "mainstreaming" of women's issues was reflected in the 2000 DWP, which was published nearly half way through the Howard Government's term. The policy document did not differentiate between men and women except in one paragraph of the recruitment section in the chapter on "People in Defence". The paragraph stated:

> Over the next decade, the rate of growth in the Australian labour force is likely to slow and its age profile increase. There is also likely to be a general decrease in the participation rate for men and an increase in the participation rate for women, a move from full-time to part-time employment, more women having their first child at a later age and then re-entering the workforce, and young people spending longer periods in education. All of these trends will make it harder to attract people to serve in the ADF. (Department of Defence, 2000, p. 66):

The demographic trend indicated in the above quote should have reinforced the need for the Services to provide flexible career arrangements for both men and women. Although women are the child bearers, the parental role is the responsibility of both mother and father; a role that if circumstances permit should be equally shared. Policies such as maternity and paternity leave, flexible workings hours and flexibly in career paths that allow members to transition in and out of the workforce seamlessly were needed to ensure sufficient people were attracted to a military career.[93]

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[93]   The 1996 Personnel Information Handbook designed to provide members of the Navy with information regarding conditions of service and means of obtaining entitlements and benefits did not reflect any paid parental leave. Leave without pay had to be taken for parenting

The effect of the Howard Government's mainstreaming approach to women's issue was reflected in the minimal growth of women serving in the ADF during the 12-year term of the government. Using figures from Reghenzani (2015), Table 5-1 compares the growth in women's participation in the 12 years of the Howard Government years to the 12 previous years from the enactment of the SDA in 1984 until the start of the Howard Government term and then for the six-year period after the Howard Government's term. From the implementation of the SDA and through the Hawke and Keating Governments (1984-1985), which opened combat-related positions and some combat positions to women, women's participation grew 8.4 per cent in the Navy, 4 per cent in the Army, and 8.2 per cent in the Air Force, reflecting a total growth of 6.4 per cent. During the Howard Government terms of office (1996-2007), the growth was 2.3 per cent for Navy, but a negative growth of 0.6 per cent and 0.1 per cent for Army and Air Force respectively, which reflected the mainstreaming policies of the government. In the six years following the Howard Government term (2008-2013), which encompassed the Rudd and Gillard Governments, the figures show that the mainstreaming policies had a flow-on effect with only a growth of between 1 and 1.4 per cent, despite some initiatives undertaken during the period.

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responsibilities after the birth of the baby. The Handbook did not refer to any other type of flexible work arrangement.

Table 5-1: Comparison of growth in women's participation in the ADF pre and post Howard Government's term

% Growth of women serving during the term shown					
Term	**Year**	**Navy**	**Army**	**Air Force**	**ADF**
Pre-Howard Government term (6 years)	1984 – 1989	5.4%	2.2%	6.2%	4.3%
Pre-Howard Government term (6 years)	1990 – 1995	3%	1.8%	2.0%	2.1%
Total 12 years	1984 – 1995	8.4%	4.0%	8.2%	6.4%
Howard Government term (6 years)	1996 – 2001	0.4%	-0.1%	-1.3%	-0.6%
Howard Government term (6 years)	2002 – 2007	1.9%	-0.5%	1.2%	0.6%
Total 12 years	1996 – 2007	2.3%	-0.6%	-0.1%	0%
Post Howard Government term (6 years)	2008 – 2013	1%	1.1%	1.4%	1%

> Table 5-1 compares the percentage growth of women in the three Services and overall as members of the ADF. The Howard Government was in power for 12 years. While statistics are available to compare the growth in the 12 years before the Howard Government term, sufficient statistics are not available to fairly compare the 12 years post the Howard Government term. Consequently, the periods have been divided into six year blocks. The figures reveal that the Howard Government's mainstreaming policies contributed to the decline in the recruitment and retention of women.

5.3.4 Rudd Government (2007-2010)

In 2008, CDF, Angus Houston, put together a group of women, who had a track record of success in male-dominated professions, to review the participation of women in the ADF. The group included former Victorian police chief Christine Nixon, company director Elizabeth Proust, Newmont Mining executive Christine Charles and RMIT vice-chancellor Margaret Gardener, as well as six senior defence force women and the Sex Discrimination Commissioner Elizabeth Broderick. After 18 months of consultation and 17 roundtables with around 200 women in the ADF, the group presented a report detailing suggestions covering six main areas: enlistment, workplace flexibility, career management,

accountability, mentoring and communications (Korporaal, 2010). As a consequence of the report a recruitment and retention strategy was forecast in the Rudd Labor Government DWP released on 2 May 2009.

The 2009 DWP focused specifically on women in two paragraphs of the chapter on People in Defence. The first, under the section *A Key Strategic Policy – Our People*, stated Defence would "work with women, indigenous Australians, and Australians with a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds to attract these groups to our workforce" (Department of Defence, 2009b, p. 114). The second, under the heading of Diversity in the section *Defence's Strategic Approach to Building our Workforce*, stated, "Programs to increase recruitment opportunities for women, indigenous and multicultural Australians, including an indigenous development program, will also be implemented".

On 30 November 2009, Greg Combet, the Minister for Defence Materiel and Science, launched *The Chief of the Defence Force Action Plan for the Recruitment and Retention of Women*; a plan designed to drive cultural change in the ADF with a sharper focus on the vital contribution that women make (Combet, 2009a, 2009b). The 2012 Broderick Report reviewed the effectiveness of the Action Plan (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a, pp. 65-70). The conclusion was that the Plan was unsuccessful in its current form and should be discontinued because while it "was a genuine and well intentioned attempt to address issues of enlistment, career management, retention, flexible work practices and organisational culture" ... "progress on its initiatives [had] stalled, with many strategies slowed by organisational inertia and little changing as a result" (p. 68). The figures in Table 5-1 between the 2008 and 2012 statistics would support this conclusion noting the growth during the period was minimal despite nearly three years of the six period devoted to the implementation of the Action Plan.

5.3.5 Gillard Government (2010-2013)

In March 2010, just prior to the commencement of the Gillard (Labor) Government, CDF stated the ADF had increased the number of women in the top ranks over the past two years by 30 per cent,[94] with plans for further promotions (Korporaal, 2010). The figures at Table 5-2 give the number of ADF women holding star rank in 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2015 and show these figures as a percentage of the total number of officers holding star rank. Similar statistics are given for women in the APS in senior management.

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[94]   This appears to be based on the 2007 and 2009 Defence Annual Report figures.

Between 2001 and 2005, the number of star ranked women in the ADF remained stable at one officer or 0.8 per cent. By 2010, this number had risen to nine or 5.1 per cent; an increase of 4.3 per cent. Five years later, the increase was 3.3 per cent. The increase since 2005 reflects the removal of all restrictions on women's participation in the ADF and pressure to promote women to senior positions even though the *Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986* does not apply to military women. In 2015, Navy women represented 9.8 per cent of the star ranked officers.[95] These latest figures reflect the ADF's growing commitment to increase the number of women in senior leadership roles.

Of the three Services, the Air Force was the first to promote a woman to one-star rank; Julie Hammer, an electronics engineer in 1999. In 2003, she was promoted to Air Vice-Marshal (a two-star rank). In the 2005-06 financial year, Navy and Army each promoted a woman to one-star rank. The Navy promoted Robyn Walker, a doctor, and the Army promoted Elizabeth Cosson, a logistician. Elizabeth Cosson was promoted to Major General (two-star) in 2007. Robyn Walker was promoted to Vice Admiral also a 2-star rank in 2011. While these women broke the star rank barrier, there is still greater room for improvement given women represented 18.8 per cent of the Navy workforce in 2015 (see Appendix 3).

In comparison to ADF women in senior management, women in the APS in senior management have been offered greater promotion prospects. In 2001, there were 14 per cent of women in senior positions in the APS, with an increase of 10 per cent in 2005. The number remained relatively stable in the following five years showing a 3 per cent increase between 2010 and 2015, reflecting an increase similar to the growth of ADF women during the period. However, comparison with the percentage of senior APS positions does not take into consideration that ADF women need to gain combat experience to be considered for senior promotions.

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[95]   Figures have been extracted from the Defence Annual Reports.

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Table 5-2: A comparison of the number of women to men in senior management in Defence

ADF Senior Management
Star Rank

	2001		2005		2010		2015	
Rank	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Four Star								
Navy	1							
Army			1					
Air Force					1		1	
Three Star								
Navy	1		2		2		3	
Army	2		2		3		2	
Air Force	1		1		1		1	
Two Star								
Navy	7		6		11		13	1
Army	11		9		16	1	14	1
Air Force	10		9	1	9	1	11	
One Star								
Navy	23		27		37	2	35	4
Army	36		40		48	4	49	6
Air Force	24	1	29		38	1	35	3
Total	**116**	**1**	**126**	**1**	**166**	**9**	**164**	**15**
%		0.8%		0.8%		5.1%		8.4%

Note:

The 2001 Defence Annual Report began listing star-rank by gender. Figures do not include Reservists, but do include Reservists on continuous full-time service.

APS Senior Management

Defence Australian Public Service (APS) – Senior Executive Service (SES)

	2001		2005		2010		2015	
Band /Rank	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Secretary (4*)	1		1		1		1	
SES Band 3 (3*)	8		6		8		11	2
SES Band 2 (2*)	17	3	20	7	23	4	20	5
SES Band 1 (1*)	51	10	49	17	48	20	57	24
Total	**77**	**13**	**76**	**24**	**80**	**24**	**89**	**31**
%		14%		24%		23%		26%

5.4 INITIATIVES AFTER 2010

5.4.1 The final legislative barrier

On 27 November 2011, the Minister for Defence Stephen Smith and the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel Warren Snowdon announced the Government (Gillard Labor) had formally agreed to the removal of gender restrictions from ADF combat roles (S. Smith & Snowdon, 2011, September 27).[96] Twelve months later, Minister Snowdon and CDF, David Hurley, released Defence's implementation plan to facilitate and support the entry of women into ADF combat role employment categories that had previously been unavailable to them. The categories that would open up to women over the five-year phase of the implementation were Clearance Divers and Mine Warfare and Clearance Diving Officers in the Navy; Infantry, Armoured Corps, some Artillery roles, Explosive Ordnance Disposal Squadrons and Combat Engineer Squadrons in the Army; and Airfield Defence Guards and Ground Defence Officers in the Air Force; representing seven per cent of total employment trades in the ADF not previously open to women (Department of Defence, 2012c, p. 6). Since the removal of the restrictions placed on women's employment in the ADF began in 1990, women have shown their ability to perform and even excel in non-traditional areas of employment for women. Removal of the latest restrictions may see women holding the top positions in future years but with the small number of women now serving in the ADF having a balance of women in senior leadership positions is still a long way off. Commodore Michele Miller (2013), who has achieved a number of milestones for women in the Navy, including the first woman to command a major surface combatant, expressed such sentiments when she said that she hoped when her daughter embarked on her own career in 17 years that it would be "all very commonplace to have women leading the Navy, our Defence Force and our Country (again)" (p. 90).

At the release of the 2012 Broderick Report into the treatment of women in the ADF, Elizabeth Broderick stated:

> To be a strong force into the future and a first-class employer with a first-class reputation, the ADF must address the problem of a shrinking talent pool, the significant cost of unwanted departures, the lack of diversity among leadership and the unacceptable behaviour sometimes faced by women. (Dodd & Packham, 2012)

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[96] The United States military opened up all positions, including frontline combat roles to women, in 2015 (ABC News, 2015).

She argued that increasing the representation of women and improving their pathway into leadership was at the very heart of the sustainability and operational effectiveness of the ADF. In response to the Report, Defence Minister Stephen Smith pledged in-principle support for the Report's recommendations and stated that Defence would take positive affirmative action to accelerate the representation of women in the Services.

5.4.2 Pathway to Change Strategy

Defence's 2012 *Pathway to Change* strategy promised to address the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies and to put much more emphasis on peer-to-peer collaboration (The Defence Committee, 2012, p. 10). However, no mention was made in respect to affirmative action, rather the *Pathway to Change* strategy stated "in Defence we do not operate on a quota system" as women are "recruited, deployed and promoted on merit". Furthermore, "they tell us explicitly that they do not want special treatment" (The Defence Committee, 2012, p. 11).[97] However, without special treatment such as a strong commitment to affirmative action, the number of women in the ADF will not increase. The need for affirmative action for women was raised by Prime Minister Hawke in 1984. He said:

> I want to take the opportunity today to assure you of my very strong personal commitment to the use of affirmative action to assist women achieve equality in the labour market … it is not enough to simply say that there should be equal employment opportunity. (Compton, 1986)

In the intervening years, the Australia Labor Party has supported a gender balance in all Australian parliaments by adopting an affirmative action quota system (Emily's List Australia, 2015). At the Party's national conference in 2015, a resolution was unanimously adopted to have women make up 50 per cent of Labor parliamentarians by 2025, which will be an increase of 6.9 percent as the present figure stands at 43.1 per cent (M. Sawer, 2015).

In comparison, women currently make up only 22.6 per cent of Liberal parliamentarians around Australia (M. Sawer, 2015). Although there was a surge of Liberal women into parliament in 1996 as a result of then-Liberal leader John Hewson's support, the

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[97]   The reason for the exclusion of affirmation action strategies in the Pathway to Change publication may be due to both documents being released in the same year.

momentum was not maintained in the Howard government period, which adopted a merit based system (M. Sawer, 2015). However, Liberal woman, Margaret Fitzherbert, has said that even if Liberal members do not agree with quotas, it is time for them to at least "acknowledge the problem, and stop relying on a blind faith in 'merit' to somehow provide a sudden increase in numbers of female MPs" (Emily's List Australia, 2015). Similarly, the new Chair of the Australian Institute of Company Directors, Elizabeth Proust, who was once opposed to quotas is rethinking her stance due to the "glacial pace of change" (Rose, 2015). As Marian Sawer (2015) points out, quotas have worked to overcome the institutionalised bias against women in politics.

Politics and Defence are not the only fields in which women are under-represented. Australia has been admonished for its under-representation of women at the executive levels in the ASX-200 companies. US-based BlackRock, the world's richest fund manager, in their 2015 report card entitled *Achieving Gender Diversity in Australia: The Ugly, the Bad and the Good* stated, "the lack of gender diversity in the senior executive ranks of ASX-200 companies suggests poor talent management" (Galacho, 2015). Similarly, other sectors include academia, law and sports. According to the Australian Human Rights Commission (2012b):

> The international context of women in leadership is another compelling reason for reform in Australia. Currently, when compared with New Zealand, the US, Canada and South Africa, Australia has the lowest percentage of women on boards. When compared with the UK, US, Canada and South Africa Australia has the lowest percentage of Executive Key Management Staff Personnel. This lag behind comparable nations is concerning.

The evidence supports special measures such as quotas are needed to increase the under-representation of women in the workforce and in leadership roles. If Defence is to achieve a gender diversity, the organisation must introduce measures other than those based on merit to remove the existence of claims (real or perceived) of "cultural misogynism" or "patriarchal rule" (Leon, 1993; van Onselen, 2008, p. 4).

5.4.3 Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security

Another strategy adopted by Defence is their commitment to Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (referred to as NAP), which was developed to support the United Nations Security Council Resolution 125 and related resolutions on women,

peace and security. A Defence Implementation Plan has been developed to enable monitoring and reporting on the execution of the 17 Defence actions and 11 measures in the NAP. The Plan includes tasks that provide greater emphasis and focus on gender mainstreaming activities that align with international, UN and NATO efforts to integrate a gender perspective into armed forces, military operations and missions (Department of Defence, 2012a).

5.4.4 Project Suakin

Project Suakin has been developed as a whole-of-Defence workforce model to contribute to ADF capability by providing the flexibility to manage the workforce using full-time, part-time and casual service arrangements. The Project has been in the planning stage for some years. During 2014-2015, the Project undertook a range of "test and learn" activities to finalise the design of the model. Amendments to Defence legislation were also necessary to allow permanent members access to flexible service arrangements. Implementation of the Total Workforce Model commenced in 2015 (Department of Defence, 2014a, p. 130; 2015, p. 130). In preparation for the implementation of the Project, the Navy conducted in 2014 a once-off data collection exercise to seek information from commands and establishment on the numbers of permanent Navy people engaged in enduring (30 days or longer) formal Flexible Work Arrangements (FWA). The result was 703 shore based personnel had formal FWAs. The composition was 55 per cent male and 45 per cent female. The breakdown of types for women is shown in Table 5-3 (Department of Defence, 2014b, pp. 46-47).

Table 5-3: Navy shore based members engaged in enduring FWAs, by type, 2013-2014

Flexible Work Type	% of Women
Alternate Location Work	7 %
Variable Work Hours	54%
Home Located Work	15%
Remote Overseas Work	1%
Part Time Leave Without Pay	11%
Workplace Release for Study	12%

5.4.5 Other key Navy initiatives

Other key Navy initiatives include the Navy Women's Mentoring Program; the Navy Women's Networking Forum; the Navy Women's Leadership Program; the launch of Women in Navy web pages on the Defence jobs website; the establishment of a specialist recruiting team (Women for Navy); and reducing the initial minimum period of service for selected categories (Department of Defence, 2014b).

5.4.6 The effects of initiatives on women's participation in the ADF

In 2012 when the Broderick Report and Pathway to Change strategy were released, the number of women serving in the ADF was 7, 852 representing 13.8 per cent of the forces. The Navy had the highest percentage of women at 18.5 per cent (2,526 positions), followed closely by the RAAF with 16.9 per cent (2,410 positions), and the Army with 10.1 per cent but the highest number of women serving at 2,916. In the 28 years since the introduction of the SDA, when the number of women serving in the ADF was 4,673, up until the 2012 Broderick Report the total number of women in the ADF has risen by 3,179, which is a growth rate per annum of 2.43 per cent. In the subsequent three years to 2015 when the Pathway to Change Strategy was introduced, the growth rate per annum has fallen to 0.99 per cent. In Navy's case, the growth rate per annum between 1984 and 2012 was 5.46 per cent but in the three years between 2012 and 2015, the per annum rate fell to 1.35 per cent (see Table 5-4) (Reghenzani, 2015, pp. 22, 42-43). While the Navy appears to be performing better than the ADF overall, a comprehensive analysis of the impact of the initiatives since 2010 has not been undertaken. The inaugural *Women in the ADF* report, which was published as an online supplement to the DAR 2013-14, provides a baseline for future reporting on women's participation and experience in the ADF. To review the effectiveness of the strategies implemented by the Navy and Defence to recruit and retain more women, further research external of the department is recommended.

Table 5-4: A snapshot of the growth of women in the ADF since the SDA

Year	RAN		Army		RAAF		ADF total	
30 June	Women	Per cent	Women	Per cent	Women	Per cent	Women	Per cent
1984	999	6.0	1,963	6.1	1,711	7.5	4,673	6.5
2012	2,526	18.5	2,916	10.1	2,410	16.9	7,852	13.8
2015	2,628	18.8	3,521	12.1	2,657	18.6	8,086	15.3

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5.5   CHAPTER SUMMARY

The federal government's role in achieving employment equality for ADF women was driven by both values and pragmatism. From the WWII years, Curtin's Labor Government took a pragmatic approach to women's workforce participation—women's labour was needed to win the war. However, once victory was achieved traditional values resurfaced and the majority of workforce women were once again relegated to home duties. The need for Servicewomen resurfaced though during the Korean, Vietnam and Gulf Wars. Australia's participation in the Vietnam War came to an end soon after Whitlam came to office in 1972.

Whitlam's Labor Government came into office during a time of immense social change; one of the most important social changes taking place being the increased participation of women in the workforce. The principles of social equity and justice guided the Whitlam Government's agenda and they acted quickly to remove discrimination and injustice against women and to improve the basis of equality upon which women could participate in society. One of the many initiatives was the introduction of maternity leave for commonwealth employees that subsequently flowed on to ADF women. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Whitlam Government was also responsible for amalgamating the various Defence departments and creating one Department of Defence. He then directed the Department investigate new employment opportunities for ADF women. Whitlam's view of women was on public display through his partnership with his wife, Margaret, who was also committed to social justice and who identified with and spoke out on feminist causes. The Whitlam Government's initiatives came to fruition under the Fraser Liberal Government, which supported the elimination of discrimination against women by signing the United Nations CEDAW.

The Hawke Labor Government ratified CEDAW thus showing their support for this new values approach to women and their ongoing commitment with the passing of the SDA. The Government went further by lifting combat-related restrictions but stopped short of removing the combat restrictions because of a saviour attitude towards women's safety, which reflected the traditional values of men being the provider and protector of women. The Keating Labor Government had oversight of the Services implementation of the removal of combat-related restriction for women. The Government was quick to examine issues raised with the implementation process as occurred with the Senate Inquiry into the *Swan* allegations. The Government was also quick to remove the combat restriction for

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most of the previous denied roles, which followed two years after the announcement of the lifting of the combat-related restriction.

The Howard Government applied a mainstreaming approach to women's policies taking the view that the "feminist battle" had been won. Feminists argued the Howard Government's approach was regressive as there were still many barriers to women's full participation in the workforce. The analysis of the statistics of women serving in the ADF during the Howard Government's term in office supports this view.

Under the Rudd Labor Government, acknowledgment was made that a recruitment and retention strategy for women was needed. CDF pursued this approach and after engaging a group of high achieving women and undertaking wide consultation with women released the proposed strategy in 2009. The success or otherwise of the strategy was evaluated by the 2012 Broderick review into the treatment of women in the ADF. The Report recommended the strategy be discarded as it had not been sufficiently supported to produce the desired outcomes.

The Gillard Labor Government lifted the final barrier to women's full participation in the ADF. This too was subject to an implementation strategy. The success or otherwise of this five-year strategy will also need to be evaluated in the future along with Defence's commitment to Australia's NAP in support of the United Nations Women, Peace and Security Agenda, and other initiatives adopted by the Navy and Defence.

Achieving equal employment opportunity for women in the ADF has been a journey of 61 years (1950 – 2011). During this time, women have demonstrated that gender is no barrier to accomplishing the mission. Active intervention from federal governments and the Defence hierarchy have brought about many changes. These have included legislatives changes such as the SDA and the lifting of combat-related and combat restrictions. However, while women now have the same employment opportunity as men there remains an imbalance in the number of women serving and the number of women in senior leadership roles where the power to make decisions reside. The regressive years of the Howard Coalition government severely hampered the progress made by the femocrats, who worked towards implementing legislation and policy to give women equal status in the workforce and in society. Howard's view that the feminist battle had been won is not supported by the representation of women in the workforce, such as in the Australian Parliaments, in academia, in sports, in the law, on boards and in Defence. A true indicator

of equality for Navy women will be a continuing increase in the number of women in the ADF workforce, particularly in the senior leadership roles and across occupations. Because the Navy and the other two Services face significant workforce and sustainability challenges in the coming decades, recruiting and retaining women in the full spectrum of positions must remain a top priority. There strategies for recruitment and retention must include special measures such as quotas.

CHAPTER 6

CHANGING CULTURE

Image: New Generation Navy Ship Image (Royal Australian Navy)

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6.1   INTRODUCTION

> One Commanding Officer welcomed me as a person but told me that he wasn't keen
> having his command as a social experiment.
>
> (Rienks, 2013, p. 30)

The catalyst for cultural change in the Navy was the 1992 HMAS *Swan* event, which involved allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault raised by Lieutenant Carol Wheat serving on board the ship. In Chapter 3, I explained how I chose out of nearly 200 definitions of culture, one that I thought most closely encapsulate the culture of the Navy. The chosen definition states:

> The culture of an organisation refers to the unique configuration of norms, values,
> beliefs, ways of behaving and so on that characterise the manner in which groups and
> individuals combine to get things done. The distinctiveness of a particular
> organization is intimately bound up with its history and the character-building effects
> of past decisions and past leaders. It is manifested in the folkways, mores, and the
> ideology to which members defer, as well as in the strategic choices made by the
> organization as a whole (Eldridge & Crombie (1974), p. 89).

This definition has to be considered in terms of the history of the Navy. When the *Swan* event occurred, women had been posted to Australian warships for only one year. Consequently, there was a male dominated culture on Navy ships stretching back 80 years. Several submissions to the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (the Committee), which inquired into the *Swan* matter, characterised the culture across the Australian Defence Forces as "male dominated, paternalistic and ingrained with gender bias against women" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 304).

The Navy leadership (also referred to as the Navy) acknowledged in its submission to the Committee that cultural change was indeed needed. Their statement included:

> HMAS *Swan* was a trigger. It showed that the previous perception of integration at
> sea progressing satisfactorily could … be quite wrong. It showed a need for cultural
> change within Navy, which in hindsight, should have been anticipated at the time that
> mixed gender work in Navy was introduced and then expanded. (Senate Standing
> Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 268)

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In the previous chapter, I examined a range of steps and successes achieved in working towards an integrated Navy, which gave women equal employment opportunity. However, the undercurrent of cultural resistance remained. The traditional norms, values and beliefs of an organisation will not change without intervention. Apart from promulgating some policy, the Navy had not taken any steps to change the traditional culture when it posted women to ships, consequently a male dominated culture remained. The introduction of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) was in itself insufficient to change culture in the Navy. Even the increase in the number of women serving in the Navy was insufficient as women were still a minority group, with minimal power to affect change at the decision-making level.

In this chapter, I use the *Swan* event and its repercussions to explore my second main research question:

> How were the changes integrating women into the sea environment managed from
> an organisational perspective and what were the experiences of serving women?

The *Swan* event is analysed using van Dijk's *Event Model* in conjunction with Dauber, Fink and Yolles' (2012b) *Configuration Model of Organizational Culture*. The *Event Model* schema is used first to address the setting, participants and actions/events. The *Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* is used to explore the external response to the *Swan* event, the strategies embarked on by the Navy to address the unacceptable behaviour, and the level of success of the reforms.

6.2   THE HMAS SWAN EVENT

6.2.1 Background

As mentioned in the previous chapter and listed in Appendix 1, women were slowly integrated into billets at sea. For example, in January 1990, eight female sailors posted to billets in the hydrographic ship HMAS *Moresby*. The following month one female officer and four sailors were posted to the amphibious heavy lift ship HMAS *Tobruk*. In August 1990, the Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) approved the employment of female crew members in ships deploying to the Persian Gulf. In January 1991 when the replenishment ship HMAS *Westralia* deployed to the Persian Gulf, there were two female officers and five female junior sailors amongst the crew. In May 1992, 32 females joined the guided missile frigate

HMAS *Sydney*. Also in May 1992, HMAS *Swan* embarked on a fourth month Asian deployment with a female doctor (Lieutenant Wheat) and four junior sailors; two female trainee officers joined one month later.

While briefings regarding the new policy associated with women being integrated into the sea environment occurred, no specific training was given to women or men in respect to the cultural changes that would be experienced on ships with mixed-gender crew. The four junior sailors and the two female trainee officers were permanent Navy members and had experienced mixed-gender training and the trainee officers had lived in a mixed-gender environment. However, the doctor was a Reservist with no military living-in experience and, as will be discussed later, her initial naval training was waivered. Why women on the *Swan* faced problems when other ships did not may be the result of a number of factors. These include effective leadership, women working through the issues either independently or with the assistance of other women or men, and women having issues but suffering in silence by not reporting them.

In response to a letter sent by Wheat to the Minister for Defence, Science and Personnel dated 25 November 1992 expressing dissatisfaction with various aspects of her service on the *Swan* and subsequently, the Navy convened a Board of Inquiry (BOI) on 21 December 1992 to investigate the matters raised. During the inquiry, the Board discovered that some of the junior sailors had also faced sexual harassment. The Board delivered its findings in a confidential report to the Maritime Commander (MC) on 8 March 1993. With some variations, the recommendations were largely adopted. Six months later some of the matters dealt with by the Board were prominently featured in the media and allegations were made that the incidents and investigations had been inappropriately handled. On 9 September 1993, the then Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, Senator John Faulkner, raised the matter with the Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade and subsequently issued a press release in which his actions were stated. On 29 September, the Senate referred the matter to the Committee for inquiry (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. i).

6.2.2 The Setting

HMAS *Swan*[98] as depicted in Plate 6-1 was built at HMA Naval Dockyard Williamstown in Victoria and commissioned in January 1970 (see Figure 1). The River Class Destroyer Escort was not a large ship being 112.8

Plate 6-1: HMAS *Swan*

metres in length and 12.5 metres across the beam, with a displacement of 2750 tonnes. Despite the compact size, the ship had a crew capacity of 250. The hull was designed in 1947; the internal configuration in 1953 and construction of this Class began in 1954 (Royal Australian Navy, 2014b). When the ship was launched, ships' companies were all male and crew comfort and privacy were not a high priority. As Commander Brinkley (Rtd) (1993) stated, "the design of a modern warship is a series of compromises between conflicting requirements for space, weight and power" (p. 70).

In 1992, 22 years after commissioning, HMAS *Swan* had two deployments when female personnel were embarked. The first was a six-week deployment in March-April to participate in an exercise (Kangaroo 92) in Australian waters. The second was a four month deployment to Asia from late May to early October in the company of HMAS *Westralia* (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 66). The female complement consisted of three female officers (one medical doctor and two Seaman Officer trainees) and four female junior sailors.[99] The doctor, Lieutenant Carol Wheat, was given a single cabin. The other two officers and four sailors shared accommodation, which the Committee (1994) said "was an unusual arrangement as officers do not normally share facilities with enlisted personnel" (p. 68). In preparing for the women to join *Swan,* the Captain considered that the most pressing problem was one of accommodation. He told the Committee (1994) that:

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[98] The ship at the centre of the event was the third RAN ship to bear this name. The RAN adopted the British convention for naming ships by naming large ships, such as aircraft carriers and cruisers, after major cities and smaller ships, such as destroyers and frigates, after towns and rivers. Another important naming principle adopted from the Royal Navy was the practice of reusing names in later generations of ships in order to build tradition and foster a sense of esprit de corps among ships' companies. All vessels that inherit a RAN warship's name carry forth the Battle Honours won by their Australian predecessors. For more details, see: http://www.navy.gov.au/history/feature-histories/naming-ran-ships.

[99] Originally the Navy was going to post only one female to the ship but the ship's Captain argued a single woman would feel isolated. The doctor joined for the Asian deployment; the two female trainee officers joined on 27 June 1992 in the Philippines after the start of the Asian deployment.

> The ship was of 1960s design and had no provision whatsoever for females on board. I considered that there was a clear need to provide an adequate segregated messdeck for the females. I presented the problem to my heads of department along with my thoughts on a possible solution. Modifications were made and a great deal of effort was taken by the ship's staff to complete alterations in time for the females to join the ship, bearing in mind the considerable financial constraints which I was working under. (p. 70)

A disused space, previously the guidance control room for Ikara Missiles no longer carried by the ship, was modified for the women's accommodation. The room contained six bunks and was not only more spacious than standard sailors' accommodation but also air-conditioned, a facility not present in the male accommodation. For example, the male Junior Sailors' Mess accommodated 50 sailors in rows of bunks three along and three high; each bunk only had a curtain around it for privacy and to darken the space to allow sleep when the lights were on. This mess was adjacent to the vessel's engine room and therefore subject to excessive heat and vibration. Similarly, the Petty Officers' Mess was directly above the boiler room, which was the hottest part of the ship (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 70). Consequently, in an extremely small ship with limited space, women were favourably treated in respect to accommodation.

From the evidence presented, the Committee (1994) concluded that the biggest challenge for Navy women had been harassment in the form of hostility and resentment (p. 206). Consultancy firm Triulzi Collins Solutions (TCS) asserted in its submission to the Committee that the integration of women into the sea environment was a major change and noted that any major change can be accompanied by a sense of loss (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 4). Ms Triulzi of TCS explained how grief accompanies loss, resulting in the men feeling resentment and the women not understanding why (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 4-5). Her evaluation is supported by Kubler-Ross's five stages of grief model where stage two, anger, can present in the negative behaviour of resentment (Axelrod, 2006). The Committee (1994) concluded that one way in which resentment can be expressed is in the form of sexual harassment (p. 5). There is no doubt this occurred as Chief of Navy at the time, Vice-Admiral MacDougall told the Committee (1994), "There has been a great deal of soul-searching. We acknowledge that historically we are a misogynistic society. The warrior ethos is strong. There are many complexities to this" (p. 53). Therefore, the culture on board Navy ships was one of hegemonic masculinity. Charles Van Wijk and Gillan Finchilescu's investigation of the psycho-social effects of gender integration

in the South African Navy (SAN) supports this comment as they found men in the SAN feared integration due to the threat it posed to their identity and lifestyle (van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008, p. 239). Similarly, in her study into the culture of RAN ships around the time of the *Swan* event, Agostino (1997b) found that the cultural definer of hegemonic masculinity was preserved through collective male activities, which included the watching of pornographic movies, attending male only nude parties, practices such as penis grabbing and boasting about sexual exploits. Agostino (1997b) also found that men may be more or less hegemonic depending on the spaces they occupy. When on board they will more often than not engage in hegemonic behaviour in an effort to belong to the dominant group.

The next section identifies only 10 main participants involved in the allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault. Many more of the male crew were complicit as they did nothing to curtail the behaviour for fear of being ostracised by the dominant group. After listing the main participants, I review using my feminist lens the most significant events identified by the Committee followed by further actions taken by the Navy, and the views of some Navy women. Later, I consider the external responses, followed by an examination of and discussion on the Navy's response to reform culture as despite the external pressures for reform, the Navy did show a willingness to look at the issues of gender inequity and inappropriate workplace behaviours.

6.2.3 The Participants

The participants of the *Swan* event consisted of the Ship's Officers and crew but in particular those listed in Table 6.1:[100]

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[100]   The names are listed in alphabetical order.

Table 6-1: Main participants in the *Swan* event

Name	Position
Lieutenant Peter Bartlett	Operations Officer
Chief Petty Officer Kevin Broad	Supervisor for female junior sailors
Leading Seaman Sheena Connelly	One of the four female junior sailors
Leading Seaman Wendy Flannery	One of the four female junior sailors
Able Seaman Donna Foat	One of the four female junior sailors
Lieutenant Mary Ganter	One of two female trainee officers
Lieutenant Commander Raymond James	Weapons Electrical Engineering Officer
Sub-Lieutenant Michele Miller	One of two female trainee officers
Commander Denis Mole	Commanding Officer/Ship's Captain
Lieutenant Commander Michael Spruce	Executive Officer and Wardroom[101] President
Able Seaman Lissa Voullaire	One of the four female junior sailors
Lieutenant Carol Wheat	Female medical officer

6.2.4 The Actions/Events

A number of unacceptable behavioural incidents allegedly occurred on *Swan* leading first to the BOI, and then to the Senate Inquiry. The Committee identified the most significant events as follows (1994).

The alleged failure by the Officers to integrate Lieutenant Wheat into the Wardroom. In early August 1992, the Captain was alerted by the ship's policeman that Wheat appeared upset. The Captain discovered that some male Officers had been using inappropriate language in the Wardroom. However, he concluded that although the behaviour was unacceptable, it did not constitute sexual harassment as then defined in the Defence Instruction and the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) (SDA). The Committee's report, indicated that Wheat did not disagree with that conclusion at the time (p. 123). No doubt Wheat's lack of adequate training in Navy policies and protocol, led her to accept Mole's conclusion because later Wheat claimed she was "subjected to sexual harassment in the form of … deliberate verbal affronts of a sexual nature made against her … [and] unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature in relation to her" (p. 124). Furthermore, she stated, "the behaviour of the group of officers in question was largely, condoned by other members of the wardroom (p. 124).

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[101] Wardroom is the name given to a commissioned officers' mess.

The outcome of the inappropriate use of language in the Wardroom was that the Captain reprimanded one officer, Lieutenant Bartlett, and removed him from his post, the prestigious and relatively senior position of Operations Officer. Bartlett also apologised to Wheat. In addition, the Captain directed the Executive Officer speak to members of the Wardroom about their behaviour. Bartlett subsequently received a censure[102] from CNS who considered the BOI's recommendation of quarterly reports[103] as too lenient. The Committee found a major contributing factor in Wheat's difficulties in settling in was her lack of adequate training. In particular, due to a shortage of doctors, corners were cut and Wheat did not undergo the nine-week Qualified Entry Officers Course at the Royal Australian Naval College undertaken by Reservists. This indicates that the decision by the Navy leadership to send Wheat to sea without adequate training was not only reckless and irresponsible but also disrespectful as here she was, a woman, being placed into a male-dominated environment without the necessary naval skills. While she had the professional skills, she had not been afforded the time to gain the organisational skills. Even if she had time to acquire the naval skills, there is no guarantee the Wardroom behaviour would not have occurred as the culture on board the ship would not have been any different. The men were the dominant group and, exercising their position of power, controlled the conversation topics.

Lieutenant Wheat's allegations of sexual harassment by Lieutenant Commander James.
While Wheat accused Lieutenant Commander James of sexual harassment, the BOI concluded, and the Senate Committee concurred, that James was not an active contributor to the sexual harassment that occurred on board *Swan*. Evidence presented indicated James had in fact attempted to curb the language of other officers in the Wardroom. The two other female officers on *Swan*, when asked for their view by the Captain immediately after the Bartlett incident, described the behaviour of some officers as "boring" and "annoying" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 126). The BOI subsequently found that each of the women had been subjected to sexual harassment. This finding posed a dilemma for the Committee when neither of the two women felt they had been harassed. They concluded the different reactions of the three

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[102] A censure is a written record that an officer's conduct or behaviour has fallen short of that expected. A censure can affect the officer's future employment and promotion. A Chief of Naval Staff censure is the most severe as it remains on the officer's service record for the rest of his or her career, unlike a ship Commanding Officer's censure where the record is usually discarded from the officer's file on posting.

[103] Quarterly reporting is an administrative punishment that delays and precludes the promotion of the officer involved.

women in essentially the same environment highlighted the difficulties in understanding and dealing with sexual harassment (1994, p. 126).

Lieutenant Wheat's allegation of sexual assault by Lieutenant Commander James. On 15 August 1992 during a port visit to Lumut in Malaysia, Wheat alleged she was sexually assaulted by James on board the ship. On 17 August 1992, Wheat informed the ship's policeman of the incident at which time the Captain began preliminary investigations and requested an investigation team from Maritime Headquarters in Sydney. Two days later on 19 August, the investigating team comprising Commander Judith Horobin (legal officer), Lieutenant Commander Paul Flynn (policeman), and Captain Michael Flynn (doctor) arrived in Lumut. Wheat was transferred to a local hotel during the investigation and then to HMAS *Westralia* prior to returning home by air on 29 August 1992. Due to the criminal nature of the alleged offence, a court martial was convened and on 18 December 1992, James was acquitted.

Chief Petty Officer Broad's behaviour towards the female sailors. On 8 July 1992, two of the female sailors, Leading Seamen Connelly and Flannery, saw the *Swan's* Chaplain regarding problems they were encountering with their supervisor, Chief Petty Officer Broad. The BOI found Broad had engaged in unacceptable sexual behaviour and recommended a censure by the Maritime Commander (MC). The Committee confirmed that while sexual harassment had taken place, significant deficiencies in personnel management had led to the issues faced by these female sailors. The Committee stated that it was not so much the language but the "total lack of support and encouragement, the inflexibility and lack of sympathy for the problems the women were experiencing on the job that ultimately made the language itself humiliating" (1994, pp. 138-139). With respect to the management aspects, they recommended a review of practices in relation to the integration of women at sea due to serious health, safety and productivity implications (1994, pp. 142-143).

An analysis of the BOI and Senate Transcripts reveals that the junior sailors on board did raise with other parties concerns they had on board. However, their concerns never reached the Commanding Officer. For example, the Chaplain reported to the Committee that the women complained about cramped working conditions, the unsociable six-on and six-off watchkeeping system, lack of privacy on board and in one case family issues with child care. The women did not complain to him however about Broad's abusive or offensive language (1994, pp. 139-141). The Chaplain was unable to resolve the issues relating to the

cramped working quarters and lack of privacy due to the constraints of the ship's capacity, but he did speak to Broad regarding the watchkeeping system. He was told it was impossible to change the system due to the limited number of personnel assigned to the department. As the Chaplain regarded the complement issue as a command decision his hands were tied. The junior sailors' reluctance to make a full complaint may have been due to Broad's threating behaviour. Broad was one of the more senior of the senior sailors on board *Swan* and he had sole authority within his department. His seniority and bullying tactics no doubt, and sadly to the detriment of the women, restrained others from taking action against him.

Van Dijk's Event Model requires more than just listing the event. The allegations raised by the three women and the subsequent actions taken are explained above. Now the model requires an analysis of the organisation's response to bringing about cultural reform. In the early stage, what other steps were taken by the organisation and what were the women saying?

6.2.5 Further Actions

The Maritime Commander issued Notices to Show Cause for Censure to Captain Mole (the Commanding Officer of the ship), Lieutenant Commander Spruce (the Executive Officer and Wardroom President) and Lieutenant Bartlett (the Operations Officer). He issued Chief Petty Officer Broad with a Notice to Show Cause for Discharge. The Chief of Naval Staff reviewed the MC's recommendations and the following actions were taken (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 182-183).

Captain Mole was censured by the Chief of Naval Staff:

> for failing to take adequate steps to keep [him]self sufficiently informed of events occurring within [his] command.

Lieutenant Commander Spruce was censured by the Chief of Naval Staff for:

> failing to set and enforce appropriate behavioural standards among HMAS SWAN officers both in the Wardroom and ashore.

Lieutenant Bartlett was censured by the Chief of Naval Staff for:

> allowing [his] behaviour in the wardroom HMAS SWAN to fall below an acceptable standard with respect to [his] conduct towards fellow officers. In particular, [his] persistent use of coarse and inappropriate language of an explicit sexual nature in the presence of female officers was totally unacceptable.

Chief Petty Officer Broad was directed to undergo counselling to improve his interpersonal relationship skills with subordinates and censured by the Chief of Naval Staff for:

> … [his] unacceptable behaviour towards female subordinates whilst serving in HMAS SWAN in 1992. Specifically, [he] used derogatory and sex-based terms in relation to them such as "SWODS" (sailors without dicks), "sluts", "bitches", "halfwit sisters", "dimwits", "numbskulls" and "idiots". [He] also created a hostile working environment for the female junior sailors in [his] division contrary to the provisions of [Defence Instructions] by not discouraging other personnel from using derogatory terms in relation to them.

The Committee (1994) recommended that the severity of the censures be reviewed in light of their findings, "equity demands that responsibility for the SWAN events be accepted across the management in the Navy. This means that the senior management also must acknowledge its failings and shoulder its fair share of corporate responsibility" (p. 245). This recommendation of the Committee supported a thorough review of the Navy's culture, starting from the people at the top.

On 17 December 1992, several months after Wheat raised her allegations and before the BOI, Rear Admiral Chalmers, the then Assistant CNS, wrote to Wheat offering her a one year extension to her contract at HMAS *Cerberus* as a civilian medical practitioner or two years continuous full-time service in the Reserve at HMAS *Albatross* with the future option to transfer to the permanent forces subject to workforce needs (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 110-111). Wheat chose to extend her contract for a year. Although she resigned her position as a civilian medical practitioner on medical advice on 6 August 1993, the Committee concluded that Wheat's future employment had been appropriately managed by Navy (1994, p. 111). According to the Committee, Wheat received more favourable treatment from the Navy than is normal for victims of alleged sexual assault in the community, which included paying her legal expenses (1994, p. 112). Given Wheat's experiences as a result of her time on board, and

particularly noting the hegemonic masculine climate she had to endure and the lack of training she received prior to joining the ship, the payment of legal expenses is considered not only justified but also inadequate. Wheat may have received a settlement but this is unknown as negotiations for compensation between Defence and Wheat's counsel broke down in 1994 and there is no public record of any compromise being reached or any payout being made (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 114).

In December 1993, about 18 months after Flannery and Connolly reported their concerns about their supervisor, the *Age* newspaper reported that a compensation payout believed to be $60,000 to each sailor had been agreed in a one-day arbitration conducted in November 1993 before the former Chief Justice of New South Wales, Sir Laurence Street (Daly, 1993). Despite the settlement, the Navy did not accept liability. Nevertheless, the article reported that the women's legal costs were paid by the Navy as well as ongoing professional counselling fees. The Defence spokesperson, Brigadier Adrian D'Hage told Daly (1993):

> Defence acknowledges that both these people have suffered as a result of the incidents and we were keen to ensure that justice was done. That is why we offered mediation very swiftly. We have a duty to ensure that where people do suffer psychological or other damage … adequate compensation is paid.

At the time, the amount of compensation was believed to have been the highest paid under the *SDA* (Daly, 1993). Nevertheless, by not accepting liability for the way the women were treated on board, Defence and the Navy leadership condoned the behaviour and therefore sanctioned the patriarchal structure of the seagoing environment where masculine values, ideas and typical modes of living permeated. If they had accepted liability, a very clear message would have been delivered to the members of the Navy that unacceptable behaviour would not be tolerated.

Following the *Swan* event, both Ganter and Miller went on to have productive careers in the Navy. These two women were able to move on because they had "survived" ADFA, when ADFA's culture was not inclusive of women, as reviews into the treatment of women at ADFA attest (see Table 6-4). They had survived ADFA because they had learnt how to survive the dominant group; a skill which held them in good stead while serving on *Swan*.

6.2.6 Women's voices

In March 2013, nearly 20 years after the *Swan* event, Sheena Connelly, one of the Leading Seaman who raised allegations of sexual harassment on the ship, contributed an article to the newsletter of the Victoria Ex-WRANS Association entitled, *My years in the Navy (*Connelly*, 2013, p. 8)*. Her story does not mention the sexual harassment issues on *Swan*, although she does describe the situation that led to her being selected to be posted to the ship. In her reminisces, she stated:

> In Sept 1991 I was posted to RANTEWSS[104] at HMAS Albatross. This was quite an interesting posting as until my arrival it had been male only and all submariners. From there I was posted to HMAS Swan in Feb 1992. At that stage there had never been a female serve on Swan before. The posting was for a 7month deployment and the only other male sailor who was qualified for the specific job was on a submarine indefinitely so I got the job. To allow me to join the ship as part of the RANTEWSS team Canberra had to agree to allow females on Des.[105] At that time several women had served on supply and training ships but not on warships. During the 7month trip Swan … visited various ports including Singapore, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Thailand and South Korea … At the end of the trip in Oct 1992 I returned to RANTEWSS until Dec 1992 where I was posted to DSD[106] … I finally paid off in Oct 1993.

Connelly's underlying story indicates that she was proud to be picked as one of the first women to be posted to a warship. Her story also reveals that she was well-travelled and talented. There is a hint of regret that she did not serve longer than 14 years. Here was a woman who joined the Navy in October 1979 as a Steward and then qualified nine years later in 1988 as a Chinese linguist after a 12-month intensive course at the Defence Force School of Languages. She recalled:

> Although it's been 19 years I have never really settled back into civvie life and there are times where I really miss it. There are not many jobs on the outside that come anywhere near forces when it comes to camaraderie, the diversity of experiences and the feeling of being part of something larger than life.

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104   RANTEWSS is the acronym for the RAN Tactical Electronic Warfare Support Section.
105   Des is an abbreviation for the word Destroyers.
106   DSD is the acronym for Defence Signals Directorate.

Connelly does not mention in her story the difficulties she experienced on the *Swan*. Rather, her narrative indicates that she would rather remember the "good times". Her choice of words also reveals a positive aspect of Navy's culture, namely the bonds or esprit de corps that military forces create and foster. She overlooks, by not mentioning in her story, the working in cramped conditions, often in a hostile environment, and being absent from loved ones. Instead she focuses on "being part of something larger than life", that is the group effort required to achieve the mission, thereby creating a sense of pride in serving one's country.

Lieutenant Sly, a navigator, had similar ambivalent feelings regarding her postings to sea. Despite previously being at sea and having served for eight years, she described her introduction to a patrol boat, which she conceded was "a real man's ship", as a real shock to herself and the crew (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 934). Given one day's notice to join the ship, she found herself as the sole woman on board and with the responsibility of being third in charge. She described her first two months on board as "the worst I had had in the Navy"; but when her posting came to an end she said, "the hardest thing I have had to do was to leave that ship" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 935). Her reflection on her departure from the patrol boat implies that she gained respect as one of the senior officers on board and had been accepted as part of the crew; thus the bonds she had built with the crew were difficult to break when her time on board was over. Sly expressed the view that the number of women posted to a ship is not the only, or even the primary factor to be considered. Rather, she argued a great many factors contribute to the success of women on board Navy ships. These included how well the ship's crew are prepared for women joining the crew and the level of skills of the female personnel, including their personal characteristics (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, pp. 934-935). Indeed, the Committee (1994) found critical factors included "the need to ensure that the woman herself is well prepared, is realistic in her expectations and feels confident that appropriate support is available to her should she need it" (p. 276).

Commenting on her time at sea on HMAS *Canberra* as a junior Supply Officer with two other female officers (a doctor and a junior Seaman Officer) on the ship's 1992 deployment, Commander Lisa Batchler (2013) said:

> … there were some who just weren't onboard with the concept of women at sea and that made for some tough days. Thankfully they were in the minority and the comradeship and support from most of our close-knit crew, and the inclusive approach of the Captain, usually made up for those unpleasant experiences. (p. 17)

The experiences of the women in this section show the diversity of responses when dealing with harassment. The two trainee officers on *Swan* brushed aside the Wardroom behaviour as "boring" and "annoying" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 126). According to Agostino (1998), their behaviour was one of silence so as not to incur negative consequences, a tactic also linked to avoidance. In choosing to remain silent regarding the Wardroom behaviour, the trainees chose to "belong" to the dominant group (like some of the males) as a mechanism to survive in the male-dominated space.

Sly on the other hand could not avoid her initiation period on the patrol boat as she was in a senior role. Consequently, judging by her summation of her experiences, she earned the respect of the crew through her professional approach and almost certainly with the support of her two superiors, the Commanding Officer and Executive Officer. Sly would have unlikely had the outcome she did without the support of the two senior (male) officers on board and the message of support their behaviour sent to the crew.[107]

Batchler revealed that being in a minority group at sea was not all smooth sailing but confirmed that those who created some "unpleasant experiences" for her were also in the minority. These four women, Ganter, Miller, Sly and Batchler, were officers and therefore had the privilege of rank and significantly more training in mixed gender environments in their background. Connelly was a junior sailor and worked in a secreted[108] and small space; an environment more conducive to harassment because of the lack of oversight by more senior female staff. All the women on *Swan* except Wheat worked shifts. Furthermore, the trainee officers and junior female sailors dining and recreation spaces were separate so despite sharing accommodation, there was limited opportunity for these women to establish a relationship.

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[107]   A Fremantle Class Patrol Boat complement was approximately 24. Because of the smaller complement, a patrol boat crew tends more easily to develop a "family" bond.

[108]   The nature of the work performed by Connelly and her co-workers was highly classified thus requiring a secure compartment with access limited to only a select few.

Also, there was no formal, female, support chain, such as the Divisional System described in Chapter 4. The Divisional System in the Navy is the backbone of Navy's structure, without it, leadership, direction and discipline are compromised as the essence of the system is the welfare and well-being of Navy personnel.[109] If such a support chain had been in place, the events in *Swan* may have at least been minimised. Having a divisional system in place would have ensured that the junior female ranks had senior female sailors on board, such as Petty Officers and Chief Petty Officers. These women would have had equal rank status to the senior male sailors on board, such as Chief Petty Officer Broad who was censured for his treatment of the junior female sailors and for creating a hostile working environment. While these senior rank female sailors would also have had limited sea experience, they had years of experience of working alongside men ashore, and would have, therefore, been in a position to challenge the power the senior ranked male sailors had over the junior female ranks.[110] Agostino (1998) found that many women do challenge sexism. Also women such as Wendy Malcolm (2013) and Donna Foat (HMAS Swan Board of Inquiry, 1992) reported that having more women on board created a more supportive environment. By not posting senior female sailors to the *Swan*, the Navy leadership undermined a fundamental component of the Navy structure; an actual structure within the patriarchal system that would have benefited the women.

In the next section of this chapter I address the external response to the *Swan* event. I outline the response of the external stakeholders: the federal parliament and community. Here Dauber, Fink and Yolles' *Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* links in with van Dijk's Event Model. I used the model as a method for sorting through publicly available documents to answer questions such as: Were the expected outcomes of the Navy met and what were the views of the stakeholders? What cultural values had to be questioned and changed to prevent further such incidents?

6.3   EXTERNAL RESPONSE TO SWAN EVENT

The Navy is an arm of the Australian Defence Force (ADF), and as such an institution founded on the traditions of the profession of arms. Those traditions are the basis for both the concept of service to nation and the codes of conduct that govern a professional

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[109]   A copy of the February 1992 Divisional Handbook formed part of Navy's submission to the Senate Committee.

[110]   The Committee for Women in NATO forces recommends that female personnel are not assigned to all-male groups and that junior female personnel are assigned to groups with senior female personnel (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a)

military force. A robust code of conduct is an important element in the process by which a military culture successfully balances the demands of the battlefield and the expectations of society (Orme, 2011, p. 3). Therefore, in this section I examine the external response to the *Swan* event to reveal whether the performance of the organization was judged satisfactory by stakeholders. Those who have an interest in the Navy are the members of the Australian Parliament who represent their constituents, Australian society, who have an expectation that members of the ADF will be accountable for their personal conduct at all times and that their behaviour should be of a high standard (Orme, 2011).

6.3.1 Federal Parliament

The Federal Parliament's view of the Navy's organisational performance is outlined in the Senate Inquiry's Report. Although the Committee (1994) made 42 recommendations, the members of the bi-partisan Committee were reassured that the Navy had addressed the issue of sexual harassment with "great energy and commitment" (p. vii). The Committee (1994) was also satisfied that at an organisational level the Navy was "actively pursuing a program of educating its personnel and raising awareness across the organisation about sexual harassment" (p. viii). Whether the Navy continued to implement reform strategies and the success of their strategies is discussed later in this chapter.

6.3.2 Community

The Committee received 122 submissions; 16 were from various organisations and the remainder from individuals including many from current and former Service personnel. Many submissions pointed out that members of the ADF come from the Australian community and therefore reflect broad community attitudes, including those about relations between the sexes and on issues such as sexual harassment.

In his submission, Dr Hugh Smith from the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) argued that a number of factors contribute to unacceptable behaviour in present day society that is termed sexual harassment. Factors such as social conditioning into prescribed roles, stereotypes of male and female behaviour and unequal power relationships "influence those in the armed forces as well as the rest of society. But in the armed forces, these factors tend to work even more strongly than in society at large" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 16 February 1994, p. 1219). His choice of the words "more strongly" suggests that the RAN is not representative

of broader society, and this view is supported given that in 2014 women made up only 18.6 per cent of the Navy workforce (Department of Defence, 2014a, p. 148) but 58.4 per cent of the civilian labour force[111] (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2014). Because women are underrepresented in the RAN, this accentuates the unequal power relationships, which creates an environment susceptible to unacceptable behaviour in the form of harassment and sexual harassment. The Committee came to a similar conclusion, stating the forces would face greater complexity when addressing cultural change. Nevertheless, they went on to say, "perhaps the surprising thing to emerge in this inquiry is that there is little evidence to suggest that sexual harassment is any worse in the Defence Force than elsewhere" (1994, p. vii). The Committee's finding indicates the need for all Australian workplaces to adopt a culture of respect. As discussed below in the section on the success or otherwise of reforms, eradicating unacceptable behaviour from the workplace continues to be a management challenge. I posit one reason for this type of ongoing behaviour is the rise of social media. Many people misuse social media. They use it as a means to disparage another person at arm's length. They say things through the written word or by posting images that they would never do or reveal face-to-face.

The Returned Services League (RSL) of Australia, an organisation that promotes itself as one of Australia's oldest and most respected national organisations, made a submission to the Committee. In his opening statement when appearing before the Committee, Rear Admiral Holthouse (Rtd), representing the RSL, stated the Services should reflect societal attitudes and standards and not become "some sort of a pacesetter in social change or social experimentation" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 16 February 1994, pp. 1180, 1191). In its submission, the RSL revealed their dislike of the women at sea policy with their argument that

> … war is a brutalising experience, and it follows that training and practising for war is also brutalising . . . it is our submission and our firm conviction that to recruit and train a military force on the one hand, and then to recoil in horror when its members occasionally exhibit unseemly aggressiveness or even brutality towards one another, is either deceitful or stupid, and certainly unfair to the general membership of our armed forces.

The submission went on to say that women should have the same opportunity as men to join the Defence Force but the government should not be creating a Service attractive to

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[111]   This figure comprises full-time, part-time and casual employees.

women, rather both men and women "should have similar traits, including aggression" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, pp. 1181, 1182, 1191). The RSL submission demonstrates that this long-standing organisation supported the concept of the traditional male stereotype characteristics of activity, aggression, dominance and technical proficiency. The nature of the operational environment in today's Navy takes place on a technically advanced warship and not arm-to-arm combat,[112] which means that there is more reliance on ability. Today's sailors and officers do not therefore need aggression as the RSL argue but rather confidence in their training and in their ability to defend the nation.

Sonia Humphrey, a journalist and film producer who described herself as "an ardent feminist and true believer in the equal participation of women" also made a submission to the Committee (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 770). She was employed by Film Australia Pty Limited to produce and supervise films. During the five years leading up to the Senate Inquiry, she produced over one hundred films for all three Services, including five major documentaries, and had open access to many ships. She was on board HMAS *Darwin* for the ship's 16-day transit from Sydney to Hawaii to participate in international naval exercises when the signal announcing the imminent employment of women at sea was received by the ship. Humphrey said, "It was greeted with a total absence of hysteria, sexual innuendo or resentment. It was viewed merely as the formalisation of a not unwelcome inevitable" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 716). When Humphrey later sailed on ships with women serving on board, she did not experience or witness any aggressive behaviour.

Humphrey's views were contrary to the RSL's on the issue of the Navy being a pacesetter. She praised the Navy for not delaying the embarking of women on ships and for their determination to solve the problems encountered. She praised the women for their professional commitment to the job and the male crew's acceptance. She said:

> There seems to me to be a hunger among serving members for a workplace that truly
> works and more accurately reflects society. I have been told, a number of times, by
> those serving at all levels that ships with women embarked are "nicer" ships, "more
> like home", ships you "want to come back to instead of spending the night in the
> pub". In those ships where women have been successfully integrated there is also a

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[112]   Navy personnel may incur face-to-face conflict such as when participating in a Boarding Party.

sense of pride, of "look at us, we've got it working, we've coped and it's good". This attitude was particularly evident on HMAS Sydney before her deployment to the Red Sea. She carries a large number of women and was blessed with a particularly supportive Commanding Officer and Second-In-Command. (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 768)

Humphrey highlighted a significant difference between *Sydney* and *Swan*. *Swan's* complement of women was three officers and four junior sailors (2.8%) whereas *Sydney's* complement as pointed out in the previous chapter was 35 women made up of two officers, three senior sailors and 30 junior sailors (16.2 per cent). Furthermore, *Sydney* had supportive leadership, which is a crucial element of inclusion. Having a higher proportion of women on *Sydney* and a divisional structure that included senior female sailors provided a more diverse network of women. Having a greater number of women on *Swan* would have diminished the feelings of isolation experienced by the women, who suffered an unbalanced gender workforce and a lack of proactive and supportive leadership. The lack of sufficient women on board *Swan* was affirmed by Able Seaman Donna Foat, one of the four junior sailors on board the ship, when giving evidence to the BOI (HMAS *Swan* Board of Inquiry, 1992, pp. 151-174). The following exchange occurred between the Counsel assisting the Board and Able Seaman Foat:

> Counsel: But the result was, because there was [sic] a small number of female sailors on board, that you ended up not being able to go out with them and not being able to ask anyone to step ashore with them?

> Foat: Yeah, it was like that, because on SUCCESS [where she was posted after her time on *Swan*] the girls there they all get on really well, all go out together. There's always a couple of them who want to go out and say 'Who's going to come out with me?' sort of thing. Very social and that.

> Counsel: Are you saying that it seemed to you to be a rather different situation where you have got a lot of female sailors on board?

> Foat: Well, yeah. Well, there's obviously more to choose from, more people that can be your type of person, your same sort of person, sort of thing. There was I think 13 girls in the mess at the moment and fortunately they just all – they are all people who go out, you know, whereas we're just completely different people on the SWAN. (HMAS *Swan* Board of Inquiry, 1992, p. 169)

Humphrey acknowledged that the integration of a new group into a previously segregated society is always difficult regardless of the type of organisation—private enterprise, government or the Services. She went on to say that the characteristics required to achieve integration were common sense, courtesy and adult behaviour on both sides. She stated:

> I can say quite honestly that those are exactly the attitudes which, in my observations and experience of the RAN, have characterised the integration process. Admittedly, there is the occasional dinosaur either the man who says "it was easier without them" or the woman who simpers "I just don't think I'd feel COMFORTABLE with all those men". Neither has any place in the RAN as I have experienced it and the fact is being, in my experience, made abundantly and unequivocally clear to them, not merely by management, but by their peers. (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 768)

She admitted that the integration process had been neither smooth nor flawless. However, she felt criticising the Navy for the failures that occurred unjust. Rather, she believed the Navy should have been applauded for their determination to succeed. She concluded her submission by saying, "The wonder is not that it has been difficult – the miracle is that it is happening at all" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 11 February 1994, p. 771). Humphrey's comments such as the "occasional dinosaur" reveal the importance of education in changing attitudes. The removal of sex-role socialisation from the education framework contributed to the ability of the Navy to move to an integrated operational workplace, however, Navy learnt too late the necessity to implement training to facilitate the integration process, which was one of change management.

The women's rights activist and author Beatrice Faust (1995, p. 43) argued that the fundamental issue of the *Swan* event was one of managing change. She (Faust, 1995) claimed harassment "cannot be easily measured because it is not always clearly defined" (p. 43). Furthermore, she refuted the claims of some feminist groups who insisted that "the woman's subjective perception was the essence of the offence" on the grounds that the law does not proceed on subjective perceptions in cases like murder, theft and battery (p. 43). She pointed out that the men who joined the Navy would have been "vulnerable to resentment at finding their conditions of employment changed without consultation with them. It would be amazing if women could be smoothly assimilated into this workplace simply by regulating entry procedures" (p. 44). According to Faust (1995), the *Swan* event demonstrated that where Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) legislation is

in advance of attitudes, other problems such as sexual harassment are likely to follow. In her discussion of the event, Faust clearly identifies that the event was not isolated to the ADF but rather a reflection of a societal problem. She therefore dismissed the RSL's argument that such behaviour is due to the aggressive traits of Defence members. A submission to the Committee by a member of the community confirmed Faust's view by stating, "I firmly believe that the standards of behaviour in the Defence Force are only a mirror of society in general" (1994, p. 306).

Faust's views were not dissimilar to those of the Committee, who devoted a whole chapter of their report to the subject of Sexual Harassment in the hope of trying to capture an understanding of the behaviour. Of particular relevance is the Committee's concurrence with Faust's feminist views. Importantly, the Committee pointed out that sexual harassment is not about sex but about power, and both men and women can send out conflicting messages when learning the new standards required in an EEO workplace. The Committee observed that CNS was committed "to a positive program of change in all workplace relationships in the Navy" (1994, p. iii) and agreed that attitudinal change must be achieved if lasting change is to be achieved.

The Committee dismissed the expectation of some of halting the "social experiment"—the employment of women in areas previously exclusively male—arguing that the difficulties encountered did not warrant going back to the old days (1994, p. viii). While acknowledging that some feminists may have different views to those of the Committee, they restated the challenge was to make the new opportunities work for both men and women (1994, p. ix). The Committee therefore reflects my view, that a liberal feminist view will realise that equal employment opportunities for women in the workforce can be achieved through legal and social reforms and within the existing male dominated social structure. The next section reviews the cultural reform strategies initiated by the Navy.

6.4   CULTURAL REFORM

With ongoing support for women being at sea, the Navy embarked on organisational and cultural reform. In this section I examine the next two steps in the *Configuration Model of Organizational Culture*: the strategy adopted by the Navy in response to the Committee's external critique of the organisation's values and the processes taken to implement the new strategy. In its approach to cultural reform, the Navy's strategy included a number of

initiatives. The major one was the Good Working Relationships (GWR) Project. Working with the consultancy firm TCS, the project was based on the following four-stage approach:

1. preliminary fact finding and research,
2. development of an education package to create a harmonious working environment,
3. change implementation, and
4. evaluation of the project.

Other responses to the *Swan* event included a review encompassing Navy's personnel policies, the communication process used by Navy, and its education and training programs (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 279-280). These initiatives are discussed in more depth in the following sub-sections.

6.4.1 Navy initiatives after *Swan* event and before the BOI (August 1992 – 21 December 1992)

The Navy took a number of steps to enhance awareness of sexual harassment immediately following the *Swan* event and before the decision to conduct an inquiry into the event. On 30 September 1992, the MC issued a Personal Memorandum to all Commanding Officers stating sexual harassment along with other forms of unacceptable sexual behaviours would not be tolerated in the Navy (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 247; 1994, p. 268).

One month later on 28 October 1992, the MC conducted an open forum to examine some issues concerning women. Following the forum, a paper on the assimilation of women at sea was prepared by Commander (later Captain) Carolyn Brand RAN (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 247).[113] She identified that Navy management had "failed to provide the guidance and training required by its personnel to deal with the significant change in the culture brought about by introducing women into combat units" (Brand, 1992, p. 7; 1994, p. 269). Although the Navy had provided commands with directives on the integration process, which included the required behavioural aspects, Brand found research carried out in the Dutch Navy identified that to change attitudes required more than providing information at the purely

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[113] Brand spent eight years in the Royal Navy as a specialist in submarine warfare and weapons analysis before joining the RAN. She went on to become the first female Commander of Australia's Mine Warfare Force and Commanding Officer HMAS *Waterhen*, with 500 personnel under her command.

cognitive level. Further, she found research carried out in the United States Navy indicated that members of a crew who had attended well-presented preparatory workshops expressed positive attitudes towards the introduction of females into their crew, as opposed to the negative ones expressed by those personnel who had not attended. Brand (1992) recommended Navy take a pro-active approach to change attitudes towards mixed gender crews through "a combination of effective leadership and management, structured education, discussion, involvement in change and experience" (p. 5; Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 349, Annex 1 Documents received from Navy Item 45).

From 26 November 1992, the Director of Naval Legal Services (a female) and the Director General of Chaplaincy Navy (a male) commenced a briefing tour to explain the new Defence instruction, "Management and Reporting of Unacceptable Sexual Behaviour" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 269).[114] From February 1993, this policy initiative was reinforced by the Personnel Liaison Team (PLT)[115] as part of their regular presentations to ships and establishments about conditions of service. On 3 May 1993, a female officer joined the PLT at the direction of the Assistant Chief of Naval Staff (Personnel) to "provide a broader perspective during presentations and to give women in the Navy an opportunity to discuss any gender specific items more frankly and privately" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, pp. 245, 254).

6.4.2 Navy initiatives during BOI held 21 December 1992 – 8 March 1993

In January 1993, CNS issued a directive through the RAN, which restated the Defence Instruction (General) on unacceptable sexual behaviour and included specific guidance for the naval environment (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 251). On 20 January 1993, CNS convened a meeting with the consultancy firm TCS who had experience in the field of integrating women into previously all-male work environments. He discussed with the firm the development of a gender

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[114] Defence Instruction (General) Personnel 35-3
[115] The PLT had its origin in the early 1970s when all three services introduced teams as a means of disseminating the findings and initiative of the Kerr/Woodward review of conditions of service. Disbanded in early 1984, the PLT was reintroduced in 1986 in support of CNS's primary objective: people. The aim of the PLT was "to establish in the minds of serving members of the RAN and their families, an awareness of and confidence in the activities of the office of the Chief of Naval Personnel concerning conditions of service in the RAN" (*Navy News*, 1986d).

awareness training package for all personnel in the Navy (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 251).

6.4.3   Navy initiatives after the BOI concluded on 8 March 1993

On 29 March 1993, a briefing tour of all Maritime Command ships on the subject of unacceptable behaviour commenced (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 245). In April 1993, the Good Working Relationships Project developed by consultancy firm TCS was approved and Stage One was commenced (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 251). The aim of the initial stage was to determine initiatives that Navy could introduce to enhance the working relationships between all Service and Civilian Personnel (Triulzi, 1993, p. 2).

In June 1993, the Navy established a centrally managed and confidential database of information on reports of sexual harassment and unacceptable sexual behaviour using the New South Wales Police Force database as a model. The rationale was that as Navy personnel constantly move, repeat offenders could be identified and dealt with formally (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, pp. 251-252).

On 9 September 1993, CNS (MacDougall, 1993b) told journalists at a press conference convened by the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel that prior to the *Swan* event, "We did not appreciate the sort of education program that we should have undertaken" (p. 14). He went on to give a personal reflection, stating, "The one regret I have is that in introducing women going to sea in warships that we didn't do more on the education side" (p. 14).

On 17 September 1993, CNS's Advisory Committee endorsed the GWR Project's nine recommendations; two for implementation immediately and the other seven for implementation as early as possible. The initiatives implemented immediately were Operation Lifeguard, which was the establishment of a confidential toll-free number to supply information on rights and avenues to take about discrimination or harassment; and the introduction of a Conflict Resolution Program facilitated by an independent consultant (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 364; Triulzi, 1993, p. 2). The remaining seven initiatives were the communication of Navy's Organisational Values; the appointment of a GWR Coordinator for Human Resource, EEO

and Employee Assistance Programs Policy and Program initiatives; the establishment of a GWR Advisory Taskforce; the writing of policies in plain English using non-discriminatory language, style and content; the establishment of a Problem Response Team to assist Commanding Officers; the development of a career continuum training package to give personnel the knowledge and skills necessary to work in harmony in a mixed-gender environment; and Public Service awareness training for personnel who have responsibility for Defence civilians (Triulzi, 1993, p. 2).

6.4.4 Good Working Relationships Project

The methodology of Stage One of the GWR Project, Navy's major initiative to reform culture, included a "climate survey" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 258). This approach was no doubt driven by the BOI conclusion that "the Navy climate has appeared in the past to condone, if not encourage uncouth behaviour, liberal use of alcohol and a degree of misogyny" (HMAS *Swan* Board of Inquiry, 1992, p. 29; Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 75). An article entitled *Campus Battlelines – Clash of the Sexes* appearing in the *Sydney Morning Herald* during the BOI corroborated that similar behaviour was occurring in society. The article explored the behaviour and attitudes to female students of several all-male colleges at a Sydney University. The strong male identity in the Colleges created an atmosphere of "clubiness" in which males who individually would most likely be well behaved, civilised citizens regressed to express outrageous views and exhibit behaviour not of a standard acceptable to the general public. While university students would modify their behaviour when moving on from university, Navy traditions adopted a herd mentality in protecting that last bastion of the male warrior. Consequently, the BOI found that due to their sea-going commitments many male sailors had a tendency to live a double life. At home with families they behaved as upstanding citizens but in the sea-going environment they could "revert to juvenile and generally unacceptable behaviour" (HMAS *Swan* Board of Inquiry, 1992, p. 29). Again, as mentioned previously, many men would have adapted their behaviour to "belong". To ensure operational effectiveness was not compromised in a mixed gender work environment, attitudinal change was required to eliminate the multiplicity of roles in different spaces (Agostino, 1997b).

The aim of the climate survey was to assess the attitudes of Senior and Commanding Officers responsible for implementing and managing change in the RAN. The survey

revealed significant resistance to change in the senior (male) leadership group (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994, p. 281). The Committee found the senior leadership had an entrenched view that the RAN was "different"; a view reinforced through Defence's exemption from the SDA (1994, p. 282). The RSL in their submission to the Committee (who were represented by an Admiral at the public hearings) supported this view arguing the Navy is "different" and "a unique institution" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 16 February 1994, pp. 1182, 1189). According to TCS Consultants, success of the project would "require the establishment … of a clear and consistent message that senior officers are committed to workplace and work-force changes, both in leadership and in the management of change processes" (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 4 February 1994, p. 258).

6.4.5 The demise of the Navy News Page Three Girl

An example of top down leadership reform process occurred in July 1993. On 2 July 1993, CNS directed that the N*avy News* Page 3 Girl should be "Retired" (Royal Australian Navy, 1993 Annex 13.1 p.9 and Senate Hansard p. 285). A scantily clad woman in provocative pose first appeared in *Navy News* on 6 August 1965 (*Navy News*, 1965a) (see Figure 6-2). This section of the news was initially introduced as "Our Choice of the Week*"*. Around the same time, there was a local newspaper the *Kings Cross Whisper* that featured a Page 3 Girl (Wagner, 2015) (see Figure 6-2). According to Wagner (2015), the *Whisper* was first published the year before in 1964 by two local Kings Cross journalists, reportedly as "a bit of fun". Famed for its naughty nudes and tongue-in-cheek satire about issues and important people of the day, the *Whisper's* purpose was to use provocative and irreverent material to sell newspapers; a rather risky venture in the mid-60s as Australia was still a fairly conservative country. However, the *Whisper* aimed to shock and it succeeded because it was forever at war with governments of the day who constantly tried to ban it. Surprisingly it survived into the 1970s.

Another paper, the *Daily Mirror*, featured a Page 3 Girl a decade before the *Whisper* and the *Navy News*. According to Davidson (1994), such images appeared in the Western Australian *Daily Mirror* in the 1950s. He (Davidson, 1994) stated:

> These women appeared in extensive two-piece bathers, looking well fed and very innocent. Their images appeared above captions which described them as 'pulchritudinous' and 'curvaceous' along with the mandatory measurements (in

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inches) — 'a trim 36 — 24 — 36' or 'a busty 39 — 25 — 37', and many shapes in between … there were also pictures of local women featuring big breasts and bulky hips with observations like: 'Juanita can compare with the best when it comes to inches'. (p. 210)

The discourse used in the newspaper demonstrates how the patriarchal structures within Australian society allowed women to be objectified as sex objects.
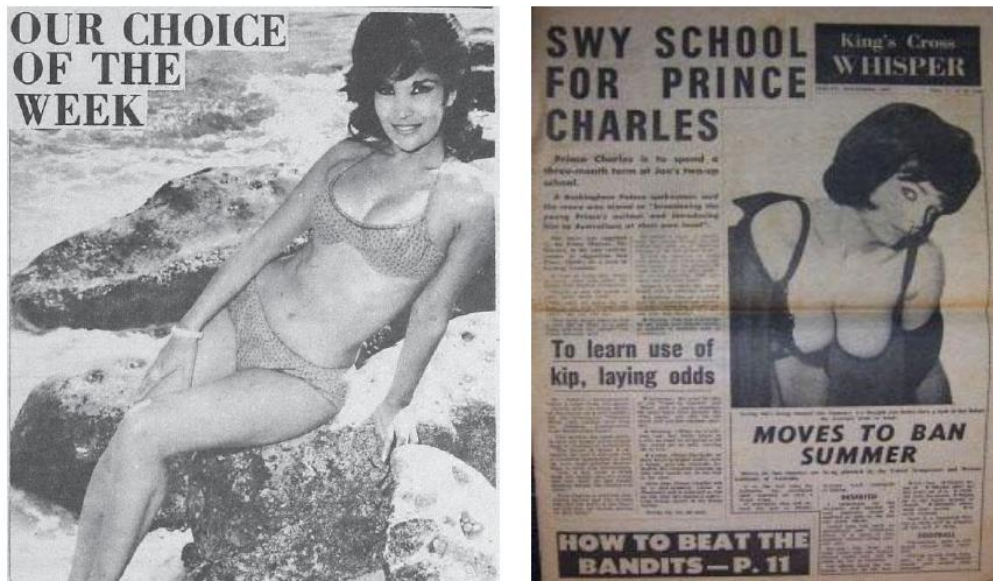
Plate 6-2: (left) First *Navy News* Page 3 Girl & (right) *Kings Cross Whisper* Page 3 Girl

Davidson (1994) stated that Rupert Murdoch bought the newspaper soon after returning from Britain in 1952 and set about changing the content and style because of his "priggish" personality (p. 231). Murdoch closed the paper in 1956 in an effort to increase the circulation of the *Sunday Times* (Davidson, 1994, p. 235). In 1960, John Fairfax Holdings sold the Sydney *Daily Mirror* to Murdoch (Isaacs & Kirkpatrick, 2003, p. 17). In the 1950s and 1960s the paper was considered a family newspaper. However in the 1970s and 1980s the content of the paper became more sensational, catering to a mainly male market and promoting a Page 3 Girl up until the early 1980s when, according to Paperworld (2010), political correctness forced it to clean up its image.[116] Ironically, when Murdoch purchased the UK *Sun* in 1969, he introduced a Page 3 Girl, who a year later started to pose topless and is still featured currently as shown in Figure 6-3 (Jukes, 2013).

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[116]   Sex discrimination legislation was introduced in Australia in 1984, hence the comment regarding political correctness, which is a term used to describe language, policies, or measures that are intended not to offend or disadvantage any particular group of people in society.

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In 2012, Lucy Anne Holmes commenced a campaign to have the UK *Sun* feature axed.[117] Despite huge support for the campaign, some women support the feature such as the paper's Page 3 Girl photographer Alison Webster (Durham, 2015, p. 58). Some women also use the opportunity to pose as the Page 3 Girl as a means to break into the fashion and entertainment industries such as 1970s Page 3 Girl Linda Lusardi and 1980s Page 3 Girl Samantha Fox (Deakin, 2014; King, 2013; *Sun*, 2015). King (2013) accepts the arguments that women pose willingly (and make money) and that women use it as a means to establish careers. However, she dismisses the argument "that women are taking their empowerment into their own hands by selling images of their beauty to millions of adoring and supposedly easily-pleased men who will pay money to see them". Rather she argues that such images appearing in a family magazine objectify women to the point that such images become "normalised", which sends the wrong message to the children of the seven million daily readers. King concludes that a Page 3 Girl does not empower women, instead "it has contributed towards the manifestation of a heinously misogynistic dialogue that reaches far beyond the third page of one newspaper".

Plate 6-3: UK *Sun* Page 3 Girl 2015, October 19

> The UK *Sun* newspaper continues to feature a Page 3 Girl. For a family newspaper with a readership of seven million, such an image does not empower women but normalises the sexual objectification of women.

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[117] (see https://www.facebook.com/NoMorePage3 and https://nomorepage3.wordpress.com/faqs/

Sensational stories and features along with advertising sustain the revenue base of newspapers (Davidson, 1994). For example, in a *Sydney Morning Herald* 1982 article about how women are portrayed in advertising, Geraldine O'Brien argued that "nothing had changed … advertisers were still pitching their sales at the Patterson Report … women were being presented as either the sex symbol or the contented drudge" (O'Brien, 1982, p. 5).[118] While a newspaper can be used to educate, enlighten, entertain and provide information that people need to make intelligent and informed decisions both in their daily lives and as they participate in the democratic process, profit is a priority for a newspaper, like any other business, if it is to remain viable. *Navy News* is financially supported by Defence but also carries advertising to offset operating costs. The newspaper is available free in hard-copy format to its internal audience (Navy ships and establishments), and publicly available online through the Defence website and on a cost-recovery basis to subscribers (D. Edlington, personal communication, 2015, October 22).[119] Nevertheless, why did the *Navy News* Page 3 Girl survive for 28 years at a time when other similar features in Australian newspapers were discontinued? Did the editors have a stereotype view of sailors seeking "booze and brothels" when on shore leave? No doubt they did as the Committee (1994) commented:

> According to popular perception sailors head directly for the nearest bar and brothel as soon as their ships have docked. They have a reputation for hard-drinking, womanising and generally raucous behaviour. Such pursuits have been justified on the basis that they relieve stress after the rigours of being at sea. (p. 75)

More telling is that the Navy's senior leaders did not see the imperative of ceasing publication of the Page 3 Girl until nine years after the introduction of the SDA and only in the aftermath of the *Swan* event. A review of the other material published on Page 3 of *Navy News* discloses a revealing dichotomy as the Page 3 Girl appears alongside important features on capability, senior leaders' messages, and Navy women's achievements. This suggests that senior officers, who had the power to initiate change, chose to ignore the ambiguous message being sent by the image of the Page 3 Girl until the Navy's image was threatened. In other words, they continued to uphold a misogynist attitude towards

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[118] The Patterson Report subtitled "Wooing the Australian Woman" was produced in 1972 by Australia's largest advertising agency, George Patterson. The report purported to represent the views of thousands of Australian women collected over a great many years by a staff of psychologists on a range of topics (Patterson, 1972). Although the methodology for the study was never released, the report was accepted as a legitimate, scientifically based study and taken at face value.

[119] Since 2005 *Navy News* has been available digitally at no cost.

women including a percentage of their own workforce. This position was rejected by the Committee (1994) who stated:

> The entry of women into previously all male workplaces may be perceived as a challenge to deeply ingrained assumptions about the proper role, rights and obligations of men and women. Those issues must be openly discussed and not swept under the carpet if genuine attitudinal change to matters such as sexual harassment is to be achieved. (p. vii)

The last *Navy News* Page 3 Girl appeared in the May 7, 1993 edition (*Navy News*, 1993d, p. 3) (see Figure 6-4). In a letter to the editor of *Navy News*, published in July 1993, CNS, Vice Admiral Ian MacDougall (1993a), stated that such representations of women were no longer appropriate in the era of equal opportunity and were seen by many as "offensive, degrading to women and significantly at odds with Navy's initiative to eradicate all forms of discrimination from the workplace".[120] CNS also said such images were inconsistent with community standards, which oppose the portrayal of women as sexual objects in newsprint media, irrelevant to the purpose of *Navy News* and at odds with the broad guidelines contained in Defence Instructions concerning unacceptable sexual behaviour and Navy's organisational values (p. 3). Time would only tell whether the positive language would translate into changing the attitudes of the Navy leadership.
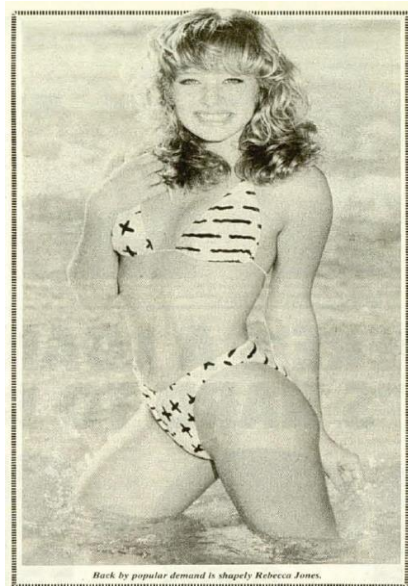
Plate 6-4: Last *Navy News* Page 3 Girl

6.4.6 1994 Senate Standing Committee findings on Navy initiatives

The Committee found Navy's strategy was a positive start as senior management had an obvious commitment to the policy, the education program was reaching all personnel, including supervisors, and the mechanisms for dealing with the issue were well advertised (1994, p. 278). However, the Committee suggested that the success of the GWR project would not be known for up to 10 years because its focus was on interpersonal relations in

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[120]   Other initiatives in this vein were the removal from workplaces, including all compartments on ships, pin-up posters or calendars objectifying males and females as sex objects.

the workplace (1994, p. 281). In the next section of this chapter I analyse the success of the strategies implemented by the Navy's to reform its culture.

6.5   HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE THE REFORMS?

The 1993 HMAS *Swan* event severely damaged Navy's image and reputation and led to a string of initiatives to rebuild the public perception of the RAN. In this section I use the Operations component of a Configuration Model of Organizational Culture as a guide to determine if the behaviour of RAN personnel changed as a result of the reforms implemented by Navy after the *Swan* event and if those within the organisation have a continuous commitment to reform.

6.5.1 Effectiveness of initial training in reducing sexual harassment incidents

One of the recommendations of the Committee was to monitor the incidence of sexual harassment; therefore in 1996, three years after the implementation of the GWR Project, Major Kathryn Quinn (1996) replicated her 1987 survey on sexual harassment in the ADF. Her study found the incidence of all types of gender and sexual harassment experienced by servicewomen had declined since 1987. Over the same period, the level of awareness of sexual harassment had increased, which she attributed to the policies and practices adopted by the ADF and the individual Services. However, the results of the survey showed 41 percent of servicewomen and 12 percent of servicemen had at least one experience that they described as unwanted gender or sexual harassment related behaviour in the year preceding the second survey. These results were too high to be acceptable to a zero tolerance organisation. Quinn therefore concluded that training on the topic appeared to be effective in making personnel aware of sexual harassment, but it was less effective in reducing or preventing it. She recommended intervention strategies focus on changing behaviour rather than attitudes. Overall, her findings were consistent with the findings of other major civilian and military studies as well as 15 years of systematic research on the topic. She (Quinn, 1996) posited that "sexual harassment is a relatively widespread phenomenon in the workplace and that in this regard, the military is not substantially different from other organisations and institutions" (p. 29). Nevertheless, she did state that a "gender gap" existed and held a special significance in the ADF due to the greater proportion of men to women (p. 29).

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6.5.2 Establishment of the Defence Equity Organisation

To draw together responsibility for management of military and civilian equity issues, Defence established the Defence Equity Organisation in July 1997 as an initiative of the Defence Reform Program. During the year, the organisation developed a unified reporting system of unacceptable behaviour across Defence and developed the Defence Equity and Diversity Plan, which included compulsory annual equity and diversity awareness training (Department of Defence, 1998, p. 31). This training remains an annual requirement.

6.5.3 Standardisation of uniforms

In the mid-1990s, the RAN began formally standardising uniforms as another strategy to bring about gender equality, although some flexibility was given to women going to sea in the mid-1980s. This initiative portrayed an image internally and externally of the Service that men and women were equal and belonged to one Navy. As the picture in the previous chapter shows, the women initially went on their training cruises in dresses whereas the men wore shirts, shorts or trousers. Dresses were an impractical item of uniform for women at sea especially given they had to traverse ladders. Five years previously, a report by a study group into the stereotyping of girls in school highlighted this very issue when they reported that the enforcing of sex differences in clothing within the school environment was impractical and outdated and therefore an anachronism (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1975, pp. 66-67). The gendered aspect of dress was being raised years later by van Wijk and Finchilescu (2008) who after their research concluded that "dress is a highly gendered artefact, and may serve to convey corporate values regarding the roles or status of women and men" (p. 238). Consequently, corporate uniforms can become a subtle, yet effective, mechanism of gender oppression (van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008, pp. 243-245). The initiative by the Navy to remove gender stereotyping in dress standards, particularly in the sea environment,[121] was a step towards improving the identity and status of Australian Navy women both within the Navy and in society.

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[121] Navy women still have the option of wearing a skirt when on shore duty. Also the tricorn cap has been retained for the female senior sailors and officers.

6.5.4 Creating a values-based Navy

To improve Navy's image, Chiefs of Navy included reputation management as part of their commitments for their terms in office. Chiefs of Navy generally serve one three-year term during which they have a theme that reflects their aims for their term. Soon after being appointed CN in July 1999, VADM Shackleton announced the theme for his term, *Tomorrow's Navy*, which included a range of objectives to meet Navy's future combat capability (*Navy News*, 1999b, p. 1; Shackleton, 2000a, p. 2). An aspect of the change program was the release of a strategic communications plan. Admiral Shackleton posed the question, "How do we want to be seen?" (*Navy News*, 1999b, p. 1). As negative media coverage was not in the RAN's best interest, Shackleton pointed out to Navy members that the communications plan was more than a public relations document. He stated:

> We need to do better at promoting the Navy to our nation. Our image is very important and you all have a key role to play in making sure our reputation both internally and externally is enhanced. Be in no doubt that our Navy is judged by the actions of each and every one of us. We each have a responsibility to the rest of the Navy family and we must take that responsibility seriously. (p. 1)

Plate 6-5: Navy values on display at sailors' recruit school HMAS *Cerberus*

> In 2000, the RAN introduced the Navy values of Honour, Honesty, Courage, Integrity and Loyalty with the aim of becoming a values-based organisation. This was followed in 2009 by 10 Signature Behaviours.

In August 2000 after one year as CN, Shackleton shared with Navy people a condensed version of his first annual report to the Minister of Defence. In his report, he (Shackleton

2000) stated his aim was for Navy to "become a true values based organisation" (p. 2). The following month in September 2000, the Navy Values were released. A special glossy insert entitled *Chief of Navy's Commitment to Future Directions Our Future Our People Our Challenge* was included in *Navy News* (2000c, p. 1). The insert listed the values of Honour, Honesty, Courage, Integrity and Loyalty (as shown at Plate 6-5) and a description of each. This was the first time Navy had articulated in one document their vision, motto, mission and values. Nine years later in September 2009, CN, VADM Crane, launched the booklet *Navy Values - Serving Australia with Pride*, which included for the first time 10 signature behaviours under the headings People, Performance and Professionalism (Royal Australian Navy, 2009a). In a paper to CN, Warrant Officer Angella Hillis (2002), who at the time was a candidate for Warrant Officer of the Navy, said:

> … a leader's actions should reaffirm the desired values and culture, and should be consistent with the national culture outside the Navy. The introduction of a set of values … will encourage personnel to shape their behaviour to meet those values. Values determine who belongs and who does not, what behaviour is acceptable and what is unacceptable. For the acceptance of such a change in the culture of the Navy, the foundations must be established in the management team, in the belief systems that are sponsored from the top, and practiced by the Navy's leaders. (p. 3)[122]

Navy's image and reputation was a recurring theme throughout the first decade of the Twenty-first century. In early October 2004, then CN, VADM Ritchie announced the introduction of the *Sea Change Program*, which was aimed at improving the lifestyle of Navy members. The major impetus was to create a work and home life balance by implementing a range of career management practices such as geographic stability, eliminating unnecessary tasks, such as some additional duties, and developing Navy's image, ethos and pride (Davis, 2004a, pp. 1-2). Later that month, the Director General of Navy's communication and coordination unit, CAPT McKinnie, when presenting at the Navy Symposium on the subject of Renewal-Reputation warned the audience that "a good reputation is slow to grow and quick to go" (Davis, 2004c, p. 5). He reported that Newspoll Market Research had been posing five questions on Navy's performance to 1200 members of the public every six months and the ratio of positives for each of the five questions topped 80 per cent. Despite the positive result, McKinnie stated "Navy needed to continue to work hard to maintain its reputation".

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[122] Hillis was unsuccessful in her application for the position. However, in 2004 she was chosen as the only female in the first group of Ship's Warrant Officers; a newly created position on selected ships, which is in essence a tactical level WO-N. Hillis served in the position on HMAS *Ballarat*, an ANZAC Class Frigate (A. Hillis, personal communication, April 12, 2016).

6.5.5 HMAS *Success* event

Unfortunately, McKinnie's words regarding reputation were proved correct by the 2009 HMAS *Success* event. On 4 April, the ship sailed from Darwin on a two-month goodwill tour through Asia with 220 crew, which included 30 women. During the deployment, allegations of sexual ledgers,[123] bullying, drunkenness and predatory sexual behaviour emerged. Marine Technical (MT) sailors were the focus of the allegations of misconduct. The subsequent Commission of Inquiry (COI) found that a tribal culture was entrenched on *Success* and had been part of folklore on the ship since at least 2004 (Gyles, 2011, p. xiv).

Rogers' (2003) Diffusion of Innovations theory helps to explain the behaviour of the sailors in the MT department on board *Success*. According to Rogers an innovation can be "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p. 475); and diffusion is "the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system" (p. 474). The GWR program was created and implemented to improve the acceptance of women at sea, which had traditionally been an all-male environment. GWR facilitators were trained and over time all Navy personnel received face to face training. However, changing attitudes and behaviour is a slow process. Rogers (2003) posits the five adopter categories listed in Table 6-2 (pp. 282-285). Alongside each of these categories I have allocated a Navy group.

Table 6-2: Allocation of Navy Groups to Rogers' 5 Adopter Categories

Rogers' 5 Adopter Categories	%[a]	Navy Groups
Innovators: venturesome	2.5	Chief of Navy and his leadership team
Early adopters: respect	13.5	Good Working Relationships facilitators
Early majority: deliberate	34	Ships and shore bases with high number of women in the workplace
Late majority: sceptical	34	Ships and shore bases with small number of women in the workplace
Laggards: traditional	16	Male individuals or units resisting change
	100	

Note: (a) Percentage of individuals within each category according to Rogers and allocation of Navy Groups to the categories by the author

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[123] The sex-ledger refers to a record of the amount of bounty placed on female crew members from bets made by male sailors regarding which female crew member they could have sex with in order to win the bounty stake.

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The laggards' point of reference is the past so their decisions are often based on what has been done previously. Individuals in this category interact primarily with others who also have relatively traditional values (Rogers, 2003, p. 284). A systems structure can influence or impede the diffusion of an innovation (Rogers, 2003, p. 25). The COI found:

> The 'one-off' or 'orphan' nature of *Success*, being a specialised vessel, led to engineering personnel being posted to the vessel for long periods and remaining on the vessel or being posted back to the ship within a short time after promotion. This contributed to an 'us versus them' environment so far as the remainder of the crew were concerned and to a perception that the longstanding residents ran the vessel. Furthermore, it led to difficulties on promotion to senior sailor and in maintaining respect for rank. (Gyles, 2011, p. xiv)

The systems structure in the MT Department on board *Success* would explain the holding on to traditional norms and the slow rate of adoption of the GWR program by the MT sailors. Rogers and Kincaid's 1981 study of 24 Korean villages found large differences from village to village, both in the level of adoption of family-planning and in the adoption of particular types of family-planning methods (Rogers, 2003, p. 26). This was despite all the villages receiving the same family-planning program for 10 years prior to their data gathering. Their main explanation for the difference was system norms. The system norms in the MT department on board *Success* were the barrier to change as the crew of every ship in the Navy, not dissimilar to a village, received the same GWR training since its inception 15 years earlier.

Behaviours such as occurred in the HMAS *Swan* event, the HMAS *Success* event and the Skype event[124] cause reputational damage, which may be one factor that contributed to the low growth in women joining the Navy after the events. In 2010 and 2011 and the *Success* event, the growth was only 0.1 per cent each year. In 2012 after the Skype event, there was no growth and in 2013 a negative growth of 0.1 per cent. The years 2014 and 2015 showed improvement with a growth of 0.2 per cent each year, which may be attributed to Defence introducing strategies to improve the treatment of women in the military.

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[124]   The Skype incident occurred in 2011 when a male Army cadet at ADFA secretly filmed himself having sex with a female Air Force cadet and broadcast the vision via Skype to several of his colleagues without the female's consent or knowledge. The cadets had been in the ADF only several weeks, as such this event highlights Harmers' (2014) concerns (see Section 6.6.1 below).

6.5.6 Effectiveness of reforms as seen in reporting

Defence commenced recording the number of unacceptable behaviour complaints two years after the Defence Equity Organisation (DEO) was established. The number of complaints between 1999 and 2015 are listed in Table 6-3. Between 1999 and 2003, the complaints categories included sexual offences, sexual harassment, general harassment, fraternisation, workplace bullying and abuse of power (Department of Defence, 2003, p. 433). In 2006, Defence categorised complaints under harassment, workplace bullying, sexual offences, sexual harassment, inappropriate workplace relations, discrimination and abuse of power (Department of Defence, 2006, p. 268). Conflict of interest has also been added as an unacceptable behaviour category (Department of Defence, 2015, p. 138). The category of sexual offences is now managed by Defence's Sexual Misconduct Prevention and Response Office (SeMPRO), which the Minister of Defence agreed to established in 2012 (see http://defence.gov.au/sempro/). The Office is responsible for coordinating timely responses, victim support, education, policy, practice and reporting for any misconduct of a sexual nature. The 2005 Defence Annual Report stated the contributing reasons for the increase in complaints were:

- an increased awareness of what constitutes unacceptable behaviour;
- mandatory training over the last two years emphasised the process for making and managing a complaint;
- greater confidence in management that complaints will be addressed effectively; and
- increased efforts by the Services to engender a culture of reporting. (p. 120)

Ten years later, the Defence Annual Report states that the majority of complaints are resolved informally and on average, between 10 and 15 per cent of unacceptable behaviour incidents are of a level of seriousness that results in a formal disciplinary or administrative outcome (2015, p. 138). While the number of complaints did rise in the six-year period from 1999 to 2005, the percentage of complaints has remained relatively stable over the following 10 years. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that in the early period, 1999 to 2005, where the numbers rose gradually, that unacceptable behaviour training, which encourages reporting, had a positive effect. However, in the 10-year period 2006 to 2015, the consistent level of complaints would indicate that additional strategies need to be implemented to reduce the incidents of unacceptable behaviour.

Table 6-3: Number of unacceptable behaviour complaints received between 1999 and 2015

Year	No of complaints Defence[a]	Total Defence[b]	Complaints as a % of Total Defence[c]	Complaints as a % of Total Navy[d]
1999	197	69,210	0.3	0.3
2000	239	65,080	0.4	0.4
2001	274	66,769	0.4	0.4
2002	331	67,751	0.5	1
2003	451	70,879	0.6	1.4
2004	586	70,337	0.8	1.5
2005	749	65,203	1.1	2
2006	685	64,728	1.0	1.6
2007	846	66,020	1.3	
2008	765	68,254	1.1	
2009	873	69,570	1.2	
2010	719	77,737	0.9	
2011	669	79,732	0.8	
2012	658	79,569	0.8	
2013	753	77,123	1.0	
2014	827	76,910	1.0	
2015	846	76,505	1.1	

Notes:

(a) The figures are taken from the Defence Annual Reports.
(b) The figures are taken from the Defence Annual Reports. Reserve numbers are not included but the total Defence includes Defence civilians.
(c) Rounded to the first decimal point.
(d) The Defence Annual Reports from 2007 did not breakdown the total number of complaints by each arm of Defence.

Since the *Swan* event, a period of 17 years up until 2010, the Navy leadership has shown through continuous strategies their commitment to cultural reform. These strategies have included the removal of the long-featured *Navy News* Page 3 Girl, the introduction of the GWR Program, the establishment of the DEO, standardisation of uniforms, the creation of a values based organisation and, following the *Success* event, the embedding of signature behaviours in Navy's culture. Do strategies such as these indicate that the culture in the Navy has been successfully reformed? The 2012 Broderick review into the treatment of women in the ADF acknowledged the programs introduced in recent times by Navy, Army and Air Force aimed at creating more diverse and inclusive workplaces. Nevertheless, Broderick's report stated that there was still a feeling amongst some that women are receiving preferential treatment. Also, many members displayed an enduring ambivalence about women in the forces such as whether there should be more serving women, whether the presence of women affects capability and what roles they should perform. Broderick

highlighted these issues as a concern because research indicates gender diversity is a key marker of the health of organisations. Noting Broderick's findings, the Navy can claim a measure of success in reforming the organisation's cultural, but complete reform has not yet been achieved.

6.6   WHAT'S BEEN HAPPENING SINCE 2010

6.6.1 Corporate support for more women in leadership roles

The behaviour demonstrated by the *Success* MT sailors is not confined to Navy's workplace. In 2014, five years after the event, one of Australia's leading sexual harassment lawyers, Michael Harmer, told ABC Radio National's business editor, Sheryle Bagwell, that Australia's corporate culture is so "boozy and boysie" that drink-spiking and sexual assault of young working women at conferences is all too common and sexual harassment is rife and tolerated (31 July 2014). He attributed this to patriarchal male management still being the dominant style in the Australian workforce. A management style that fails to enforce corporate governance policies that have been written and implemented to ensure both genders thrive. He went on to say that he was convinced that more women in leadership roles in Australia's parliaments and companies would improve ethical management. However, during the interview, he expressed his concerns about the difficulty of overcoming the problem when he (Harmer, 2014) said:

> … if that wider end of female rights and seeing females genuinely take an equal place in our community and our leadership is going to be reached we've got to do something about this endemic problem which seems to becoming worse at our school level whereby access to pornography, through multi-media sources, access to social media seems to be even further degrading the role of women and the level of respect for them and so the intake of the workforce into businesses that maybe genuinely trying to address the issue is actually reducing equality.

6.6.2 Joint Defence approach to cultural reform

Harmer's discourse indicates that unacceptable behaviour continues to exist in Australia's workplace and some workplaces are doing little or nothing to curb unacceptable behaviour. According to Harmer, in some workplaces senior management encourages such behaviour. While the RAN has faced some challenging times with regards its reputation, the Navy leadership has implemented initiatives to improve the behaviour of its people

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especially following the *Swan* event. For example, on 7 March 2012, three years after the *Success* event, the three senior Defence leaders: the Minister for Defence, Secretary of Defence and the Chief of the Defence Force, jointly announced a strategy for cultural change and reinforcement in Defence and the ADF. The implementation strategy, *Pathway to Change – Evolving Defence Culture* incorporated the recommendations made in the 2011 series of reviews into Defence and ADF culture. The reviews included the treatment of women, alcohol use, social media and the management of incidents and complaints (for details see the six 2011 reviews after the HMAS *Success* Commission of Inquiry listed in Table 6-4).

Table 6-4: A selection of Australian Defence Force Reviews between 1994 and 2014

Review	Year	Investigator
Sexual Harassment in the Australian Defence Force	1994	External: Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade
Report to the Senate on the Elimination of Sexual Harassment in the ADF	1995	Internal: Prepared by Defence in response to Senate Inquiry
Women in the ADF: Two Studies (Burton Report)	1996	External: Consultant appointed by Minister for Defence Science and Personnel
Sexual Harassment in the ADF (Quinn Report)	1996	Internal: Major Kathryn Quinn, Australian Army Psychology Corps
Report of Review into Policies and Practices to deal with Sexual Harassment and Sexual Offences at ADFA (Grey Report)	1998	Internal: Defence Academy Review Team
HMAS *Success* Commission of Inquiry: Parts 1 and 2 (Gyles Reports)	2011	External: The Hon Roger Gyles, AO, QC, appointed by CDF
Review into the Treatment of Women at the Australian Defence Force Academy (Phase 1)	2011	External: Elizabeth Broderick, Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Australian Human Rights Commission (appointed by Attorney-General)
Review into the Use of Alcohol in the ADF	2011	External: Professor Margaret Hamilton, chairing an independent advisor panel
Review of the Use of Social Media and Defence	2011	External: George Patterson Y & R (advertising agency)
Review of Personal Conduct of ADF Personnel	2011	Internal: Major General C.W. Orme, AM, CSC
Review into the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force (Phase 2)	2012	External: Elizabeth Broderick, Sex Discrimination Commissioner Australian Human Rights Commission (appointed by Attorney-General)
Review of Allegations of Sexual and Other Forms of Abuse in Defence – DLA Piper Report	2012	External: DLA Piper (law firm)
Review into the Treatment of Women at the Australian Defence Force Academy (Audit Report)	2013	External: Elizabeth Broderick, Sex Discrimination Commissioner Australian Human Rights Commission (appointed by Attorney-General)
Review into the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force (Audit Report)	2014	External: Elizabeth Broderick, Sex Discrimination Commissioner Australian Human Rights Commission (appointed by Attorney-General)

Also of note is that in December 2012, Captain Allison Norris RAN (the first woman to gain a Principle Warfare Officer's qualification) assumed command of *Success*, the first female to be appointed in command of *Success* (Royal Australian Navy, 2014a).

6.6.3 Defence Minister apology for victims of abuse

On 26 November, nine months after the announcement of a new cultural change strategy, the Minister for Defence Stephen Smith (2012) apologised in the House of Representatives on behalf of the Government to the men and women of the ADF who had suffered sexual or other forms of abuse in the course of their service. The apology was triggered by the ADFA Skype incident but covered events experienced by ADF members since the 1950s.

6.6.4 White Ribbon Campaign

When making the apology, the Minister of Defence, Stephen Smith, is seen in Plate 6-6 wearing a white ribbon on his jacket lapel as a symbol of his commitment to eradicate unacceptable behaviour in the ADF.

Plate 6-6: Defence Minister Stephen Smith in the House of Representatives making a public apology to all victims of sexual abuse in the ADF. Picture by Gary Ramage.

White Ribbon is the world's largest movement of men and boys working to end men's violence against women and girls and to promote gender equity, healthy relationships and a new vision of masculinity. The fact sheet on the origins of the White Ribbon Campaign, which started in Canada in 1990 and was adopted by Australia in 2003, states (White Ribbon Australia, 2014):

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> Wearing a white ribbon is a personal pledge that the wearer does not excuse violence against women, and is committed to supporting community action and attitudinal and behavioural change to stop violence by men against women. Men who wear a white ribbon demonstrate their opposition to violence against women, their commitment to equality between women and men, and their willingness to make a difference.

Through their actions Defence leaders from the Minister down are publicly demonstrating their commitment to the policy of zero tolerance to unacceptable behaviour. The latest example occurred on 16 October 2014 when CN, VADM Barrett, announced that Navy had been accredited as a White Ribbon workplace. He stated (Barrett, 2014):

> In doing so, we became the largest organisation in the world to achieve this status. Accreditation is not easy; nor is it merely symbolic. It recognises that we are committed to eliminating violence against women. We can all be proud of what we achieved through White Ribbon Accreditation – and in excess of 80 Navy White Ribbon Ambassadors, including me, also underscores our focus on eliminating violence against women.

As a physical sign of their commitment to the White Ribbon cause, more than 700 representatives from all three services as well as Defence civilians launched White Ribbon Day in 2014 by taking part in a 5km walk/run around Lake Burley Griffin in Canberra (see Plate 6-7). The event was launched by VCDF, Vice Admiral Ray Griggs,[125] with the words, "violence against women has no place in our society and it sure as hell doesn't have any place in our ADF" (Tufrey, 2014, p. 7).

Plate 6-7: Chief of Navy, VADM Tim Barrett, shows his support for White Ribbon Day by participating in the 2014 5km walk/run

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[125]   Vice Admiral Ray Griggs was Chief of Navy from June 2011 to June 2014.

Similarly, the Commandant of ADFA, Air Commodore Alan Clements, stated that students at ADFA were also keen to be involved in the cause. They did this through a visual display (see Plate 6-8) and by taking the oath not to commit, remain silent or excuse violence against women. Navy Cadet, Midshipman Tyson Hales who took part in the event, said, "The White Ribbon campaign is important to defence because we're such a large, diverse organisation and women deserve the right to feel safe in their workplace" (Doran, 2014, p. 7). Although the white ribbon is only a symbol, the intent of the campaign is to change unacceptable behaviours towards women. From a liberal feminist perspective, I applaud the social reform initiative because it can only help women in their fight to gain equality if the message behind it is understood and embraced by Navy and Defence personnel, such as Midshipman Hales.

Plate 6-8: ADFA Cadets support White Ribbon Day

Feminists are divided on the issue of the White Ribbon Campaign. A recent opinion article by psychiatrist and White Ribbon Ambassador, Tanveer Ahmed, on the limited discourse of male disempowerment in the context of domestic violence caused a furore (Ahmed, February 9, 2015). Ahmed received threatening messages, was labelled a misogynist and subsequently stood down as an ambassador (Ahmed, March 14, 2015). The public debate continues (Pribble, 2015). While men are claiming disempowerment causes violence against women, feminists such as Clementine Ford (2015) counters from a radical feminist perspective when she argues:

> But if people want to say that men's disempowerment is a key driver of violence
> against women, what they're really doing is reinforcing a framework in which

men can reestablish their position in a patriarchal hierarchy by exerting dominance over the women subjugated by it.

Other strategies apart from the White Ribbon Campaign have been initiated by community and corporate organisations. For example, the Australian Human Rights Commission in a tripartite partnership with the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry are targeting employers and employees as part of broader efforts to prevent and reduce the harm of sexual harassment in Australian workplaces through their national awareness raising strategy *Know Where the Line is*. The tripartite partnership acknowledges that both men and women experience harassment at work (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015). The White Ribbon Campaign by itself is not a solution to reducing harassment in the workplace but rather one strategy by Navy towards the elimination of unacceptable behaviour in the workplace. As Liz Wall (June 2014) argues, more research is needed to understand gender and its relationship to status and what measures can be taken to readjust structural power imbalances toward the goals of prevention, reduction and elimination of violence in our society.

6.6.5 Appointment of the first female Defence Minister

Another sign of cultural reform at the political level was the appointment on 21 September 2015 of Marise Payne as Australia's first female Defence Minister. A Senator for the past 18 years, Payne has a longstanding interest in her portfolio, having chaired the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. Liz Burke (2015) reported in her online article that "the Australian Defence Association, defence academics, and indeed feminist commentators have welcomed the appointment of the Senator, but what remains to be seen is what sort of defence minister she will be". Payne's appointment is a sign of confidence by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull in her abilities but time will tell if she is judged on her performance and not her gender.

6.6.6 Situation now from the perspective of one of *Swan's* female trainee officers

More than 20 years have passed since the *Swan* event, which is indicative of the long period of time it takes to create and implement change. Increasing the number of women in the Navy and in senior leadership roles will also bring positive change. Miller, one of the junior officers on board *Swan*, went on to become the first woman to command a patrol boat, take the role of the second-in-command of a frigate operating off Iraq during terrorist

suicide boat attacks, and then the first woman to command a major surface combatant, HMAS *Perth* from 2007 to 2008. In 2014, she was promoted to the rank of Commodore[126] and posted to the position of Director General Navy People. On promotion, she became one of only five women in the senior leadership group. To reach this point was a journey of 26 years. When holding the rank of Captain, Miller (2013) said, "The fact I was a woman amongst the first of those to do these things[127] in our Navy was a novelty (and sometimes pressure) that I felt diminished with every step forward I took" (p. 90) . She went on to say:

> Life at sea is unique, and when you have the privilege of leading others in that environment, it leaves an indelible mark on your personality. Amongst a ship's company, no matter whether 24 or 240, you can't be anyone but yourself but at the same time, you can't be entirely yourself and indulge selfish moments. A sailor will spot insincerity and indecisiveness in very short order, and it's humbling (and sometimes alarming) to see elements of your personality play out in the behaviour of your people. A ship's company wants to trust and follow their Captain, and it takes every moment of your time in command to live up to that expectation and serve them. (p. 90)

As Miller's career highlights, it takes a lot of endurance and dedication to reach a senior leadership position in the Navy. As a woman, Miller was able to achieve this pinnacle not only through her own commitment but also because she was given the opportunity to choose her career path. This opportunity arose as a result of social reforms that led to legislative changes, the primary one being the SDA, which was later modified to remove the combat restrictions preventing military women from fully participating in their careers. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Miller expressed her hope that in a couple of decades when her daughter is able to embark on her own career, having women leading the Navy, the Defence Force and the country will be commonplace. Such an environment would certainly reflect that significant cultural change had occurred in the Navy and the nation in a relatively short period of time.

6.7   CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have examined the progress of cultural reform in the Navy following the 1992 *Swan* event, which involved allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault made

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[126]   See the rank chart in the front material.
[127]   The "things" she spoke of included being in charge of the Bridge of a warship, controlling F/A-18 fighter jets from the operations room of a frigate, firing missiles, shooting large calibre guns and boarding ships.

by three women who were experiencing their first sea posting. The event demonstrated that the Navy had not adequately prepared its people, men and women, for this major change in Navy's operational environment. This included the senior officers on board, the Commanding Officer and the Executive Officer, who despite their lack of preparation received censures.

To recover its reputation, the Navy embarked on what has become an ongoing series of strategies to reform the organisation's culture. These strategies included the GWR educational program, the introduction of organisational values and signature behaviours. The Navy also initiated steps to promote the image of women as professionals; one of the first being to cease the publication of the *Navy News* Page 3 Girl. Another initiative was the standardising of uniforms for males and females thus eliminating gendered differences in dress and instilling the philosophy of "all one company".

More than twenty years later and learning from other scandals such as occurred on *Success*, the Navy has demonstrated a continued willingness to change attitudes and behaviours through various programs and initiatives such as the White Ribbon Campaign. Nevertheless, a "gender gap" remains as Quinn (1996) highlighted 20 years ago and such imbalances can affect power structures. In initiating and implementing cultural reform strategies, the Navy leadership has acknowledged the organisation needs to replace its patriarchal structure, which has severely disadvantaged women. As long as the gender gap exists, the organisation is going to have to consistently monitor organisational behaviour and continue to adopt strategies that will increase women's participation, particularly in senior leadership positions. One strategy that is known to work is quotas. Navy women are already progressing based on merit. They are making the short list for promotion but they are not being selected because the promotion board is male dominated. The notion of equality in employment is not about assimilating women into the existing structure. It is about changing the norm and recognising that accepting differences leads to equality (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a; McConachie, 2000). By valuing diversity and individual talents, the Navy will increase its organisational strength and therefore meet its capability requirements. The only way this will be achieved is if women play a major part.

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CHAPTER 7

THE MARCH OF NAVY WOMEN[128]

Plate 7-1: Coral Sea March in Melbourne 1964

Plate 7-2: Freedom of Entry in Darwin 1989

Source: NT ex-WRANS + Anything Naval Facebook pages on 12 April 2014

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[128] The title of this chapter was inspired by Bessie M. Rischbieth's (1964) *March of Australian Women* and Anne Summer's chapter "The March of Women" in *Damned Whores and God's Police (2002)*.

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7.1 INTRODUCTION

> I would just like to … recognise the work of women who were pioneers … I know some of them and I know it was an enormous struggle, mentally, physically and emotionally, to put up with the claptrap that they had to deal with. Some of them fell by the way side because they simply did not have the resources to continue to cope. But I think that without their contribution and their efforts we wouldn't be where we are today.
>
> (Barrie, 2000)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the authors of the 1975 ground-breaking report *Girls, School and Society* were critical that school curriculum material did not reflect the "contribution of women to history and in contemporary society" (Commonwealth Schools Commission, p. 167). Similarly, the 1984 *Girls and Tomorrow* report called for urgent action to redress a curriculum that "neglects women's achievements" (Commonwealth Schools Commission, p. vii). As Sarah Gillman (1985) points out, despite the important role models teachers provided at her all-girls' school and the latitude granted to pupils in researching women's achievements and social topics, male achievements were the focus (p. 33). Such outcomes are difficult to avoid when textbooks, historical records and literature have until recently focused more on male rather than female achievements. Australia has many pioneering women who broke ground, opened doors, smashed through the glass ceiling and made the choice of a chosen career easier for those who followed.

Feminist do feminist research not just for knowledge sake but to create knowledge explicitly dedicated to bringing about change and improvement for women (Wadsworth, 2001). Feminist researchers critique what has happened and highlight where women have been disadvantaged and where their careers have been curtailed due to power differentials. Consequently, this chapter reviews the progress of women starting with our early pioneers. I then discuss how patriarchal societal values have caused women to doubt their abilities and thus impose on themselves even greater pressure to achieve. I choose to complete this analysis with a celebration of Navy women's achievements as women are empowered when their achievements are acknowledged.

7.2 WHAT IS A PIONEER WOMAN?

A "Pioneers of the Past" session was included at the Ninth Triennial Conference of the Australian Federation of Women Voters (AFWV) held in Perth, Western Australian on

22 October 1951. Bessie Rischbieth (1964) defined her perception of a pioneer woman as "one who played an important part in the community work during early days of the colony" (p. 103). Another session held at the Conference was a Youth Forum organised by the first Director WRANS, Sheila McClemans. The session entitled "Pioneers of the Future" was recorded as being "an informative and stimulating evening" (Rischbieth, 1964, p. 106). McClemans introduced four speakers, two women and two men. The speakers were all forward thinking and although their timeframes were not perfect, their beliefs have come to be realised even if not yet fully. The first speaker, Miss Patricia Feldman, an architect, gave her views on the future for women in the professions, commerce, industry and local government. She anticipated greater opportunities in the preceding 20 years for women interested in these fields, believing women could and would make a distinctive contribution in cooperation rather than in competition with men. The second speaker was Mr John Hahn, a refrigeration engineer who was also interested in politics. He acknowledged the roles of the early social and political reformers such as Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale and Emmeline Pankhurst and encouraged women of the day to follow in their pioneering spirit, which he felt they were lacking. The third speaker was Miss Patricia Crowle, who had after leaving school taken up housekeeping duties before deciding to broaden her training, which led to her being employed in industry. She advocated the teaching of community affairs to boys and girls in primary school to develop their social conscience thus enabling them to take an active interest in society. The fourth speaker, Mr Mervyn Lewis, also an engineer, spoke of the role of women from the economic aspect. In his opinion the next 50 years, which would occur in 2001, would bring unprecedented change in equal rights. As a visionary, he challenged women to pioneer for equal rights as this would give women independence and therefore the confidence they could rely on their own abilities (Rischbieth, 1964). The ideas put forth in these pioneering sessions are encapsulated in the National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame's (2013) definition of a pioneer woman, which states:

> A pioneer woman is considered any woman who is a pioneer in her chosen field; referring not only to the traditional meaning of the word – a colonist, explorer or settler in a new land but to anyone who is an innovator or developer of something new. This means that we should not only commemorate those women who were the early settlers in Australia, who battled through considerable hardships; but also those who have attained pioneering achievements such as the first women doctors, lawyers, aviators etc.

Today's women should be proud of their feminist past. The untiring efforts of the early feminists led to legislation, such as the *Victorian Adult Suffrage Act 1908*, changes to the *Public Service Act 1922* (Cth), the Federal Childcare Act 1972 (Cth) and the enactment of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth), which has gained for Australian women social, political and economic rights. An example of some of our earlier pioneers were rural women such as Elizabeth Macarthur, the founder of the Australian wool industry. In 1801, she began breeding Spanish merinos on the family's sheep property when her husband returned to England. Nearly 80 years later in 1883, Julia Bella Guerin became the first woman graduate when she received her BA from the University of Melbourne. Seven years later in 1890, Constance Stone became Australia's first registered woman doctor. However, she had to gain her degree overseas. Ada Evans, who was the first woman to graduate from the University of Sydney Law School in 1902, had to wait a further 19 years to become the first woman to be admitted to the New South Wales Bar. Another 25 years passed before Dame Enid Lyons (United Australia Party) and Senator Dorothy Tangney (Australian Labor Party) became the first women elected to the Federal Parliament. In 1966, Liberal Senator Annabelle Rankin became Minister for Housing; the first woman Minister in a federal government to be allocated a portfolio. In 1972, Dame Annabelle Rankin was appointed High Commissioner to New Zealand, becoming Australia's first woman ambassador.[129]

In today's society, there are many who believe that the feminist battle has been won and there is no need to recognise the efforts of our pioneering women. In response to a radio broadcast on the topic of "Women Against Feminism" (N. Mitchell, 2014), one caller commented (Clements, 2014):

> I was really struck by an early comment from a young woman who said that when she is in the lab she wants to be recognised as a scientist and not as a woman and it made me think about how far we have come. My mother was one of Australia's earliest female scientists; a graduate from Sydney University in the 1930s. She went to get a job and with the other young men in her graduating year she was taken on by Lever and Kitchen.[130] All of the men were put into the labs but they didn't put my Mum in the lab; they didn't know what to do with her cause she was a woman so they put her in the office and her job was to write labels all day to be put on bolts of wool for sale

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[129] The list of "firsts" given in this paragraph is taken from Anne Summers' *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 1975, pp. 547-563. See also Yvonne Smith's Taking Time: A Women's Historical Data Kit (Y. Smith, 1988)

[130] Lever and Kitchen Pty Ltd, now Unilever, was a major marketing company for branded soap, synthetic detergents and allied products.

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in stores like David Jones and Myers, which said, guaranteed to wash in Lux and she had to sign her name Adeline Clements BSc, and when she had written however many of the hundreds of these she was required to write per day she'd tear through them and then she'd rush down to the lab to be with the guys. We've come a very long way and that young woman who is now in the lab is there in part because of the work of the feminist movement in between and the women pioneers who led the way and we need to keep an historical perspective on this.

While the firsts for women in various fields increased from the 1970s, women had to contend with barriers such as traditions and unwritten rules. Each victory was sometimes tempered with a professional set-back such as outlined in Adeline Clements story above. She successfully gained a science degree but was then not afforded the same professional standing as her male counterparts. Such rejections require strong convictions in one's abilities. Nevertheless, feelings of self-doubt can emerge especially when women are putting in double the effort to prove their capabilities.

7.3   FEELING LIKE A FRAUD – THE IMPOSTER SYNDROME

Fear and self-doubt can cause people to question their abilities, even in the face of success. I have even felt like this at times during my naval career. For example, the pressure to achieve was even greater after being awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM). On occasions, the thought would be "if I can't do this, I'll be exposed as a fraud". This thinking stems from early education where girls, like me, were motivated to avoid success in direct competition to boys as highlighted in Chapter 2. The expectancy that success in achievement-related situations will be followed by negative consequences is an example of a phenomenon called the imposter syndrome, where people are seen as successful by outside external measures but internally they feel themselves to be frauds, undeserving of their success and in danger at any moment of being exposed (Clance & Imes, 1978).

The phenomena was originally described in 1978 by Pauline Clance and Suzanne Imes, two researchers at Georgia State University in the USA, based on their work with groups of high achieving women (1978). Despite their success, these women had held the belief that they were inadequate for the job, and feared they would eventually be exposed as an imposter. Clance and Imes argued that certain early family dynamics and later introjections of societal sex-role stereotyping appeared to contribute significantly to the development of the syndrome. The concept of the imposter syndrome and its relationship to achievement has been the subject of many further studies over the subsequent decades. In 1984, Peggy

McIntosh (1985) from the Wellesley Centres for Women presented at a Colloquium where she spoke about "Feeling Like a Fraud". She explained that many people, particularly women, feel fraudulent when they are praised for their accomplishments. Instead of feeling worthy of recognition, they feel undeserving and guilty, as if a mistake has been made. Despite being high achievers, even experts in their fields, women seem to have difficulty shaking the sense that before long they will be discovered as frauds with limited skills or abilities. In his book, *The Imposter Syndrome: Why successful people often feel like frauds*, Hugh Kearns (2015) explains how imposter feelings are normal and provides 10 strategies to deal with such feelings including: "**Mind your language.** Notice how you deny, dismiss and discount your achievements. Rather than saying it was good luck or that it was nothing, say thanks" (pp. 116-128).

Sheryl Sandberg, Facebook's Chief Operating Officer said "I still face situations that I fear are beyond my qualifications. I still have days when I feel like a fraud" (Kearns, 2015, p. 1). According to Sandberg (2013) stereotypes still exist. She states:

> Our stereotype of men holds that they are providers, decisive and driven. Our stereotype of women holds that they are caregivers, sensitive and communal … For men, professional success comes with positive reinforcement at every step of the way. For women, even when they're recognized for their achievements, they're often regarded unfavorably [sic]. (p. 40)

Because society views women differently from men, this affects the way women view themselves. When women display the same traits as men, they are often viewed as having "bossy" tendencies; qualities to be viewed with a certain degree of suspicion and mistrust. The Heidi/Howard experiment conducted in 2003 by Frank Flynn, a professor at Columbia Business School and Cameron Anderson, a New York University professor, to test perceptions of men and women in the workplace, highlights this claim. The two professors took a real life Harvard Business School case study about a successful entrepreneur called Heidi Roizen, and assigned it to one half of the class. The other half got the same case study, with just one difference; the name Heidi was changed to Howard. The students were then polled on their impressions of the two protagonists. While the students rated Heidi and Howard as equally competent, Howard was seen as the more appealing colleague. Heidi violated the stereotypical expectations of women with the end result being that Howard was liked and Heidi was disliked (McGinn & Tempest, January 2000 (Revised April 2010)).

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Navy women working in the sea environment also had to prove they were as competent as their male counterparts. Jenny Daetz (2013) the first female to command an Australian Navy ship in 1997, said, "To fit in, not only meant we had to prove we were competent, but in some cases it felt like we had to be better" (p. 15). Similarly, as a Warrant Officer in 1991, I felt the pressure to perform above and beyond on taking the role as the first woman in charge of the naval communications station at Fleet Base West. Not only did I have to contend with the objections of my male counterparts, who were of the view that sea experience was an essential criterion for the job,[131] but also the year before I had been awarded an OAM for services to naval communications so I felt all eyes were on me and therefore self-imposed greater expectations on my performance.

The disapproval of women in positions of power is often expressed in the labels applied to them. In 2007, journalist Shankar Vendantam catalogued the derogatory descriptions of some of the first female world leaders. He wrote England's Margaret Thatcher was called "Attila the Hen"; Golda Meir, Israel's first female Prime Minister, was "the only man in the Cabinet"; President Richard Nixon called Indira Gandhi, India's first female Prime Minister, "the old witch"; and Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, was dubbed "the iron frau" (Vendantam, 2007). More recently in Australia similar derogatory labels have been applied to women. In 2011, Alan Jones, a renowned Australian talkback radio host, called Prime Minister Julia Gilliard, Australia's first woman Prime Minister, "Ju-liar" to her face (Knight, 2011, July 18). In early 2016, Peter Dutton, the Minister for Immigration and Broader Protection in the Australian House of Representatives, erroneously sent a text to journalist Samantha Maiden, which was intended for his colleague Jamie Briggs, also a member of the Australian House of Representatives. The text called Maiden a "mad f***ing witch" (G. Mitchell, 2016, January 4). No wonder many women travelling along the path to equality doubt their success when our women pioneers are so disparagingly characterised and disrespected.

In telling her personal story, Commander Cath Hayes said she loved being at sea working with a great team of personnel and the opportunities life at sea brings. Nevertheless, she admits that the journey has not always been easy. She (2013) said, "I have had occasion to question myself and doubt my own ability, my mental and physical endurance has been tested to its limits and once or twice beyond those limits with a less than optimal outcome"(p. 87). Another Navy woman stated during a focus group session that "you have

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[131]   As previously mentioned, women of my era employed in communications were trained to be specialists in strategic communications and like the women who served in the field in WWII to manage communications centres.

to work harder as a woman to prove yourself in the Navy. It's like that in every male dominated area, and I'm sure the men would say that's bullshit, because they don't have to do it" (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a, p. 78).

Women in the United States Navy have had similar concerns above proving their capabilities. Commander Darlene Iskra (Retired), the first woman to command a ship in the United States Navy, said during a 2008 interview (Wiener):

> It's really sad how when you have a masculine organisation like the military and you have women that come into it … you know … the women are very capable but they feel like they have to do it themselves. They feel like if they ask any questions or ask for help they are showing weakness that they can't afford to show.

As a feminist researcher, I am encouraged to acknowledge the achievements of women. Doing so is one step in empowering women and having them set aside their doubts. Kearns (2015) suggests creating a brag file, which includes factual evidence that refutes "feelings" of being a fraud. To reinforce his advice, he quotes Eleanor Roosevelt who was the longest serving First Lady of the USA, a diplomat and an activist for human rights and women's issues:

> Courage is more exhilarating than fear and in the long run it is easier. We do not have to become heroes overnight. Just a step at a time, meeting each thing that comes up, seeing it is not as dreadful as it appeared, discovering we have the strength to stare it down. (p. 121)

The next section discusses the importance of acknowledging women's achievements.

7.4   ACKNOWLEDGING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOMEN

Documenting the milestones of women's journeys and acknowledging their achievements contributes to Australia's historical record. More importantly, such recording highlights the efforts and successes of women who make up half the population.[132] Women's place in society was captured by Chairman Mao Zedong who reiterated a Chinese proverb which said, "women hold up half the sky, but it's the heavier half" (Hallewell, 2011; Leung & Kau, 1992, p. 558; Spraker, 2008, p. 2). Yet women's efforts have often been ignored. In a 1982

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[132]   In 2012, women accounted for 45 per cent of the paid workforce (Jericho, 2012).

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address, Gwen Wesson, a lecturer in education at Latrobe University, commented on the invisibility of women's achievement. When critiquing Barry Jones's[133] book, *Sleepers, Wake!*, Wesson (1982) said:

> Now, I started off just reading bits of it all over the place and then I thought, no I'd better go back and actually look at it right through and you can read almost every page of that book as though he were writing about a one sex society. And it isn't our sex. We can get all sort of defensive about statements that we are mainly ignored but when you look at something like that you realise it just is true, that most of what we do, most of the work that women do, even if it's paid employment work, is ignored. (p. 7)

Ten years later the Lavarch Report, *Half Way to Equal, Report of the Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women in Australia*, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992) made similar comments on women's invisibility in Australia's recorded history. The Report stated:

> Popular history has not adequately recorded the enormous contribution that women have made to Australia. This extends even to quite recent achievements which despite their importance are not widely known. The invisibility of the historical contribution of women weakens the current status of women by diminishing self-esteem and the collective sense that women have 'earned the right' to choose the lifestyle they want. (p. xv)

Twenty-two years after the Lavarch Report, Jill Stark (2014) laments the underrepresentation of women in Australia's highest honour system, the Order of Australia awards. In the 2014 Australia Day honours list, only 31 per cent or 212 awards of 683 were given to women; an improvement of 4 per cent from the previous year after complaints to the Chairman of the Council for the Order of Australia. Part of the problem identified by Stark is that sufficient numbers of women are not being nominated, for example there were only 281 nominations for women for the 2014 Australia Day Honours List compared to 670 nominations for men. Air Chief Marshal Angus Houston, Chairman of the Council for the Order of Australia AC, AFC (Retired) said to Stark (2014):

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[133]   Jones was a former Minister for Science during the Hawke (Labor) Government and a former National President of the Australian Labor Party.

We need to encourage more nominations for deserving women, and there are many, to maintain this trend. With the best will in the world, the council can't just suddenly divine a 50:50 split if we don't have the nominations.

Anne Summers' comment to Stark was that there should be more active solicitation of female nominees. She was also concerned that when women were honoured for their service to the country, the award was concentrated in the lower order; for example, in 2014, of the seven awarded the highest accolade, the Companion of the Order of Australia (AC), only one was given to a woman. The next highest accolade, the Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) was awarded to 40, of which 10 were women (Stark, 2014).
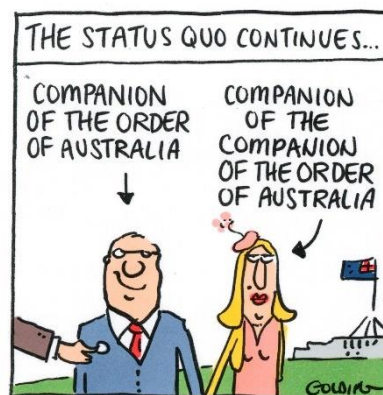
Plate 7-3: Cartoon accompanying Stark's article illustrating that women are under-represented in the Australian Honours System.

An analysis of the Order of Australia awards in the military division in the 2013 and 2014 Australia Day Honours list was carried out to see if a similar picture emerged. Table 7-1 shows the results. In 2013 and 2014 no Navy woman was recognised for her service in the Order of Australia awards. The only Service to recognise women was the Army who awarded the Member of the Order of Australia (AM) to a woman in both 2013 and 2014. No awards were granted in the AC, AO or the OAM categories.

The Department of Defence can also nominate personnel for other decorations, which are the Gallantry Decorations, Distinguished Service Decorations, Conspicuous Service Decorations and the Nursing Cross. As the highest number of awards is given in the Conspicuous Service Decorations category, awards granted in this category in the 2013 and 2014 Australia Day Honours List were also analysed (see http://gg.gov.au/australian-honours-and-awards/australian-honours-lists). In 2013, one Navy woman was awarded a Conspicuous Service Cross (CSC) representing 25 per cent of those awarded to Navy personnel. Not one Navy woman was recognised in 2014 with the award of a CSC. However, the number of these awards given to Navy personnel was reduced by 50 per cent, which may indicate, as Stark pointed out, a lack of people being nominated. Across the ADF in 2014, the number of CSCs given to women fell from four to two, representing an 11 per cent decrease. The Conspicuous Service Medal (CSM) was awarded to one Navy woman in 2013 and two in 2014, representing an eight per cent increase. Across the ADF, there was a five per cent improvement.

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Table 7-1: An analysis of 2013 and 2014 Australia Day honours awards for ADF personnel

Year	Award	Navy	Army	Air Force	Total	Navy % of women	ADF % of women
2013	AC		1M		1		
2014	AC						
2013	AO	1M	2M		3		
2014	AO	1M		1M	2		
2013	AM	1M	5M 1F		7		14%
2014	AM	2M	5M 1F	3M	11		9%
2013	OAM	2M	5M	3M	10		
2014	OAM	2M	5M	2M	9		
2013	CSC	3M 1F	4M 2F	4M 1F	15	25%	26%
2014	CSC	2M	6M 1F	3M 1F	13		15%
2013	CSM	6M 1F	16M 1F	4M 1F	29	14%	10%
2014	CSM	7M 2F	12M 1F	3M 1F	26	22%	15%

Notes: (a) M = male and F = female; (b) Shaded area indicates no awards granted.

The military figures cannot however be contrasted fairly with those in the Order of Australia general division as women in the Navy only represented 18.4 per cent and 18.6 percent of the Navy workforce in 2013 and 2014 respectively (see Appendix 3). Within the ADF, women represented 14.4 percent and 15 percent of the ADF workforce in 2013 and 2014 respectively (Department of Defence, 2014a, p. 148). With this in mind, there is a fair distribution in the Conspicuous Service Decorations category. However, in the Order of Australia category Navy women were not recognised and ADF women were severely underrepresented.

Women's motivation to succeed is not necessarily driven by recognition but rather the self-satisfaction of doing the job and being able to contribute productively and creatively to society (Szirom, 1991, pp. 7-25). For example, Penny Wong, the first sitting member of the Australian Labor Party to declare her sexual orientation as lesbian, said "It's not about being first, it's how others perceive their possibilities" (Maroupas, 2012). Wong was reinforcing that her sexual orientation is not tied to the job and regardless of it or her gender, she should be judged with respect to her job on her performance. Similarly, when Camille Martin was asked about her upcoming promotion, she did not boast about her

achievement as the first female to be promoted to Warrant Officer Musician (the highest non-commissioned rank). Rather her motives were altruistic as she stated, "I am looking forward to assisting those within the Musician Category and wider Navy and being a positive role model wherever this next chapter takes me" (Zyla, 2015). Although women like Wong and Martin do not brag about their achievements, there has been a growing commitment in recent years to acknowledge Australian women's contributions to society through various forms of recognition as illustrated in Table 7-2 below.

Table 7-2: Recognising Australian women – a list of various States and organisations who in contemporary times have acknowledged women's achievements

Year	Contributor
1993	**The National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame (Alice Springs, NT)** The National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame seeks to commemorate the achievement of all Australian women not just white Europeans but also those from Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and ethnic backgrounds. The museum collects, preserves, researches, commemorates and displays material relating to Australian pioneer women. The museum is building a library of reference books as well as an archive of individual pioneering women's histories, literature, historical records, photographs, manuscripts and oral history recordings. See http://www.pioneerwomen.com.au/
1995	**Telstra Business Women's Award** The Telstra Business Women's Awards recognise and celebrate the achievements of talented business leaders whose career paths and individual achievements continue to inspire business people around the country. The award provides an opportunity for career analysis and self-development, new business opportunities and network expansion. See http://www.telstrabusinesswomensawards.com/
1997	**Women in Technology Award** The Women In Technology (WIT) Awards Program is Queensland's premier awards program for women in technology industries. Since its inception in 1997, WIT has been a pioneer in the development of industry development programs such as Board Readiness, Scholarships and Awards, and Student Role Models. See https://www.womensnetwork.com.au/BusinessAwards
2000	**Rural Women's Award** The Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation's Rural Women's Award is open to all women involved in agriculture, including forestry, fisheries, natural resource management and related service industries. The Award supports women with a strong and positive vision for the future of their industry and its human resource. See https://rirdc.infoservices.com.au/items/09-068

Table 7-2 continued

Year	Contributor
2001	**Victorian Honour Roll** The Victorian Honour Roll of Women was launched with the induction of 250 women. Their achievements are a reminder of the significant contribution women have made to Victoria. See http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au/for-business-and-community/community-involvement/women-in-the-community/women-as-leaders/victorian-womens-honour-roll)
2002	**Women's History Month (Australia)** Senators Margaret Reid and Amanda Vanstone, and Member of the Australian Parliament House of Representatives Carmen Lawrence launched at Parliament House in Canberra Women's History Month Australia. Celebrated annually since then, the impetus for the event was inspired by the success of Women's History Month in the USA, a national event since a 1987 resolution of Congress, and in Canada where it was proclaimed in 1992. See http://www.womenshistory.net.au/
2003	**Tribute to Northern Territory Women** The Tribute to Northern Territory (NT) Women recognises, celebrates and commemorates the achievements of women who have made, or are making, a significant contribution for women in their community. Whether they have been pioneers, early settlers, or living legends, the recipients are women the NT community are proud to recognise and honour. See http://www.territorywomen.nt.gov.au/tribute.html
2003	**Tribute to Northern Territory Women** The Tribute to Northern Territory (NT) Women recognises, celebrates and commemorates the achievements of women who have made, or are making, a significant contribution for women in their community. Whether they have been pioneers, early settlers, or living legends, the recipients are women the NT community are proud to recognise and honour. See http://www.territorywomen.nt.gov.au/tribute.html
2005	**The Tasmanian Women's Honour Roll** The Tasmanian Honour Roll of Women was established to honour Tasmanian women who have made an outstanding contribution to the State. Through the Honour Roll, the Tasmania Government hopes to stimulate community involvement in the processes of research and discovery about women's historical and contemporary contributions, ensuring their achievements are not forgotten in the passage of time. The Government also hopes the roll inspire and motivates future generation of young women to make a difference in their own way. See: http://www.dpac.tas.gov.au/divisions/csr/programs_and_services/tasmanian_honour_roll_of_women

Table 7-2 continued

Year	Contributor
2005	**Veuve Clicquot Award Australia – Australian Business Women** The Veuve Clicquot Business Award honours outstanding Australian Business women who embody the value of Veuve Clicquot and its pioneering entrepreneur Madam Clicquot, founder of the House of Veuve Clicquot. The Award identifies and celebrates the achievements of women who demonstrate the qualities of entrepreneurship, audacity and vision. See http://veuveclicquotaward.com/home/
2008	**South Australian Women's Honour Roll** The South Australian Women's Honour Roll was implemented as an ongoing strategy to increase the formal recognition of women for their contribution to the SA community. The Honour Roll acknowledges and celebrates the diversity of women in the SA community and their commitment to effecting change to ensure the community live in a safer and more inclusive society. See http://officeforwomen.sa.gov.au/womens-policy/womens-leadership
2009	**Q150 History Pictorial – Our Women, Our State** To celebrate Queensland's 150th anniversary, the Queensland Government released a pictorial history of women's contributions to Queensland, 1859 to 2009. (Unfortunately the website hosting the information - http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/q150-women/ - is no longer available. Some information on the achievements of Queensland women can be found at: http://www.qld.gov.au/about/about-queensland/history/women/
2011	**South Australian "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" Award** The 'Women Hold Up Half the Sky' Award forms part of the Australia Day Council of South Australia (SA) Awards and is the only award with the Australia Day Awards specifically acknowledging the contribution women make to the SA community. The award recognises the outstanding contribution women make, in a voluntary or paid role, in advancing and enriching Australian society. The award is designed to acknowledge women who have previously not been publicly recognised for their work and service to the community. The award takes its name from a 1978 poster drawn by SA artist, Ann Newmarch. See http://officeforwomen.sa.gov.au/womens-policy/womens-leadership
2012	**NSW Women of the Year Awards** Presented on 7 March (the eve of International Women's Day), the NSW Women of the Year Awards recognise the achievements of women across the state of NSW and acknowledges inspirational role models, women who have demonstrated excellence in their careers and women who have made significant contributions in their local community. See http://www.women.nsw.gov.au/women_of_the_year_awards

Yvonne Smith (1988) when producing her time line of significant events and achievements claimed it was not an exhaustive list but was "to act as a guide in the uncovering and recognition of the part that has been played by women and women's organisations in shaping the past and present" (p. 5). She went on to say, "The struggle for equality has been a long and often bitter one and women are still, in economic, social and political terms far from equal in Australian society" (p.5). Smith (1988) acknowledged her "Calendar" of events and achievements was not complete but that her record reflects "the enormous energy and activity of relatively small groups of women who were dedicated to the cause of justice for women and who were instrumental in achieving change against enormous opposition" (p. 8). Australian Navy women during the WRANS period were a small group of women and continue to remain so today.[134] Their achievements in a non-traditional area of employment add to Smith's Calendar.

Anne Summers (2002) also provided a time line of achievements by and for Australian women between 1788 and 2001. She did warn though that listing a compendium of "firsts" confines the achievements to a small number of women and "does not necessarily reflect the true picture of what has been happening with the vast majority of women" (p. 544). This is true. There are many women who have made an enormous contribution to society but who will never receive any acknowledgement or accolade (Szirom, 1991, p. 9).

In documenting the significant achievements of women serving in the Australian Navy, Summers' caution is acknowledged. Essentially, the list of Navy women's firsts will contribute to the historical literature of women's journeys to gain equal status and in so doing contribute to and enrich the already multifaceted collections of social knowledge about women, particularly those who have achieved in a field that is a non-traditional space for women to work. Even so, the list tells only part of the story as the Navy is full of women whose contributions have played a vital part in the operation of the Navy and who are in the words of Vice Admiral Ray Griggs (2013) when he was Chief of Navy "an irreplaceable part of the team" (p. 7). Nevertheless, the women listed are important because they have not only achieved an objective but demonstrated that their achievement is not about being the first but about their performance; being able to do the job just as effectively as a man (Szirom, 1991, pp. 24-25). These women are humble and do not seek the limelight. They are the achievers behind the achievements, and behind

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[134]   In 1985 when the WRANS ceased to exist, they constituted 6.8 per cent of the RAN workforce. Thirty years later, women made up 18.8 per cent of the RAN workforce (see Appendix 3).

these women achievers are a growing group of successful women who walk the path of their pioneers (Szirom, 1991, p. 18).

7.5   NAVY WOMEN – WHO SHOULD BE RECOGNISED?

When documenting achievements, who should be recognised? Renowned historian Margaret Mitchell (2015) in the CBC Massey Lectures argued that history matters because it shapes our world. In Addition, she commented that we all have personal histories and have been affected by life events. Consequently, we need history to understand our own worlds if we are going to assess what needs to change to improve our world. Knowledge of the past provides the sense of that world. According to Mitchell (2015), everybody is born into particular worlds, particular families, particular ethnic groups and particular religions therefore we partly inherit attitudes and values from those groups in which we are born; and each generation will develop a different perspective as societal attitudes and values change over time. Therefore, the questions historians ask will shift overtime. In providing an example, Mitchell said, "Fifty years ago people didn't ask questions about women's history because women's history didn't seem something important".

Reflecting on Mitchell's perspective, I concluded all Navy women who succeeded in achieving a first should be recognised by recording their pioneering steps up the ladder to employment equality. Some may view the first as a minor step but when building the picture of the past, all achievements are crucial. For example, a jigsaw puzzle requires all the pieces to complete the picture. Bearing this in mind, recognition should begin with the women who led the WRANS. These women should be acknowledged for each did not take their responsibilities lightly or silently. They fought for the advancement of the women they led; women they had a genuine affection for and a professional pride in. These women were devoted to their careers during their tenure. They were among the early pioneers for women in the Navy and yet, except for McClemans, the wartime Director, little has been written about their contribution. Brief biographies of the Directors' careers, drawn from an array of material such as Navy Lists,[135] newspaper articles and brief mentions in books, are recorded in Appendix 4.

Worth noting in the list of Directors is that the second and third post-WWII Directors, Cole and Hill were seconded from the WRNS. Margaret Curtis-Otter, who was a First Officer

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[135]   *The Navy List* contains details of the officers of the Royal Australian Navy including education and military qualifications, honours, decorations and awards, and seniority.

during WWII, was appointed as the Advisor WRANS soon after the decision to re-establish the WRANS was made (Spurling, 1988, p. 245). She was unable to take up the position as the first post-WWII Director as she was married and appointment or reappointed in the re-established WRANS was restricted to unmarried women under the age of 45 years (Spurling, 1988, p. 254). Another WWII WRANS officer, Blair Bowden was offered the position. Bowden was a divorcee without dependants so she was an acceptable choice according to the standards set by the Australian Commonwealth Naval Board (Spurling, 1988, p. 258). Curtis-Otter, like many other Australian married women, had the necessary skills to be the WRANS Director, but the discriminatory policy of the marriage bar limited the available pool of women. The policy was a deliberate attempt to restrict married women having careers. In keeping with the public service ban on the employment of married women, Article 203 of Naval Orders, which during WWII permitted married women to enlist, and offering an optional discharge to serving ratings and officers on marriage, was repealed (Spurling, 1988, p. 258).

In the three decades since the WRANS were integrated into the Navy, women have made continuous progress on the path towards employment equality. In her studies of Navy women's careers, Claire Burton (1996) affirmed that "progress has occurred partly through women's achievements and partly through strategically-focused policy initiatives" (pp. ES-1), which according to Spurling (1999) were driven by the pace of human rights legislation (p. 38). Navy women have contributed to their progress by demonstrating their abilities, which has had the effect of changing naval traditions and erasing the gender stereotypes of days gone by. At the graduation parade of the first officer cadets who entered ADFA when it opened in 1986, Minister for Defence Science and Personnel Ros Kelly when congratulating the Chief of the Defence Force's Navy, Army and Air Force prize winners commented on how pleasing it was that two of the single service awards were presented to women.[136] She went on to say, "It is not that these women have achieved so much in an area traditionally dominated by men but that their achievement will lead to enhanced career opportunities for women as they progress through the ADF" (*Navy News*, 1989f, p. 5). The classic image of the military leader or hero as male is slowly being replaced to include females. The women who pioneered the way deserve to have their achievements recorded for posterity.

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[136]   Midshipman Michelle Sheppard was the winner of the Navy prize and Officer Cadet Anne Bingham was the winner of the Army prize. The top award, the Commander-in-Chief's medal was awarded to Officer Cadet Karen Webb.

Some of the women who have contributed to the progress are listed in Appendix 5. Many milestones and major achievements of Navy women have gone unrecognised because they were not recorded and the women concerned have not espoused their achievements. Therefore, the list is not exhaustive but the picture is coming together. The achievements listed only refer to those women who joined after the WRANS were reformed in 1950 and commences in the 1960s as my research did not uncover the names of those who achieved a first in the 1950s.[137] The rank shown is the rank held by the person at the time of the first. Many of the women were promoted after the listed achievement. Some went on to have multiple achievements.

The list adds to the salute of women's achievements, which in recent years have begun to be celebrated in the Navy. For example, on International Women's Day 2015, the year that marked the thirtieth anniversary of the disestablishment of the WRANS, events were held across the Navy. One such event took place in Defence Plaza, Sydney where Commodore Stephanie Moles hosted a morning tea for about 40 Navy personnel. In support of the theme for the day, "let's not wait another 20 years for gender equality", Moles told the group that the greatest impediment to continuing the journey to equality was complacency. She went on to say:

> It is easy to look around and see women in the workplace and in some senior positions and think, there are women in the workforce, so what is the problem? It is only when you look back and think about how things were, that you get a feel for how things have changed. (Wootten, 2015)

Moles spoke of her aspirations of joining the Navy after finishing high school. She recounted how in 1985 when she visited the Townsville recruiting office that she was told the avenue of entry for officer was different for women. She could not get a degree and not go to sea. Her only option was to do a short special course designed for women and to take up administrative posts. This was to some extent misleading information as women officer cadets had undertaken the same training as men since 1978, although they were not eligible for the degree stream. Furthermore, in 1980, training cruises had commenced for female officer cadets and in 1985 the first two female officers were posted to sea (see Appendix 1). Moles' experience is an example of how the implementation of policy changes can be slow on the uptake. Moles waited another year and joined the first intake

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[137] After reading Spurling's (1988) account of the WRANS in the 1950s, this is understandable. The decade was as tumultuous period for the WRANS. Without the tenacious efforts of the Directors and labour shortages, the Service may not have survived (see also Spurling, 1999).

of ADFA officer cadets. She graduated three years later as a Supply Officer (now Maritime Logistics Officer) with a Bachelor of Science Degree. She fulfilled a number of sea postings, which included operational deployments, in the first half of her career; a highlight was her tenure as the Maritime Logistics Officer in HMAS *Adelaide* (a guided missile frigate). She went on to gain a Master of Business Administration and to graduate from the Australian Command and Staff Course. Moles acknowledged that during her 29-year career the ride had not always been smooth. Nevertheless, she had witnessed Defence grow into an organisation that values diversity and offers women more and more opportunities to be the best they can be. During the morning tea one of the attendees, Able Seaman Stephanie Norris, said the personal story struck a chord with her. She commented, "It was a bit of a reality check on how far the Navy has come from 1985 and not being able to go to sea as a female or getting a degree" (Wootten, 2015).

How women are remembered is important as it is part of women's broader journey towards equality. The list at Appendix 5 is incomplete and needs to be developed. When such knowledge recording is left too late, relying on memory can create inequalities as women's contribution can be remembered inaccurately, diminished or even rendered invisible (Pittock, 2015). When asked a question about why the USN was not keeping statistics on women's accomplishments, Iskra replied that she believes the USN considers women have gained equality in the Navy so there is no longer any need to acknowledge women's achievements. She went on to say that she felt true equality had not yet been achieved and that recording Navy women's achievements was particularly important so the women coming through the ranks understand their history (Wiener, 2008). The same can be said in the context of Australia Navy women.

7.6   CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have demonstrated that Australian society has been slow to recognise the contribution of women to the nation. The lack of acknowledgement of women's achievements was bought to the attention of the federal government in 1975. Despite this, close to a decade went by and the issue was still ignored. Nearly another decade went by and the status remained the same as reflected in the Lavarch Report—popular history was not adequately recording the enormous contribution being made by Australian women. The traditional stereotypes remained and women's contribution remained invisible. The effect this had on women's confidence was reflected in professional women doubting their abilities and an increased fear they would be exposed as frauds.

Despite the percentage of women and men in the workforce being almost equal, the acknowledgement of women's contribution remains unequal. Nevertheless, progress has occurred in recent decades as more women have broken through the glass ceilings. Since the release of the 1992 Lavarch Report, state governments and other organisations have implemented mechanisms such as honour rolls and award systems to recognise Australian women's contributions.

A gap exists though when it comes to recording the pioneering history of Australian Navy women. Conforming to the liberal feminist view that women should be acknowledged for their achievements, I recognised the contribution of women who led the WRANS by including short biographies, which convey some of their more significant achievements. I also compiled a list of "firsts" for Navy women. The women who led the WRANS when the Service was active between 1950 and 1985 all had one common attribute; they were persuasive leaders. They lobbied senior RAN officers for improved conditions of service for the women they led. Each one, created incremental change until the women serving in the WRANS were amalgamated into the RAN. Their mantle of leadership was then taken-up by individual women serving in the RAN, whose progress was aided by human rights legislation and subsequent changes to ADF legislation and policies. Those who led the WRANS and those who created a "first" for women are the Navy's pioneering women. This chapter contributes to the celebration of women's achievements by commencing the process of recording Navy women's achievements and contributions not only to the nation but also to enhancing the status of women.

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

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8.1   INTRODUCTION

This thesis has traced the changing employment opportunities of women serving in Australia's Navy. Like their counterparts in civilian employment, military women have had to overcome many barriers to achieve equal employment opportunity. For military women, the final barrier to equal employment opportunity was dismantled in 2011, when the Gillard government removed all combat restrictions. The purpose of this final chapter is to reflect on my interpretations of Navy women's journey on the path towards equality and to explore how Navy women's story adds to the historical knowledge of women in Australian society. To achieve this aim, I have divided the chapter into four sections. The first section will provide a summary of this thesis. The second section will draw together the main conclusions in relation to the aims of the research. The third section offers some suggestions for further areas of research that have been identified during the course of the study. Finally, I compete my thesis with some closing remarks.

8.2   THESIS SUMMARY

8.2.1 The Literature

The motivation for this research comes from my own story. I was a Wran for 12 years. I then experienced the transition of the WRANS into the RAN, where I served full-time for another 23 years before transferring to the Reserves in 2008. I remain an active Reservist and for the past eight years I have been serving approximately 100 days annually. I came to the research with a passion for the topic as the Navy has been a significant part of my life as my link with the organisation accounts for 70 per cent of my life to date.

Very little has been written about Australian women's contemporary naval experience; the focus has been on WWII service (Curtis-Otter, 1975; Fenton Huie, 2000; Spurling, 1988; Agostino, 1997a; Department of Defence (Navy) 1976; Stevens, 2001b). Therefore, my aim was to document the history of women serving in the Navy over five and a half decades commencing in 1960; the start of a decade that saw the beginning of second wave feminism. I also chose this date because Kathryn Spurling (1988), who also served in the WRANS, told in her Master's thesis the story of the establishment of the WRANS, its reformation in 1950 and the turbulent decade that followed. My starting point was to explore what changes occurred in Navy women's employment over the five and a half decades of the study and to explain the rationale behind the changes. Secondly, now that

women in the Australian Navy serve at sea, I needed to examine the integration process from both sides, the organisation's and the women's, albeit the women's voices have been sourced through the women's written stories and secondary data. Was the process "smooth sailing"? If not, why not and what organisational strategies were implemented to overcome any obstacles.

In developing a research design, I posited that women's employment opportunities in the Navy during the five and a half decades were, like women in civilian employment, shaped by the education offered to girls and societal attitudes towards women's participation in the labour market. These themes then became central to my literature review. A review of the literature revealed that prior to WWII, the roles of women and men in Australian society were polarised; women's sphere was in the home, men's was outside the home and in the paid workforce (Stephenson, 1970; Ward, 1965). Men were primarily the breadwinners. This attitude not only caused serious economic injury to women, but also prevented them from having careers. A job, not a career, was acceptable for single women only. Women were to be excluded from the professions and the only training they needed was in the domestic sciences (see for example Parliament of Queensland. Legislative Assembly, 1932, p. 1169 and Taysom, 1963). Within Australian society a doctrine of masculism was promoted, even revered, and the contribution of women to society was neglected (Schools Commission Study Group, 1975; Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992; Mitchell, 2015).

Attitudes towards women's workforce participation changed when Australia's involvement in WWII required a larger labour workforce. A shortage of servicemen also led to the formation of the women's military arms, including the WRANS (Australia. Royal Australian Navy, 2008; Dennis, Grey, Morris, Prior, & Connor, 2008, pp. 605, 607). Never before had Australian women been so emancipated from the tyranny of the home, family and conventional society (Adam-Smith, 1984). Unfortunately, as the war came to an end, women were forced out of the workforce and back into the home. Their jobs were to be freed-up for returning servicemen (Adam-Smith, 1984). Several years later, war was again the catalyst for a change in attitude towards women's workforce participation. The Korean War resulted in an increase in women in the civilian labour force and also the reformation of the Women's Services (Dennis, Grey, Morris, et al., 2008; Royal Australian Navy, 1951).

The literature revealed that societal attitudes were also influenced by post-war prosperity, the rise in consumerism and advances in medical science (Batstone, 1999; Horne, 1972; (Lavis, 1975). The latter gave women access to the contraceptive pill, which assisted in the transformation of women's status as participants in the economy. But the main barriers to women's full participation in the labour market were deficiencies in the school education being offered to girls. This issue began to be redressed by governments from the 1970s (School's Commission Study Group, 1975; Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984; 1987; Australian Education Council, 1993). During the research, a trend in women's workforce participation emerged: in times of labour shortages women's workforce participation increased. This was also the case for Navy women. As societal attitudes changed so too did the participation of women in the Navy as Defence statistics show (see Appendix 3). However, my research revealed that the contemporary role of women in the Navy is not discussed or explored in any detail in currently available material. This thesis therefore fills the gap in the literature in respect to the changes to employment opportunities for women who served in the WRANS and the Royal Australian Navy in contemporary times.

8.2.2 A feminist methodology

From the beginning, this project was seen as taking a joint disciplinary approach—women's studies and history—because I wanted to tell a story about women; the women serving in the Navy between the period 1960 and 2015 and their journey towards gaining equal employment opportunity. I chose a feminist methodology because it includes paying attention to the importance of gender as a central element of social life, challenging the norm of objectivity to incorporate subjectivity into research, and empowering women through social research (Arcker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1996; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Harding, 1987; Harding & Norberg, 2005; Oakley, 1998; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Reinharz, 1992). Furthermore, I identify myself as a feminist and feminists support the notion that research is feminist when it is about women, for women and by women (Fonow & Cook, 1991; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Reinharz, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Wadsworth, 2001).

I position myself primarily as a liberal feminist. The roots of liberal feminism began in the eighteenth century. Without the efforts of the liberal feminists, many of the educational, legal and professional/occupational gains for individual women may not have been achieved (Putnam Tong, 1998). Liberal feminists want women fully enfranchised into the

social systems of corporate, government, economic and educational life, and work to end gender segregation, gender discrimination in all areas of public life, and gender-based laws. They believe these goals can be achieved within the current system through legal and social reforms (Hines, 2008).

I also connect with aspects of radical and socialist feminist thought. In radical feminist discourse, patriarchy, the systemisation of the oppression of women by social structures, explains women's position in society. In contrast to liberal feminism, this strand of feminism argues that new political, economic and social categories need to be constructed to end patriarchy, which is assumed by radical feminists to be the oldest and most fundamental form of oppression in society (McHugh, 2008; Burgmann, 1993; Zalewki, 2000) Socialist feminists also incorporate the radical feminists' concept of patriarchal ideology but unlike radical and liberal feminists, socialist feminists do not focus exclusively on gender to account for women's positions. Class and economic conditions are central elements of socialist feminism as they believe the roots of women's oppression lie in the total economic system of capitalism (E. Reed, 1970; Jaggar 1988; Putnam Tong, 1998).

At the heart of feminism is the belief that women are oppressed, regardless of what strand of feminism one advocates. Women in the Navy have been oppressed because, until 2011 when the final barrier to equal employment opportunity was dismantled, they did not have the same opportunities as that offered to men in the Navy. Based on this, I chose to focus my feminist lens on cultural gender stereotyping and gender divisions in the home and employment rather than focus on an over-riding cause of women's inequality, such as patriarchy. Nevertheless, in my analysis I did not ignore the influence of patriarchy in shaping Australian society and the Navy.

Because my research relied on analysing written material and this type of material is a form of discourse, I chose Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as my primary research method. Moreover, discourse (re)produces social domination because discourse is a controlling force in society as language is used to persuade and manipulate both individuals and social groups. While there is more than one CDA framework, I chose to adopt van Dijk's (2009) as it captured the tenets of CDA, which include discourse constitutes society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, discourse is a form of social action, and discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

In Chapter 4, I chose van Dijk's (2004) ideological schema to analyse women's role in the WRANS from 1960 to 1984 when the SDA became law and resulted in women being integrated into the RAN the following year. The purpose of this chapter was to analyse the WRANS organisational structure to determine who they were, what they did, and their relationships with other groups. Did their structure impede their employment opportunities and if so what restrictions did they face and how did this affect their careers? To answer this question, I examined the discourse in organisational documents such as WRANS Instructions, *Navy News* items, women's written stories, Navy Orders, recruiting brochures, *The Navy List* and Defence Annual Reports. I also analysed the meaning of some of the Navy's lexicon as this is another form of discourse.

In Chapter 5, I adopted van Dijk's (2009) Event Model to evaluate what changes occurred in women's employment following the integration of the members of the WRANS into the RAN. The event model incorporates the setting, participants and actions or events. This model was the foundation of my analysis for this chapter as the setting was the new environment in which women were placed and the participants were the men and women of the RAN, the leaders in Defence and the Australian legislative body. To determine what happened, the events and the subsequent actions taken, required a clearer framework. Consequently, I developed the model in Figure 3-2. This model guided my analysis in determining the drivers behind the changes, the views of the external stakeholders, such as government and community/military groups, and the reaction of internal stakeholders. Documents such as Defence Annual Reports, *Navy News* items, ministerial statements, Hansard, mainstream media reports, and stories written by women were analysed. I was able to operationalise the events/actions by producing a chronology, which appears at Appendix 1. The core structure of the chapter was the Australian Parliament's legislative history as this suited my liberal feminist lens.

In Chapter 6, I again adopted van Dijk's (2009) event model to analyse the HMAS *Swan* event, an event that triggered cultural reform in the Navy. I knew from my Navy experience that, following the event, the Navy started on a series of strategies to reform its culture. Consequently, to assist me in examining the strategies I used Dauber, Fink and Yolles' (2002a) *Configuration Model of Organizational Culture* in Figure 3-1. In using this model, I was able to explore the dynamic relationships between organisational culture, strategy, structure and operation of the organisation's internal environment and then map the interactions with the external environment (the government and the general public). The final aim was to evaluate the success or otherwise of the reforms. The HMAS *Swan* Senate

inquiry documents, which included the Senate Committee's report, Hansard records of witness interviews and submissions from many interested parties, such as the Navy, the public, military groups, and Navy personnel, provided the main source of data in the analysis of the *Swan* event. Mainstream media reports, *Navy News* items, Hansard, ministerial statements, Defence media releases and mainstream media reports were other data sources analysed.

I chose a feminist method in Chapter 7. Feminists argue that women should celebrate their achievements (Walter, 1998; Wolf, 1993). Furthermore, Rich (1987) argues that women need knowledge of their own history. Given also as mentioned above, women's contribution to Australian society has been largely ignored until recent times, I was convinced Navy women's achievement and contributions should be acknowledged. I chose to address this by including a list of Navy women's firsts as this would be both a celebration of Navy women's achievements and an important historical record as Navy women's firsts have not been formally documented. I stress in the chapter that the list is not an exhaustive one and is also an incomplete one.

8.2.3 The WRANS

Chapter 4 of this thesis provided a foundation for understanding the role and lifestyle of the women who served in the WRANS. The WRANS were an organisation that throughout the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s mirrored the social values of women's work. The WRANS structure was determined by the Navy leadership and as such was a patriarchal one. The structure included a code of conduct that set high standards in dress, bearing and behaviour. Failure to maintain the standards resulted in disciplinary action. The complement of the WRANS was also contained and from 1960 to the enactment of the SDA in 1984, the WRANS only had a growth of 3 per cent (see Appendix 3), this was despite labour shortages in the Navy.

In the 1960s and up to the mid-1970s, the structure of the WRANS restricted its members from having long term careers unless they were single. This was due to women being discharged on marriage and pregnancy. These rules were mechanisms to control women's participation in the workforce. The rescinding of these rules, the marriage bar in 1968, but was not implemented until 1969, (Bomford, 2011; Royal Australian Navy, 1969a) and the pregnancy bar in in 1975 (National Archives of Australia, 1974; Royal Australian Navy, 1986) led to women remaining in the Service and having careers rather than jobs. The jobs

offered to women in the WRANS reflected what was occurring in society. Initially, the WRANS members were employed in traditional area such as domestic, clerical and nursing duties but as education reforms in society occurred and resulted in women's employment opportunities expanding, more opportunities opened up to WRANS members such as electronics technicians in 1974 (Royal Australian Navy, 1974b) and dental assistants in 1975 (Royal Australian Navy, 1975a). During the period, improvements occurred in women's conditions of service, such as equal pay in 1978 (Australia. Committee of Reference for Defence Force Pay et. al., 1977; Royal Australian Navy, 1986) and coeducational training for officers in 1978 (Jackson, 1978) and Wrans in 1984 (J. Gallagher, personal communication, November 5, 2015; *Navy News*, 1985). Many of these changes were driven by external forces and in some cases did not occur until several years after the gains for women in civilian employment.

8.2.4 Integration

Chapter five of this thesis explored the federal government's role in achieving employment equality for ADF women. Employment equality was driven by both values and pragmatism. From the WWII years, Curtin's Labor Government took a pragmatic approach to women's workforce participation—women's labour was needed to win the war. However, once victory was achieved traditional values resurfaced and the majority of workforce women were once again relegated to home duties. The need for servicewomen resurfaced due to other wars, such as the Korean, Vietnam and Gulf Wars, and in times of labour shortages when sufficient men could not be recruited into the Navy.

The principles of social equity and justice, which guided the Whitlam Government's agenda in the 1970s was the start of important social changes that flowed on to women in the Navy, such as maternity leave (National Archives of Australia, 1974). In the 1980s, the Hawke Government showed their continued commitment to women with the passing of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth). In 1990, the Hawke Government went further by lifting the combat-related restrictions placed on women's military service (Bilney, 1990 May 30). However, they stopped short of removing the combat restrictions because of a saviour attitude towards women's safety, which reflected the traditional values of men being the provider and protector of women. Two years later, the Keating Government removed most of the combat restrictions placed on military women (Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 3 November 1992, p. 2373).

Women's participation in the ADF during the 12-year Howard Government, which commenced in 1996, did not significantly increase as the Government applied a mainstreaming approach to women's policies taking the view that the "feminist battle" had been won (Hewett, 2002). Feminists argued the Howard Government's approach was regressive as there were still many barriers to women's full participation in the workforce (Burton 1996). The analysis of the statistics of women serving in the ADF during the 12-year period would support this conclusion. In the 12 years prior to the Howard Government's era, the growth of women's participation in the ADF was 6.4 per cent and in the Navy 8.4 per cent. During Howard's term of office, the growth was 0 per cent in the ADF and 2.3 per cent in the Navy. The mainstreaming policies had a flow-on effect as the figures for the six years following the Howard Government era reflected only a 1 per cent increase in the ADF and the Navy.

Under the Rudd Government, acknowledgment was made that a recruitment and retention strategy for women was needed. CDF pursued this approach and, after engaging a group of high achieving women and undertaking wide consultation with women, released the proposed strategy in 2009 (Combet, 2009a, 2009b). The success or otherwise of the strategy was evaluated by the 2012 Broderick review into the treatment of women in the ADF. The Report recommended the strategy be discarded as it had not been sufficiently supported to produce the required outcomes (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a). The Gillard Government lifted the final barrier to women's full participation in the ADF in 2011 (S. Smith & Snowdon, 2011, September 27).

8.2.5 Cultural change

In Chapter 6, I examined the progress of cultural reform in the Navy following the HMAS *Swan* event, which occurred two years after women started going to sea in warships. The event, which involved allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault raised by three women serving on board the ship, demonstrated that the Navy had not adequately prepared its people, men and women, for this major change in Navy's operational environment. To recover its reputation, the Navy initiated a number of strategies to reform the organisation's culture. These included in 1993 the removal of the Page 3 Girl feature from *Navy News* (MacDougall, 1993a), the introduction of the Good Working Relationships Program in 1994 (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994), the establishment of the DEO in 1997 (Department of Defence, 1997) , the standardisation of uniform in the mid-1990s, the introduction of five values in 1999 to create a values-

based organisation (*Navy News*, 2000c; Shackleton, 2000), and the embedding of 10 signature behaviours in 2009 following the *Success* event (Royal Australian Navy, 2009a).

Since the *Swan* event, a period of 17 years up until 2010, the Navy leadership has shown through continuous strategies their commitment to cultural reform. The 2012 Broderick review into the treatment of women in the ADF acknowledged the programs introduced in recent times by Navy, Army and Air Force aimed at creating more diverse and inclusive workplaces. Nevertheless, Broderick's report stated that there was still a feeling amongst some that women are receiving preferential treatment (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a). Also, the report stated that many members displayed an enduring ambivalence about women in the forces such as whether there should be more serving women, whether the presence of women affects capability and what roles they should perform. Broderick highlighted these issues as a concern because research indicates gender diversity is a key marker of the health of organisations. Noting Broderick's findings, the Navy can claim a measure of success in reforming the organisation's culture, but complete reform has not yet been achieved.

On 7 March 2012, three years after the *Success* event, the Minister for Defence, the Secretary of Defence and the Chief of the Defence Force, jointly announced a whole of Defence strategy for cultural change and reinforcement (Department of Defence, 2012b). The implementation strategy, *Pathway to Change – Evolving Defence Culture* incorporated the recommendations made in the 2011 series of reviews into Defence and ADF culture. The reviews included the treatment of women, alcohol use, social media and the management of incidents and complaints. Nine months later, the Minister for Defence, Stephen Smith, apologised in the House of Representatives on behalf of the Government to the men and women of the ADF who had suffered sexual or other forms of abuse in the course of their service. While the apology was triggered by the ADFA Skype incident, the apology covered events experienced by ADF members since the 1950s (S. Smith, 2012).

More recently, on 21 September 2015, the first female Defence Minister, Marisa Payne, was appointed (Burke, 2015). Her selection sends a signal to the members of the Defence Force that women are suitable for and capable of undertaking a senior leadership role. As of June 2010, the percentage of women serving in the Navy was 18.4 but in the following five years has only risen 0.4 per cent (Appendix 3). To achieve real cultural reform, the Navy must increase the representation of women. A more proactive approach such as quotas is needed because women are winning on merit by making the short list for

promotion but they are not being selected as the composition of the promotion board is male-dominated (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a).

8.2.6 Acknowledging Navy women

Chapter seven of this thesis demonstrated that Australian society has been slow to recognise the contribution of women to the nation. Historical records, educational material and literature have not adequately recorded women's enormous contribution. Two reports to the federal government into girl's education in the 1970s and 1980s criticised the school curriculum material for not reflecting the contribution of women to history and in contemporary society. Both reports stated the curriculum was perpetuating sex-role stereotyping (School's Commission Study Group, 1975; Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984). In 1992, the Lavarch Report was also critical of the lack of recognition being given to women and reported that the invisibility of women's achievements was weakening the status of women (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992). Soon after the release of the Lavarch Report, state governments and other organisations started to implement mechanisms such as honour rolls and award systems to acknowledge Australian women's contributions.

A comprehensive record of the pioneering history of Navy women during contemporary times does not exist. The women who led the WRANS when the Service was active between 1950 and 1985 all had one common attribute; they were persuasive leaders. They lobbied senior RAN officers for improved conditions of service for the women they led. Each one created incremental change until the women serving in the WRANS were amalgamated into the RAN. However, little has been written about them. When the WRANS were disestablished, the Directors' mantle of leadership was taken-up by individual women serving in the RAN, whose progress was aided by human rights legislation and subsequent changes to ADF legislation and policies. Those who led the WRANS and those who created a "first" for women are the Navy's pioneering women. The record of their achievements contributes to the growing, rich collection of Australian women's accomplishments and informs past, present and future Navy women of their history.

8.3   CHANGES TO NAVY WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT FROM 1960 TO 2015

My first research question was: What changes occurred in Navy women's employment from 1960 to 2015 and why?

As the review of the literature revealed, a trend in women's workforce participation emerged during the period of the study; wars in the twentieth century created opportunities for women to enter the labour market in unprecedented numbers. The catalyst for the change was WWII. Women's labour was required to meet the demands of the war effort. Unfortunately, at the end of the war women were forced out of the workforce, the women's arms of the military were disestablished, and women were forced back into the home. However, the return to traditional values did not last long due to Australia's involvement in the Korean War and as a result of labour shortages in a time of full employment, women once again entered the workforce. To meet the requirements of the military, the women's services were re-established.

The period of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (1962 to 1973) saw further demands for women in the Navy. For example, in 1963, the WRANS complement was increased by 68 to ease the labour shortage at the Naval Air Station. In a similar vein, the Royal Australian Navy Nursing Service was re-established in 1964. Labour shortages also occurred during the first Gulf War (1990-91). In 1990, the combat-related restriction imposed on military women was lifted. The reasons given were to remove barriers to women's participation in the Navy and to provide women with a better career structure; but behind these reasons were the labour shortages and women were an untapped market. During the period of the first Gulf War, the number of female Navy officers grew by 2.1 per cent, which was the greatest annual growth in the 65 years between 1950 and 2015 (see Appendix 1). The greatest growth of women in the Navy also occurred in the 1990s. Between 1995 and 1996, the growth was 1.5 per cent, which was a reflection of the lifting of most combat restrictions in late 1992.

During the seven years of the second Gulf War (2003-2009), the growth in women's participation in the Navy had an average annual growth of 0.27 per cent. The HMAS *Success* event in 2009, followed by the ADFA Skype incident in 2011, damaged the reputation of the Defence Forces. A penalty Navy paid was zero growth in women's participation in 2012 and a negative growth of 0.1 per cent in 2013. In both 2014 and 2015, the growth was 0.2

per cent, which may be attributed to Defence introducing strategies to improve the treatment of women in the military.

Women's participation in the Navy has significantly changed since 1960. A period of five and a half decades has seen a transformation of women's role in the labour market and a progressive change to sex-role stereotyping in employment. Women have gone from having jobs to having careers. Feminist activism for gender equality and social justice brought about legislative changes. Australian Navy women have benefited from these changes as well as from labour shortages in the Service. They now have equal employment opportunities and equal conditions of service. During the period of the study, women's participation in the Navy has risen by 15.8 per cent. Hopefully, another 50 years will not pass before there is a similar increase.

8.4   INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO THE SEA ENVIRONMENT – ISSUES AND REFORM

My second research question was: How were the changes integrating women into the sea environment managed from an organisation perspective and what were the experiences of serving women?

The Navy started sending women to sea in the 1980s. First small groups of officer cadets experienced short training cruises on a dedicated training ship, HMAS *Jervis Bay*. After the SDA was enacted, Navy women were informed that all women would in future be liable for sea service except for those who joined prior to 1984 sea service would be voluntary. In 1987, two officers were posted to the oceanographic research vessel HMAS *Cook*. The following year, two officers were posted to the hydrographic survey ship HMAS *Moresby* and the destroyer tender HMAS *Stalwart*. In 1989, two officers were posted to HMAS *Flinders*. In 1990 before the announcement that all sea going billets would be open to women, eight sailors were posted to HMAS *Moresby*, and one officer and four sailors were posted to HMAS *Tobruk* an amphibious heavy lift ship.

In 1992, women were posted to HMAS *Swan*, a surface-combatant, for an Asian deployment. As mentioned above in the review of Chapter 6, the *Swan* event was the catalyst for cultural change in the Navy due to revelations of sexual harassment occurring on the ship. Following a Navy Board of Inquiry and a subsequent Senate inquiry the Navy began implementing a number of strategies to reform its culture. These strategies have helped to challenge the popular perception that male sailors are hard-drinking and display

womanising and generally raucous behaviour. Only a year after the *Swan* event, the awareness among ships' crews that Navy would not tolerate unacceptable behaviour was evident in HMAS *Sydney* during her 1993 deployment. The Commanding Officer reported that having women on board did not affect the operational effectiveness of the ship. A contributing factor to this outcome was learning lessons from *Swan*. Only seven women were posted to *Swan*, one lieutenant (a Reserve doctor), two trainee officers and four junior sailors. None of the junior sailors had previous sea experience. Furthermore, these women had no female senior sailors in their chain of command. Two of the three complaints came from these four junior sailors. Similarly, LEUT Wheat who raised the preliminary complaint had received no initial Navy training. Her only exposure to the Navy was as a civilian doctor working at the Navy establishment, HMAS *Cerberus*. On the other hand, 32 women had been posted to *Sydney* in May 1992. These women had a year to adjust to life on board a Navy ship before the ship sailed on a six-month operational deployment in June 1993. On board for the deployment were 35 women comprising two officers, three petty officers and 30 junior sailors. This complement allowed for an effective female support network or Divisional System, which provides leadership and direction (see for example Malcolm, 2013). The other significant factor was top down leadership.

Ensuring a balanced divisional system structure on board sea going vessels is one strategy the Navy has implemented. Other strategies such as the Good Working Relationships (GWR) Program informed Navy personnel of the expected behaviour in the workforce. This training has evolved and behaviour expectations continue to be reinforced through equity and diversity mandatory annual training. GWR training was complemented by the introduction of five Navy values and ten signature behaviours. Many more other cultural reform strategies have been adopted such as the removal of gender differences in uniform on board ships and those mention in section 8.1.5 above. In her report, Broderick noted that the ADF has been recognised internationally as a leader in implementing many practices to reform culture, such as an increased emphasis on employee work-life balance and the consolidation of equity programs (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a, p. 301). Nevertheless, the report did state that equality of opportunity does not necessarily lead to equality of outcomes. A continued focus on cultural reform needs to be maintained by the Navy as it will have to compete with the rival civilian sectors in the "war for talent" if the organisation is to meet its future capability requirements (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a, p. 309).

Many women who went to sea, particularly in the early stages, were victims of unacceptable behaviour as was evidenced through the submissions made to the Senate inquiry into the Swan event (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994). If the women on *Swan* had not spoken up, the status quo of misogynistic behaviour may have remained in place for a longer period of time. In the 52 accounts of life at sea written by Navy women in *Winning at Sea: The Story of Women at Sea in the RAN* (2013), the women have shared their experiences. Their experiences covered the full spectrum from feelings of self-doubt to exhilaration. Many reported how they were mentored by the senior sailors and officers, who helped them with mapping their careers, teaching them warfare and leadership skills, and providing comradeship and support (Daetz, 2013; Harris, 2013; Hay, 2013; A. Hillis, 2013; Liberto, 2013). As women such a Wendy Malcolm (2013) and Donna Foat (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade, 1994) related, having a greater number of women on board afforded the women a female support network. When *Sydney* sailed on deployment in 1993, women represented 16.2 per cent of the crew (35 out of a complement of 216) and 12.4 per cent of the total Navy. Twenty-two years later, women represent 18.8 per cent of the total Navy, which in the timeframe has been a growth of only 6.4 per cent; a figure that shows how long it takes to change a culture; one that attracts women to want to join. After the 2009 HMAS *Success* event, the growth in women joining the Navy stagnated. To increase the number of women in the Navy, Navy women need to be asked what makes them want to join and stay and then strategies developed and implemented to attract more women to join and to keep them.

8.5   SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.5.1 Affirmative action

The 2012 Broderick Report into the treatment of women in the ADF was undertaken in light of several problems facing the ADF: a shrinking talent pool, the significant cost of unwanted departures, the lack of diversity at leadership level and its desire to be a first class employer with a first class reputation (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012a). Increasing the representation of women in the military and improving their pathways into leadership positions has been identified as the main strategy to sustain ADF capability. In response to the Report, then Defence Minister, Stephen Smith, pledged in-principle support for the Report's recommendations and stated that Defence would take positive affirmative action to accelerate the representation of women in the Services.

Defence's 2012 Pathway to Change strategy promised to address the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies and to put much more emphasis on peer-to-peer collaboration (The Defence Committee, 2012, p. 10). This strategy stated "in Defence we do not operate on a quota system" as women are "recruited, deployed and promoted on merit". Furthermore, "they tell us explicitly that they do not want special treatment" (The Defence Committee, 2012, p. 11). The Pathway to Change strategy appears to conflict with the Broderick Report findings because without special treatment such as a strong commitment to affirmative action, the number of women in the ADF will not increase.

A review of the effectiveness within Navy of the Broderick Report strategies implemented to increase the critical mass of women in the ADF will need to be undertaken in several years' time (noting the time needed to implement and the time needed to take effect).

8.5.2 National Action Plan 2012 – 2018 on women, peace and security

Another strategy adopted by Defence is their commitment to Australia's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (referred to as NAP), which was developed to support the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and related resolutions on women, peace and security. A Defence Implementation Plan has been developed to enable monitoring and reporting on the execution of the 17 Defence actions and 11 measures in the NAP. The Plan includes tasks that provide greater emphasis and focus on gender mainstreaming activities that align with international, UN and NATO efforts to integrate a gender perspective into armed forces, military operations and missions (Department of Defence, 2012a).

If not already planned, it will be necessary to conduct an evaluation of the success of the Plan at the end of its lifespan.

8.5.3 Project Suakin

Project Suakin has been developed as a whole-of-Defence workforce model to contribute to ADF capability by providing the flexibility to manage the workforce using full-time, part-time and casual service arrangements. The Project has been in the planning stage for some years. During 2014-2015, the Project undertook a range of "test and learn" activities to finalise the design of the model. Amendments to Defence legislation were also necessary to allow permanent members access to flexible service arrangements. Implementation of the Total Workforce Model commenced in 2015 (Department of Defence, 2014a, p. 130; 2015, p. 130).

I recommend the effectiveness of this project is also evaluated in several years' time.

8.5.4 New Generation Navy

In 2009, Navy established a five-year strategy, New Generation Navy (NGN), to address the cultural, leadership and structural changes to meet the challenges of delivering future capability. The NGN strategy has been extended as a continuing priority and is being used to sustain a "One Navy One Culture" philosophy to meet future challenges. Other key Navy initiatives include the Navy Women's Mentoring Program; the Navy Women's Networking Forum; the Navy Women's Leadership Program; the launch of Women in Navy web pages on the Defence jobs website; the establishment of a specialist recruiting team (Women for Navy); and reducing the initial minimum period of service for selected categories (Department of Defence, 2014b).

A study of the women's initiatives, which must include asking the opinions of the women, is suggested by me to measure the program's success.

8.5.5 Summary

The inaugural *Women in the ADF* report was published as an online supplement to the 2013-14 Defence Annual Report and has provided Defence with a baseline for future reporting on women's participation and experience in the ADF.

I recommend access to an "outsider" is given to carry out the studies/reviews to the four initiatives listed above, because these annual reports will provide a source to triangulate data, thus increasing the credibility and validity of the results.

8.6 CONCLUSION

Eighty years ago, the feminist Linda Littlejohn, who was an ardent advocate of equal rights, fought for the removal of restrictions placed on women's employment. She argued such restrictions were not there to protect women but rather to protect men. Since then, feminist activists and enlightened governments, who have been seriously concerned with giving equality of opportunity to women, have attempted to transform the values of present day Australian society in varied success. Equal employment opportunity does not however equate to equality of outcomes. Therefore, organisations and institutions, such as the Navy, will retain their patriarchal ways until there is a greater representation of women, particularly in the senior leadership where the decision-making occurs.

Gender equality is not about the battle of the sexes. Society needs men and women working together as equal partners to create change. Change starts with shaping the attitudes of boys and the expectations of girls. Parents, teachers and others who play a role with youth must assume responsibility for this to occur. This does not exclude others in society, all Australians have a role to play in shifting gender stereotypes that will only contribute to constraining further generations if not removed.

For Navy, which reflect societal values, the journey towards gender equality must not be halted. In roads have been made over the past 55 years but the impetus must be maintained because having diverse teams delivers improved organisational performance and capability delivery. Women in the Navy have demonstrated that gender is no barrier to accomplishing the mission. However, while women now have the same opportunity as

men, there remains an imbalance in the number of women serving. The notion of equality in employment is not however about assimilating women into the existing structure. It is about changing the norm and recognising that accepting differences leads to equality. By valuing diversity and individual talents, the Navy will increase its organisational strength. This will be a necessary requirement for the Navy because like the other two Services it faces significant workforce and sustainability challenges in the coming decades. Therefore, recruiting and retaining women in the full spectrum of positions must remain a top priority. A true indicator of equality will be a continuing increase in the number of women in the ADF workforce, particularly in the senior leadership roles and across occupations.

APPENDIX 1

WOMEN SERVING IN THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY: A CHRONOLOGY

This chronology is not an exhaustive list. Some events will have been missed. Nevertheless, the chronology provides an informative short list of the progress of Navy women's employment.

1941 18 April The Minister for the Navy approved the recruiting of fourteen civilian women telegraphists from the Women's Emergency Signalling Corps, a group of Australian women who had been trained as W/T operators at a private wireless telegraphy school in Sydney. The school was begun by Mrs Florence V. McKenzie, OBE, who is understood to have been the first woman in Australia to qualify as a wireless technician.[1]

21 April WRANS established as an auxiliary of the RAN[2] but women were enrolled not enlisted.[3]

28 April Fourteen civilian telegraphists (two of whom had volunteered to serve as cooks) reported for duty at the RAN W/T Station outside Canberra[4] (commissioned on 01 July 1943 as HMAS *Harman*).

24 November Prime Minister Curtin announced that the wearing of uniform for WRANS had been authorised.[5]

1942 April The Royal Australian Naval Nursing Service (RANNS) was established.[6]

August The civilian status of women serving in the WRANS was reviewed due to the impact of the war in the Pacific and the acute shortage of the military workforce.[7]

1 October The WRANS were formally established as an auxiliary service. Of the 131 women (mostly telegraphists) then serving only two availed themselves of their right to be discharged.[8]

October Twenty-three qualified nursing sisters began duty in RAN hospitals.[9]

1943 1 January First WRANS Officers Course conducted at Flinders Naval Depot[10] (from December 1962 referred to as HMAS *Cerberus*[11]). Initially, provision was only made for the rank of Third Officer but as numbers grew additional ranks were added. By 1945, 124 officers were trained.[12]

1944 6 January The Minister for the Army (Mr Forde) announced amendments of Defence (Australian Military) Regulations to place members of the women's auxiliary services in the same position as male members of the forces in regard to arrest and suspension pending investigation of a charge.[13]

August Second Officer Sheila McClemans (later Kenworthy) was promoted to the rank of First Officer and appointed as Director WRANS.[14] On 12 November 1942, the Minister for the Navy (Mr Makin) announced that Miss Annette Oldfield had been appointed as the senior officer of the WRANS with the rank of Lieutenant Commander. Soon after on 8 December 1942, he announced her resignation had been accepted.[15] There was some controversy over her appointment.[16]

1945 18 December The War Cabinet directed that the WRANS be disbanded not later than 30 September 1946.[17]

1946 2 September The WRANS officially disbanded.[18]

1947 27 February Sheila McClemans was officially discharged after four years' service.[19]

26 November A proposal to re-establish the WRANS was discussed by the Naval Board.[20]

1948 August RANNS disbanded.[21]

1950 14 July The Federal Cabinet authorised the reintroduction of the women's services.[22]

18 July The Minister for the Navy announced that the WRANS were to be reconstituted as a permanent and integral arm of the RAN.[23]

23 December The WRANS were reconstituted.[24]

1950 23 December First Officer Blair Bowden was appointed the first peacetime Director WRANS.[25] She had served during WWII and had been a member of the initial WRANS Officers Training Course in January 1943.[26]

1951 7-26 March Four other WRAN Officers were appointed; Second Officers Jess Prain (one of the original entry of Wrans in 1951) and Pat Ireland, and Third Officers Margaret Vaile and Gloria Swain.[27]

14 May First Officer Blair Bowden was promoted to the rank of Chief Officer (RAN Commander equivalent).[28]

July The first post-WWII recruit WRANS were enlisted.[29] The initial WRANS establishment was five officers and 295 ratings.[30]

1954 14 January First Officer Joan Cole WRNS assumed the position of DWRANS.[31][32]

June Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, appointed WRANS Honorary Commandant.[33]

1955 23 January Chief Officer Blair Bowden finished her four-year term.[34]

1956 12 March First Officer Elizabeth Hill WRNS appointed DWRANS.[35]

1 April A new official numbering system was introduced due to the introduction of a new pay accounting scheme. For Wrans, the prefix WR was replaced with the letter R followed by the number 8, which preceded the Wrans original numbers. For example, Wran Telegraphist Norma Uhlmann's official number changed from WR4345 to R84345.[36] WRANS Officers were allocated numbers in the series 0.1 to O.7000, with the letter O reflecting the Navy member was an officer and with no discerning gender discriminator. For example, Acting First Officer Joan Streeter was allocated number O.1126.[37]

Accommodation was acquired for members of the WRANS working in the Melbourne area. They moved into the property in May 1957 with the official opening on 7 September 1957.[38] Greenwich House in Irving Road, Toorak has historical significance as one of the oldest surviving Toorak residences. Built

originally by Albert Austin as a family home, the property later became an aged gentlewomen's home and was renamed Greenwich House. The name was retained because of the Royal Navy (RN) link as Greenwich at the time was the home of the Royal Naval College. Unlike the other two arms of the Australian military, the links between the Royal Navy and the RAN were very strong. For example, up until the 1950s, RN officers held positions on the Australian Naval Board. This link to the "mother country" created an elitism culture in the RAN.[39] Ironically, Greenwich House is now the Chinese Consulate.[40]

1957 The categories of Motor Transport Driver (MTD) and Radar Plot were opened to the WRANS. In both cases volunteers were called for from other categories. Recruiting of MTDs commenced in January 1958.[41]

1958 8 February First Officer Joan Streeter, another of the wartime WRANS, was appointed Director WRANS. On 31 December 1958, she was promoted to Chief Officer.[42] Streeter served for 15 years originally at the rank of Chief Officer and was promoted to Superintendent on 11 July 1968.[43] [44] She was the first woman in the Service to be given the RAN title of Captain (see 1971 entry).

When the RAN College moved back to Jervis Bay, the male officer training accommodation at HMAS *Cerberus*, Grant Block, became the WRANS Quarters.[45] Previously, the Wrans were housed in huts on the Base.[46]

1959 14 September – 9 October DWRANS office moved from Melbourne to Canberra as part of the relocation of the Department of Defence and the central administrations of the Departments of Navy, Army and Air.[47]

23 September Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra of Kent officially opened the new Wrans Quarters at HMAS *Harman.* The building was named Alexandra House.[48] (See also 1969 entry.) Two other Wrans accommodation blocks opened later, one named Gloucester House (after the Duke of Gloucester) and Kent House (also after Princess Alexandra).

1959 4 December The Australian Government decreed the Women's Services should be granted permanent status. This gave members of the WRANS the right to contribute

to the Defence Force Retirement Benefits Fund.[49] The change encouraged women to make a career of the Service provided they did not marry or have children.

1960 The entry age to join the WRANS was reduced from 18 to 17 to improve the career opportunities for women joining the service as a survey conducted by the Navy found females only spent on average three years in the service as they left at 21 to get married.[50]

1961 **7 August** WRAN Radio Teletype specialist qualification introduced.[51]

1962 **19 June** The wearing of court shoes for members of the WRANS was introduced as an optional item of uniform.[52]

23 October The category badge for Wran Stewards was changed from the letter G in a circle to the Supply Branch Star with the letters SD (denoting Steward) in the centre. The badge reflected that Wran Stewards were employed in Wardrooms as well as Wrans Quarters.[53]

24 October First Direct Entry WRANS Officers commissioned.[54]

1963 **1 January** The WRANS Efficiency Competition commenced. Initiated by the donation of a trophy by the Ex-WRANS Re-Union Committee, the trophy in the form of plain 10-in. silver salver was to be known as the Sheila McClemans Trophy. The trophy was inscribed:

> Sheila Mary McClemans, O.B.E.,
>
> First Director WRANS,
>
> 1943 – 1946
>
> Efficiency Trophy
>
> Presented to the Women's Royal Australian
>
> Naval Service by former WRANS on the 21st Anniversary
>
> of its formation

The trophy was awarded annually to the establishment that proportionately had the greatest number of Wrans qualified for higher ranks during the year. (In 1966, the

qualifying criteria was expanded at the direction of the Second Member of the Naval Board to include the composite point scores awarded by DWRANS following her annual visit to WRANS units. The allocated points were for bearing and appearance of Wrans, overall presentation of quarters for rounds, general efficiency of Wrans in their respective departments, annual reports by Unit Officers, any charitable projects undertaken, sporting results, and any other occurrences or activities indicative of effort and efficiency.)[55] The currency of the trophy was twenty-one years after which it was to become the mess property of the most successful establishment. The last awarding of the trophy would have been 1984, the year the *Sex Discrimination Act* (Cth) was enacted. Who could have envisaged that the end date of the trophy would coincide with this event? The following year, the WRANS ceased to exist and members of the WRANS were incorporated in to the Royal Australian Navy. The inaugural winner of the trophy was HMAS *Melville*, which was located in Darwin.[56]

19 June The decision to extend First Aid Training to members of the WRANS was promulgated.[57]

28 June Inaugural meeting of the Ex-WRANS Association of NSW.[58]

The Minister for the Navy Senator Gordon announced that members of the WRANS would be expanded by 68 and the women would begin serving at the Nowra Naval Air Station.[59]

1964 1 May The Queensland WRANS Sub-Section of the Naval Association of Australia formed.[60] (In 2015, name changed to Navy Women (WRANS-RAN) Qld)

24 August Official badge for the WRANS announced.[61]

2 November The RANNS was re-established in response to the Vietnam War.[62]

26 November Swimming instruction and test was introduced for WRANS.[63]

1965 30 March Linguist Category of the Communication Branch was introduced for sailors and Wrans.[64]

1965 6 August The "Page 3 Girl" commenced in *Navy News*.[65] This feature in *Navy News* ceased 28 years later (see 1993 entry).

31 December A new official numbering system was introduced due to the introduction of an electronic data processing system. Personnel kept their existing numbers but the alphabetical prefixes were changed. WRANS Officers were changed from the letter O, which was kept for male officers, to the letter L. The ratings prefix was change from the letter R, which was kept for sailors, to the letter W. Wran Reservists were identified with the letter K and WRANS Officers in the Reserve with the letter Q.[66] Once again, an alphabetic prefix designated gender as well as employment status.

1966 16 March Approval was given for members of the WRANS to be awarded the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal under the same conditions as applied to male members of the Permanent Naval Forces.[67]

25 July The wearing of Shoulder Flashes "Australia", which was introduced for wear by members of the Permanent Naval Forces on 1 December 1965, was extended to members of the WRANS.[68]

18 November *The Public Service Act (No. 2) 1966* allowed for the permanent appointment of women in the Commonwealth Public Service and introduced unpaid maternity leave provisions.[69] Australia became the last democratic country to lift the ban.[70] The provisions of the Act did not flow on to servicewomen until 1968.

30 December The title of the WRANS Training Division HMAS *Cerberus* changed to the WRANS Training School.[71]

1967 May WRANS, WRAAC and WRAAF members were granted permission to serve overseas; WRANS and WRAAC members served in Singapore until 1975. Chief Officer Joan Streeter and Colonel Dawn Jackson, Directors of the WRANS and WRAAC respectively, lobbied strongly for women to serve overseas.[72]

Instead of being housed at HMAS *Penguin*, accommodation for members of the WRANS serving at HMAS *Watson* was made available by converting the upper floor of the male Chief Petty Officers' block.[73] Several years later, the *Watson* Wrans were

once again housed at Penguin due to a shortage of accommodation at *Watson*. This issue was remedied in 1973 when the Navy purchased a facility at Bondi (see the 1973 entry below).

1968   **30 January** Permanent Commissions for WRANS Officers were introduced.[74]

20 February The date marks the milestone of 100 recruit intakes for the WRANS since the reestablishment of the Service. The total number of Wrans entering the Service in the previous 17 years was estimated at 2,756.[75] In strength of the WRANS in 1968 was 595.

March A navy blue full-length evening dress with three-quarter sleeve bolero was approved for WRANS and RANNS officers. A brooch to indicate Service and rank was to be pinned to the left side of the bolero. Plain black court shoes or matching blue material were to be worn with the dress. A small plain black or matching blue evening bag could also be carried.[76] This optional evening dress was approved for use by Warrant Officer and Chief Wrans in 1974.

11 July All members of the WRANS became subject to the Naval Discipline Act.[77]

11 July The WRANS Reserve came into being.[78]

Approval was given for married women to remain in the Service.[79] However details of the policy change were not promulgated until 1969 and retention was not automatic. The conditions that applied required WRANS to volunteer for service after marriage; the request was subject to approval by the Naval Board and subject to a position being available that met the member's changed "domestic circumstances". The change did not apply to the recruiting of married women.[80] In 1971, the policy was modified to exclude members of the WRANS serving in Darwin and Singapore areas.[81]

1969   **19 June** Equal pay for women was enacted by the Australian Parliament but this only applied to about 10 per cent of women covered by Federal Awards. The decision on the case for equal pay for work of equal value did not occur until 15 December 1972.[82]

Princess Alexandra succeeded her late mother as Honorary Commandant of the WRANS.[83] She had a previous association with the WRANS having officially opened a new WRANS accommodation block at HMAS *Harman* named in her honour.[84]

Sydney Wrans moved into a new 3-story brick building built to accommodate 60 Wrans. *Navy News* reported the facility included a "TV room, a separate recreation room and a small annex in which an electric urn is constantly in use as Wrans make a "brew" to their liking". The primary previous quarters, which were WWII huts, accommodated up to three Wrans. When the new building was opened, these huts provided overflow accommodation.[85]

1970　**24 April** Princess Anne formally opened new modern quarters for Canberra-based Wrans. Plaques were unveiled on the Kent and Gloucester residential houses accommodating 17 senior Wrans and 60 junior Wrans respectively. The residential houses provided single cabin accommodation, which was a change to shared rooms in Alexandra House.[86]

1971　**26 November** The Superintendent rank was aligned to the RAN rank of Captain.[87]

26 November The Warrant Officer rank introduced. The first woman to be promoted to the rank was Warrant Officer Wran Steward Lenore "Lennie" Maiden in September 1972.[88]

November A uniform review of WRANS and RANNS resulted in a number of changes including the addition to kit of a nylon raincoat for all members; the replacement of white anklets (socks) instead of blue anklets; the introduction of gilt metal collar badges of rank for Chief Petty Officers and Petty Officers in place of blue branch badges on white dresses; a new summer working dress for Petty Officer Wrans and Junior Wrans consisting of a short-sleeved white blouse, with cuffs and collar edged in blue, and a blue skirt for summer working dress.[89]

1973　**April** Chief Officer Barbara McLeod, who joined as a Direct Entry Officer Candidate in early 1953, was appointed Director WRANS.[90] She was not promoted to Captain until 30 June 1975.[91]

The Navy purchased Bondi Travelodge Motel as accommodation for Wrans serving in HMAS *Kuttabul* and HMAS *Watson*. The Wrans took up residence in 1974. Before the property was purchased, most Wrans serving in the Sydney area lived in HMAS *Penguin* on the north shore. The premises were later named Lady Gowrie House after Lady Zara Gowrie who was the first Honorary Commandant of the WRANS during WWII.[92]

1974 1 January A new rank structure for sailors and Wrans was introduced. The primary change for Wrans was the introduction of the Wran* rank, indicating a Wran under training and the Senior Wran rank as an equivalent to the Able Seaman rank. The Wran rank became equivalent to Seaman, which replaced the ORD rank (for ordinary seaman).[93]

1 January The Naval Board approved the introduction of the Wran Dental (WRDEN) Category. The first Recruit WRDENs were entered in July 1975 and commenced their category training on 4 August 1975.[94]

1 January The Naval Board approved a change in title for medical category sailors and Wrans. The title Sick Bay Attendant (SBA) was changed to Medical (MED). Specialist qualifications were to be indicated with a letter after the category title. For example, Senior Wran Medical X-ray Assistant was abbreviated as SWRMEDX.[95]

7 January Pregnant Servicewomen were permitted to remain in the Defence Forces,[96] thus ending a 30-year Federal Cabinet decision.[97] The entitlement was 12 weeks paid maternity leave and 12 months' unpaid leave, in line with the public service.

13 May WRANS blue on blue rank category and Long Service badges and Australia flashes for wear with Winter Working Dress were replaced with embroidered red on blue to match those worn by sailors.[98]

8 August The introduction of the Wran Electronic Technical Communications (WRETC) Category announced. The first Recruit WRETCs were entered in October 1974 and commenced category training on 4 November 1974.[99]

8 August Wran Stewards category badge (a star containing the letters SD) changed to the badge worn by sailors in the Steward Category (a star containing the letters OS, the abbreviation for Officer Steward).[100]

October The WRANS and RANNS Officers evening dress (see 1968 entry above) was approved as an optional evening dress for Warrant Officers and Chief Wrans.[101]

1975 **1 January** The Naval Board approved the abolition of the Wran Writer Shorthand Typist Category and the introduction of the Shorthand Typist qualification as a subspecialisation of the Wran Writer Category.[102]

To celebrate the International Year of Women, PM Whitlam directed Defence investigate new employment opportunities for women. The Chiefs of Staff Committee set-up a Working Party to examine and report upon the role of women in the ADF; the report recommended women be permitted to serve on active service at home or abroad, but not in a combat role.[103] This exclusion still effectively precluded women from seagoing duties, but opened the way for their progressive employment in a far wider variety of naval activities.

1976 **November** The Defence White Paper stated: *The Government intends that women in the Services should now have greater job opportunities and closer equality with men in training and conditions of service. It has also been accepted that women would be permitted to serve in areas where hostilities were in progress, but they would not be employed as combatants or at sea.*[104]

Captain Barbara MacLeod became the first woman officer of any Service to attend the Australian Administrative Staff College.[105] The purpose of the Australian Administrative Staff College (later known as the Mt Eliza Australian Management College and now the Melbourne Business School arm of the University of Melbourne) was to offer short courses for executives to address a perceived gap in leadership and management skills throughout Australia.

1978 WRANS were granted equal pay.[106]

4 September The Navy took the lead and began training its female officer cadets alongside men at Royal Australian Naval College.[107]

1979 **30 November** The WRAN officer rank titles were replaced with male officer rank titles.[108]

Servicewomen with recognise dependants became eligible for the allocation of a married quarter. The change in condition of service did not however include an entitlement to removal costs.[109]

1980 **28 April** Sea familiarisation became an accepted part of the training program for female midshipmen when six women embarked for a three-week training cruise. Unfortunately, the cruise was cut short with the women disembarking at Cairns on 10 May when HMAS *Jervis Bay* was re-tasked on an overseas deployment.[110]

The first time a WRANS Recruit Class joined the male Recruits at Recruit School HMAS *Cerberus* for a combined Passing Out Parade.[111] The WRANS School did not hold Passing Out Parades.[112]

1982 Approval was given for women to join the Naval Police Branch. The first three policewomen commenced training on 10 January 1983.[113]

1983 First WRAN Officer to be appointed to the position of Executive Officer (second in charge) of a Navy shore establishment.[114]

1984 **January** Two apprentices joined the HMAS *Nirimba* intake, creating a precedent as the first female apprentices of the RAN.[115]

21 March *The Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) was enacted. The Act exempted the employment of women in combat and combat-related roles.[116]

August Volunteers were sought from the Writer, Stores Naval, Stores Victualling, Steward, Radio Operator Teletype and Electronic Technical Communications categories to serve on HMAS *Jervis Bay*.[117]

31 July The last Wrans Recruit Class.[118]

1984 3 September All women who joined the Navy from this date were informed they would be liable for sea service.[119] Sea service was voluntary for women who had joined prior to 1984.

12 October First mixed gender Recruit Class.[120]

1 January The WRANS Directorate and appointments to the positions of Director WRANS, Command WRANS Officer and Unit Officer WRANS were disestablished. The honorary appointment of Senior Naval Servicewoman was created as a transitionary measure. Commander Marcia Chalmers was appointed as the first encumbent.[121]

7 June The *Naval Forces (Women's Services) Regulations* were repealed.[122] The WRANS and RANNS as separate services ceased to exist and all women joining the RAN after September 1984 were liable for sea service. Four ships, *Cook*, *Moresby*, *Stalwart*, and *Jervis Bay* were identified as suitable to carry women. The term WRAN was retained for administrative purposes.[123]

March Two female officers and five sailors were posted to sea to billets in HMAS *Jervis Bay*, which was employed in a training role.[124]

1986 January The first intake at Australian Defence Force Academy occurred. Total First Year Officer Cadets numbed 341 males and 52 females or 15.2%. The Navy composition of the intake was 65 males and 25 females or 38%.[125]

The first two female apprentices passed out from HMAS *Nirimba*.[126]

The Personnel Liaison Team (PLT) was re-established as a component of Navy cultural reform. The PLT provided a formal feedback mechanism to the personnel policy makers in Navy Office on issues of concern throughout the wider Naval community. The PLT published a quarterly information booklet, *Sea Talk*, which was distributed to all personnel and their families. The primary purpose of the publication was to explain the progress, the intent and expected ramifications of new personnel policies, and also to provide answers to any concerns and queries.[127]

1987 **January** Two female officers were posted to HMAS *Cook*, an oceanographic research vessel.[128]

The Minister for Defence Personnel Ros Kelly announced three new conditions of service: reunion travel (where a member takes an unaccompanied posting), reimbursement of two days' child care cost during a removal, extra tuition allowance for children due to a Service caused transfer to a new school.[129] The changes flowed on from the Hamilton Report.[130]

First female guard paraded at HMAS *Harman* ship's company divisions.[131]

1988 **15 February** The first woman was appointed as a Commanding Officer of a shore establishment.[132]

February The first all-female guard paraded at HMAS *Coonawarra's* ship's company divisions.[133]

March Two female officers were posted to billets in HMAS *Moresby* (hydrographic survey ship) and HMAS *Stalwart* (destroyer tender).[134]

10 June The first all-female guard paraded at HMAS *Penguin's* ship's company divisions.[135]

1 July A one-month Training Squad Trial occurred with HMA Ships *Stalwart*, *Jervis Bay* and *Stuart* participating. The trainees included Wran Electronic Technical Communications (ETC) Belinda Wells and four female midshipmen. These trainees together with Lieutenant Christine Fowler, the course officer for the Junior Naval Command Course, and Senior Wran ETC Danise [sic] Staunton, on loan from HMAS *Cerberus*.[136]

A child care centre, the *Four Cs*, opened at HMAS *Cerberus*, Navy's principle training establishment at Westernport Bay, Victoria.[137]

Minister for Defence Science and Personnel Ros Kelly conducted a conference to discuss the way ahead for women in the ADF.[138]

1989 The RAN estimated it could absorb a maximum of 3,300 women but of the almost 8,000 unlimited billets identified, only 437 were at sea.[139]

April Two female officers posted to billets in HMAS *Flinders*.[140]

6 October The new mess dress for women went on public display at the Navy Week's Debutantes' Ball held at HMAS *Lonsdale*.[141] Three years earlier, Lieutenant Commander Carolyn Brand, Lieutenant Gael Stewart and Sub-Lieutenant Way, who attended the inaugural officers' mess dinner at ADFA, designed a mess dress for themselves as the WRANS mess dress (long blue dress with bolero) was out of stock and they did not want to wear civilian clothing. The outfit was designed along the same lines as the male mess dress, which consisted of a white shirt and jacket, bow tie and black trousers. However, the three women chose to wear a long black, tailored skirt. Their design, with optional skirt, was the one adopted as the standard mess dress for Navy women.[142]

2 November Assistant Chief of Personnel-Navy Assistant Chief of Personnel Navy (ACPERS-N) directed the Director of Naval Manning Policy (DNMP) to look at ways of providing more accommodation for females at sea and to open up all sailor categories to females.[143]

November The Naval Police and the Coxswain categories were amalgamated to form the Naval Police Coxswain category. The tasks associated with the new category included discipline, personnel management, movements, investigation duties ashore and at sea.[144]

The first all-female guard paraded at HMAS *Nirimba's* Commanding Officer's divisions.[145]

1990 January Eight female sailors posted to billets in HMAS *Moresby* (hydrographic survey ship).[146]

March One female officer and four sailors posted to HMAS *Tobruk* (amphibious heavy lift ship).[147]

1990 26 March Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) directed ACPERS-N to bring forward specific proposals for the mixed gendering of HMA ships.[148]

5 April CNS announced nearly all-sea going billets would be open to women.[149] Reasons behind the change in policy were to give women a better career structure, to increase posting flexibility and to allow women training and experience in all aspects of naval operations. The effect of the policy was to remove most barriers to women in the Navy. Accommodation still restricted sea service options, including submarines. Three female officers were posted to HMAS *Success* (Auxiliary Oiler Replenishment) to complete their Executive Administration Course (EXAC) Phase 2 training. The trainees participated in everyday activities on board the ship such as Replenishment at Sea (RAS) evolutions.[150]

30 May The Minister for Defence Science and Personnel together with CDF announced the lifting of "combat-related" restrictions for women serving in the ADF.[151]

4 June CNS issued an instruction that sexual harassment would not be tolerated. He also directed that Mixed Gender Awareness training was to be incorporated in all leadership and management courses.[152]

August CNS approved the employment of female crew members in ships deploying to the Persian Gulf.[153]

September The first female Medical Branch officers and sailors were posted to USNS *Comfort* (a United States Navy medical support ship assigned to Operation Desert Storm).[154]

14 December The posting of women to warships was a contentious issue so Navy introduced its "Employment of Women at Sea Implementation Plan".[155]

1991 January HMAS *Westralia* replaced HMAS *Success* (replenishment ships) in the Persian Gulf. On board were two female officers and five female junior sailors.[156]

February CNS published protocols concerning the employment of women. These included the policy that women would be treated equally in the application of sea

to shore rosters, with the exception that those women who joined prior to 1984 would not be compelled to serve at sea.[157]

30 April CNS approved the implementation of a management philosophy, to be known as Naval Quality Management (NQM). The purpose of the program was to seek continuous improvement in Navy's performance through the creative involvement of all personnel in Navy's processes, products and services.[158]

August The first female officer joined the Sea Training Group at Maritime Headquarters.[159]

1 September The term WRAN in female rank titles was abolished.[160]

25 November Commodore Training forwarded proposed Mixed Gender Awareness Training Packages to the Director of Naval Training and Education (DNTE) for approval.[161]

19 December DNTE gave approval to trial the Mixed Gender Awareness training modules.[162]

1992 **March** Commodore Training advised DNTE that the Mixed Gender Awareness training program required further development before implementation. The intention was to trial the revised package later in the year.[163]

May Thirty-two females joined HMAS *Sydney* (a guided missile frigate).[164]

June *Defence Instruction (General) Personnel 35-3—Unacceptable Sexual Behaviour Policy* was promulgated. The instruction shifted the focus away from an individual's sexual preference towards any sexual behaviour deemed to have an adverse effect on the ADF.[165]

August HMAS *Swan* event where a female Reserve Medical Officer made an allegation she had been sexually assaulted by a male officer. A Naval Board of Inquiry substantiated some of the allegations and acknowledged that the traditional "Navy climate condoned uncouth behaviour, the liberal use of alcohol and a degree of misogyny".[166] The event was the catalyst for cultural reform.

1992 **15 October** CNS advised the Minister that mixed crewing of the Collins class submarines would be the key option for maintaining a steady rate of growth in seagoing female officer numbers.[167]

30 October *Defence Instruction (Navy) ADMIN 27-2—Carriage of Women in HMA Ships* was updated. The most significant change removed the requirement for "segregated heads and bathrooms for females other than officers" to arrangements such that "privacy for both males and females was preserved". The provision of separate sleeping accommodation for males and females remained a requirement.[168]

20 November Prime Minister Paul Keating announced that the ADF would not discriminate on the basis of sexual preferences.[169]

11 December The Maritime Commander issued a personal memorandum to his Commanding Officers that directed all guilty parties of fraternisation were to be removed from the ship to show total impartiality.[170]

18 December The Minister for Defence Science and Personnel Gordon Bilney announced that ADF women could serve in most positions. The exceptions were air defence guards for women serving in the Air Force, combat arms (infantry, armour, artillery and combat engineers) for Army women, and mine clearance diving for Navy women.[171]

21 December A Board of Inquiry (BOI) into the HMAS *Swan* allegations was convened by the Maritime Commander. The BOI members were Captain Simon Harrington, Commander Patricia Downes, Commander Mark Bonser, Lieutenant Sharon Appleyard, Lieutenant Catherine McDonnell and Lieutenant Michael Slattery QC.[172]

1993 **18 January** CNS provided amplifying directives and guidelines to all Commanding Officers on unacceptable sexual behaviour by and interpersonal relationships between members of the RAN.[173]

1993 **8 February** The PLT introduced a lecture on Unacceptable Sexual Behaviour Policy into their presentations.[174]

3 March The Director General Service Personnel Policy circulated a revised version of *Defence Instruction (General) Personnel 32-1—Employment of Women in the ADF*, which reflected the Government's 1992 decision to allow women to be employed in combat duties.[175]

28 April The Good Working Relationships (GWR) Project was formed. A contract was signed with Triulzi Collins Solutions to develop GWR training packages.[176]

3 May The PLT complement was amended to include a woman. The rationale was to provide a broader perspective during presentations and to give other women in the Navy an opportunity to discuss any gender specific items privately.[177]

7 May The last "Page 3 Girl" appeared in *Navy News*. A letter written by VADM Ian MacDougal, CNS, was published in the 2 July edition of *Navy News* explaining to the readership the reasons for the removal of the feature after 28 years.[178]

9 September HMAS *Swan* event was referred to a Senate Standing Committee by the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel John Faulkner due to concerns raised in the media that the naval investigations were inappropriately handled.[179]

17 September The Navy established the GWR project, which was designed to engender cultural change by examining and improving all aspects of work relationships within and between the various naval functional groups. The Senate inquiry supported the program and recommended the Army, RAAF and ADFA adopt a similar approach. In all, there were 42 recommendations.[180]

29 September Navy established Operation Lifeguard; a telephone information and referral service for issues relating to discrimination and harassment. An external resolution program through Triulzi Collins Solutions also became available to personnel who did not want to use the internal process.[181]

30 September 175 women (officers and sailors) were serving at sea.[182]

The position of Warrant Officer of the Navy (WO-N) was created. The primary duty of WO-N is to provide advice and assistance to CN on matters of conduct, morale and discipline. The inaugural WO-N was Warrant Officer Paul Whittaker (later Lieutenant Commander).[183] Since being established a female has not been appointed to the position.

1995 Navy became the first Service to base ADFA selection on merit rather than quota.[184]

1996 **December** Clare Burton's studies into barriers facing career women in the ADF was released.[185]

1997 **21 April** Junior sailors' uniforms for males and females were standardised thus removing gender specific differences.[186]

01 July The Defence Equity Organisation was established. The new structure combined the management of all military and civilian equity programs into a single integrated organisation. The creation of the organisation was a primary recommendation of the 1996 Burton Report.[187]

The Navy appointed the first woman to a sea command, Lieutenant Jenny Daetz.[188]

1998 **May** An employee Attitudes Survey was conducted to measure acceptance of the Navy's *Good Working Relationships* program and diversity issues.[189]

The recommendations of the *Women in the Australian Defence Force* report continued to be implemented. A review of the Employment of Women in the ADF (the Ferguson Report) was undertaken, which examined the current ADF policy and recommended a number of changes, which were to be considered by the Chiefs of Staff Committee in August 1998.[190]

The Communications Information Systems Category established by amalgamating the Radio Operator and Signals categories.[191]

1999 **March** *Defence Instruction (General) Personnel 35-3* was reviewed and reissued to take into account the management and reporting of all aspects of unacceptable behaviour.[192]

1999 **May** The first 12 women posted to submarines (six to HMAS *Collins* and six to HMAS *Farncomb*).[193]

July The Chiefs of Staff Committee considered the 1998 Ferguson Report and agreed that ADF employment policy was to be competency based. ADF combat employment categories that excluded women were to be given priority.[194]

October The *1998-2001 Defence Workplace Equity and Diversity Plan* was issued.[195]

November Lieutenant Margot East RAN released her report on the *Achievement of Recognition for Workplace Competency by Female Instructors at HMAS CERBERUS and HMAS STIRLING*. She investigated the barriers to the recognition of workplace competence for female instructors serving in the Navy. She found that despite high completion rates for courses, the gaining of workplace competence through accreditation remained low.[196]

2000 **April** Senator Natasha Stott-Despoja launched a book entitled *Women in Uniform: Perceptions and Pathways* edited by Dr Kathryn Spurling and Ms Elizabeth Greenhalgh of the School of History, University College, Australian Defence Force Academy. The book consists of a collection of papers presented at a conference of the same name in May 1999.[197]

2001 **January** The Australia Defence College at Weston Creek in Canberra was established and the Australian Command and Staff Course, which replaced the individual Service's staff courses, commenced.[198]

April Against 22 other agencies and departments, Defence won the Australian Public Sector Diversity Award in the open category for its comprehensive equity program.[199]

27 August Technology was the driver for the introduction of a new official numbering system. The Navy Personnel Management System known as NPEMS, which used the 1965 numbering system, was replaced with a new ADF wide system, the Personnel Management Key Solution System, known as PMKeyS. As a result, the new seven-digit identification numbers were issued to all Navy personnel for all

administrative purposes. The new system removed gender and employment status, for example permanent member or reservist, discriminators.[200]

2001 **November** The Chiefs of Service Committee directed an ergonomic study be conducted to develop physical employment standards for all combat arms. Data from the project was to be used to determine if women were physically able to undertake combat duties. Another project on gender diversity in Defence was contracted to the Australian Graduate School of Management. The report provided strategies to address the promotion and operational imperatives of equity and data to establish Defence's gender diversity program.[201]

2002 **30 June** Of the 10,550 Navy positions, 10,372 or 98.3 per cent were open to women.[202]

2003 The ADF Physical Employment Standards project, which was approved in July 1992, commenced on completion of the planning phase. One outcome of the project was to determine the combat roles available to women.[203]

DEO developed a draft Gender Diversity Strategy, which was endorsed by stakeholders, and established a working group to develop future actions and responsibilities.[204]

2004 Work continued throughout 2003-04 on the Gender Diversity Strategy. The Strategy's focus was on recruitment, retention and encouraging re-entry of women to the Defence workforce.[205]

29 September CN formally announced the introduction of Sea Change. Sea Change was described as a transformational program covering a range of issues including geographic stability to improve family life and individual lifestyles, improved career management processes, and a review of workloads to eliminate unnecessary tasks and increase periods of respite.[206]

2006 **February** The Defence Fairness and Resolution Branch, an independent body outside the normal line management, was established to handle all complaints and grievances.[207]

2006 Two weeks' additional paid maternity leave was awarded to ADF women. The increase in the entitlement from 12 to 14 weeks gave women greater flexibility in meeting personal and family circumstances. The leave could be taken at full pay or converted to half pay, extending the leave to 28 weeks.[208]

Defence announced their intention to integrate equity and diversity training into career-long training. The concept was to "move training from increasing awareness and compliance to effecting behavioural change".[209]

2007 **March** The Chiefs of Service Committee agreed to increase the participation rate of women in each Service over the duration of the *Defence Strategic Workforce Plan 2007-17.*[210]

The compulsory retirement age for permanent ADF members was raised from 55 to 60 years, which reflected community standards and recognised the desire of many ADF members to serve longer. Reservists' compulsory retirement age was increased to age 65, which gave permanent force members the opportunity to extend their service beyond age 60.[211]

2008 **May** The Minister of Defence Science and Personnel Warren Snowden convened the first of a series of meetings nationally with a representative cross-section of Defence women.[212]

9 October In recognition of the historical links between the Navy and the Office of the New South Wales Governor, the RAN appointed its first honorary Commodore, Professor Marie Bashir.[213]

Defence began a comprehensive Recruitment of Women Strategy.[214]

Defence introduced a Gap Year program with Navy offering 100 positions. Eighty-two positions were taken up, 46 by women representing 56 per cent.[215]

2009 **March** CDF developed an action plan to consolidate current initiatives linked to gender. These included the outcomes of the 15 ministerial roundtable meetings with ADF and civilian women across a broad range of ranks, experiences and length of service; and the recommendations of CDF's external Reference Group on Women. The latter group brought their own experiences in non-traditional workplaces to assist the ADF to overcome systemic, cultural, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of the ADF environment that directly or indirectly discriminated against the recruitment, retention, development and management of women.[216]

April The New Generation Navy (NGN) program was established to address the cultural, leadership and structural changes required for Navy to meet the challenges of delivering future capability. All Services implemented strategies to improve the retention and development of women, for example the cultural reform component of New Generation Navy; and the Navy Leadership Development Program and the Navy Women's Mentoring Program funded through the Navy Women's Strategic Advisor.[217]

19 November The Minister for Defence Personnel, Materiel and Science Greg Combet launched CDF's action plan for the recruitment and retention of women. At the time, the ADF workforce consisted of only 13.4 per cent women although they were able to participate in 92 per cent of employment categories and 81 per cent of positions across Defence.[218] All Services implemented strategies to improve the retention and development of women. In the Navy, the initiatives included the cultural reform component of NGN and involvement with the Australian Women's Leadership Symposium.[219]

2011 **27 September** The Minister for Defence Stephen Smith and the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel Warren Snowdon announced that the government had formally agreed to the removal of all gender restrictions from ADF combat roles. This opened up the category/primary qualification of Clearance Diver and Mine Warfare and Clearance Diving Officer to Navy women. The announcement stated applications would open in January 2013 for in-service women and that direct entry recruitment was scheduled to commence from January 2016.[220]

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF KEY LEADERS IN THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT AND DEFENCE PORTFOLIO

1949 TO 2013

Prime Ministers

Robert Menzies	LIB*	19 December 1949	26 January 1966
Harold Holt	LIB*	26 January 1966	19 December 1967
John McEwen	CP*	19 December 1967	10 January 1968
John Gorton	LIB*	10 January 1968	10 March 1971
William McMahon	LIB*	10 March 1971	5 December 1972
Edward Gough Whitlam	ALP	5 December 1972	11 November 1975
John Malcolm Fraser	LIB*	11 November 1975	11 March 1983
Robert Hawke	ALP	11 March 1983	20 December 1991
Paul Keating	ALP	20 December 1991	11 March 1996
John Howard	LIB*	11 March 1996	3 December 2007
Kevin Rudd	ALP	3 December 2007	24 June 2010
Julia Gillard	ALP	24 June 2010	27 June 2013

The asterisk (*) designates the government was comprised of a Coalition, which traditional is been made up of elected members of the Liberal Party and The Nationals. The elected members of Liberal Party select the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister is the leader of The Nationals. The abbreviations LIB stands for the Liberal Party of Australia, CP for the Australian Country Party, and ALP for the Australian Labor Party.

Ministers for Defence

Eric Harrison	19 December 1949	24 October 1950
Philip McBride	24 October 1950	10 December 1958
Athol Townley	10 December 1958	18 December 1963
Paul Hasluck	18 December 1963	24 April 1964
Shane Paltridge	24 April 1964	19 January 1966
Allen Fairhall	26 January 1966	12 November 1969
John Malcolm Fraser	12 November 1969	8 March 1971
John Gorton	10 March 1971	13 August 1971
David Fairbairn	13 August 1971	5 December 1972
Lance Barnard	5 December 1972	6 June 1975
William Morrison	6 June 1975	11 November 1975
Denis James Killen	11 November 1975	7 May 1982
Ian Sinclair	7 May 1982	11 March 1983
Gordon Scholes	11 March 1983	13 December 1984
Kim Beazley	13 December 1984	4 April 1990
Robert Ray	4 April 1990	11 March 1996
Ian McLachlan	11 March 1996	21 October 1998
John Moore	21 October 1998	30 January 2001
Peter Reith	30 January 2001	26 November 2001
Robert Hill	26 November 2001	20 January 2006
Brendan Nelson	27 January 2006	3 December 2007
Joel Fitzgibbon	3 December 2007	9 June 2009
John Faulkner	9 June 2009	14 September 2010
Stephen Smith	14 September 2010	18 September 2013

Ministers Assisting the Minister for Defence

Reginald Bishop	19 December 1972	12 June 1974
William Morrison	12 June 1974	6 June 1975
Reginald Bishop	6 June 1975	11 November 1975
John McLeay	22 December 1975	3 November 1980
Kevin Newman	3 November 1980	7 May 1982
Ian Viner	7 May 1982	11 March 1983
Kim Beazley	11 March 1983	13 December 1984
John Brown	13 December 1984	24 July 1987
Michael Duffy	13 December 1984	24 July 1987
Bruce Scott	21 October 1998	26 November 2001
Dana Vale	26 November 2001	7 October 2003
Malcolm Brough	7 October 2003	18 July 2004
Fran Bailey	18 July 2004	26 October 2004
De-Anne Kelly	16 November 2004	27 January 2006
Bruce Billson	27 January 2006	3 December 2007

Parliamentary Secretaries to the Minister for Defence

Roger Price	27 December1991	24 March 1993
Gary Punch	24 March 1993	25 March 1994
Arch Bevis	25 March 1994	11 March 1996
Eric Abetz	21 October 1998	30 January 2001
Brendan Nelson	30 January 2001	26 November 2001
Fran Bailey	26 November 2001	18 July 2004
Teresa Gambaro	18 Jul y2004	27 January 2006
Sandy Macdonald	27 January 2006	30 January 2007
Peter Lindsay	30 January 2007	3 December 2007
Mike Kelly	3 December 2007	6 February 2008
David Feeney	14 September 2010	18 September 2013
Mike Kelly	14 December 2011	4 February 2013

Ministers for Defence Science and Personnel

Ros Kelly	18 September 1987	6 April 1989
David Simmons	6 April 1989	4 April 1990
Gordon Bilney	4 April 1990	24 March 1993
John Faulkner	24 March 1993	25 March 1994
Gary Punch	25 March 1994	11 March 1996
Warren Snowdon	3 December 2007	9 June 2009
Warren Snowdon	14 September 2010	18 September 2013

Minister for Defence Industry, Science and Personnel

Bronwyn Bishop	11 March 1996	21 October 1998

Minister for Defence Personnel, Material and Science

Greg Combet	9 June 2009	1 April 2010

Minister for Defence Personnel

Alan Griffin	1 April 2010	14 September 2010

Parliamentary Secretary for Defence Science and Personnel

Ros Kelly	24 July 1987	18 September 1987

Ministers for the Navy

Josiah Francis	19 December 1949	11 May 1951
Philip McBride	11 May 1951	17 July 1951
William McMahon	17 July 1951	9 July 1954
Josiah Francis	9 July 1954	7 November 1955
Eric Harrison	7 November 1955	11 January 1956
Neil O'Sullivan	11 January 1956	24 October 1956
Charles Davidson	24 October 1956	10 December 1958
Senator John Grey Gorton	10 December 1958	18 December 1963
Alexander Forbes	18 December 1963	4 March 1964
Frederick Chaney	4 March 1964	14 December 1966
Donald Chipp	14 December 1966	28 February 1968
Charles Kelly	28 February 1968	12 November 1969
Denis James Killen	12 November 1969	22 March 1971
Malcolm Mackay	22 March 1971	5 December 1972
Lance Barnard	5 December 1972	30 November 1973

Chiefs of Staff of the Australian armed forces[a]

Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Wells	23 March 1958	22 March 1959
Vice-Admiral Roy Dowling	23 March 1959	27 May 1961
Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger	28 May 1961	18 May 1966
General Sir John Wilton	19 May 1966	22 November 1970
Admiral Sir Victor Smith	23 November 1970	22 November 1975
General Sir Francis Hassett	24 November 1975	8 February 1976

Chiefs of the Defence Force Staff

General Sir Francis Hassett	9 February 1976	20 April 1977
General Sir Arthur MacDonald	21 April 1977	20 April 1979
Admiral Sir Anthony Synnot	21 April 1979	20 April 1982
Air Chief Marshal Sir Neville McNamara	21 April 1982	12 April 1984
General Sir Phillip Bennett	13 April 1984	25 October 1986

Chiefs of the Defence Force

General Sir Phillip Bennett	26 October 1986	12 April 1987
General Peter Gration	13 April 1987	16 April 1993
Admiral Alan Beaumont	17 April 1993	6 July 1995
General John Baker	7 July 1995	3 July 1998
Admiral Chris Barrie	4 July 1998	3 July 2002
General Peter Cosgrove	4 July 2002	3 July 2005
Air Chief Marshall Allan Grant 'Angus' Houston	4 July 2005	3 July 2011
General David Hurley	4 July 2011	30 June 2014

Royal Australian Navy

Royal Australian Navy – First Naval Member Australian Commonwealth Naval Board

Vice Admiral Sir John Collins	24 February 1948	23 February 1955
Vice Admiral Sir Roy Dowling	24 February 1955	23 February 1959
Vice Admiral Sir Henry Burrell	24 February 1959	23 February 1962
Vice Admiral Sir Hastings Harrington	24 February 1962	23 February 1965
Vice Admiral Sir Alan McNicoll	24 February 1965	2 April 1968
Vice Admiral Sir Victor Smith	3 April 1968	22 November 1970
Vice Admiral Sir Richard Peek	23 November 1970	22 November 1973
Vice Admiral David Stevenson	23 November 1973	22 November 1976

Chiefs of Naval Staff

Vice Admiral Sir Anthony Synnot	23 November 1976	20 April 1979
Vice Admiral Sir James Willis	21 April 1979	20 April 1982
Vice Admiral David Leach	21 April 1982	20 April 1985
Vice Admiral Mike Hudson[b]	21 April 1985	8 March 1991
Vice Admiral Ian MacDougall	9 March 1991	9 March 1994
Vice Admiral Rod Taylor	10 March 1994	18 February 1997

Chiefs of Navy

Vice Admiral Rod Taylor	19 February 1997	30 June 1997
Vice Admiral Donald Chalmers	1 July 1997	2 July 1999
Vice Admiral David Shackleton	3 July 1999	2 July 2002
Vice Admiral Chris Ritchie	3 July 2002	3 July 2005
Vice Admiral Russ Shalders	4 July 2005	3 July 2008
Vice Admiral Russ Crane	4 July 2008	7 June 2011
Vice Admiral Ray Griggs	7 June 2011	30 June 2014

Notes:

(a) Ranks and titles given are those held during the period of office cited. Post nominals are not listed.

(b) On the day of his retirement, 8 March 1991, Prime Minister Bob Hawke promoted Hudson to the rank of admiral to honour his distinguished forty-four years of service to the Navy. Obituary, Naval Historical Review, March 2005, pp. 32–33. Australian Naval History on 8 March 1991, Naval Historical Society of Australia.

Sources:

1. 44th Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia 2014, accessed 17 January 2015.
2. Peter Dennis, Jeffrey Grey, Ewan Morris & Robin Prior. 2008. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (2nd ed.). Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia.
3. Department of Defence, Previous Chiefs of the Australian Defence Force, accessed 27 November 2014.

APPENDIX 3

STATISTICS OF WOMEN SERVING IN THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY 1950 TO 2015

Year	WRANS Officers	RANNS[b]	% of Total PN Officers	WRANS	% of Total PN Sailors	Total Women	Total PN[c]	Women as % of Total PN
1950[a]	1						10,252	0.01
1951[d]	5		0.4	295	2.6	300	12, 381	2.4
1952[e]	8		0.6	205	1.6	213	14,144	1.5
1953	10		0.7	248	1.9	258	14,273	1.8
1954	12		0.9	244	1.9	256	14,181	1.8
1955	10		0.7	210	1.8	220	13,211	1.7
1956	11		0.8	196	1.8	207	13,096	1.5
1957	12		0.9	217	2.2	229	11,661	2.0
1958	11		0.8	265	2.9	276	10,745	2.6
1959	13		1.0	263	2.8	276	10,699	2.6
1960	14		1.1	296	3.2	310	10,598	3.0
1961	13		1.0	358	3.7	371	10,722	3.4
1962	16		1.2	403	4.1	419	11,103	3.7
1963	15		1.1	450	4.3	465	11,663	4.0
1964	13	20	2.2	517	4.2	550	12,569	4.4
1965	17	21	2.3	564	4.2	602	13,503	4.4
1966	22	20	2.5	611	4.3	653	14,714	4.4
1967	22	23	2.5	627	4.2	672	15,893	4.2
1968	23	25	2.6	595	3.9	643	16,454	3.9
1969	29	20	2.5	651	4.1	700	16,943	4.1
1970	31	20	2.5	645	4.2	696	17,304	4.0
1971	31	20	2.3	657	4.4	708	17,232	4.1
1972	35	24	2.6	710	4.8	769	17,134	4.5
1973	33	23	2.5	731	4.8	787	17,484	4.5
1974	34	28	2.8	729	5.2	791	16,141	4.9
1975	27	23	2.4	758	5.4	808	16,094	5.0
1976	27	24	2.4	800	5.8	851	15,993	5.3
1977	40	26	2.9	839	5.9	905	16,390	5.5
1978	43	30	3.0	754	5.4	827	16,298	5.1
1979	42	35	3.2	860	6.1	937	16,582	5.7
1980	77	32	4.3	858	6.0	967	16,961	5.7
1981	83	33	4.5	899	6.1	1,015	17,298	5.9
1982	104	34	5.3	1017	6.8	1,155	17,598	6.6
1983	116	29	5.5	937	6.4	1,082	17,198	6.3
1984	119	29	5.7	851	6.0	999	16,692	6.0
1985	116	30	5.7	939	6.9	1085	16,059	6.8

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

Year	Officers Women	% of Total PN Officers	Sailors Women	% of Total PN Sailors	Total Women	Total PN	Women as % of Total PN	Growth %
1986	172	6.5	1,055	8.2	1227	15,538	7.9	1.1
1987	210	7.7	1,248	9.5	1458	15,803	9.2	1.3
1988	262	9.3	1,376	10.7	1638	15,728	10.4	1.2
1989	319	11.2	1,474	11.4	1793	15,750	11.4	1
1990	347	12.0	1,572	12.3	1919	15,656	12.3	0.9
1991	424	14.1	1,591	12.3	2015	15,894	12.7	0.4
1992	415	14.4	1,510	12.1	1925	15,395	12.5	(0.2)
1993	404	13.7	1,467	12.1	1871	15,041	12.4	(0.1)
1994	455	15.5	1,445	12.2	1900	14,778	12.9	0.5
1995	507	17.4	1,609	13.7	2116	14,679	14.4	1.5
1996	527	17.4	1,645	14.5	2172	14,404	15.1	0.7
1997	566	17.8	1,683	14.6	2249	14,701	15.3	0.2
1998	565	18.2	1,599	14.4	2164	14,250	15.2	(0.1)
1999	513	17.6	1,461	13.9	1974	13,399	14.7	(0.5)
2000	479	17.6	1,353	13.8	1832	12,527	14.6	(0.1)
2001	474	17.8	1,426	14.8	1900	12,263	15.5	0.9
2002	500	18.4	1,568	15.9	2068	12,605	16.4	0.9
2003	513	18.7	1,649	16.3	2162	12,864	16.8	0.4
2004	528	18.8	1,773	17.1	2301	13,205	17.4	0.6
2005	543	19.2	1,666	16.6	2209	12,855	17.2	(0.2)
2006	555	19.4	1,652	16.9	2207	12,630	17.5	0.3
2007	553	19.1	1,652	16.9	2205	12,644	17.4	(0.1)
2008	597	20.0	1,742	17.6	2339	12,876	18.2	0.8
2009	602	20.3	1,773	17.7	2375	12,977	18.3	0.1
2010	619	20.1	1,890	17.8	2,509	13,670	18.4	0.1
2011	644	20.3	1,940	17.9	2584	13,995	18.5	0.1
2012	639	20.0	1,886	18.0	2525	13,670	18.5	0
2013	641	19.9	1,847	18.0	2488	13,517	18.4	(0.1)
2014	652	19.8	1,910	18.2	2,562	13,758	18.6	0.2
2015	647	19.7	1,981	18.6	2,628	13,949	18.8	0.2

Notes

(a)   First Officer Blair Bowden, who served in WWII, was appointed the first peacetime Director WRANS (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171; Curtis-Otter, 1975, p. 76; Spurling, 1988, p. 258).

(b)   The RANNS was not re-established until 2 November 1964. (Department of Defence (Navy), 1976, p. 62); (see also Royal Australian Navy, March 1965, p. 25, the seniority of each of the Nursing Sisters was 2 November 1964.)

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(c) Total Permanent Force (PN) numbers for 1950s and 1960s were extracted from the 1964 and the 1973 Defence Reports. The numbers for the remaining decades were provided in the listed year's Defence Report.

(d) The initial establishment for the WRANS was 5 Officers and 295 Wrans (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171; Royal Australian Navy, 1986, p. 34). To arrive at the percentage figures when female numbers were compared to officers and sailors, the total number of PN officers was calculated from the Navy List and then this figure was deducted from the total PN number to gain the total number of PN sailors.

(e) The Sea Power Centre—Australia holds hard copy records of Defence Reports from 1963. The Parliamentary Library's hard copy records commence in 1967 and electronic records were found for 1963, 1968 and from 1970. The name was changed to Defence Annual Reports in 1994. Prior to 1970, personnel statistics were only available in the 1963 and 1968 Reports. The statistics for these two years and from 1970 are as at 30 June. Personnel statistics for the 1950s and 1960s, except 1963 and 1968, were gathered from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Year Books. The statistics for 1953, 1954 and 1955 are as at 30 June. The remaining years are as at December except for 1964 and 1965, which are as at March 1965 and 1966 respectively, and 1966, 1967 and 1969, which are as at November.

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APPENDIX 4

THE WRANS DIRECTORS

1944 – 1947 Chief Officer Sheila McClemans OBE, CMG, SJM, WRANS, LLB, BA[138]

McClemans (3 May 1909 – 10 June 1988) was educated at Perth Modern School and the University of Western Australia where she gained degrees in Arts and Law. Before the war, she was the first woman to appear as a barrister before a supreme court anywhere in Australia; in her case, the Supreme Court of Western Australia. She joined the WRANS in January 1943 as a writer. She was selected to attend the first WRANS officer training course in February 1943. Her first position as a Third Officer was on the staff of the Director of Naval Reserves and Mobilisation with responsibility for the WRANS.

Appointed the first Director WRANS in August 1944, McClemans was promoted to the rank of Chief Officer in January 1945. She remained the Director until the disbandment of her service on 27 February 1947, although the role was more advisory than executive and she had little real or direct control over the women's Service. Highly capable and extraordinarily hard-working, her role as Director WRANS was personally frustrating because of the lack of support for women within the Navy from the senior male ranks. Her attempts to maintain a post-war WRANS organisation were unsuccessful, at least in the short term. She was awarded the OBE in 1951 for her wartime services.

Back in civilian life, she married Frank Kenworthy and returned to the practice of law. She quickly built up one of Perth's largest divorce practices but sold it in 1960 to become Secretary (1961-65) of the Law Society of Western Australia and Administrator (1961-70) of its legal aid scheme. She was an energetic advocate for women's rights. For example, she took a leading role in public affairs through two women's organisations, the Women's Service Guilds and the Federation of University Women. In 1971, she returned to practice in the matrimonial courts, joining Hammond, Fitzgerald & King. She retired in June 1980. (Curtis-Otter, 1975, pp. 26-28; L. Davies, 2000; Dennis et al., 1995, pp. 370-371)

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[138]   The meaning of the abbreviations are: Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) awarded in 1951, Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) awarded in 1977, Silver Jubilee Medal (SJM) awarded in 1977, Bachelor of Laws (LLB) awarded in 1931, and Bachelor of Arts (BA) awarded in 1933 (L. Davies, 2000, p. 52; Ion, 2015).

1951 – 1954 Chief Officer Blair Bowden BEM, WRANS[139]

Bowden (7 June 1916 – 30 September 1981) was appointed the first peacetime Director WRANS when reformed in 1950. Born in 1916 in Dunedin and educated at Christchurch Girls High School and Canterbury University College, New Zealand, she migrated to Australia and enlisted in the WRANS on 9 January 1943 and took a place on the initial WRANS Officers Training Course. She served in a number of shore establishments including HMAS *Kuttabul* and HMAS *Rushcutter*.

Bowden was offered the position of Director due to her previous service and her unmarried status. She was appointed in England on 23 December 1950 and began her duties in March 1951. On 14 May 1951, Bowden was promoted to Chief Officer. She relinquished her position on 14 January 1954 and returned to England where her appointment was terminated on 23 January 1955. As Director, Bowden was an untiring advocate for the expansion of the women's services. The Minister of the Navy was quoted as saying she displayed great enthusiasm and initiative in promoting the WRANS as a vocation for women.

Following her service, Bowden married Geoffrey Cook. She worked at the Australian High Commission in London promoting Australian exports to England. In 1970, she was awarded the British Empire Medal for her contribution to Australian prosperity. (A. Cooper, 2001, p. 171; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 355; Royal Australian Navy, July 1951, p. 44; Spurling, 1988, p. 258; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1954, December 16 p. 8)

1954 – 1956 First Officer Joan Cole WRNS

Cole (24 May 1919 – 13 October 2011) joined the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) in May 1941 as a stores rating. She was commissioned as a Third Officer in May 1944. Prior to coming to Australia, she was the Officer-in-Charge of Recruiting and Entry at the WRNS headquarters at the Admiralty.

Cole was on loan to the WRANS from October 1953. When she arrived in Australia, she served at HMAS *Cerberus* as the Officer-in-Charge of the WRANS Training Division. On the retirement of Chief Officer Bowden, Cole assumed the duties of Director and was promoted to Acting Chief Officer on 14 January 1955.

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[139]   BEM is the abbreviation for the British Empire Medal, awarded to Bowden for her meritorious service.

Among other conditions of service, Cole advocated for the marriage bar to be lifted as the WRANS were losing members who had valuable experience and specialised training. In addition, she argued that the British Admiralty did not require members of the WRNS to be discharged on marriage. Unfortunately, the prevailing attitude of a married woman's place being in the home persisted and the bar was not lifted until 1968 (see Appendix 1).

Two of Cole's main interest were music and theatre, particularly lighting and production. In 1955, she assisted in the final cutting of the recruiting and documentary film, "Life in the W.R.A.N.S.", which was filmed at Flinders Naval Depot and HMAS Harman.

On completion of her appointment as the Director WRANS, she returned to the United Kingdom. (Henstock, 2015; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, pp. 355-356; Royal Australian Navy, July 1955, p. 55; Spurling, 1988, pp. 308-309; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1954, December 16 p. 8)

1956 – 1958 First Officer Elizabeth Hill WRNS

Hill (12 March 1956 – 6 February 1958) joined the WRNS in September 1939 as a writer. She was promoted to officer rank in March 1942 and was promoted to First Officer in April 1950. She was loaned to the WRANS for two and a half years to fill the position of Director WRANS until a WRANS Officer with sufficient experience could be appointed to the position.

The Minister for the Navy, Sir Eric Harrison, announced Hill's appointment would commence on 12 March 1956. Hill travelled to Australia on the cruise liner the RMS *Orion* arriving in Melbourne in December 1955. Prior to leaving England, she had been in charge of the WRNS unit at the Royal Naval Air Station at Arbroath, Scotland. Hill was a keen sportswoman who was a member of the WRNS Service Rifle Team in 1950.

During her tenure as Director, Hill's main contribution to the WRANS was her untiring efforts to increase the number of personnel as the seriousness of the shortfall (only 50 percent of the set-target was being achieved) was threatening the viability of the WRANS. (*Age*, 1955, p. 5; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356; Spurling, 1988; The Navy League of Australia, 1956, p. 15)

1958 – 1973 Captain Joan Streeter OBE, WRANS

Streeter (25 April 1918 – 14 April 1993) joined the WRANS as a writer in January 1943. Later in the year she participated in the second WRANS Officers Training Course held at HMAS *Cerberus*. Her first appointment as a Third Officer was as WRANS Regulating Officer in *Cerberus* followed by the Quarters Officer at HMAS *Penguin*. She also served at HMAS *Kuranda* in Cairns and in Sydney at HMAS *Kuttabul* and HMAS *Rushcutter*. She was demobilised in 1946.

She re-joined the WRANS on 11 June 1954 as a Second Officer. Her first appointment was as Unit Officer WRANS *Harman*. On promotion to Acting First Officer on 10 January 1955, (substantive on 17 August 1955), she spent three years as the Officer-in-Charge WRANS *Cerberus*. Appointed the first post-war Australian Director in 1958 with the rank of Chief Officer, she served in this capacity for 15 years until her retirement in 1973. Promoted to Superintendent in 1968, her rank was later changed to Captain as part of the gradual merging of naval women into the mainstream of the Navy. She was awarded the OBE in 1964. During her time as Director, Streeter was instrumental in improving the employment opportunities for women including retention following marriage, having the entry age reduced to 17, the opening of Singapore as an overseas posting, the granting of permanent status and the right to contribute to the Defence retirement fund. (Curtis-Otter, 1975, p. 77; Dennis et al., 1995, p. 573; *Navy News*, 1993c, p. 2; Royal Australian Navy, July 1956, p. 87; July 1960, p. 34; September 1969, p. 28; Spurling, 1988, pp. 327-328). See also (Fenton Huie, 2000, pp. 258-261).

1973 – 1979 Captain Barbara MacLeod AM, WRANS

MacLeod (15 February 1929 – 9 January 2000) was born in Bunbury, Western Australia and gained an education degree from the University of Western Australia. After graduation, she spent five years as a primary school teacher in the State's north-west. Following a disappointment in not gaining a promotion to a secondary school post, MacLeod noticed an advertisement for the WRANS and promptly applied. She joined the WRANS as a Direct Entry Officer Candidate on 24 May 1954.

She was promoted through the ranks achieving the rank of Chief Officer on 30 June 1972. In April 1973, she was appointed Director WRANS. During her 30-year career, she achieved many "firsts" such as the first WRANS Officer to be posted to the staff of the Flag Officer Commanding East Australia, the first woman to attend the Australian Administrative Staff

College and, when she assumed the position of the Director of Naval Industrial Policy, the first to be appointed to a position outside the WRANS structure. Like her predecessors, McLeod was a tenacious advocate for women's equality in employment. She was awarded her AM in

In 1982, MacLeod became an Honorary Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth Ii, which required hr to attend Royal functions whenever the Queen was in Australia. She was the first Australian woman to be appointed as an ADC, a post that she had to relinquish when she retired.

MacLeod retired in 1983 and settled in Mollymook on the South Coast of New South Wales. She became deeply involved in the community. She was a member of Quota and supported local charities. Always a keen sportswoman, she enjoyed playing golf in her retirement years. (Fenton Huie, 2000, pp. 265-267; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356; Royal Australian Navy, July 1954, p. 86)

1979 – 1983 Commander June Baker WRANS

Baker (27 June 1937 –), a former school teacher from northern NSW, was commissioned as a Third Officer on 29 March 1968. She specialised as an Administration Officer and rose through the ranks achieving the rank of Commander on 31 December 1979. She served in numerous shore establishments, including HMAS *Watson*, HMAS *Cerberus* and HMAS *Coonawarra*, and also in Navy Headquarters. In 1983, Baker was the first woman to be appointed as an Executive Officer (XO) of a Navy shore establishment. As XO HMAS *Penguin*, she was second in command and responsible to the Commanding Officer for the day to day running of the establishment, including good order and discipline. Baker was a graduate of the Royal Navy Staff College. Following her attendance at the College, she remained in the United Kingdom on an exchange posting before returning to Australia to take up the post of Director WRANS. Her first appointment during her time on exchange in the WRNS was as the Training Officer WRNS at the new entry training establishment HMS *Dauntless*. This was followed by a posting to the Ministry of Defence in the Operations Centre. Following her return to Australia, Baker was appointed as the last full-time Director WRANS.

Baker was ambitious as her promotion to XO illustrates. She recognised the Government's policy on women at sea created a professional gap for women serving in the Navy and she strived not just as Director but also through her career to close the gap. Baker, leading by

example, required the women she commanded to maintain very high professional standards. I can attest to this as I was given very clear directions when I represented the WRANS as the first woman to participate in the ANZAC Exchange program. Her guidance and expectations led to the work performed by me in New Zealand at the Defence Communications Unit in Wellington contributing to my nomination for the Order of Australia medal. Baker encouraged the members of the WRANS to participate in sport and she was herself an active player of hockey and squash. Baker was held in great admiration by members of the WRANS who regarded her as an inspirational leader.

On retirement in 1984, Baker purchased five acres in Mooball and for 19 years (together with her sister) grew herbs and sold the produce to the Brisbane Markets' traders. She retired to Pottsville and enjoys retirement and playing golf. (Cunningham, 1983a, p. 5; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356; *Navy News*, 1979c, p. 3; Royal Australian Navy, June 1979, p. 91; June 1980, p. 107; September 1968, p. 27; WRANS Association (ACT), 2005, p. 4)

1983 – 1984 Commander Marcia Chalmers WRANS, BA

Chalmers (25 June 1939 –) joined the WRANS in 1958 as a communicator. She attained the rank of Radio Supervisor Morse (Petty Officer) before being selected for officer training. She was promoted to Third Officer on 24 October 1962; Second Officer in 1965, First officer in 1969 and Chief Officer (Commander from 1979) on 30 June 1974. Throughout her career, she served in many shore establishments, including HMAS *Melville/Coonawarra*, HMAS *Cerberus* and HMAS *Harman*, as well as on the staff of the Flag Officer Commanding East Australia and in Navy Headquarters. As an external student with the University of New England, she gained a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree majoring in English and History during her service. She was also a graduate of the RAAF Staff College External Studies Staff Course and the Joint Services Staff College.

During her time as Director, Chalmers' major focus was on advocating for women to serve at sea. This goal became a reality in 1985 when the first five women were posted to billets at sea (see Appendix 1). This step forward for Navy women was supported by Chalmers advocacy, alongside the ground work done by her predecessors. On 1 January 1985, the WRANS Directorate and the appointment of Director WRANS were disestablished. The honorary position of Senior Naval Servicewoman was created as a transitionary measure

and Chalmers was appointed as the first encumbent. The seamless transition that occurred can be accredited to her.[140]

Following her appointment as Director, Chalmers was given acting rank to Captain and appointed as the Senior Navy Representative on an ADF team established to investigate a tri-service support system for service families. The result was the establishment of the Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Service known as ADFILS.[141]

After completing 31 years in the WRANS and RAN, Chalmers retired in 1989 at the confirmed rank of Captain. On her retirement from the Navy, Chalmers dabbled in the real estate industry but did not find the work professionally rewarding. Soon after, she began a second career spanning 20 years with St John Ambulance Australia (NSW). For 10 years, she worked as the Manager of the Operations Branch. The remainder of her time was spent in the Community Care Branch running various programs.

On retirement from her second career, Chalmers settled in Millers Point, Sydney. She is an active member of the community and is presently the Secretary of the Millers Point, Dawes Point, The Rocks, and Walsh Bay Resident Action Group. (City of Sydney, 2016; Ursuala Stuart Mason, 1992, p. 356; *Navy News*, 1984b, p. 5; Royal Australian Navy, June 1979, p. 91; June 1983, p. 114; June 1984, p. 112; September 1963, p. 69; September 1965, p. 71; September 1970, p. 84; September 1974, p. 81)

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[140]   Some women mourned the demise of their Service and some called themselves "the lost generation" because they suddenly found themselves faced with an uneven playing field due to the combat and combat-related restriction (Spurling, 1999, p. 38). But most went with the flow, embracing the change and grasping the opportunities that unfolded.

[141]   ADFILS, a recommendation of the 1988 Hamilton Report on supporting service families, was established to work with ADF families to assist in the building of resilience and self-reliance. The Service enhanced the work being done by the separate military personnel services organisations. All these services were amalgamated in 1996 to become the Defence Community Organisation (see Appendix 1).

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APPENDIX 5

PIONEERING NAVY WOMEN – A LIST OF FIRSTS

1960s

1962 **First direct entry Wran Officer Cadets**

Dorothy Nankervis, Marjorie Reid and Jennifer Robinson

(M. Bayliss, personal communication, January 26, 2016) (Royal Australian Navy, September 1963, p. 69)

1963 **First Wran Steward to be promoted to Chief Petty Officer**

Lenore (Lennie) Maiden (*Navy News*, 1963c, p. 11)

1963 **First Wran Radio Operator to be promoted to Chief Petty Officer**[142]

Deborah Robertson (*Navy News*, 1963b, p. 1)

1963 **First WRANS Officers' Training Course (OTC 1963) to undertake ABCD training**[143]

Officer Cadets Judy Guy, Heather Paget, Diana Ford, Christine McNichol and Mary Harris (*Navy News*, 1964a, p. 7)

1965 **First driver for Chief of Naval Staff**

Leading Wran Sylvia White (*Navy News*, 1965b, p. 11)

1966 **First to wear the aiguillettes of personal aide to a high ranking officer**

Third Officer Anne Briggs WRANS (Henstock, 2015, p. 81)

1967 **The first WRANS Reserve Officer commissioned in the reconstituted Reserve**

Lieutenant Margaret Smith WRANSR (nee Broderick) (Legal Officer) (Royal Australian Navy, September 1969, p. 115; Supreme Court Library Queensland)

1967 **The first Wrans to serve in Singapore**

Chief Wran Lois Redpath, Leading Wrans Natalie Thom and Elizabeth Sanders (*Navy News*, 1967c, p. 2)

1967 **First member of the WRANS to be awarded the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal**

Chief Wran Stores Naval Ella Geisler

(Australian Commonwealth Naval Board, 080719Z AUG 67)

1968 **First Wran to wear three good conduct badges**

Petty Officer Mercia Kaczmarowski (*Navy News*, 1968a, p. 2; *Sun*, 1968, 23 February)

1969 **First member of the RANNS to be chosen for an RAN medivac**

Matron Patricia Vines RANNS (Matron-in-Charge RAN Hospital HMAS *Penguin*)

(*Navy News*, 1970b, p. 5)

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[142] At the time only two other women in the Service holding the Chief Petty Officer rank: Chief Wrans Ella Geisler and Judy Melocco.

[143] ABCD was the abbreviation for Atomic, Biological, Chemical Warfare and Damage Control.

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1970s

1970 **First to qualify as a Short Aircraft Direction Officer**

Third Officer Julia Gulson WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, September 1970, p. 84)

1971 **First to qualify as an Operations Room Officer of the Watch**

Second Officer Julia Gulson WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, September 1971, p. 88)

1971 **First to go to sea on a submarine**[144]

Second Officer Jan Pickering WRANS (*Navy News*, 1971b, p. 9)

1971 **First to do a ship transfer by jackstay** (HMAS *Hobart* to HMAS *Duchess*)

Second Office Coral Horne WRANS (*Navy News*, 1971a, p. 5)

1972 **First Wran to be promoted to Warrant Officer**

Lenore (Lennie) Maiden (*Navy News*, 1972b, p. 5; 1979e, p. 2)

1972 **First Legal Officer**

Second Office Judith Mackenzie WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, March 1973, p. 83)

1973 **First to ride in one of HMAS *Melbourne's* (R21) Tracker aircraft that was launched by catapult and which made an arrested landing**

Second Officer Belinda Board WRANS, Senior Sister Cecily Pocock RANNS and Sister Pip Hunt RANNS (*Navy News*, 1973, p. 13)

1975 **First officer to qualify as a linguist (Indonesian)**

Chief Officer Norma Dorothy Uhlmann WRANS (*Navy News*, 1975a, p. 12; Royal Australian Navy, September 1975, p. 79)

1975 **First Wran to be promoted to Warrant Officer Radio Supervisor Special**

Robin Stopford (*Navy News*, 1976b, p. 9; 1976c, p. 10)

1975 **First Wran to be promoted to Warrant Officer Motor Transport Driver**

Pam Witton (*Navy News*, 1976a, p. 9; 1976b, p. 8)

1975 **First Wran medics to undergo specialisation courses**

Leading Wran Culpin – Advanced Nursing Course

Senior Wran Smith – Operating Theatre Assistants' Course (*Navy News*, 1975b, p. 16)

1976 **First WRANS Officer to attend the Australian Administrative Staff College**

Captain Barbara MacLeod AM, WRANS (Heywood, 2004)[145]

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[144] The *Navy News* article does not mention if the submarine dived. In 1997, *Navy News* reported that the first woman to overnight on one of the Collins Class Submarines (HMAS *Farncomb*) was Defence Industry Science and Personal Minister Bronwyn Bishop (*Navy News*, 1997, p. 3).

[145] Another source (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 266) states MacLeod attended the course in 1970. The purpose of the Australian Administrative Staff College (later known as the Mt Eliza Australian Management College and now the Melbourne Business School arm of the University of Melbourne) was to offer short courses for executives to address a perceived gap in leadership and management skills throughout Australia. In a 1977 *Canberra Times* article, Captain Barbara MacLeod is listed as a graduate of the School (A. Gray, 1977, July 1). MacLeod was most likely offered the course by the Navy leadership when she reached senior officer rank. Therefore, the 1976 date is considered to be more accurate as MacLeod was a Captain in 1976 and a First Officer (classed as a junior officer) in 1970. In 1976, MacLeod was the Director WRANS and three years

1976 **First WRANS Officer to complete the Royal Navy Staff College Course**

First Officer June Baker WRANS (Navy News, 1983e, p. 7; Royal Australian Navy, December 1977, p. 104) (J. Baker, personal communication, January 31, 2016)

1976 **First officer to qualify as an Air Traffic Controller**

Third Officer Elizabeth Wardle WRANS (*Navy News*, 1976d, p. 10; Royal Australian Navy, December 1977, p. 104)

1977 **First WRANS Officer to serve on exchange posting with the Royal Navy**

First Officer June Baker WRANS (*Navy News*, 1976d, p. 10; Royal Australian Navy, December 1977, p. 104); (J. Baker, personal communication, January 31, 2016)

1977 **First married Wran to be selected for officer**

Leading Wran Gayle Van Heythuysen (author)

1977 **First officer to be awarded a Peter Mitchell prize**[146]

Superintending Sister Eileen Lawrie RANNS (*Navy News*, 1977, p. 14)

1978 **First officer cadets to train at HMAS *Creswell* with their male counterparts**

Lila Bilsborough, Joanne Fehervari, Roslyn Fletcher, Barbara Gaden, Gwyneth Harlow, Michelle Leggo and Jocelyn Wheeler[147]

(Jackson, 1978, p. 3; Royal Australian Navy, June 1980, p. 108; Smart, 1979, p. 5)

1978 **First WRANS Officer to attend the Joint Services Staff College**

Chief Officer Norma Uhlmann WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, June 1979, p. 91); (N. Uhlmann, personal communication, December 2, 2015)

1978 **First Officer-in-Charge of HMAS *Cerberus* Communications School**

Commander Anne Briggs WRANS (RANCBA)

1978 **First Supply Officer (now called Maritime Logistics Officer)**

Lieutenant Denise Smith WRANS (*Navy News*, 1979a, p. 6)

1978 **First WRANS Surgeon General (SG) (doctor)**

Lieutenant Naushad Fairley WRANS (Royal Australian Navy, June 1980, p. 107)

1979 **First officer to be appointed to a senior RAN position outside the WRANS structure (Director of Naval Industrial Policy)**

Captain Barbara MacLeod AM, WRANS (*Navy News*, 1979c, p. 3)

1979 **First to graduate from the inaugural RAN Staff Course**[148]

First Officer Patricia Downes WRANS (*Navy News*, 1979d; Royal Australian Navy, 1993, p. 334) (P. Downes, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

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later she was the first member of the WRANS to be given a senior post outside the WRANS structure (see 1979 entry).

[146] Mr Mitchell was a Victorian grazier who died in 1921 and who directed that part of his estate be set aside for the purpose of providing prizes for members of the Defence Force. The award recognising outstanding service is awarded annually to a naval officer, senior and junior sailor.

[147] Of the class of eight, only the seven who graduated are listed.

[148] The initial student body consisted of approximately 15. Downes was the only woman on her course.

1979 **First Wran to participate in ANZAC Exchange**

Petty Officer Christine Wootton (Royal Australian Navy, 2008, p. 4; R. F. White, 1980)

1980s

1980 **First Electronics Technical Communications Sailors to complete Phase 2 training at HMAS *Nirimba***

Senior Wrans L.J. Neilson and K.J. MacKinnon (*Navy News*, 1980c, p. 5; 1982a, p. 16; Wilson, 1982, p. 24)

1980 **First WRANS dentists (DN)**

Lieutenants Erica Yates WRANS and Karin Helder WRANS (DN) (Royal Australian Navy, June 1980, p. 108)

1980 **First WRANS undergraduates[149]**

Sub-Lieutenant Heather Crochart WRANS (SG)

Sub-Lieutenant Christine Forrest WRANS (DN)

(Royal Australian Navy, June 1980, p. 108)

1980 **First class of WRAN officers to be called Midshipmen on entry (the former rank was Third Officer)**

Tracey Badior, Angela Bond, Gabrielle Cadden, Helen Clarke, Kathryn Fowler, Jenny Lloyd, Patricia Madden, Christine Slatter (Royal Australian Navy, June 1980, p. 109); (A. Bond, personal communication, January 6, 2016)

1980 **First training cruise for female midshipmen** (rank titles aligned with RAN in 1979 but the women were still members of the WRANS)

Amanda Cobley, Francesca Davis, Wendy Downing, Christine Fowler, Mary Hemmingway, Judith Thurston (Jacqueline Miotti was also in the class but did not sail due to illness); (C. Fowler, personal communication, November 15, 2015)

1981 **First two Physical Training Instructors**

Leading Wrans Jill Rodgers and June Thrupp (*Navy News*, 1982b, p. 8)

1981 **First Fleet Communications Centre Operations Chief**

Chief Petty Officer Wran Christine Wootton (Royal Australian Navy, 2008, p. 4)

1981c **First two in the re-established Stores Naval Branch**

Senior Wrans Angela Shields and Christine Rapley (Navy News, 1982b, p. 8)

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[149] According to *Navy News* (April 8, 1977, p. 10), Yates (1980 entry) was admitted to the Australian Navy as a midshipman without being a member of either the WRANS or RANNS. The Navy List December 1977 p. 39 confirms she was appointed as an undergraduate dentist with a seniority of 8 March 1977 and with an official number designator of an "O" under the male structure and not an "L" for a female officer of the WRANS. In the June 1980 Navy List, Yates was listed as a WRANS Officer with a seniority of 1 January 1980. The manner of her appointment as an undergraduate was most likely due to there being no provision to appoint a female through this stream. Similarly, Helder was appointed as an undergraduate in 1979 (see the Navy List June 1979, pp. 17 and 73).

1982 **First and only to graduate from the Royal Navy's Communications Technical Staff Course (known as the Dagger "C" course)**

First Officer Patricia Downes WRANS (P. Downes, January 29, 2016)

1982 **First Guard Commander at HMAS *Cerberus* Recruit School**

Sub-Lieutenant Christine Fowler WRANS (*Navy News*, 1982a, p. 16); (C. Fowler, November 20, 2016)

1982 **First Instructor Officer**

Lieutenant Candace Jane McMahon WRANS (*Navy News*, 1982b, p. 8; Royal Australian Navy, June 1982, p. 111)

1982c **First WRANS Officer to be posted to HMAS *Cairns***

Sub-Lieutenant Christine Slatter WRANS (*Navy News*, 1983b, p. 6)

1983 **First Executive Officer of a Navy shore establishment (HMAS *Penguin*)**

Commander June Baker WRANS (Cunningham, 1983b, p. 3; Navy News, 1983e, p. 7)

1983 **First Warrant Officer Medic**

Carol Lacey (*Navy News*, 1983a, p. 9)

1983 **First to complete a ship diver's course**

Sub-Lieutenant Christine Slatter WRANS (*Navy News*, 1983b, p. 6)

1983 **First Engineering Officer**

Probationary Lieutenant Diane Marie Devereaux WRANS[150] (*Navy News*, 1983b)

1983 **First three Naval Policewomen**

Constables Sue Branson, Susan Conlon (3rd unknown) (*Navy News*, 1983c, p. 8)

1983c **First WRANS Officer to be posted as an Air Squadron Administration Officer**

Sub-Lieutenant Christine Slatter WRANS (*Navy News*, 1983b, p. 6)

1984 **First to serve on HS817 Squadron**

Sub-Lieutenant Annette Nelson (A. Nelson, personal communication, February 12, 2016)

1985 **First WRANS Officer on RAN Staff in Washington DC (Communications)**

First Officer Patricia Downes WRANS (P. Downes, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

1985 **First to qualify as an Electrical Technical Power (ETP) Sailor**

Wran Roslyn Ham (*Navy News*, 1985, p. 13)

1985 **First to enlist as a musician**

Christine McNiven (percussionist) (*Navy News*, 1987c, p. 7; Zyla, 2015)

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[150]   Her appointed is confirmed in *The Navy List* (Royal Australian Navy, June 1983, p. 115) but her name did not appear on subsequent lists. Consequently, she must have resigned before being confirmed in rank. The second woman to be appointed as an Engineer was Ljiljana Delich on 21 January 1984. She was subsequently confirmed in the rank of Lieutenant.

1985 **One of the first two officers to serve in a permanent position on HMAS *Jervis Bay***

(Deputy Supply Officer 1985-1986)

Sub-Lieutenant Peta Irving WRANS (P. Irving, personal communication, November 4, 2015)

1986 **First to qualify as a fire fighter**

Wran Carolyn Carruthers (*Navy News*, 1986a, p. 8)

1986 **First Wran to be awarded a Fleet Commander's Commendation by Rear Admiral**

Knox

Chief Petty Officer Christine Wootton (*Navy News*, 1986b, p. 6)

1986 **First Wrans to qualify as apprentices**

Apprentices Susan Burt and Rita Sgro (*Navy News*, 1986c, p. 8)

1987 **First to graduate from the RAN College alongside her husband**

Lieutenant Katje Bizilj-Wearne RAN married to Lieutenant John Wearne RAN

(*Navy News*, 1987b, p. 7)

1987 **First RAN Sailors' Recruit School Divisional Commander (Waller Division)**

Sub-Lieutenant Sue Hart RAN (*Navy News*, 1987e, p. 4)

1987 **First Explosive Ordnance Engineer/Inspector**

Sub-Lieutenant Jacqui King RAN (*Navy News*, 1987f, p. 9)

1987 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Lonsdale***

Lieutenant Commander Liz Coles RAN[151] (*Navy News*, 1987f, p. 9)

1987 **First Musician**

Wran Chris McNiven (*Navy News*, 1987c, p. 7)

1988 **First and only Executive Officer HMAS *Platypus*** [152]

Lieutenant Commander Sandra Coulson RAN (Henstock, 2015, p. 222)

1988 **First to be promoted to Sergeant in the Naval Police Branch**

Sergeant Sue Branson[153] (*Navy News*, 1988f, p. 4)

1988 **First to gain a Bridge Watchkeeping Certificate**

Sub-Lieutenant Janine Narbutas RAN (nee Whittaker)

(Gould, 2013b, p. 10; *Navy News*, 1988b, p. 7)

1988 **First to command a Navy shore establishment**

Lieutenant Commander Liz Coles RAN[154] (HMAS *Lonsdale*) (*Navy News*, 1988g, p. 8)

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[151]   She was also the first Nursing Officer to undertake the RAN Staff Course at HMAS *Penguin* (*Navy News*, 1987f, p. 9)

[152]   HMAS *Platypus* was decommissioned on 14 May 1999. Garden Island (West) became the new submarine base.

[153]   Branson pioneered the way for Naval Policewomen. She was one of the first three who joined the Branch in 1983. She was the first to undertake the Investigators Course; first promoted to Senior Constable; first to undertake a course with the NSW police scientific section, and to operate with the NSW police and other statutory authorities (*Navy News*, 1988f, p. 4).

[154]   She assumed command on 15 February and was promoted to Commander in June 1988.

1988 **First to complete the inaugural Australian Mine Warfare Officers' Course**

Lieutenant Commander Carolyn Brand RAN (*Navy News*, 1988d, p. 8)

1989 **First Warrant Officer Motor Transport Driver to be commissioned**

Lieutenant Maureen Weir RAN (Fenton Huie, 2000, p. 278)

1989 **First to specialise in hydrographic surveying**

Lieutenant Joanne Beadle RAN (*Navy News*, 1989d, p. 6)

1989 **First Wrans to undertake the Radio Operator Teletype to Radio Operator Conversion Course**

Leading Wrans Demaskens, Malone, Murphy, Palmer and Reed and Senior Wran Almond (*Navy News*, 1989e, p. 9)

1990s

1990 **First Director of Naval Communications**

Commander Patricia Downes RAN (P. Downes, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

1990 **First Officer Commanding (of any Service) a Squadron at ADFA**

Lieutenant Commander Soraya Shalders RAN (*Navy News*, 1990b, p. 8)

1990 **First Executive Office HMAS *Nirimba***

Commander Carolyn Brand RAN (*Navy News*, 1990c, p. 4)

1990 **First Directing Staff member of the RAN Staff Course**

Commander Sandra Coulson RAN (Henstock, 2015, p. 222)

1991 **First Quartermaster Gunners**

Wran Annette Orme and Wran Tanya Wright (*Navy News*, 1991b, p. 5)

1991 **First to complete the Naval Police Dog Handler's Course**

Leading Wran Caroline Buckingham (*Navy News*, 1991d, p. 9)

1991 **First Observer**

Lieutenant Mandy Goodier RAN (*Navy News*, 1991c, p. 10)

1991 **First Officer to complete the Initial Submarine Escape Training Course**

Lieutenant Kate Moffatt RAN (*Navy News*, 1991a, p. 3)

1991 **First Officer-in-Charge of Fleet Base West Naval Communications Station**

Warrant Officer Christine Wootton (author)

1992 **First to qualify as skill grade three level in the Fleet Air Arm**

Able Seaman Aviation Technician Aircraft 3 Jayne Nash (*Navy News*, 1992b, p. 4)

1992 **First Navy Quality Management Mentor**

Warrant Officer Sharon Mundy (*Navy News*, 1992a, p. 2)

1992 **First to command HMAS *Waterhen* and the Australian Mine Warfare Force**

Commander Carolyn Brand RAN (Gould, 2013b, p. 10; *Navy News*, 1992c, p. 4)

1992 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Harman***

Lieutenant Commander Soraya Shalders RAN

(A. Nelson, personal communication, February 12, 2016)

1993 **First Deputy Supply Officer HMAS *Darwin***

Lieutenant Wendy Malcolm RAN (Malcolm, 2013, p. 55)

1993 **First (and only) Underwater Control Sailor**[155]

Seaman Jodie Thomson (*Navy News*, 1993b, p. 10)

1994 **First Fleet Public Affairs Officer**

Lieutenant Sharon Dusting RAN (*Navy News*, 1994, p. 9)

1994 **First to complete the 4.5 inch loaders course**

Able Seaman Fliur-Louise Moffat[156] (Rawlings & Leach, 1994, p. 6)

1995 **First sailor to complete the Initial Submarine Escape Training Course**

Leading Seaman Writer Anne Burgess (*Navy News*, 1995, p. 3)

1996 **First Senior Divisional Sailor to carry a cutlass on Recruit Graduation Parade**

Chief Petty Officer Cook Maxine Stone (*Navy News*, 1996a, p. 5)

1996 **First Principle Warfare Officer**

Lieutenant Allison Norris RAN (Brooke, 2008a, p. 15; 2010, p. 4)

1997 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Creswell***[157]

Commander Jennifer Graham RAN (P. Johnson, personal communication, February 11, 2016)

1997 **First Warrant Officer Radio Supervisor Teletypes to commission**

Lieutenant Glenda Shaw RAN and Lieutenant Christine Wootton RAN

(Royal Australian Navy, August 1997, pp. B - 36)

1997 **First Commanding Officer of a ship (non-combatant)**

Lieutenant Jenny Daetz RAN (HMAS *Shepparton*)

(Daetz, 2013, p. 15; Spurling, 2001, p. 283)

1998 **First Marine Engineer to gain Charge Qualification**

Lieutenant Katherine Richards RAN (Davis, 1998b, p. 2)

1998 **First RAN Pilot**

Sub-Lieutenant Natalee McDougall RAN (Davis, 1998a, p. 1)

1999 **First 'Mum' to assume command of a shore establishment** (Naval Communications

Station Harold E. Holt at Exmouth, Western Australia)

Commander Sue Jones RAN (Jeffery, 1999, p. 2; Passeck, 2011)

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[155] Soon after Thomson finished her course at the Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) Faculty, the ASW Branch was amalgamated with two other branches to create the Combat Systems Operator Branch.

[156] Moffat was also the first to complete the Fremantle Class Patrol Boat Pre-Joining Course and was the second female to become an Electrical Technical Weapons sailor.

[157] At the time of writing this thesis, a woman has not as yet been appointed to the position of Commanding Officer HMAS *Creswell*.

1999 **First submariners**

ABRO Rachel Irving (HMAS *Farncomb*) one of the first 12 submariners

(Navy News, 1999c, p. 1)

1999 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Penguin***

Lieutenant Commander Suzanne Smith RAN

(W. Duffy, personal communication, February 11, 2016)

1999 **First senior sailors to gain a Graduate Certificate in Management through the Queensland University of Technology phase of the RAN Staff Course**

Petty Officers Glenda Irvin and Sharon Brown (*Navy News*, 1999a, p. 14)

2000s

2000 **First to command a patrol boat**

Lieutenant Commander Michele Miller RAN

(M. Miller, personal communication, June 8, 2016)

2000 **First Warrant Officer graduate of the RAN Staff Course (RANSC)**[158]

Warrant Officer Angella Hillis (author)

2000 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Kuttabul*** (Sydney establishment at Garden Island)

Commander Vicki McConachie RAN (Farynski, 2000, p. 13)

2000 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Kuttabul***

Lieutenant Commander Carmel Barnes RAN

(B. Purkiss, personal communication, April 1, 2016)

2000 **First to command a ship on active service**[159]

Lieutenant Commander Jan Noonan RAN (*Navy News*, 2000b, p. 2)

2000 **First air technician promoted to senior sailor**

Petty Officer Donna Howard (Heymans, 2011, p. 191)

2000 **First Qualified Submarine Officers**

Lieutenant Emily Moss RAN, Lieutenant Johanne Plummer RAN,

Sub-Lieutenant Emma Dalkin RAN and Sub-Lieutenant Louise Young RAN

(Jeffery, 2000, p. 3; Royal Australian Navy, August 2000, pp. B-37 - B-39; August 2001, pp. B-37 - B40; Young, 2013, p. 102)

2000 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Cerberus***

Lieutenant Commander Sue Hart RAN (*Navy News*, 2000a, p. 10)

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[158] This was the last course. In 2001, the inaugural tri-service staff course commenced at the Australia Command and Staff College at the Australian Defence College Weston Creek, Canberra campus. Four women were on the course: the other Navy officer was Lieutenant Christine Wootton RAN (the author), and two Army officers: Major Louise Abell and Major Di Elson. In the 21 years of the course, the growth in the number of women represented on the staff course was not significant given there was only one Naval Officer on the first RANSC in 1979 as listed above.

[159] The Command Team also consisted of a female Executive Officer, Lieutenant Fiona Smith RAN.

2000 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Stirling***

Lieutenant Commander Robyn Fahy RAN

(M. Treeby, personal communication, February 10, 2016)

2000 **First permanent Nursing Officer's position on an RAN ship** (HMAS *Manoora*)

Lieutenant Tammy Thomas RAN (Navy News, 2000d, p. 7)

2000 **First psychologist in the world to devise and test a Theory of Crewing Strategies for RAN Patrol Boats**

Lieutenant Commander Sharon Daniels RANR

(S. Daniels, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

2001 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Harman***

Commander Julie Mitchell RAN (Nelson, 2013, p. 76)

2001 **First RAN Surveyor in 70 years to visit Mawson's Hut**

Lieutenant Commander Jenny Daetz RAN (*Navy News*, 2001b, p. 10)

2001 **First to be commissioned as a Band Officer**

Sub-Lieutenant Michelle Coleman RAN (nee Rosenboom) (Zyla, 2015)

2002 **First Reserve Chaplain**

Chaplain Deborah Dunn RANR (*Navy News*, 2002, p. 4)

2003 **First Observer**

Sub-Lieutenant Helen Anderson RAN[160] (Milsom, 2003, p. 7)

2003 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Waterhen***

Lieutenant Commander Virginia Hayward RAN

(D. Gayford, personal communication, February 29, 2016)

2003 **First 'mum' to have a sea command**

Lieutenant Commander Donna Muller RAN (Davis, 2003, p. 11)

2003 **First Psychologist to lead a team of Navy & Army Psychologists to debrief a major surface combatant's ship's company returning from an operational area**

Lieutenant Commander Sharon Daniels RANR (S. Daniels, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

2003 **First Psychologist to be posted to a support ship** (HMAS *Kanimbla*)[161]

Lieutenant Sarah Chapman RANR

(Chapman, 2003)(S. Daniels, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

2003 **First Chief Petty Officer Bosun**

Toni Davey (*Navy News*, 2003, p. 13)

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[160] Anderson was the dux of the course. She was also the Best Practical Observer and gained the highest academic assessment.

[161] Chapman had a seven month posting on continuous full-time service to provide psychological support to the ship's company deployed on Operation Falconer, which was the codename for Phase 2 (combat operations to disarm Iraq) of Australia's contribution to the US-led coalition operation in Iraq. Chapman was also a specialist in fatigue management.

2003 **First RAN Photographer to be promoted to Petty Officer** [162]

Tracy Casteleijn (T. Casteleijn, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

2003 **First Reservist Musician to deploy to a war-zone**

Able Seaman Nadine Starkie (*Navy News*, 2004, p. 3 Reserve Section)

2003 **First Nursing Officer sponsored by the RAN to gain midwifery qualification** [163]

Lieutenant Victoria Caton RAN (Davis, 2004b, p. 4)

2004 **First Commander Psychologist**

Commander Sharon Daniels RANR (S. Daniels, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

2004 **First Ship's Warrant Officer**

Warrant Officer Angella Hillis (A. Hillis, personal communication, April 12, 2016)

2005 **First Commodore (one-star rank)**

Robyn Walker RAN (Department of Defence, 2011a; Heymans, 2011, p. 193)

2005 **First full-time Navy Chaplain**

Chaplain Christine Senini RAN (M. Brown, 2005; Symington, 2006, p. 27)

2005 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Cairns***

Lieutenant Commander Christine Wootton RAN (Royal Australian Navy, 2008, p. 3)

2007 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Cairns***

Commander Jenny Daetz RAN (Daetz, 2013, p. 15; Gould, 2013b, p. 10)

2007 **First to command a major surface combatant**

Commander Michele Miller RAN (HMAS *Perth*) (Heymans, 2011, p. 193)

2007 **First RAN Photographer to be promoted to Chief Petty Officer** [164]

Tracy Casteleijn (T. Casteleijn, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

2008 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Coonawarra*** [165]

Lieutenant Commander Rebecca Jeffcoat RAN

(J. Navin, personal communication, April 1, 2016)

2008 **First Chief Petty Officer Musician & First to be appointed as a Bandmaster**

Camille Martin (Zyla, 2015)

2008 **First Navy Chaplain to deploy on Operation Catalyst**

Chaplain Christine Senini RAN (Brooke, 2008b)

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[162]   The Photography category was re-named "Imagery Specialist" (IS) on 18 March 2010. On promotion, Casteleijn was also the first to assume the position of Navy Photography Instructor at Photographic Training Flight at RAAF East Sale.

[163]   The sponsorship was undertaken in recognition of the ADF's increased peacekeeping duties, which encompasses a humanitarian medical role.

[164]   On promotion, she was also the first to assume the position of Officer-in-Charge of the Navy Imagery Unit at HMAS *Stirling* (NIU-West).

[165]   At the time of writing the thesis, a woman has not at yet been appointed as Commanding Officer HMAS *Coonawarra*.

2009 **First RAN meteorologist to be stationed at Davis Station, Antarctica**

Lieutenant Amy Bulters RAN (McMaugh, 2009, p. 9)

2009 **First and only Australian Psychologist appointed as an Expert in Military Psychologist to the UN International Criminal Court**

Commander Sharon Daniels RANR (S. Daniels, personal communication, January 29, 2016)

2009 **First Nurse Practitioner in the RAN and ADF**

Lieutenant Commander Morag Ferguson RAN (Underwood, 2009, p. 8)

2010s

2010 **First dedicated Navy Aeromedical Evacuation Nursing Officer**

Lieutenant Commander Ange Googe RAN (Googe, 2014)

2011 **First Admiral (two-star rank)**

Rear Admiral Robyn Walker RAN (ABC News, 2011, December 15)

2011 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Cerberus***

Captain Katherine Richards RAN (K. Richards, personal communication, January 25, 2016)

2012 **First Commanding Officer HMAS *Stirling***

Captain Angela Bond RAN (A. Bond, personal communication, January 6, 2016)

2012 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Watson*[166]**

Commander Jan Noonan RAN (M. Shand, personal communication, February 10, 2016)

2013 **First ADF Officer deployed to Afghanistan as a Gender Advisor**

Captain Jennifer Wittwer RAN (LinkedIn, 2016)

2014 **First engineer to reach one-star rank**

Commodore Katherine Richards RAN

(K. Richards, personal communication, January 25, (2016)

2014 **First to be appointed a Tier "C" Warrant Officer[167] (Divisional System)**

Warrant Officer Joanne Jordan (Mathias, 2014)

2015 **First Command Warrant Officer of Navy's Training Force** (also the inaugural)

Warrant Officer Joanne Jordan (Fitzgerald, 2015)

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[166] At the time of writing this thesis, a woman has not at yet been appointed to the position of Commanding Officer HMAS *Watson*.

[167] The RAN has four Warrant Officer (WO) tiers. A Tier A position is a primary category position that capitalises on the encumbent's trade skills or vocational qualifications. A Tier B position is a non-category specific position focused on broad management skills and experience. Tier C positions are designated command focused managerial and leadership positions. There is only one Tier D position that of WO of the Navy. The WO-N position was created in 1993, several years before the Tier system was introduced. The WO-N is appointed by Chief of Navy and carries the status of senior Warrant Officer in the Navy. The appointee is a role-model and spokesperson for all sailors and non-commissioned officers. Since the position was introduced, there have been seven encumbents. A woman is yet to be selected for the position.

2015 **First Commanding Officer Laser Airborne Depth Sounder Flight**

Lieutenant Commander Susanna Hung RAN

(S. Hung, personal communication, January 27, 2016)

2015 **First Warrant Officer RAN Image Specialist (IS)**[168]

Tracey Casteleijn (T. Casteleijn, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

2016 **First Warrant Officer Musician**

Camille Martin (Zyla, 2015)

2016 **First Executive Officer HMAS *Albatross***[169]

Commander Suzanne Cunningham RAN (S. Cunningham, December 2, 2016)

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[168] On promotion, she was also the first to assume the position of IS Category Manager, now known as IS Workforce Manager.

[169] At the time of writing this thesis, a woman has not as yet been appointed as the Command Officer HMAS *Albatross*.

Women serving in the Royal Australian Navy: the path towards equality 1960 to 2015

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APPENDIX 6

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32 (see Spurling, 1988, Chapters 8 to 10 for why there was no suitable WRAN Officer to assume the position of DWRANS; Spurling at Chapter 10 states Cole took up position in January 1955; see p. 317 for details of Cole's Navy career on her return to the UK.)
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