Surveilling Minds and Bodies: Sexualities, Medicine and the Law in Australasian Contexts

SEPTEMBER 12-13
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This conference is a safe space for LGBTIQ+ people. We understand that some presenters will be discussing personal experiences, and as such, will not reference their participation within the conference, or repeat the content of presentations, to any outside parties without express permission from the speaker. We will encourage conversation around the conference topics, but will not tolerate inappropriate comments or behaviour. We are committed to maintaining a welcoming environment to all.
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Organising Committee

Marguerite Johnson
PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
Marguerite is a Professor of Classics at the University of Newcastle. She is an interdisciplinary scholar who works in several key research areas, including studies of sexuality, gender and the body. While much of her research in this area has been undertaken from the perspective of the ancient Mediterranean, Marguerite has also worked on sex and gender in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Australia, including sex magic, lesbian identity and, more recently, conversion therapy. Her teaching includes courses on gender, sex and the body; including interdisciplinary courses with James Bennett. Recently, Marguerite and James contributed to the MOOC, Sex, Science and Society with colleagues from STEM and Sociology.

James Bennett
SENIOR LECTURER, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
James Bennett teaches history at the University of Newcastle, Australia. He has published widely on aspects of Australian and New Zealand history including the medicalisation of same sex relations. He has published in national and international journals including Medical History, Social History of Medicine and Health and History, is the author of ‘Rats and Revolutionaries’: The Labour Movement in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1940 (Otago University Press, 2004) and has co-edited several anthologies. He is currently researching with Marguerite Johnson the socio-political context surrounding gay conversion therapy including its representation in film and memoir.
Organising Committee

Kcasey McLoughlin [she/her]  
*LECTURER, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE*

Kcasey McLoughlin is currently a Lecturer in Law at Newcastle Law School. Kcasey's research explores the interaction between women, gender and difference in the judiciary. Her PhD examined the way in which gender and difference have impacted upon the contributions of women judges to the High Court of Australia and was awarded the Australian Political Studies Association Best PhD Prize. In addition to her research about women and the judiciary, Kcasey's research is more broadly interested in how law affects women's lives. She has written about abortion, sexual violence against women, paid parental leave and gendered constructions of harm in free speech cases.

Tanika Koosmen [she/her]  
*RESEARCH ASSISTANT, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE*

Tanika is currently completing a PhD in Classics on the deviant body in transformation mythology of the ancient Mediterranean, and her research interests include ancient literature, gender, and sexuality.
Research Collaborators

Joanna Bourke
PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
GLOBAL INNOVATION CHAIR, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
Joanna Bourke is Professor of History at Birkbeck, University of London, and Fellow of the British Academy. She is the prize-winning author of thirteen books, including histories on modern warfare, military medicine, psychology and psychiatry, the emotions, rape, and what it means to be human.

Chris Brickell
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO
Chris Brickell is Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, Gender and Social Work, at Otago University. He has extensive research experience in the history, visual culture and sociology of sexuality, and, more recently, in histories of affect, adolescence, and social science. His books include Mates and Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand (2008) and Teenagers: The Rise of Youth History in New Zealand (2017). He is currently co-editing a book titled Queer Objects, to be published in 2019.

Lisa Featherstone
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
Lisa is an Australian historian primarily interested in the history of bodies, especially the history of sexuality and the history of reproduction.

Ivan Crozier
CONJOINTE ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
Ivan is an historian of psychiatry, sexuality, and the body.
Keynote Speakers

Joanna Bourke
Joanna is a world-renowned historian who has shaped profoundly our understanding of subjects—violence, the body, the emotions central to human experience. Her most recent books are The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers (OUP) and Wounding the World: How Military Violence and War-Play are Invading our Lives (Virago). She is currently the Principal Investigator in a 5-year Wellcome Trust Investigator Award on “Sexual Violence, Medicine, and Psychiatry.”

The Hon Michael Kirby AC CMG
Retired Federal Judge of the High Court of Australia, The Hon. Michael Kirby AC CMG has had a long and accomplished career fighting against prejudice in the legal system, particularly for LGBTIQ+ communities and people of colour. In 2013-2014, he was appointed Chair of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights Violations in North Korea. He was a Commissioner of the UNAIDS Lancet Commission on AIDS to the Right to Health (2013-2014); the Global Fund’s Equitable Access Panel (2015-16); the UN Secretary-General’s High Level Panel on Access to Essential Medicines (2015-16); and UNAIDS/OHCHR’s panel on overreach of criminal law (2017); and Co-Chair of the International Bar Association’s Human Rights Institute (2018).

Michelle Lancey
Ms Michelle Lancey is the founder of Newcastle Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), the non-profit organisation that promotes support for families and friends of LGBTQI people with an overarching focus of keeping families together. She was named Newcastle Woman of the Year in 2018 in recognition of her advocacy for LGBTQI rights and for her active involvement in the marriage equality ‘Yes’ campaign.
Conference Program

Day 1 - Wednesday 12th September

9:00 – 9:30 Welcome to the Conference
   
   Acknowledgement of Country

9:30 – 10:30 KEYNOTE: PROFESSOR JOANNA BOURKE
   
   Chair: James Bennett

10:30 – 11:00 Morning Tea

11:00 – 1:00 Panel 1 – Cultures and Politics
   
   Chair: Lisa Featherstone
   
   Frank Bongiorno – “Australian Politics and Sexual Scandal: Some Historical Reflections.”
   
   Max Denton – “Church-based Same-Sex Commitment Ceremonies and the Queering of Religious Spaces in Australia and Britain in the 1970s and 1980s.”
   
   Heather Faulkner – "Poser: Reflections on Navigating Identity and Belonging in Joh's Sunshine State."
   
   Noah Riseman – “The Emergence of a Transgender Rights Movement in the 1990s Victoria.”

1:00 – 2:00 Lunch

2:00 – 3:15 KEYNOTE: THE HON. MICHAEL KIRBY AC CMG
   
   Chair: Kcasey McLoughlin
   
   "Reflections on the Marriage Equality Debate."
Day 1 - Wednesday 12th September

3:15 – 3:30  Afternoon Tea
3:30 – 5:30  **Panel 2 – Psychiatry and Society**

*Chair: Joanna Bourke*

Chris Brickell – "Writing Homosexuality in New Zealand Prison During the 1950s."


Marguerite Johnson and James Bennett – "Backlash: Has 'Toxic Masculinity' Affected Progress Towards Lesbian and Gay Equality in Australia?"


[6:00]  [Conference dinner at the Clarendon Hotel]
Day 2 - Thursday 13th September

9:00 – 10:00  KEYNOTE: MS MICHELLE LANCEY
"Local Histories: Advocating for Marriage Equality in the Hunter and Beyond."
Chair: Kcasey McLoughlin

10:00 – 11:00  Morning Tea

11:00 – 1:00  Panel 4 – Marriage Equality and Law
Chair: Marguerite Johnson
Hannah McCann, Geraldine Fela, and Amy Thomas – “‘If she asks, we’ll tell her it’s about fairness and kindness.’ The Post-Liberation Politics of the Postal Survey."

1:00 – 1:45  Lunch

1:45 – 3:15  Panel 5 – The Queer Collective: Queer Experience at UoN
Chair: Tanika Koosmen
The Queer Collective is a group of Queer identifying or questioning students at the University of
Day 2 - Thursday 13th September

Newcastle. Six students will speak about their experiences as queer students at the University of Newcastle.

3:15 – 3:30 Afternoon Tea

3:30 – 5:30 Panel 6 – Medicine and Activism

Chair: Ivan Crozier

Sandra Fitzgerald and Katie Wynne – "Transgender Health and Gender Diversity: Supporting and Connecting Clinicians."

Isaac Keatinge – "Sex Work and Intersection as a Lens to Interrogate Activist Efforts."


Hannah Gillard – "Present Absence: Queer Desire and Identity Within the University."

[6:30] [Special Screening: The Miseducation of Cameron Post - Towers Cinema Newcastle]
Presenters

Joanna Bourke [she/her]

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
GLOBAL INNOVATION CHAIR, UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE

KEYNOTE

SADISM: A HISTORY OF SEXUAL CRUELTY IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AUSTRALIA

Since the 1830s, when the figure of the Marquis de Sade was translated into an "-ism" (sadism), the acts and identities of people who imagine or practice acts of sexualised cruelty have been conceptualised and contested. From the late nineteenth century, the sadist entered into common parlance, largely as a result of the translation into English of Richard Von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis*. This paper explores the ways non-consensual sexual sadism was conceptualised in Australian texts.
From time to time, we receive a sharp reminder of the potentially disruptive nature of sexual scandal in political life. When a scandal unfolds, the boundaries between the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ that supposedly form the basis of reporting conventions among editors and journalists rapidly disintegrate – at least for a season – and for reasons that often defy easy analysis. The Profumo Affair in Britain remains the modern prototype – it still generates both popular histories and academic analysis – but historians have given limited attention to Australian cases of sexual scandal in politics. Taking my cue from some of the recent work on the Profumo Affair, which has emphasised how the scandal expressed anxieties about rapidly changing racial and gender orders in post-war Britain, this paper will examine some instances in which sexual behaviour has functioned as politically scandalous in the Australian context. I suggest that a close examination of sexual scandal in politics can expose aspects of political culture and particularly its gendered and racialised assumptions – that are otherwise obscured. This paper is part of a larger book project that seeks, in part, to explore how ordinary people have understood and interacted with politics in Australia.
Frank Bongiorno is Head of the School of History at the Australian National University, and he has previously taught at Griffith University, the University of New England and King’s College London. He was Smuts Visiting Fellow in Commonwealth Studies at the University of Cambridge in 1997-98. Frank is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. His books include *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* (2012) and *The Eighties: The Decade That Transformed Australia* (2015), which each won ACT Book of the Year and was shortlisted for other prizes.
Max Denton  
UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

CHURCH-BASED SAME-SEX COMMITMENT CEREMONIES AND  
THE QUEERING OF RELIGIOUS SPACES IN AUSTRALIA AND  
BRITAIN IN THE 1970s AND 1980s

This paper seeks to historicise recent British and Australian debates  
around same-sex marriage by examining the performance and  
conceptualisation of same-sex blessings and commitment  
ceremonies in religious spaces in the 1970s and 1980s. It examines  
the activities of the Metropolitan Community Church in Australia and  
Britain, and the British Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement,  
focusing on the blessings of same-sex couples that these groups  
helped to facilitate. These groups, and other sympathetic pastors,  
performed hundreds of commitment ceremonies for same-sex  
couples in churches and private homes. Through their publications  
and newsletters, they articulated an alternate approach to same-sex  
relationships that sits in stark contrast with the critiques of marriage  
put forward by many queer and feminist political activists. Why did  
these couples often conceptualise their relationships in terms of  
marriage, and embrace the performance of same-sex weddings?  
How did these religious blessings of same-sex couples fit within  
broader historical trends surrounding marriage and sexuality? This  
paper explores these questions, and argues that popular concepts  
related to heterosexual marriage like ‘romantic love’ and  
‘companionate marriage’ were formative for many Christian and non-  
Christian same-sex couples in understanding their relationships,  
forming sexual identities, and reconciling their faith with their  
sexuality.
These blessings also represented a remapping of the gendered space of the church, opening it up to new sexual possibilities and prompting a fierce contestation over the control and meanings of religious space.

This paper examines the discourse and arguments put forward by the groups and individuals performing these ceremonies and taking part in them, to better understand the origins of cultures of same-sex marriage. These sources, which have not yet been explored by historians of sexuality, highlight the vital role of space in contemporary debates around same-sex marriage.

Max Denton is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Melbourne writing a social and activist history of same-sex marriage in Australia, Britain and America c. 1970-2000. He is the recipient of the Hansen Trust PhD Scholarship in History for 2018. He has a Masters of Philosophy in Modern British History from the University of Cambridge, and completed his Bachelor of Arts with Honours from the University of Melbourne. His research interests include urban history and the history of sexuality in Australia and Britain in the twentieth century.
Heather Faulkner [she/her]
QUEENSLAND COLLEGE OF ART, GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY

POSER: REFLECTIONS ON NAVAGATING IDENTITY AND BELONGING IN JOH’S SUNSHINE STATE

This paper recounts the experiences of lesbian and gay-identified Queenslanders who recall living in a climate of fear that pervaded the socio-political landscapes of Queensland in the mid-to-late 20th century, particularly during the authoritarian regime of the Joh-Bkelke Petersen State government (1968-1987) - the vestiges of which continue to pervade the milieu of memories and present day. The documentary transmedia "A Matter of Time Project," through the interrelation of history, place and sexuality, gave voice to lesbians who experienced living in the Bjelke-Petersen era of Queensland and who know how that socio-political history affected and continued to affect them. "Maleny IDAHOT: Six Years in Reflection," explores, through photo elicitation, the reflections of community members from the first Maleny IDAHOT[T] march and celebration in 2012, to the post-same-sex marriage era in 2018. Central to both projects is the experience and expression of fear - manifested by feelings of shame, internalised homophobia and ultimately, the autonomic action of self-policing (as posited by Michel Foucault), brought on by the oppression that limited their freedom of expression as "whole being," within heteronormative spaces in Queensland.

Drawing on documentary-based research projects, "A Matter of Time Project," "Maleny IDAHOT: Six Years in Reflection," and my own reflections as an insider-researcher, this paper presents a synthesis of singular experiences that affirm that even in the
oppressive state of Queensland and its aftermath, it was and is possible to find a space of belonging, or more aptly, "outside belonging," as it was posited by cultural theorist, Elspeth Probyn.

Dr Heather Faulkner is a documentary/transmedia practitioner and researcher whose work explores the synergetic themes of identity, place and belonging. Her professional career as a photojournalist and award-winning picture editor has seen her work published broadly on an international scale. She has exhibited and published creative works nationally and internationally. She is the author of North of the Border: Stories from the A Matter of Time Project, published by UWAP in 2016. Faulkner is a senior lecturer and Program Director of the Bachelor of Photography at Queensland College of Art, Griffith University.
Noah Riseman

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

THE EMERGENCE OF A TRANSGENDER RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN 1990s VICTORIA

Too often transgender people’s histories have been subsumed under the umbrella “LGBTQI” (or some variation thereof). While of course at times these histories have been intertwined, the very distinct challenges, forms of discrimination and hurdles to acceptance that confront transgender people have necessitated their own activist movements. Scholars of sexuality and gender now acknowledge that transgender people have been involved in Australian activist movements since as early as the 1978 Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. Small organisations advocating for transgender rights sprung up in the various states in the 1980s, such as the Victorian Transsexual Coalition in Melbourne and the Australian Transsexual Association in Sydney. These organisations focused primarily (though not exclusively) on providing support services for transgender women (and later men). The 1990s witnessed a series of debates within lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) communities about how best to continue the fights for legal equality, and into the foray came the question of transgender rights and how they should be positioned with(in) new and existing organisations. This paper focuses on Victoria as a case study for how the marginalisation of transgender people from LGB organisations led, in the late 1990s, to the establishment of distinctly transgender advocacy groups. These groups focused on recognising transgender discrimination as distinct from LGB experiences, and were most effective at lobbying for amendments.
protecting transgender people under Victoria’s Equal Opportunity Act in 2000. This paper draws on a mix of oral history interviews, reports in the LGBTI and mainstream media, and personal papers generously shared by transgender activists from 1990s Victoria.

Noah Riseman is a historian at Australian Catholic University who specialises in the histories of race, gender and sexuality in Australia. He is the co-author of Serving in Silence? Australian LGBT Servicemen and Women (NewSouth, 2018) and Defending Country: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service since 1945 (UQP, 2016). This paper is part of a new ARC-funded project on the history of transgender people in Australia.
The Hon Michael Kirby AC CMG  [he/him]

Michael Kirby is an international jurist, educator and former judge. He served as a Deputy President of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (1975-83); Chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission (1975-84); Judge of the Federal Court of Australia (1983-4); President of the New South Wales Court of Appeal (1984-96); President of the Court of Appeal of Solomon Islands (1995-96) and Justice of the High Court of Australia (1996-2009). He has undertaken many international activities for the United Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the OECD and the Global Fund Against AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. He has also worked in civil society, being elected President of the International Commission of Jurists (1995-8). His recent international activities have included member of the Eminent Persons Group on the Future of the Commonwealth of Nations (2010-11); Commissioner of the UNDP Global Commission on HIV and the Law (2011-12); Chairman of the UN Commission of Inquiry on DPRK (North Korea) (2013-14); and Member of the UN Secretary-General’s High Level Panel on Access to Essential Healthcare (2015-16). He is also heavily engaged in international arbitrations; domestic mediations; and teaching law. He is Honorary Professor at 12 Australian and overseas universities. In 1990 he was awarded the Australian Human Rights Medal. In 1998, he was named Laurette of the UNESCO Prize for Human Rights Education. In 2010 he was named co-winner of the Gruber Justice Prize. In 2011 he received the inaugural Australian Privacy Medal. The honorary degrees of Doctor of Letters, Doctor of Laws and Doctor of the University have been conferred on him by universities in Australia and overseas. He lives in Sydney with his partner since 1969, Johan van Vloten.
‘This place breeds them’. So said Bernie Pintal, an apparently autobiographical character in Bert Pimley’s ‘The Rock Orchid’, an unpublished, late 1950s novel about homosexuality and the routines of everyday life in Auckland’s Mt Eden Prison. Sociologists and historians of sexuality have noted how the prison, a mechanism of state control, has given rise to highly context-specific forms of homoerotic involvement that differ from those prevailing in the outside world. This paper explores two quite different examples of autobiographical writing by men imprisoned in New Zealand for homosexual offences. Pimley’s novel reveals constructions of prison homoeroticism during the 1950s, the ways men made sense of it, and the literary devices they drew on to do so. Ernie Webber’s manuscript ‘De Profundis, 1957’, also written in Mt Eden, draws on rather different reference points. Webber compares his own emotional life with that of Oscar Wilde at the end of the nineteenth century. This paper explores how a range of views about sexuality jostled for attention while being articulated by two men subject to the specificities and rigours of prison life during the mid-twentieth century.
SEX IN A COLD CLIMATE: THE COOMA PRISON AS A HOMOSEXUAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND THE SCIENCE OF BEING GAY IN NSW 1950S-1984

In 1957, NSW re-opened the newly modernised Cooma Gaol as a prison for homosexual men - both those sentenced for committing homosexual crimes, and those who had been caught engaging in same-sex activity while serving a different sentence. Around 200 men were incarcerated there. The prison, the only one of its kind in the world according to the Government's press-release, was established as a research institute to investigate the causes and treatment of homosexuality, and as such brought together criminological, psychiatric and political dimensions of the treatments of homosexuality in post-war NSW. A committee was formed consisting of psychiatrists, clergymen, and prison officials which discussed the nature of the crime, although it failed to present a final report of recommendations to the government, such as was the case in Britain with the Wolfenden report, which proposed that homosexuality be decriminalised (which took until 1967 in England and Wales). NSW prison reformers were seeking to bring Australia to the fore of modern scientific thinking about homosexuality; they were not concerned with legal reform, as was the case with Wolfenden. Although no consensus could be reached about the nature of homosexuality, this did not stop the advent of the adoption of homosexual conversion therapies in the UK and elsewhere following both the Wolfenden report and the meetings of the NSW homosexual
committee. These treatment regimes, which are starting to receive a lot of popular and historical attention, continued well past the American Psychiatric Association dropping homosexuality from its classification of mental diseases in 1973.

This paper is a discussion of initial research on a new project that aims to situate the Cooma gay prison in its political, penalogical and especially international psychiatric contexts. It considers the way that the institution allowed for the adoption of conversion therapies in NSW, noting that by the mid-1970s, NSW psychiatrists were publishing about gay conversion therapies in the British Journal of Psychiatry based on local researches, and it was not until 1984 that male homosexuality was decriminalised in NSW. Cooma prison is a significant but under-researched part of the history of homosexuality in NSW, and in the history of psychiatric understandings of same-sex pleasures.
James Bennett and Marguerite Johnson
UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
BACKLASH: HAS "TOXIC MASCULINITY" AFFECTED PROGRESS TOWARDS LESBIAN AND GAY EQUALITY IN AUSTRALIA

It has commonly been observed in the media commentary that Australia is the last major English-speaking country to legislate for marriage equality. There are a number of possible reasons that might be advanced to explain this including the divisive nature of party politics in the recent past - particularly at the federal level. However, several writers and keen observers of the social context have identified a more deep-seated problem: a toxic masculinity that is linked to a particular expression of homophobia. Evangelical ideas have not played any discernible role in shaping Australians' response to lesbian and gay people, however rigid notions of gender have. This paper will explore particular manifestations of toxic masculinity using such key examples as hate crimes, the Safe Schools scandal and the marriage equality campaign to determine the role of gendered expectations in Australian masculinity and its specific implications for lesbian- and gay-identifying people.
Lisa Featherstone
UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
THE CHALLENGE OF PSYCHIATRY? MEDICINE AT TRIAL IN AUSTRALIA’S RECENT PAST

In North American jurisdictions, psychiatry was central to the prosecution and institutionalisation of sexual offenders, from the early twentieth century onwards. In Australia, however, medicine was not integral to the legislation, nor, as this paper will argue, to the court processes around sexual offences.

This paper will explore the complex interactions between law and medicine in late twentieth century Australia, drawing upon court cases in Australia’s largest jurisdiction, New South Wales, from the 1950s to the 1980s. Using a range of court transcripts, including trials for rape, sexual offences against children and same-sex offences, it will explore the ways psychiatric evidence was used for offenders at both trial and sentencing.

Medical testimony was frequently called: this was part of the modern demand for scientific and technological investigation, and was also an important defence strategy to explain or mitigate the alleged crime. Yet psychiatric testimony was subject to substantial challenge, particularly when it was at odds with the judge and jury’s own beliefs about sexual violence and sexual offenders. By considering the court’s management and utilisation of medical testimony - and how this changed over time - this paper will suggest that medical opinion was not necessarily central to understandings of sexual offenders within the Australian courtroom.
Michelle Lancey  [she/her]

KEYNOTE

LOCAL HISTORIES: ADVOCATING FOR MARRIAGE EQUALITY IN THE HUNTER AND BEYOND

In her keynote address, Michelle will outline the history of PFLAG in the Hunter and her own involvement in local and national campaigns for marriage equality. As an activist, Michelle is well placed to comment on the important role of communities and groups in driving initiatives, and providing support for LGBTQI people and their families. Michelle will also consider what she sees as the new battlegrounds for equality for LGBTQI people in light of last year's historic postal vote and the subsequent legalisation of marriage equality.

Ms Michelle Lancey has been a strong advocate for LGBTQI equality for almost two decades. She founded the Newcastle Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), the non-profit organisation that promotes support for families and friends of LGBTQI people with an overarching focus of keeping families together. She was named Newcastle Woman of the Year in 2018 in recognition of her advocacy for LGBTQI rights and for her active involvement in the marriage equality 'Yes' campaign, which included collaborations with groups such as the AIDS Council of New South Wales (ACON), Rainbow Families and the Queer Collective.
"BUT WHAT PRICE DEMOCRACY?": THE MARRIAGE EQUALITY PLEBISCITE AND THE DISTORTION OF NOTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

In August 2015 the then Prime Minister Tony Abbott, a known opponent of marriage equality, announced his intention to hold a 'national vote' on same sex marriage after the 2016 election. Conservatives insisted that a plebiscite would provide truly democratic 'ownership' of a decision by all Australians. Malcolm Turnbull, purportedly a proponent of marriage equality, retained the plebiscite policy after he successfully challenged Tony Abbott for the Prime Ministership in September 2015. Yet opponents regarded the plebiscite proposal as a means of defeating progress on marriage equality, or at the very least as a stalling tactic - and for this reason attempts to introduce a bill requiring a plebiscite on marriage equality in 2016 and 2017 were unsuccessful. This led to a postal survey, administered by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, which did not require legislative approval (although its constitutional validity was unsuccessfully challenged in the High Court of Australia). The claim that the plebiscite would represent an exercise in 'direct', participatory democracy was central to Prime Minister Turnbull's answers to questions in Parliament throughout this time. For example, in answer to questions in 2016 he asked "But what price democracy? What price democracy? Do we have enough respect for the Australian people to ask them their view? That is the right question." In light of perspectives such as these, this paper examines how notions of representative democracy were invoked in
the parliamentary debates about same sex marriage. I argue that the framing of 'representative' versus 'direct' fundamentally distorted notions of representative democracy and in so doing revealed either a problematic misunderstanding, or a deliberately flawed misappropriation of political theory and philosophy, on behalf of our nation's lawmakers.
Hannah McCann [she/her], Geraldine Fela [she/her], and Amy Thomas [she/her, they/them]

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE; MONASH UNIVERSITY; UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

'IF SHE ASKS WE'LL TELL HER IT'S ABOUT FAIRNESS AND KINDNESS': THE POST-LIBERATION POLITICS OF THE POSTAL SURVEY

In December 2017 marriage equality was legalised in Australia following a postal survey on same-sex marriage (SSM). This paper focuses on the Yes campaign (in favour of SSM), and its failure to respond to the homophobia and transphobia of the No campaign. The Yes campaign was symptomatic of what we call a 'post-liberation politics': an approach that saw marriage equality as the last major hurdle for LGBTIQ politics. Through a critical reading of both the Yes and No television and online video advertisements, we demonstrate how the No campaign linked marriage equality to gender fluidity, transgender identity, and LGBTIQ education programs. In response, Yes limited itself to narratives around love, marriage, the family and 'fairness and kindness'. By failing to attend to the fears around gender, sexuality and education raised by the No campaign, the Yes campaign narrowed the transformative possibilities of what could be 'won'. We argue that the direction of the campaign focused on securing a yes vote at any cost, but that the campaign did not need to take this approach. By revisiting the campaign strategies of the Gay Liberation movement of the 1970s, we show the possibility of an alternative, radical approach to securing reforms. Rather than relying on palatable or mainstream ideas of equality love and fairness, Gay Liberation in Australia embraced the radical potential of LGBTIQ
activism and fought for a utopian vision of a transformed future. We argue this can build a critical understanding of Australia's marriage equality campaign that was, to inform future campaigns for LGBTIQ rights beyond the narrow remit of fairness and kindness.

Dr Hannah McCann is a lecturer in gender studies at the University of Melbourne. Her research explores feminist discourse on femininity, queer femme LGBTIQ communities, LGBTIQ history, beauty culture and aesthetic labour. She has published in Australian Humanities Review, Women's Studies Quarterly, and Australian Feminist Studies. Her book Queering Femininity: Sexuality, Feminism and the Politics of Presentation was published with Routledge in 2018.

Geraldine Fela is a PhD candidate at Monash University in the School of Philosophical, Historical, and International Studies. Her research examines the role of Australian HIV nurses in the 1980s and 1990s and in 2017 she was awarded the Eric Fry Labour History Research Grant for her work in this area. She has published in Australian Feminist Studies and Lilith.

Amy Thomas is an academic in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). She is completing a PhD on the history of Australian colonialism and the contest between self-determination and assimilation in Aboriginal schooling in northern Australia. Her research interests include Aboriginal history, LGBTIQ history, social movements, and language and educational policy. She has published in Overland Literary Journal, The Lifted Brow and New Matilda.
Barrie Shannon  
*University of Newcastle*

**RAGE AND RESILIENCE: A REFLECTION ON SEXUAL SURVEILLANCE AND SCRUTINY DURING AUSTRALIA’S MARRIAGE EQUALITY POSTAL PLEBISCITE CAMPAIGN**

In December 2017, the Australian Parliament passed legislation that would eventually allow same-sex couples to marry, following the affirmative vote of a national plebiscite on the issue. The plebiscite itself was a political compromise between the moderate and conservative factions of the centre-right Liberal Party; and due to opposition to this policy within the Parliament, it took the form of a non-binding, non-compulsory postal survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The vote itself was accompanied by a sustained public debate on marriage, homosexuality, gender (non)conformity, education and parenting which lasted for approximately two months. During the campaign, news, popular and social media were highly saturated with content either supportive of marriage equality or in opposition to it. For the duration of the campaign, the scrutiny, the concern, the opinions, the love and the prejudice of others were largely inescapable for queer Australians and their families. Little attention has so far been given to the possible traumatic effects of this campaign on queer Australians. As a young gay and non-binary sociologist, I offer my own reflections, motives and experiences alongside those of my friends and colleagues who have come together to discuss their ongoing personal stakes in the marriage equality campaign. In analysing these varying viewpoints, I seek to provide an ethnographic snapshot of the lived experiences of queers and their allies during a time where queerness in Australia...
was under intense public interrogation, surveillance and scrutiny. As an insider examining community experiences and action in both online and 'real life' through a lens of queer theory, I aim to provide insight into queer affect, trauma and resilience that have emerged in response to state and media sponsored homo- and transphobia.

Barrie is a PhD candidate in sociology and anthropology, and a casual academic within the University of Newcastle's School of Humanities and Social Science. Their research primarily concerns transgender and gender diverse young people's experiences of sex education in and out of school. Barrie's broader research interests include education policy, media representation and social media use by LGBTIQ people. Barrie has also been heavily involved in student activism at UoN and currently serves as the LGBTI Representative at the Newcastle University Postgraduate Students' Association (NUPSA).
The legalisation of same-sex marriage in December last year, set alongside continued resistance to the Safe Schools Coalition Australia (SSCA) exemplifies, I argue, what Matthew Waites (2005) calls a 'rationale of containment', in which formal equality is conditional upon preventing increases in the prevalence on non-normative genders and sexualities. In the Australian context, this perspective allows for an optimistic assessment of the event of marriage equality, while also drawing attention to enduring structures of inequality in the form of resistance to the SSCA's institutionalised recognition of queer students in schools. For this paper, in thinking about where we are now, I juxtapose the SSCA controversy and the same-sex marriage debate to reflect on whether describing them as 'homophobic', as is often done by supporters of marriage equality and Safe Schools, fully captures the ways in which queers are positioned in relation to what we might call sexual citizenship. In anti-SSCA discourses, queer children and teenagers are either rendered invisible or constructed as a trivial minority, while heterosexual and cisgendered students are constructed as 'vulnerable' and in need of protection against the 'indoctrination' and 'social engineering' perpetuated by the SSCA. In the marriage debate, by contrast, queer adults frequently feature arguments both for and against marriage equality, though most commonly as a homogenous group of palatably desexualised, in-love, and
committed gays and lesbians who are 'the same' as or 'just like' most heterosexuals. To reflect on how queers are positioned in relation to what we might call sexual citizenship, then, I engage with the findings of a series of interviews with members of Sydney's queer community. My research participants address some of the consequences of this strategic appeal to sameness - or what Diane Richardson (2017) refers to as a 'collapsing of difference' into homogeneity - especially in terms of the forms of exclusion in (re)produces.

Jan Filmer is a PhD candidate in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney. His research interests include queer theory, cultures of intimacy and care, queer social scene spaces, suburban and urban cultures, social policy, and citizenship. His current research project explores the Sydney 'lockout laws', and the defunding of the Safe Schools Coalition Australia (SSCA), and the debate around legalising same-sex marriage insofar as they intersect with queer people’s lived experiences of belonging and exclusion in the cultural space that is contemporary Sydney.
The Queer Collective
The Queer Collective is a group of queer identifying or questioning students at the University of Newcastle. They do a variety of things for queer students, including: supporting students and assisting them through issues, advocating for their rights, encouraging visibility on campus, providing a queer space where students can feel safe, and hosting events where people are welcome to hang out and develop a sense of community.

Ollie [they/them]
Ollie is the convener of the Queer Collective, is non-binary and queer, has done previous research relating to trans students at university and is currently doing their honours thesis in trans performativity in higher education. They aim to make the university a safer place for all queer students both through their work in the collective and their research. Ollie wishes to continue research into transgender experiences and identities by completing a PhD after their honours thesis.

Max [he/him, they/them]
Max is the deputy convener of the Queer Collective, identifies as gay and non-binary trans and is involved in a variety of support groups and organisations in the Hunter region, as well as volunteering in trans research with HNE Health

Raphael [he/him]
Raphael is the Queer Collective’s health and wellbeing officer and is gay and cisgender. He is currently completing his Bachelor of Pharmacy and is dedicated to improving the health of the queer community.
Lucian [they/them, she/her]  
Lucian is a Physiotherapy student originally from Wollongong. Lucian enjoys fire spinning at the Combustion Society, which they administrate with their partner. They are involved with UoN Pride Week, Create 2308, and the Newcastle University Anime Club, where they coordinate a group of cosplayers and engage in promotional work in the field and online. Lucian performs as a Drag King under the name Belial B’Zarr and enjoys fashion design under the name Zips ‘n’ Rips Seamstress. Their goal is to gain clinical experience and develop their artistic abilities in Melbourne, then open a private practice in New Zealand.

Ashleigh [she/her]  
Ashleigh is the Queer Women’s Officer of the Queer Collective, cisgender and a lesbian. She also runs a lesbian blog and endeavours to provide both advice and support to the community.

Kya [they/them]  
Kya is the ethnocultural officer of the Queer Collective. They identify as pansexual and trans. As of 2017/18, they have been attempting to promote a combination of cultural identity with personal identity as a member of the collective, by aiding in co-mingling and awareness of all cultures and have previously been on a panel for trans day of visibility.
Sandra Fitzgerald and Katie Wynne  [she/her]
HUNTER NEW ENGLAND CENTRAL COAST PRIMARY HEALTH NETWORK; HUNTER NEW ENGLAND HEALTH
TRANSGENDER HEALTH AND GENDER DIVERSITY: SUPPORTING AND CONNECTING CLINICIANS
In 2016 the Hunter New England (HNE) HealthPathways team collaborated with the HNE Local Health District (LHD), the Hunter Centre for Sex and Gender Diversity (HCSGD), two other Australian HealthPathways programs and consumers to develop an evidence based transgender healthcare pathway that described local assessment, management and referral options for clinicians. The Transgender Health and Gender Diversity HealthPathway was developed partly as a result of evidence regarding disparities in healthcare for the transgender population and also in response to feedback from local GPs, specialists and the transgender community. Evidence shows that although a significant proportion (0.4-1.3%) of the population identify as transgender, stigmatisation and difficulty accessing healthcare have resulted in high suicidality and mental health issues, HIV rates and drug and alcohol issues in trans-people. Our local transgender community identified a lack of health-provider knowledge and an absence of referral pathways as barriers to essential healthcare. Local primary care clinicians were similarly frustrated by a lack of awareness and understanding about how to provide timely and appropriate transgender healthcare and a lack of knowledge of appropriate local specialist services. Over several meetings a working group of adult and paediatric endocrinologists and clinical nurse consultants, social workers, GPs, a psychiatrist, consumers and members of the HealthPathways team discussed what was and wasn’t working in this space and what
improvements were needed to provide timely, appropriate care. Current available best practice was then articulated in the final pathway. HNE Health Pathways currently has approximately 3000 users per month with 13, 000 sessions and over 60,000 page views. Evaluation of google analytics shows relatively high usage of the pathway for the size of the population. We have also had excellent feedback and support for the pathway. The HNE HealthPathways team was the first Australian team to develop a Transgender Health and Gender Diversity HealthPathway. We have collaborated with other HealthPathways communities around Australia to share our work and develop similar pathways for their local needs and it has since been adopted or is being adopted across several regions in Australia and New Zealand. The project was also a finalist in the HNE High Value Health Care Awards in 2017 and the team were recently successful in securing an HNE Innovation Scholarship to improve overall delivery of transgender health in our LHD by producing sustainable patient resources, supporting culturally competent delivery of healthcare by providers and overcoming barriers to accessing care. This was a truly collaborative project to identify the needs of the local transgender community and connect them with the health care that they need in the place where they live.
Sandra Fitzgerald is a Clinical Editor with Hunter New England HealthPathways. She studied pharmacy at the University of Sydney and then gained a Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy from Monash University. Sandra has had diverse career encompassing community, and hospital pharmacy, drug information, poisons information, academic detailing and primary care clinician education. Dr Katie Wynne is an Endocrinologist at John Hunter Hospital, and Chairperson of Hunter Gender Alliance.
SEX WORKERS OUTREACH PROJECT
SEX WORK AND INTERSECTION AS A LENS TO INTERROGATE
ACTIVIST EFFORTS
There have been multiple activisms around sexuality and the law in recent Australian history, the most noticeable being the marriage equality debate. Another notable achievement is the decriminalisation of sex work in NSW. These successes represent different strategies in the struggle for equality, autonomy and self-determination. This presentation explores a historical comparison between same sex marriage advocates and sex worker activism to highlight the different outcomes of each movement.

Sex workers have been at the forefront of activism in Australia, both intellectually and on the ground. This can be seen by sex worker participation in the events leading to the infamous 1978 Mardi Gras, as well as the successful decriminalisation of sex work in NSW following the hard work of campaigners, the 1986 Select Committee, and the Wood Royal Commission into police corruption. We see that the adult industry is highly scrutinized, with workers being held to a higher standard than other workers. Sex work activism has been honed by its history, and has much to offer other social movements, and indeed sex workers are members of diverse movements, identities and communities.

Equal marriage for same-sex attracted people is representative, not of a shift in power dynamic, but of the continuation of the historical and systemic practice assimilating calls for justice into the states quo. Mardi Gras is another example of this practice. Once a protest, it now excludes community members deemed 'too radical', such as
gay and lesbian (and queer) sex workers, who make up a large part of the adult industry.

We need a sex worker-led investigation into the historical context of these issues to gain a candid understanding of the processes at play, and what strategies might assist us in achieving outcomes that are inclusive, diverse and justice-driven.
BACKWARDS TO BOURKE: WOULD MORE SEXUAL SURVEILLANCE BENEFIT LGBTIQ LIVING IN THE BUSH?

When the federal member for Kennedy Bob Katter issued his infamous 1989 statement that he would "walk to Bourke backwards if the poof population of North Queensland is any more than 0.001 per cent," it signalled to Australians that same sex-attracted people barely existed in rural regions. Almost three decades later, LGBTIQ living in remote rural and regional Australia still have no data to counter Katter's claim. If we were pushed to provide more than anecdotal evidence, we'd have to admit that Bob Katter is correct: there are next to no gays in the bush.

I became interested in LGBTIQ populations outside metropolitan areas after embarking on writing my first novel manuscript *Tank Water*. I felt it was necessary to research their experiences, to know their coming-out stories, their families and careers and whether they stayed in the country or left it. Since I am an LGBTIQ who was born in the country, I also wanted to know if my experiences were common to others.

Exploring contemporary media reports, legal and prison records, and gay-hate crime reporting from the 1950s onwards, I attempted to find documentary evidence of LGBTIQ people outside major metropolitan centres. I also read and watched a lot of Australian popular culture set in the bush or featuring country characters, to explore if there was a divide between what was claimed by the likes of Bob Katter, and what was imagined in the minds of creatives. What I found poses questions about where greater sexual surveillance may have been
helpful and could be utilised in the future to the advantage of country
LGBTIQ, and what form that could take.

Michael Burge is an author and journalist. He is currently completing
his first novel, *Tank Water*, which explores multi-generational
survivor's guilt around gay hate crimes in the bush. He is the author
of *Questionable Deeds: Making a Stand for Equal Love*, which was
selected for the 2016 Brisbane Writer's Festival, and *Merely Players*,
which was developed by Riverside Theatre's Breakout new writing
program; and presented as part of *LGBT Labour's Lost*, a paper
presented at the 2016 AHHC Conference at La Trobe University,
Melbourne.
Hannah Gillard [they/them, she/her]

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

PRESENT ABSENCE: QUEER DESIRE AND IDENTITY WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

One University of Sydney strategy for promoting LGBTQI inclusivity is its 'Unlearn Love' poster. This poster, which is part of a broader marketing campaign to 'unlearn' everyday institutions, features two white men in suits on their wedding day. They stare at each other adoringly, and embrace in front of a smiling wedding celebrant. One thing that is noticeable about this image is the absence of queer desire: the two men do not kiss in the picture, or in the 15 second video that complements the poster on the University's website. The image also frames queer inequality through the discourse of romantic love, so that other practices of queer life - like chemsex or ephemeral relationships - are concealed.

Although the University of Sydney's work on the LGBTQI diversity endeavours to create safer spaces for queer people, this effort is accompanied by continuing and new ways of regulating queer subjects. This includes the (re)production of a queer subject positively invested in the institution of marriage, and a de-sexualised understanding of queer relationships. While sexuality is largely no longer medicalized in Australia, transgender and non-binary identities continue to be so. One example of this is a University of Sydney requirement that a certificate from a medical professional is required before gender can be altered in student records. My presentation will unpack the 'Unlearn love' poster, then draw on ethnographic and autoethnographic research from my PhD project. Part of this research examines barriers transgender and gender non-binary people face in
being recognised by the University. Whilst the University recently won a national award for its LGBTQI diversity efforts (which is to be commended), this diversity work exists alongside the aforementioned medicalization and regulation of LGBTQI people. I will interrogate the way LGBTQI diversity efforts and regulations intertwine, in addition to exploring how LGBTQI people affectively negotiate this tension within the University.

Hannah is a PhD candidate in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney. Their research interests include diversity in the workplace, queer theory, policy work, affective labour and non-binary gender identities. Hannah's PhD research focuses on LGBTQI+ workplace diversity in the Australian context, examined through theoretical critique, policy analysis and ethnographic approaches. Outside university study, Hannah has many years' experience performing LGBTQI+ human rights activist work.
Presenters' Public Engagement

THE CONVERSATION

- Marguerite Johnson and James Bennett, "'Treatments' as torture: gay conversion therapy's deep roots in Australia." May 3 2018.