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ISSN 2278-9529

Galaxy: International Multidisciplinary Research Journal

Bi-Monthly Refereed and Indexed Open Access eJournal www.galaxyimrj.com



The Voices of Protest in Select Aboriginal Women's Autobiographies

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Article History: Submitted-11/04/2017, Revised-04/07/2017, Accepted-08/07/2017, Published-31/07/2017.

Abstract:

One of the darkest periods of colonial history in Australia is the forced removal of Aboriginal women, mothers and their children. Historically, the whole cultural, spiritual and traditional life of Aboriginal people obliterated with the arrival of Europeans. They not only dispossessed the natives from the land and traditional life but also misrepresented them in literature. The ascendancy over Aboriginal women was executed under various forms like assimilation, violence, patriarchy, capitalismand industrialization. The history of their exploitation and harassment is unending. However, with the advent of education and form of life- writing has paved the way for Aboriginal writers to show anger against the political, economical, social and cultural hypocrisy of colonial authority. The present paper takes into account the concern of Aboriginal women of stolen generations to register a voice of protest against the injustice, discrimination and exploitation of native men and women in Ruby Langford Ginibi's Don't Take Your Love to Town (1988), Doris Kartinyeri's Kick the Tin (2000) and Irene Winnie Larsen's The Dusty Roads (2005).

Keywords: Aboriginal, Stolen Generation, Trauma, assimilation, discrimination, colonization, patriarchy, Capitalism, Industrialization.

The European colonists, while surmounting the Australian continent, espoused different modes and ways to colonize native people. The colonizers did not only bring cataclysm for their culture, economy, religion and race but also disrupted the private world of native men and women. However, it was a deliberate attempt to control and possession of Aboriginal body to show supremacy. The murder and sexual abuse of Aboriginal women, mothers and their babies was a common act of humiliation. Jennifer, an Aboriginal woman of stolen generations, states painfully that the children of her family were stolen "over and over again throughout three generations and...some girls just disappeared never to be seen or heard of again" (qtd. by Bird 56). The colonial authority collectively considered that it was the legitimate right of white race to possess and exploit Aboriginal women. The Confidential report of Bringing them Home, number 437, depicted by Carmel Bird in his book The Stolen Generations, brings out the possessive attitude of the white officers over Aboriginal women. Here, Jennifer narrates her story:

Early one morning in November 1952, the manager from Burnt Bridge Mission came to our home with a policeman. I could hear him saying to Mum, "I am taking the two girls and placing them in Cootamundra Home, My father was saying, 'What right have you?' The manager said he can do what he likes them in Cootamundra Home...That was the last time I saw my father. (58)

The above statement proves the fact how Aboriginal women and children were usually taken forcibly by white government officers and later used as sexual objects. Today these children are collectively referred to as the 'Stolen Generations in Australia. However, the term 'Stolen Generation' for the first time, came into prominence when Peter Read, in 1981, published a small pamphlet for the New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, entitled: The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969 to highlight the issue of Stolen Generations. The sexual violation of Aboriginal women and girls obviously resulted in numerous births from which a mixed population, later called half-caste increased in Australia. The majority of these children were never recognized by their white fathers, even by white Australian governments. Karen, an Aboriginal woman of stolen generations, states her confusion of identity herself, "I still feel confused where I belong, it has been very emotional and the result of this caused me to have a complete nervous breakdown" (qtd. by Bird 79). The Aboriginal women were harmed in full force with the establishment of new European acts and policies like assimilation. The period of assimilation, according to Tarry McCarthy, is between 1910 and 1970 as pointed out in her article "Stolen Lives" published on 4th September 2000 in Times. Under this policy many mixed blood Aboriginal children were removed from their families to foster homes under the pretext of making them civilized. White missionaries, governed by racial ideology of invaders, did this harrowing work in a more subtle way. The removal of children from mother and families was the first part of this racial strategy and it was conducted by force. Racism intruded all spheres in white Australian society. Today, all the Aboriginal writers expresstheir strong resentment over this pro-white system which crushed the individuality of the natives. The separation of children caused an unimaginable trauma on mothers. It's very painful to imagine how Aboriginal mothers went through this suffering by pleading with the Aboriginal Welfare Board for their stolen children. Jennifer, an Aboriginal woman, says, "My mother died four years later, she suffered high blood pressure, she was fifty years old. It was fight all the way to survive because she was born an Aboriginal" (qtd. by Bird 61). Similarly, William a member of stolen generations, shares his pain of separation: "Wanting my mother, crying for my mother every night, day after day, knowing that she'd never come home or come and get me. Nobody told me my mother died. Nobody..." (qtd. by Bird 92). Today, it's very difficult to apprise the exact number of girls or boys removed and mothers suffered. The assimilation policy was especially aimed at young stolen Aboriginal girls. It was a well considered experimental and quite twisted strategy of the governments to absorb European way of life. Jennifer, a half- caste Aboriginal, says, "The Board thought we were too 'white' for the home. We were to be used as an experiment and if everything worked out well, more girls



would be sent later on...old Mrs. S called...doctor to the house and said she wanted an internal examination of me. That was terribly shameful for me, I will not say anymore" (qtd. by Bird 60). The stolen Aboriginal girls of the North corner were sent to the South of Australia while the girls from the South region of Aboriginal communities were sent to the North, so that they could not locate their journey back home if they escaped. Little girls and boys were locked at night in the mission rooms. Carol, an Aboriginal girl of stolen generations, brings out her plight: "When I think back on my childhood days- sad, lonely and unloved childhood days... I was abused by the missions from all angles- sexual, physical and mental ... We were locked up every night. Also during the day on weekends and public holidays...I remember the priest...used to just walk into the dormitory and pick any girl out of crowd...And I noticed, when those girls used to come back they were very upset" (qtd. by Bird 66-68). The living conditions of the stolen children in the missions were wretched. At the age of thirteen and fourteen the girls were sent as domestic servants into some middle class white families. They were deliberately given the lowest jobs which maintained them in an exploitative and submissive environment. However, their life was controlled by the Aboriginal Protection Board and whites for whom they worked. A working girl had to stay a minimum of twelve months on every work place. Furthermore, the whites succeeded into pointing out the intellectual inferiority of the Aboriginal women because of the gap between the two cultures. The Aboriginal woman could use only the language of the whites and manners of Christianity taught to them at the mission while dealing with domestic work. So she was constantly devalued by the white society. At last she completely lost her self- esteem without roots and culture. The white government also controlled the marriages and relations of half-castes. The authority decided to prohibit the marriage between a full-blood Aborigine and a half caste. The policy was to develop union of mixed race person with white men or women. Their main objective was to cultivate a race of lighter skin children on the continent. The Aboriginal Protection Board which was established in June 1883 had full power to take decisions regarding the mothers' rights. The Board used to give mothers the permission to visit their own stolen children. The shock of brutal separation from children and control over each and every aspect of life completely ruptured the psyche of Aboriginal women. Most of the Aboriginal women who suffered from colonial policies are making their voices heard through their autobiographies. They show their protest against the white people. Neshla in her book Atrocities Against Women states:

Exploitation of woman, inhuman treatment of her, her degradation in the name of religion, modesty and virtues must stop. A revolution is right on our threshold...Universal concepts of human justice and legal system alone cannot come to her rescue. Society as a whole and man in particular must realize that a woman is not a commodity but a human being in need of human treatment. (Neshla 99-112)

The contemporary Aboriginal literature is a powerful source of protest against colonial exploitation and brutalization. It is a mirror to native society in Australia which records the

historical, political and social upheavals of Aboriginal communities. Among other genres of literature like novel, biography, play, poetry and short stories, Aboriginal autobiographies are playing a decisive role to create awareness and bring revolutionary changes in the position of Aboriginals. The Aboriginal autobiographical writings deal with the search of antecedents that relate it with the concept of race, culture and identity-issues of the dispossessed. However, with the narratives of autobiography, biography and diary "erased and marginalized human step out of the zone of silence into speaking" (K. Singh 53). All the more, these autobiographies are "accounts of the struggle that people have undertaken in order to identify their roots, a quest to relocate their genealogies" (Kaur 103). It is a source through which one can vent out one's anger, frustration and educate all people of the world. The Aboriginal life- writing has gained visibility in recent years. However, it continues to be suppressed and appropriated by white hegemonic discourses. The personal narratives of Aboriginal women reveal the collective consciousness of their communities which was repressed for a long time. By reading autobiographies of the Aboriginal women we can understand the depth of their pain and sorrow. They are the victims of oppression and subjugation in multiple ways because they are poor; secondly after their molestation by white men, their situation became worse than anything as mothers; thirdly their separation from their children after counting them as unfit mother; and last but not the least domestic violence in patriarchal system as well as their struggle for survival in white society added to their woes. So they are constantly vulnerable to harassment and abuse. Most of the Aboriginal women who suffered from colonial policies are making their voices heard through their autobiographies. History, memory, pain, protest and culture play a dominant role in Aboriginal autobiographies. All native writers highlight the traumatic impact of colonialism on the Aboriginal life and damage caused to the traditional mode of living. The narratives of these autobiographies also depict the Indigenous struggle against imperial power to protect their culture and national identity. The protest against cultural imperialism is one of the most dominating themes in post-colonial writing. Franz Fanon in his post-colonial essay 'National Culture' describes, "To fight for national culture means in the first fight for the liberation, that material keystone which makes the building of a culture possible. There is no fight for culture which can develop apart from the popular struggle" (qtd. by Ashcraft 120). Here it would be appropriate to mention the views of Kabita Sinha, the famous Bengali writer of protest literature that, "woman is the first rebel of this universe" (qtd. by Rangra127). According to her, while watching the American film The Bible, she noticed that Eve was the first rebel and not Adam: "What type of rebel she is! She never liked that synthetic life where there is no pain, where there is no sin, where there is no cry, where there is no sorrow, no sadness. I think that without pain, without sorrow, without sadness, life is not complete. Chaos makes life complete... Eve thought that life is incomplete without all these things and she must get knowledge, she first ate theapple... She saw God's face in her child's face. Women get tortured...I think women are better souls and women are better equipped. Eve is more sensible than Adam." (qtd. by Rangra 128-129). However, the women's movement of protest rightly mentions that women are "hidden from history" (Smith 8). Like other colonized countries of the world "Women have been



systematically excluded from the myths of national identity in Australia" (Whitlock & Carter 143). The Aboriginal autobiographies deconstruct the myth of peaceful settlement of Australia exploring the marginalization, suffering, and struggle of women under colonial policies and governing authorities. Since the beginning of the Australian settlement to the post-colonial period, after 1970s the mainstream history and literature of Australia could not secure a place for Aboriginal women equal to men. "Too many generations within Australian history" comments Judith Allen, "upon which Australian studies draw, for instances about national identity, radical politics, living conditions or race relations, are "Sex Blind" (221).

I

"You had to fight to survive out there...coping with the discrimination" (Langford 176). Don't Take Your Love to Town registers a note of protest against the political, economical, social and cultural hypocrisy of white authority. Langford's protest as a mother, woman and Aboriginal is strongly present from the beginning of her autobiography. However she never steps out of the role of an Aboriginal mother. Protesters may choose peaceful or violent means to address their disagreement with any policy or situation as the author did during her fight against racism in her life. When her son Jeff faces racist attacks by white children, she directs him to hit back violently:

I was wondering one day why Jeff took a different way to school each morning. He said there were a gang of kids waiting to belt him up. I was shocked but I knew there were adjustments to be made, so I said, Look Jeff, you can't be running away all the time from them, so what you do is, hit the one with the biggest mouth, and you will find the others will shoot through. (Langford 174-175)

Jeff followed the instructions of his mother and in the evening he returned from the school "with his knuckles bleeding and his shirt collar ripped," and said to mother, "I did what you told me Mum, and it's true. They all ran away when I punched the big-mouthed one" (Langford 175). After this incident "they didn't bother him again" (Langford 175). Langford also mentions in her autobiography that "it's a terrible thing that you had to encourage your young son to resort to violence, so he could go to school peacefully each day" (175). The same thing happened with her daughter Ellen and she also thrashes her class mate in the school: "The girl I hit called me a dirty abo, so I decked her" (Langford 175). When Langford and her family settled in Sadlier Green Valley under the government's policy of assimilation and integration, she feels very isolated because all her neighbours were white people. The author definesthe policy as "splitting up the Aborigines communities" (176). She demonstrates her anger by opposing this policy, "My grandchildren are blond and blue or hazel-eyed, and within two or three hundred years there won't be Aboriginals in suburbia. So as far as the government is concerned, assimilation by absorption is working well, and in the end there'll be no Aboriginal problem whatever" (177). The protest also works in a binary of action and reaction. Langford espoused violent means

whenever the situation was critical to protect her children and Aboriginal rights in the Valley. When Mrs. Jenkins interrogates Langford on the question of land and space, the author attacks violently and challenges her for open fight:

Come outside and fight as good as you can talk and complain, I said, 'while you bastards were having kids in comfort I was battling to raise mine in a tent where my husband had left me with a gutful of his next child- you don't own the land your house is on, my people were here first, so get off, come on and fight me if you're game you bitch. (Langford 176)

Through her protest she re-inscribes the rights and capabilities of an Aboriginal woman in a colonized society. She works for preserving and protecting the institution of marriage and family. The autobiography also interrogates the welfare authorities' failure to provide good governance and nourishment to Aboriginal mother: "Once a month a welfare officer came to see me, to check on the kids, and he was surprised... 'I want you to get in touch with the Aboriginal Protection Board, he said, 'because I'm gonna recommend you for housing land in town... Full of excitement and plans I wrote the letter but not long after a reply came that I was refused, because I was a woman who had eight kids and no husband to support me" (109). Langford's life is made miserable by the so-called pro-children authorities. After settling in the town, she becomes a nomad as she struggles to get for herself a home filled with the warmth of love of family. Her dream of getting settled and owning a home comes true but in a white world she couldn't live peacefully. The autobiography exposes the connivance of the white police in making the lives of the Aboriginal children miserable. The role of the Australian police greatly contributes in destabilizing the Aborigines' way of life. The protagonist clearly targets the whites' attempts to disrupt the Aboriginal ways of living so that the Aboriginal race automatically gets wiped out or declines by degrees. Despite bearing so much oppression, Langford still thinks for reconciliation. Langford wishes reconciliation between the two races. Her desire is that to "help better the relationship between the Aboriginal and white people. That it might give some idea of the difficulty we have surviving between two cultures, that we are here and we always be here" (Langford 269). Her tone of protest can be counted when she describes the issues of silence regarding women's concerns: "Nothing about women's matter ever got mentioned, even between the women" (Langford 23). Langford shows her concern about violence against women. In her married life Ruby's "joy was short lived" (64), as she soon examines that it will be up to her to keep her family together. Her husband's desertion when Ruby gives birth to her first child brings disappointments and frustrations in her life:

I had my baby just before visiting time, and I was sitting up waiting for Sam, but he didn't turn up. Because I had no visitors and was unmarried it made me embarrassed, so when the other women had visitors, I would turn to wall and cover my head and cry myself. (Langford 58)



However, despite her husband's misdemeanor, Ruby decided to stay with him because as she explains "I wanted the kids to have a father" (Langford 68). Her role as a mother is dominating in this autobiography because she knows how important to having a stable family and home. She needs a father for her children so that they could grow up safe and healthy within the economic security. This is what she mentions about her second husband Gordon: "He picked up the kids and nursed them. Said he wanted to look after me. He was kind. And a hard worker" (Langford 70). The protagonist again ignores Gordon's cheating and drinking because she had her first house with him: "We moved into one of the mill houses across the river in Drummond Street. This was my first house and I bought ducks and chickens and ... a vegetable garden in the backyard...I tried to keep us together for the kids' sake (Langford 81). In this extract her voice echoes the anxieties of a mother and a woman aspiring for a happy home. We are now aware that Indigenous females suffered physical, sexual and spiritual violence, but the greatest inhumanity that Aboriginal women experienced is probably the way they were treated as mothers. At last she shows her concern to save Aboriginal culture and land "the tribal ways still need to be strong. I thought of the difference between white people saying 'I own this land' and blacks saying 'We belong to this land" (Langford 262) and "I have thought that one way we can keep Aboriginal culture alive is through the kids- having Aboriginal studies taught compulsorily in schools" (Langford 177).

II

Similarly, Doris also offers the narratives of pain and protest that are quite different from the suffering of Aboriginal men. She portrays 'The Statue of the Grieving Mother', 'The Fountain of Tears' and'The Adelaide Museum' which are the symbol of protest and purity. All these monuments and sculptures show that how the body of the Aboriginal mother witnessed greater torture in the hands of white men: "The Statue of the Grieving Mother was unveiled by all the Colebrook tjitjitjuta (children). It is in bronze of a grieving woman seated on a rock. It was touching to see the face of the mother, head bowed, gently spilling her hands... Who can imagine what a mother went through? The unveiling brought extreme emotions and tears were shed by many people" (131-133). The monument of the Colebrook represents the tears that were shed by the parents of the Stolen Generations. The author interrogates the liability that "what has the Government got to say and who was responsible? How can it compensate all the Aboriginal children who were taken away and had their life destroyed?" (Kartinyeri 117). Doris participated in so many conferences and seminars to put forward her protest against the colonial authority of Australia. Alice Springs conference provided her an opportunity to share her experience of life. She asserts powerfully in the conference that, "Our aims were for social justice because of the Government's removal of Aboriginal children, beginning in the early nineteenth hundreds and continuing to the 1970s. This was a phenomenal happening with young babies removed from their mother' breast. Children were sexually abused, girls and women were raped and used for domestic labor" (118-119). In the chapter 'My Guiding Hands' the writer demonstrates strongly

"How dare they interfere with the integrity of Aboriginal families...How does one justify the years of pain?" (Kartinyeri 110).

The human rights dimension of the political participation of women, which had been part of UN considerations from the outset, became particularly visible in the preparatory process to the 1993 United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna. According to the established international human rights norms, every person, without discrimination, has the right to vote, to hold office and to perform public functions. This norm also includes the equal right of women with men to participate in politics and decision making at national and international levels, in accordance with the international standard of equality reflected in articles 7 and 8 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the right which is most relevant to the participation of women in peace-related activities. (qtd. by Smith 20)

The protagonist supports the issue of liberation while focusing on the oppression faced by Aboriginal women socially and economically. Her narrative reinterprets the body of Aboriginal women in its capability to find space and protest against colonization. In the Aboriginal context, female exploitation becomes a collective experience. The protagonist registers her anger on the issue of Hindmarsh Island. This area has affected the Ngarrindjeri women's business due to the encroachment of whites: "It became an extremely controversial issue which involved many people nationally and became known worldwide" (Kartinyeri 125). Doris says that she wanted to join the Ngarrindjeri women but regrets that "it was too late for me to give my support to my people...But when the developers started to build the bridge, I was there protesting" (Kartinyeri 126). Doris offers instances where the colonizers treat the Aboriginal women as the 'other' and much of the pain and trauma has been experienced by them. The sight of the female Aboriginal body invokes lust and hatred in the mind of the whites. The body of female Aboriginal is especially made impure by the colonizers as a means to metonymically subjugate the entire community. The harrowing experience receives significant attention from Doris when she interrogates white's religion as a mean to possess female body: "I and many others were forced into believing in Christianity and at the other time confronted with sexual abuse" (Kartinyeri110). She herself bears this oppression and exploitation of white men. The protagonist shares painfully that "I had left Colebrook with a lot of disillusionment because of the continual sexual harassment put upon me at an early age by a member of the staff and then later with a lay preacher. These were horrendous experiences which caused me great confusion in my teens" (Kartinyeri 69). It was not the end of their suffering, when Aboriginal women were outside their mission, they suffered unimaginable humiliation at the hands of middle class white men and women, they also bear the trauma of being illegitimate wives or mothers in white patriarchal set up. In the chapter 'Shunted About' Doris interrogates the intention of white men for harming the female modesty: "These people were 'Christians' and I was placed in their care and trust (63),



and "This is my body, my temple. Am I about to be destroyed...My God! Are these people God's People?" (Kartinyeri 62). Doris also interrogates the purpose of white'spolicy of religious education. The Aboriginal children were only prepared for domestic work. She says, "Religion was more important than education" (60). The main focus of the study was on religion as "The Bible was read a lot" (31). No other means of entertainment were provided to the stolen children. There was no television or wireless in the mission and "the religious strictness was phenomenal" (30). Even the white teachers used to treat Aboriginal children in a very rude manner. Brain washing was successfully performed with the help of Christian institutions and "these institutions rammed Christian beliefs into children, brainwashing them into a system that stripped them of their people, their culture, their beliefs, their rules, their traditions" (Kartinyeri 110). Doris shows her anger and interrogates the white colonizers:

What right they have to crush our spirituality, our language, and our kin? What right did they have to crush our spirit and replace it with their myths and stories and rules which they did not live up to and which they used to violate our lives? The whole bloody system stank. (10)

Ш

Like Langford and Doris, Larsen too, with her narratives of protest, aims to remind the white Australians of the historical injustice suffered by the natives, and at the same time she raises the consciousness of the Aborigines by urging them to recollect and preserve their long-established tradition with pride and self-esteem. She voices her protest for the protection of her land, people, culture and community. It is clear in her narratives that land is very important for the survival of the Aborigines. The relationship between land and people is as true as the biological relationship between the mother and the children. They respect the land as a living entity. Larsen's description of birds, wild fruit, fresh water soaks, bush flowers, bush food, wild honey, wild peach, bush bed, water hole etc. justify the fact of Aboriginal's spiritual belief and devotion for their land: "The robin redbreast was a beautiful little bird called coobijet... it was God's bird" (Larsen 77). The protagonist says that in the Noongar community people "believed in these things in a spiritual way". She asserts her anguish while seeing the mother earth defaced under industrialization: "I sat in silence. I felt the sadness of my mother earth" (Larsen 40). So, whenever the land came under trouble the Aboriginals also felt the pain and protested against the authority. The Aboriginal literature informs about the ill-effects of mining in Australia. Recently, the situations have changed with the arrival of many mining companies. However, the areas occupied for mining belong to the natives. The mining industry is breaking their spiritual ties with the land because the traditions of the natives are different at different places. The colonizers have always treated the land like an economic resource to be exploited. So, displacement from native land is a serious setback because it is a source of Aboriginal culture and spirituality. The indigenous people are connected to the land through dreaming but the colonizers never followed the concept because they had no spiritual and emotional ties with Aboriginal people. However, the colonizers were the intruders. In her autobiography Larsen asserts: "An American surveyor named Crawford, was commissioned to blast the rocks at Nightwell (a spiritual place of the Aboriginal people). It was probably blown up while I was in hospital." Larsen's anger against The Native Welfare Board is manifested in her narratives. Her mother's treatment on the question of race and colour, in spite of having Citizen Rights Card, is apparent in her autobiography. The exemption certificate which was an official document delivered by the chief Protector of Aborigines couldn't improve the life of her mother. The Board used to allocate it after an investigation on every Aborigine who asked for it. The aim was to find out that the natives asking for this certificate were able to behave like the whites and had reached a certain degree of civilization. If this was proved, then the Aboriginal male or female was allowed to live without the weight of the Aboriginal Protection Board and they were free to move through the Island and could have the same rights as the Europeans.

Thusprotest is a way of struggling to represent, create and recover Aboriginal culture and identity that has been systematically repressed and eroded during colonial rule. Recently, protest has been used to various religious and social reform movements in Australia. It is being launched against discrimination, unjust and unfair social practices because of the denial of dignified human existence to different Aboriginal communities. So, it is exerting political pressure on the white Australian state. The public apology by the Kevin Rudd Government is an outcome of native's strategy of protest.

The composite narratives of Aboriginal women become significant under the powerful mode of their memory in the genre of autobiographies. They reveal the truth that Ruby Langford, Doris Kartinyeri and Larsen faced the brutal treatment of colonial polices. The private and public space of authors was suppressed by unfair laws and policies of white authority whichcaused immensepain, suffering, torture and humiliation. The autobiographies employ a powerful tenorof protest to undermine the wrongs done to Aboriginal women and stolen generations. There is an emotional tone of separation, mourning, empathy and appeal for security. It was a political, social and economical control which was used to oppress them, however, their determination to live, and courage to protect made them proud survivors. It is the spirituality and power of Aboriginal culture which generate strength, courage, determination and patience in their character to face the indifferent circumstances. All these writers are bold and brave. They never surrender before colonial and conventional ways of white male operated political system. However, the protagonists face colonial as well as patriarchal dominance differently, but they show unbelievable courage and boldness to challenge the existing system.

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