

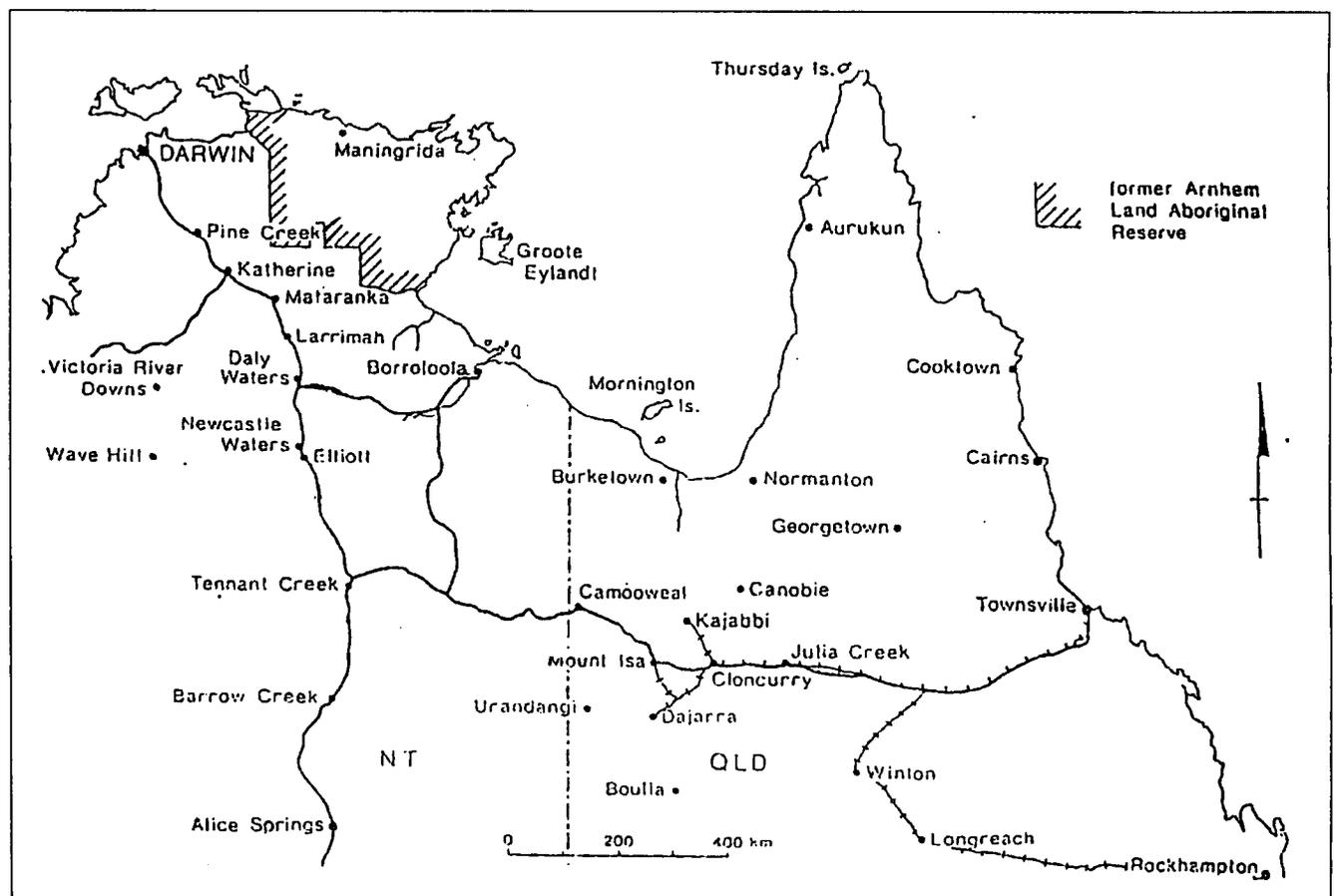
# 'Men don't talk much any more': The changing status of women in society and possible implications for Yanyuwa women as keepers, composer and performers of *a-nguyulnguyul*

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In 1992, Dinah Norman Marrangawi, a senior woman of the Yanyuwa community at Borroloola in the Northern Territory (see map), remarked: 'Well only us mob here singing, nobody want to learn, and you don't see much good thing this time, not like old days, and man, you know that man he don't sing not like long time when we all been kid'.<sup>1</sup> Her comment illustrates that in Yanyuwa musical culture at present, women may be said to maintain control over *a-nguyulnguyul* song performance and composition. Yanyuwa men have not composed this type of song since the 1940s and performance of these songs by Yanyuwa men today without the presence and participation of women is almost non-existent. A gender imbalance of power and authority in regards to *a-nguyulnguyul* composition and performance has been created.

*A-nguyulnguyul* is the Yanyuwa term for a genre of public songs described by Yanyuwa people as "clever or tricky". These songs are composed by human rather

than ancestral or spirit beings. Songs which speak about traditional land, romantic liaisons between men and women, funny or amusing events are all considered to be *a-nguyulnguyul* because they have the ability to draw an emotional response. Jemima Miller Wuwarlu commented: 'Yanyuwa [people], when we sing them [*a-nguyulnguyul*] we make them other people cry, this song make them cry'.<sup>2</sup> Thus, each *a-nguyulnguyul* song presents a single image or a set of impressions regarding a specific event or a particular feeling. The thematic material in a song text indicates whether or not a song is labelled *a-nguyulnguyul*. For instance, a man racing back from the stock camp to shave so that he will look handsome for his girlfriend, a woman who dances wearing a bra and hence makes her body beautiful, a hunter looking out over the sea and longing for his country, and a group of women hunting for tern eggs on the islands are all typical themes of *a-nguyulnguyul* compositions. The composition and performance of *a-nguyulnguyul* songs by con-



Map: The geographical location of Borroloola

temporary Yanyuwa and their ancestors are a way in which social community and individual pasts are recorded, and individual and collective identity is affirmed.<sup>3</sup>

Many complex cultural changes have occurred over the past one hundred years in Yanyuwa society and the present dominant position of women as social actors, composers and performers of *a-nguyulnguyul* should be assessed in relation to these changes. Through discussion of social upheaval in Yanyuwa culture since contact with Europeans, the resulting shift in gender roles of men and women, and the effect such changes have had on musical performance and cultural maintenance, this paper examines the possible implications for Yanyuwa women as the matriarchs of *a-nguyulnguyul* composition and performance.

Discussion of extensive social change which resulted from contact with Europeans and the dramatic impact of the cattle industry on the lives of Yanyuwa people provides a good platform to examine present-day gender imbalance in Yanyuwa *a-nguyulnguyul* song performance. In order to examine such change, the status of Yanyuwa women in pre-colonial society must first be established. A number of methodological issues and problems are highlighted in this attempt. In order to describe the status and role of Yanyuwa women in pre-colonial Australia, information regarding the social roles of Yanyuwa women and men dating from before European invasion needed to be accessed. The reality is that 'we have, in fact, no information about Aboriginal societies before they were radically affected by these processes of so-called "white contact".<sup>4</sup> Yanyuwa people neither recorded nor documented any accounts of social life and culture in writing and therefore there are no first-hand descriptions of such an existence. Yanyuwa people alive today can provide present-day interpretations of the ways in which women and men were valued in the past.

Further, the gender bias of early white/Anglo recorders has contributed to a distorted picture of indigenous society before 1788 and highlights the difficulty in constructing an accurate picture of indigenous society in this era. The private diaries and writings of white colonial women, however, suggest no more sympathy or regard for the private lives of indigenous Australian women than the records left by men.<sup>5</sup> Francesca Merlan writes that prior to the 1960s, with the exception of the ethnographic accounts by Phyllis Kaberry, Catherine Berndt and Jane Goodale,<sup>6</sup> much 'Aboriginalist literature had been highly andocentric in its (tacit or explicit) assumptions that men's activities were the most salient, and that little different or additional remained to be said about women'.<sup>7</sup> The anthropological paradigms de-

scribed by Merlan derive from the interplay of Western sexual politics rather than from the true nature of relations between women and men in indigenous Australian cultures.<sup>8</sup> Patriarchal superiority, gender bias and colonialism were but some of the cultural baggage carried by male observers and have often resulted in the presentation of an outsider's perspective which succeeds in blinding the researcher and the reader to the realities of indigenous culture.

A growing body of literature relating to indigenous women in the latter half of this century has witnessed an attempt by female ethnographers to redress this gender imbalance. However, there appears to be little agreement amongst anthropologists, ethnographers and other observers regarding the status of women and men in traditional society. Three different approaches are apparent in the literature about indigenous Australian women. Annette Hamilton comments that '[v]iews on the position of women in Australian Aboriginal societies have fluctuated, and continue to do so: on the one hand, women are seen as the pawns, chattels and slaves of their menfolk, maltreated and neglected; on the other, they have been seen to occupy a relatively favoured position by comparison to women in western societies because of their independence and high social value'.<sup>9</sup>

Continuing in the pioneering tradition of Kaberry, Gillian Cowlshaw claimed that indigenous women were completely under the domination of men, acknowledging women's religious practices and ceremonies as a form of dissent in response to subordination.<sup>10</sup> Isobel White argued that although women are partners of men, they assume the more junior role in the partnership thus acknowledging the existence of a separate female sphere and simultaneously labelling such a domain as less important than men's.<sup>11</sup> Others such as Goodale and Marie Reay also attacked the idea of indigenous women as "drudges" and "slaves" but continued to emphasise the subservience of women to male power and authority.<sup>12</sup>

Whilst maintaining a rigid approach to gender relations in indigenous Australia, Berndt was one of the first observers to expand the appreciation of indigenous women's autonomy, independence and power. However, Berndt continued to emphasise the characteristic of male-female separation. She states that the roles of men and women in traditional society were explicitly defined in a relationship of 'interdependence-dependence', that is, different yet complementary.<sup>13</sup> Hamilton has also posed the theory of a dual social system asserting that men and women appear to maintain separate lives completely contained within their own gender spheres.<sup>14</sup>

Rejecting all theories and approaches posited by her peers, Diane Bell worked towards a feminist perspective and commented upon how Aboriginal women see themselves, their role and their status within society. She aimed to tackle the problem of understanding the role of indigenous women in this society by challenging the popular paradigm of "man equals culture" and the "anthropology of women" approach.<sup>15</sup> Her work, like that of Berndt and Hamilton, relies substantially on the 'more or less explicit assumption that women's and men's "power bases" can be explored as such, separately rather than relationally'.<sup>16</sup> More recently, others such as Luise Hercus and Merlan have begun to question the sex-segregated approach so vehemently maintained by observers through specific regional studies.<sup>17</sup>

In 1980, Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Annie Isaac Karrakayn travelled to Adelaide to participate in a series of meetings and workshops involving both indigenous and non-indigenous women. The meetings were held in conjunction with the Australian and New Zealand Association for Advancement of Science Conference (ANZAAS).<sup>18</sup> The discussions and workshops of this meeting were then published by Fay Gale in a book entitled *We are bosses ourselves: the status and role of Aboriginal women today*.<sup>19</sup> The title derives from a comment made by Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Annie Isaac Karrakayn during the conference: 'Men never used to boss over the women. We are bosses ourselves, women ourselves'.<sup>20</sup>

As this statement suggests, contemporary Yanyuwa women perceive the lives of their female predecessors as autonomous and independent. The underlying message is that Yanyuwa women have always been their own "bosses", participating equally yet differently to their male counterparts in the social fabric of Yanyuwa life. The theme of equality in difference seems to resonate in many areas of gender distinction in Yanyuwa culture. Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara described this concept as the 'same yeah, but for woman different' and began to speak about the connection between the differentiation in women's and men's speech and aspects of song performance.<sup>21</sup> The concept of difference is played out in musical performance according to notions of power and authority expressed in gender roles and social relationships in Yanyuwa society as a whole. Annie Isaac Karrakayn and Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara's description of women as 'bosses ourselves' suggests undertones of control and power. Indeed, Yanyuwa women strongly identify their feminine authority in society today with that held by their human and Dreaming female ancestors. The knowledge that Yanyuwa women possess about their

Dreaming, land and kin relationships is testimony to this. The status and role of Yanyuwa women in pre-colonial society, as reported in many other Australian indigenous cultures, has always been that of nurturer.<sup>22</sup>

The first white man entered into Yanyuwa country in 1845. Others swiftly followed and thus began the period of white settlement in this region. Yanyuwa men were more negatively affected by European contact than Yanyuwa women. This is not to suggest that Yanyuwa women did not undergo their fair share of denigration and suffering at the hands of the colonists. Like many of their indigenous sisters, Yanyuwa women suffered varying degrees of abuse and appropriation. They were victims of rape and sexual exploitation, they became mothers of white bosses' children and, as with Aboriginal women in many other parts of Australia, they too had their children taken away by the Welfare Department. Yanyuwa women, like men, have also been economically and spiritually deprived through restricted access to land. Despite this, Yanyuwa women have emerged from these painful experiences as strong representatives of their people. As stated by Patricia Grimshaw, 'it was not so much the *equality* [sic] of women which carried over into the contact period...but the continuing importance of that strong, separate, "women's sphere", and the female consciousness which accompanied it, that was crucial, in a situation where the traditional male sphere was seriously undermined or destroyed'.<sup>23</sup> Grimshaw argues that indigenous women, more so than their male counterparts, have been better able to cope with dramatic cultural upheaval and change resulting from contact.<sup>24</sup>

The cattle industry boom of the 1950s in Northern Australia is often referred to as a "golden era" by many indigenous and non-indigenous people.<sup>25</sup> For many Yanyuwa however, the long term effects of the cattle industry are seen as devastating. At the end of the Second World War a considerable increase in pastoral activity occurred in areas such as the Barkly Tablelands. In April 1956, 201 Aboriginal people including Yanyuwa were employed in the Borrooloola region on cattle stations; 143 of these workers were men and 58 were women. Approximately 75% of these workers were recruited from and returned annually to Borrooloola.<sup>26</sup> During this time Aboriginal people in the Borrooloola region became increasingly dependent upon white society, so much so that they no longer maintained any sense of control over their lives. The introduction of equal wages in the 1960s, combined with an extended drought and collapse in beef prices, led to massive lay-offs in the cattle industry.<sup>27</sup> Yanyuwa people working on cattle stations returned to Borrooloola. The end of the cattle industry meant the

end of employment for many Yanyuwa men and women and hence the end of economic independence and status.<sup>28</sup>

Bradley has suggested that the development of the cattle industry in the Borroloola region during the 1950s and the resulting high employment of Yanyuwa musterers and many Yanyuwa women as domestic help on cattle stations resulted in changing social and hence musical roles for men and women. Bradley explains that

as the contact with white people and culture became more common and permanent the men became workers on cattle stations while the women, to a greater extent, were left alone, not being separated to such places as stock camps, and were therefore more able to pursue activities like hunting, nurturing and artistic pursuits such as song composition.<sup>29</sup>

Jemima Miller Wuwarlu, employed as domestic help at Brunette Downs during this period, explained that the Yanyuwa women sang to keep themselves in touch with their kin, country and culture.<sup>30</sup> By taking lands and removing men from the traditional country essential for the development of life skills and cultural maintenance, the Europeans destroyed Yanyuwa men's livelihood. The vital link between continuity and social structure was broken. Men lost their authority, their social foundation and their traditional male roles. Moreover, during "cattle times" Yanyuwa women had greater opportunity than Yanyuwa men to nurture their musical creativity and culture. This is perhaps one reason why Yanyuwa women are more prolific composers and performers of *a-nguyulnguyul* than Yanyuwa men today.

The pressures of assimilation at Borroloola are visible. Young children no longer speak Yanyuwa language, preferring to use English speech to communicate with their peers and elders. Yanyuwa culture is not "cool" enough for the teenagers who now have cassette tapes from the city as their new Dreaming songs. Alcohol abuse is rife among many Yanyuwa men and women who prefer to take part in grog business rather than participate in ceremonial business. Yanyuwa women and men no longer enjoy a gender status which is at once independent and interdependent. Yanyuwa women have become the matriarchs of society, although it is argued here that this changed status has resulted not from choice but from their innate sense of cultural nurturing in response to enforced change.

Yanyuwa men do not compose new *a-nguyulnguyul* compositions nor do they perform these songs as an autonomous group of singers. In three separate field trips to the Yanyuwa community, I have not heard,

seen, or participated in any public performance which has included new *a-nguyulnguyul* songs composed by men. Nor have I observed Yanyuwa men spontaneously indulge in public singing without the presence and encouragement of their female counterparts. For every Yanyuwa man who participates in *a-nguyulnguyul* and other new song performance, there are at least five women. There are two Yanyuwa men who consistently involve themselves in cultural matters, but they always defer to women performers as the main authorities. As *a-nguyulnguyul* compositions are public and can be performed by anyone at any time, it is not possible that I have not heard Yanyuwa men composing or performing this genre of songs for other reasons such as sex or race of the researcher. Male researchers such as John Bradley have not been able to record men's performance or composition of this song genre either.

In my survey of *a-nguyulnguyul* composers, I have been able to identify only four male composers of this song genre. Three of these men were prominent composers and singers of *a-nguyulnguyul* during the 1940s and have passed away. One Garrawa man today is known as an accomplished song composer but for unknown reasons does not create new songs any more.

It is interesting to speculate on why this man does not compose songs any more. One possibility is the degree of male-female separation in Yanyuwa culture in all aspects of life including song performance; Yanyuwa women now have control of *a-nguyulnguyul* song performance and as a man, this composer may not feel comfortable participating or trespassing on this female domain of social and musical activity. As a consequence of this social change the topics of *a-nguyulnguyul* have become much more related to the activities and interests of women and hence emphasise distinctly female emotions, expressions and experiences. For example, an *a-nguyulnguyul* song composed by Nora Jalirduma is about a man who came back from the stock camp and shaved his face straight away so that he could look handsome for his girlfriend. Another written by Annie Isaac Karrakayn refers to a handsome young man who looked from the porthole of a boat as it travelled down the McArthur River. The man looks at a group of young girls who are sitting on the banks of the river at Manangoora. The young girls see the handsome man looking at them and wonder which one of them will have him. A third *a-nguyulnguyul* song, composed by two Yanyuwa women, Maggie Bukundu and Judy Marrangawi, tells the story of some Yanyuwa women who went to gather tern eggs from the islet of Yinijini, the birds screeching in anger as the women stole their eggs.

Eileen McDinny Manankurrama and Annie Isaac Karrakayn have suggested why Yanyuwa women have taken control of *a-nguyulnguyul* performance. Their perception was that men in their community were not concerned with the maintenance and continuity of culture. They saw this demonstrated in the men's lack of interest in holding discussions with white people and the ways in which white law and Yanyuwa law could work together. The two Yanyuwa women, dissatisfied with the apathetic attitude of men, commented:

White men come here now and having all the business and we can't listen and men listen then and they won't tell us and even when they won't speak up right, speak up to the white man what he say. They just look like that. Maybe if woman sitting in the front of the people maybe we could speak too. We can ask questions too...We've got ideas, maybe woman. All got ideas.<sup>31</sup>

They felt frustrated by their lack of success in gaining recognition as women, alluding to another more deep-rooted problem. In attempting to hold meaningful discussions with white men, Yanyuwa women today often find themselves confronting a power system which seldom recognises the voices of any women let alone those belonging to indigenous Australian women. Eileen McDinny Manankurrama comments: 'us mob, us women, we still talk together about everything...but we women we still here talking, talking...'.<sup>32</sup> Despite such opposition, Yanyuwa women have continued the struggle to have their voices heard.

The growing status of Yanyuwa women as cultural matriarchs is highlighted by the dominant role they played in a recent land claim hearing. In 1992 a land claim submission for South West Island was prepared by the Yanyuwa community. A large number of Yanyuwa women presented evidence of traditional ownership through performance of sacred song. Interestingly, Yanyuwa women decided to use the power of *a-nguyulnguyul*, a genre of non-sacred song, to persuade the judge to return the country to its rightful owners. Eileen McDinny Manankurrama and Jemima Miller Wuwarlu explained to me:

Jemima: We bin sing this song hey...longa, longa that island, and we bin make them white people cry...

Eileen: That judge...

Eileen and Jemima: Yeah

Jemima: And he bin tape all la song and he bin takim longa Melbourne

Eileen: They bin all cry

Elizabeth: That's for that land claim

Eileen and Jemima: Yeah

Elizabeth: What you sang that one?...That li-

*anthawirriyarra*?...We are the people of the sea

Jemima: You and Annie and Dinah makim...All this song they bin sing longa that island for them judge...all Aboriginal people *kurda*...They bin cry...

Eileen: They bin like that song<sup>33</sup>

The *a-nguyulnguyul* song composed by the women is known as the *Land Claim Song*. The Yanyuwa song text and English free translation are as follows:

ngambala li-anthawirriyarra

layirli-nganji waliwaliyangka

[We are the people whose spirit is from the sea

We are kin to the islands]

The song text is focused on the theme of *li-anthawirriyarra*, literally translated as 'We are people from the sea', and describes the intimate spiritual link between Yanyuwa people and their country. From Eileen McDinny Manankurrama and Jemima Miller Wuwarlu's account, only women were involved in the interaction between Yanyuwa people and the judge. Yanyuwa women composed the song and performed it at the hearing. No mention is made by the women of the participation of Yanyuwa men in the proceedings. The women presented themselves as strong and powerful women and as the leaders of Yanyuwa society.

Over the past three decades Yanyuwa women have played an increasingly important role as custodians of their culture. They have emerged as respected representatives of their people central to cultural maintenance and survival. This is illustrated in their changing role as composers and performers of *a-nguyulnguyul*. Annie Isaac Karrakayn, Eileen McDinny Manankurrama, Jemima Miller Wuwarlu and their peers view themselves as the primary remaining preservers of past times. These women take great pride in their independence, 'they perceive their role in society as being even more important than that of the men as aspects of their culture are eroded away by the effects of contemporary living'.<sup>34</sup> The Yanyuwa example seems to support the view that, in times of change, women rather than men are often the ones left to maintain cultural continuity.

#### End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cited in John Bradley, *Yanyuwa wuka language from Yanyuwa country: a Yanyuwa dictionary and cultural resource* (unpubl. draft, 1992), p.634.

<sup>2</sup> Jemima Miller Wuwarlu, Personal communication, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> The sample of *a-nguyulnguyul* compositions studied consists of seventy-two individual song verses performed during fieldwork at Borroloola in 1994 and 1995, and Darwin in 1995. At Borroloola, performers sang *a-nguyulnguyul* com-

positions as part of performance without any prompting from me. On the other hand, in Darwin two Yanyuwa women, Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Jemima Miller Wuwarlu, sang *a-nguyulnguyul* after being specifically asked. On those particular occasions, they sang whatever *a-nguyulnguyul* they could remember.

<sup>4</sup> Nancy Williams and Lesley Jolly, 'From time immemorial? Gender relations in Aboriginal societies before "white contact"', *Gender relations in Australia: domination and negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, c.1992), p.9.

<sup>5</sup> See Williams and Jolly, 'From time immemorial?', p.11.

<sup>6</sup> See Phyllis M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal women: sacred and profane* (London: Routledge, 1939); Catherine H. Berndt, 'Women's changing ceremonies in Northern Australia', *L'Homme* 1 (1950), pp.1-87, and 'Women and the "secret life"', *Aboriginal man in Australia*, ed. Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1965), pp.236-82; and Jane Goodale, *Tiwi wives: a study of women of Melville Island, North Australia* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1971).

<sup>7</sup> Francesca Merlan, 'Gender in Aboriginal social life: a review', *Social anthropology and Australian Aboriginal studies: a contemporary overview*, ed. Ronald M. Berndt and Robert Tonkinson (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1988), p.1.

<sup>8</sup> Heather Goodall and Jane Higgins, 'Aboriginal women are everywhere: contemporary struggles', *Gender relations*, p.404.

<sup>9</sup> Annette Hamilton, 'Dual social systems: technology, labour and women's secret rites in the eastern Western Desert of Australia', *Oceania* 51.1 (1980), p.72.

<sup>10</sup> Gillian Cowlshaw, 'Socialisation and subordination among Australian Aborigines', *Man* 17.3 (1982) pp.492-507.

<sup>11</sup> Isobel White, 'Aboriginal women's status: a paradox revisited', *Women's role in Aboriginal society*, ed. Fay Gale (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1970), pp.21-29.

<sup>12</sup> Marie Reay, 'The social position of women', *Australian Aboriginal studies*, ed. H. Shiels (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1963), pp.319-34.

<sup>13</sup> Berndt, 'Women's changing ceremonies', p.45.

<sup>14</sup> Hamilton, 'Dual social systems', p.4.

<sup>15</sup> Diane Bell, *Daughters of the Dreaming* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> Merlan, 'Male-female separation and forms of society in Aboriginal Australia', *Cultural anthropology* 7.2 (1992), p.174.

<sup>17</sup> Luise Hercus, 'The status of women's cultural knowledge: Aboriginal society in north-east Australia', *Women rites and sites: Aboriginal women's cultural knowledge*, ed. Peggy Brock (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), pp.99-119.

<sup>18</sup> The meetings were organised in response to the overwhelming support Fay Gale had received for *Woman's role in Aboriginal society* following its initial publication in 1970.

<sup>19</sup> *We are bosses ourselves: the status and role of Aboriginal women today*, ed. Fay Gale (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Annie Isaac Karrakayn, 'Borrooloola women speak: man and woman now dance', *We are bosses ourselves*, p.70.

<sup>21</sup> Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara, Personal communication, 1995.

<sup>22</sup> See Bell, *Daughters*, p.21; Petronella Vaarson-Morel, ed., *Warlpiri women's voices: our lives our history* (Alice Springs: IAD Press, 1995); and Debbie Bird-Rose, *Dingo makes us human: life and land in an Aboriginal Australian culture* (Melbourne: CUP, 1992).

<sup>23</sup> Patricia Grimshaw, 'Aboriginal women: a study of culture contact', *Australian women: feminist perspectives*, ed. Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: OUP, 1981), p.90.

<sup>24</sup> See also Jen Gibson, 'Digging deep: Aboriginal women in the Oodnadatta region of South Australia in the 1980s', *Women rites and sites*, pp.60-75; Jeff Coleman, "'I'm proper number one fighter, me": Aborigines, gender, and bureaucracy in Central Australia', *Gender and society* 2 (1988) pp.9-23; Christobel Mattingley and Ken Hampton, eds, *Survival in our own land: 'aboriginal' experiences in 'south Australia' since 1836, told by nungas and others* (Sydney: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992); Virginia Huffer, *The sweetness of the fig: Aboriginal women in transition* (Sydney: NSW UP, 1980); Jane Jacobs, 'Women talking up big: Aboriginal women as cultural custodians, a South Australian example', *Women rites and sites*, pp.76-98; Hercus, 'The status of women's cultural knowledge', pp.113-15; and Fay Gale, 'Roles revisited: the women of southern South Australia', *Women rites and sites*, pp.120-35.

<sup>25</sup> For further discussion about Aboriginal involvement in the development of the cattle industry in Northern Australia see Henry Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier: an interpretation of the Aboriginal response to the invasion and settlement of Australia* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982) and Ann McGrath, *Born in the cattle: Aborigines in cattle country* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

<sup>26</sup> Richard Baker, 'Land is life: continuity through change for the Yanyuwa from the Northern Territory of Australia', diss., U of Adelaide, 1989, pp.237-39. Data cited in Baker was recorded by the Borrooloola Welfare Officer.

<sup>27</sup> Baker, 'Land is life', p.253.

<sup>28</sup> Aboriginal employment on cattle stations has decreased dramatically since the 1960s. Today a small percentage of Yanyuwa and Garrawa people are employed as cattle workers. See Baker, 'Land is life', p.238.

<sup>29</sup> Bradley, *Yanyuwa wuka*, p.634.

<sup>30</sup> Jemima Miller Wuwarlu, Personal communication, 1994.

<sup>31</sup> Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Annie Isaac Karrakayn, 'Borrooloola women speak', p.73.

<sup>32</sup> Bradley, *Yanyuwa wuka*, p.617.

<sup>33</sup> Eileen McDinny Manankurrmara and Jemima Miller Wuwarlu, Personal communication, 1995.

<sup>34</sup> Bradley, *Yanyuwa wuka*, p.617.