



## **'Worth our Salt': Australian Working Class Women's Poetry**

How much it takes to become a writer ... how much conviction as to the importance of what one has to say, one's right to say it ... difficult for any male not born into a class that breeds such confidence. Almost impossible for a girl, a woman.

— Tillie Olsen<sup>1</sup>

When we speak of a broadly based women's culture, we need to be aware of the effect of class and economic differences on the supplies available for producing art.

— Audre Lorde<sup>2</sup>

The struggles and triumphs of working class women are rarely represented in the arts and it is therefore vital to include examples of female working class creativity in any discussion of artistic production, and to outline the particular difficulties that working class women may encounter when trying to find outlets for their stories, to have their voices heard and to show that we are 'worth our salt'.<sup>3</sup> Studies of working class culture have tended to omit the experiences of women and focus almost exclusively on men.<sup>4</sup> The male breadwinner often defines the family and his work life, leisure pursuits and behaviour have dominated the interest of scholars.<sup>5</sup> Working class women are often excluded from discourse, even feminist discourse,<sup>6</sup> and one way to redress this imbalance is to consider the ways working class women express themselves creatively. Working class women's lives can be brought into sharper focus by looking at poetry that is written by women from a working class perspective. The poetry of women such as Magenta Bliss, Wenny Boulton, Thalia and Cathy Young allows insight into a variety of working class experience, from struggling with poverty; low-paid, menial, heavy or dangerous work, inadequate housing, welfare dependency, family life, children and sole-parenting to life on the streets, drug addiction, mental illness, crime and prison, while also demonstrating the resilience, determination and hope that many working class women possess in order to survive hardships and enjoy life.

When working class poetry is published in Australia it is usually written by men. There are currently few active female working class poets and this could be due to a variety of factors. Women are generally less likely to have time to write about their experiences, as they not only have to work, but are usually the prime carers of children and responsible for the running of households. These tasks leave little time for pursuing a writing

career, as any time available after completing all daily chores and finishing paid work is more likely to be spent engaged in some form of entertainment and escape.

It is also possible that, practical factors aside, women may have less confidence than their male counterparts in submitting their poetry for publication, and may feel intimidated by the prospect of standing in front of an audience to read poems, which is an important method of gaining recognition and subsequently increased chances of publication. Within the literary establishment, the world of publishing is male dominated and the majority of journal poetry editors are men. From a wider perspective it can also be argued that the poetic canon as a whole is traditionally male dominated, with poetry by men valued and canonized above women's poetry: as Jenny Digby states, 'the construction of poetic tradition, its formal standards and aesthetic criteria, were originated and defined by and for men'.<sup>7</sup> Working class women writers have to learn how to 'reconstitute and reclaim' the 'repressive language of their workplace masters'.<sup>8</sup> This often leads to a radical position, as the poet chooses to subvert the rules of what makes 'good' and 'bad' poetry, turning oppression and challenging the cultural hegemony.<sup>9</sup>

According to Janet Zandy, there are four main characteristics of women's working class writing, first it is 'multi-vocal' and is shaped by specific conditions of working class life; second, the writing must be viewed in the context of its creation, such as the environment in which the writing was produced. Third, the writing is 'intertextual' in that it is often sparked by a specific event that has an impact on working class lives and, finally, it has a sense of 'relationality' or collectivity<sup>10</sup> possesses a set of commonalities Merylyn Cherry suggests that these commonalities reveal 'an aesthetic ideology' and emerge due to the writers' urges to 'portray common experiences, the sense of community and environment, of life and death within families and the struggle against poverty'.<sup>11</sup> This suggestion contradicts attempts to brush working class women's poetry aside as sociological documents, and places the poetry firmly in the realm of artistic and poetic creation.

'Untitled'<sup>12</sup> by Cynthia Brodribb, is a poem about factory life from a female working class perspective. Brodribb was a factory worker who contributed to the small magazine 925.<sup>13</sup> She recreates the repetitious rhythm within her colloquial poem and begins with a humorous tone that belies the deep dissatisfaction the narrator has with her working conditions:

maybe it's because  
 I dislike fighting off randy foremen  
 or maybe it's because  
 I don't know anything about football  
 or maybe it's because  
 I never watch Ernie Sigley  
 or maybe it's because  
 I never get to enjoy the sunshine  
 or maybe it's because  
 the work I do is starving my brain  
 whatever it is  
 this factory & me don't get on well.

Although the language of this poem is casual, there are serious issues raised, such as the presence of sexual harassment and the isolation for a woman working in a male-dominated environment. There is also the suggestion that this worker gets little time for recreation, because the hours she works are long, and the lack of mental stimulation the job provides leads to frustration and dissatisfaction. The woman is obviously not happy in her work, but there is no mention of the possibility of her changing jobs, given that many working class people hold onto positions due to a lack of alternative employment and the necessity of steady work in a fragile job environment.<sup>14</sup>

The poem by Cynthea Brodribb focuses on the personal nature of the worker's relationship with her work, rather than considering abstract notions. Working class poetry tends to be centred around personal experience, and this human element dominates with less time spent on the dense language of detailed description or reference to abstract elements; the philosophical is present in the way the narrator presents feelings about specific situations such as 'the work I do is starving my brain'.

Melbourne poet Thalia writes about life within the inner city working class Melbourne suburb of Fitzroy in the 1980s. She deals with the culture of the street and cafés, drawing on her Greek background to provide an insight into life for working class migrants. In her poem 'The Beat',<sup>15</sup> Thalia follows a drug addicted sex worker through the streetscape and also describes some of the other people who populate this night scene, from kerb crawlers to waitresses, but the main focus of the poem is with the women and these moments in their lives:

She walks the street corner  
 stretching her fingers to feel the wind  
 as adrenaline leaks through her bloodstream.  
 She's stoned

walking left of the footpath  
  /close to the road.  
She's wearing  
a short dress no underpants a crayoned face  
and a lazy smile.  
She's stoned  
and some part of her is on the alert  
  /cars cruise updown.

She leads you inbetween parked cars  
and up a lane  
her eyes are fixed  
  /her palm open  
she's hiding her fear  
fear that you might fall on her  
with clenched fists as the hand lifts the dress  
  /up the dress.  
Stoned  
she's back feeling the breeze between her fingers  
as cars continue to cruise past.

The underlying danger this woman faces is clear, but Thalia twists the perspective for a moment so that the reader becomes the punter, and the object of the woman's fear. The repetition assists in reinforcing the continuing cycle of soliciting for the woman; as she is finished with one client, she is assuming her place on the street corner to wait for the next one. There would almost be a sense of nonchalance about her work, if it were not for the description of her hidden fear which, despite her outward appearance of being too stoned to care, reveals that she is in possession of her emotions. This is a poem that flows with the cruising cars, and blends the scenes seamlessly with a filmic continuous shot, which suggests that this is a typical night for the area, where prostitution, drug dealing and corrupt police are common. The women in this poem are caught in the cycle of addiction and prostitution, all except for a waitress, who cleans up after drunken patrons. There is no happiness in these scenes, and it is difficult to imagine the women in this poem finding different lives, there is no hint here of a way out and there is a sense of powerlessness among the women. 'Her life flutters like an open sleeve/ and beneath the sleeve her arm reveals no veins./ She puts one leg up on the empty chair/ hangs her head/ toying with the unlit cigarette/ and falls into silence.'

The silence of the woman speaks for her desperate and depressing existence, and Thalia forces the reader along this

relentless journey. The despair is not held back by working class poets, whose poetry demands the reader engage with such lives and understand the symptoms of an inequitable and often unjust society. Thalia reveals her empathy for her characters through the directness of her poetry, and does not attempt to conceal such hardships under a barrage of ambiguous or esoteric devices. This is no-holds-barred poetry which provides people such as the sex workers and addicts with a chance to see their lives represented without the gloss of romanticism or the patronising tones of judgement. Working class poetry presents the realities of lives without the emotional excesses of melodrama. The poems are written using direct and simple language that often reflects the speech of its subjects, and there is a sense of a raw nerve being tapped, as the poet is not far removed from the experiences described. The working class poet often seems to take it upon herself to speak for the marginalised through her poetry, and one of the characteristics of working class poetry is that it rarely engages with the purely lyrical, or the confessional poem that is prevalent in mainstream published poetry. Working class poetry tends to be written with a message in mind — whether it is illustrated through the microcosm of personal experience, or through the more explicitly political condemnation of an unjust society.

Cathy Young gives voice to women who work in low-paid and menial jobs. Her book is dedicated to 'the hidden, faceless women who have done the thankless work we, as a society, are dependant on, yet who very rarely receive recognition for the hours they have put in, out of need and because of their gender.'<sup>16</sup> Young respects these women and writes stories with empathy and understanding of their place within an inequitable society. She is not a mere observer though, and it is apparent that the author is also writing from personal experience, thus creating a sense of authenticity and connection with the women in the poems. The collection has been described as 'a social exposé of class'.<sup>17</sup> Liz Winfield suggests that she has not seen 'anyone successfully write poems like these unless they've been there: but these poems extend the experience to anyone willing to read them.'<sup>18</sup> This statement reflects the approach of many engaged in working class studies, who claim that knowledge of working class life comes from 'experience and story, history and memory and from the urgency of witnessing'.<sup>19</sup>

Young demonstrates the ways in which working class girls are socialized into their roles in 'Girly jobs/Parental discipline',<sup>20</sup> and also shows how girls in working class families are often expected

to assist with running the home and taking care of younger children, tasks which fall on family members as there is no possibility of paying an outsider to do such jobs:

starting early  
helping mum  
peeling potatoes/setting tables/doing dishes  
simple things  
made sure  
dad's happy  
long day at work  
meal fit for our king  
no arguments  
offer first  
can I help beats the rule  
seen not heard  
look happy  
scowls bring pain  
and no sixpence at the end of the week  
getting older  
mind the littlies  
mum needs rest ...  
... getting too big  
tell her about  
putting her name down  
Woolies/Coles/deli work  
after school/ weekends/ holidays  
earn her own pocket money  
buy her own clothes  
she can still  
help around the house  
before she does her homework  
good training  
look happy

A series of orders punctuate this poem, and the short lines evoke the lack of redress afforded to the girl; she is supposed to be uncomplaining and accepting of her situation, and any rebellion is dealt with harshly, helping to set her up for the role of an oppressed and exploited woman later in life. The father is seen as the head of the household even though it is the mother who is holding the family together; he is treated like the 'king', and must be kept happy by the daughter to reduce the chance of physical punishment. In the working class household, everyone is expected to pitch in and, as soon as the girl is old enough, she will take a job to alleviate some of the financial burden. This will not lead to her independence; the prioritising of housework and paid work over

homework further suggests that this girl is not likely to be encouraged to further her education. She is expected to be grateful for what she has, and not cause trouble by demanding an education — impractical in a family that is struggling and needs the financial contribution from adult children.

Paid work is only one aspect of life for working class women, as they also raise children and run households. In the poem 'Occupation Mother',<sup>21</sup> Young describes the experiences of a young woman who does not realise she is expecting a child until she is almost eight months pregnant, and then the difficulties she faces in trying to juggle her low-paid job with the arrival of a newborn baby and the challenges of surviving on a low income with a partner who is unwilling to find work and who has a gambling problem. This exposé of the effects of poverty on the experience of childbirth brings to light an important feminist issue of women's reproductive health and freedom.<sup>22</sup> The woman is told she should give the baby up for adoption because she is unmarried, and the situation seems desperate. But she decides to fight for her rights, and manages to organise her work entitlements through the union, marries her boyfriend to keep social services at bay, and turns to family to help provide the things she needs for the baby. This provides an example of how women are able to agitate to improve their situations within a labour context. The next section of the poem deals with the birth of the baby, and the undignified labour she endures due to her poverty:

Down the back lane we shuffled  
the day the baby was born  
a bath towel folded between my legs  
pinned to my maternity shift  
to catch the waters pains 10 minutes apart ...  
... the towel was full and sagged to my knees  
and feet brown mud slopping  
I slid the length of the tram on my thongs  
he was worried and feeling guilty  
the trots hadn't paid the night before  
(hence the tram ride)  
and I was scared out of my mind  
angry and ashamed at this child's journey to be born  
didn't care about anything any more  
couldn't get worse, could it? ...

The images of the soaking towel and the woman slipping on her own waters is far from the romantic descriptions of bourgeois poets prone to give childbirth a mythical, spiritual status and rarely engage with the pain, indignity and messy aspects. It is

characteristic of working class poetry to include the unpleasant and to keep such elements in sharp focus. The last line of this section is another example of how Young draws readers into her poems, by conversing directly with them and pulling them into her world.

The woman returns to work<sup>23</sup> and her life is a constant struggle against poverty, squalid living conditions, workplace injury and general desperation. It is an unrelenting life and the woman wonders 'just who was writing my script? it was beyond me', as if she is living the hand dealt to her with little chance of changing her difficult circumstances. This sense of fatalism, and feeling that the situation is out of an individual's control can be a feature of working class life; during difficult times it can seem as if the world has stacked the odds against a person and the best approach is to try and make the best of what they do have. Barbara Jensen states that 'working class people just live and accept what life brings their way. Sometimes this is the powerlessness of resignation, but at other times it is a grateful acceptance of the work and that we can't control it all.'<sup>24</sup>

Young's poems are direct, economical in description but with images of working class life which are 'meant to be read aloud to real people, not just poets'.<sup>25</sup> They are confrontational and non-judgmental, although the narrator does sometimes seem to be considering her own behaviour as foolish; the overriding cause of unhappiness, however, is related to class — being working class and eking out an existence on low wages, in menial jobs with only a tenuous hold onto hope for a better future. Young is not just providing the reader with descriptions of working class life, she is opening a door into this world and challenging the non-working class reader to enter and leave their privilege behind for a moment. Young is showing the working class reader that their lives contain the richness of experience that is necessary for poetry. The poetry is mainly narrative, and the images are clear and devoid of euphemism. Ultimately, Young tells it like it is; uncompromising, unromantic working class life:<sup>26</sup>

see this middle finger mate?  
(as in baneful as in boss bloke and babbling politician)  
its bite's fucking a hundred times  
worse than anything you'll ever imagine  
you see I'm a working class woman  
a big part of this world  
don't give me trouble.

*Ravo* by M.M.L. Bliss<sup>27</sup>, is set within the housing commission area of Ravenswood,<sup>28</sup> on the north-eastern outskirts of Launceston, Tasmania and known by the locals as Ravo. This book deals with the people who live in the area and builds a vivid picture through the descriptions and stories of the working class community. In *Ravo*, M.M.L. Bliss takes the reader on a journey through a working class neighbourhood, and her book allows many of the characters to tell their own stories in an unromantic way. On reading this collection, Liz Winfield described experiencing 'an ache like I'd been hit in the stomach for a few days; the truth can hurt.'<sup>29</sup> This reaction may seem a little extreme to those who have grown up or lived in similar environments and who live with such scenes on a daily basis. Rather than eliciting an 'ache' for me, this collection sparked an immediate sense of recognition.

This suburb has many social problems and Bliss is not afraid to describe exactly what she has seen. As a result some of the characters are sympathetic but many are not, and the book includes drug addicts, thieves, violent men and women, alcoholics and so on — but the people speak for themselves in these poems, and there is therefore little sense of judgement on behalf of the writer. This book also contains many female characters and provides an important insight into their lives.

Bliss engages with a range of characters and situations, but seems to place particular emphasis on the young people of Ravenswood; the teenage girls who fall pregnant, or take up theft and prostitution to pay for drug addiction and those who are victims of sexual abuse and rape. It is a depressing world for the observer, as it is hard to imagine how these girls might extricate themselves from such life threatening situations. The girls in these poems lack adequate education, financial resources, or the support of family. In 'chenille's story',<sup>30</sup> Bliss presents a harrowing story of teenage prostitution and the rape and murder of one girl related by her friend in a terrifyingly matter-of-fact tone:

at the 24 hour delicatessen we sit round & wait  
for the call. it's rare night none of us go out,  
& don't the marks love their piece of teenage tail  
like we love the money & the drugs, hour by hour  
the way we make it. had this regular who fell for me  
wanted to take me away from all this to suck his  
shrivelled little secret on demand ...

The narrator appears to accept this life and does not seem to value anything above the need to satisfy her drug habit and is

apparently oblivious to the immediate threat of her environment. Even when Chenille is abducted, raped and killed, the narrator appears to be unaffected and her tone is callous, even though she had a narrow escape after being rejected as an 'ugly fatbitch' by the group of men who forced Chenille into their car:

... in a few days they find her raped gangbanged & gagged  
in tailrace park. stabbed full of wounds, the woman cop "lucky  
for you." "yeh," tell her straight. "if that's what happens  
when you're good-looking, I'd rather be a dog."  
wore my new black jeans to the funeral  
went home with chenille's brother. he said she was too  
beautiful for her own good ...

This poem is shocking in its straight-forwardness; there is no melodrama, no sympathy or outrage displayed. The blasé attitude of the narrator towards her friend's death may also be a result of the environment in which she has been raised. The sense of resignation and combination of selfishness with lack of self-respect is not uncommon for young people who feel they have been rejected by society and are unable to picture themselves living a more hopeful, valued life. Young people who are involved in criminal activity and anti-social behaviour, who are not interested in furthering their education or seeking employment can be seen as victims of an inequitable society that allows the deepening of class divisions. Bliss has the ability to tap into the Ravo youth subculture, and creates believable characters whose language and behaviour is authentically captured. She is not afraid to show the reader the less savoury aspects of life for the kids of Ravo.

Bliss does write about a range of characters, and there are older women too, who offer more positive moments; they speak of community, and the willingness to survive and hold on to hope. The women who keep families together are here, and the poem 'a nice cuppa tea',<sup>31</sup> sums up the ability of women to boost the spirits of unhappy family members. In this poem, the cup of tea becomes a symbol of comfort and encouragement through the gentle suggestion that everything will be better eventually. It is a necessary aspect of survival, when there is little practical help that can be offered:

... my sister's latest boyfriend drops her like a china vase  
for some slut with a 38C bra size. & she's shattered  
she stomps & screams & rakes her fingers  
through her hair & fetches all her stuff to do her nails.  
mum offers to make a nice cuppa tea ...

back home, gran stops in on her way home from Lonnie  
 she's carrying bags in both hands, she says her head's  
 aching fit to blind her, her back's that bad from the weight  
 of the bags & her feet are sore as a baboon's bum & heavy  
 as suet dumplings in an irish stew. mum puts the kettle on  
 & gran's face lights up like a sunbeam caught on a mirror  
 "just what the doctor ordered ducks." they sit at the kitchen table  
 while gran shows off her bargains. "nothing  
 like a nice cuppa tea."  
 & mum's happy as ...

The language of this poem emulates the kinds of similes used in working class speech; the unsubtle and sometimes clichéd expressions that still operate as evocative images but which are often dismissed as hackneyed by non-working class writers.

Bliss also introduces the reader to the older women of Ravo who remember it as a decent place to live when they first moved there and those who take pride in their homes and gardens. In 'ravo pride'<sup>32</sup> one of the narrators says 'we like it here, the garden looks like/ a tidy towns winner again this year/ the wild kids move on, grow up, grow old/ it's what you make it.'

Working class women poets write about those who are often ignored or condemned and they bring such stories to light with a brutal honesty that may create some less than flattering pictures but ultimately gives working class women a voice. These examples demonstrate how working class poetry gives working class women the visibility they lack and which they deserve. Reading and studying working class women's poetry can offer a method of highlighting the interesting and rich lives of working class women while providing an understanding of the deep inequalities perpetuated by the class system.

**Sarah Attfield**

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Tillie Olsen. *Silences*. NY: Delacorte Press, 1978, p 27.

<sup>2</sup> Audre Lorde. 'Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference.' Julie Rivkin and Michael. Ryan. Eds. *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1998, p 632.

<sup>3</sup> Cathy Young. *The Yugoslav Women and Their Pickled Herrings: Some Hard-Working Women Poems 1960-2000*. Tasmania: Cornford Press, 2004, p 82.

<sup>4</sup> Pat Mahony and C. Zmroczek. 'Why Class Matters.' P. Mahony and C. Zmroczek. Eds. *Class Matters: Working Class Women's Perspectives on Social Class*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1997, p 2.

- <sup>5</sup> Dave Morley and Ken Warpole. Eds. *The Republic of Letters*. London: Comedia, 1982, p 100.
- <sup>6</sup> Scholars of working class studies are concerned with the ways in which feminist politics can translate to practical change for working class women. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts: Ideologies of Domination, Common Interests and the Politics of Solidarity.' Sharlene Hesse-Biber *et al.* Eds. *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999, p 362.
- <sup>7</sup> Jenny Digby. Ed. *A Woman's Voice: Conversations with Australian Poets*. St.Lucia: UQP, 1996, p xiii.
- <sup>8</sup> Jane Greer. 'Writing With and Against the Master's Language: Lessons in Critical Literacy from Working-Class Women.' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 26. 1-2, spring 1998, p 216.
- <sup>9</sup> Brenda Walker. 'Introduction.' David Brooks and B. Walker. Eds. *Poetry and Gender: Statements and Essays in Australian Women's Poetry and Politics*. St Lucia: University Of Queensland Press, 1989, p 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Janet Zandy. *Calling Home: Working Class Women's Writings An Anthology*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1995, p 3.
- <sup>11</sup> Merylyn Cherry. 'Towards Recognition of Working-Class Women Writers.' Sarah Richardson *et al.* Eds. *Writing on the Line: Working-Class Women Writers*. London: Working Press, 1996, p 96.
- <sup>12</sup> Cynthea Brodribb. 'Untitled.' Jeltje. Ed. *925: Poetry for the Workers, by the Workers, about the Workers' Work*. Melbourne: Collective Effort Press, 1999, p 53.
- <sup>13</sup> Cynthea Brodribb has since disappeared from the scene and my attempts to locate her through the publishers of 925 have not been successful. This is also the case with several of the other female poets included in 925.
- <sup>14</sup> Although it is true that job security in general is often tenuous, it is usually those at the bottom of the rung who are 'downsized' first during a corporate restructure.
- <sup>15</sup> Thalia. 'The Beat.' *New and Selected Poems*. Victoria: Collective Effort Press, 1998, p 32.
- <sup>16</sup> Cathy Young, n. pag.
- <sup>17</sup> Philip Harvey. 'Close to the Bone.' *Australian Book Review*, 262, June/July 2004, p 52.
- <sup>18</sup> Liz Winfield. 'Winners, Losers and Others.' *Famous Reporter*, 29, 2004, p 77.
- <sup>19</sup> Janet Zandy, p 8.
- <sup>20</sup> Cathy Young. 'Girly jobs/Parental discipline,' p 14.
- <sup>21</sup> Cathy Young. 'Occupation Mother,' p 47.
- <sup>22</sup> Julia Stein. 'Industrial Music: Contemporary American Working Class Poetry and Modernism.' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23, Spring 1995, p 237. Health in pregnancy can be compromised for women living in poverty as they may not have adequate nutrition and often must continue to work long hours possibly in heavy work. There are also implications for women in terms of access to family planning clinics and abortion services in deprived areas. Studies have shown that in general those from low socio-economic groups are less healthy than their wealthier counterparts. 'High rates of maternal deaths usually result from poverty, lack of medical care, malnutrition, and the low social status of women. Women's health is not often a priority in male-dominated cultures.' John O'Loughlin. 'Safe motherhood: impossible dream or achievable reality?

(Reducing maternal deaths in developing countries).' *The Medical Journal of Australia*, 167. 11/12, 1997, p 622.

<sup>23</sup> Feminists have fought hard for the right for women to work outside the home, but for many working class women the luxury of being able to stay at home and take care of their young children is an impossible dream.

<sup>24</sup> Barbara Jensen. 'The Silent Psychology.' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 1 & 2, 1998, p 211.

<sup>25</sup> Liz Winfield, p 77.

<sup>26</sup> Cathy Young. 'On life: work love being.' p 43.

<sup>27</sup> M.M.L. Bliss was formerly known as Jenny Boulton and she has stated that the name change occurred for 'personal reasons'. As Jenny Boulton she published several collections of poems, many of which dealt with the lives of working class women. Sadly, M.M.L. Bliss died in October 2005.

<sup>28</sup> According to the Ravenswood 'Walk Tall' association, the area suffers from high unemployment, poverty, 'low self-perception' and is isolated from the city due to a lack of public transport. [www.facs.gov.au/internet/facsinternet.nsf/vLA/house-publichousingestate](http://www.facs.gov.au/internet/facsinternet.nsf/vLA/house-publichousingestate)

<sup>29</sup> Liz Winfield, p 76.

<sup>30</sup> M.M.L Bliss, 'chenille's story.' *Ravo*. Tasmania: Cornford Press, 2004, p 33.

<sup>31</sup> M.M.L Bliss, 'a nice cuppa tea,' p 79.

<sup>32</sup> M.M.L Bliss, 'ravo pride,' p 13.

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<http://www.gatherthewomen.org/>  
Anique@herwill.net  
61 2 6567 1585