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**Contemporary Wiradjuri
relatedness in Peak Hill,
New South Wales**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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The University of Sydney**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted in the past in substance for any degree, that it is the result of my own independent research, and that all authorities and sources consulted are acknowledged in the Bibliography.

Abstract

Wiradjuri Aboriginal people in Peak Hill, a small economically-declining town in central rural New South Wales, have been subjected to a century of government policies included segregation, assimilation, and forced relocations. Despite this local, colonial history Peak Hill Wiradjuri continue to experience daily life in a distinctively Wiradjuri way. To 'be Wiradjuri' is to be embedded within a complex web of close relationships that are socially, morally and emotionally developed with both kin and friends, human and non-human subjects.

Despite dramatic social and cultural transformations in Wiradjuri meanings and practices of relatedness, the Wiradjuri social world and their ways of self-experience remain informed by past practices. To understand contemporary socialities, and thus the significance of these transformations, this thesis is an examination of the ways in which the moral and emotional order of relatedness governs relatedness, where daily lived experience of shared emotional states can be understood in terms of a language for the self and moral framework. Specifically, this thesis is an exploration of how Wiradjuri people negotiate relatedness in a space in which shared and contrasting Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri inter-subjectivities are experienced.

This study draws on historical research and ethnographical fieldwork to move beyond an analysis of kinship in terms of structures, roles or values to explore the deeper foundations of emotions and states of being in everyday life.

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Australian Research Council Linkage Project

This thesis forms one component of a larger project: the Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP0883040 - Restoring the Past to Build the Future: Indigenous Culture, Heritage and Economy in Rural New South Wales. The project partners are the Australian Research Council and University of Sydney and the industry partners are the Parkes Shire Council, the Peak Hill Wiradjuri Land Council and the Bogan River Traditional Owners Group.

A primary aim of the study was to record the pre-contact, contact and post contact history of the Wiradjuri community of the Parkes Shire Council area in such a way as to be able to feed it back directly and relevantly into the Shire. This history unfolds through interactive interdisciplinary work, bringing together the skills and resources of archaeologists and anthropologists who are also trained in cultural heritage and ethnohistory. It draws on site recording, oral history, archives and field techniques to develop a comprehensive, vital and informed set of knowledge which can then be developed for local and national use.

Although the focus is on Indigenous cultural heritage, local Indigenous histories are entwined with those of non-Indigenous peoples and this interaction will be an important feature of the project. As one aim of the project is to encourage greater Indigenous/non-Indigenous interaction locally, this research will bring this history into the present by explicitly encouraging residents to enhance their own understandings of the 'other peoples' who are part of their Shire.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Talking about relatedness

When I began fieldwork with the Bogan River Wiradjuri in the small, rural town of Peak Hill in the central west of New South Wales, I was struck by how every-day being was so intensely immersed in social relationships. This was a place whose people had suffered immensely under colonisation. The Bogan River Wiradjuri had been victims of massacres, had their land taken for pastoralism, were placed on missions, segregated from town, many of their children were removed by welfare, and they have been subjected to waves of intense and poorly conceived programs of ‘assimilation’ designed to wipe out their cultural ‘difference.’ The legacies as well as new expressions of these traumas are an ongoing part of their lives. As I collected and collated historical and ethnographic data, I came to appreciate how much had changed for the Bogan River Wiradjuri. Today, the Wiradjuri language is no longer spoken, ceremonies and rituals have ceased, older myths, stories and songs have been forgotten, social organisation is no longer based on a totemic system, hunting and gathering is reserved for the occasional family outing in summer, and once well-known sites in the bush are rarely visited. On first impressions, the lives of Bogan River Wiradjuri people residing in this small town might seem almost indistinguishable from those of their Anglo-Australian neighbours, who make up seventy percent of the town’s population. Peak Hill is a small town in the central west of New South Wales where almost a third of the population is Wiradjuri and the remainder is predominantly Anglo-Australian: of English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh descent, referred to as just ‘Anglo-Australians’ throughout my thesis.

Through a period of ethnographic fieldwork, spanning 16 months, I began to notice and experience subtle details which distinguished these neighbours from each other. Bogan River Wiradjuri spoke

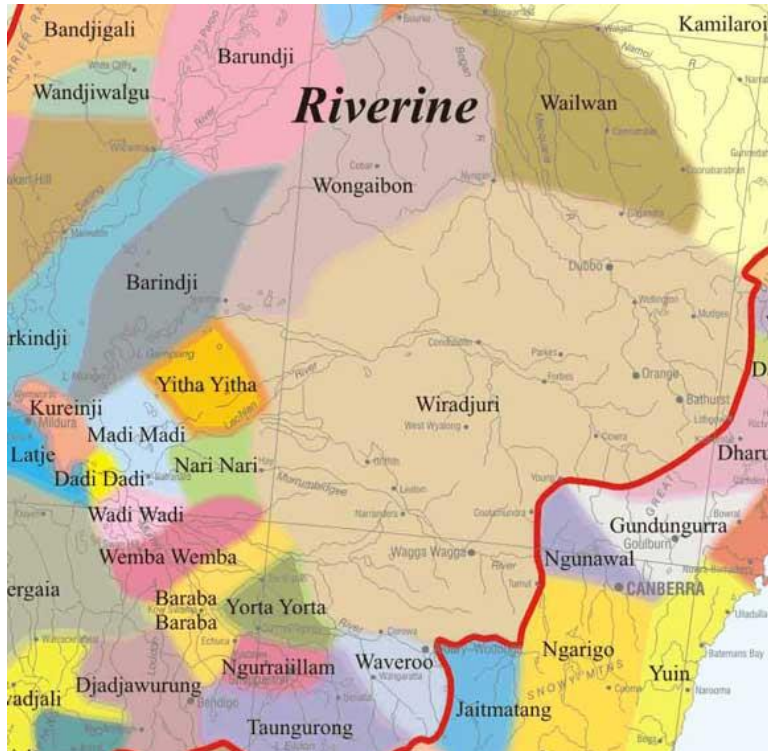
English, but distinctively. Their understandings of family or kin and their expectations of such relationships differed. And they participated in local economic life differently. What I came to understand as the most significant difference, however, was not easily observed. Sometimes it manifested as a feeling: a sense of being cared for or looked after, or even of being frightened when left alone. Sometimes it revealed itself as a word: being called 'generous' or 'kind,' for example, in a context when these terms seemed unusual. Other times it became noticeable through a social practice: a demand of a lift in the car or a visit to chat over morning cups of tea. Slowly over time, I began to understand what this mysterious 'ingredient' was, it lay in meanings of relatedness - in what it means 'to be related' among Bogan River Wiradjuri people of Peak Hill.

The Bogan River Wiradjuri is one of the many local groups that were once referred to as the Wiradjuri Nation (Mathews 1894, 1897, 1900; Howitt 1904). They were referred to as a nation, rather than a 'tribe' - common in early Australian anthropology, because of the presence of different dialect groups located around the rivers. The country belonging to the Wiradjuri Nation encompasses over 80,000 square kilometres of central and central west New South Wales (Macdonald 1998b: 162). It has long been referred to by Wiradjuri people as 'The Country of Three Rivers.' Map 1 shows the 'three rivers' which include all but the lower waters of the Macquarie, Murrumbidgee and Lachlan River catchments. The upper Bogan is linked to the Macquarie catchment, and, to its east, a portion of the Castlereagh River also lies within Wiradjuri country.



Map 1 The 'Three Rivers' of Wiradjuri

The geography of these river catchments means that Wiradjuri land stretches west from the top of the Blue Mountains range, near the town of Lithgow, northwest to include Dubbo and Narromine, southwest to Hay and south to include Wagga Wagga and Albury. Peak Hill, on the upper Bogan River, is situated in the central north of Wiradjuri country. The Bogan River Wiradjuri are just one of the many distinctive Wiradjuri communities across this vast region of New South Wales.



Map 2 Wiradjuri region (Horton 1996: Indigenous Language Map)

From here on, the Bogan River Wiradjuri are referred to in this thesis as simply ‘Wiradjuri’ unless the context requires the Bogan River Wiradjuri to be distinguished from other Wiradjuri groups.

My thesis is an examination of Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness. Before I delve into my approach and outline how I undertook my study, I want to introduce a Wiradjuri voice into my thesis.

Wiradjuri people do not speak about ‘kinship’ or ‘relatedness.’ Instead, Wiradjuri people spoke to me about their ‘mob,’ their ‘relations,’ and the word preferred by younger people, their ‘family.’

Wiradjuri people spoke about what it means to be part of their mob, in Peak Hill, in terms of those who ‘care’ for them, ‘look after’ them, and those whom they ‘look after’ also. They spoke about the people, places and events, which make them ‘happy’ and prevent people from feeling ‘lonely,’ ‘bored,’ or ‘sad.’

Wiradjuri people introduce themselves differently to people of the Anglo-Australian world, which I predominantly identify with. Wiradjuri people prefer to use nicknames first, followed by their birth name and the name of their family group, sometimes followed by an explanation of how they got their nickname, and always finished with a lengthy explanation about how they are related to other people present, or other people they knew I had previously met. These conversations were initiated when I introduced myself as an anthropologist living in Peak Hill to study what contemporary Wiradjuri life was like in this town. A common response to my introduction was for people to begin speaking about the differences they perceived between themselves and myself or other white people in Peak Hill. During late 2010, I was enjoying a post football match celebration at the pub in Condobolin, with both Wiradjuri people from Peak Hill and Condobolin. A young Wiradjuri man from Peak Hill, Tony, whom I knew, sat down next to me and spoke to me in a forward but friendly manner about my research.

Tony: You know we aren't any different from white people – we're the same. Well, not quite, because we have bigger families and include everyone in our family; first, second, third cousins – they're all just cousins and we look after each other. Some white people I know say you really only do that with your brothers and sisters or maybe your first cousins. We all look after each other and we share more. White people are a bit stingy.

Belinda: Explain the difference some more?

Tony: You'll always be right with us, that's how we are. We'll look after you. You know I had a white boss and he didn't get Aboriginal people. We went around one of our client's houses, he was a blackfella I knew, my cousin, and I was hungry so I just started going through the fridge and getting myself food without saying anything. My boss got all embarrassed and angry and then told me off. But he didn't understand - you can do that with Kooris.

My conversation with Tony remained in my mind for some time. Although it was brief, abruptly ended by one of Tony's cousins calling him over the other side of the yard, it encapsulated so many things I had observed and been wrestling with. Things such as what it meant to be a younger Wiradjuri person living with, working with, and in many cases, related to Anglo-Australian people in Peak Hill. Also, what it meant to be part of the mob, part of a family, as well as part of the broader community. Tony had also alluded to what it meant to be a Wiradjuri person - a good Wiradjuri person - one that shares and is not 'stingy.'

After many more conversations with people about what it meant to be Wiradjuri, or Koori, the immediacy of living in a small rural town amongst both Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian people, invariably continued to prompt comparative replies. I found commonalities in the words people chose when describing 'Koori' compared to 'whitefella' ways of being. People referred to the 'caring' nature of Wiradjuri; how they 'share', 'look after each other' and were 'happier', 'funnier' and 'more generous' than whitefellas. In comparison, whitefellas were described as being a bit 'stingy', 'less fun', 'unhappy', 'impatient' and generally did not look after each other. It was through conversations, such as the one with Tony, with Wiradjuri people, their spouses, friends, and other Anglo-Australian residents of Peak Hill, as well as observations and interviews, that led me to formulate two main research questions: who is the mob and how are they related?

The thesis approach

My thesis is an exploration of these terms through the lens of Wiradjuri relatedness: what it means to be 'happier' or to 'look after' kin, and the socialities, emotions, and social practices associated with such meanings. Wiradjuri sociality is based on a systemic understanding of 'relatedness.' This relatedness includes place – the bush and town; and people – one's own kin-based 'mob.' Today, it also includes people who are neither kin nor Aboriginal. I will show in the study to follow how Wiradjuri people use their understandings of what it means to be in a relationship to incorporate both new places and new people, such that the 'new' is based on a long-standing, if constantly transforming, relatedness, and a shared inter-subjectivity, in the way people 'look after' each other economically, socially, and emotionally.

This inter-subjectivity is culturally specific, as it based on a particular Wiradjuri morality of being; caring and sharing, and subsequent social practices, such as contemporary demand-sharing and inter-generational, frequent socialising, which are correlated with achieving happiness and avoiding loneliness and boredom. Although culturally specific, Wiradjuri ways of being continually transform. In my thesis, I seek to capture some of these changes of subjectivity between older and younger Wiradjuri. There is a significant transformation I draw attention to. In contrast to the assumptions that exposure to whitefellas' ways of life inevitably leads to just Wiradjuri people becoming more like the 'white other,' I show how white people are being incorporated into Wiradjuri forms of relatedness. Rather than arguing that non-Aboriginal people are incorporated into quasi-kin roles and relationships, as many anthropologists have reported over the years, I argue that in order to become a non-Wiradjuri friend of a Wiradjuri person, they must enter into a relationship of 'looking

after.’ By relying upon a concept of relatedness, based on a distinctive understanding of moral intersubjectivity, I show that the notion of ‘close’ or ‘distant’ is not only applicable to the quality of a Wiradjuri kin-based relationship (see Macdonald 1986, 1998) but also to Wiradjuri relations with non-Aboriginal people. The ‘us’ and ‘them’ of Wiradjuri sociality is morally-informed rather than just ethnically distinguished and the ways in which people become ‘close’ or ‘distant,’ or move between these two categories over time, cannot be understood by reducing closeness to just kinship.

From kinship to relatedness

Kinship is one form by which people are classified and organised. In Australian anthropology, kinship has been the primary theoretical paradigm used to understand Aboriginal relationships because all Aboriginal socialities have been kin-based: not to be classified as kin is to be a stranger. What is little understood is the ways in which people of a kin-orientated world come to embrace others who are not kin, and will not necessarily become kin. The focus on the social structuring of relatedness, in terms of kinship, totemic relations, sections, and so on, cannot grasp the content of relatedness – why, even in a kin-orientated world, some people are close and others distant, or why a person might move in and out of closeness over time. With the wane of the structural-functionalist emphasis on orders of kinship in the mid-twentieth century, kinship studies in Australia also waned. This has been at the expense of better understanding both the content of kin-relatedness as well as how Aboriginal people engage with their increasingly wider worlds of non-kin and non-Aboriginal people.

Kinship was, of course, rejuvenated in anthropology in the 1990s, with the rise of ‘new kinship’ studies, which stemmed from earlier critiques of classical kinship, such as those by Needham (1971) and Schneider (1961, 1968, 1984). New kinship studies gained popularity, under the influence of, for

instance, Strathern (1992) and, later, Carsten (2000, 2004). These anthropologists moved away from the older biological-natural dichotomies or the structural-functionalist orientation to view 'kinship' as a gloss for differing types of relatedness, each with its own set of ontological categories, symbols and meanings. Their approach, usually referred to as 'relatedness', is based upon the *lived experience* of kinship and ideas of *shared substance*. Well known is Carsten's (1995) example of food and feeding as a shared substance of relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi; and Leach (2003) who used ontological categories and symbols of place and history to define relatedness among the Reite of the Rai Coast.

There is now a distinction made between old and new kinship studies, based on genealogical structures compared to the social and cultural ways of classifying the other as a relation. In Aboriginal Australian anthropological literature, notwithstanding the primacy of kin-relatedness among Aboriginal people, there has been little use of the insights of the 'new kinship' literature, although there are exceptions which have examined the more ontological dimensions of sociality, such as Beckett (1958), Myers (1982, 1986, 1988b), and Macdonald (1986). Australian anthropologists have focused on performative kinship as a way of being related, such as Sansom (1980), and, more recent accounts look at the quality of 'being related,' such as Martin (1993), Babidge (2004, 2010), Heil (2003, 2008), Musharbash (2008), Grieves (2009), Gibson (2010a, 2010b), and Kwok (2011), just to name a few.

My approach to Wiradjuri relatedness builds on the new kinship studies, as well as, some foundational ethnographic literature in the Australian Aboriginal context, including Sansom (1980) and Myers (1988). I make a distinction between kinship and relatedness and build my approach on the latter. This is for two reasons. First, the ways Wiradjuri people incorporate people into their ego-

centric understandings of ‘my mob’ or ‘my relations’ extends beyond people who are consanguineal or affinal kin: in the inter-cultural world of Peak Hill, which includes Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian people living side by side. Second, not all of those who are kin are close. The inter-subjective experiences of close and distant can no longer be confined to kin, and nor are all kin encompassed. Rather, close relationships share a morality which is economically and socially similar to kin, but emotionally distinct. One’s friends participate in demand-sharing and local social and moral life but they are not necessarily part of the emotional inter-subjectivity of Wiradjuri personhood in the same way as close kin are.

My approach incorporates four key themes of relatedness for Wiradjuri people: the spatial, temporal, social, and relational aspects of Wiradjuri relatedness.

Spatial: The role of place

In my thesis I approach relatedness as a way of being which includes both human and non-human elements. Glaskin (2012) uses a similar approach in her examination of Aboriginal personhood, called an ‘ontology of embodied relationality,’ where,

This embodied relationality encompasses not just people, but places, species, and ancestral beings; it is a *relationship* between persons and places regarded as consubstantial, and that has consequences for how people, and people and country, are linked through space and time (Glaskin 2012: 298, authors own emphasis).

In Peak Hill place can be divided into two main categories - the bush and town.¹ The bush contains non-human elements of relatedness, such as the ancestral spirits of deceased kin Glaskin refers to. The bush also contains other spiritual beings, which give the bush a kind of agency and results in older Wiradjuri people including it into their categories of relatedness.

In town, space is divided into Wiradjuri (domestic), shared (some town spaces) and public (non-Wiradjuri spaces). Throughout my thesis, I examine how different places not only form part of identity, but also relatedness, as place is used to draw boundaries between social groups and is representative of a broader tension between individual autonomy and group relatedness.

Temporal: Changes from older to younger Wiradjuri

Although I argue that there exists a shared Wiradjuri emotional and moral inter-subjectivity between kin, this is not fixed or identical for every individual relation. As the broader historical circumstances of local life has changed, there have been subsequent transformations from older to younger Wiradjuri people in who they form relationships with and what these relationships mean. Morality, and subsequent social practices, refer to the culturally normative and regulatory ways Wiradjuri people relate to each other. There is a temporality to this which is not only shaped by the life-cycle

¹The term 'bush' has long been used in Australia to refer to the distinctively dense, even inter-penetrable scrub and trees, so different to the British notions of forests and woods. It has become a general reference to the 'wild' and the 'outback' (rural and remote). I use the term 'bush' here the way locals use it, to distinguish the areas of scrub and woodland outside the township of Peak Hill but which are separate from the pastoral stations and farms. Reference to the bush typically includes natural features, such as un-cleared scrub, rock formations, natural waterways, flora and fauna. This does not mean the bush has no 'man-made' influences. On the contrary, it has been used and modified by Wiradjuri over thousands of years and often more intensely by Europeans, but does not refer to areas subjected to large-scale cultivation or clearing.

of individuals - people growing older - but also the broader historical processes of Australian colonisation.

In Australia, there is often too much an emphasis placed on the temporal boundedness of Aboriginal beliefs and practices, and, in anthropology this results in the separation of history from anthropology where culture is reduced to measurement, and debates about loss, continuity, authenticity and tradition ensue. Anthropologists, such as Sider (1993, 1997, 2003,) and Dombrowski (2001) neatly side step this by exploring social practices as historical processes also. They approach social practices as a continual struggle of values, the formation and transformation of local inequalities, as a mode of production and governance of daily social organisation in life and work (Sider 2005: 174-175). In Australia the importance of an historicised approach has only relatively recently been explored, in particular by Austin-Broos (see, especially, 2009). Additionally, Babidge (2004, 2010) discussed the relationship between culture and history, where specific cultural beliefs and practices emerge from particular historical conditions whilst the re-creation of social structures and practices in turn affects historical change. I seek to include history in a different way, by looking at how Wiradjuri sociality, morality, and cultural practices have changed from one generation to another among people who have different experiences in what is nevertheless also a shared cultural history.

Social: Social groups and personal networks

Just as culture cannot be isolated from history, Wiradjuri relatedness cannot be isolated from the colonial context within which it exists. Here, this context is a small, rural town, consisting of both Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian people. They not only live together in the present, many of these families have lived and worked side-by-side over many generations. It is common in Australian

Aboriginal anthropology to make a broad distinction between insider/outsider or self/other using kinship as insider or close, and non-kin/non-Aboriginal as distant or stranger. In some contexts, this is the ethnographic reality. Although, in many parts of Australia, arguably most parts today, it is also the case that non-Aboriginal people have been a significant daily presence in the lives of Aboriginal people. Yet, with exception to Cowlshaw (1988, 1997, 2004) relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have rarely been studied, except in general, even stereotypical ways that tend to emphasise distance: differences that are only racialised or hierarchised. Yet the historical record makes it clear that there have been close relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, both short term and enduring (see, for example, Grieves 2011; Macdonald 2001). What kinds of relationships have these been? There is no doubt that, in the past, one would have to take inequalities of power, status, ethnicity and class into account in the analysis. My fieldwork took place at a particular moment in the colonial story, in which these structures and ideologies had shifted from those of the past that clearly segregated Aboriginal people from their non-Aboriginal neighbours. Now, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people not only share living spaces, Aboriginal people are also less bound by ethnicity, class and status within social value. There is prestige in 'being Aboriginal,' so much so that people who once would have denied their ancestry will now identify with and, sometimes, exploit it. The people who are close or distant, as I show in the study to follow, are no longer simply categorised as Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal or Aboriginal kin/non-kin.

While such dichotomies are relevant to some of the more remote parts of Aboriginal Australia, where the 'other' is Aboriginal non-kin or white strangers, the situation in Peak Hill is more variegated. Both Kooris (blackfellas) or Gubbahs (whitefellas) are thought of as close or distant kin, friends, or strangers. One's mob is not just Wiradjuri, or even just Aboriginal: it comprises of local

white people who are related to Wiradjuri people in various ways. In my thesis, I unpack Wiradjuri sociality from local classifications of ‘mobs,’ ‘relations,’ ‘family,’ ‘friends,’ or ‘mates’ and argue that the ‘other’ can be better understood as the distinction between one’s close social network and strangers. One’s close social network includes close kin and friends, who may be Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, or Anglo-Australian, compared to strangers who are Aboriginal or Anglo-Australian others, who reside in Peak Hill and are knowable but are not part of Wiradjuri sociality.

What became evident to me was that characteristics of Wiradjuri relatedness normally associated with close kin were similar to their relations with Aboriginal non-kin and non-Wiradjuri people to whom they had become ‘close.’ I want to expand the idea of relatedness beyond the assumptions of kin relatedness or even quasi-kinship. I argue there is a way of being in a close relationship which can encompass some - not all - kin, as well as non-kin and non-Aboriginal people. This way of being is distinctively Aboriginal, in my thesis I examine Wiradjuri expressions of it, so this challenges the idea that Wiradjuri people are simply becoming more like whitefellas, as well as the idea that whitefellas are not able to negotiate the demands of Aboriginal relatedness in daily life. What is significant is the way in which relatedness is understood, valued and enacted. In the chapters to follow, I identify structures and contexts of the range of relationships, close and distant, in which Wiradjuri people are engaged (Chapters 3 to 6), and the economic, social, and emotional content of close relationships (Chapters 7 and 8).

Before returning to the Wiradjuri world of Peak Hill, I want to expand on some of the key ideas I draw on throughout the thesis. I have distinguished three themes which enable a conceptualisation of the relational morality of Wiradjuri social life: spatial -the role of place, temporal - changes from older to younger Wiradjuri, and social - inter-cultural groups of kin and others. These are analytic

distinctions. In reality, they are inseparably inter-twined in the vicissitudes of daily Wiradjuri life. I examine the roles of history, place, class, and generation in the understandings and enactment of relatedness across different social contexts.

Relational: Relatedness, morality and being

Wiradjuri relatedness is based on interactions between people - as groupings - who are understood as sharing a common moral 'inter-subjectivity' (Sahlins 2013), a 'way of being' (Macdonald 1986), or a 'commonality' (Sansom 1982). Wiradjuri people speak about relationships they valued through a specific vocabulary. They place emphasis on how people should be 'kind,' 'generous,' 'caring and sharing,' and in particular, how they should 'look after' each other, introduced above. My approach starts with this idea of 'looking after;' examining the economic, social and emotional meanings it embodies. 'Looking after' refers to a moral framework, which guides the values and rules of social interactions and practices, including forms of contemporary Wiradjuri sharing and everyday socialising. Looking after is deeper and more fundamental than living by normative rules; it is a way of being a 'good' Wiradjuri person, and elicits certain emotional states of being according to whether one is being looked after or not, or is looking after or not. These include a range of states of being from happiness to loneliness and boredom.

The concept of looking after in Aboriginal Australia is not new in anthropology. Some anthropologists have addressed looking after as a component of Aboriginal leadership and authority, such as Berndt and Berndt (1970), Sansom (1982), Myers (1982), and Macdonald (1986). Others, such as Von Sturmer(1980: 288) have examined the concept of looking after as 'nurturance', and the inter-relationship between 'looking after' and 'working for.' Since the publication of Myers's (1986) influential ethnography *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self*, concepts of looking after, alongside autonomy

and relatedness, have been quietly present in Australian Aboriginal anthropology. Myers's concepts were developed out of his ethnographic research among the Pintupi of the Western Desert. They have become a de rigour explanation of Aboriginal relatedness in anthropology. The concepts of autonomy and relatedness have been expanded through anthropological research within other areas of Aboriginal Australia. Martin (1993) examined how autonomy and relatedness was created and maintained through cultural practices, such as shaming and fighting among the Wiki people of Aurukun, Cape York Peninsula, Macdonald (1988b, 2000) elaborates on autonomy and relatedness through her analysis of fighting and economic practices among the Cowra Wiradjuri, New South Wales, Heil (2003) has examined it within the context of health and well-being among Ngiyampaa and Wiradjuri people of Murrin Bridge, New South Wales, and Eickelkamp's (2011) analysis of Anangu constructions of autonomy and selves among children, particularly young girls in the Western Desert. It is this body of work I build upon, and within my thesis I extend and critique the concepts of looking after, autonomy and relatedness, to a contemporary Wiradjuri sociality, one that involves kin and non-kin, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

The term 'looking after' among the Pintupi is *kanyininpa* and literally translates to 'holding.'

According to Myers, *kanyininpa*,

Derives from a linguistic expression describing how a small child is held in one's arm against the breast (*kanyirnyampungka*). The image of security, protection, and nourishment is immediate. Extension of this usage characterizes a wide range of relationships as variants of this mixture of authority and succour. An older woman who oversees and looks after the younger girls and women in the single women's camp is said to "hold" them. Most fully, the concept designates a central core of senior persons around whom juniors aggregate and by whom they are "held" (Myers 1986: 212).

Myers's concept of looking after comes from the Pintupi term '*kanyininpa*' literally translates 'to hold' and is used in a variety of ways: holding a baby to the breast, holding the law or Dreaming, or holding close kin (Myers 1986: 211-13). In English this is translated to 'looking after' rather than 'to hold.' Wiradjuri, who speak a mixture of English and Aboriginal English, also use the term 'looking after' to refer to specific Wiradjuri ways of being a good person.

Within a Pintupi world, looking after also refers to a range of values and social practices operating within a Pintupi moral code tied to their understanding of the world. Myers discusses Pintupi morality from the ontological angle of the Dreaming; the Dreaming simultaneously exists as external to and part of Pintupi individuals, and provides the framework for the law or morality to which people (must) abide. The Dreaming is enacted and embodied through both ceremonies related to the Dreaming, primarily initiation, and everyday social practices, such as looking after. Myers understands Pintupi morality to be located around the edges of emotion and within the ambit of the Dreaming. This is because Pintupi do not understand morality to exist within the person, but rather within the Dreaming of which they (and everything else) are part of and which is accessed through different mediums, both ceremonial and every day.

The cultural framework for emotion and morality varies between different groups of people. The Dreaming as an overarching cosmology no longer exists for the Bogan River Wiradjuri as it did in their past, or how it does now for the Pintupi and other western and central desert Aboriginal groups. Among Wiradjuri, language and ceremonies associated with the Dreaming have ceased, yet cosmological principles found in older Dreaming stories, such as hierarchy and authority created by teaching and looking after, continue to be salient features of everyday life. Although the Dreaming, as both a source and expression of those cosmological principles is no longer present among

Wiradjuri, this does not mean a Wiradjuri morality has ceased to exist. Wiradjuri morality continues as a collective way of being, which is socially situated and reproduced through relationships between the self and others. The separation of cosmology and morality is not unusual. All societies transform, but the communal force of a particular morality often extends beyond the institutional life of the religious or ceremonial structures that embodied it in its earlier form. For example, the rules or ways of being within many Anglo-Australian relationships are governed by a Christian morality, even though most people have ceased to traditionally adhere to Christian beliefs and practices, such as creationism, regular prayer, or attending church. Many people in Australia are now secular or adhere to more recent, transformed forms of Christianity but many core values and social traditions come from older Christian origins. In Australia, this is sustained by local familial structures and formal institutions, such as the legal, juridical system based on Roman law. Unsupported by the wider judicial and governance systems in mainstream Australia, the Wiradjuri moral code is reproduced and sustained through the socio-centric structures of, and ego-centric relationships, within local Wiradjuri relatedness. In other words, the emotional and moral values of an older cosmological framework continue to impact everyday relationships, albeit in varied forms.

According to Myers (1986), individual, egocentric relationships are dialectically maintained by a continual tension of differentiation: autonomy versus relatedness. For the Pintupi, cultural practices such as ritual, marriage and exchange temporarily resolve differentiation and reproduce relatedness. Events, such as fighting or moving camps, temporarily resolve relatedness by reproducing differentiation. This way of explaining the relationship between the Aboriginal self and other has remained present in much of contemporary anthropological thinking about Aboriginal personhood and ways of life.

Although not explicitly stated, Myers's explanation of the cultural conception of a Pintupi self as a united self - autonomous yet embedded in relationality - is drawn from his distinction between Aboriginal selves and a Western individualised self - the point of view from which he is writing. The Western self is often described as individuated, egocentric, and bounded, in contrast to non-Western selves as being less individuated, less autonomous and more independent and relational (Glaskin 2012: 298). I take the approach that all selves are both individual and relational, whether they be blackfellas or whitefellas, yet being a relational self, means relatedness is affected by who the other is in the relationship. At the time of Myers's research in the 1980s, the Pintupi were a Western Desert linguistic group residing in fairly isolated conditions, with exception to their other Western Desert neighbours, such as the Pitjantjatjara. Among the Pintupi, both the self and the other are Pintupi and kin. Among Wiradjuri, 'the other' includes a range of Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people, with each category including kin and non-kin. I examine the ways in which the Wiradjuri social world has changed over time, specifically in the contexts of consanguineal and affinal kin, and friendships, as to identify the characteristics of self in the relationships that inform Wiradjuri social life today.

An ethnographic approach

Exploring Peak Hill

When I drove into Peak Hill from the south-east on the Newell Highway, my gaze was drawn first to a faded sign advertising the 'Open Cut Experience.' This is a reference to the main tourist attraction within the township; toxic pits of purple, cyanide-infused water that once formed part of a prosperous, open cut gold mine. Next, I noticed a more modern sign with advertisements, warning me of the dangers of producing and consuming amphetamines on one side and explaining the benefits of education for women on the other. As I continued driving, I passed the hospital on the right and the school on the left. The Catholic Church drew my attention, standing white and tall on the right, the largest building in town. On the left I passed a motel, the kind I have seen in many a town throughout rural New South Wales and Victoria. I briefly wondered how much business they get. Noticing a service station, the only functioning one left in town, I drove over to purchase drinks and snacks to take to my new home. Another service station was located across the road and even though it appeared to be open, it looked old and abandoned. A big sign at the front boldly stated 'No fuel.' Shortly beyond the old service station and a few old, weatherboard mining cottages, I reached the middle of town. The whole process of driving in and absorbing the new sights of my future field site had taken two minutes.

For local people, the drive into town goes in a blink of an eye. Nearly all obey the quiet 50km an hour speed limits as the main street of Peak Hill is rife with speed traps and breathalyser checkpoints, usually manned by one particularly overzealous young officer. The town's four-bed hospital handles the carnage of the almost always busy truck-lined highway. The wide main street

hosts an agricultural shop, craft shops, the Country Cottage Cafe, a barber, chemist, take-away food shop, and an independent grocer.

In some ways Peak Hill is like other small, semi-abandoned towns across rural New South Wales, towns formed in cycles of economic boom and bust, and now exist almost deserted. During my initial exploration, I felt transported to an Australia of the 1970s, a time before large fast-food chains and franchised retail shops dominated the landscape. Like an imagined scene of time past, Peak Hill's main street is quiet and tidy, with old colonial buildings, a park with manicured rose gardens and swept pavements. Adding to the imagery of a former golden time, were children playing games in near-deserted streets and elderly people sitting on their decorated verandas drinking tea in the late afternoon sun. I could roll down the car window and literally breathe in the serenity. Well, so I thought in my naivety.

Peak Hill is spatially organised in a grid pattern. Two streets run parallel to the main street on either side. I would later notice that not all the houses were perfectly renovated mining cottages on large blocks of manicured grass and garden. Some houses were much smaller and badly in need of repair, with fallen trees, peeling paint, broken roofs and verandas. These houses do not have gardens, but long grass cushioning the rusting bodies of old Holdens and Fords. In between the few open businesses, I realised many of the shop fronts had long been closed and boarded up. Other vacant buildings were being used to house an assortment of scrap, such as old car parts, broken farming machinery, building materials and commercial rubbish. Later, I learnt that several buildings, including two pubs, the hardware store, clothing store, cinema, and a few houses had all burnt down over the years, destroyed by a combination of arson and accident.

Peak Hill is socio-economically heterogeneous, with a visibly uneven spatial distribution of wealth. On the one hand, the old homesteads with their established rose gardens, the grand Catholic Church, colonial Community Hall, art deco inspired Arts and Craft Centre, and even the Carrington Hotel – the burnt out remnants of a once impressive, two story hotel – evoke the wealth of the older pastoral and mining industries. On the other hand, the vacant shopfronts and broken houses visibly highlight economic struggle.

I begin to notice details indicative of cultural difference, as well as class distinctions. Houses and yards are kept in different ways. Some yards have green lawns, mowed short with not a blade of grass out of place. Cars and belongings are packed away in large lock-up garages, behind security fences and gates. Everything is clean and shining, including the flagpoles where Australia's British heritage is proudly displayed. Other houses do not have fences, gates or garages. Their yards are filled with untamed plants, cars, children's toys, tools, clothes, bottles and plenty of outside furniture to cater for lots of people. In these yards there are no flagpoles, apart from the occasional Aboriginal flag pinned to a wall or window, yet there is evidence of people and use, something absent from the former. These differences pull me out of my 1970s Anglo-Australian rural dream and remind me that Peak Hill is a place in which both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people co-habit.

Peak Hill's population is predominantly Anglo-Australian and Aboriginal. The 2011 Australian ABS population census records of Peak Hill's non-Aboriginal residents as having ancestry which is English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, in descending order. Of the approximately 1000 people who live within the town, only 33 individuals were born overseas. These are people who came to Australia, and to Peak Hill, in the last 50 years. The majority of families have been living in Peak Hill for generations. The Anglo-Australian dominance in Peak Hill is visually apparent, not only in the public

design and private style of the town's buildings and residences but in the English style lawns and gardens, containing roses, lavender, and gardenias. Alongside the Australian flag, the British Union Jack is displayed in some public and private spaces. In the cafes and gift stores, pictures of rolling green hilled landscapes and bowls of fruit adorn the walls. In the Country Cottage Café, white china and polished cutlery sits on top of checked table cloths. The menu boasts such English treats as Devonshire tea and fish and chips. The gift stores contain knitted baby clothes, crocheted coat hangers, patchwork placemats and appliquéd handkerchiefs. The Visitor's Centre, also the local museum, contains a replica of the gold mine. Presentation of the local mining industry is intercepted with farming histories, symbolised by displays of old farm machinery, mining tools, and kitsch household appliances from the early twentieth century. Paintings of farms and the old wheat silos, originally the first major wheat silos in Australia built in 1918, which now sit, unused, on the edge of town, illustrate a bygone era of local production.

The British-Australian landscape of the main street encapsulates symbolism of the rural 'Aussie Battler'; images of poor white miners seeking gold to strike it rich, rusting reminders of early pastoral attempts to tame the wilderness into economic success and grain farmers trying to survive the more recent economic changes in rural production industries. At the time I surmised that if I had wanted to create a postcard of a settler Australia – deeply embedded in Christian British traditions yet so desperate for the perceived egalitarianism of being able to 'make it' in the new nation – I would take a photo of Peak Hill.

I had come to Peak Hill to research Wiradjuri ways of being: their relationships to each other and to country, yet during my initial exploration of Peak Hill, I had momentarily almost forgotten Peak Hill had an Aboriginal population. The spatial landscape of Peak Hill was so dominated by Anglo-

Australian imagery and, alternatively, the Wiradjuri presence in Peak Hill was subtle, discreetly hidden from view. In fact, thirty percent of the town's population are Aboriginal, predominantly Wiradjuri. This is a significantly higher percentage than many other towns in the Wiradjuri region of central New South Wales. Cowra, for example, has a six percent Aboriginal population and Wellington has fifteen percent. Looking closely and deliberately I did begin to notice a quiet, subdued Aboriginal presence. The Local Aboriginal Land Council was tucked behind the Centrelink Office, in an old, colonial bank building. I later learnt that the Land Council owned the building and once had a prominent street presence but they needed the income from renting out the front part of the building to keep the Land Council functioning. The Warramunga Aboriginal Co-operative seemed even more circumspect with its unobtrusive shop front. The Aboriginal Medical Service is housed in an old, colonial house with a small wooden sign and Aboriginal flag in the front, a small indication the house is an Aboriginal business rather than a residential property. I had expected something more, some kind of visual representation of the local Aboriginal heritage and history. It occurred to me that perhaps my understanding of how Aboriginality is spatially and visually represented in rural Australia needed some adjustment.

Later that evening, settled into my new home as a guest of a local Wiradjuri family, I paused to reflect upon my initial feelings of being in Peak Hill, the town I would spend the next fifteen or so months in. I felt strangely ambivalent and kind of disappointed. Peak Hill appeared too familiar, too white. It reminded me of the Australia older members of my own family spoke of when they reminisced about the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The kind of Australia where everything was 'simple': people worked hard, looked after their families and respected their country with a generous dose of patriarchy, racism, nationalism and Christianity. It was the kind of Australia in which Aboriginal people, migrants, and other 'undesirables' were pushed to the margins, simultaneously excluded and

included, socially segregated yet expected to assimilate into mainstream Australia. It was a place where established wealthy farming families lived alongside recently arrived, struggling labourers. My field site felt somewhat like something in between an English nursing home and a rural ghetto. Little did I know at this time that contained within the quiet fading landscape simmered a tumultuous, colonial history which would boil over as I came to experience the vibrant social presence of both Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian people.

Living in Peak Hill: Some methodological considerations

When I initially began my ethnographic fieldwork, I sought out the local stories and histories of Wiradjuri families to understand how contemporary Wiradjuri life had changed in light of local colonial and historical transformations, such as forced relocations, reduced employment and responses to Aboriginal targeted state policies. My thesis includes some of these stories and my analysis of them, as well as my own observations. I do not claim to speak for Wiradjuri people: they have their own voices, and some forceful and political ones at that. I speak about Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness as an anthropologist who spent sixteen months conducting fieldwork with Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, during 2010 and 2011. I do not speak simply as an outsider or insider because at times I was neither and both. The dichotomy of outsider and insider, or emic and etic, is too simplistic when discussing the role of the ethnographer. Although there is much variation in how social scientists have employed the terms emic and etic, for example see Headland et al (1990), it is generally accepted among anthropologists to refer to the distinction between an insider and outsider account. According to Pike (1954) the emic is an account of behaviour that comes from a person within the culture and the etic account is that of the observer. Although my work is officially an etic account, at times during the initial stages of my fieldwork I did not feel like an etic observer, rather I

felt like a visitor, sometimes - an intruder. At other times, later in my fieldwork, I also did not feel like a partial observer, or just an outsider; to say so I would be ignoring the complexity of relationships I had become involved with. I was not an insider either, but straddling the division between the emic and etic.

Anthropologists occupy a unique social and professional position in groups they work with. Generally speaking, the anthropologists will not be residing at their field site forever, and the people they work with are aware of this. Aboriginal Australian people - all too familiar with the temporary nature of white academics - react to this history of transience from the very outset of the anthropologist's field work. Aboriginal people in south-eastern Australia have had previous personal and professional experiences with non-Aboriginal academics and workers, both positive and negative, and due to this - tend to treat new researchers with caution and suspicion. This was my experience. I was allowed into the Wiradjuri world of Peak Hill as much as people would permit, rather than as much as I wanted. The agency of my involvement had two distinct angles. First, the success of my involvement would be determined by my personal and professional characteristics: whether I was personable, honest and ethical. The second, less controllable aspect was determined by the people I worked with: dependent on their past experiences of local colonialism, community development, and other histories of 'white' involvement in the lives of Wiradjuri people.

As the anthropologist enters their new world, they immediately begin to filter it through the lens of previous knowledge and past experiences. My experiences of working with Aboriginal people in an applied anthropology context in south-eastern Australia were both an advantage and hindrance in Peak Hill. On one hand, my familiarity of working and socialising with other Aboriginal people was socially advantageous and I was able to relate to people well and communicate clearly. On the other

hand, this was also a hindrance, as I had a specific kind of knowledge, which, when imposed on what I observed in the early days, produced misconceptions which later had to be unravelled. I would interpret an event, a conversation or situation based on my previous experiences, rather than allowing each new experience to be interpreted in the present, within its own context. I had to actively monitor my thought processes and suspend the natural reaction of interpreting information from past research experiences. Slowly, over time, these early reactions developed into gateways of new and reviewed information. Wiradjuri people were quick to test my previous experiences with Aboriginal people. After learning of my upbringing in Alice Springs, Northern Territory and previous work experiences with Aboriginal mobs around Victoria and southern New South Wales, some of whom are kin to Wiradjuri, it became expected that I would 'know' what was going on. I found myself in many a situation where someone would begin to explain to me what was happening and then stop, with a brief laugh, wave of the hand, and say, 'Well you know how it is, you know what Kooris are like!' To which I would have to protest that I did not know and ask people to explain things in more depth.

Other hindrances also caused difficulties in the beginning. Local people were naturally suspicious of why I, a young, unmarried, and childless woman from Sydney, would leave my busy, urban life to reside and work in a sleepy, small town where I knew no one. Rumours flared upon my arrival, based on a range of personal and social concerns to more serious professional ones. I had imagined that I would instantly begin my research: diving into interviews, site visits and daily life, but it soon became apparent that this would not be the case. Some women expressed typical concerns that many people experience upon the arrival of new, unmarried addition to their social world, such as 'can I trust her around my husband?' Personal concerns were abated, though slowly, by gaining the trust of local women, elderly and young. Other professional concerns were the result of previous

Wiradjuri experiences in land rights, native title, and generally dealing with ‘white do-gooders from the city’ who come to the region with what local people understand to be big hearts but empty heads when it comes to understanding local, rural Australian ways of life. Other concerns were of an ethical nature, what would happen with my research? Where would it be kept? Who would have access to it? Eventually I worked through the different concerns and was welcomed to Peak Hill, first socially and, later, professionally.

This was a process. My relationships with people in Peak Hill started as a quick smile or nod down the main street, but I was not initially welcomed into daily socialising or family life within peoples’ houses, with the exception of a small number of people, including the family I resided with. I tried to initiate conversations but these tended to fall flat after I had explained why I was in Peak Hill and my research methodology, resulting in long moments of awkward silence. In the beginning, I was not welcomed into social life at the pub – the main social establishment in town – unless I was accompanied by older women. My first and most trusted female friends cautioned me that attempting conversation and research with any local men in such a casual and social setting could be viewed as flirtation and inappropriate. I was further warned that forcing interactions, my usual, perhaps too direct style, could result in fights between myself and younger or more jealous residents of town, both verbal and physical. As I confronted different rumours head on, I realised the warnings were not exaggerated. At first, when I visited Wiradjuri homes I was greeted with explanations of why people did not want to talk with me; ranging from time constraints due to work and family, previous and current political concerns stemming predominantly from previous native title experiences and simple but polite statements of disinterest, ‘No thank you, I don’t want to talk.’

The local, white residents of town, particularly the wealthier members of middle class, initially took my presence on board enthusiastically, introducing themselves and providing me with names and details of other white people whom I could speak with, as well as giving me their own opinions about Wiradjuri 'culture.' At the three month mark into my fieldwork I felt despair and questioned my presence in the field: things were turning out all wrong. My research methodology relied on me speaking primarily with Wiradjuri people, not just white farmers and service providers. At the time I did not realise how valuable this experience, and the information gleaned, would later be for understanding the social and cultural dynamics of Peak Hill.

I could not specify an event or moment in time, but at some point my ethnographic positioning began to change and I realised I was fulfilling my original purpose. I was spending nearly all of my time with Wiradjuri people, ranging from the older members of families to the younger generation, whose families now consisted of both Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri members. I began to understand that my field of study was not just Wiradjuri people, as the contemporary Wiradjuri social world of Peak Hill includes non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal and white relations -kin, friends, neighbours, and workmates. I was working with a class of families. I do not mean class in the classic economic sense but rather as a socio-economic category of sociality, more historically dynamic and precise than a particular 'culture' (Sider 2003: 66). It was within this class of families that my position had changed. I was welcome in some family homes, attended local football matches, went to the pub and was invited to parties. To put it simply, I was in. Not in the same way as a close relation or long standing resident of town, but I was included in the social domain of daily Wiradjuri life in Peak Hill.

Over time my inclusion extended to the economic and political domains of daily Wiradjuri life.

Initially I gave away food, tobacco, lifts in my car, and money, and, then, eventually began to make

my own demands when my fieldwork funds fell short. I discovered the feeling of ‘running short,’ or running out of money, petrol, and food long before my next scholarship pay was due to arrive in my bank account. Although I initially felt uncomfortable asking people for food, drinks, or money, I soon discovered the feeling of being cared for and looked after, as Wiradjuri friends happily dropped around offering some extra groceries, tobacco, or drinks, and expecting me to ask for money to fuel my car or for a social outing. Through the simple acts of accepting offers, asking and sometimes demanding in return, a whole new world of daily Wiradjuri kin-based economy opened before me. As my relationships with Wiradjuri people grew closer and more inter-dependent, I began to offer more of myself. I firmly placed myself into political conversations and offered my opinion whether it was asked for or not. I developed a new-found freedom to argue and disagree with close people and found myself embroiled in the occasional (verbal) fight. I attended community meetings and people began to discuss family and political matters with me, rather than just conversations about stock standard generalisations of ‘Aboriginal culture’ or what they believed I wanted to hear. I was able to dig deeper, to discover what it meant to be a contemporary Wiradjuri person in Peak Hill. Instead of analysing kinship and relatedness from my previous, more distant position of just observing categories, roles and functions, I begin to understand what it actually felt like to be related, the emotional side of the intense and messy relations which formed the basis of daily life.

Glossary

To protect the identity and confidentiality of peoples' contributions to this thesis I employ pseudonyms. This was a condition of the people I worked with. For some people, who were regular voices of my thesis, I found that the use of a singular pseudonym was not adequate to protect their identity and I have provided some people with an additional pseudonym. The surnames included are real surnames, unless otherwise indicated.

The following glossary defines commonly used terms in Peak Hill.

Blackfella	An Aboriginal person
<i>Boori</i>	Lying (deceiving) or a child
Bruv	Brother
Cockie	Anglo-Australia farmer or station owner
Condo	Condobolin, a town located in central west New South Wales
Cuz	Cousin
Gil	Gilgandra , a town located in central west New South Wales
Grippy	Feeling frightened, scared, or uneasy, most likely stemming from the verb 'to grip'
Growly	Feeling cranky, angry or disciplining
Gubbah	A non-Aboriginal person, derived from the early pidgin term 'government man'
<i>Gudjuk</i>	Gross or undesirable
<i>Gungab</i>	Tree Goanna or Lace Monitor (<i>Varanus varius</i>)
Koori	An Aboriginal person of New South Wales or Victoria
'Mish'	Government housing occupied by Wiradjuri people, located on the edge of Peak Hill

'Mission'	Bulgandramine Mission
Missus	Wife
Pokies	Poker machines
Red Dust	Peak Hill
'Rowl	A fight or argument, stemming from 'growl'
Tidda	Sister
Wiradjuri	Refers to Bogan River Wiradjuri unless otherwise specified, meaning the people and language of the upper Bogan River, New South Wales
Whitefella	A non-Aboriginal person
<i>Yoori</i>	Spiritual creature that resembles a small, hairy man

Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ALRA (NSW)	<i>Aboriginal Land Rights Act</i> (NSW) 1983
ALRA (NT)	<i>Aboriginal Land Rights Act</i> (NT) 1976
AMS	Aboriginal Medical Service
APB	Aborigines Protection Board
AWB	Aborigines Welfare Board
DOCS	Department of Community Service
NSW	New South Wales
NTA	<i>Native Title Act</i> (Cwth) 1993
PSC	Parkes Shire Council

Thesis outline

My thesis is organised into two main themes. First, the structures, and, second, the meanings and expressions of relatedness. Although these themes overlap and are not able to be more than analytically distinguished, the first part of the thesis - Chapters 2 to 6, examines how Wiradjuri people classify and structure place, kin, friends, and affines into a broader category of relatedness. The second part of the thesis, Chapters 7 and 8, analyses Wiradjuri morality, as expressed and shared within close Wiradjuri relationships. Specifically I address the moral framework and emotional states of being fundamental to Wiradjuri economic and social practices.

Chapter 2 presents a history of the Bogan River Wiradjuri and Peak Hill, focusing on changes to the domestic sphere of Wiradjuri life. This is the domain for relatedness. I concentrate on three major historical changes - the local, forced relocations of Wiradjuri people from older camps and pastoral changes to Bulgandramine Mission, from Bulgandramine Mission to the Hill, and, last, from the Hill to town, Peak Hill. By highlighting these movements over time and place, I am able to present a general conceptualisation of 'cultural generations,' which I draw on throughout the thesis to understand changes between older and younger Wiradjuri.

In Chapter 3 I introduce the role of place in relatedness, a theme which continues into Chapters 4 to 6. In Chapter 3, I examine only one aspect of place - the bush, exploring the role of non-human elements in Wiradjuri relatedness. I show that there are differences between older and younger Wiradjuri meanings and ways of relating to the bush, hence, differences in morality concerning how one should act in the bush; looking after and being looked after by country as compared with younger peoples' more objectified and disembodied meanings of country.

In Chapter 4 I turn from the bush to town to unpack the different Wiradjuri meanings of being part of a ‘mob.’ First, I examine the way the mob is used relation to places, especially the town of Peak Hill and Bulgandramine mission. Second, using linguistic constructions, I analyse the role of ancestry and genealogy in the way Wiradjuri people classify groupings of kin. Next, using kinship terminology I explore the usefulness and limitations of a performative kinship model in conceptualising how Wiradjuri understand their relationships with various kin-defined others.

Chapter 5 continues with an examination of Wiradjuri social structures, extending these from kinship to friendships. Although friendship as a category of sociality does not give rise to formal social structures and are, instead, ego-centric, I use Chapter 5 to discuss various dimensions of Wiradjuri friendships, including topics such as class, gender, ethnicity, mateship, autonomy and the social, nicknames, swearing, and racial labelling. In doing so, I am able to demonstrate how Wiradjuri sociality also includes friends, as well as place and kin, and how friendship is enacted within cultural values and practices present in Wiradjuri relatedness with close kin more generally.

Chapter 6 examines the category of affines. I return to the theme of historical and generational change between older and younger Wiradjuri, analysing how categories of ‘the other’ have changed, particularly with respect to marriage. I argue that the expansion of the ‘too close’ rule concerning potential marriage partners has resulted in Wiradjuri moving from endogamy to exogamy, increasing the amount of marriages between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people. Towards the end of Chapter 6, I move into the second section of the thesis, connecting the chapters to follow, by the use of a case study of Wiradjuri/White relationships so as to bring to light some of the economic, spatial, social, and moral complexities that arise out of Wiradjuri relatedness, which includes a white other.

Chapters 7 and 8 revisit the various forms of relatedness described earlier in order to examine moral and emotional states of being. I focus on two different but related sets of practices associated with 'looking after': sharing and socialising. I unpack what it means when Wiradjuri people refer to themselves as 'kind,' 'generous,' 'sharing and caring.' Chapter 7 looks at giving and receiving through the practices and values of demand-sharing. I include practices not well-considered by the demand-sharing literature, such as giving, swapping, and buying and selling. I examine these practices from a psycho-social and economic perspective, and look at the relationship between demand-sharing, happiness and well-being.

Chapter 8 turns to the characteristics of day-to-day socialising, including inter-generational. I delve into two inter-twined emotional states of being: loneliness and boredom. I argue that, as emotions are representative of the self and resistant to change, the avoidance of loneliness and boredom, or seeking happiness, illustrates the informal rules and the moral framework of Wiradjuri social life. More specifically, it is in this chapter the significance of the metaphor of 'looking after' for Wiradjuri is brought to light.

In bringing the analysis to a close in Chapter 9, I reflect on a case study of a funeral to illustrate how previously discussed aspects of Wiradjuri relatedness play out in practice. In doing so, I return to the four thematic considerations which have been threaded throughout the thesis: the spatial, temporal, social, and relational dynamics of Wiradjuri relatedness. I propose a way in which to conceptualise Wiradjuri relatedness which goes beyond the norms and expectations associated with kin-defined relationships. I do this in relation, not in opposition, to kinship as a way of understanding relatedness by focusing on the content of close relations among both kin and non-kin. The content of a close kin relationship, as it is argued, is not an outcome of kinship structures, norms, and

expectations per se, but a particular way of being in a relationship, characteristic of closeness. This way of being in a relationship distinguishes between who becomes close as opposed to distant kin, as well as close friends from non-kin outside one's close social network. Even in this predominantly kin-orientated world, relatedness is not about 'being kin' but about who gets looked after, who looks after whom, and what looking after entails.

Chapter 2. Bogan River Wiradjuri and Peak Hill: From the bush to town

In this chapter I travel from past to present and from place to place, to provide the reader with the necessary historical and conceptual information to understand the transformations and complexities of contemporary Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness discussed in the following chapters. I do this in three sections. The first is a targeted history which is focused upon significant historical changes to Wiradjuri life after colonisation. In the second I offer a conceptual model in which to understand how Wiradjuri have been affected by such historical changes, particularly the forced re-locations of people by the state. Last, using the terminology developed in the former section I present a narrative of contemporary, daily Wiradjuri life, to bring the reader from the past into present.

Wiradjuri relatedness operates within the domestic sphere of everyday, social life. The home and residential community are the social domains for relatedness: this is where relationships are enacted and perform within the everyday. The following history is brief, however, within it I offer an understanding of the major changes to the Wiradjuri domestic sphere over the past century. The most significant historical changes are three forced relocations of Wiradjuri people by the state, which can be summarily introduced as:

1. From local country and pastoral stations to Bulgandramine Mission
2. From Bulgandramine Mission to the Hill
3. From the Hill to town, Peak Hill.

The history presented below includes a strong emphasis on local infrastructure, housing, and resources, such as food and daily survival. This is deliberate, as it is how the history was told to me in the field and how it has been recorded in most historical sources. Second, the emphasis on local infrastructure and resources is a primary way of encapsulating a lifestyle - a feeling of being there, which is important for Wiradjuri story-telling. It is central to the ways in which local historical and social lives are reproduced over generations.

Highlighting changes to housing and resources is also a local approach to understanding and explaining the broader, colonial purpose of state interference. In contrast, the period marked by the formal policy of assimilation could be told through policy planning, ideology and discourse, but this is not how Wiradjuri people experienced assimilation. For them, assimilation was a lived reality: criticisms of hygiene and home care, the end of living in Aboriginal-controlled residential communities separate from town, feelings of fear and despair about welfare and children, and so on. Wiradjuri history is captured in changes to the local landscape and, although sometimes invisible to the outsider's eye, these changes signify, like place names or signs, the social and emotional significance of having a Wiradjuri past.

A brief history of the Bogan River Wiradjuri

Prior to their colonisation by the British in the early nineteenth century Wiradjuri people lived in kin-based groupings within their country, territories that were defined by the catchments of the vast river system in New South Wales. Just as the river system itself linked the country, people were connected by marriage, trade, and ceremony across the region. The terror of their colonisation led to substantial deaths from massacres and disease. During early colonisation Wiradjuri country was turned into vast pastoral runs. Although forced off some lands, the pastoral stations provided a form of retreat. Where the owner or manager of the station could see the benefits of developing a relationship with them, Wiradjuri people could continue to camp in their family groupings, becoming employed in various capacities in the valuable pastoral industry.

The early pastoral stations in the district were vast and included Bulgandramine (44,800acres), Genanagic (76,000acres), Tomingley (22,400acres), and Wando Wandong (35,000acres). Wiradjuri families were employed in many of them, including Bulgandramine, Mungery and Waterloo (Powell & Macdonald 2001: 6). Men worked as shearers, riders, fencers, land clearing, and on the harvest. Women were employed in contexts in the homesteads such as, cooking, cleaning, laundry, and helping with the raising of white children. Aboriginal women took to riding horses as well as the men and sometimes worked as stock hands (Goodall 1996: 60), although their opportunities were constrained by the gender distinctions of the British.

As demands for land intensified, pressure on Aboriginal people also grew. Two movements changed these conditions. First was the intensification of demands for land by migrants flooding into Australia, particularly after the initial gold rush of the mid-nineteenth century. The other was the increasing demands that Aboriginal people were making to have land they could farm for

themselves. The white demands for land in the face of increased population pressure were met at the expense of Aboriginal ones. The vast pastoral stations were subdivided and their Aboriginal residents expelled, leading the Colonial Government to create Aboriginal Reserves for the Diaspora. Only a few of these were large enough for Aboriginal enterprise and were primarily a way of providing segregated residential spaces. Between 1861 and 1884, 32 Aboriginal Reserves were created across New South Wales and most of them were created before the establishment of the Aborigines Protection Board (APB) in 1883 (Goodall 1996: 85). Between 1885 and 1894 the APB recommended the creation of another 85 reserves.

The establishment of the APB in 1883 was part-humanitarian and part-state control. The APB was expected to manage the reserves, and this led to an extreme form of supervisory control over the lives of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. Initially, there was no legislation to sanction the actions of the APB, or other groups, such as missionaries, or private land holders.

‘Living in sardine cans’: Pastoralism, segregation and Bulgandramine Mission

What Wiradjuri people called ‘Bulgandramine Mission’ was land excised from the splitting up of Bulgandramine Station. It was already a Wiradjuri camp located where Gundong Creek flows into the Bogan River. Gundong Creek formed the Wiradjuri route from the Bogan River over the range to meet the creeks of the Macquarie River. About half way upstream is the small town of Tomingley, located 20kms northwest of Peak Hill, was also the site of a Wiradjuri camp. Although marked on early maps (Chappel 1988: 13), Tomingley was not formally gazetted as an Aboriginal reserve, perhaps because of the influx of gold miners. Dandaloo reserve was created in 1885, and Bulgandramine in 1905. When Dandaloo was closed some residents moved to Bulgandramine until it too was closed in 1941.

Bulgandramine Mission is located 22kms northwest of Peak Hill. It was gazetted as an Aboriginal Station in 1905. As in the case for many of the pastoral stations in the area, Bulgandramine is the original Wiradjuri name meaning people (*maayn*) of the place (*-dera*, suffix) of the hill country (*bulga*) (Garnsey 1946: 52-53). An earlier translation was the 'place of the white Beech tree' (Richardson 1899: 212), although this cannot be substantiated by contemporary older Wiradjuri.

There are few Wiradjuri people presently living in Peak Hill who remember life on Bulgandramine. In Peak Hill the mean age of death for Aboriginal people is lower than average. According to the ABS only 6% of the total Aboriginal population in Peak Hill is alive over 60 years of age, compared to 35% of non-Aboriginal people. Due to the tragic discrepancy of life expectancy, most people who were children or young adults during the Bulgandramine period have passed on. I rely upon historical sources, as well as oral accounts collated from Bulgandramine residents (as children) and their descendents.

In 1907 the first huts were built at Bulgandramine and four families moved in (Macdonald 1996: 62). The huts were small and a family did not need to be very large to feel as if they were living in what people looked back on as 'sardine cans.' Many people built their own bark huts, which later gave way to houses they constructed from flattened kerosene tins, corrugated iron and timber (Keed 1985: 7). Hessian bags were dipped in white wash and used as wall coverings and for windows. Many of the houses had an open fire which doubled for cooking and warmth in the bitter winters. No electricity meant there were no stoves, although people did make kerosene heaters and lights. Beds were made from wire netting with mattresses made from wheat bags or government blankets, stitched together and stuffed with leaves, called 'bag-woggers.' The houses were often cold and draughty,

contributing to high incidence of influenza and colds. There was no running water, which contributed to gastroenteritis, a common cause of child deaths during this period.

The first manager was appointed by the Protection Board to look after the mission. According to present day Wiradjuri, the mission manager controlled the mission by insisting that all people living there had to seek permission to leave or enter the mission, regardless of the purpose of such movement. Whilst the mission manager granted permission for people to leave for work on the stations or to get supplies from town, he often refused requests also, meaning many people were denied the right to attend Wiradjuri-wide ceremonies and large funerals. It was during the time of Bulgandramine Mission older Wiradjuri ceremonies ceased. The last, large Wiradjuri *burbung*, or initiation ceremony, was recorded by Mathews in 1910 and, according to oral histories, the last, localised initiations ceased in the 1920s.

The travel restrictions imposed on Wiradjuri people by the mission manager had social consequences. Wiradjuri people at Bulgandramine could not as frequently and freely travel and visit local kin for important social events, such as births, marriages or funerals, as they had done in the past. Other (non-Bogan River) Wiradjuri families could visit, stay, or live at Bulgandramine if they were related, otherwise they had to camp outside. Local oral accounts place the population of Bulgandramine at six hundred people at its peak and these were mainly Bogan River Wiradjuri families (Keed 1985: 5). There were additional Wiradjuri people present from the Macquarie, Murrumbidgee and Lachlan rivers, usually spouses of Bogan River Wiradjuri.

Wiradjuri people at Bulgandramine were able to maintain regular employment in the pastoral and agricultural industries. This meant Wiradjuri predominantly subsisted on wages, supplemented with mission rations, hunting and gathering. As Bulgandramine was located away from town and in

familiar territory, Wiradjuri people could rely on their economic knowledge of country. They hunted bush foods, including goanna (*gungah*), echidna (known to Wiradjuri by the English term - 'porcupine'), possum, rabbit, bush turkey, duck, and quail. People fished for yellow belly, bream and mullet, alongside mussels and crayfish (yabbies). Both men and women hunted; men usually hunted the bigger game, such as wallaby, possum, emu and bush turkey while women hunted smaller game, such as goanna and fish (Macdonald 1996: 162). When wallabies and emus became scarce, children would go out for introduced rabbits and hares and older men hunted goanna and porcupine (Keed 1985: 14). Fruit and vegetables were purchased from the Chinese Australian gardener, Jim Long, who had a market garden across the river. When money was short, kind-hearted Long would provide the children with fruit and allow adults to work in the garden in exchange for produce. Wiradjuri people today fondly reminisce about the gentle farmer Long, who chose to move and remain with his Wiradjuri friends until his death, long after Bulgandramine Mission had closed.

'Living our way': From Bulgandramine Mission to the Hill

You know what, every time you moved us, every time you dug us up and moved us our roots went deeper. You couldn't kill us off, not like you do with the trees, we couldn't die. Our roots just went down deeper and deeper, and now they dug in, you won't ever get rid of us (Trudy, Wiradjuri woman, aged 71).

Bulgandramine Mission was closed in 1941 by the Board and Wiradjuri families were forced to move. The houses from Bulgandramine were knocked down and the timber was removed to the far west of New South Wales for housing at Brewarrina Mission (Keed 1985: 10). Although Bulgandramine was closed by the AWB as part of a broader assimilation project, there were other mitigating factors. Aboriginal activist, Bill Ferguson had previously criticised the conditions at Bulgandramine and had championed for Bulgandramine residents to be moved to a Talbragar, near

Dubbo, where he envisioned they would run a self-managed farm (Macdonald 2005: 192). There was no indication from the records or contemporary oral accounts that Wiradjuri people at Bulgandramine supported this move, as their kin ties to Dubbo are not particularly strong. Also, due to problems with infrastructure there were high incidences of gastroenteritis and diphtheria, contributing to high infant mortality. In 1940, the Public Service Board had reported that the houses, sanitation, water supply and other buildings were in need of repair, and approximated the cost at over one thousand pounds (Macdonald 2005: 190-91). These repairs were not made before Bulgandramine was closed in 1941.

After the closure of the mission, Bulgandramine residents, who did not want to leave, had nowhere to immediately move to. People initially left to find a place to stay wherever they could. Some returned to old and familiar camp grounds, whilst others sought shelter with kin in Condobolin, Wellington, Nyngan, Gilgandra, and Dubbo (Macdonald 1995: 188). Within a few years, most families returned back to old camping area, on the hill above Peak Hill. The Hill was comprised of two living areas. The 'Bottom Hill' was near the town common and the 'Top Hill' was near the current golf course. Wiradjuri people generally just refer to 'the Hill', which includes both living areas and the land in between.



Map 3: Wiradjuri residences around Peak Hill

Map 3 shows the location of the Bottom Hill, Top Hill and 'Mish' in relation to the town. The families living on the Hill included the Keed, Towney, Dargan, Read, Nolan, Naden, Ryan, Wighton, Solomon, Robinson, and West families.² Each family group had their own living area, where most contemporary middle-aged Wiradjuri were born, and grew up with their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, brothers and sisters.

² These are the actual surnamed kin groups, not pseudonyms.

People built their own houses on the Hill. At first Wiradjuri people resided in tents, often referred to as 'bag tents', made from canvas and hessian. Over time, bag tents gave way to skillions: a shed like structure adjoined to the tent with a fireplace and chimney and common room. Skillions were made from bark or tin, such as flattened kerosene tins. The skillions were structures similar to the accommodation at Bulgandramine. Houses replaced skillions, deliberately constructed with small rooms making them easier to heat in winter. Jillian, an older Wiradjuri woman who lived on the Hill with her family, remembers combating the freezing mornings by making fireplaces at either end of the houses; dug out and constructed from mud, complete with a mud chimney. The fires were warming fires only; there was a larger, open fire outside for cooking. In Jillian's house there were two small rooms, used to sleep in at night, store belongings, and occasionally to sit in, if it was raining heavily in winter. As time went on, people's houses became more spacious and better equipped with floor boards, kitchens, stoves and beds. Ochre or Calcima was used to paint the houses.³ The walls were lined with newspaper and white ochre was mixed with flour and water to make plaster, or white-wash, and painted onto the walls. Cracks in the walls were plugged with bits of tar or chunks of old Sunlight soap to prevent the winter rain from leaking in. Lights were kerosene lamps or fat lamps, fuelled by animal fat (lard). Toilets were fashioned from kerosene tins.

Trudy, who will become a prominent voice within this thesis, and whom I quoted above, is an older Wiradjuri woman whose family was forcibly removed from Bulgandramine Mission when she was a small child, and who then lived on the Hill until the late 1960s. Trudy's first marital home on the Hill was an army style tent. Later, a wall and floor of wooden boards were added and the tent pulled

³ Calcima was a type of paint made and used by Wiradjuri. The main ingredient of Calcima is limestone.

over them. Over time, and it was slow going, her husband continued to build onto their house. In the end he (with help from their relatives) had created a large six room, timber home. They had three bedrooms, a living area and separate kitchen, so they could share the kitchen space with other people who lived close by, such as Jillian. Trudy had a big fireplace in the kitchen with a separate stove and even a sink, complete with taps. There were no natural water supplies on the Hill and no plumbing, so Trudy's taps were attached to hoses and 44 gallon drums of water, regularly rolled down the Hill, re-filled with water and pushed back up. Trudy's husband wired their house with electricity, using caravan lights connected to a car battery. Trudy proudly speaks of the final touch: glass window panes to replace the old hessian bags. Her house was the only house on the Hill to have proper glass windows.

Other Wiradjuri families established weatherboard houses on the Hill using second grade timber from Tippings Saw Mill. Some families had large bedrooms, a front room, lounge room and kitchen, plastered with white wash or Calcima. Other families were content with smaller, simpler structures.

Jim, a middle aged Wiradjuri man, described living in on the Hill,

We lived in huts and tents with brushed, dirt floors and sometimes hessian for windows.

There was no water up there and they had to cart it up in 44 gallon drums. But they had lots of chickens and bush turkeys they let graze on the hill so Christmas feasts were always lovely. They had no electricity and used shell-lite and kerosene when they could. The women had to hand wash everything and everyone in big tubs and used the old irons you had to heat up on the fire. Everything was such hard work.

Life on the Hill was tough with temperatures creeping above forty degrees in summer and dropping to below zero in winter. None of the houses had heating (other than fires) or hot water for winter, nor air-conditioners or fans for summer.

The local council at the time, the Peak Hill Municipal Council, did not provide any assistance with housing or infrastructure; there was no electricity, plumbing, sewage, or garbage removal for Wiradjuri people living on the Hill. People risked being penalised by the Council for cutting down timber to build their houses. Trudy remembers her father was fined two pounds for cutting down green timber to build their house. Although the construction of houses was restricted by the availability of resources, there was freedom with design. Wiradjuri people could build their homes in ways which suited the size of their families and style of living. As families grew, additional rooms and spaces were added on, made from canvas, tin or timber. Homes were built around a large, communal outdoor space shared with neighbouring families for cooking, washing and socialising around the fire. Inside spaces were used less often; left clean for people to sleep in or young or sick children to rest.

The setting for many tales of life on the Hill is outside - in the large communal areas where Wiradjuri kin socialised, often in gendered groups. The spatial landscape reflected the Wiradjuri preference to be outside more frequently than in. They built 'bower sheds' outside; tin structures consisting of poles and a roof to protect people from the elements. Bower sheds were a place to socialise, to have a game of cards, a cup of tea or, sometimes, a drink. Gallon drums, from syrup or milk tins were used as seats. In summer, the dry, fierce heat was kept at bay by makeshift air conditioners, made from 'gubby blankets', dipped in cold water and hung from the roof of the

bower shed.⁴ The wind cooled as it travelled through the wet blanket to the occupants sitting behind it. In the winter time, the air conditioner was replaced by warming fires around the shed.

Most of the stories I was told about living up on the Hill were focused on survival, though within the tales of survival lay rich details of Wiradjuri social life. These stories are generally told with pride, as people carefully explain the ingenious methods used by the old people to turn a hillside bush camp with no water, into a lively, residential community. Some of those stories, the ones of real hardship, are spoken of with a quiet anger and sadness, yet interjected with moments of humour and laughter. One middle-aged man sadly recalled a time when his mother ate nothing but potato soup for two weeks so her children could eat while she waited for her husband to return from shearing with the next pay cheque. An older Wiradjuri woman angrily recounted the times of hardship when the men were away shearing and protein rich foods, such as eggs and meat, were scarce. Then with humour and delight, she recalled how her aunty once collected and fried up two tiny Robin's eggs – each the size of a ten cent coin – in a massive old cast iron frying pan, because she desperately wanted a taste of eggs, even a tiny taste. This story was told with laughter, as this older woman and her sister remembered how the two tiny fried eggs appeared so tiny in the large fry pan. It was humour tainted with anger, as they also recalled to me what it felt like to be hungry, not just hungry from missing lunch, but truly hungry. A Wiradjuri man, who had previously told me many playful stories of life on the Hill, quietly hid his tears of hurt and anger, as he remembered how upset his

⁴ 'Gubby blankets' in an Aboriginal English term, which refers to 'Gubment blankets,' taken from the English Government issued blankets. These blankets were distributed to Aboriginal people across Australia from the Government, often characterised by a stripe or tag, which was often removed. The term 'gubby' is similar to 'gubbah' which is another Aboriginal English term used in Peak Hill to refer to white people and also stems from the English word - government.

mother was because she did not realise, and was not told about, all of the bills she would have to pay when living in town – rent, electricity, water, and transport. He emotionally casts us back into his past, when he was a frightened child, peeking into the kitchen at his mother crying into the arms of her older sister because after the paying the bills she did not have money to buy her children food and other necessities that month. The same man then laughed with me about having to do hours of work after school in the local store, as punishment for ‘helping himself to Christmas that year for his family.’ But with tales of hardship come stories of survival, and Peak Hill Wiradjuri have plenty of both to share.

At Bulgandramine, ‘the welfare’ (a reference to the officials of the Aborigines Welfare Board) could come to the Hill at any time and enter the homes of the residents without consent. Wiradjuri women resentfully recall a Mr Kitchings who would perform spot checks on their homes, searching for evidence of untidiness or poverty, which would then be used to build cases of parental ‘neglect’. A charge of neglect was a common way to legitimise the removal of Aboriginal children and could include a range of things, such as children not wearing clothing, a lack of European food in the house, the house not being kept in the same ways as Europeans, or one of the parents - mother or father - being absent. The latter was a serious problem as many Wiradjuri men worked away from home shearing and the like. A charge of neglect mean the child was not living in what the state considered to be a middle-class Anglo-Australian lifestyle. Middle-aged, as well as older adults, remember as children having to run and hide when they saw the Welfare car, petrified they would be taken in that big, black car to end up in Cootamundra Girls or Kinchela Boys Homes.

'Living in town': Assimilation and forced settlement in Peak Hill

Wiradjuri people had moved themselves onto the Hill, re-establishing their small village, even without resources, sending their children to the town school, and shopping in town. Their presence on the Hill was not tolerated so well by residents of the town. Through the 1950s and 1960s, the Peak Hill Shire Council intensified its pressure on the Aborigines Welfare Board (AWB) to move them. Although often referred to as a 'move' by Wiradjuri, the movement was a process of forced relocations, rather than a single exodus as had happened with the closure of Bulgandramine. New houses were built to accommodate them in Whitton Park Road, on the far end of the town, and people were selected by the Board and told to move. Their homes on the Hill were then demolished.

Both the moves off Bulgandramine and the Hill were informed by the policy of assimilation which came into effect in New South Wales in 1951, following the Australian Convention for Native Welfare. This led to what became known as the assimilation policy, adopted in various states over the next two decades. Informally, assimilationist ideas were in place much earlier, from the 1940s. During a government conference for Commonwealth and state authorities, held in Canberra in 1937, it was stated that Aboriginal people were to be educated to a white standard; kept in benevolent supervision; and kept away from unemployable tribal natives who should remain segregated (Conference Proceedings 1937: 2).⁵ Assimilation was a response to the recognition that

⁵ The exact record: That this Conference affirms the principle that the general policy in respect of full-blood natives should be—

To educate to white standard, children of the detribalized living near centres of white population, and subsequently to place them in employment in lucrative occupations, which will not bring them into economic or social conflict with the white community;

numbers of Aboriginal people was increasing, no longer decreasing, which was what the Government had previously thought would happen with the segregation era. Assimilation was also part of the wider Australian push to transform all people, including minority groups, into respectable, individual and productive members of a British colonial society. This included such things as forming nuclear families and participating in both the political and moral economy of the times. This was understood in modernist terms as progress, or in the case of Aboriginal people – ‘advancement’.

A significant part of the assimilation process was relocating Aboriginal people into housing in town. According to Morgan, the chair of the AWB began calling on Aboriginal people to take up residence in homes designed for nuclear families and make these homes into the ‘Englishman’s castle’ (Morgan 2006: 25). Furthermore, Morgan argues that during the 1950s and 1960s there were few housing opportunities for Aboriginal people in towns as real estate agents were reluctant to rent out to Aboriginal people and few people applied through the Government Housing Commission scheme because the process was understood to be "both daunting and discriminatory" (Morgan 2006: 31). This was the case for Peak Hill as many Wiradjuri people who wanted to live in houses in Peak Hill, separate from the government owned reserve on Whitton Park Road, were not able. Until

To keep the semi-civilized under a benevolent supervision in regard to employment, social and medical service in their own tribal areas. Small local reserves selected for tribal suitability should be provided in these tribal areas where unemployable natives may live as nearly as possible a normal tribal life, and unobjectionable tribal ceremonies may continue and to which employees may repair when unemployed. The ultimate destiny of these people should be their elevation to class (a);

(v) To preserve as far as possible the uncivilized native in his normal tribal state by the establishment of inviolable reserves; each State or Territory determining for itself whether mission activities should be conducted on these reserves and the conditions under which they may be permitted (Conference Proceedings 1937: 2).

they were able to move in houses within town, not on the edge, they chose to continue to live on the Hill.

During the beginning of the official assimilation era, the 1950s, Wiradjuri people began to be moved from the Hill into town. The reason for the forced removal of Wiradjuri people from the Hill to town was disguised under assimilationist rhetoric of hygiene: the Aborigines Welfare Board and the Council did not view housing on the Hill as reaching adequate health standards. The Wiradjuri residences on the Hill were labelled 'dumps' by the Council who further claimed that the people living there had no title for the land. The Council was also upset that Peak Hill now had an 'unfair proportion' of Aboriginal people living near Peak Hill and was also concerned about Aboriginal people spreading diseases to white people (Chappel 1988: 15). But the Council wanted to ensure the costs of the move would be covered by the AWB. When the AWB visited Peak Hill in 1957 they also labelled the areas as 'deplorable' and recommended temporary housing. Initial housing was originally supplied on the edge of town, near the Public Watering Place. But the Pastoralists Protection Board and Council rejected this site for reasons not recorded. According to some older Wiradjuri people, Trudy and Daniel, the 'Gubbahs didn't want Aboriginal people living near the town's water tank. They said the aboriginal people would contaminate the water for the cattle.' According to Wiradjuri, another similar, common complaint made by white people was that they did not want their children to play with Aboriginal children because they believed all Aboriginal children were dirty and would pass on diseases to white population. This kind of thinking was a combination of fear about actual diseases prevalent in both Aboriginal and white people of that time, such as tuberculosis, and racialised discourses of Aboriginal people being dirty and uncivilised.

Stories from older Wiradjuri people always emphasise that the housing on the Hill was clean and well designed, notwithstanding the limited materials available to them and the lack of public amenities. They wanted the practicalities of running water and electricity they were promised with the houses in town, instead of having to lug 44 gallon drums and generators up the Hill. Originally, Wiradjuri people living on the Hill had asked the Council and other private companies to provide running water, electricity and garbage disposal for the existing residential community on the Hill. They asked many times. For a while, it appeared to the local families that this might happen through private companies, until the Council stopped any developments from proceeding. Instead of abiding their request, the Council made promises of four new houses built in a different location, than the previously criticised site by the water tank, on the other side of town. Once the Council had decided that Wiradjuri people would be moved into town – all twelve families into four houses as originally proposed – the Council tried to stop people from building on the Hill. They did this by making it compulsory for people to have a two pound permit before they could build. Wiradjuri people generally ignored this and sometimes, instead, obtained the cheaper miners permit. They would then dig a little hole, or ‘mine’ as it would be referred to the Council as, and build their lodgings beside it.

The Council lured people away their homes on the Hill with promises of technology and convenience. The new houses would be complete with electricity, adequate heating (for the icy cold winters in Peak Hill), running water and working toilets. The Council promised full facilities, including washing machines and stoves. Wiradjuri people, particularly women, saw an end to the gruelling tasks of forever collecting water and firewood, washing by hand, cooking on the open fire in the middle of winter, and sewing by candlelight, as kerosene lights were reserved for the children to do school work. So after seventeen years of living on the Hill, Wiradjuri families began to move into town. For some people this was by agreement, for others, it was by force.

The initial houses were supplied as part of the Government Reserve Housing scheme on Whitton Park Road, the Mish - as it is commonly referred to by Wiradjuri, discreetly located on the edge of town. The road that connects the Mish to the Highway and the rest of town still remains dirt to this day, even though the rest of the town has had bitumen roads for years. To the dismay of the new residents, the houses were not what Wiradjuri people had been promised. When the first two Wiradjuri families moved into the Mish they were disappointed to find their houses had barely better amenities compared with what they had previously built for themselves up on the Hill. Two of the new houses were two room shacks, which the Council expected to be occupied by families with up to ten children. The other two were slightly bigger, with an additional bedroom. The toilets were not flush toilets and there was only cold running water. People still had to make a fire in a copper drum for bath water and washed their clothes by hand. The building materials were cheap and of poor quality. As there were only four houses built, many remained on the Hill until others were made available. Over time, Wiradjuri families occupied houses throughout Peak Hill, on Mingelo Street, Deribong Street, Railway Street, Caswell Street, and the Weir Road. By the end of the 1960s, all of the families on the Hill had moved into town. The last family, forced to leave by the Council and police, left their large, well-equipped timber home on the Hill for a small house or 'token shack', as they refer to it. Since then Wiradjuri people have resided in town and younger people have only known life in Peak Hill.

Struggling to survive: The economic history of Peak Hill

Peak Hill is located on the Newell Highway in the central west of New South Wales, about 50km north west of Parkes and 70km east of Dubbo, along the Hervey Ranges and upper Bogan River.

The central west of New South Wales is part of the rural, agricultural sector of eastern Australia.

Peak Hill has a small population of somewhere between 900 - 1100 people. The welcoming sign on the Newell Highway, leading into Peak Hill, boasts a population of 1500 and the Parkes Shire Council estimates the population at 1400. The ABS records a population of 946, which includes the neighbouring farm lands.

Peak Hill today is very different from the booming mining town of the late nineteenth century, which boasted a population of over 10,000 (Jackson 1939: 4). The main street at the time (now Euchie Street) was called Struggle Street and was filled with people and businesses housed in canvas tents. The noise and bustle was likened at the time to an 'eastern bazaar' (Jackson 1939: 4). Euchie Street is now a quiet, wide residential strip where the house I lived in sits, opposite the town's only doctor. The contemporary main street, Caswell Street, which is a portion of the Newell Highway, has become the centre of the town.

Peak Hill exists economically because it is on this highway. The Newell Highway is the major inland route connecting Melbourne and Brisbane, the lifeline for many rural towns it links. It is also fast, carries many large trucks, and is noted for its high accident rate. The town used to have three petrol stations, although in recent times two ceased to operate: one is still open but does not sell fuel and the other burnt down. The service stations were, perhaps, the most important economic structures

in Peak Hill, as they fuelled the never-ending stream of trucks and caravans making their way south to Parkes or north to Dubbo. When I first arrived in Peak Hill, local people proudly informed me that you can hear a truck passing through town every minute. While it did not appear quite that busy when I stopped to count them one afternoon, it certainly felt that way the first few weeks I spent there: trying to sleep through the roar of truck engines and brakes, as they slow to the required 50km/hour speed limit. The Peak Hill hospital, originally opened to treat injured miners, has been maintained with four beds because of the need to respond to road accidents. Nowadays, it has no permanent doctor, and major cases are ferried by ambulance to the larger, better equipped Dubbo Base Hospital, 70kms north.

Until recent clampdowns, Peak Hill was popular with truck drivers not only for its fuel, motels and pubs, but also for its once burgeoning drug trade. Until 2000, when it was raided and closed down by police, Peak Hill had housed a multimillion dollar methyl-amphetamine (meth or speed) business, next to and in conjunction with the main local service station (Newcastle Herald, 10 August 2000). It has now become common practice for police to raid houses hoping for potential drug busts, but to my knowledge, a business of that scale has not resurfaced. The trucks now rarely stop at Peak Hill.

Peak Hill relies economically on a small but regular tourist trade of retirees, known in Australia as 'grey nomads.' These older, usually Anglo-Australian tourists pass through town every day. Most will stop to see the remains of the Peak Hill Gold Mine, the town's former *raison d'être*. Once a large and prosperous open cut gold mine, surrounded by smaller gold mines and supporting businesses. Now, Peak Hill's only tourist attraction consists of the left over pits of toxic water. After driving up the hill to see the mine, the tourists often rest for a night or two at one of the two caravan parks in town. They also visit the local gift shops at either end of the main street to purchase homemade

cakes and jams, and antique objects, such as old lanterns, bottles, sewing machines, and other assorted household wares from days gone by.

Peak Hill was surrounded by a rich, pastoral industry and developing agricultural sector. Pastoralism was the first industry to the region. Mitchell noted squatters running sheep and cattle around the areas of Parkes and Goobang Creek in his 1835 and 1845 diaries. This included the Hervey Ranges area, in which the township of Peak Hill was developed. Before the townships and villages, the area was rich in undulating grasslands and extensive river systems, flowing west. Squatters flocked to take advantage of the fertile country, especially after the legalisation of squatting in rural New South Wales with the Squatters Act (1836). After the Lands Act (1847) leases were granted and settlers filled the region with large pastoral stations. Stock routes and water reserves crisscrossed the landscape as sheep and cattle depleted the original fauna: kangaroos, wallabies, sugar gliders, and a range of smaller marsupials and birds.

Agriculture commenced later with the first wheat crops grown in the region in the 1860s, although it remained secondary to pastoralism until the 1920s and 1930s, when new varieties of drought-resistant wheat were introduced. This meant that areas thought to be too dry for wheat, around Peak Hill, Trundle and Tullamore, could now sustain large wheat farms. Pastoralism began decline when wheat farming spread. From 1901, a series of Closer Settlement Acts broke up the huge pastoral stations in order to release more land. This encouraged more intensive agriculture and was part of a broader trend sweeping across New South Wales. Sheep for wool and meat nevertheless remained important until the late 1960s.

The rail way line went through Peak Hill in 1910, linking the towns of the central west and assisting the local agricultural industry. Peak Hill became the site of Australia's first bulk wheat silo, though the reason why is not clear, as the region suffered many droughts and poor growing conditions in the first twenty years of the 20th century. Due to droughts, wheat farming has become less profitable and in the Peak Hill and Parkes region most of the agricultural land now supports grains, such as oats, rye, barley and oil seeds, such as canola and rape. Furthermore, severe droughts of the early 1980s and mid 1990s have caused another substantial decline in pastoralism and agriculture. Employment has almost ceased outside of family owned properties, with sporadic, seasonal work shearing and in the flour mill. Market gardens were also popular but have all disappeared with the convenience of fresh food supermarkets in the neighbouring towns of Parkes and Dubbo.

Gold was found in Peak Hill in the 1880s and gold mining quickly became the town's most profitable industry. By 1890, the Peak Hill Mine had a profit of 60,000 and there were 1700 men working the mines at Peak Hill and Tomingley. It was in this same year that the big rush gold rush hit Peak Hill with a new mine, named the Golden Hill. This rush brought the population up to 10,000 people to Peak Hill, trying their luck to make it rich. Alluvial and open cut gold mining continued into the new century until about 1915, when low yield and heavy rain made mining difficult and unprofitable (Chappel 1989: 19-35). The Peak Hill open cut mine was closed in 1917 (Unger n.d.: 16). Alkane re-opened gold mining on the hill in Peak Hill in the early 1990s for a brief period. Other gold mines have opened closer to Parkes and a new open cut mine at Tomingley is due to open shortly. Other than those exceptions, gold mining in Peak Hill was restricted to a 30 year period at the turn of the twentieth century.

Contemporary forms of employment in Peak Hill are scarce as the service industry, which once supplied the stations and farms of the region, is now challenged by the larger towns of Parkes and Dubbo. Peak Hill exists as a small, economically dwindling service town, yet relying upon the payment of various social security benefits to its many unemployed residents.

Conceptualising place and past in Wiradjuri being

Due to the generations of Wiradjuri and white families established in Peak Hill, place and past are intimately connected. Transmission of being over generations has resulted in a collective or social memory, which not only binds people to people, but also people to place, through lived experiences and stories passed from generation to generation. Local historical changes have resulted in differences to the way time and place are experienced and understood by older and younger Wiradjuri.

In one sense, the shared histories of people and place in Peak Hill have created a ‘mutuality of being’ (Sahlins 2013). Sahlins outlined relatedness as a system of ‘intersubjective participations, which is also to say, a network of mutualities of being’ (2013: 20). A mutuality of being is the rendering of the self through the other and vice versa. The self is not an isolate of place and past. A Wiradjuri being - a shared sense of self and other - is situated locally in a shared place with overlapping but different histories. Therefore, in another sense, I contend there are limitations to Sahlins’ model as there are also multiple ways of being Wiradjuri. History not only binds people, but also separates them as ways of being are ruptured, lost, or transformed over generations. The forced relocations of Wiradjuri to Bulgandramine, to the Hill and then to town have resulted in different ways of being in Peak Hill, particularly between older and younger people. These differences are more than just changes from older to younger people or variations amongst generations; they are the product of changes to the ways people relate to place, past and each other.

To conceptualise difference in Wiradjuri being and explain the terminology I use throughout this thesis, I rely on my following model:

Demographic generations	Cultural generations	Ways of being
1 - 75 - 80 years old	1 – Bulgandramine	Older
2 - 60 - 75 years old		
3 - 45 - 60 years old	2 - The Hill	Younger
4 - 30 - 45 years old		
5 - 15 - 30 years old	3 - Town, Peak Hill	
6 - 0 -15 years old		

Table 1: Model of generational difference between older and younger Wiradjuri

These categories serve in a general sense to understanding differences of being and relatedness among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. The first column captures the six demographic generations in terms of reproduction. There are discrepancies in the fifteen year reproductive time period as many women have children older than this. Having said that, most older women began having children in their late teens. Nearly all of my data comes from members of the second, third, fourth and fifth demographic generations. Due to low life expectancy rates of aboriginal people in New South Wales, there are few living members of the oldest demographic generation. There were even less who are healthy enough and able, or willing, to participate in my fieldwork. The youngest demographic generation consists of babies and children, who are also not part of my research.

The table above represents the relationship between demographic generations and, what I have termed, cultural generations. Cultural generations are all people born and living around the same time and place, and who collectively identify with each other. For example, people from the first and second demographic generations often identify together as the 'Bulgandramine mob'. The three cultural generations are not just objective categories of identity and history; they are also subjective realities. Wiradjuri people within each cultural generation relate closely to a place and the historical contexts the generation is embedded in.

There is much overlap between the first cultural generation and older members of the second, which include the oldest three demographic generations. This is because the majority of people 45 years and above spent much of their lives out bush, whether it was at Bulgandramine or the Hill.

Throughout my thesis I refer to these people as 'older Wiradjuri.' For the same reason, reversed, younger members of the second generation and all of the third (demographic generations 4 - 6) share a similar history. Most people younger than 45 years of age were born in town, or moved to town as young children, meaning they have spent much less time living out bush. I refer to this category as 'younger Wiradjuri'.

This section demonstrates the conceptual logic I employ throughout my thesis. All three ways of categorising difference in being are a reality for Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. Demographic categories may appear as an objectified abstraction but become part of lived experience when, for example, a woman is biologically and culturally old enough to become a parent. Cultural generations represent the point that historical change, of both time and place, impact the way Wiradjuri people see themselves in the world and understand their place within it. The third column - older and younger Wiradjuri - is the category which most represent the language of everyday life and

ontological distinctions between different ways of being. It is through this lens I examine how related yet distinct Wiradjuri ways of being are manifested in daily categories and forms of kinship and relatedness.

A Typical day in Peak Hill

I present an extract from my field notes documenting a typical day in Peak Hill. I do this for two reasons, each relating to the respective sections above. First, I include the extract to illustrate, in narrative form, the history of the ethnographic moment. History can be told in lively and imaginative ways, but it always places the reader into the past. In addition, I also want to situate the reader in the present, into everyday life in Peak Hill. Second, I use the extract to give the reader a sense of the similar and different ways older and younger Wiradjuri people experience daily social life.

I lie in bed at dawn listening to the muffled chatter of John talking on the phone in the other room. His wife Tania is already up, I can hear her making coffee and cleaning up the kitchen. The older members of the household, John and Tania are the first people to rise in my household, particularly John, who prefers to start his morning with dawn phone calls and conversations, rather than coffee. The only mornings the house is quiet is close to pay day when John, as well as many of his relations and friends, have no credit left on their phones. It is almost 7am. John will soon start greeting our morning visitors or make visits of his own. This morning I hear him rise, shower and chat with Tania. Then there is the familiar jingle of the car keys and he has left, out and about for the morning. Each day John does one of two things. He either drives around visiting his sisters, sometimes his mum, uncles, aunties and nearly always his nieces and nephews, whom he adores and spoils to bits. He also includes friends into his morning rounds, some of which are kin and some are not. Other mornings he stays at home, sitting out the front of the house, facing the house, with cups of tea. During these mornings, people come by our house, the same relations and friends. If John doesn't receive his morning phone calls and visits, or go visiting, a rarity reserved for the coldest days in the mid of winter, he complains of loneliness and appears sad. This kind of

loneliness is different to mine, as I find myself looking forward to the odd, few mornings when the house is empty and I can drink my morning coffee in silence.

It is now getting late, after 7:30am. I have to get up or Tania will start worrying and think I am ill. As I sleep with my bedroom door closed, mainly because of noise, people worry about me and wonder if I am ok if I am not up with everyone else early in the morning. The door is an issue and I should really stop closing it. It makes John and other people in the household feel awkward and uncomfortable, as if I am putting up a barrier, not just for noise, but from them. This doesn't stop John and Tania's daughter Tamika, she always barrels right in smiling and chatting as if there was no door.

As I have our regular breakfast of Weetbix and tea with Tania, Tamika talks to us loudly bouncing her infant son on her knee. Tamika is seventeen years old and a new mother. She comes around most days visiting. Sometimes her mum stays at her place instead and helps her with her new born son. Tamika doesn't really need help but, like most of her family, she detests being alone. If her partner is at work, she will make any excuse to come and visit, or have one of us come to her place. I asked her once whether she enjoyed spending time by herself and she replied 'no, it makes me feel bored, real bored. After a bit I feel so alone that I get sad, proper sad.' This morning she is far from sad, watching her mum play with her new son. Her mum bounces him on her knee, pinches his cheeks and calls him Nan, 'what's that Nan?' she says, pointing at the children's show on television. When John arrives home a while later, she passes the baby to her husband. John does the same thing, bouncing his grandson on his knee, chatting away to him, 'who's my Pop-pop? When Pop-pop gets big we'll go fishing at the river. Pop-pop will sit in the front seat of my car and have his own little line...'

Tamika has had enough of sitting on the couch, watching children's shows and she moves outside. I go and sit with her. She tells me she is bored, a complaint she often makes. Her life as a typically impatient and carefree teenager was turned on its head last year when she became a mother. Now she is required to have never-ending patience, mothering her baby son and waiting for her chance to find a job she likes, something to study or a new place to explore. But for now, she cannot afford child care and her partner does not want her parents

baby-sitting for them every day, so she must wait until her son is school aged before her next step in life. Five years is a long wait for a teenager. I remember how impatient I felt at her age and wonder how she does it. When Tamika says she is bored, I have to fight a built in urge to reply as my mother would to me, 'well, why do you get out there and do something!' This is because I am interpreting boredom in the way I understand it and what it means to me, rather than what it means to Tamika. I start thinking of possible ways she could combat boredom, such as doing some gardening or cooking, reading a book or magazine, looking up a course online or going for a walk and taking some photos. But these options are not suitable for Tamika. For her, gardening or cooking is a chore. She is not studious and does not like reading. Taking photos of the town she has known forever is also boring. For her town itself is not visually exciting, rather it is a place that contains all of the people she loves. Town makes her feel safe and secure, and reminds her of the excitement and hope she had here as a child just a few years back, which at times, can turn bitter as her hopes are not realised. It isn't that she doesn't like Peak Hill; there just isn't anything left for her to see. Nostalgic moments can result in spontaneous little explorations, such as driving around a familiar track or looking at her favourite house. Driving around town often works as cure for Tamika's boredom, but it is less about seeing the place, doing things, and more about visiting people.

Today Tamika doesn't want drive around town, so I offer to drive her to Parkes as I need to bank a cheque and pick up a few groceries. There are no banks and just one expensive supermarket in Peak Hill, so I tend to make the trip into Parkes or Dubbo where the savings in groceries almost outweighs the extra money spent on petrol. Tamika immediately jumps on her phone and starts calling relations and friends to see who is available to come to Parkes with us. As Tamika organises for us to pick up her cousin I organise to borrow her father's car, as mine is currently broken. As always, he hands me the keys and tells me just to take it next time; not to ask. With Tamika, her cousin and son in the car, I make the 90km round trip to Parkes. Everyone recognises John's car, a blinged-up Holden with dollar sign hub caps. They wave and call out, thinking John is driving. I feel important driving this car, riding on the shadow of its popular owner. We reach Parkes. It is quiet and staid, in typical Parkes fashion. Although I am used to Parkes feeling like a retirement village for white

Australians, I still always feel a twinge of disappointment at the quietness. Tamika does also. We naively decide that we expect something to be happening because it is much bigger than Peak Hill and lots of things happen at home. After the bank, we head to the supermarket and pick up the essentials – milk, mouse traps, potatoes and biscuits. Tamika, her cousin and I load the groceries and baby into the car, and realise, somewhat sadly, there is nothing else left for us to do in Parkes. It is not pay week, so we do have any money left to buy baby clothes or get a take away lunch, or even just have drink somewhere. We head back to Peak Hill in a drowsy silence and I feel disappointed I couldn't make the trip more exciting for a couple of teenagers who just want more to their day. The whole excursion takes less than two hours.

We arrive home, I drop Tamika's cousin off and Tamika returns to her house, down the road. John is sitting by the outside fire, with one of his best mates and cousin, Jerry, and a couple of his nephews. They are planning a fishing trip to the local weir. John already has three yellowbelly in the freezer but he would like some more to give to his mum. For a while, they argue and laugh about which weir will be the best place to fish and who will put the nets in, as the water is no longer even slightly warm this time of year. The task is left to one of the younger nephews, who is about sixteen years old. I want to come too and push them to leave right now. The day is perfect I argue, still a bit warm and sunny, and we have petrol. I promise to make a fire and bring tea and coffee. I try anything else I can think of to get everyone up and moving to the river. But despite my excitement and encouragement, it ends up like similar unfulfilled plans of the past when we didn't collect emu eggs, crayfish or *gungab*. There is a lot of talk about where and how to get these foods and by whom, but there is not always action. Going to the river to fish remains an idea and topic of conversation, belonging to the hope of morning plans and long forgotten by afternoon.

I go and visit two other women, attempting to keep up with the demands of my new friendships. When I return I harass the men about fishing, but realising it is too late in the day to go, I reluctantly drop the matter. Another friend of John's drops around for a chat, and organises to take some rubbish to the tip. More friends and neighbours drop around as the afternoon wears on. As the sun begins to set the men leave to get firewood before dark.

Going out to gather firewood is not seen as a chore like mowing the lawn or cleaning the house, rather it is an enjoyable social activity, mostly conducted by men only. Younger nephews ask to come and they offer to drive. It is also an opportunity, or reason, to head out bush, swing past the river and spend time with family and friends on country. Sometimes I join them but today I do not. Instead I stay with the women, Tania and our two lots of neighbours, and start preparing dinner. We get together outside, over a cup of tea and plan the meal, which will feed about twelve of us. We decide who will prepare what: today it is a stew, potato bake, some meat for the barbecue and on my insistence, a salad. We then we go back to our respective kitchens to prepare each dish. There are possibly more breaks than preparation, as we meet up outside another three times for tea, smokes, and conversation.

Evening has fallen and the men have returned. All of us meet back up around the outside fire and begin to cook the stew on the camp oven. We cook a chicken stew with veggies, chatting and laughing along the way. One of our neighbours brings over the salad and we finalise the potato bake in the kitchen. The younger boys tend to the stew and the youngest, Billy who is nine years old, begs for his turn to barbecue the meat. He does so, and is proudly rewarded with compliments and comments about being 'a big man now.' We eat the food quickly, and as always, us women disappear to do the dishes.

After the dishes are washed and the younger kids are sent home, we relax around the fireplace with a few drinks and chat away. The mood is light and cheerful, reflective of reasonably mild nights, which are due to meet their end soon as winter is approaching, and many days are bleak and grey. I don't like these days as much as the warmer months. I sit back in my chair and wonder what winter will be like here, what people do; caught in my own thoughts I almost drift off to sleep and the chatter around me becomes a distant buzz.

Conclusion

The history of Wiradjuri is characterised by three forced relocations of Wiradjuri people by the state:

1. From local country and pastoral stations to Bulgandramine Mission
2. From Bulgandramine Mission to the Hill
3. From the Hill to town, Peak Hill.

In addition to this, state and local policy makers have targeted the domestic sphere - the home - in an attempt to change Wiradjuri social organisation and assimilate them into mainstream Australia. As demonstrated by the local history, Wiradjuri people fought to remain together, to continue Wiradjuri ways of organising categories of relations and being related.

The historical narrative presented above, which takes us from the past - a time of pastoralism, segregation and missions - to the present - a time of assimilation and financial struggles - highlights two themes of my thesis. First, consistencies in the way Wiradjuri people continue to organise and perform kin relationships. Although Wiradjuri people were subjected to a culturally and structurally violent process of colonisation, they remain embedded within a primarily kin-based way of life; something I did not expect and found surprising during my initial period of fieldwork. It was this discovery, which led my initial investigation of Wiradjuri kinship, as I sought to discover why this is, as well as the role of emotional and social obligation within the social reproduction of relatedness. Second, the historical narrative highlights change, particularly between older and younger Wiradjuri who have experienced colonisation in different ways. Younger people were born and grew up in houses in town; they have limited experiences of being on country, out bush. Subsequently younger

people have grown up in an inter-cultural domain of Wiradjuri, other Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian people, which has, in turn, affected kin relationships and brought about transformed and new forms of relatedness, such as friendships and inter-cultural marriages. It is within this dynamic of cultural continuity and change I situate the following chapters, encapsulating similarities and differences between older and younger Wiradjuri relatedness.

Chapter 3. Country as kin: Internal and external relatedness among older and younger Wiradjuri

The bush as experienced by Wiradjuri is complex yet so taken for granted, so natural and normal, that it can be difficult for Wiradjuri people to speak about this in reflexive terms. When I asked older Wiradjuri people how they felt about the bush or the [Bogan] river, I received general, brief explanations, such as 'I feel connected,' 'It's like...part of me,' 'It is what it means to be Wiradjuri,' or 'We are all born from the river' or 'Born out of Bulgandramine.' Many people followed with statements expressing their difficulty in verbalising their relationships with the bush, such as 'It is hard to explain it', or 'It's tricky, I can't really think of the right words.' At first, I interpreted this as a result of the loss of Wiradjuri language and adoption of English; I believed it was difficult for Wiradjuri people to express the way they are connected, as cultural beings, to the bush.

Local Anglo-Australian (white) explanations of how Wiradjuri are connected to the bush appeared similar; spoken as brief, generalised statements. One resident of Parkes, a neighbouring town to Peak Hill, told me that she understood Aboriginal people as being 'spiritually connected' to the environment but would or could not elaborate on what that meant. A resident of Peak Hill stated that 'Aboriginal people are part of their environment' and when I asked her why, her only explanation was 'through the Dreamtime.' Sometimes white interpretations were delivered in the form of complaints, which are, in certain respects, very telling. One prominent resident of Peak Hill, an older white woman, informed me that,

The Aboriginals have all these sacred sites but they don't do anything with them. There is one just out of town, a birthing place, which could be a lovely park or garden with a bit of

work and care. One that we could all use. But it is just overgrown scrub; I doubt you will be even able to find the place.

I asked if perhaps Wiradjuri people wished to leave places such as that one protected, in its natural state, but she corrected with me her own view, ‘Oh no, they just don’t like to have gardens.’ These kinds of complaints reflect the difference of how white people understand the land as something to be cultivated and tamed.

I came to realise that Wiradjuri and non-Aboriginal interpretations of Wiradjuri relationships to country are verbalised similarly yet understood differently. This indicates two points I examine in this chapter. First, among Wiradjuri, such explanations of country are not about the loss of Wiradjuri language or the limitations of English. On the contrary, there is no correlation between the simplicity of verbal elaboration and the complex, changing and sometimes conflicting relationships Wiradjuri people have with the bush. Also, such explanations are evidence of different ways of being in Peak Hill, between Wiradjuri and white people, and older and younger Wiradjuri people. Although these ways of being are distinct among older Wiradjuri and white people, divergences of meaning also overlap and interact among younger people in Peak Hill.

I examine different ways of speaking about and being in the bush from a Wiradjuri perspective of being and relatedness. Older Wiradjuri people have a relationship with the bush that involves the internalisation of the bush into a Wiradjuri morality, sense of being and the self, and, because of this, older people enact a kin-like relationship with country. Younger Wiradjuri people experience the bush differently, in which transformed meanings of agency and spirituality have resulted in new ways of being, where the bush is no longer a prominent part of a younger moral inter-subjectivity. I demonstrate this transformation by analysing changes between older and younger Wiradjuri

relationships to the bush in the following three areas. First, how kin become ancestral spirits which reside in the landscape, alongside other benign and malignant spiritual beings, in an animistic sense where regular social rituals of spending time in the bush, looking after and it and being looked after, are declining; the Bogan River and old Bulgandramine Mission site are primary examples. Second, by using a case study about the way Wiradjuri people speak about and emotionally relate to animal totemic affiliations, I explore how specific linguistic constructions have changed between older and younger people. Third, I address new ways of relating to country by examining the discourse of 'traditional ownership' of land, to show how the bush has become objectified, disembodied and moved out of relatedness by no longer being part of a kin-like relationship.

The presence of past kin in the local landscape

Sitting around kitchen tables drinking tea, on the veranda in the morning sun, or around the fire in winter, I heard many stories, conversations and comments about how older Wiradjuri people related to country. This information was never delivered in the context of conversations about relationships to land or kinship per se, it was spoken about in reference to living at Bulgandramine or up on the Hill, or when something spiritual had happened to a family member, such as encounters with deceased family members or creatures from the bush. These stories, though varied and even conflicting, are illustrations of how Wiradjuri people understand and feel about the bush; forming the evidence for my argument that the bush was once internalised into a relational Wiradjuri self, where both human (living and deceased kin) and non-human (the bush and creatures) were contained within the same cosmological world as the self, and formed part of Wiradjuri relatedness. Glaskin (2012: 98) has previously termed this a ‘relational ontology’, where people, places, and ancestral beings are linked through space and time. Among older Wiradjuri, relatedness stems from a Wiradjuri way of being, which, like Glaskin’s relational ontology, includes human (people) and non-human forms (country), indicated by the presence of past (deceased) Wiradjuri kin in the landscape.

The connection between people and country within Wiradjuri being is spoken about in different ways.⁶ According to older Wiradjuri, they come from the land when they are born. There is no exact

⁶ Where permissible I have included direct quotes, though many people did not wish for spiritual stories to be included in full. In most cases I was provided permission to speak about beliefs, but without reference to personal stories as most

mythology which explains how people are created from the landscape or spiritual beings within in. This general belief is related back to Baiame, the creator, father, or Sky God, who is associated with creating everything, including land and people. Belief in the Sky Gods, such as Baiame, known by various names, is shared across a vast area of country in Victoria, New South Wales, and into Queensland.⁷ According to Reay, who observed these beliefs in north-western New South Wales in the 1940s, most people who had become Christian had reconciled their beliefs about Baiame with Christianity.⁸ Baiame was viewed as God, or a reincarnation of God, and people in New South Wales drew parallels between the creation story of the flood and Noah's ark from the Bible. Generally, Baiame was understood as having created the world after a flood also, although during her time in the field, Reay noted there were many versions of Baiame myths (Reay 1949: 110-111). Relying upon early ethnographic material, Gold (2006: 45-6) found that across the Gamilaraay and Wiradjuri regions it was believed that people are descendents of *Mudjaguli*, the first humans created by Baiame. Today, little is known of details of the mythology, yet Baiame is still regarded as the creator of people and land. Wiradjuri beliefs concerning Baiame implicitly link people to land, but

Wiradjuri believed these stories are for family and close friends, not for the public. Other stories, such as the ones told to children about creatures of the bush, are more open and examined later in the chapter.

⁷ Baiame, the sky god or creator, was not confined to just one place or group of people. According to older, local history, Baiame travelled north west from Dubbo until he reached the Barwon River (Reay 1949: 109). During Reay's time of research this story most likely would have been operating in a similar manner to song lines or Dreaming tracks elsewhere. Reay does not record exactly how much of the story people knew or whether there were any associated songs or dances. In recent times, Wiradjuri people are aware that many other places and other Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri groups also speak of Baiame but are not aware of why or how this came to be. Most of the Baiame story is no longer remembered with exception to Baiame's role as creator.

⁸ Marie Reay was an anthropologists working under the direction of A. P. Elkin at the University of Sydney. Reay conducted research in Aboriginal communities in rural New South Wales.

they do not include an explanation of cosmogony, of how the world was created or how exactly people came from the land.

Older Wiradjuri people are more explicit about how people return to the land when they die, although their beliefs and explanations vary significantly. One belief concerning life after death is about the Crow (Australian Raven), explained by Trudy,

Trudy: The old people, my Mum and Nan, they say that when we die our spirit is carried back into old time by those black birds.

Belinda: Does it stay there forever?

Trudy: No. All those old fellas stay in the birds, crows they are, for a while and then they go back into the ground. Not just the ground, into everything - the animals, the earth, the river. They just stay in the crows for a while.

Belinda: Does anyone still believe that?

Trudy: Yeah, [laughing] I do. That's why I am real careful never to hit them birds with my car. And I feel sad when I see them dead on the side of the road. It could be one of my relations inside that dead bird.

Within this belief when a Wiradjuri person dies they become crows, but eventually their spirit leaves the crow and returns back into the earth. It is not known at what point this happens, whether it is at the time of death of the crow or before. This belief is part of a wider mythology concerning birds and warning signs across Australia.⁹

⁹ There are many beliefs across Aboriginal Australia about the communication between Aboriginal people and birds, for example, see Babidge (2008). In Peak Hill, birds are bringers of messages, and because of this Wiradjuri people when something bad is going to happen, perhaps an illness or death. After the death of a close cousin, John said to me sadly:

I should have known something bad was going to happen. Those bloody birds have been hanging around the house, knockin' into things. One of them flew smack into the window, right where I was sitting. Make me feel

Some older people believe that after death the spirit of the deceased must enter the land by water and for that reason, the Bogan River is particularly important. Other people are less sure of an actual belief or mythology, but they just know that when they die they ‘go back into the ground, where we come from.’

Christianity has somewhat altered the beliefs about the person after death.¹⁰ For some older Christian Wiradjuri, heaven and hell are also explanations of life after death. A few people believe that the spirit bypasses the earth, the animals or river, on a direct path upwards to heaven, located somewhere, ‘up there.’ As Baiame also resided in the Milky Way, it is not clear whether this belief is a representation of a Christian, Wiradjuri, or mixed heaven. Others believe the human spirit divides its time between both the spirit world (heaven) and country. The majority of Christian Wiradjuri people I spoke with believe in a combination of both, where heaven and land exist together or the spirit exists simultaneously and wholly in both.

grippy [scared], they do. When they hangin’ around, you just know something bad is going to happen. Someone you love is going to die, or get sick, or maybe hurt. I hate them little birds.

These warning birds are often Willy Wag Tails, who make chattering noises at the wrong time of day, or other small species of birds, and are not the same as the crows - they do not hold the spirits of deceased kin.

¹⁰ Christianity amongst Wiradjuri people has a long history in Peak Hill: a town which is 80% self identifying Christian, according to the ABS. In a town where the population barely reaches 1000 people there are six churches - Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Uniting, Baptist and Pentecostal - and another couple in small neighboring communities. During the mid 20th century Wiradjuri people were predominantly belonged to the Pentecostal and Aboriginal Evangelical Mission Church, which has been closed down. Pentecostalism has also reduced and now most Wiradjuri attend the trans-dominational Christian church, the Vision Ministries Mamre Farm, located in Alectown, about 28km south of Peak Hill. A number of Wiradjuri people are also Catholic. Amongst younger Wiradjuri, as in the general population, the popularity of Christianity has waned. There are few practicing Christians and a mixture of believers and non-believers. Although older Wiradjuri partially blended Christianity with their own beliefs, the Christian morality, which is still very prominent today, certainly had an effect on the decline of many Wiradjuri myths, rituals and ceremonies.

Wiradjuri and Christian beliefs about death may be subjectively reconciled so well because of the Baiame creation myth, which meant that people in New South Wales believed they knew about the Christian god before colonisation. Reay believed this is because the Sky God Baiame and associated creationist mythology is easier to reconcile with Christianity than other beliefs in the region (1949: 109). Along this line of reasoning, Christianity offered a platform for faith and spirituality more generally. Some Wiradjuri beliefs, such as Baiame as God, and returning to the land after death, were able to be incorporated with Christianity because both allowed for the presence of faith in the supernatural, something which does not occur in the more recent new forms of Christianity and secularism among younger people.

The Wiradjuri belief of kin returning to the landscape after death means burials are significant events. In Peak Hill Wiradjuri men still dig the graves for their kin by hand. I witnessed a grave being dug for an older Wiradjuri man and, tragically his grandson. Being female and not related to the family I was not allowed close by. The grave was mainly prepared by the deceased man's brother with assistance from other younger Wiradjuri men, all related – cousins and nephews. I am not sure why graves are dug by hand. When I asked about it: whether it was to save money or for another purpose, I was told, 'We just do that, we've always done it, I don't know why.' Even though manually digging graves may assist with the financial pressure of funerals, it is also another way of looking after kin: a symbolic form of caring for the deceased and an emotional way of looking after the grieving relatives who are preparing the grave. The digging, which can take hours and hours, is an opportunity for the closest kin to grieve together yet separate from the large grouping of kin gathering in town for the funeral. Although this was never said directly, I wondered whether the preparation of the earth for the final resting place of the deceased's body by kin, was also a symbolic way of caring for the deceased's spirit after death, as it returns back to a landscape that has been in

direct contact with kin. As if the manual labour of removing and replacing the soil enables the spirit to also remain connected to kin and safely journey back into the country or to heaven.

Deceased Wiradjuri kin remain in spirit form in the landscape, including within fauna, such as the Crow.¹¹ The bush contains ancestral spirits, which many people remain in contact with. Most older Wiradjuri people believe that ancestral spirits cannot be separated from their local land, if they have died and been buried on country. Sometimes the ancestral spirits will wander if their kin move away. Older Wiradjuri claim the spirits of kin are particularly close to young children and will follow wherever they go, keeping them company, speaking to them, and occasionally warning family members of danger. John's father used to visit him and his children after his death.

John: Have you ever seen anything in the house that made you feel bit grippy?

Belinda: No, I'm all good and comfortable I think.

John: Maybe cos you're not black. Us mob, we see things like that. Like the birds and our dead relations. Me and my kids have seen my Dad [deceased], and others. But Tania [not Aboriginal] hasn't. She only seem him [dad] once, just when he died.

Tania: Not me, just that once. But the kids saw him more. Used to freak me out when I would hear them talking to him.

Belinda: So they could see him and chat with him?

John & Tania: Yeah.

Belinda: What about when you moved away for a bit?

John: He was still there with us. He is here, his home, but with us always. I miss him so much.

Belinda: So the kids could still talk with him when you were away?

¹¹ None of the totemic species recorded included the Crow. The story of the person's spirit entering the crow does not appear to relate totemic affiliations or beliefs.

Tania: Yeah, yeah they did.

The spirit of John's father has a visual and auditory form, and his grandchildren can see and communicate verbally with him. The same is true of all ancestral spirits.

For many families their ancestral spirits are with them when they are away from Peak Hill and surrounding country. This should not be understood as the spirits leaving the country and moving to the city. Rather they remain within Wiradjuri country and with living kin, simultaneously, even if the family live elsewhere. Wiradjuri beliefs can place ancestral spirits in two places at once; the spirits can have a dual being in both places, such as land/heaven or country/spirit. This is not problematic as these beliefs do not have to abide by the rules of a physical reality. The duality of ancestral spiritual being is representative of Wiradjuri living being, which is not just one way of being, but different ways of being between older and younger, and Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people who are all part of Wiradjuri social life. Multiple ways of being are a commonality of Wiradjuri relatedness.

Anthropological theorising of the bush: Sentience and cosmology

In anthropological texts the word 'sentience' has been used to describe the relationship Australian Aboriginal peoples have with the environment or the bush. Povinelli, when writing about the people of the Cox Peninsula, described how everyday living is situated within a 'supra human realm of sentient landscape populated with ancestors and totemic beings' (Povinelli 1993: 133). In a similar vein to Peterson (2011) I think the concept of sentience should be treated cautiously for the ambiguous and general associations it tends to raise. What does a sentient landscape mean exactly in the case of Wiradjuri? I do not think Wiradjuri people believe the bush has consciousness or feels

pain or pleasure, yet it does have a kind of agency via the ancestral spirits and spiritual beings which inhabit the landscape, particularly in the eyes of older Wiradjuri.

Older people warned me that if particular sites were damaged or objects were taken or stolen from places, that the person responsible would get sick. This warning was often followed with a story expressing the consequences of disobeying their warning. Popular stories were about the mineral, quartz, which is believed by older Wiradjuri to contain powers accessible by clever men - healers and sorcerers. In one particular story, attractive quartz objects were taken from the Goobang Ranges by a couple of local Wiradjuri people and they fell ill afterwards. When I asked what was responsible for the illness, I was told the spirits were angry that the crystal was taken and they were responsible for the illness, as a form of spirit sorcery, although the actual word 'sorcery' is never used among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill. The objects were returned and the people involved soon got better. Another story involving the removal of crystal by a few middle-aged Wiradjuri women during a heritage survey resulting in them being unable to sleep properly and having bad dreams that night. They returned the objects to the original location the following morning and enjoyed a regular night's sleep afterwards.

Not all the agency within country is in the form of sorcery or malignant forces. It also occurs in reciprocal and emotional obligations of relatedness between older Wiradjuri and country, demonstrated by how Wiradjuri people and country look after each other. I first turn my attention to one side of the relationship: how the country looks after Wiradjuri. Older Wiradjuri enjoy being out in the bush, out of town, particularly on the river. As well as fishing and taking grandchildren swimming, older people like to just sit, just to be, at the river. One elderly woman informed me,

I love coming down here [river]. It makes me feel close to all my relations. I come down here when I am sad about all my mob who's gone now and I feel better. Nah, I don't get lonely here, only back in Peak [Hill]!

I had asked the woman if she got lonely at the river by herself as Wiradjuri people tend to feel acute loneliness and boredom being separated from kin and friends, even if it is just for a short while. Her response, 'Nah, I don't get lonely here, only back in Peak [Hill]' initiated a series of complaints about the younger kin in her family not visiting her enough. Her deceased kin, especially her mother who has passed away but was born at the river, also look after her. The spirits of the landscape keep her company and provide emotional solace and companionship, which is why she does not get bored or lonely as one would typically expect of Wiradjuri people being without other people.

I asked a Wiradjuri man, whom I would frequently spot fishing or sitting down the river by himself, whether he got lonely or bored there, to which he replied:

Nope. I like being out here - it's peaceful. I don't need everyone hanging around when I'm out bush, the old fellas [deceased kin] keep me company. But I wouldn't be out here at night by myself, not without a bloody big fire!

Wiradjuri believe fires keep you spiritually safe at night. The fire provides security, not just of warmth and light, but physical safety as the fire keeps one safe from dangerous spirits or bush creatures whilst allowing the close presence of ancestral kin.

Like their living relatives in town, older Wiradjuri look after and are looked after by ancestral spirits in the bush. The river is symbolic of this care and acts as a medium through which emotional and social obligations of kin relatedness can be enacted. The relationship is reciprocal and the bush, particularly the river, must be looked after by Wiradjuri people. This is enacted by older people,

particularly men, frequently driving down to the river each day, or every other day, to ‘check on it.’ One Wiradjuri man I worked with drives down to the river almost every day. Sometimes I would go with him and we would check the water, look for algae or evidence of fishing. These visits became more frequent when weather changes, such as floods, were directly affecting the river. Sometimes he would pick up rubbish and just sit quietly for ten minutes or so, and then we would leave. He looked after the river in a similar way to how he looked after his relations: daily visits to reconnect, socialise and check that ‘everything is ok.’ Like Wiradjuri relations, the river also needs and receives care and company. These rituals are secular, as they do not contain the religious symbolism or animism found elsewhere (see Tyler 1929, Bird-David 1999, Clammer 2004, and Peterson 2011). They are, however, part of a Wiradjuri cosmology which involves ‘nature or products of nature being central to the sense of self’ (Clammer 2004: 93). Every day interactions reproduce Wiradjuri personhood as well as cosmological beliefs, and are central to the lived experience of being Wiradjuri out in the bush.

The country is filled with not only ancestral spirits, but other spiritual beings, both benign and malignant. The latter almost always come from far away to briefly and dangerously inhabit the local landscape. Clever men sneak into the local bush from out west, to sing (control and seduce) local women. Older women remember the story of a woman who died from an overdose because she was being controlled by the sorcery of a clever man, who was Aboriginal but not Wiradjuri. In other words, he was a stranger, not kin. Sometimes spiritual beings from elsewhere can get trapped and remain in the local landscape forever, such as the Kadaicha man in the cave from the local bush

land, near the Golf Course Road.¹² He came from far away and moved into a cave, or old mine, and used sorcery to lure Wiradjuri people to his cave, where he killed them, but made it look like natural causes. The white owners of the property had the cave (or mine) closed up with cement and now the foreign Kadaicha man is trapped there forever. This is an example of good intentions but misunderstanding and mismanagement of the country by the white land owners, who left the spiritual force trapped within the land, subsequently leaving a 'dangerous' area that must be avoided by Wiradjuri people.

Wiradjuri people stay away from the Kadaicha man cave and other particular caves and old mines, called 'Devil Holes' because they contain bad spirits or beings, who play music to lure young children into the hole. This belief is shared by both Wiradjuri and some non-Wiradjuri people as well. Other, more benign beings belong to the Wiradjuri landscape only, and are localised in specific places, such as the bunyip who resides in parts of the Bogan River. The bunyip, which is described by Wiradjuri as an evil cow-like creature is dangerous and can drown people to eat them, specifically children. But this is avoided easily enough by being aware of the bunyip holes and supervising small children when swimming and fishing in the river. There are also *yoori* men, who are little, hairy, mischievous, spirit men. These cheeky, smelly, little creatures live in the bush and are notorious pranksters. Again, they are understood as being potentially dangerous for small children, but can be

¹² Wiradjuri people understand the Kadaicha man to be an anthropomorphic spiritual creature who comes from the west, towards Central Australia. According to local interpretation, the Kadaicha man is a shape-shifting spirit who can take on the forms of animals, although his true form is man-like. He can lure women away from their homes by sorcery, where they can become killed or lost forever.

pacified with offerings of food. They are much less dangerous than the '*mirravilla*' which is described as a large devil dog or ghost dog with red eyes, who can attack you in the dark.

Younger Wiradjuri relationships to country: The externalisation of the bush

Most younger Wiradjuri people were told stories of bunyips, *yoori* men, and devil dogs when they were children. These stories were generally told out bush during school holidays, around the campfire at night. Younger people remember being frightened as they listened to those stories and believing in the danger that lie in the bush at night, away from the safety of the campfire. Yet when children reach late teens or adult hood, the meaning of these stories is reduced to a socialising role about child safety. I asked Grant and his sister Honey, both teenagers (18 and 17 years old respectively) with babies of their own, about such stories of bush creatures:

Belinda: Were you guys told about the creatures that live in the bush?

Honey: [laughs] Yeah, all that stuff about the devil dog, and the little men in the bush who could pinch you. Yeah, I remember them.

Grant: I remember mum and dad, and our aunties and uncles trying to frighten us with that crap. Make sure we wouldn't run off into the bush when we kids.

Honey: It worked! Gee, they used to scare me.

Belinda: Did they just tell you about them out bush or sometimes at home?

Honey: No, sometimes at home. When all the old fellas come around drinking and that, they would tell us stories.

Belinda: What about now? Do you believe in them?

Grant: Nah, that just made up stuff for kids.

Belinda: But you don't think they could be in the bush?

Grant: No! There's nothing in the bush, just dirt and trees. And sometimes a *gungah* if you're lucky! [laughing].

Belinda: So will you tell your kids those stories the older people told you?

Grant: I don't reckon. I don't even reckon little kids would believe it now.

Honey: Maybe me. I might tell son. Not cos I believe them anymore, like he should know his people's stories, know he is a blackfella.

Belinda: Like when you take him camping when he is bigger, around the camp fire? They seem like good campfire stories.

Honey: Phff! I don't like camping. But dad would take son camping, but not me! He'll tell him those stories too.

Belinda: What about you Grant? You into camping? With your new family?

Grant: Nope! I like going down the river, fishing and stuff. Like during the day. I'm not really into camping anymore, only if there is a big party.

Honey: Then I like it too! Like birthday parties out at the old mish. But usually we scab a lift back in.

Belinda: Why not?

Grant: Its boring, nothing to do out there.

Honey: [laughing] What you think cos we're black that we like running around the bush?

Unlike older Wiradjuri, younger people, such as Grant and Honey, no longer see the bush as having agency or a spirituality, now that they are grown up. Contemporary relationships to land have become less about a way of being and more about identity as an Aboriginal person, signified by Honey's comment '...like he should know his people's stories, know he is a blackfella.' For younger people like Honey, relationships to the bush are developed primarily through story telling of the past and a few childhood experiences out bush, compared to the continual, lived experiences of her older kin. Rather than living in the bush, working and living with the older men, and camping on the river with large kin groups during holidays, many younger Wiradjuri only know stories of the bush because they were told to them by their parents and grandparents. Although younger people are sometimes made to learn about the bush through short visits and occasional camping trips, as in the case of Grant, whose father would take him camping when he was younger, meanings of the bush have changed as social practices and ways of relating to the bush have also been transformed.

Younger people, such as Grant, value the bush for recreation, such as fishing at the river, but the bush holds less social and emotional value for them, compared to older people. The river is no longer a place to rest and enjoy the emotional companionship of kin, experienced as a social presence in the landscape. As the river is no longer a relational part of the younger Wiradjuri self, the relationship between the river and self is not one of kin-like relatedness. The river and bush around the river has no agency: it cannot bring about safety or danger because it no longer contains ancestral kin or spiritual beings and creatures for younger people. Hence, there is not the same reciprocity. The river no longer needs regular visits, interactions or looking after, and younger people do not require the presence of the river, or the bush more generally, to look after them; to keep them happy and safe. Now the river is valued for swimming, occasional fishing and a place to escape the watchful eyes of older kin. Unless the river is being temporarily inhabited by other (living) kin, there to swim, fish, or for a party, the river is just landscape, lonely and 'boring' as younger people, such as Grant, often refer to it.

The site of the old mission, Bulgandramine, serves as another example of how the relationship between older and younger people and the country has changed, from one that was once reciprocal in the past and much less so in the present. For older people, Bulgandramine provides solace and companionship. It is a place that not only contains the physical remains (bones) and spirits of past kin, it is also contains other spiritual beings. Bulgandramine, in the eyes of older Wiradjuri, is alive, not with consciousness, but by the presence of ancestral spirits and spiritual beings. In the past, older people looked after Bulgandramine and in return ancestral spirits looked after them. When older people sadly lament about the present state of Bulgandramine - overgrown with weeds, inaccessible in parts, and abandoned by many younger people - their brows creased with worry. For older people the deterioration of the mission site signifies a place no longer inhabited and a past

forgotten by their youth. To younger people Bulgandramine is no longer a landscape alive with ancestral spirits and other beings, and it is not seen as necessarily familiar or safe by them. Instead, the old mission site is an empty patch of overgrown wilderness, filled with snakes and spiders. It is a place of stories and occasional visits. Just as the stories of bad spirits, *yoori* men and Kadaicha men have lost some significance for younger people; Bulgandramine is no longer even spiritually dangerous, it is just empty, unless, of course, it is filled with people, such as the birthday parties occasionally held at the mission site and eagerly looked forward to by younger people.

Bulgandramine is still a place of contemporary relatedness, but this is due to the presence of people for the celebration of significant life events. Any other meaning belongs to the past, to stories and imaginings, rather than experiences and relationships. The bush has simply become a place which holds stories of the past in the collective consciousness of contemporary Wiradjuri identity; stories of belonging but not being.

Case Study: Talking about totems

Another way the bush forms part of older Wiradjuri being is through totemism. In pre-colonial Wiradjuri cosmology, the interconnectedness of all things was expressed in a system of totemism which continued to organise social organisation and relations to the non-human world to varying degrees through the nineteenth and into the early years of the twentieth century. Totemic affiliations, which were inherited through the matriline, regulated marriage (Mathews 1897d: 412). Totemism connected people to land, and each other. As Elkin explained in general terms,

Totemism ... is our key to the understanding of [A]boriginal philosophy of life and the universe - a philosophy which regards man and nature as one corporate whole for social, ceremonial and religious purposes,...a philosophy which is historical, being built on the heroic acts of the past which provide sanctions for the present, a philosophy which, indeed, passes into the realm of religion and provides that faith, hope and courage in the face of his daily needs, which man must have if he is to persevere and persist, both as an individual and as a social being (Elkin 1933b: 131).

The ancestral totemic beings of the 'past,' as Elkin refers to it, or The Dreaming, as well as the totemic moieties are no longer remembered in Peak Hill: they are not part of contemporary Wiradjuri cosmology. Yet for older, living Wiradjuri people today, a new form of contemporary totemism still binds the spiritual, social, and ecological, and is an important part of what it means to be Wiradjuri, to relate to each other and to the bush.

To introduce a discussion of totems and Wiradjuri being, I begin with a story from my visit to an old rock painting site with John, a middle aged Wiradjuri man. I had been on many drives with John, as driving around his country was one of his favourite pastimes. John was employed intermittently,

relying upon seasonal work, so he had lots of time to drive down to the river each day, out to the mission, to visit people in neighbouring towns, or to Narromine Weir for fishing and so on. Driving around country, particularly to the river and other local places, is as important to John as his daily morning visits to his mob, discussed later.

John had reluctantly told me on a former occasion that his family's totem was kangaroo from his father. This was after I had virtually forced him to eat my kangaroo stew and begged him to take me out kangaroo shooting, much to his distaste. After that, he had not spoken of totems, as he generally preferred not to speak about the more glamorised parts of his culture. By 'glamorised' I mean the aspects of Wiradjuri cultural practice that overlap with mythologised and nationalised Aboriginal Culture (Cowlshaw 2010, 2011). John had said to me in the past, 'I hate all that Aboriginal flag, red, yellow and black crap. I don't need to advertise who I am. Everybody knows who I am. They know I'm Wiradjuri.' Often when I had brought up older, stereotyped aspects of Wiradjuri culture, such as language, ritual, ceremony, and totems, John would laugh and say 'Time to pull out the lap-lap again.'¹³ These conversations usually ended quite quickly. Other than the brief incident with the kangaroo and some discussions with his mother, in over a year I had not elicited any other information about John's family's totemic relationships. That is, until one visit, near the end of my

¹³ 'Lap-lap' is a word which has come into Australian Aboriginal English from Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific. Its meaning remains similar to elsewhere and generally refers to a loin cloth, or piece of clothing fashioned out of fur and kangaroo tendon or another kind of locally made strong. It is tied around the waist and used to cover the genitals. In Peak Hill, the word 'lap-lap' refers to a past Aboriginal culture, when people did not wear clothes. The word has other local connotations as it is used to mock white understandings of Aboriginal culture, which are based upon unchanging, traditional ideas of Aboriginal culture, which contemporary Wiradjuri people do not adhere to.

fieldwork, to this prominent rock art site. There, I realised what it meant emotionally for John to share his ancestral kin's totemic affiliations as a contemporary Wiradjuri person.

That day John and I were on our way back from this particular site in his car. We were taking a short cut across the nearby paddocks and heading for the tree-lined track that runs parallel to the fence line. As we approached the trees we passed a brolga – the 'grey crane,' as my companion called it. It was a tall, graceful bird, slowly walking over the shady ground, occasionally stooping down for insects. This crane was alone, which was unusual as they normally travel in small, family groups. John commented, 'You don't see them around here much anymore,' as I realised this was the first time I had seen one in this region of New South Wales. John stopped the car and watched the crane's elegant movements. He said to me, 'That's my totem. My mother is the Grey Crane. All of her family are that one.' He paused and then continued talking, 'You can't eat him, or hurt him. Got to look after them. There's not many left now.' He stopped talking and continued watching the bird. I asked him in quick succession, 'Why can't you eat them or hurt them? What happens if you do? Does something bad happen? Do you get in trouble?' To which John replied, 'You just wouldn't.' I pressed on, 'But what if someone did, what would happen? Are there rules?' John snapped back at me, 'You just don't!' He started the car and drove away, looking annoyed. We continued to drive in silence.

I was shocked at the short reply. John was one of the people I worked with the most and one of the gentlest people I know. He always tolerated my pressing questions, sometimes stupid comments, and out of place behaviours with a smile, a joke, and encouraging remarks. I thought about what to do next as I really wanted to ask him more about the grey crane and totemic affiliations in general. So I did what any annoying field worker does and asked another question, 'How come you are

unhappy about my question?’ He said abruptly but quietly ‘I’m not’ and said no more. I decided to drop the matter and ask him again later when I could diffuse the tension with tea and biscuits. After what seemed ages but was actually only a short while, he drove slower and began to talk, alternating his glances between the track and myself. He told me his story about the grey crane,

When I was a young fella I was out at the [Bogan] river with some of my mates. They were hunting birds with a sling shot. We used to do that a lot, come out to the river, fish and hunt birds, *gungah*. This time, there was that Grey Crane. They were shooting at it but none of them hit it. They kept saying, ‘hey, it’s your turn, come on, your turn’ to me. I knew that was us, mum’s family, and that I shouldn’t hunt it. I kept saying ‘nah, don’t feel like it.’ They kept pushing, teasing me. You know how it is when you’re a young fella, peer pressure and all of that. But I didn’t give in. But I watched them doing it, shooting them birds, thinking this is bad and I should stop them. But they were bad shots, they couldn’t hit bloody anything so I didn’t worry about it, and just went along with them, calling out and getting real into it. The next shot, wouldn’t you know it, hit the bloody bird! They didn’t kill it, just hurt it and it kinda ran, kinda flew away, frightened, see. I felt so bad, as if I’d been punched in the guts. See, it wasn’t just that they’d hurt a bird, but it felt like I’d let them do something bad to myself, hurt myself, and, worse, hurt my mum and her family and all the old fellas.

I didn’t tell anyone what we had done. Those fellas just thought it was another bird. But I was real upset and went home. When I got home, I got the fright of my life from my mum. She took one look at me and said ‘son, I know what you have done and don’t ever, ever do that again.’ Well, that scared the shit out of me. I had come straight home. How could she know? I thought our ancestors were so angry that they’d told her. Not the people, but the spirits. I didn’t sleep well that night, I tell ya. I found out later that she didn’t know what had happened. She had just seen me come home, all upset and lookin’ guilty and knew I had done something wrong. So she warned me not to do it again. I never told her, I felt too bad.

What struck me about John’s story was the language he used to speak about the incident with the boys shooting the grey crane. He said ‘I felt so bad, as if I’d been punched in the guts,’ indicating

not just guilt or a feeling of doing something morally wrong, but a physical feeling of pain.¹⁴

Previously I had heard younger people refer to feeling physical pain during periods of grief, but I had not heard younger people refer to this feeling in response to something bad happening to country or fauna, such as in the case of John.

When older people speak about totems, they phrase their remarks as being part of the totem, rather than possessing it. When I was listening at a meeting where a Wiradjuri community group was discussing the use of totems for a logo and design, the older people present spoke about totems as, 'I am owl' or 'How about *gungah* because we are all *gungah*.' 'I am' or 'we are' is an illustration of how totems are part of Wiradjuri being. For older Wiradjuri inalienable constructions - references to totems as being part of the self - demonstrates a Wiradjuri inter-subjectivity, which includes both human and non-human relatedness.

Middle aged people, such as John, tend to use two forms of linguistic constructions when discussing totems and country more generally: being part of as well as possession. In the story above, John explained to me in relation to the grey crane, 'That's my totem. My mother is the grey crane. All of her family are that one.' He used both the possessive pronoun 'my' and the inalienable 'is' and 'are.' For John, totems and the country more generally, such as the river, are part of his being as part of

¹⁴ I had heard this description of stomach pain before in response to accidents, sickness or death of kin. Sometimes it is described, like John, as a 'punch in the guts' and other times it is described as lump or stone in the stomach. The morning after a tragic, accidental death of Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, I was talking to a teenage girl. She told me she couldn't sleep all night because the accident and subsequent deaths, had made her feel 'sick in the stomach.' When I asked her in what way, she replied, 'Like there is a real, heavy lump there.' At the time, her mother and father reassuring her, told her they had the same lump in the stomach, indicating that her grief was felt mutually by them, rather than them having their own grief.

kin-like relatedness and personhood, but not in the same way as the older, all encompassing totemic system of classifying people according to nature.

For younger people, only possessive linguistic constructions are used to describe totems and country. When I asked some older teenage boys about their totems, one replied 'I think our family has the owl.' Another replied, 'I have *gungah*,' to which I questioned, but you eat the goanna? His response was, 'Yeah, so what, it's yum.' The use of possessive constructions demonstrates how totems, like other aspects of country described above, are no longer part of a younger Wiradjuri being in an internalised sense. They are something you can 'have' or 'hold' rather than something you are.

So what do totems mean for middle aged and younger Wiradjuri, for whom they have become partially or completely externalised from the self? There are two types of contemporary Wiradjuri totems. First, there are kin totems that are inherited cognatically from the mother or father and belong to the entire family group, such as the John and the kangaroo and grey crane. This social practice is probably the outcome a series of adaptations from the complex system of totemic affiliations and older social organisation. This system is not known or practiced in the present but it has left its traces in an understanding of totems being inherited at birth, part of one's being and personhood, and associated with a taboo that prevents people of that totem from eating or harming the specific species. This taboo exists as an ideal and practice for older people. For others it is now only an ideal. For younger people, this taboo barely exists at all.

The second type of contemporary Wiradjuri totems is 'community totems'. For Peak Hill Bogan River Wiradjuri these are the *gungah* and the mook mook owl. It is unclear how, or if at all, these community totems are related to previous totemic practices, such as totemic affiliations associated

with ceremony, such as initiations or social organisation. Community totems do not have particular rules associated with them such as food taboos, in fact *gungah* is a favourite summer dish. As communal symbols they are used by all local Wiradjuri families and have an incorporative and cohesive value, much as those associated with a sporting team. They reflect the externalisation of the bush from Wiradjuri subjectivity, as well as the use of totems as cultural symbols which has developed among Aboriginal people more generally in south-eastern Australia in recent decades.

Family and community totems are visible symbols and signs of contemporary Wiradjuri identity. Pictures of the *gungah* are now present on road signs on the highway to inform drivers that they are entering Wiradjuri country. School children use family totems in art projects, designed to highlight and celebrate local Wiradjuri culture. This externalisation of totems into the public arena can be seen as a sample of what Cowlshaw (2011: 181) describes as cultural revitalisation as part of an ‘Aboriginal Culture’ or cultural mythologising coming from outside expectations of Aboriginality as difference. Having Wiradjuri totems as a cultural symbol important to but external from Wiradjuri being, means pressure is placed on younger Wiradjuri to continue the ‘culture’ of totemic identification. For some younger Wiradjuri who are not necessarily aware of the role of totems in the older cosmological system, this portrayal and expectation of Wiradjuri ‘culture’ can be seen as irrelevant, even insulting: its meaninglessness can create pressures or insecurities in a person’s cultural identity.

There is another side to this argument. Many Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill enjoy using and having their children use cultural symbols, such as totemic animals, in the public arena. It stimulates discussion and stories about previous, older ways of relating to country; a way of reproducing history. In these situations, public, generalised symbols of Aboriginality are not found to be

oppressive. If anything, some of the more obvious symbolism, such as wearing lap laps (or fur cloaks) and using stone tools, are viewed with a combination of humour and pride. Anglo-Australian understandings of 'Aboriginal Culture' are also often the butt of jokes - I found myself at this place more often than I would care to admit here. Yet they are also a reminder of a time past and of family history. Wiradjuri people worry less about white, public conceptions of Aboriginality than do white people working alongside Aboriginal people. Wiradjuri people struggle less than white people with their subjective experiences of cultural transformation. Whilst white Australians question the authenticity and traditionalism of Aboriginal cultural transformations and ways of being, Wiradjuri understand perfectly that although the meaning of a cultural symbol or form of relatedness has changed, their lives as daily, lived experiences of being Aboriginal, or being Wiradjuri, are not any more or less meaningful than before. Life as a resident of Peak Hill continues, being Wiradjuri continues, and kin relationships continue. Wiradjuri people embrace their historicity even while whitefellas resist it.

New ways of relating to country

I have argued that older and younger Wiradjuri people relate to the bush in different ways. Older people internalised the bush as part of the self and of relatedness, whereas the bush for younger people, still significant and meaningful to their identity and history, has become externalised and is no longer part of younger Wiradjuri being and kin relationships in the same way. Using totemic affiliations and associated linguistic constructions as an example of this, I introduced a second argument about Wiradjuri and non-Aboriginal interpretations of 'Aboriginal Culture.' Whilst acknowledging that non-Aboriginal discourses of Aboriginality can be insulting, damaging or an attempt to create cultural relevance where it does not belong, Wiradjuri people also use these discourses and symbols as reminders of the past to negotiate contemporary meanings. This does not mean that public, white discourses of Aboriginality do not influence Wiradjuri cultural expression. Younger Wiradjuri peoples' new ways of relating to country are shaped by their elders but increasingly also by Anglo-Australian policies and ideologies about 'Aboriginal Culture', tradition and authenticity.

Anglo-Australian definitions and policies of Aboriginality have a long history played out in decades of federal and state policies, including assimilation, multiculturalism, self-determination, reconciliation, land rights and Native Title. This colonial process has resulted in what Beckett called a 'public ethnicity', which ultimately 'renders Aboriginal people invisible' (1988c: 191). Morris (1988b: 67-8) explains this as 'cultural pluralism' where there are specific domains, I would call these public domains, for expressions of Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness. This 'cultural distinctiveness' involves benign difference that does not affect or challenge the values and structures of a still

predominantly 'white' Australia. Morris's explanation echoes that of Hage (1998) regarding multiculturalism, which Hage describes as an ideology that only offers a space for non-competing or non-conflictual forms of cultural expression. More recently, Cowlishaw's (2010, 2011) mythopoeia, 'Aboriginal Culture', capitalised, refers to a set of ideas or beliefs, not necessary true, held by white Australians regarding Aboriginal people. Beliefs fed by national and state agendas, which seek to carve out a place for Aboriginality in the national psyche whilst controlling local Aboriginal power over space (land and resources) and politics (rights).

Relating to country through 'traditional ownership'

In the remainder of this chapter I trace one discourse of Aboriginal Culture: traditional ownership of land. The discourse of the Aboriginal 'traditional owner' arose out of land rights and native title, and within the space of self-determination and reconciliation more broadly across Australia. It is a term now embedded in different contexts in New South Wales, including native title, cultural heritage, and reconciliation projects. The term does not have a singular or static meaning; it is associated with a range of meanings in different contexts, first originating in the Northern Territory. The term first came about in the context of the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (Cwth) 1976 in the Northern Territory, which referred to those able to show traditional (spiritual) connections to land. In New South Wales this term was not prevalent until much later. The *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (NSW) 1983 (ALRA (NSW)) did not include the term traditional ownership although it did provide for claims to certain limited forms of land on the basis of tradition. Rather, and in contrast to the Northern Territory, the ALRA (NSW) was more of a development-orientated program than a restoration of rights based on cultural traditions. Throughout New South Wales, land was divided into Local Aboriginal Land Council areas. These were not based on Aboriginal understandings of

sociality or territory but a pragmatic administrative convenience. The exception was the Wiradjuri region. They wrote to the State Government and demanded they stay together on their own lands (Macdonald 2004). For the most part, any local Aboriginal person could become a member of the land councils if they have a local cultural connection; they did not have to prove that they were a traditional owner. According to Wiradjuri people today, they were not aware of the term traditional ownership during this period, the 1980s, and it was not prevalent in understandings of group membership. Rather Wiradjuri based their understanding of ownership and rights to land on membership to local kin groups, specifically those kin groups who were connected to the Bogan River, to Bulgandramine Mission and to the Hill. Family membership, and therefore legal rights to land from the LRA, is based upon not just descent from kin, but a shared history connecting them to place.

The introduction of Native Title solidified the traditional owner discourse in New South Wales. In 1992, the *Mabo v Queensland (No 2)* High Court decision overturned the doctrine of *Terra nullius* and established that pre-existing rights to land had survived the extension of British sovereignty over Australia. The term 'traditional owner' does not, however, appear in the Native Title Act (NTA.) Aboriginal ownership under the NTA is modelled on property rights, more specifically a model developed by legal realist, Maine's concept of a bundle of rights. Under Native Title these rights can include exclusive possession to land, but in NSW more commonly include the rights to live, access, use, protect and make decisions about country and are generally non-exclusive. While the term 'traditional owner' is not written into the act (s223, nor s225), these rights are common law rights that must be possessed under the traditional laws acknowledged, and the traditional customs observed by Aboriginal peoples or Torres Strait Islanders.

I wish to clarify the difference between the public ideology of a traditional owner, developed from white legislation and ideas of Aboriginality and traditional ownership as a Wiradjuri belief, practice and way of being connected to land. This is the distinction between public discourse and social practice. The relationship between discourse and lived reality is not a binary one. White spectators and Wiradjuri actors do not sit as proponents of each side casually reflecting on the other. Taking a lead from Correy (2006: 337), I propose that this relationship represents inter-twined realities, part of a dialectic process of Wiradjuri and white history, where Wiradjuri social relations and interactions shape the definition of the term (and subsequent public ideologies), which in turn affect local, social relations and interactions. There is an origin of the term, discussed above, the point in time where 'traditional owner' changed from having a dictionary definition to particular meanings, associated with a specific discourse, due to the production of legislation and case law. The term then becomes part of distinct but related discourses as they are understood and used in varying ways, by both Wiradjuri and white people. The new meanings produced are fed back into discourses, ultimately altering historical contexts. For Wiradjuri, the term traditional owner has created new meanings associated with land, particularly the bush, and is part of a broader change in the way younger Wiradjuri people interact with country.

Before delving deeper into the effect of the notion of traditional ownership of Wiradjuri land, I need to explain why I include such an analysis. Leading on from the preceding section, in this section I demonstrate how white interpretations of Aboriginal relationships to land have influenced how younger Wiradjuri people think about country. More specifically, I argue country has been externalised from the self and removed from relatedness into a discursive and imaginative relationship where country is objectified as a place, which can be currently owned in different ways.

I also want to make clear: I am by no means suggesting that Wiradjuri ownership of country is a

recent phenomenon. Wiradjuri people have owned their country for thousands of years. I am arguing that the mechanism or form of ownership has changed. Previously, there existed a mutuality of being in which country was owned in the same way in which people owned their kin, which is still present in Peak Hill to some degree. To own your kin and be owned by your kin 'implies an acknowledgement and affirmation of relationship. It entails a sense of belonging, acceptance, solidarity and mutual sympathy, care and respect' (Kwok 2011: 168).¹⁵ Kwok speaks of owning your people as acknowledgement of kin relatedness and Aboriginal identity. Kwok's conceptual framework can be applied to the relationship between older Wiradjuri and country: the Wiradjuri meanings of 'owning' country are situated within a dialectical inter-subjectivity of other (country and kin) and self. Owning country, in this sense, includes the same affirmation of kin relationships and all of the associated beliefs and practices of looking after one's kin, or one's country.

Younger Wiradjuri have ideas of ownership based upon property and title, more synonymous with the English meaning of the word to 'own', where to own means an absolute pronoun or verb of possession, such as the dictionary definitions of to 'own property, relatives, etc...to be among one's own' or 'to have or hold as one's own; possess.' The term traditional ownership implies such English meanings - to possess and have as one's own. The difference is highlighted by the word 'traditional', which in the case of traditional ownership implies a communal and strictly lineal connection from past to present. In the *Native Title Act* (Cwth) 1993 (NTA) rights and interests to

¹⁵ The word 'own' in this context should not be understood according to typical English conventions, which would imply a master/slave relationship.

land are possessed under the traditional laws and customs of a particular group.¹⁶ In the NTA there is a conflation of tradition - meaning a static notion of Aboriginal land ownership - and possession, an English understanding of ownership.

The discourse of traditional ownership has also been affected by native title case law, particularly with what 'traditional' entails. In *Yorta Yorta*, Olney J. concluded that the Yorta Yorta had lost their culture and status as a 'traditional society,' although during the subsequent appeal the definition of traditional was relaxed somewhat (Strelein 2003: 2). Although other cases, such as in *Yanner v. Eaton* and *Ward*, there has been some flexibility in the way 'traditional' has been understood in regards to hunting and fishing methods, the notion of 'tradition' in traditional ownership remains inflexible,

Native Title rights and interests, on the other hand, must relate decisively to pre-colonial Aboriginal tradition, even though it has been accepted since the *Mabo (No 2)* decision that tradition does change and has changed over time (Weiner, Godwin & L'Oste-Brown 2002: 5).

¹⁶ S225 of the Native Title Act states:

Determination of native title

A determination of native title is a determination whether or not native title exists in relation to a particular area (the determination area) of land or waters and, if it does exist, a determination of:

- (a) who the persons, or each group of persons, holding the common or group rights comprising the native title are; and
- (b) the nature and extent of the native title rights and interests in relation to the determination area; and
- (c) the nature and extent of any other interests in relation to the determination area; and
- (d) the relationship between the rights and interests in paragraphs (b) and (c) (taking into account the effect of this Act); and
- (e) to the extent that the land or waters in the determination area are not covered by a non-exclusive agricultural lease or a non-exclusive pastoral lease--whether the native title rights and interests confer possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of that land or waters on the native title holders to the exclusion of all others.

'Tradition' in native title is paradoxical because change is required yet also, at least partially, rejected. Historical transformation is required as Aboriginal people adapt and take on a new form of land tenure, offered by native title. Yet transformation is also refused because the NTA ultimately requires connection to country to be a 'function of the survival of the laws and customs of the community, not the other way around' (Weiner 2002: 8). Tradition, in Native Title, may be locked in the past, as pre-colonial, synchronic, and into a biologically-defined 'descent' model.

On the other hand, in the social sciences literature, it has been demonstrated for some time that tradition is as much about reinvention (and change) as it is about continuity (Sahlins 1985: 148-49). Tradition is never just continuity with the past, it is a particular way of allocating a specific value to present social institutions and values, represented by certain groups of people. That the tradition of Wiradjuri people owning land is reproduced at all is achieved only by virtue of its meanings remaining relevant to and grounded in a social present. Tradition is also a way of defining groups of people and can be invented for particular personal, economic or political purposes (see, for example, Hobsbawn 1983). As suggested by Weiner (2002), state designed tradition for Aboriginal people, such as in the context of 'traditional ownership' of land does not include reinvention or renewal. In Australia, the invention of tradition is reserved as a right of the state, where the state and public are the ones who attempt to objectify and authenticate what is 'tradition' amongst Aboriginal cultures. According to Sider (1997: 72) tradition is the site of a struggle for power, over country and resources. With the externalisation and objectification of land, and struggles of power, younger Wiradjuri have come to understand ownership of land to be based on property and title, or put simply - possession.

Older people explain their relationships to land as experiences and stories, whereas younger people tend to express this relationship in terms of possession, such as the example from Tony, a father in his late 20s,

Belinda: So you don't go camping much, do you reckon this has changed the way Wiradjuri people relate to land?

Tony: Mmm...think so. Don't reckon we are as close to it anymore. But it is still ours, don't forget that.

Belinda: Who is ours?

Tony: Wiradjuri mob, Red Dust mob.

Belinda: How is it yours but?

Tony: That's a bit fucking rude! Course it's ours! We were here first - your mob came and stole it.

When Tony and other younger Wiradjuri spoke about land, there was less emphasis on the relationship between land and kin, and more on the right to own land - a right stripped away by colonisation. Wiradjuri land ownership has two forms, merged together: an older relational way based upon shared identity and relatedness (Myers 1982, 1989, Kwok 2011) and a more recent, objectified right of possession stemming from native title and discourse of traditional ownership. Within the first form of ownership boundaries are based upon negotiation between kin, whereas in the second form, boundaries have become more about measuring land by descent, recognised and authenticated by the state. In the latter, land can be classified, counted, and measured objectively; a requirement of a European definition of possession, rather than being classified within the world of kinship.

Discussions and conversations between Wiradjuri about land are framed in these terms: as a struggle of power. When the Wellington Native Title claim was progressing, many people in Peak Hill were

concerned about Wellington families claiming too much land. Although I am restricted by confidentiality and cannot go into detail, these conversations were framed in terms of who had ‘rights’ to the stretch of country in question, rather than who belonged to or was part of this country.¹⁷ Access to resources, such as housing or community projects, was also spoken about in terms of rights - ‘it’s about who really comes from here’ [Peak Hill] or who is a ‘traditional owner’ and who is not. Both forms of Wiradjuri land ownership are based upon the distinction between owner and non-owner. In the past, this would be framed as those people whom one had to ask permission from (Myers 1982). In the present, ownership is now framed as those who are traditional owners, though this concept is intimately tied to those people who are kin - part of the ‘mob’.

¹⁷ Wiradjuri did not wish for the details of these conversations to be made public.

Conclusion

In the overall puzzle of Wiradjuri being and kinship, this chapter has provided just one piece - the role of the bush and how this has changed.

The role of place is central to anthropological studies of kinship and relatedness, not just as a ground for social relations, but as a part of performative relationships and personhood. Among the Reite of the Rai Coast, Leach found place central to a model of Reite kinship,

The land is very much alive, and enters directly into the constitution (generation) of persons. The relationship between land and person is not one of containment, with the land outside and the essence of the person inside, but of integration. The person enfolds, within his or her being, his/her relations with the environment, including those social others who provide the work of growing that person (Leach 2003: 30).

Leach is acknowledging a way of being in which there is a dialectic relationship between the generation of place, personhood and kin relationships. By demonstrating how older Wiradjuri people believe and participate in a cosmological system of human and non-human forms of relatedness, I have shown just the relationship between just one aspect of place - the bush - and Wiradjuri kinship. The bush is an active conduit of ancestral spirits and other spirit creatures, as well as totemism. Subsequently, older Wiradjuri people enact a performative kin-like relationship with the bush, which involves a reciprocal obligation to look after one another. The bush is part of older people's subjectivity, illustrated by the presence of inalienable linguistic constructions used by older people speaking about totemic affiliations.

Leach (2003) only discussed one way of being with place - a Reite way of being. I found there is not just one Wiradjuri way of being with the bush. Due to historical changes, such as growing up in town and spending less time on country, there are different subjectivities concerning the bush between older and younger people. The presence of contemporary Wiradjuri totemism indicates there is still a connection between the spiritual world and the bush, yet this connection is becoming more externalised and objectified. The bush is no longer filled with ancestral spirits and spirit creatures, and it does not have the same agency. This more recent way of being does not include the same emotional and social relationships with the bush, evidenced by a decline in presence or desire to be out in the bush. The bush, like place, is significant for belonging and identity, yet its spiritual meanings are located in the past; in another time of stories and 'old fellas.' Wiradjuri inter-subjectivity has changed and in this new way of being, among younger Wiradjuri, kinship includes place, but not the bush in the same way as older Wiradjuri.

Returning to the puzzle of contemporary Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness, one piece has been located and worked into place. With this piece in place, other questions emerge: If contemporary Wiradjuri kinship does not include the bush, what does it include? Who are Wiradjuri kin?

Chapter 4. 'Who's your mob?' Conceptualising Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness

Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill speak about kin by referring to their 'mob,' 'relations,' or 'family.' Being with one's mob, relations, or, the lesser used term - family, is at the heart of Wiradjuri daily life in Peak Hill. The terms 'mob' and 'relations' are commonly used by older people, whereas 'family' is term spoken by younger people. These terms are ambiguous; they are distinct at times, overlap at others, or can be used inter-changeably depending on the context. For example, when introducing themselves to others, common question by Wiradjuri is 'who's your mob?' Likewise, at a football game, one will hear people from Peak Hill and Condobolin argue over whether the 'Peak Hill mob' or 'Condo mob' are better footballers. Older people refer to the 'Bulgandramine mob' when visiting kin from nearby towns. Alternatively, younger people speak about how large their 'families' are and how difficult it is to work out how they're all related. Conversely, when sitting down to do genealogies, people speak of both their 'mob' and 'relations' interchangeably, such as, 'My relations are the Keeds' or 'I am a Read.' This means something different to when we drove to a nearby town, such as Gilgandra, and people from Peak Hill informed me, 'Heaps of my relations live here.' It is also different to the way these terms are used in an everyday sense, when point of conversation is not about families, genealogies, or place. For instance, when Frank says, 'Let's round up the mob and go fishing' or 'It was a good party, all of my relations were there' he is speaking about an overlapping, yet different group of people again.

Being part of a mob in Peak Hill can mean many things. More broadly in Aboriginal Australia, being part of mob is understood as follows,

Mobbing is the activity where relatedness, in the sense of social alliance, is established and affirmed by virtue of common affiliation with place, common experience and common descent, as well as by the exchange of cash and commodities (Mullins 2007: 31).

The problem with Mullin's definition is that being part of a mob in Peak Hill can include all of those things, or only some of them, depending on the context. To clarify the variation and ambiguity, I use this chapter to argue that the terms 'mob' or 'relations' refer to three main ways of classifying people, by:

1. Place
2. Kinship
3. Relatedness

I use these three classifications of mobbing to argue for a distinction between Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness. These three categories of mobs form the structure of this chapter. First, I examine the Wiradjuri place-centric category of the place-based mob, which can include just Wiradjuri people, such as the 'Bulgandramine mob' or people of varying ethnicities, such as the 'Peak Hill mob.' Second, I turn to the socio-centric category of mobs as descent groups, which are kin groups consisting of both genealogically and performative close and distant kin, Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people. Third, I focus on the ego-centric network of kin and non-kin, who make up the performative mob, meaning the people who perform relationships in a Wiradjuri way. In addition to an examination of categories, I rely upon genealogical and ethnographic data, such as an analysis of Wiradjuri kinship terms and how they are used, to establish a way of understanding and conceptualising the different categories of 'other' which form the basis of Wiradjuri relationships in Peak Hill.

Past mobs: A brief history of Wiradjuri social organisation

Before I enter into an examination of contemporary Wiradjuri kinship and relatedness, I first offer a brief history of Wiradjuri social organisation. This history provides an understanding of what it meant to be part of someone's mob in the past, and is a necessary precursor for understanding changes to Wiradjuri kinship in the present.

Prior to the early twentieth century, there were formulations of Wiradjuri kinship which are no longer in use today, most notably the matri-totemic section system, which spread throughout the Riverine section of Victoria, New South Wales, and southern Queensland. The early ethnographer, R. H. Mathews, conducted research with the Kamilaroi and Wongaibon in New South Wales and, influenced by evolutionism and typology, focused on the classification of totemic affiliations by descent. Mathews (1892) concluded that social organisation in this region included both clans and matrilineal totemic groups. It is clear from his data, that there were matrimoieties, such as white and black cockatoo (Mathews 1910: 164). It is also clear from Mathews (1896: 412) that there was a section system: Murri/Matha; Kubbi/Kubbitha; Ippai/Ippatha; and Oombi/Butha. The relationship between the totemic affiliations, section system, and marriage is less clear. The section system was matrilineal, meaning the sections were always inherited in a specific order along the matriline, for example Ippatha's children were always Oombi/Butha and Kubbitha's children were always Murri/Matha. Yet, Mathew's data does not give any indication that the section system determined marriage, rather the totemic groups did. The totemic groups were part of the matri-moieties and often referred to as 'matri-clans' (see Beckett 1958). Gold (2006: 57), in her analysis of the early ethnographic material, found that matri-clans were consistent across inland New South Wales,

although there was some variation regarding indirect and direct descent of totemic affiliations. This is consistent with Macdonald's (2010) research on the 'Riverine bloc', which includes the Wiradjuri. After many years of research, Macdonald has found that the 'Riverine cultural bloc' is distinctive for its matrilineal totemic system and absence of patrilineal descent (2010: 22). Macdonald takes this view from the lack of any ethnographic data to support the presence of patrilineal descent. Mathew (1910:147) does note that, in south east Queensland the 'the bora [the local territory] to which one belonged was that of the father.' Yet Macdonald found that a man could reside in and claim rights in the country of his father, mother's father, or wife's father (2010: 42). There is no evidence that patrilineal descent were significant in ceremony and the absence of any information to the contrary, over this very large region, lead me to agree with Macdonald, patrilineal descent were not a feature of social, ritual or local organisation.

In the past, being part of what is now called one's a mob, a reference to one's countrymen (in Myers sense, see Myers 1982, 1986) or one's network of kin – could have been an ego-centric reference to people connected in various ways – as members of a residential grouping, as genealogically-defined kin, or as members of one's – own totemic group, section or moiety. These forms of social organisation no longer persist among Wiradjuri. Being part of one's mob is more about ego-centric and socio-centric connections to place and kin.

‘We’re Red Dust mob’: Place, identity and belonging

In the previous chapter above I examined the role of the bush in Wiradjuri kinship, and the differences between older and younger Wiradjuri. Here, I address the role of place - the township of Peak Hill - in Wiradjuri kinship and relational identity; what it means when a Wiradjuri person refers to the ‘Peak Hill mob,’ ‘Red Dust mob,’ or the ‘Bulgandramine mob.’ Place has always been central to Wiradjuri kinship, as interactions with place create a shared identity, history, and way of being. Place is not just where kinship happens; people engage with place as a continual, creative process of shaping how relationships between people are understood and classified. Leach (2003) uses place as the underlying factor in his conceptualisation of Reite kinship, a model which reflects the ontological categories and symbols of Reite people on the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea. In the actual unfolding of personhood and place, Leach views place as something that is created, a continual process of the constitution of Reite personhood. Leach states,

Kinship in this context cannot be separated from other creative endeavour. The processes whereby persons and place come into being through work *elicit* specific relationships, just as they invoke specific places (2003: 24, emphasis in original).

Rather than relying upon primordial qualities of place, nationalism, or land tenure, I build on an idea of place stemming from the process of social relations. Retsikas (2007) is useful here, as Retsikas argued that among the Alas Niser of Probolinggo, East Java, categories of ‘place and persons are a process mediated by practices related to social memory, kinship, and ritual...the spatiality of memories, kinship, and ritual acts...shape those persons who partake in their unravellings’ (Retsikas 2007: 969). In this sense, in Peak Hill, understandings of one’s mob are tied to place, but they are

also identities constructed within a particular set of social relationships. People in Peak Hill have kin connections with people from Condobolin (Condo), Wellington (Wello), and Gilgandra (Gil); much more so than other neighbouring towns, such as Dubbo and Parkes. Rather than understanding this region as places of the central-west New South Wales connected by roads, Wiradjuri have always placed emphasis on the rivers, particularly the Macquarie, Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, and upper Bogan River. All four towns listed above are located on or near a river: Peak Hill is close to the upper Bogan River, Condobolin is located on the Lachlan River, Wellington is at the junction of the Macquarie and Bell Rivers, and Gilgandra is situated on the Castlereagh River. As these rivers have always been the home of Wiradjuri, kinship networks reflect the connection of people to rivers. Understanding the country as river country is why Wiradjuri people across these towns have a shared sociality - kin networks - as well as a shared history, with many families in each town having ancestral ties to Bulgandramine Mission. Thus, the 'Peak Hill mob' must be understood within the river centred kin networks which spread across Condo, Wello, Gil, and Peak Hill.

Identity with place is both relational and contextual. In essence, it represents the tension between continually negotiating the difference and similarity of an individual or smaller group with a larger group, such as the Bogan River Wiradjuri, or Peak Hill mob, with the wider network of Wiradjuri kin from the central west New South Wales. Identity cannot occur without the other, as psychosocial dualisms are foundational to its core: self and other; inner and outer; being and doing; expression of self for, with, against, or despite; but certainly in response to others (Josselson 1994: 82). Relational place based identities in New South Wales are framed in the same way as relatedness within Wiradjuri sociality; a continual tension operating between the individual (autonomy) and mob (relatedness). On one hand, relatedness between the Peak Hill, Wello, Condo, and Gil mobs is emphasised. Wiradjuri people frequently identify with the Condo and Wello mobs, stating that they

are 'all relations,' all 'one mob,' or 'all born from Bulgandramine.' Relatedness between kin networks of the four places is reinforced by action as trips are frequently made by Wiradjuri people between Peak Hill, Wello, Condo, and Gil, to visit kin and socialise, particularly for life-cycle events, such as births, birthdays, marriages, and funerals.

On the other hand, when people from the different mobs meet together they also emphasise their autonomy through place and river based distinctions. Their genealogical connections and shared history are illustrated by signifiers of difference. Peak Hill Wiradjuri in the presence of Condo and Wello families use the identifier 'Peak Hill Mob' or 'Red Dust Mob', which refers only to those Wiradjuri families who currently reside in Peak Hill or have lived there for a substantial time in the past. Red Dust mob is an identity label specific to Peak Hill. There is some ambiguity or variation about who it includes. At times it is only used to refer to the Wiradjuri occupants of Peak Hill, and some young Wiradjuri men have taken to getting 'Red Dust' and 'Wiradjuri' tattoos. At other times, such as during regional football matches, Red Dust refers to all Peak Hill people - Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, or Anglo-Australian. I was unable to learn how the term Red Dust originated, or exactly what it referred to, considering the landscape and soil of Peak Hill is not particularly red.

The rivers are geographic symbols of social closeness and difference. The rivers are used in the content of jokes, which reinforce relatedness by emphasising difference, or playing with social boundaries. In the pub after football matches between Peak Hill, and Condo or Wello, jokes are loudly called out by the Peak Hill mob about the Bogan River being the *only* river to produce good fish and people, and retorts are slung back by the Condo or Wello mobs about how people of the Bogan [River] wouldn't know what to do with a fishing line. The following example was yelled

across the pub between cousins, a Peak Hill Wiradjuri man, Brian, and a Condobolin one, Jamie, and accompanied by laughter from Wiradjuri people of both places.

Brian: Hey, go back to your own river and stop polluting ours!

Jamie: Your river stinks! Hate to think what rubbish comes out of there!

Brian: Bullshit! Our river is lovely and clean. Only the finest come out of there!

Jamie: Then where the fuck did you come from?!

Brian: You better buy me a beer before I send you back drowned.

Jamie: You're right mate, I'll share all me beer with ya.

Brian: That's right mate, cos you wouldn't be here if it wasn't for us! Condo mob was born from the mission [Bulgandramine], from the Bogan, you come from us.

In understanding this joke, it is important to remember that most Wiradjuri believe they come from the rivers in both a spiritual and historical sense. I remind the reader of my previous discussion on the bush and spirituality, in which many Wiradjuri believe they come from the land and return to it when they die, hence the land is occupied with the spirits of ancestral kin. Historically, Bulgandramine Mission was located on the Bogan River and many Wiradjuri people from both Peak Hill and Condobolin have recent ancestors who lived at Bulgandramine. This shared history is used to mediate social and geographical distance between the contemporary descent groups who now live in Peak Hill and Condobolin. This is done at the beginning of the joke when Brian and Jim mock-argue about the condition of the rivers and what comes out of them. At the end of the joke, Brian emphasises their social closeness and commonality of place and past.

Jokes about the different rivers, and people who come from them, only occur because the people involved are from the same kin networks: they are related by generations of marriages between their ancestors. This joking does not occur between Bogan River Wiradjuri and other Wiradjuri who come from Orange, Cowra, or Griffith, or other non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal people from Parkes or

Dubbo, or even with other general townspeople from Peak Hill. This is because the latter categories of people generally do not share the same sociality; they are not as close in a genealogical, cultural, or social sense. The jokes about rivers are expressions of group differentiation and relatedness by using the rivers as a geographic, relational, and social boundary, whilst demonstrating the fluidity of such a boundary.

The Peak Hill/Red Dust mob are what Sansom referred to as a 'long-lived mob' meaning they are a social structure of 'people brought together in places where social purpose is not established in the long term but shifts instead in time' (1980: 16). The Bogan River Wiradjuri became the Peak Hill mob, after moving from Bulgandramine to the Hill, and then into town. Sansom, working with the Wallaby Cross mob in Darwin, emphasised the shared, performative aspect of being part of a mob, which changes and fluctuates. This explanation makes sense in understanding belonging in a historical sense, but perhaps plays down the structured formal understanding of being part of a place-centric mob in the present. One cannot just become part of the Peak Hill/Red Dust mob, explained to me when Frank introduced Jim, a Wiradjuri man who lives in Peak Hill,

Jim: You a local?

Belinda: No, I moved here this year from Sydney.

Jim: We're Red Dust mob, here.

Frank: Hey, she's real red dust. This one is from the Northern Territory, Alice Springs.

Jim: Nah, that's only pretend red dust up there! They get our dust; it blows up there and makes it red [laughing]. No, we're Red Dust. You're not Red Dust unless your parents, grandparents and their parents are all buried in it. Are yours?

Belinda: No, my people are buried all over - Australia, England, Wales.

Jim: See you're not proper Red Dust then.

Jim is communicating to me that being part of the Red Dust mob is not just synonymous with living in Peak Hill and being part of Wiradjuri social life. It also means being Wiradjuri, or related to Wiradjuri, on a more fundamental level and having long-term, inter-generational connections with the place, the land and river, rather than just the town of Peak Hill. In this sense, Red Dust mob, or Peak Hill mob, or Bulgandramine Mob, are references to the same people, those local Wiradjuri people who have lived in the area for thousands of years.

It is within this broader context of kin networks, stretching across the central-west of New South Wales, that the significance of being part of the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob lies. Whilst people in Peak Hill have their own micro-social world; local, lived relationships and experiences with both Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri townspeople in the daily domain, they are also part of larger sociality of place-centric kin networks. In the words of a local Wiradjuri person, 'Those mobs are different, we're not the same, but we are the same in a way, we all come out of Bulgandramine, we're all one that way.'

Mobs, relations, and decent groups

Within the broader Peak Hill mob and place-centric kin networks, there are smaller kin groups also referred to by Wiradjuri as ‘mobs,’ as well as ‘relations’ by older people and ‘family’ by younger people. These mobs are socio-centric subsections of the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob. In my use of ‘socio-centric’ here I am referring to a socio-centric group, rather than just a socio-centric self.

Although belonging to mobs is always based upon personal social connections, I using the term socio-centric to make a distinction between those mobs which are place-based, such as the Peak Hill mob, and those which are references to ego-centric personal networks. In this context, a socio-centric group or mob is one in which all members share a social, kin based identity and recognition of each other, although not all members of the group live in the same place or actively perform kin relationships with each other.

In this section I assert that a ‘mob’ in Peak Hill can also refer to a socio-centric surnamed descent group in which Wiradjuri people belong to in a different way than belonging to families in an Anglo-Australian context. This is indicated by the way Wiradjuri people speak about their mob or relations, preferring to use collective terminology, compared to more individual ways of speaking by Anglo-Australian townspeople. In exploring the role of descent and filiation within local mobs, I also offer an analysis of some of the problems or limitations of using the genealogical method to understand categories of kin relatedness.

Common questions I asked in the early stages of my fieldwork, collecting genealogies and working out who was related to who, was, ‘Who is your mob?’ or ‘Who are your relations?’ Initially, in

response to such a question, I received answers pertaining to surnamed kin groups such as, 'I am a Keed' or 'I am a Towney.' These answers were often followed with the question, 'Do you want to do my family tree?' Upon answering yes, we would sit down at the kitchen table or outside if the weather was pleasant and begin recording all the people genealogically related to the speaker. As most Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill are quite familiar with the anthropological practice of recording genealogies, due to their involvement in a previous native title claim, they would insist I record relationships using the standard genealogical method, still so prevalent in applied Australian anthropology. At the end of such exercises, I ended up with surnames, descriptions of kin groups, and messy, extensive genealogical diagrams; a variety of answers to the question, 'Who is your mob?'

Case study: Recording Frank's mob

One cold but sunny afternoon I sat down with Frank, to work out who his relations were. As the word kin is anthropological term, not a word used in Peak Hill, I first asked Frank, who his mob is.

Belinda: So who is your mob?

Frank: Geez! That's a big one. There's so many of us. My mob is the Keeds.

Belinda: And who are the Keeds?

Frank: *We* are the Keeds. We come from this old man, Keed, who moved here and married an Aboriginal woman. He might have been Afghani or something. He married this woman, I forget her name, but they had some kids, a boy, a Keed, and he married into the Towneys. See, we all come from them.

Belinda: So you are just a Keed? What about the Towney's then?

Frank: Well, I'm a Keed, but I'm one of the Robbo [Robinson] mob too. I'm a Towney too. And I'm related to the Dargans too, but I don't really say, I'm a Dargan. Ok, what about my family tree? Do you have that from mum already?

Belinda: Yes, but lets you and me sit down and do it too.

We proceeded to sit down and record Frank's family tree, displayed in Figure 1 below. The letters represent surnames: for example, all people recorded with 'K' have the same surname.

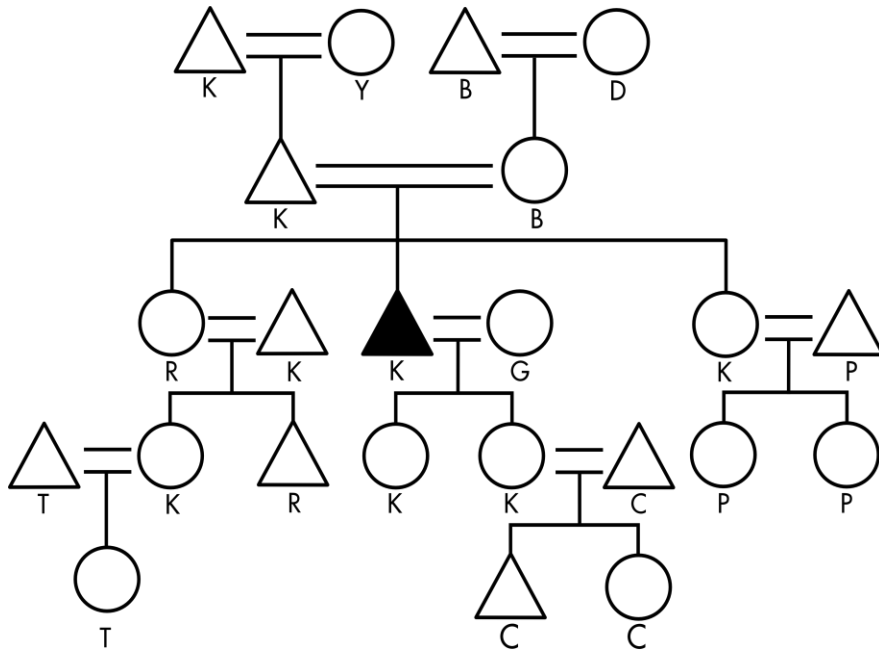


Figure 1: A section of Frank's genealogy

I quickly drew what Frank explained to me and then just as fast as he began, he stopped. I looked up and Frank and asked,

Belinda: What's wrong? Aren't you going to tell me more?

Frank: What? Nah, we're done. Look there's Mum and Dad and my family.

Belinda: But Frank, this is tiny. This just your parents, grandparents, and kids. What about the rest of your family? All of your aunties, uncles and cousins? All the other people you call brother and sister?

Frank: What? All me mob? No way! We can't do that. That would take forever, we'd still be here at Christmas! I'm related to everyone in Peak Hill.

Frank instead advised me to see his mother and aunties to fill out the genealogy. I did, and over months, was able to fill out their family tree, in terms of breadth. This was not done in one sitting, but many, filling in little bits at a time, until I finally end up with many messy charts, documenting over four hundred individuals (deceased and living) who were or are all related to Frank. I realised this was not Frank's mob. It was a genealogical representation of his kin network, living and deceased, but it was not an accurate representation of what Frank means when he speaks of his mob.

At one stage, I sat down with Frank and some of the genealogies I had collated of his relatives to check them. As we poured over names, Frank had additional comments about his relationships with people, who, at this stage, simply appeared as names and dates on paper. When I read out the name of his niece, Frank explained,

Frank: See she's my niece but like my daughter also because I raised her. She lived with us for a long time and we're real close. That happens a lot. Like with Tubs. My mum raised him and he lived with us. He's my brother.

Belinda: Do you call him brother?

Frank: Yes, cos he is.

Belinda: the same as your sisters?

Frank: See, he ain't my blood brother, but it's all the same thing. I'm closer to him than to one of my sisters.

In regards to one of his uncles,

Frank: He is my uncle, but I don't really call him uncle. Well, sometimes I do but only out of respect for him being an older relation of my dad. But I don't think of him as an uncle.

Belinda: Why not?

Frank: Well, he moved away years ago and I don't really see him. And we had a bit of a falling out too.

Belinda: But is still a Keed? One of your Keed mob?

Frank: Yeah, of course.

When we reached a man the same generation, but only distantly genealogically linked to Frank, he reminded me how that man was also like his brother, like 'Tubs, because he lived with him and they continue to spend a lot of time together and 'help each other out.' As these comments continued, I began to realise the complexity of who Frank considered kin and what category of kin he places them into; a complexity that was not illustrated in the genealogies or captured by the term 'my mob.'

'I am Keed': Surnamed descent groups

When we began the enquiry into who Frank was related to, and I asked him who his mob was, he was quick to point out that he is a Keed. He then further elaborated on how he was also a Robinson and part of the Towneys. Identification with surnamed kin groups was a common way Wiradjuri people first identify who they are related to. These surnamed groups, such as the Keed mob, are groups of kin who are all related by descent and marriage. The contemporary Wiradjuri surnamed kin groups in Peak Hill include:

1. Keed
2. Read
3. Naden
4. Towney
5. Robinson
6. Dargan (Dargin)

Each one of these groups is someone's mob, as well as a descent group. Descent as a principle structure in Australian Aboriginal kinship has been taken from the African based lineage theory and has its anthropological roots in early structural-functionalism, specifically, in the work of Fortes and

Evans-Pritchard and later Radcliffe-Brown in Australia. Descent to a common ancestor or ancestry remains a significant way of reckoning kinship categories among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill. Yet in the present, this is done in a more fluid way than it appears in the early Australian anthropological literature. The point of descent, the ancestral apex, is not a fixed structure or rule. For some people, such as Frank, their mob included all people descended from a single person, usually the oldest ancestor in memory.¹⁸ Frank emphasised the Keeds as all coming ‘from this one old man, Keed, who moved here and married an Aboriginal woman. He might have been Afghani or something.’ For Frank, this is the point when his surname was brought into being by the marriage of the man Keed to an Aboriginal woman, who then had children.

Other people emphasised common descent as a group of relations from place, such as Bulgandramine Mission (and prior to that: the Bogan River). A member of the Read kin group, told me,

I’m a Read. Yeah, we are related to the Keeds but different. We all come from the Bulgandramine Reads. All the Reads around here and probably all of Australia come from them.

Some people explained who their mob was in terms of cognatic filiation - identifying with their mother or father. A middle aged Wiradjuri woman, Nara, who explains her relations as,

I’m a Keed from my father and a Naden from my mum. I’m both: Keed and Naden.

¹⁸ Memory in this sense mean one of two things. First, in living memory, meaning the ancestor remembered by contemporary living kin. Second, in documentary memory, where descent ascends from an ancestor which has been uncovered by research. These two categories are not mutually exclusive as ancestors uncovered during research tend to enter the collective memory of the mob and become woven into the fabric one’s family history and identity.

Furthermore, other members of Nara's kin group, such as her brother Jim, rely more upon shared connections between kin groups rather than filiation. He identifies his relations as,

We're Nadens but we are Keeds and Towneys too. We are all one mob really.

Jim's mother is a Naden and his father a Keed, yet his grandmother (FM), whom he was very close to, was a Towney. Jim is emphasising connectedness between groups as a result of marriage among his ancestors. Marriage between ancestors of different descent groups means for most that the descendents of that marriage will belong to both groups, it does not mean the spouse will become part of that descent group in terms of kin identity. Anne was married to a Keed, which is her surname. Yet her response to my question, who is your mob, was, 'I am a Read.' Figure 2 shows the surnames in Anne's family, represented by individual letters.

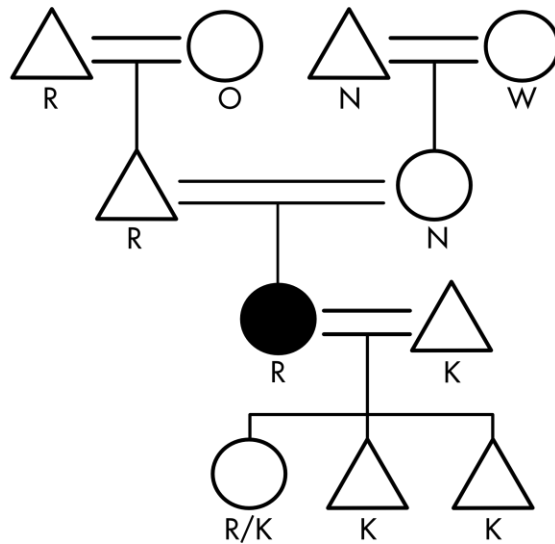


Figure 2: A section of Anne's genealogy

Anne identifies her mob using filiation from her father, who is also a Read. According to Anne, she acknowledges her relationship to but does not identify herself primarily as a Nolan from her mother's side, 'Maybe because my surname is Read and all my family here [Peak Hill] are Reads too.' Wiradjuri people use descent and filiation in a flexible manner, as people identify their mob via their mother, father or both, or from a grandparent or ancestor. Shown in Figure 2, Anne's daughter strongly identifies with both her mother's and father's descent groups and this is reflected by her use of two surnames - Read from her mother and Keed from her father.

Some people identify via their grandparents also. Frank explained his mob as Keed (FF), Towney (FM) and Robinson (MM), but less so Dargan (MM). Frank identifies more strongly with his Keed, Robinson and Towney connections for reasons to do with his personal history of kin relationships rather than just patrilineal descent of surnames. He spent a lot of time with his Towney 'Nan' (FM) and some of her brothers and sisters during his childhood.

Speaking about descent groups: Individual and collective belonging

On the surface, Wiradjuri kinship might appear quite similar to white Australians living in Peak Hill but there are key differences which stem from different ways of being with and belonging to kin between Wiradjuri and white people, and older and younger Wiradjuri, which are indicated by the collective compared to individual ways people respectively speak about belonging to descent groups, as well as variations in the way people use surnames.

Wiradjuri kinship has more flexibility regarding descent and filiation than the Anglo-Australian equivalent, indicated in the way people inherit and use surnames. Wiradjuri people tend to inherit their surnames patrilineally, but not always. Sometimes a Wiradjuri person also uses the surname of their mother, such as Anne's daughter, or another relative/guardian who raised them. Whereas

Anglo-Australian people in Peak Hill are more rigid with surnames and usually only use the name of their father.

Wiradjuri women tend to identify using the surname of their descent group rather than their married name or individual name. Although Wiradjuri women often take on the surnames of their husbands at the time of marriage or during a long term de-facto relationship, they do not introduce themselves with this name.¹⁹ Upon meeting Anne, she introduced herself to me as 'I'm Anne, I'm a Read, but my husband is a Keed.' The emphasis belongs with the descent group, the 'mob', rather than the individual or husband's family. In Peak Hill, married Anglo-Australian women identified themselves, when meeting myself or another person, using their married names first - their husband surnames. Sometimes, but not always, this was followed with an explanation of one's maiden kin group, such as 'My name is Janie Smith but I belong the Johns' as one woman explained how she belonged to an older, farming family. Another common method of identification is, 'I am Daisy Jones, but my maiden name is Harris.'

Wiradjuri people identify predominantly by belonging to their descent group, using the inalienable, collective form 'I am', such as 'I am a Read' or 'I am a Keed.' Whereas, Anglo-Australians in Peak Hill focus on the individual and introduce themselves as 'I am Jamie Smith' or 'I am Upton Sinclair.' The emphasis in identity for Anglo people is on the individual, rather than belonging to a wider ancestral kin group. This suggests a Wiradjuri have a collective sense of being in and belonging to Wiradjuri descent groups where the socio-centric self is relational to the broader kin group,

¹⁹ This is less common among younger Wiradjuri women, many of whom are also in de-facto relationships but keep their own surnames.

compared to the white self, which is still socio-centric but more individual and relational to the nuclear family.

There are also differences between the way older and younger Wiradjuri speak about belonging to kin. In a similar manner to how they speak about totems and country, younger Wiradjuri use possessive linguistic constructions when speaking about their mob, or descent group, such as 'I belong to the Reads.' Unlike younger Wiradjuri people's relationships with country, where the use of possessive constructions suggests an externalisation and disembodiment of country from the self, here, the use of 'I belong' is indicative of younger people are still 'becoming' adults, a process which extends over years.

Kwok's (2011) concept of 'owning' is useful in explaining this distinction.²⁰ This idea of belonging to kin, rather than just being kin, is reinforced by the use of the English word 'own' which is used by Wiradjuri to describe a parent-child relationships in Peak Hill. If an unknown child walked past, the usual way of inquiring about the parentage of the child is to ask 'who owns him/her?' or 'who owns that one?' Likewise, when I asked older people, 'whose child is that?' they replied 'so and so owns that one.' When a Wiradjuri person reaches teenage or young adult years, a general, loudly voiced response in arguments with parents is 'You don't own me!' This is responded to with an equally loud response from the parents along the lines of 'I bloody well do!' Oppositional statements of ownership illustrate a stage in the personal life-cycle of a younger person where they are moving away from being owned by their older kin and instead moving towards a period of their lives where

²⁰ I remind the reader of Kwok's argument of kin relatedness as to own your kin and be owned by your kin 'implies an acknowledgement and affirmation of relationship. It entails a sense of belonging, acceptance, solidarity and mutual sympathy, care and respect' (Kwok 2011: 168).

they begin to look after kin more and become 'owners' themselves. Using Mullin's (2007) terminology, they are in a transition period where they are not quite yet 'bosses', meaning they are not in a position to share resources and knowledge with many other people, except for younger siblings and cousins.

The limitations of descent and the genealogical method

I recorded Frank's genealogy the way he wished me to do so - using a family tree diagram typical of the genealogical method. This is how he has recorded information about his family in the past and how he remembers it being done for the native title claim research, over fifteen years earlier. A preference for illustrating kin through genealogies, where everyone included is related by descent, is not isolated to Frank. Most Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill wished to record their kin connections this way, compared to other methods, such as listing individuals at places; a method of recording kin relationships used in other parts of Aboriginal Australia, such as the western desert.

Frank's preference for recording kin connections using a family tree is influenced by the non-Aboriginal, anthropological way of understanding kinship via the genealogical method. The genealogical method entered the social sciences early in the twentieth century by Rivers (1910). Although Bamford and Leach (2009) illustrate a much older history of genealogical thinking in Euro-American Christian thought. The family tree, or the Tree of Jesse, traces the ancestry of Jesus in early religious texts and became a sacred symbol or image and was used in Europe to trace the ancestry of royalty and elite families (Bamford & Leach 2009: 4).

The image of the ancestral tree later became an organisational heuristic tool in evolutionary biology. Terms, such as descent, affinity and ancestry appeared in Darwin's (1859) *The Origin of Species* and became common tools used in the biological sciences. As Strathern (1992: 91) notes, the adoption of

the genealogical pedigree into the biological sciences partially removed the connotations of rank, status and class formerly associated with genealogies in Europe, and put into place the assumption that the genealogical method was also a way of connecting natural relationships. Strathern does not mention how the genealogical model was adopted in the development of racism, which was overlaid onto a previous system of hierarchal, class-based social organisation. Class and status were not removed by the beginnings of a cultural construction of biological descent, rather class and status were justified and cemented further by a deliberate development of the pseudo-science used to explain difference in race.

After centuries of family tree mapping among wealthier families in Europe, social scientists, such as Rivers (1910), developed the genealogical method as a way of mapping social organisation, of how people are related. Genealogies, or family trees, with an emphasis on descent and marriage, have become one of the most widely used tools in anthropological studies of kinship.

Early Australian anthropologists, influenced by structural-functionalism, used the genealogical method as a way of representing Aboriginal kinship, alongside their focus on descent. The genealogical method has remained prevalent in Australian anthropology since, particularly with the influence of applied anthropology from areas such as land rights and native title, which requires the use of genealogies to show ancestral connections between people and place.

The genealogical method is a way of explaining all of the potential kin relationships of one person: all of the surnames, possible paths of identity and rights, yet it is also limited to this. Descent and the genealogical method are insufficient for representing how Wiradjuri kin are actually related, and how, as an anthropologist, I can represent and model that. It is clear that being consanguineally related to a mob or relations is not simply a matter of descent. How Wiradjuri identify and relate to a

close or distant ancestry is also an outcome of a lived history of spatial movements, residence, marriage, and conflict. Wiradjuri people have choices in their affiliations: one can identify as a Towner from one's father's mother but not identify as a Dargan from one's mother's mother, such as the case of Frank. This does not mean Frank does not acknowledge, when pushed, that he is related to the Dargans, just that he does not consider himself to be a Dargan and they are not part of his close mob. Frank's mother might think differently but is unlikely to have stressed this connection with her children or, alternatively, she or Frank may have been in conflicts long past which moved clusters of their descent group in different social directions. Ancestry alone does not determine group membership to one's mob and individuals may shift their alliances over their lifetime, or identify differently in different situations. It is most probable that, if the Dargans were a focus or under some pressure that Frank would choose to walk with them if required. It is these cross cutting ties of relatedness which also create a mob, not just descent.

In the native title context, an emphasis on descent, particularly cognatic descent, which, no doubt, has influenced how Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, who have been through the native title system, place importance on particular identities and connections, such as bloodlines. The surnamed, descent groups are a representation of this. In Peak Hill, cognatic descent is used fluidly: it provides individuals with options about how and with whom they live their lives, within the broad parameters provided by having parents and grandparents, typically two parents and four grandparents, but not always. It is the options supplied by cognatic descent combined with association to place as well performed relationships, which brings one's mob into being.

To illustrate the distinction between descent and being, I use the general kin category of a mother. Among Wiradjuri people, the kin category of a mother is not simply transmitted via descent. Neither

is it an event: one does not become a mother through the birth of a child. A mother is a cultural category constituted by particular obligations, responsibilities and meanings within a relationship between a self and other. Among Wiradjuri, a person may have one mother, two mothers or more mothers. A mother may have given birth to their child or not. A mother could be Wiradjuri, non-Wiradjuri or white. A child can have one mother to begin with and another later on. Like all Wiradjuri categories of kin, a mother is a classification of a relationship, not simply a structural category of descent.

Mobs and Relations: Performative kinship and relatedness

Returning to Frank's genealogy for a moment, we see that genealogical connections are explained yet there was more to our discussion about who his mob was. Frank spoke about his niece being like his daughter, two distantly related men being his brothers, and an uncle not really being his uncle. This is because references to one's mob can include both active and passive kin relationships, as well as non-kin relations, discussed in Chapter 5 below. Here, I examine performative kinship and offer a conceptualisation of the ego-centric categories of people, contained within one's mob.

Performative kinship

Performative kinship in anthropology refers to 'post-natal means of kinship formation [and] would thus include commensality, sharing food, reincarnation, co-residence, shared memories, working together, blood brotherhood, adoption, friendship, shared suffering, and so on' (Sahlins 2013: 9). In Australia, alongside Myers (1986), Sansom's (1980) exploration of belonging to and being part of the Wallaby Cross mob is central to understanding performative kinship in Aboriginal Australia.

Regarding performative kinship, Sansom (1980:14) argues that the mob is the group of people one runs with, and examines what it means to be 'running with a mob.' Using drinking, exchange, joking, and ceremony, Sansom shows that the Wallaby Cross mob is a combination of close and distant kin, whose membership to their mob is determined by participating in everyday social processes. More specifically,

Its [performative kinship] spectacular features receive less than due emphasis in the literature because most contributors evince interest in what they call kinship structures, kinship systems and social organisation where these umbrella terms shelter everything that pertains to kinship save the conduct of relationships of kinship between persons..." (Sansom 1988: 172).

More recently, anthropologists, such as Babidge, have used Sansom's approach of differentiating between structures and relationships of kinship, to distinguish between 'being related and being family' (Babidge 2004: 130). Babidge (2004: 131) describes 'being family' as a structural category principally organised by descent, different from 'being related' which is a category of active kin relationships that must be performed to be recognised as family. In Frank's case study, we see examples of being genealogically related and then being related by performed, lived relationships. Frank's brother Tubs is not his biological brother, but his classificatory brother due to Tubs having being raised up with Frank's family.

Just as genealogical distant relationships, or those not related at all, can be activated by performing relatedness, they can also be de-activated. As Mark Nuttall found among Greenlanders,

If a relationship does not exist then one can be created. At the same time, people can deactivate kinship relationships if they regard them as unsatisfactory. People are therefore not constrained by rigid consanguineal kinship, but can choose much of their universe of kin (Nuttall 2000: 34).

This is evident in Frank's case study with his uncle, who he recognises as a relative of his mother, but does not consider him to be an uncle, not because he moved away or a fight, but because their relationship became so strained that the man stopped performing the role of Frank's uncle. Put more simply, he stopped *being* Frank's uncle. Frank's 'mob' can be recorded on paper as a group of people who are all biologically or genealogically related by descent. Yet to understand the complexities of Frank's lived reality of being part of that mob, the distinction between passive and performed kinship is necessary.

Wiradjuri kinship terminology

To see the distinction between different types of kin within one's mob more broadly than just in Frank's case study, I present an analysis of Wiradjuri kinship terminology. My analysis brings the idea of 'relatedness' to the forefront of my discussion of different classifications of mobs and relations. Mobbing, or being part of a mob, is 'enshrined in kinship terminology... in terms, such as "brother," "sister," and "cousin"' (Mullins 2007: 38). Being part of a mob includes inter-generational and intra-generational relatedness.²¹ Observation of the meaning of kin terms and how they are used demonstrates not just who is kin, but who acts or performs as kin.

Any analysis of kinship terminology should be twofold, including an explanation of what each term means and how each term is used. In this section, where possible, I use this approach to examine contemporary Wiradjuri kinship terminology in Peak Hill. At first glance, I assumed kinship terminology in Peak Hill to be uniform between Wiradjuri and white townspeople, because both used English kin terms. Furthermore, I incorrectly assumed that the use of English, rather than Wiradjuri language terms, meant that the meaning and role of such terms in kin relationships was the same for everyone in Peak Hill. After some time had passed, I began to pick up on the subtle differences between Wiradjuri kin terms and those of other Anglo-Australian residents of Peak Hill. These differences were sometimes slight, irregular, yet nonetheless present. Wiradjuri kinship terminology is spoken in a mixture of English and Aboriginal English, yet the words do not have the same meanings in English and should not be understood within the same cultural context.

²¹ Mullins refers to intra-generational relatedness as mobbing and inter-generational relatedness as bossing. Mullins definition of a 'boss' is one who looks after others, shares with them, including knowledge (2007: 33-35). I do not make this distinction here as kin who look after is a feature of both: inter and intra-generational performative kin relationships.

Nan and Pop

Wiradjuri people use the terms grandmother and grandfather, usually spoken as 'Nan' and 'Pop'.

Nan and pop belong to a system of reciprocal grandparent to child terminology. Like in other parts of Aboriginal Australia, among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill a young child is rarely called by its name in the presence of its grandparents, parents, aunties or uncles, rather he or she is called by the kin term of the person interacting with the child. Grandparents call the child Nan [Nanny] or Pop [Poppy], a practice that reinforces mutual being - a collectivism between the self and other - between child and grandparent. The gender of the grandparent determines which term, 'Nan' or 'Pop,' is used while the gender of the child is irrelevant. Reciprocal grandparent terminology is most likely a modification of the older custom of cyclical kin terminology, based upon membership to the generational moieties. An additional new extension of the older custom includes reciprocal terminology being used between children and parents, aunties and uncles, particularly among older Wiradjuri. A baby girl or boy can be called 'mummy' by its mother and a young boy will not be called nephew, rather uncle or 'unc' when being addressed by an uncle.

Wiradjuri classifications of relatedness extend bi-laterally, and the use of grandparent terminology signifies a performed relationship which can extend to people other than the biological grandparents. This can occur when other people who belong to the same generation of the biological grandparents have raised the child, lived with the parents of the child, or simply have been a significant part the person's childhood. One older Wiradjuri man called an infant boy 'Pop' because he lived with the boy's family for many years and is now helping to raise the child. Here, the man was categorised as a grandfather to the boy: he was called Pop and he called the boy Pop. The grandfather had proudly pointed the boy out to me one day down the main street of town and explained, 'I'm his Pop.' He then picked up the child, hugged and tickled him, whilst saying 'who's

your Pop-pop? Who's your Pop? 'That's right, I'm your Pop-pop!' while the mother and I exchanged small talk.²² I only discovered the man was not the child's biological grandparent, and distantly related in a genealogical sense, much later on when I was recording their family tree. According to that record, that diagram, he is not the child's grandfather, yet in practice, he was. The man was not only the child's grandfather because of his close relationship with the child's father, he was his grandfather because of the performative nature of the relationship. He cared for the child; he baby sat him, played with him, fed him, clothed him, bought him presents and planned a future with him. The performative nature of the relationship is important: it is what makes him a relation, rather than just kin.

Wiradjuri kin terms, rather than names, are the most common way for older people to address relations and members of their mob, although this is changing among younger people. Many older people continue the practice of not speaking baby's names, though I was never able to discover the cultural reason or symbolic meaning of this practice. Nowadays, among younger people, babies' names are spoken freely and great deliberation takes place amongst younger parents in choosing the given names for their children. Yet contemporary kin terms are still used predominantly to address children, rather than the actual names. Other descriptive terms are used by older relatives to address children. These terms, such as 'big woman' for baby girls, at first appear to be a continuation of the reciprocal nature of a generational kin term system, but are, in fact, used to enforce a child's autonomy from an early age. These terms are used when babies or younger children behave

²² Cuddling and playing with babies whilst repeatedly stating your relationship to the infant is a common occurrence amongst Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. This practice allows the child from an early age to be able to identify their kin relations and understand how they fit within local social life.

independently from their parents, such as small child taking charge of the BBQ, attempting to light a fire or proudly walking off to show other people their new clothes.

Mother and father

The term mother and father, or Mum and Dad, is used among Wiradjuri people for both biological and classificatory parents. As outlined by Nuttall (2000) performative kinship can work in the reverse, the lack of participation in relationships can unmake relations, or turn relations back into kin. The use of kin terms can illustrate the distinction between kin and relations. I noticed on a genealogy I had collated that one of my Wiradjuri friends was the son of a woman whom I had never spoken to or heard him speak about, although she also lived in Peak Hill. When I spoke to my friend about her, he referred to her by her first name, not calling her mother. I thought perhaps I had made a mistake and asked him whether she was his mother and he replied,

No, she isn't my mother. Yes, she gave birth to us but she's not my mum. She left us years ago and never raised us. Just come back to us when she wanted something. She put my dad through hell. I don't call her my mum and I don't want to speak about her anymore.

The woman in question is not my friend's mother because she never fulfilled the collectively understood obligations of what it means to be a mother. She is his kin, but not his relation, as she is not part of his mob or social life, signified by the use of her first name, rather than mum, and his children do not call her grandmother, or Nan.

Aunty and Uncle (Unc)

Aunty and Uncle (*Unc*) are two categories of kin in which have received attention in the Australian anthropological literature. In Peak Hill aunty and uncle are used to address a wide range of lateral relations from the parents, including what is termed first, second, and third cousins, as well as nieces

and nephews. For example, the term *aunty* extends laterally to include: mother's sister; father's sister; mother's and father's female cousins (including first, second, third, etc), mother's brother's wife, father's brother's wife, the wife of anyone called 'uncle' and as a term of address for any infant or young children of the kin categories listed above. The way the terms *aunty* and *uncle* are used in the Wiradjuri system indicate an understanding of kinship based more upon performative relationships rather than just formal classificatory categories of kin.

More recently the terms *aunty* and *uncle* are also used as terms of generational respect, meaning the terms can be employed to greet unrelated people from the generation above the speaker.²³ I found four main reasons for this. First, *aunty* and *uncle* are used to refer to Aboriginal people older than the speaker to illustrate a kind of respect generally held for older people, pertaining to a system where authority is obtained by knowledge and care being transferred from older to younger people. Second, relating to both the former and following reasons, is that these kin terms are used to include older people into the social life of younger people and vice versa. This is important for inter-generation socialisation; a prominent part of Wiradjuri social life. Third, the use of kin terms for people not related in terms of biological or genealogical kinship is representative of a form of relatedness which can include kin and non-kin, and Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people. Last, *aunty* and *uncle* are used to denote a relationship between the speaker and listener which has particular emotional, social, and economic meanings and obligations. As noted by Reay, working in Aboriginal New South Wales in the mid 20th century, the term 'aunty' instead of the person's name is often spoken in conjunction with a demand, such as 'Come on Aunty, just ten dollar!' (1949: 49).

²³ The terms can also be used when speaking about older people who are non-kin, meaning they are not genealogically related.

Cousin (Cuz), Brother (Bruv), and Sister (Tidda)

The bilateral equivalent of aunty and unc within the same or younger generation as the speaker is the term cousin [cuɣ]. The term cousin includes all cousins, whether they are first, second, third, fourth, and so on.²⁴ A distinction between first, second cousins, and so on is less prominent in a Wiradjuri compared to a western system. Among Wiradjuri, cousin, rather than just brother or sister, is used for relations that can be relied upon emotionally, socially and economically.

Brother (*bruv*) and sister (*tidda*) are used for a greater number of kin categories than the classification of biological brothers and sisters, found in a western system. Brother and sister can be used for more distantly genealogically related kin than close cousins and other non-kin, who belong to the same generation and are part of the Wiradjuri social domain in Peak Hill. More specifically, the terms brother and sister are used in two different ways. The first usage is when the terms are spoken interchangeably with cousins, who can be called brother, sister or *cuɣ*.²⁵ The second usage includes any kin or non-kin, Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, or white people who are part of Wiradjuri social life. Cousin, in this second usage denotes a closer kin relationship than the terms, brother and sister. Hence, the terms brother and sister still signify a social respect and degree of relatedness, a performative relationship which can be either temporary or longer lasting, but less so than one of a relation, such as a cousin. The terms brother and sister are used to bring strangers or people who are

²⁴ I am not aware of whether there were earlier distinctions in kinship terminology regarding classification of cross and parallel cousins (FZ & MB), and the children of such cousins, however, there are none in the contemporary Wiradjuri system.

²⁵ This excludes people of the same generation who have grown up in the same household; they are called brother and sister not cousin. Adding to the complexity includes children who have spent part or regular short periods of their lives being reared up with another family(ies). These children are also called brother/sister by all families involved and this terminology lasts into adulthood when the family no longer resides together.

not relations into a Wiradjuri social world, even temporarily. For example, in the field I was often called sister but I was never called cousin.

Like aunty and uncle the terms cousin, brother and sister, do not necessarily indicate genealogical proximity to the speaker. They do, however, suggest a degree of relatedness ranging from those people who are classified as close to distant kin.

Conceptualising relatedness

The meaning of and how kinship terminology is used among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill indicates that kinship - as those people who are genealogically related by a principle of descent - is not a sufficient concept for capturing how Wiradjuri classify others and perform relationships. For example, someone called 'pop' can be an older relation, who is not the biological grandparent, a mother can be the woman or women who raised someone up, and an aunty can include someone who is only very distantly genealogically related or not at all. Kinship terminology also demonstrates how Wiradjuri people classify the specific relationships within their different 'mobs.' Performative kinship is a model for explaining the difference within kinship classification, but it is limited to only kin, as performative kin is always a sub-set of one's broader kin network. As the use of Wiradjuri kin terms illustrates, someone who is not kin can still be called an aunty, uncle, brother, sister, and so on. Classical kinship can capture formal social structures and classifications, but, unchanged, it does not provide a way for anthropologists to conceptualise the realities of social life - how people classify relationships between the self and others, and what those relationships mean.

The field of new kinships studies was developed in anthropology as a response to the older limitations, and subsequent decline, of classical kinship. New kinship studies involved the critical rethinking of key kinship concepts by the likes of Leach, Needham, Schneider and others in the

1960s and 70s (Peletz 1995: 345). In particular, new kinship studies was a separation from the older structural-functionalist approach to kinship, and, some, even rejected the idea of kinship altogether. Schneider, in particular, called for the death of kinship after claiming ‘in a pure cultural level there is no such thing as kinship’ (1972: 50). This dramatic conclusion came after Schneider (1968, 1984), following a Parsonian approach, divided kinship into, first, a cultural system of roles and relationships and, second, a system of symbols. Schneider focused on the latter, paying close attention to such symbols as, blood, home, family, and love, within American kinship.

Carsten (2004) extends kinship out from the formalised rules and rights of a society to the expression of sociality, or from the ‘given’ to the ‘made,’ where,

It is, among other things, an area of life in which people invest their emotions, their creative energy, and their new imaginings. These of course can take benevolent and destructive forms. The idea that kinship involves not just rights, rules, and obligations but is also a realm of new possibilities is apparent whether we look at the mundane rituals of everyday life...I take it as fundamental that creativity is not only central to kinship conceived in its broadest sense, but that for most people kinship constitutes one of the most important arenas for their creative energy (Carsten 2004: 9).

This creativity is apparent in the way Wiradjuri people classify and order their social world into ‘mobs’ and ‘relations.’ The extension of kinship and emphasis on creativity is usually referred to as ‘relatedness’ in new kinship studies (Carsten 2000), a term I build on in this thesis. Relatedness enables comparison between different cultural groups of people, without relying upon a dualistic, western conceptualisation of nature and culture. Relatedness is more focused on the idea of ‘shared substances’ (Carsten 2000: 21). This can be cultural symbolism of physical substances, such as blood, milk, and food among the Nuer (Hutchinson, 2000). It can be place, such as the village hamlets among the Reite people of the Rai Coast (Leach 2003). Or it can be shared mythologies and

moralties, such as the Dreaming among the Pintupi (Myers 1986). Among Wiradjuri, the 'shared substance' of relatedness is a way of being, a morality which involves particular ways of relating to and 'looking after' others, examined below in Chapters 7 and 8. This way of being is captured and reproduced with relationships between the self and others. It is what it means for a Wiradjuri person to be part of one's 'mob' or 'relations.'

I develop this notion of a shared substance of being or inter-subjectivity, called 'looking after' by Wiradjuri. But before I do this, I provide a conceptual framework of terminology for the people who participate in Wiradjuri relatedness, another way of being part of one's mob. When Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill use the term 'mob' in conjunction with an event, such as, 'Let's get the mob together for a barbeque tonight,' they are not referring to all Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, their extended kin, their local descent group, or just their genealogically close kin. In this context, one's 'mob' means one's close kin and friends: those people who actively perform relatedness with the speaker. One such event, a barbeque held at Frank's sister's house, included the following people: Frank's sister, her husband and their children, Frank, his wife and children, Frank's mother, Frank's cousin and her children, an unrelated Aboriginal neighbour who is a close friend of Frank and his sister, and her children, and an older, Anglo-Australian friend of Franks. This group of kin and non-kin often socialised together - having barbeques, going fishing, and sitting together at the football.

In this context, the term 'mob' loosely correlates with '*walytja*' in the western desert, meaning one's family.²⁶ Myers defined *walytja* among the Pintupi to include "those whom one grows up, those

²⁶ The term *walytja* has a dual meaning. It means one's family as well as one's self (Myers 1986: 109). The term *walytja* is a fundamental signifier of Pintupi relatedness between the self and other by shared moral framework and identity rooted in the Dreaming.

whom one is familiar, those who have fed and cared for one, and those whom one camps with frequently" (1986: 109-110). The difference between the Pintupi and Wiradjuri is that for the Pintupi at the time Myers was writing, all *walytja* were kin and non-kin were strangers. Whereas, in Peak Hill, the correlating category of people, often referred to as 'mob' or 'relations' includes mainly a sub-set of one's broader kin group as well as people who are distantly genealogically related or not related at all.

Likewise, among the Inupiaq of northern Alaska, the term *iyja*, the Inupiaq word for relative, means 'addition', and 'anyone considered a relative to anyone you consider a relative may be your relative' (Bodenhorn 2000: 135). More specifically, it is the 'moral content' of the relationship, which can become the mode of recruitment, and Bodenhorn calls this 'optative' kin. Optative kin exclude so-called biological categories, such as one's biological parents and grandparents, but also includes anyone else called *iyja*, or those "kin who are kin because they - and you - act like kin" (Bodenhorn 2000: 136).

Bird-David notes that among the Nayaka of the Gir Valley, South India, the term '*sonta*,' like *walytja* among the Pintupi and 'mob' among the Wiradjuri, can mean multiple things. *Sonta* generally refers to one's family or relatives, of the same place, albeit there are different levels of *sonta* reflected by degrees of relatedness or intimacy. Furthermore, it appears that 'Nayaka imagine "society" as a series of *sonta* (circles of family, or relatives) nesting with each other' (Bird-David 1994: 594). This is a useful way to think about mobs in Peak Hill, circles of 'relations' who may or may not share genealogical closeness or descent, but do share a place, kinship terminology, a history, and contemporary experiences of looking after each other, or being related.

Unlike the Nayaka, kinship terminology in Peak Hill can indicate the difference between close and distant kin, although, terminology alone cannot explain the complexity between the different levels of relatedness: the various ego-centric groupings called ‘mobs’ and ‘relations.’ For this reason, I conceptualise Wiradjuri sociality into the following terms: kin, close and distant kin, close non-kin, and strangers. First, kin refers to all people who are genealogically related: both consanguineal and affinal kin, whether the relationship is activated (performed) or not. Second, close and distant kin refers to performative closeness, which loosely correlates with genealogical closeness but not always. For example, Frank’s genealogically close kin include his wife, children, mother, two sisters, and their children. Yet this does not include everyone Frank calls daughter, or niece and nephew, or all of his close kin. Third, close non-kin means those people who perform relatedness; those who live in or are from the same place, and emotionally, socially and economically look after each other, but are not related by descent or marriage. The following chapter addresses this category more completely by an examination of Wiradjuri friendships. Last, there are strangers. These people are not strangers in the western sense of the word, meaning a person with whom one has, or has hitherto had, no personal acquaintance. People who are strangers live in Peak Hill and are known to Wiradjuri. Sometimes one works with strangers, is served by strangers at the local shop, or has strangers as neighbours. Strangers are those who are not part of Wiradjuri sociality: they are not kin or relations, but they have the potential to become friends or spouses. In the past the category of strangers strongly correlated with non-Aboriginal people, particularly the Anglo-Australian residents of Peak Hill. Today, strangers are usually still Anglo-Australian, but they can also be Aboriginal, just like kin can also consist of Wiradjuri, non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal, and Anglo-Australian individuals. One’s mob, as an ego-centric network of everyday relations, only includes one’s close kin and close non-kin, an individual’s family and friends who participate in everyday relatedness.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined Wiradjuri ways of classifying relationships between the self and others. I used ethnographic data to distinguish between categories of kin and close kin, the former being those who are genealogically related by descent and the latter being those who participate in performed relationships of looking after each other. This distinction represents the different meanings embedded in the Wiradjuri terms, 'mob' and 'relations,' particularly the term mob, which can refer to those people of a place, a surnamed descent group of kin, and a grouping of relations who perform relatedness.

Each of these overlapping yet distinct categories of kin needs to be understood within a deeper Wiradjuri inter-subjectivity, which involves a tension between asserting individualism and maintaining a close group cohesion and relatedness. The term 'mob' defines boundaries between various groupings of relations compared to 'others,' thus a term of contrast since it can be ambiguously applied to any level of inclusiveness. Within the category of place-defined mobs, the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob are defined in relation to the broader group: the Wiradjuri kin network which also includes kin from Condobolin, Wellington, and Gilgandra. The Red Dust mob is only distinguished as distinct, because of their shared relationships with the Bulgandramine mob, or wider Wiradjuri 'relations'. A mob also refers to a local, surnamed descent group. Belonging to a descent group mob, such as the Keed mob, again reflects the tension between individualism and relatedness. For example, Wiradjuri people distinguish their local mob from the broader Peak Hill mob. A local mob, one's descent group, is not a sub-set of the Peak Hill mob, as a descent group can include additional people, those who are not part of the Peak Hill mob as they live elsewhere, such as kin from Wellington, Condobolin, or other places. When Wiradjuri people speak about their

descent group, autonomy of the individual is played down and relatedness to their mob is emphasised, illustrated by the use of the collective phrase, 'I am a Read' compared to the more individual 'I am Janie Smith,' used by non-Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. Finally, a reference to a mob can be a statement of relatedness: meaning those people who actively participate in the emotional, social, and economic demands of daily social life and these people can include close kin and non-kin, a reflection of daily life within an inter-cultural town.

Chapter 5. Relatedness is more than kinship: Wiradjuri friendships

During the earlier part of my field work in Peak Hill, I was so focused on discovering what it meant to be a contemporary Wiradjuri person in Peak Hill, I found myself concentrating my efforts on particular people and relationships, and ignoring others. With my mind full of classical Australian anthropology literature, I was not paying ethnographic attention to those non-Wiradjuri people, generally Anglo-Australian but some Aboriginal, who I did not see as being part of the Wiradjuri kin world. I noticed they were around, physically present, and, some visited the family I was living with, came on drives and went fishing, and were at the pub and at people's houses. I certainly noticed their presence but did not question who they were and how they fit into Wiradjuri life. As time went on, I began to include such people into my research, and I also became friends with some of them. By then I recognised they were part of the realm of Wiradjuri kinship. Thinking within a paradigm of kinship, I thought to myself, 'well they are kin, well not really kin, but Wiradjuri people must make them kin.' They were what would have been once called 'fictive kin.' I was ambivalent about their relationship and, later, corrected my assumptions with evidence. They were not exactly kin, for example Wiradjuri people did not call them family, they were not included in descriptions of descent groups or genealogies, and, significantly, they were not typically called by kin terms. They were part of the mob, and hung around with one's relations, and were an important component of daily social life. 'They are just friends', I recorded in my field note book, as well as, 'What does friends have to do with kinship, with anthropology, or even being Wiradjuri?' I left my jotted down question unanswered. This chapter is the answer to my question - it is an examination of Wiradjuri friends and friendships.

Friendship between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri others in Peak Hill appears to be a more recent phenomenon. While older Wiradjuri peoples' memories of race relations in Peak Hill, around the mid 20th century, are described as having been 'friendly' and people all being 'the same', this was actually a time of class-based social distance. Anglo-Australians of the middle and upper-middle classes controlled space and resources. Members of lower classes, whether racialised or not, were expected to, and for the most part did, remain in their own spaces. Class hierarchies and protocols protected each class from the other and permitted friendly relations - but not friendships. There were a few 'safe' places in which friendships could occur, such as at school, but these were few and far between, and were not able to continue outside of these spaces until much later, about the 1980s. First, the class and racial divides had to be challenged, a process that started in earnest, with predictable backlash, from the mid 1960s when the Freedom Rides began in response to civil rights and Black Power movements in the United States. It was the generation born in the 1970s, those who were later able to craft 'friendships' that their parents and grandparents could not have imagined.

Now, friendships between Wiradjuri people and others are common. But what is friendship for people who have, until relatively recently, lived all their valued relationships through expectations defined by kinship. I argue that although kinship and friendship contain relationships which appear socially and economically similar, they are distinct. Friendship is not just an extension of kin relatedness. Rather, friendship needs to be understood within the context of class, locality, and Australian style 'mateship', a camaraderie and loyalty of sorts that stems from awareness of living shared lives. This becomes evident in my examinations of older and younger Wiradjuri friendships through an analysis of class, mateship, and the use of language.

There are not any formal social rules or regulations about who one can be friends with whom, and how this must occur in Peak Hill. Instead, I uncovered and examine some general cultural similarities, or patterns, which occur across all Wiradjuri friendships.

1. Friendships occur within the same socio-economic class, not across class;
2. Friendships rarely occur across gender;
3. Within friendships difference in ethnicity are minimised in favour of similarities, such as class or shared history;
4. Friendships imply obligation, responsibility, and loyalty, which may be expected to take precedence over adhering to the law;
5. Within friendships, personal autonomy continues to be valued and expressed but in ways that reinforce the mutuality of the friendship;
6. Friendships include values which are associated with Australian mateship, such as equality, solidarity, mutuality, comradeship and obligation;
7. Friends often call each other by nicknames;
8. Close non-Wiradjuri friends can use Wiradjuri words and participate in joking without being shamed or causing those around them to feel 'shamed'; and
9. Many close friends use swearing and racial labels to emphasise their social closeness through statements of difference.

These patterns of relatedness open up the area of friendship in Aboriginal Australia for comparative anthropological research. An understanding of the distinctive dynamics of friendship allows the concept of relatedness in Aboriginal Australia to move beyond the confines of kin and to include many more of the people who now participate within Aboriginal social worlds. In Aboriginal

Australia, 'friends' are a new category of relationships, and, like kin relations, they pose ambiguities and give rise to conflicts. Like kin relationships, friendships are also continually tested, albeit through different modalities and expectations of relatedness.

Kindred in Australian Aboriginal Anthropology

For older Australian anthropologists working in Aboriginal Australia, particularly remote Australia, categories of non-kin, such as friends or workmates, were ethnographically insignificant, as in their field sites Aboriginal sociality neatly overlapped with classificatory kinship: local aboriginal social life consisted of people who were all kin of varying degrees of relatedness. Anthropologists focused on kindred; an ego-centric, ephemeral grouping of one's relations. The kindred is not an ancestral group, nor descent group, but the members of one's circle of relatives, both consanguineal and affinal relations. The kindred, alongside the formal structures of social organisation, such as the descent groups, section and sub-section systems, totemic moieties, were the focus of anthropological study. Friendships were not researched by early Australian anthropologists, because friendships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, or non-kin, were so scarce.

Anthropologists who worked among Aboriginal communities in New South Wales, such as Reay (1945, 1949), Fink (1957), Beckett (1958), and Bell (1956, 1965) found that social interaction between Aboriginal people and others was limited due to the formal policy of segregation, followed by decades of informal, social segregation. For example in the 1940s, Reay (1949: 91, 94) noted that contact between Aboriginal and white people was generally restricted to a few mixed marriages and greetings between aboriginal people and white bushman or workmates. Marriages or romantic partnerships, the most common form of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships during this time, are part of kinship. In the workforce one might expect friendships to develop, yet there is no evidence of this in the anthropological literature. Beckett also made reference to contact between white employers and Aboriginal workers, and between Aboriginal and white workers, in the pastoral

industry (1958: 135-6). Yet none of these could be classified as friendship. Beckett is clear that these relationships rarely extend further than employer-worker positions and that 'Aborigines and whites very rarely visit one another's homes' (1958: 136). With class boundaries firmly in place, meaningful social relationships, during the earlier and mid twentieth century in Aboriginal New South Wales, were predominantly between kin.

In more recent Australian Aboriginal anthropological literature there are few references to friends or friendships. Current Australian anthropologists working with Aboriginal people in communities or towns, such as Kwok, Babidge, Gibson, and Young, just to name a few, have not chosen to research friendships. Macdonald, writing about demand-sharing among Wiradjuri some ten years earlier, referred to 'non-kin' and 'common interest groups',

One does not have to meet the demands of non-kin, nor can one demand of them. However, non-kin can be incorporated, including non-Aboriginal people, by ascribing to them a kin status, most frequently as a junior sibling. The kin classification into which people are slotted, through the use of a kin-term, indicates the type of demands and the priority they must be given. There are also common interest groups which develop what might be called a quasi-kin status, such as regular drinking groups. Although members are often kin, the 'rules' of sharing may be based on committed participation which will include non-kin (2000: 92-93).

Macdonald's focus is on how Wiradjuri people turn non-kin into kin, through the use of a kin term, which implicitly entails the obligations associated with that term. This can be seen as a form of fictive kinship, a relationship which is 'based upon metaphors of biological connection' (Leach 2003: 23). In the past, the classificatory system of kin terms, together with the section system, would have resulted in the incorporation of people conceptualised in terms of a kin relationship but who were actually very distant - if a biological connection could be established at all. This means that

incorporating non-kin in the way Macdonald described was hardly unsurprising. This is not the most useful approach for understanding the contemporary complexity of friendships in Peak Hill. Many Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill do not use kin terms for friends, they simply call them by their first name, or commonly, their nick name. While kin terms are associated with reciprocal expectations, they are not necessarily defined according to the strength of emotional and social engagement. Friends are 'close', sometimes more so than close or distant kin. There are qualities of friendship which are similar to those of kin relatedness but they are nevertheless distinguished by Wiradjuri people themselves and should be distinguished analytically. Friendship cannot simply be annexed onto kinship: it is increasingly becoming a form of social relatedness meriting anthropological attention.

Some issues with friendship in anthropology

Friendship has been recognised as important in the western tradition since the writings of Aristotle, but it has not been a central concern in anthropology. Prior to the 1990s, research and theories concerning friendship were more prominent in the disciplines of sociology, gender studies, philosophy, and psychology. Some early anthropological studies, such as Evans-Pritchard (1933) and Firth (1936), considered relationships from unrelated social categories, but they tended to focus on ritual relationships, 'bond-friendships' (Firth, 1936), or friendships between anthropologists and field participants (Casagrande, 1960). Friendship had a brief moment of anthropological popularity in the mid 20th century among researchers concerned with class, peasant communities, and urban networks, Whyte (1943), Paine (1969), and Hart (1973), but it remained on the periphery of anthropological interest.

In Australia, the structural-functionalist orientation treated friendship as part of individual motivations, which lay outside the core interest of anthropological research - how an Aboriginal society was organised. Radcliffe-Brown ([1940] 1952) dismissed individual 'social personalities', in which the human as individual changes throughout the course of their life, such as profession, voting, getting married or divorced, and becoming a parent. Gardner (2013: 52) argues that friendship, too, was associated with the actions of the individual, rather than the complex social and cultural institutions of the 'person.' Structuralism was likewise not interested in persons and the substance of relatedness, even among kin. In addition, all incorporation into kin-orientated Australian Aboriginal societies was until relatively recently confined to kin-statuses - non-kin were outsiders, not 'knowable.'

From the 1990s onwards, there has been a small but increasing interest in friendship in anthropology, such as the edited volumes by Bell and Coleman (1999) and, later, Desai and Killick (2010). Bell and Coleman (1999) do not quite manage to resolve the tension between friendship, as a largely individual and affective relationship and the more traditional modes of social and economic organisation central to anthropology. The key concern lies with the role of the self in friendship. More specifically, that friendship is a product of modernity and has developed within the paradigm of the western self - an 'autonomous self' (1999: 35). Though this is contradicted by contributions by anthropologists, such as Aguilar (1999: 171), who determined that friendship, although is a European construct, manifests in local, culturally specific forms, such as in pastoral African societies, where personhood is understood and constructed differently to the so-called western individual. With the exception of Aguilar (1999), these volumes do not offer an in-depth analysis of how local cultural manifestations relate to first, the western construct of friendship, and, second, other local forms of social organisation, kinship, or relatedness.

The field of new kinship studies discussed above (chapter 4) did begin to include friendship by approaching it from the socio-cultural category of relatedness. Aguilar (1999), who takes this approach to researching friendship among pastoralists in east Africa, argues that,

friendship as a social and human process is culturally and contextually constructed, and cannot be equated with relations of self-conscious individualism... friendship as any other social phenomena is culturally constructed, and that while on the surface of the initial encounter it could be termed a human universal, its manifestations are influenced by localized ways of being human and of being social (1999: 170-71).

Aguilar's universalising is based on his argument that friendship has become a global phenomenon.

Associated with western modernity, it manifests locally in culturally distinct ways. He does not

directly associate friendship with western individualism, instead, arguing as I do with Wiradjuri, that in eastern Africa, it is ethnographically closer to kinship: kinship and friendship are distinct, but not oppositional (1999: 172). This links in one of the broader themes of the book, and my thesis, the problem of the western self being seen as oppositional to the non-western one, and friendship being allocated to the former and kinship to the latter.

Anthropologists working within new kinship studies, such as Carsten (2000, 2004), have opened up fields of relatedness beyond the traditional focus on kinship, allowing for anthropologists to move away from the dichotomising of social structure and relatedness. Relatedness is now understood as performed lived experience. As a result, as Gardner points out, ‘friendship no longer contrasts with those ascribed statuses that were so central to earlier social science’ (Gardner 2013: 7). As in Peak Hill, friendship is part of relatedness: friends who may be but are typically not kin, enter into a relationship through adhering to a set of economic and social obligations, which are mutually recognised among ‘friends.’ There is a mutuality and reciprocity inherent in friendships. To refer to someone as one’s friend is to summon up the local cultural logic and values associated with the term.

Friendship is an informal category of social relatedness. As Beer points out, ‘contrary to kinship, it [friendship] is based on choice and voluntariness: friends are sought and must be won. Friendship is an acquired not an ascribed status’ (2001: 5805). Whilst I do somewhat agree with Beer’s statement, this simple Parsonian distinction between ascribed and acquired is misleading. While kin status among Aboriginal people is ascribed by birth, and occasionally adoption, the right to call yourself ‘my sister’ is a right that has to be acquired through acknowledgement of the expectations of ‘being a sister.’ Wiradjuri people will deny the rights which are associated with an ascribed status if that

person does not behave in an appropriate way, raised in the previous chapter with the example of my friend's mother whom he acknowledged as his mother but did not classify as or call her his mother.

It is the requirement that one must meet the expectations of relatedness, which are social, emotional, moral, and economic. A friend is expected to be similar to kinsperson, particularly with social and economic responsibilities, though less so with emotional demands. Friendship is an ego-centric and temporally-confined form of social engagement. There are no formal rules as to whom friends should be, how they be acquired or discarded, and friendships are rarely reproduced over time, as in subsequent generations. Friendship is an 'institutionalised non-institution' (Paine 1969: 514), but this does not mean that friendship can be treated as a residual category on the periphery of more formal and institutionalised forms of relatedness. Following on from Paine and Aguilar, I examine Wiradjuri friendships as a category of institutionalised social relations, demonstrating that there are informal rules or cultural patterns discernable, particularly in terms of what kinds of persons become friends to Wiradjuri people and the characteristics of such friendships. Who becomes a friend might be partly a matter of a person's own life experience and choice, but the meaning of having 'a friend' is increasingly shared as a cultural expectation and value. To this extent, the tension that can and does occur between the demands of friendship and those designated as kin (consanguineal and affinal, which are also in tension), becomes a dynamic of local socialities.

Friendly spaces in the past

When Wiradjuri people lived on Bulgandramine Mission they had a limited degree of social interaction with people who were not kin. Employment in the pastoral industry was the main area of interaction between Wiradjuri and others; Wiradjuri and white people worked together shearing, riding and fencing. Whilst contemporary Wiradjuri report that the relationships between workers was generally amicable, I was not told of any stories of friendships, meaning workers who had long term close relationships with each other that existed outside of the shearing sheds. This maybe a case of history forgotten or there not being enough older Wiradjuri alive to remember whether friendships existed between workers from the grandparent and great-grandparent generations.

One story of friendship has survived in Peak Hill. Across the river from Bulgandramine lived a Chinese Australian farmer, Jim Long, who ran a market garden. Wiradjuri people from Bulgandramine purchased their fruit and vegetables from Long and, at times, they also worked for him. Yet the story of the relationship between Long and Wiradjuri people is not spoken about as an employer-worker one. Instead, older people emphasise the closeness of their relationship between Wiradjuri and their friend, Long. People fondly reminisce about Long's generosity and that he was forever giving Wiradjuri children free fruit and letting them play on his farm. Their relationship with Long was so close, that when Bulgandramine Mission closed in 1941 and Wiradjuri people moved on, Long also left his property. When they re-established themselves on the Hill, he moved up there with them. He stayed with them until his death and his ashes were laid on the Hill. He was not kin: he never married and had no affinal relationships with a Wiradjuri person. He was their friend.

The story of the friendship between Wiradjuri people and Long was recounted to me many times by Wiradjuri who only remembered Long from when they were small children or had heard about him from their parents and grandparents. At first I could not understand why this story was so popular. I thought perhaps the significance of meaning was in the kindness Long displayed with the children or the fact that Long often gave produce away, instead of charging money. But there is more to the story. The story of Long was often told directly after stories about the enforced social segregation between Wiradjuri and non-Aboriginal people during this period. The importance of the story lies in its demonstration of the possibility of friendships between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri, even during a period when engagements with other Australians generally ranged from paternalistic to distaining to downright cruel, including stories of police brutality as well as the heart-rendering stories of removal of Wiradjuri children to the Cootamundra and Kinchela homes, hundreds of kilometres away.

The move of Wiradjuri people from Bulgandramine to the Hill did increase in social interaction between Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian. Wiradjuri people were now on the edge of town, their children enrolled in the local school, and many found work in town. When both Wiradjuri people and their non-Wiradjuri neighbours speak about this period of history, they emphasise the ‘friendly’ nature of their relationships, in fact so much so that one could be forgiven for thinking that friendships between Wiradjuri and white people were common at this time. Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the meaning of ‘friendly’ is not synonymous with friendship and it also has different connotations for Wiradjuri and white people.

Upton is an elderly, Anglo-Australian man and a prominent face in Peak Hill public life. His family has a long farming history in the region. He is involved in local politics and a member of the Freemasons and other local organisations, such as the Peak Hill Cultural Committee. When I first met him, Upton made some critical comments to me: Wiradjuri people were not civilised and they did not have any idea of land ownership, work, or religion, until they were colonised. His idea of Wiradjuri 'culture' was that of an empty vessel, barely surviving, waiting for Christianity and hard work to come and fill it up. Some months into my fieldwork, it became evident that Upton no longer wanted speak to me, although we had not had a falling out or argument. When I discussed this with some Wiradjuri friends, they considered his coolness and distance was because I had 'taken sides.' I had been living, working, and socialising predominantly with Wiradjuri people. Yet during one of the last times I was able to speak with Upton, he, like so many other older people in Peak Hill, emphasised the 'friendliness' of relations between Wiradjuri and white people,

We have always been friendly in Peak Hill. Back in the days when were all workers, we were all the same. It didn't matter if you were black or white when you're working on the farm. We were all the same with hard working Christian values. They were grateful for us giving them houses, giving them work...Those were the good ol' days.

To Upton, as to others, the friendliness was in the past, whereas in the present things had changed. He expressed nostalgia for a time when Wiradjuri and white people were 'friendly' and 'the same' and emphasised the unity of workers, particularly within the pastoral industry. Bissell has described nostalgia as a 'mode of social memory that emphasises distance and disjuncture' (2005: 216); it signals difference and change. There appears to be contradiction between these nostalgic remarks and social realities. Clearly people in Peak Hill are friendlier now; they have warm and respectful

relationships that venture beyond the structures and roles of work or school. Yet, for both older Wiradjuri and people like Upton, there was a 'friendly' time which has now changed.

It is difficult for an outsider to imagine how a history of colonial violence, formal and informal segregation, and assimilation, could be described as friendly. The meaning of friendly in this context was clarified to me by Hayden, a middle aged Wiradjuri man. Hayden had an ability to objectify and analyse his own experiences whilst providing an explanation that also addressed the historical context. Hayden's comment about being 'friendly' in pubs was,

There was never a sign at the pub saying 'whites only' and 'blacks only' but when you look and notice that the blacks would sit on one side and the whites on the other. It was friendly but we were always friendly, because it was accepted. What was accepted? White and black sitting in different places in the pub.

Hayden went on to explain that Wiradjuri people sat by the pool table and white people sat up the front, near the bar. Friendliness could occur, not because Wiradjuri and white people were close friends, occupying the same space. Rather, they could be friendly because each grouping had its own space, each stayed in their own space. Socialities were distant, separated by ethnicity, culture, and class. To the extent that the distance was accepted by Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australians, they could be friendly, but not friends.

So why, given the increasing interaction and improved equality today, is the past a case for nostalgia? It harks back to a time when people worked alongside each other, when there was a respect for each other, even across class lines. It was a time when no accommodation of Aboriginal difference had to be made by white people: they had precedence, and, as long as Aboriginal people did not try to cross any social divides, relations were friendly, and amicable. Upton's statement 'we were all the same' is

reflective of the opinion held by other elderly, white people in Peak Hill. Full and equal employment in the local industries, particularly pastoralism, did enable a sense of socio-economic equality. But the friendly spaces of the shearing sheds were not extended to homes, nor to sharing the same 'spaces' in hotels, clubs, or other public places in town. Nor did many Wiradjuri people live within the same town space as white townspeople - they were not yet neighbours. And few non-Aboriginal people appreciated the bicultural capacities of Wiradjuri and men and women, used to moving between different domains of cultural value and practice.

The equality or sameness that Upton laments about was actually an acceptance of the inevitability of whiteness or white dominance. It was a period of time when white people determined the protocols for dealing with social interactions, as well as the behaviours expected of anyone who wanted access to resources, such as housing and employment. If Wiradjuri people wished to have access to white spaces they would have to demonstrate they could live accordingly to the cultural values held by white people and that they could and would defer to white people, for example to be drinking in the pub was to be conducted quietly with work friends, rather than loudly with large groups of kin.

Upton's melancholic desire for a return of a peaceful, friendly past is illustrative of the ways in which he and others like him deny Australia's racialised history and its impact on Aboriginal peoples. It is a view that also holds Aboriginal people responsible for the current outcomes of a colonial subjugation, including impoverished rights as citizens regarding education, health care and legal redress, as well as the massive decline in employment evident from the 1960s as the rural economy went into long-term recession. Upton's understanding of the past is shaped by his beliefs about civilising influence: if everyone abided to good, old fashioned Christian values of hard work and piety they would economically succeed, and would have access to the same space and resources as

him. His understandings seem absurd, ill-informed and ignorant of the socio-economic disparities which have stemmed from a racialised history of discrimination.

Upton is expressing sentiments that remain common in public discourses in New South Wales, where Aboriginal Australians are subjected to discourses of equality and egalitarianism, which, in essence, ignores inequalities caused by the structural violence of colonialism. It is a false equality that is actually based on hierarchy. As Morris states, 'populist egalitarianism does not deny hierarchy, but constitutes it as natural' (1997: 172). Upton, and others like him, naturalise the Wiradjuri inequality of the past, the time when people were friendly and equal because they were all 'in their place.' Wiradjuri people had little access to local space or resources, received poor education and were prevented from government policies from being able to transition out of the pastoral industry, even if they wanted to.

Upton's statement helps to illustrate how access to space was controlled by white people, supported by the myth of egalitarianism. Wiradjuri workers had to demonstrate a persona or identity, which fitted with the values of their employer to ensure the continuation of their position, or with the shopkeepers to enable them to have access to resources. In the eyes of white people, such as Upton, Wiradjuri and white people appeared 'the same' because Upton's understanding of sameness is embedded within a nostalgia that only contains memories of the white experience of Peak Hill. These memories do not represent the reality of the past and, even less so, how it was experienced by Wiradjuri.

For much of Upton's past, Wiradjuri people had been kept at a spatial and social distance, up on the Hill, or on the edge of town at the 'Mish'. It was distance that enabled Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri to remain friendly. Cultural and class differences were mediated by space and people did not have to

address how to live with difference, as they do now. Wiradjuri and white people were not neighbours - they did not drink at the pub together, frequent the same cafes, or visited each others' houses. There was no actual equality or mutuality, and hence no friendship, because there was never an equal footing from which Wiradjuri and white people could negotiate their similarities and differences.

One common Wiradjuri story from this period refers to the 'friendliness' at the local Peak Hill School. From the 1950s, when Wiradjuri people moved onto the Hill, children attended the local Peak Hill School with white children. This was the first 'equal' schooling they had been given access to. When older Wiradjuri people left the Hill to go into town for whatever reason, they remember being told by their parents only to frequent 'safe' places. School was one of these safe places. The move of Wiradjuri people onto the Hill meant that it was neither feasible nor economic to continue schooling children separately, as was still the case throughout most of New South Wales. Hence, the Peak Hill School has a relatively longer history of including Aboriginal children. In fact, smaller numbers of Wiradjuri people living and working in the town were allowed to send their children to the Peak Hill School as early as the 1930s, although most were still residing on Bulgandramine and attending school there.

The school was a safe place. By the late 1950s the Peak Hill School had its first Aboriginal school captain, a Wiradjuri woman now who is now employed there. School was a space where both Wiradjuri and white children could just be kids together. Many older people report that there were no incidences of racism in school, at least not amongst the younger children. Yet in terms of values and behaviours, school belonged to the white domain. Wiradjuri children had to conform to the expectations of the student as set out by their white teachers and the values of western education

more broadly. If their behaviour deviated from these norms, then Wiradjuri children found they had difficulties with teachers. In the past, there was conformity. In the present where younger Wiradjuri people are more forthright and demand that their protocols and expectations be considered are having to negotiate an equality that now needs to accommodate difference. Although some Wiradjuri students succeed, others do not, and find themselves in difficult positions with non-Aboriginal school staff.

During the 1950s to 1970s, school was a place of friendship but these friendships existed only within the school gates. After the school bell rang, Wiradjuri and white children went their separate ways. I asked people if this felt strange, to be friends with someone before 3pm but not after. Older Wiradjuri people, such as Betty, replied, 'No, it was just accepted. You had your school friends and outside school, your brothers, sisters and cousins were your friends.' During this period, Wiradjuri friends outside of a few safe spaces, such as school, were all kin, they were not the white 'others' of Peak Hill. Betty's experiences with the other children at school would have been similar to what her parents and grandparents found at work: Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri workers could be friends during work hours, but their relationships did not extend beyond that.

During this time there existed a mutuality of sentiment or affection between Wiradjuri and white people, but this mutuality did not extend into the equality required to be 'friends.' Whilst older Wiradjuri and white people valued their 'friendly' times and spaces, the presence of actual performative *friendships* were rare.

Town space began to be shared between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri with the generations of Wiradjuri people who were born in town, or moved there as small children, and raised there. I am reluctant to call the social space of town a 'public' space in terms of mutuality, as a public space

would imply that both categories of people occupy the space as one: with the same use, freedoms, rights and control as the other. Town space is not shared that evenly. The businesses and houses are predominantly owned by white people, meaning the institutional and economic dimensions of the 'public' landscape continued to be white for some time.

Legally Wiradjuri are entitled to the same rights to public space as white people, but this is not always the case. Town space is often controlled by white authorities and even used as punishment as part of the legal system. Youths on probation from detention or on warnings can be, and are, banned from using the main street unless they are with their parents or guardians. One 14 year old Wiradjuri youth, Danny, was put on curfew and barred by the magistrate's court from being anywhere on the main street, unless in the presence of his parents or a guardian. If he was caught in the main street he would receive one warning from police and a second offence meant he would be placed in juvenile detention. This was difficult for the young, active teenager, especially on school holidays when his friends were riding their skateboards and scooters around town, and Danny would be unhappily confined to his house. Eventually Danny broke his conditions. Caught up on the street on different occasions, he was sent to a juvenile detention centre after first being kept in lock-up for a night by himself, much to his distress and that of his family members. Although legal restrictions such as this one are designed to target both Wiradjuri and white youths in trouble, the reality of the situation is that it traps more Wiradjuri youths who have fewer alternatives and thus fewer options to recreational spaces.

There are other constraints which still prevent Wiradjuri people having access to spaces to use as they desire. For example, large groups of Wiradjuri cannot meet up and socialise in the park without the risk of the police being called and Wiradjuri being 'moved on,' a 'bio-political' control to keep

people moving in public spaces (Lea 2012: 152). Seats in the main street were moved some years ago for the same reason: they attracted large groups of Aboriginal people. In different ways, older people, middle aged and younger Wiradjuri have rallied against such controls. Younger people are more assertive: they do this with exuberant, loud and sometimes aggressive ‘performances’, enacted to reclaim ‘public’ areas as Wiradjuri spaces. The following example occurred when I was walking through town with some younger people to a party. They had a few drinks at home while getting ready to go out but were by no means intoxicated. They were excited about a child-free night out, with their babies safely tucked away at home under the care of doting grandparents. As we walked down the main street, they began loudly joking around,

Person 1: I’m gonna break into that post office and steal that there [indicating to a kind of boxed appliance in the window].

Person 2: Oh yeah, how the fuck are you going to do that? You’d get caught.

Person 1: I’ll drive my car through the window.

Person 3: You don’t even have a car!

Person 1: Shut up fuck face [laughing].

Person 3: Stop being a noisy cunt, we’ll get in trouble.

Person 1: I’ll be noisy if I like [begins to sing loudly]. It’s my town.

[Two older Anglo people walk past on the other side of the street].

Person 1: Hey, hello, hey...how are you? [Waving to the people across the street]. Haven’t a good night?

[The people across the street ignore us and walk away with their heads down].

Person 1: Fuck you, fuckin’ snobby cunts. Go fuck yourselves! Don’t even say hello.

Person 2 & 3: Yeah, fucking snobby cunts. Fuck off then.

Person 1: I’ll bash ya [laughing].

Belinda: Don’t bash them, do you even know them?

Person 1: Well, as if I was going to! Nah, I couldn’t see who it was, too dark. Don’t even say hello but. So rude.

Cowlshaw (2004: 74, 93, 98) examined performances like these in a small rural town in New South Wales, and argued that through mimicry and dramatization, loud and/or physical behaviour, such as vandalism, Aboriginal people mock white authority structures and create a counter narrative or discourse to white norms. I think there is an aspect of this which arises from the anger of Wiradjuri youth at the injustices experienced by their parents and grandparents. On this occasion, like plenty of others, it is not real anger being presented here. It is a performance in the way that the loud swearing and empty threats were coupled with laughter and did not involve physical violence. The interaction between the white people across the street and the Wiradjuri youth indicate the social distance between older white and younger Aboriginal people. The yelling and threats were about younger people attempting to claim the town's space as their own. Younger Wiradjuri people, unlike their older relations, are less likely to conform to the 'right' kinds of public behaviour, such as not yelling, swearing, or performing seemingly threatening acts in public. In a way the younger people are performing, yet in another, they are simply enacting their right to be themselves in public space.

At the same time, the percentage increase of the Wiradjuri presence in town has resulted in an increase of relationships of varying kinds and qualities between them and Anglo-Australians. Some of these are kin based, marriages, de-facto relationships and being parents together. Some are friendships. No longer confined to shearing sheds or school yard, friendships are enacted in domestic and town spaces, such as homes, churches, the pub, and the football oval.

‘I don’t go drinking with the cockies:’ Class and friendship

Nearly all Wiradjuri friendships are formed between people of the same economic and status class - the lower socio-economic stratum. Class in Peak Hill can be understood in both an economic and cultural sense. First, economically, class stratification is loosely based upon land and labour ownership. Peak Hill, like neighbouring towns such as Forbes, was once a ‘squattocracy.’²⁷ Due to the decline in pastoralism from the 1960s, and more recently, agriculture, class boundaries are not quite as economically rigid but there is still a clear distinction between farmers, who own land and production, and workers. Second, there is also a Weberian complexity of cultural and social status associated with class in Peak Hill. Local land, property, and business owners have a degree of political and cultural solidarity. They constitute the membership as well as leadership of religious and political organisations, such as the Uniting Church, Freemasons, and Chamber of Commerce. They have always voted conservative right through the National Party. In the past they socialised together at the Carrington Hotel, but after that was burnt out, the Bowling Club become their establishment of choice. Wiradjuri and white people from the lower socio-economic stratum, who do not own land, businesses, and rarely property, are not members of the same political organisations or churches and do not drink at the same venues. Members of this class have never felt welcome to drink at either venue. The Commercial was the pub where Wiradjuri and others drank until it burnt

²⁷ The term squattocracy is a combination of the words ‘squatter’ and ‘aristocracy’. Although squatter originally meant someone who had taken up residence at place without having a legally recognise right to do so, it later became to mean anyone occupied or purchased crown land. As the wealth of squatters in New South Wales grew, the term squattocracy replaced squatters and means people of a higher socio-economic status who graze livestock or raise crops, usually on a large scale.

down in 1991. Now the Clubhouse Hotel (referred to as ‘the middle pub’ or simply ‘the pub’) is the preferred recent drinking venue for the clientele of the Commercial.

Jim, Sammy, and Bob all drank at the Commercial and now do so at the Clubhouse. Jim is an older Wiradjuri man, Sammy is an older white man, and Bob is a slightly younger white man. All three men grew up and worked as shearers together. They are now semi-retired and only shear sporadically when there is work available and their health allows it. Nearly every afternoon Jim, Sammy and Bob meet at the pub and have a few drinks together, chat, and often watch the football on the television in the front bar. They sometimes discuss the older social divisions in Peak Hill, based on race and class. In one conversation, I asked them about the Bowling Club,

Jim: The bowling club mob was the most racist lot going.

Belinda: From who? Which mob?

Jim: The cockies. Racist old bastards.

Sammy: It wasn’t just you mate, I didn’t go there either.

Bob: Me neither.

Jim: But you were allowed in. I wasn’t even allowed in the damn place.

Sammy: But I couldn’t really go there, you know.

Belinda: Why couldn’t you go there – you’re white?

Sammy: I mighta been allowed in but I wasn’t welcome. If you weren’t a cockie, didn’t have a farm or some land, you weren’t welcome in the Bowling Club. I still don’t go there.

Prior to the economic degradation of Peak Hill, and the surrounding farming region, the cockies and local business owners could be understood as both a class ‘in itself’ and ‘for itself.’ Although there are distinct economic classes and social divisions roughly aligned with class, there exists a class in itself but not for itself. Class consciousness does not exist in the present, particularly not among the lower-socio economic class. There is a kind of solidarity and consciousness between people, such as

Jim, Sammy and Bob, but this is more to do with status groups. Jim, Sammy, and Bob, as well as other shearers, were once highly paid and regarded by other members of the Peak Hill community. Members of the lower socio-economic class, including Wiradjuri do not assert a class position. They are certainly aware of differences in economic situations; those with better paid jobs and living conditions, yet there is not a sense of their 'interests and of their predicaments as a class' (Thompson in Gibson 2010a: 143-35). The main reason for economic stalemate and lack of class consciousness amongst Wiradjuri and the lower socio-economic class more generally, is correlated with the failing economic situation of Peak Hill from the 1960s onwards. As employment in pastoralism and agriculture declined significantly in the latter half of the 20th century, there is not a collective consciousness of being workers and fighting for workers rights.

Within the lower socio-economic class there is an informal division between workers and the unemployed. Statistically, this is largely a division between white and black, and reflected in the employment rates in Peak Hill. According to the ABS, the overall unemployment rate for Peak Hill is 11 per cent, with the greater white population at 6 per cent and the Aboriginal population at 30 per cent unemployment. White men and women, both have an equal rate of unemployment at 6 per cent. Although, the gender difference in unemployment rates of Aboriginal people is much more pronounced, with nearly half the male Aboriginal population of working age unemployed at 42 per cent, but only 19 per cent of Aboriginal women (ABS Census Data 2011). The difference in gender among Aboriginal employment rates is due to the local employment opportunities for middle aged to older Wiradjuri women. During the 1980s employment opportunities arose within the Aboriginal services section, but mainly in the areas of education and health - traditionally areas of employment popular with women in rural Australia. These Aboriginal-only service sector jobs are predominantly

held by Wiradjuri women, particularly in education and health; in Peak Hill, but also in Parkes and Dubbo.

Laurel and Pat have known each other for a long time, but became friends about five years ago when they began attending the same church. Laurel is an older Wiradjuri woman and Pat is an older white woman, who moved to Peak Hill about fifteen years ago. At first they knew each other as fellow Christians, non-drinkers, and both with an interest in crafts. They saw each other around town and at events and always stopped to say hello, but their friendship did not really develop until they began attending the same church, hence spending more time together. In each other they found support and trust. Both are widowed and having raised children and grandchildren. They began to visit each other's houses, swapping recipes and baked goods, and attending craft events together. Their relationship solidified when they became distant affinal kin; one of Pat's children married one of Laurel's younger relations and had children. Laurel works in Aboriginal Health and Pat used to work in the mainstream health sector. Economically, Laurel and Pat fit with lower socio-economic class of workers, but they also hold values similar to the middle class. For example, both Laurel and Pat attend church together and do not drink, and condone what they consider heavy or binge drinking. Although Laurel has many relations in the lower class and is respected by them, her friendships, like Pat's also, tend to be with people from the middle class.

Due to the seasonal availability of much of the work in Peak Hill, the division between workers and the unemployed in the lower stratum is more fluid. Tamika and Kalia are both young women and mothers; Tamika is Wiradjuri and Kalia is white. Tamika and Kalia became friends in high school in Peak Hill. They both struggled at school and found themselves in trouble together more than once. Both girls left at fifteen and drifted apart for a year as they spent more time in different social circles

away from Peak Hill, 'partying it up' as they refer to it. They reunited a year later when they both became mothers; first Kalia, then Tamika. During this time they both lived in Peak Hill, a couple of streets from each other, and relied on each other for emotional, social, and economic support as they faced the challenges of being unemployed mothers. Although both Tamika and Kalia are unemployed, they both socialise with relations who are workers and those who are not. The reverse is also true. Jim, Sammy, and Bob, who are workers and strongly identify as shearers also spend time with a variety of relations, including many who have been mainly unemployed for most of their working lives. The division between workers and the unemployed means there are economic differences between the two groups, but this is not a class distinction.

Wiradjuri friendships occur within class. There is little economic movement between the classes although there is some, limited social movement, such as Laurel and Pat's friendships with women of the middle class. There is also movement in the opposite direction, from middle to lower class, although this is also uncommon. One example is Walter, who is close friends with John. Before John and Walter were close friends, Walter was part of the middle class. He owned his own business and more than one property. He did not drink and was socially aligned with the middle class. After some time in jail and financial difficulties, Walter is now, at least socially, part of the lower class. Although he rarely drinks, he socialises with the drinkers and is close friends with John, who has always been part of the lower socio-economic class.

Although there is fluidity within class, class divisions are still rigid, hence friendships occur within class. For Wiradjuri, the majority of whom are economically marginalised, this means most friendships occur with equally economically marginalised others. Some anthropologists believe there are aspects of Aboriginal culture which 'anchor most of them...in a relatively low socio-economic

category' (Berndt quoted in Langton 1981: 17). This is not the case in Peak Hill, where membership to class involves economic, social and cultural similarities, which are often held by both Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people. Although Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill predominantly occupy lower socio-economic positions, the lower stratum is not a black class; it includes many white people as well. The inter-cultural nature of the lower socio-economic class has resulted in it becoming the site of many long term friendships between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people.

Being mates in Peak Hill: Examining mateship

In Peak Hill, the word friend is used, but the terms 'mate' is used more frequently. For example, 'He's me mate,' 'Yeah, we're mates' or 'He's me best mate' are common utterances used to describe relationships between friends, particularly by men. I assert the values of mateship accord with those held in Wiradjuri relatedness more generally, as they involve negotiating a tension between individual autonomy and group relatedness. Yet this emphasis on mutuality appears to reduce differences as insignificance, in a similar way to the egalitarian discourse in Australian more generally.

The word 'mate' has its origins centuries old in England, Ireland, and Wales and referred to a friend, partner, comrade, and so on. Originally the word was used across classes but become popular amongst the lower socio-economic class in England (Reardon 2003: 68). The notion of 'mateship' was coined in Australia and conventionally refers to both practices of relatedness which stress equality and fellowship, especially between men, as well as the quality of such a relationship, 'being a mate.'

This meaning only hints at some of the ideas and values associated with mateship in Australia. In Australia, mateship embodies principles of equality, solidarity, mutuality, comradeship, and obligation within a relationship. Taking lead from Reardon (2003) mateship is better understood as an Australian discourse, continually developing and changing, as historical and social contexts change. Mateship has been used in a range of different contexts from colonial convicts battling together against the Australian wilderness, to miners trying to strike it rich, nomadic pastoralists working together in the bush, diggers fighting together in World War I, and, more recently it was

politicised with Howard's failed attempt in 1999 to include mateship in the Preamble to the Australian Constitution. The concept of mateship has also appeared in numerous texts, songs, and films; the poetry of Henry Lawson and Ward's (1958) *The Australian Legend*.

A lot of the information available on mateship in Australia is folkloric or commentary, rather than analytic. The main exception to this comes from gender studies, where reviews and critiques of the role and influence of women in mateship have formed the basis of many academic texts, such as Lansbury (1966), Colling (1992), Townsend (1994), Murrie (2000), and Reardon (2003), just to name a few.

Mateship, friendship, and gender

Mateship is linked to an Australian, predominantly male, national identity which includes values of patriotism and egalitarianism. Although there is a specific history to the ways in which mateship has been formulated in Australia, Brown maintains 'all deal with some form of crisis involving social injustice, hardship or peril where men came to rely on each other fostering a spirit of loyalty, friendship and a support system' (1990: 2). Women were generally excluded from understandings of mateship; and 'it is a particularly male orientated concept' (Page 2002: 195). This has since changed in Australia with more women using the term 'mate' and participating in mateship values in varying national and local contexts (see Pease 2001). In Peak Hill, although the term 'mate' is sometimes used by women, the term 'friend' is used more frequently. For example, Tamika and Kalia do not call each mates, but friends, as do Laurel and Pat. The characteristics of mateship, such as loyalty, equality, and solidarity still apply to their friendships, but it is less emphasised compared to their male counterparts who have worked together in pastoralism or agriculture.

In Peak Hill being mates or friends generally belongs to the domain of same-gender relationships. It is unusual for men and women who are not kin to be mates. This has less to do with the masculine, colonial origin of the concept of mateship and more to do with gender roles in friendships, which exist for both Aboriginal and Anglo-Australians in rural Australia more generally. Sometimes friendships are formed which break these barriers, such as the friendship I observed between a Wiradjuri man and his white female neighbour. Although they only shared a platonic friendship they were subjected to a continual current of gossip which had them cast as lovers. At times when the gossip was most intense, they succumbed to the pressure of standard gender-separate socialising and spent less time together.

For Wiradjuri kin this is less of a problem. Kin can become close relations; a relationship which embodies many of the characteristics of a friendship or mateship, without stepping outside of the expectations of gendered kin relationships. The Wiradjuri man who was friends with his white female neighbour also had a similarly close relationship to many of his female kin. Those relationships were never subjected to the same gossip and criticism as the one with his neighbour, even though his neighbour also spent much time socialising with his female kin. Partly this is because many of his close female kin are not sexually available, they would be considered too genealogically close to have a relationship with. Despite this, some of his close female kin are not genealogically close, yet their relationships did attract the same scrutiny.

Mateship and ethnicity

Mateship is often construed as something that belongs to Australian-born white men, against the image of Aboriginal or immigrant men (Pease 2001: 198). This is partly true in Peak Hill, where being mates often over-rides ethnic differences, because it relies upon broader shared notions of

egalitarianism or equality, between all people involved in the relationship, or mateship. For example, Jim, Sammy, and Bob are not just Aboriginal or white, they are also Australian, more specifically rural Australians from Peak Hill. They share a common place-based identity, belonging to the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob, as well as a shared history of shearing and socialising together.

Similar to the national myth of egalitarianism - Australia as a classless nation-state - local understandings of mateship as egalitarian often turn a blind eye to difference. Within mateship between Aboriginal and white men, racial differences are played down whilst other similarities are highlighted, such as those relating to place or shared experience or hardship. Sometimes differences relating to the rights of or opportunities available to either Aboriginal or Anglo-Australian residents of town come to the forefront of a discussion, which can cause arguments and tension within the relationship.

John, a middle aged Wiradjuri man, and Walter, an older white man, have been 'best mates' for years. Walter was mates with John's father. They both live in Peak Hill, but on different sides of the town. They have not worked together: John works seasonally, driving trucks or other casual farm/construction work, whereas Walter, who is retired now, owned his own regional business. Due to the success of his company, Walter is economically more successful than John, who sometimes struggles financially when reliant upon his meagre Centrelink payments. Despite their economic differences, John and Walter have been best mates for a long time. They spend a lot of time together, watching television, playing cards, and chatting at each other's houses. They frequently travel to the local football together and can often be spotted at the river fishing. When John is short on money, Walter will help him out. When Walter was recently ill, John visited him daily, looking after him. I noticed Walter was attending Peak Hill Aboriginal Medical (PHAMS) Service when he

was unwell for treatment and medicine, even though he is not Aboriginal. I found this unusual, so one afternoon when I was sitting with John, Walter, and a few of John's younger kin, I asked Walter why he attended the PHAMS, instead of the local doctor. He replied,

Walter: Why shouldn't I go there? What, cos I'm not black. Why should I pay for the medicine when none of my black mates don't. John here never pays for medicine, do ya?

John: Nope. And I get my medicine real cheap at the chemist too [smiling cheekily at Walter].

Walter: Bloody hell! Well, that's just wrong. Giving people stuff for nothing while other people miss out.

John: It's not for nothing. Your people took our land and made us work for free. You got our money. We should get a lot bloody more than free medicine.

Walter: Ah, here we go again, all this blackfella whinging, well, I'm sick of it. Me and you are mates, we live the same, we should get treated the same.

The conversation descended into a full blown argument between John and Walter about what they believed Aboriginal people are or are not entitled to. This argument was not the first of its kind between Walter and John, and no doubt, will not be the last. While Walter does not deny or disbelieve the colonial violence and subsequent injustices committed against Wiradjuri people, he does not believe that this history should affect how John and his contemporary relationship with the state and its services. This works both ways. Walter does not tolerate and speaks out against things he sees as racist, such as when John overheard his potential future boss talking to another worker about how lazy Aboriginal people are. Yet within the more private realm of mateship, which emphasises unity, mutuality, and equality, there is no real room for actual difference. Hage's (1998) argument regarding multiculturalism is useful for understanding conflicting principles of mateship. Hage (1998: 17-19) argues the shift to multiculturalism in Australia has not actually resulted in the creation of space where all people treat each other with respect and equality, rather it is a fantasy

situation where the dominant culture - Anglo-Australians - reinforce their positions of power as the governing and dominating cultural group by objectifying the other; and containing their power.

Multiculturalism demands that subaltern and minority subjects identify with the object of authentic self identification, such as domesticated, non-conflictual traditional forms (Povinelli 2002: 6). In a similar way, mateship requires that its subjects identify as one: equal and mutual mates.

Walter's comments can be interpreted as a form of racism, yet the reason for the racism has nothing to do with Walter believing that John is inferior in any way, or that Aboriginal people did not suffer at the hands of the colonisers, or deserve compensation for their suffering. After a different argument regarding a similar topic, I asked Walter whether he believed Aboriginal people should receive compensation for land and wages that was stolen and he replied, 'Yeah, they should. It was wrong you know.' Walter's emphasis on sameness in regards to rights and treatment by the state on a personal level, within his mateship with John, appears to contradict his general values, which, at some level, respect and make allowance for difference, if the allowances are positive. This contradiction represents the paradox of egalitarianism, which was spelt out by Emerson (1979) in regards to egalitarian approaches to public education. Emerson states,

One of the paradoxes of our society is that the more we treat people equally, the more we increase their inequality. Conversely, if we want people to end with equal status, equal positions, and equal achievements, we must treat them in an unequal manner (1979: 53).

His argument applies to national egalitarianism more broadly, where if one adheres to the ideal of egalitarianism within the nation-state than all citizens should be treated equally. Yet equal treatment of all citizens will only increase differences, due to the pre-existing difference among citizens - violating the ideal of egalitarianism. The opposite - treating people differently to bring about results of equality also violates the principle that all citizens should be treated in the same way. This paradox

is present within the tensions of relationships that involve difference in Peak Hill, where distinctions of class and ethnicity are not truly overcome by ideals found in mateship, and are comfortably camouflaged by having those ideals present deny or play down existing disparity. Having said this, mateship does offer a framework for Aboriginal and white friendships based upon shared hardship, peril, and experiences.

Mateship and action

Mateship implies action within the friendship. For example, 'you should always look out for your mate' and 'never dob him into the cops'. Mateship is seen as a higher virtue than observing the law (Pease 2001: 195). This was evident when Sammy was barred from the pub, the regular place of social interaction for Jim, Sammy, and Bob. Instead of waiting for Sammy's ban to be lifted and return, Jim and Bob chose to break the law and drink with Sammy in the public space outside of the bar and across the road, but still in full visibility of the publican. They also stopped going to the pub and began drinking at Sammy's house, as well as in another public town space. This was a protest against Sammy being barred, which they believed was unreasonable, and it was also a show of solidarity between them. The strength of mateship was valued by Jim, Sammy, and Bob as more important than being able to drink at the only pub or abiding the law which prohibits public drinking.

Drinking alcohol is one symbol of mateship. In Peak Hill, one's mates are generally expected to drink with you and participate in 'shouting' drinks, meaning one person buys drinks for all the drinkers in each round. The rules for shouting drinks in the pub are when someone joins a table of drinkers, they are expected to stay until there has been a completed round of shouting, including the newcomer. To leave the table prior to this is unacceptable. There are some exceptions for people

who do not have enough money to shout: usually someone else will cover their shout, rather than that person simply just buying their own drinks. The comradeship of purchasing drinks and drinking them together is more important than the financial practicalities. Shouting defines membership of the drinking group of 'mates' - it is a practice of generalised, reciprocal exchange (Kapferer 1988: 159). Shouting and drinking with one's mates temporarily creates an environment of perceived equality and egalitarianism by the drinkers, despite their differences outside of the pub. This kind of mateship has a long history. In the far west of New South Wales during the mid-twentieth century, Beckett recorded a form of mateship between Aboriginal and white workers. Beckett found that after white men had worked with Aboriginal men, usually in some kind of bush work, 'whites do not object to meeting them in their sports clubs, unions, and hotels...Those aborigines allowed into hotels are often to be seen drinking or playing cards with white men' (1958: 135). These relationships did not extend beyond the workplace or pub, unlike the relationships between Aboriginal and white workers now, such as the mateship between Jim, Sammy, and Bob, which is enacted in both public and domestic domains.

Mutuality within drinking circles operates as a kind of relatedness, not dissimilar to Wiradjuri relatedness more generally. In regards to mateship and drinking in Australia, Kapferer states,

This feature [Australian drinking] is one manifestation of the high value placed on individual autonomy coupled with the stress on equality... Individual autonomy and the equality of individuals are interdependent. Australians do not deny their autonomy in their egalitarianism; they emphasize it, but they do so in a way that also reinforces the sense of the collective (1988: 160).

The kind of egalitarianism that Kapferer is referring to here, which I have found among mates in Peak Hill, is not a reference to an egalitarian *society*. It exists within a relationship or context of

relatedness, such as mates drinking at the pub together. Kapferer's argument that in this context autonomy is expressed to reinforce 'the collective' is similar to how Myers (1986) describes the relationship between autonomy and relatedness among the Pintupi. Myers (1986) provides several accounts of events in which individual autonomy is expressed, such as fighting or moving camps. These acts serve to reinforce relationships, which are dialectically maintained by a continual tension of differentiation (autonomy) and relatedness. Kin relatedness among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill is also performative. These are relations which place intense focus on the dialectic of differentiation and relatedness. This is no doubt why having mates has been so well incorporated into Wiradjuri social life. In spite of ethnic differences, and occasionally economic differences, mateship allows Wiradjuri people to participate in friendships with others which are not so different to performative kin relationships. Unlike Wiradjuri relatedness, mateship reduces difference, particularly ethnic ones, by emphasising sameness, equality and unity.

Talking among family and friends

Just as class and mateship provides a framework for who Wiradjuri people become friends with and what those friendships mean, another way in which friendships are formed and affirmed, as well as recognised by outsiders, is in the speech styles adopted by people who treat each other as friends. Particular linguistic constructions, such as nicknames, the use of Wiradjuri words, jocular swearing, and racial labels offer insight into how Wiradjuri people negotiate and place boundaries on relationships with friends.

Nicknames

Nicknames are only given to and used by people who belong to the same social world. Wiradjuri people use nicknames with kin, but they seldom use them in the presence of other people in Peak Hill. Instead they address these kin by their given names. This made my initial introductions to Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill confusing. I was a stranger, so people used their given names. Yet when people were conversing amongst themselves, even if I was present, they would use nicknames, meaning for the first couple of months of my fieldwork I had trouble working out who was who. I remember participating in a conversation about someone nicknamed 'Dookie.' I interrupted to ask, 'Who is this Dookie you keep talking about? How come I haven't met him?' To which everyone laughed and replied, 'He was over your place this morning.' Noticing my surprised look as I tried to work out which person this was, it was clarified to me, 'Dookie is Alan, Raymond's nephew.'

Nearly every Wiradjuri person in Peak Hill has a nickname. A nickname is a familiar or humorous name given to a person, often when they are very small. Nicknames are often chosen by a relative or emerge from some incident. Occasionally they are passed on from parent or grandparent to child.

There are a variety of ways a nickname may be prescribed to a person. First, some nicknames are not true nicknames but rather a truncation of a given name, such as 'Jess' instead of Jessica. Second, some nicknames are from adding 'y' or 'o' on the end of a person's given name, a common practice in English speaking societies, such as 'Bobby' for Robert or 'Johnno' for John. Third, some nicknames reflect physical characteristics, such as 'Bones' who was called this because he was thin as a child and 'Ab', which is a shortened version of Abdullah the boxer, who was a boxer decades ago, apparently renowned for his large size, as well as a reference to 'Aboriginal' from school. Fourth, a nickname can represent an event, such as when I brought a friend of mine to Peak Hill she was nicknamed 'Yum-yum' because a Wiradjuri man quite taken by her appearance, misheard her given name in a Freudian slip of the tongue.

Although there are no formal rules regarding nicknames; how they are given, when they should be given, or what they should mean, it is conventional that they are used to address and speak about friends. As nicknames are the main way for relations to address and refer to each other, it is important that when someone becomes part of Wiradjuri social life, they are also given a nickname. Sometimes a previous nickname will be used, but there is a preference for a new nickname, one that is specific to Wiradjuri relatedness. When a new friendship is formed, the bestowal of a nickname quickly ensues to delineate the boundaries of relatedness and indicate to the individual and the wider community more generally that the person is now a friend.

Aboriginal English and Wiradjuri words

In other parts of Australia, where Aboriginal people are bilingual, there has been anthropological research conducted on the difference between language used among kin, among Warlpiri say, compared to language used when communicating with non-Warlpiri or white people (Musharbash 2012: 2). Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill are not bilingual, as colonial processes, such as missionisation and assimilation, have resulted in the loss of Wiradjuri language. Many older Wiradjuri people did not teach their children their language for fear that they would be removed by welfare or get in trouble with other white authorities. When the last of the Wiradjuri speakers were still alive this generalised version of the language was officially recorded and is now taught in schools around the central west of New South Wales.²⁸ Outside of school, most of older speakers are deceased and only fragments of the language remain; names, words and the odd phrase. Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill today speak English and some Aboriginal English, which partly grammatically represents the structure of Aboriginal languages. For example, this is marked by characteristics, such as, the absence of the plural 's' for nouns (eg. One dog, two dog) and the removal of the verb 'to be' (eg. Where dad?) (Eades 1988: 100). In Peak Hill today, Aboriginal English is spoken by Wiradjuri and has partly been adopted by their friends, who have grown up and worked with Wiradjuri people, such as Sammy and Bob.

Wiradjuri people speak to their kin and friends in a different style to that used within the broader white community. Wiradjuri words are usually only used among kin and close friends, particularly

²⁸ The Wiradjuri language had dialects specific to each river: the Bogan River dialect, the Macquarie River dialect etc...as use of the dialects declined, with the exception of a few words, a generalised version of Wiradjuri developed.

rude or private words, such as *duri* (sex). These words are often accompanied by humorous stories regarding the misunderstandings of the word's meaning to other non-Bogan River Wiradjuri people, who had different dialects or spoke English. For example, Trudy explained to me that you had to be very careful asking for a bumper (cigarette) in Condobolin, which is very close to the Lachlan River Wiradjuri word for sex *bunda*. A mistake that a female, white social acquaintance regretted when she went up to a group of young Lachlan River Wiradjuri asking for a cigarette but not articulating the word particularly clearly or it was deliberately misheard. These words, and others including adjectives such as *gudjuk* (gross, undesirable), *jirri jirri* (dirty, smelly), *booga* (swearing) and words regarding Wiradjuri spirits or mythologies, such as *uri* man (small hairy man) and *budjeen* (spirit or ghost). Other words used include, but are not exclusive of: *gumi* (mother); *gungah or gung* (tree goanna); *duli* (sand goanna); *dburrung* (snake); *bunta* (big), and *boori* (lying, as in deceiving, or child).

The use of Wiradjuri words marks a social boundary, one of closeness and relatedness. Even though Wiradjuri words are spoken in front of friends, as well as kin, this does not mean that white friends can instantly use these words: there is an unspoken rule that a person must wait until they are socially accepted as a close friend before 'speaking lingo.' If the friend does not wait until it is socially acceptable before using Wiradjuri words, they leave themselves open to ridicule, joking, and shaming. Kalia found this out when she picked up a few Wiradjuri words from her Wiradjuri friend Tamika, particularly *gudjuk*, which Tamika says regularly. When Kalia spilt her drink down the front of her shirt and loudly yelled out, 'Ew, *gudjuk!*' Tamika was quick to sternly reply, 'What, you think you're black now? Talking like a blackfella!' Kalia's face blushed crimson and she went very quiet. Tamika was not just joking with Kalia, but was chastising her by embarrassing her in front of the other Wiradjuri people present - she was shaming Kalia. Among older people, Wiradjuri become noticeably physically uncomfortable when Wiradjuri words are used too early on in a relationship,

the same kind of discomfort expressed when joking occurs that is too familiar. One day in the early stages of my fieldwork, I was chatting and joking with some middle aged Wiradjuri people at a barbeque. As one woman's story became more and more grandiose, I laughed and said, 'No, you *boori* [lie].' To which every person in my immediate vicinity grew quieter, becoming fixated with a invisible point on the ground, or anywhere really, to avoid eye contact with me. Later Trudy explained to me that it felt odd, hearing, 'You, this new white girl, say things in lingo [Wiradjuri language].' This was because I still an outsider of sorts. I was living and socialising with Wiradjuri people but I was yet to become a close friend to anyone present at the barbeque. At that time I was outside of the sociality of kin and friends where Wiradjuri words, joking, and shaming occur.

Swearing and racial labels

The use of swearing and racial labels is an indicator of social closeness. This is less common among older Wiradjuri, many of whom do not swear nor use racial labels at all, but is more common among middle aged and younger people.²⁹ Swearing in Aboriginal English has different cultural meanings when compared with English spoken in mainstream Australia. It has been commented on by anthropologists in different parts of Australia, both those interested in past practice and in contemporary usage. Martin (1993: 154) makes the point that swearing can be used to belittle kin authority structures or hierarchies. Whereas Langton notes that swearing is part of fighting and conflict resolution, as well as everyday relatedness: part of joking to 'make everybody happy' (1998: 208-9). More specifically, Langton writes,

²⁹ It is important to note that whilst most younger people choose to use swearing and racial labels, not all do. Some younger people have been raised in Christian households where such language is considered rude and inappropriate.

I would suggest that swearing, especially with reference to sexuality, is an important *leitmotif* of Aboriginal life, and adds an excitement or piquancy to relationships which could become boring and onerous in the close and constant contact of everyday life (1988: 208).

This is true in Peak Hill, where swearing is a regular part of joking between kin and friends. For example, when they are joking around, Tamika and Kalia often use swearing accompanied by insults of a personal nature,

Tamika: Look at you, such a skinny bitch. It's gross. And you should get out in the sun more, you're all fucking pasty.

Kalia: Fuck you cunt! I look good, like a model, haha [laughing]!

Tamika: No, no, I do. Feel my skin, so soft, I'm like a fucking dolphin. My man says my skin feels like silk [finished by fits of laughter from both girls].

Swearing between friends in Peak Hill can also include the use of racial labels based upon the colour of one's skin, when joking. One day John and Walter were playing cards and as John began to win the following exchange took place,

Walter: No way! You a cheating, lying black cunt.

John: Fuck off Wal, you're just a jealous white cunt cos you're losing!

Walter: Fucking oath I am! If you take any more money from me I'm gonna have to move in with you - rich black cunt.

John: Yeah, that would be right, you white cunts are always sponging off us blacks.

Their conversation resulted in the whole table of players laughing, including Walter and John. This exchange has an additional element in John's last sentence, where he jokingly referred to white people sponging off black people, subverting a local popular belief amongst middle class white people in Peak Hill, that Wiradjuri people are always asking others for money.

Swearing is also an indicator of class in Peak Hill. People in the middle socio-economic class do not swear as much, nor use racial labels, as those in the lower. Laurel and Pat very rarely swear and never address each other by terms of colour, such as black or white. Swearing among the lower socio-economic class is a way for people to mock class etiquettes by using subversive language. Jim, Sammy, and Bob are physically quite different. Jim, who is Wiradjuri, has brown skin, eyes, and hair. Sammy and Bob are both white. Bob has lightly tanned skin and light brown hair, whereas Sammy has red hair and very fair skin, which has been burnt a permanent shade of pink-red from years of working outside in the sun. Their physical differences, along with swearing, often enter into the way they address each other in the pub, particularly when there is a loud crowd of people there constituting an audience,

Bob [to Jim]: hey you black cunt, buy me a beer!

Jim: Fuck off whitey, you buy me one!

Sammy: Shut your holes! Stop yelling, I reckon it's my shout.

Bob & Jim: Bloody oath Red Man; yeah it's your shout Red Man.

Later that evening, having noticed me giggling at the loud and cheerful exchange between Bob, Jim, and Sammy, the publican, sat down to talk to me about it. He said,

You know I never heard black and white people joke around the way they do here. I was a publican in a different place before here and I had lots of Aboriginal and white people drink at my pub. There were lots of fights, sure, but they never joked around the way they do here. That's why I love it here, people are so friendly. Down here, you can joke around and call each other a black cunt or a white prick or whatever and everyone just laughs. If you did that at my old pub, you'd get bashed by some cranky cunt. I don't know why it's different here, just the way it is I guess.

Although there is plenty of joking between Wiradjuri and white friends at the pub, the publican's statement does not extend to all residents of Peak Hill. Upton, who reminisced about how 'friendly' Peak Hill used to be does not drink at that pub and could certainly never address someone as a 'black cunt' without risking his immediate safety. This is because this kind of swearing and joking occurs within one class and one sociality. Swearing acts as a demonstration of social proximity - relatedness - by mocking difference between close kin or friends. The use of words relating to skin colour, instead of just referring to size or eye colour or amount of hair, is deliberate because it delineates a social boundary by using terms which other social groups, such as Upton and his friends, would and could not use.

There are two modes of swearing in Peak Hill: intra-social (between Wiradjuri people themselves) and inter-social: (between Wiradjuri and non-Aboriginal people). Take the following example: two Wiradjuri men were talking about the trouble their children were having in school and they realised both of their children had problems with one particular teacher, an older white woman. From that point onwards, they did not refer to the teacher's name again, but proceeded to call her a 'white cunt' or a 'proper white cunt' for the remainder of the conversation. From this conversation and the one involving Tamika and her friends swearing at the white people in the main street who would not return her greeting, it is clear that the term 'white cunt' has a dual meaning. On one hand it can be used intra-socially to subvert class and racial divisions by emphasising relatedness through difference. On the other hand, 'white cunt' can be used inter-socially where it becomes a derogatory word used as an insult and indicator of social distance.

Although Cowlshaw did not distinguish between intra and inter-social swearing, she did comment on public swearing used in a space occupied by two classes, in the township of Bourke, New South

Wales. Cowlshaw argued that these loud and dramatic performances of swearing were aboriginal people mocking white authority structures to create a counter narrative or discourse to white norms (2004: 74, 93 & 98). They were mocking a white moral order. In Peak Hill it is less about mocking a white moral order and more about mocking a socio-economic class division, which generally correlates to ethnicity as most Wiradjuri people fall into the lower socio-economic class, but not completely.

Conclusion

As Aboriginal people becomes more intertwined with other cultural groups around Australia, particularly in south eastern Australia's rural and urban centres, an anthropology of friendship has become more pressing in recent times. Aboriginal people in Peak Hill no longer live in a world solely made up of kin and their daily social lives now comprise a wider range of relationships, including friends as well as kin. While friendship is a tricky social category for anthropologists to conceptualise and compare, due to its lack of formal rules, institutional structure, and social reproduction over generations, it can be comparatively analysed cross-culturally for particular patterns that tell us something about the composition and meaning of local friendships. In more settled parts of Aboriginal Australia an analysis of friendship adds to the overall study of relatedness; without it we are missing an important part of local, social life. In Peak Hill, Wiradjuri sociality includes friends and kin, and, like kin, there can be close and distant friends. Close friends become embedded in social relationships based upon mutuality, action, and shared understandings of economic and social being, where the individual asserts autonomy to reinforce relatedness among the collective. Unlike distant friends are just townspeople who may have the occasional chat down the main street or drink at the pub with Wiradjuri people, close friends participate in Wiradjuri relatedness: speaking like Wiradjuri, swearing, joking around, shaming, and, as I demonstrate in the following chapters, participation in Wiradjuri economic and social life.

Chapter 6. Turning others into kin: Changes to Wiradjuri marriage and affines

In this chapter I address the final category of relations in my examination of Wiradjuri sociality -the one of affines. Wiradjuri people create kin from the transformation of the 'other' - friends, or strangers - into spouses - kin, that takes place through marriage. Within the anthropological literature regarding relatedness in Aboriginal Australia, 'the other' is often treated as a single category. For example, Myers (1986) considered Pintupi relatedness at a time Pintupi sociality could be understood just via classificatory kinship; the Pintupi world did not contain many non-Aboriginal strangers, workmates, or friends. For Myers's model of autonomy and relatedness to be examined in the context of Peak Hill, the category of other must be reviewed in light of the inter-cultural context. In Peak Hill, the 'other,' to the Wiradjuri self, includes people of varying ethnicities - Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, and Anglo-Australian, and a range of ways in which people within ethnic groupings are classified by any given individual: consanguineal and affinal kin, close and distant kin, close and distant friends, known and unknown strangers, and potential marriage partners. In Peak Hill the category of other has transformed as the historical circumstances of Wiradjuri people have changed. In this chapter I examine this transformation of other to kin through marriage; who is classified as a potential marriage partner and how this has changed from older to younger Wiradjuri.

As Wiradjuri marriage moved from predominantly Wiradjuri endogamy to an increase in Wiradjuri exogamy/Aboriginal endogamy and the more recent - 'marrying white', different types of the 'other' become included into the category of affinal kin.

The following table illustrates a pattern of change in sociality across the cultural generations in Peak Hill.³⁰

Cultural Generation	Term	Self (individual)	Other (grouping)		
1	Older Younger	BRW	BRW/W – relations – Aff & Con	Non-A - strangers	
2		BRW	BRW/W relations – Aff & Con	A - Aff	Non-A - friends
3		BRW	BRW/W – relations - Con	A - Aff & Con	Non-A - friends & Aff

Table 2: Changes to Wiradjuri ‘others’ via marriage

This table is an illustration of my argument, representing the transformation of the other from one of kin to strangers, subsequently altering the category of marriageable others and resulting in more

³⁰ Key for the abbreviations used in the table:

BRW: Bogan River Wiradjuri

W: Wiradjuri kin network

A: Aboriginal (non-Wiradjuri)

Non-A: Non-Aboriginal (white)

Aff: Affinal

Con: Consanguineal

recent forms of affines. I argue this by examining how the category of the marriageable other has changed for older to younger Wiradjuri from a more endogamous to an exogamous rule. Today the category of potentially marriageable people is no longer just Wiradjuri, but includes Wiradjuri, non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal, and white Australian people. In my analysis, I move from regional Wiradjuri kin networks to local organisation - totemic affiliations and surnames - to show how Wiradjuri people became 'too-close' to marry, leading to an increase in other Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian marriages.

Using a case study of a young Wiradjuri mother, Annie, with an Anglo-Australian partner, I show how the relationship between non-Wiradjuri others and Wiradjuri selves differs from older Wiradjuri/Wiradjuri relationships. I draw on the example of Annie to explore some of the economic, spatial, and social complexities that arise in contemporary Wiradjuri marriages. For many younger people, marital relations have become a site of domestic moral dissonance, especially prevalent in relationships between Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian residents of Peak Hill. These inter-cultural unions highlight the ways in which the values and practices associated with autonomy and relatedness are challenged and transformed in light of changes to Wiradjuri sociality.

What Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill refer to as 'marriage' is often informal and de facto. Of a population of over three hundred people, only twenty three registered marriages were recorded in 2006 (ABS 2006 Census). Most of these are older Wiradjuri people. Younger couples are in long term de-facto relationships called being 'married our way'. Being married our way means a hetero-normative couple who live together long term and are recognised by the rest of their community as being a couple. This is different to other people who only live together short term, casually see each other, or are not together as a couple but still parent children together.

Although most spouses live together moving out of the spousal residence does not necessarily signify the end of a marriage. Moving out can be due to a range of reasons, such as a spouse finding temporary work elsewhere, a mother moving back with her consanguineal relations for help with her children or to support older kin, or the couple simply requiring some space. A marriage has ended when it is announced by either or both spouses, and when the separation is recognised by kin and friends. If a separation is not recognised by corresponding relations it means that the spouses may be having a 'time out' or be sorting out problems, but are still together.

Wiradjuri people rarely use the terms 'marriage' or 'married.' Instead people refer to their partner as, 'that's my man, over there' rather than 'I'm married to that man over there.' Or, 'meet Janice, she's my missus' rather than 'Janice and I are married.' The possessive reference to someone as their man or woman, means they are in a long term de-facto relationship.

Regional kin networks

Wiradjuri people from Peak Hill, Condobolin, Wellington and Gilgandra (PH/C/W/G), or the northern Wiradjuri, consist of kin networks which link mobs within and to the broader Wiradjuri Nation. Macdonald (1986: 197-8) classifies a kin network as a ego-centric category of consanguineal and affinal relations in which Wiradjuri people in Cowra refer to as 'my relations', 'my people', and occasionally 'my mob.' In Peak Hill the kin network is also those people referred to as 'my relations' or 'my mob' and includes all kin whom one is related to. For Wiradjuri people living in Peak Hill their kin networks include Wiradjuri kin and affines who live in places throughout New South Wales and the ACT, including Canberra and Sydney, although most members are concentrated in the river towns listed above.

The people within one's kin network include genealogically close and distant kin, as well as close and distant kin in terms of performed relatedness. Close kin who live in different towns visit each other regularly, speak on the phone, and help each other. Whereas more distant kin are known, but only seen at funerals or occasional large social events. The category of close kin is fluid and affected by individual choices made in one's life time. John has distant relations in Wellington, but when one of those Wellington families, Rose's family, moved to Peak Hill it was John's family they predominantly relied upon for economic and social support. John helped the family get settled in their new house and assisted in finding Rose a car to buy. John also took Rose under his wing, introducing her to all of his Peak Hill relatives and friends, taking her to the pub, and travelling with her family to the football, until she had formed her own social network in Peak Hill. Kin networks provide the platform for which these individual choices of who becomes close kin.

Members of the Northern Wiradjuri kin networks have a strong sense of shared history and identity, as many of them share lived or ancestral connections to Bulgandramine Mission - they are part of the Bulgandramine Mob. They are the same but different. Members of kin network are also part of other groups and groupings, such as local descent groups, place-defined mobs, and local social networks of close kin and friends. A Wiradjuri person's kin network can include members of their descent group, as well as other descent groups. This is because the northern Wiradjuri kin networks also have a long history of marriage between them. Among older Wiradjuri these kin networks consisted of close and distantly genealogically related kin, some of which were distant enough to marry. For younger Wiradjuri the northern Wiradjuri are comprised mainly of consanguineal kin - people who are too close to marry.

Wiradjuri marriage: Endogamy to exogamy

Wiradjuri marriage has changed from being primarily endogamous between the northern Wiradjuri to becoming mainly exogamous, marrying out of Wiradjuri to include a greater number of non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian spouses. The following table contains data collated from the genealogies I collected in the field. I have only included information on marriages from people I knew, either one or both spouses. Other genealogical data from more distant kin I did not meet has not been included. 'Older people' are what I have referred to above as the 'Bulgandramine generation' and only includes people who are living or recently deceased, meaning they have passed away in the last twenty to thirty years. The category of older people does not include older generations, who have all passed away prior to my fieldwork. The number of marriages is higher than the individuals, as some people have had more than one spouse.

	Wiradjuri	Non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal	Anglo- Australian	Other	Total
Older	24	9	4	3	40
Middle-aged	19	41	14	1	75
Younger	1	19	32	2	54
Total	44	69	50	6	169

Table 3 Categories of Wiradjuri affines over time

The data shows that over time Wiradjuri affines have changed from being predominantly Wiradjuri, to including a greater number of non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian affines. I now explore this pattern in more depth, with reference to the role of totemic affiliations, surnames, and family tree research.

Marrying in: Older Wiradjuri marriage

Although older Wiradjuri tended to marry other Wiradjuri people, they did not marry people within their own descent groups. Wiradjuri descent groups, such as the Keeds or Reeds, have always been exogamous although there was a broader pattern of endogamy within the northern Wiradjuri. My findings are similar to marriage patterns elsewhere in Aboriginal New South Wales. Rose (2008, 2009), using social networking mapping methods to analyse genealogical data in the central-west and western New South Wales, found descent group exogamy and endogamy at the language group level. Macdonald (1986: 228) found that in the central west of New South Wales, 80 per cent of Cowra Koori marriages over the past one hundred years were with other Wiradjuri people. Due to the earlier preference for endogamy among Wiradjuri, the contemporary Bogan River Wiradjuri are closely related to other northern Wiradjuri groups from Condobolin, Wellington and Gilgandra. Macdonald (1986: 227) states that marriages between Wiradjuri spouses reinforces belonging and subsequent rights to country, as well as exchange networks and a shared geographic and social identity. My data indicates that marriages between older Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australians was the least common type of marriages, with only four recorded locally. This is consistent with Macdonald's findings that in the 1900s there were several marriages between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri up until the World War I, but few after that (1986: 228). My data is for older Wiradjuri is post World War 1 and 2, and for the older generation of living Wiradjuri who grew up during

segregation and were physically and socially separate from the Anglo-Australian population of Peak Hill, discussed in the chapter above. In the older generation there were also a greater number of multiple marriages between families, such as siblings from one family marrying siblings from another.

The 'too close' rule: Totems and surnames

The potential affines of Wiradjuri ancestors were not simply genealogically distant kin. Wiradjuri kinship was organised into a moiety system, each of two sections, in which totemic affiliations were inherited through matrilineal descent. Totems were generally specific to a moiety, rather than sections, although there were expectations in some parts of the Wiradjuri area. As totemic affiliations were matrilineal, all of the children of one mother inherited her totemic affiliations irrespective of who the children's father or fathers were (Mathews 1897). Marriage was forbidden between two people of the same totemic grouping and totem, rather than the same section, as in elsewhere in Australia. In an analysis of Radcliffe-Brown and Mathews, Gold (2006: 65) asserted that the complex totemic system allowed for flexibility, not rigidity, in marriage choice, and marriages were arranged to solidify alliances between groups and places. This section system did not survive into the twentieth century but the avoidance of both genealogical proximity and totemic affiliation remain prohibitions, albeit very attenuated forms in comparison with the past. Many Wiradjuri families now have a tradition in which they inherit totems from both their mother and father. John knew he was kangaroo from his father and grey crane from his mother. It is unclear how, or if at all, the contemporary Wiradjuri totemic affiliations relate to the older system of totemism. The totems known today do not connect all people to each other, and are not necessarily reflective of an holistic understanding of cosmology and cosmogony. They do connect along family lines, and to certain

non-human species, but cannot be said to be a social system or known by all. Today, people of the same totemic affiliation practice a degree of exogamy, for example, John would not marry someone who was also kangaroo and grey crane. The inheritance of totemic affiliations over generations means that some mobs share totems in common with others. This leads to people calling those of that other mob 'too close' by contemporary Wiradjuri standards for them to marry into.

Surnames are also indicators of marriageable categories: people with the same surname cannot be potential or actual marriage partners because surnames signify shared ancestry - belonging to the same mob. Rose, a grandmother in her early 40s, explained,

Rose: Surnames are like clans. My surname is Smith from my father's side. My mother's surname is Jones. My surname is Wiradjuri and my mother's surname is Chinese. The rule in our family is that we can't marry anyone with the surnames Smith or Lee. I couldn't marry cousins either. My father is from Condo, my mother from Wellington but her parents – one is Chinese and her mother is born in Peak Hill. She was a Brown. So in Peak Hill I am related to everyone, and couldn't marry Towneys, Reads, Keeds, Robinsons, Dargans or Nadens.

Belinda: What happens if you did?

Rose: Well, you wouldn't. That would like incest.

Rose was unclear about what the term 'clans' meant or where it had come from, yet the way she uses the term invokes the language of discrete descent groups. Rose was clear that being in the same clan [descent group] or having the same surname prevented people from being able to marry. Among contemporary Wiradjuri, the rule about too close marriages can extend further than totemic affiliations and surnames. As emphasised by Rose, she feels she is too close to marry many of her cousins and the other descent groups in Peak Hill, although most people who fall into this category

have different surnames and/or totemic affiliations. Surnames, totems and genealogy inter-connect in defining the range of people understood as being outside a marriageable category.

Older Wiradjuri, particularly women, are able to work out quickly how people of different surnames, descent groups, totemic affiliations, or kin networks are related to themselves and their families. At large social events, such as funerals or birthday parties, older women explain to younger people how others are genealogically related and who are close and distant kin in a performative sense, transmitting the information that will enable younger people to know who they can or cannot marry. These conversations often stemmed from complaints made by older women about younger people who had 'hooked up' with people they should not have, people who were too close. According to older Wiradjuri, the problem of younger people occasionally getting together with people they should not has resulted from younger people not knowing who their kin are, at a broader, more regional level.

Many younger people who know they are not aware of their totemic affiliations or how surnames relate to each other, within the broad kin networks across the Wiradjuri region, will avoid hooking up or marrying anyone they consider might be too close, including quite distantly related kin, such as third and fourth cousins. Like their older female relations, younger Wiradjuri women spend much time discussing who is going out with whom and how they are related. For example, one evening, sitting around the fire out the back of Jackie's place, I listened to younger women discussing and joking about kin connections and marriage,

Mariah: Did you know that Lisa and Justin [teenagers] hooked up?

Melanie: Ew, they are related you know. Their grandparents are, I think, brother and sister.

Jackie: When I was younger, we would have gotten a hiding. Mum and Dad were really strict about that stuff.

Belinda: What stuff? Hooking up if your grandparents are related? That doesn't seem like a big deal.

Tamika: *Gudjue* [gross] Binna [my nickname]! You would too! [laughs].

Jackie: No, they were real strict about who you could go out with. If they said no, youse related, it meant no. You'd get a hiding if you went out anyway and they found out.

Belinda: But what's too close?

Jackie: They would work it out for you. Nan and Mum. I have to do it with my kids. When I hear they have hooked up with someone I get the kid, find out who they are, who they are related to, just to make sure.

Belinda: Are your kids hooking up? I thought they'd be too young.

Jackie: Yeah, well, you'd think so. Seems to be younger and younger these days.

Melanie: I was pretty young, fourteen or fifteen I think, when I got together with the dad of Chayanne [her daughter]. But I was a grown up kid.

Tamika: Yeah I was fifteen when I hooked up with Dwayne, pregnant by 16! Jeez, Dad was angry. Said Dwayne was too old for me! Hey, can you imagine if Jerry Springer came to town?! He'd see of all us pregnant and related to each other somewhere down the line, shame!

[Everyone laughs and begins gossiping about who would have to go on the show].

As illustrated in this conversation, there is ambiguity about what exactly constitutes someone being 'too close' to marry. Lisa and Justin were criticised for hooking up because their grandparents were related, brother and sister, and this was something that older people would have tried to prevent or disciplined them for doing so. Yet, Tamika, in reference to the Jerry Springer show coming to town, seems to suggest that anyone being related and hooking up is something shameful. This echoes Rose's comment about being related to all of the mobs in Peak Hill, and unable to marry them. Although all are Aboriginal, none of the women participating in the conversation have married into other local mobs, as their grandparents and great-grandparents did. Mariah and Melanie are sisters who came from Wilcannia (outside of the Wiradjuri area), married and had children with local

Wiradjuri men. Jackie is also from elsewhere and moved to Peak Hill years ago to marry a local Wiradjuri man. Tamika is Wiradjuri from Peak Hill and has married a local white man. There were two other girls present, Honey and Livia, who did not participate in the conversation except at the end to speak about who would have go on the Jerry Springer show. Both Honey and Livia are Wiradjuri women from Peak Hill. Honey married an Aboriginal man from the New South Wales coast and Livia is not married to or in a romantic relationship with but raises her child with his father, a white man from Dubbo.

Changes to genealogical knowledge

The too-close rule can be correlated with changes to how genealogical knowledge is understood and transmitted between older and younger Wiradjuri. There has always been a difference over any one person's life cycle: younger people are less aware than older people of how they relate to other kin around the region. A change, however, has occurring due to the increasing depth of genealogical knowledge, from the development and availability of family tree research.

In Peak Hill older women have an in-depth knowledge of kin and relations across Wiradjuri kin networks, which stretch over central New South Wales, but particularly for those of their own kin networks. As Macdonald found, 'older Wiradjuri women have been the keepers of kinship, of the domestic worlds of relatedness' (2003: 231). Older women are able to identify who are second, third, and fourth cousins, using place and ancestral connections. They hold a significant breadth of genealogical knowledge but the depth of genealogical knowledge has been shallow, typically only reflecting up to two generations - to grandparents, or, on the few occasions when great-grandparents were known, it might include them also. Their genealogical memory emphasises what Macdonald called, 'a memory of real people in real time' (2003: 235). A two-generational memory has been

commonly reported across Aboriginal Australia beyond which there were un-named ‘ancestors.’

This has changed considerably in recent years, under the influence of native title, which require that people are able to assert rights in terms of ancestry, hence requiring a genealogical depth previously not as culturally important.

The genealogical knowledge of middle-aged Wiradjuri is now much deeper than that of older people. Many can speak of ancestors who stretch back over five or six generations. The reasons for this include the increased availability and popularity of online family tree research as well as political and legal factors, such as the requirements of native title claimants.

The advent of online family tree research and publicly available, affordable genealogical database software has seen a marked increase in family tree research in Peak Hill. I lost count of how many times people asked me for their family trees or to help them get more genealogical information from online sites, or organisations, such as Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). Many middle-aged Wiradjuri women who have researched their family trees have added genealogical depth to their knowledge, often as far back as five or six generations.

This information is rarely stored in memory or transmitted orally: it is a transformed cultural tradition in this respect. The information is recorded on paper and shared through the exchange of texts: computer print outs of family tree diagrams, hand written lists of names with dates, and photocopies of historical and archival documents, such as school or housing lists. These new activities correspond to the use of Wiradjuri family photo collections: Macdonald (2003: 35-6) found that photos extended sociality and became a form of local as well as family history in the absence of written histories. Likewise, genealogical documents today reveal past genealogical connections and this knowledge is shared with others and is becoming part of local social reproduction. Photos can

capture moments of performative kinship, especially when they depict clusters of people in one image. Family tree documents also demonstrate connections but in a different way. Genealogies are dynamic: they are shaped according to the ways in which people want to tell their story. A name will be left off, a father changed, or small details manipulated to represent or deny relatedness. Yet, as family trees are now often constructed with computer software, and referenced with legal records such as birth and death certificates, they are also less amenable to modification and more likely to cause consternation and conflict. New realities of relatedness are created when family history is concretised.

I mentioned above that genealogical research and knowledge has intensified with the demands of native title from the 1990s. The Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill made an early claim for native title in 1995. In making a claim, connections to land have to be demonstrated back to the British assumption of sovereignty, symbolically 1788. This primarily established through the compilation of genealogies to be able to link ancestors to places. Identifying ones 'apical ancestor' the oldest ancestor who can be documented in the area of a claim, to whom one can trace connection – has become important. This can mean the scouring by a native title professional of early ethnographic publications, government records or lists of pastoral station employees, or other documents buried in the archives. In addition, genealogies have been requested from native title professionals and representative bodies by Wiradjuri, and then shared amongst relations. As new genealogical links come to light, people are able to trace their family trees further and further back. This means that older kin connections which would have been forgotten in the past are now known. This leads to a range of emotive responses, from excitement, belonging, and joy, to anger, hurt, and shame, depending on the nature of the genealogical connection.

Younger people who are yet to do their own family tree research typically have a shallow genealogical knowledge, although this will no doubt change for many as they get older. By the same token, the breadth of kinship knowledge among younger people is almost as vast as their older female relatives, most likely due to increased regional mobility and online networking, such as Facebook.

The too close rule has been adapted by younger people to take into account the deep genealogical knowledge of their parents and the broader understanding of kinship connections, known by both their parents and themselves. This means that the present day descendants of ancestors who are recorded as related on print outs of families trees are thought of as being too-close to marry, regardless of how distantly related they are genealogically. Consequently, the category of 'Wiradjuri kin' who are unmarriageable has become more extensive for younger compared to older people.

Marrying out: Younger Wiradjuri marriage

The expansion of the too-close rule has meant that younger Wiradjuri choose to marry out of Wiradjuri kin networks. A move from a preference for Wiradjuri endogamy to that of exogamy has meant that many middle-aged and younger Wiradjuri have chosen to marry non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. This is partially consistent with Peterson and Taylor's (2002) statistical findings on 1990s marriages from western New South Wales. Using the 1996 census data, they found that 43% of 1,051 Indigenous families involved a legal or de-facto union between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (2002: 12). The generations included in Peterson and Taylor's research would include both the middle and younger generations. My research illustrates a preference for marriage to a non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal partner among the middle generation, while only the youngest generation demonstrated a marriage preference for non-Aboriginal partners.

Among middle-aged Wiradjuri, marriage to other non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal people was more common than marrying Anglo-Australians, 41 compared to 14 respective marriages recorded in Table 3 . In Peak Hill, marriages have occurred between local Wiradjuri and Aboriginal people from places outside of Wiradjuri country, such as further west from Wilcannia and Bourke, from the north eastern coast of New South Wales of southern Queensland, or south from Canberra. There are few Aboriginal affines from further afield, such as Alice Springs: most are from the New South Wales or southern Queensland.

These marriages can be challenging for both spouses. If both partners are Aboriginal, they will each have an extensive network of kin. They are expected to continue with the economic, social and emotional obligations of relatedness to their consanguineal kin even when married. If their respective relations do not live in the same place, which is common, each spouse will find themselves having to divide their time between consanguineal and affinal relations, who may live hundreds of kilometres apart. Difficult choices have to be made, such as where to live, where to visit during school holidays, such as who to spend with Christmas with, and how many social events and ceremonies can be attended, whilst maintaining the everyday pressures of home life, such as employment and school for the children. Macdonald (1986: 235) found that among Wiradjuri in Cowra there were often choices to be made between consanguineal and affinal kin obligations. While there are no rules regarding these choices - and they are generally made ad hoc - often consanguineal kin relationships take precedence over affinal ones, typical of people living within a kin-based domain.

Marriages to Anglo-Australians has changed from the least common type of marriage to one of the most frequent when older and younger unions are compared, 4 compared to 32 in Table 3. Older

Wiradjuri rarely married white people, although such unions were more common amongst their ancestors. Middle aged Wiradjuri in Peak Hill did not often marry white people. I found 14 of Wiradjuri/white unions, although only three of those unions are current. Alternatively, marrying white people has become a common preference among younger people, who feel they are too closely related to any local Wiradjuri people.

Social and emotional complexities of Wiradjuri/White marriages

Marriages between Wiradjuri and white people are fraught with difficulties and do not always last. I discuss differences of Wiradjuri and white notions of relatedness within such marriages to examine some of the difficulties younger Wiradjuri face by 'marrying white', as it is referred to.

Case study: Being a wife, being a mother

The following story illustrates the journey of a friend of mine, Annie, a young Wiradjuri woman who, during the course of my fieldwork, tackled some of the difficulties of marrying and becoming a parent with local white man, at quite a young age.

Annie is pregnant with her first child. She is 16 years old but will be 17 when the child is born. Her parents are worried because she is so young; too young, they claim, to start a family. They would have preferred Annie to stay in school and have her children later. Annie's parents also worry about her boyfriend, the father of the unborn child. They believe he is too old for her, as he is in his mid 20s. They are also worried about how he will fit into the family. He is not Wiradjuri but a white man, who moved to town from the city some time ago. Annie is not worried; she loves him and is happy. She explained to me that most of her friends have white boyfriends. She says that because she is related to all of the Koori boys in town, she had to look elsewhere, so she did.

Annie is excited about having her first child. At first she wondered whether to have the baby. She had been partying a lot and dropped out of school during Year 10, but had plans to return soon. She was worried about whether having the baby would mean she won't ever go back to school. After a few weeks of worry and mixed emotions, Annie is enjoying her pregnancy. She is visited by many of her female relations, and they spend hours talking about pregnancy, the birth and looking after infants. She visits Parkes and excitedly picks out baby

clothes from Big-W. She resists buying pink, although she is hoping her first child will be a daughter. She comes over to where I am staying and frequently raids our fridge for food, because now she is "eating for two." Her pregnancy runs smoothly and without any health concerns. We hold a baby shower, which is uncommon in Peak Hill. Annie's grandmother shakes her head, laughing, at the fuss of the baby shower. She sits quietly in the corner and when I ask her if she is enjoying herself, she replies, "Oh darl, it's good to see Annie so happy but I don't know about all of this. It's a bit much isn't it? This must be a new trend from the city." Annie's mother, on the other hand, is in her element, possibly more excited than Annie, as they open presents and discuss what Annie can expect when she becomes a new mother.

Closer to the time of the birth Annie moves from sharing a room with her husband at her mother-in-law's house to back in with her parents. She would like to have the baby in Peak Hill but the hospital here is not equipped for births and she has to go to Dubbo Base Hospital for the birth, 70kms away. After a long and difficult labour, Annie gives birth to a healthy baby boy. At first she is overwhelmed and upset; exhausted by the birth. Her mother, aunties and grandmother are all there to help her. More relations come by to visit during the five day period she spends recovering in hospital. Slowly Annie gains more confidence and begins motherhood. She chooses not to breastfeed but to use formula instead. Her older relations do not like this, but they accept that is her choice and do not press her.

In the initial months after the birth Annie and her partner live with her parents. She has many visitors, especially her grandmother, aunties, and older cousins. She is always with older relations and Annie enjoys this stage of motherhood. After a couple of months, Annie's partner is tired of living with her family and insists they must move out and get a place of their own. Annie is both excited and reluctant about this idea. On the one hand, Annie spends much time talking about her dream house; she wants a small new home, like a new unit, where everything is 'fresh and clean.' She talks about what it would look like, what furniture she would get, how she will decorate her new home. Annie highlights all the things she would buy for herself; the importance of having her 'own' things. During the moments

of making plans, Annie emphasises her autonomy and desire to leave with her husband and create some distance between them as a couple and her relations. On the other hand, Annie is reluctant. She is worried about what she will do during the day when her partner is at work. Her relations explain that she will be so busy looking after her son, cleaning, washing and cooking that she will not have any time to worry about that. Annie screws up her face and replies, 'I won't be cooking. He [partner] can do that when he gets home from work. I don't know how to cook and I don't want to know.' Annie's relations, especially her Mum, explains that they will be over all the time to help her. Her desires are in conflict: on one hand she wants to be separate from her family yet on the other she wants them close by and to be part of her daily life.

Annie and her partner find a cheaper alternative to her dream house: an old, two bedroom rental cottage located on the same street as her parents. For a while this works well. They have the privacy they require and Annie has lots of visitors during the day, particularly her mother, who continues to carry out most of the everyday tasks of looking after the baby: feeding, washing, and playing. They are not quite as autonomous as perhaps her partner thought they would be. The house is cold and only has one fireplace for heating. In the middle of winter with a newborn baby this means the fire has to be constantly lit and Annie is reliant on her father and cousins to get her firewood, while her partner is working. When it gets too cold, she leaves and takes her baby back to her parent's home down the road, which is better heated.

Annie could not afford to have her dream house, but she makes sure her son has the perfect bedroom. She spends her baby bonus and other payments on beautiful things for her young son. His room is decorated with everything 'Elmo' from Sesame Street, he has a racing car bed for when he is a bit older, along with plenty of new, fashionable clothes and lots of toys. Annie's white mother-in-law complains to me that Annie's spending is a waste of money that they don't have enough of and she should be more sensible. Annie's family approve of her spending and praise her for looking after her baby and giving him such nice things. When they smile at her and say, 'Look at you, spoiling him proper!' it is a compliment, not a complaint.

Nevertheless, Annie and her husband feel the strain of becoming new parents and struggling financially. One night, when the baby is staying with Annie's mother, they have a loud fight and the police are called. No charges are laid, but a window is broken and the back door is damaged during the fight. The real estate agent informs Annie and her husband that they must fix the damage immediately or they will be evicted. They are able to fix the window, but cannot yet afford to fix the door. This, on top of some late rental payments, is enough for their eviction. They are given two weeks' notice to move.

Annie is upset about moving. This house was perfect for her because it was so close to her mother and as well as her cousin and close friend, who are both pregnant with their first child. Her husband is happy to move as he wants to find somewhere closer to his work, which is in another town. After a time of staying with his mother, Annie and her husband move into another house in the town where her husband works. Annie is terribly lonely being away from Peak Hill. The place she is living in does not have many of her relations there, as in Peak Hill, Wellington, or Condobolin. There are no close kin to visit her regularly and she is left alone with the baby during the day. She had never been by herself before, she has always been surrounded by relations and friends. She is frightened of being alone and especially of being alone with her baby, because up until then, her mother - the child's grandmother - had been looking after the baby a lot. I speak with her mother and father who are unhappy about her living further away, but they are also trying to give her space to find her feet with her husband, who has made it clear that he doesn't want them around all of the time. Annie is dreadfully lonely and becomes sad and depressed. Her Aunty takes her to the hospital and the doctor quickly prescribes sleeping tablets and anti-depressants. The drugs remained unopened in a box on her bench, as Annie is too frightened to take them. She has never taken any pharmaceutical drug other than Panadol before and is concerned, 'I'm too scared to take them, cos what if they knock me out so much I can't hear son when he is crying?' Annie does not take them. Instead she begs people to come and visit her as she doesn't have a car, nor a license to drive and visit people herself. She makes demands on her relations to visit, such as 'You're my cousin and you never come and see me anymore!' To which the cousin replied, 'I'm sorry, I'm just busy with my kids and stuff.' Annie laughed

and said, 'That's ok, come and stay with me for a couple of nights, with the kids, and I'll forgive you.'

After a while, Annie's excuses for visitors become more elaborate. She calls up her mother and other close, female relations, saying that she thinks her baby is sick. I drive her mother and aunty over to her place, well over the speed limit, but upon our arrival Annie reassures us that it is ok, the baby has since gotten better again. She follows this with an invitation to stay the night, since we have driven over. It dawns on me and her mother as we look at the healthy, fat, little baby boy, fast asleep in his crib, that perhaps he was never sick in the first place, perhaps it is Annie who is unwell: lonely and sad.

Annie's mother wants Annie to move back home where she can look after her and the baby. Annie's husband disagrees with this and questions Annie about why she can't just be a 'normal' wife and mother, one who is happy to stay at home, looking after their son and the house, and making dinner. Annie agrees and remains living with her husband. She still seems lonely and depressed. Her relations begin to visit her less often but make it very clear that they are there for Annie to go to them. Her stress is confounded when her baby does fall very ill. After a short stay in Dubbo hospital her baby must be flown to the hospital in Sydney. Annie has never been on an airplane before and is petrified. She is also stressed about going to Sydney by herself; something else she has never done before. She begs the pilot of the medical plane to take her mother or one of her aunts as well but he refuses, unfortunately the rule is that only the patient [baby] and one other can fly. She begs her mother or aunt to go instead and she will get her father to drive her to Sydney and meet them there. Her mother and older aunt agree this will be the best option, considering the state she is in. This time the hospital staff refuse as their policy is that only the child's mother, father, or legal guardian, can travel with the child. Annie relents, gets onto the plane, pale, shaking and crying, and flies to Sydney. Her family follow suit in cars. Later that night she is proud as she recaps to me on the phone about what happened in the plane and hospital; how she got over her fear of flying and looked after her baby even though she was so frightened.

Her baby recovers and Annie moves back into Peak Hill with her partner, when he loses his job. She alternates between her mother-in-law's house which she doesn't like because it is overcrowded with her husband's family, her grandmother's and her mother's house. She also spends time with aunts and cousins. Annie is no longer depressed, or as lonely, though she is having problems with her husband. He has lost his job and is at home with Annie most of the time. Some of their fights have been about how involved her relations are with the raising of their child. Sometimes the fights are more typical of young adults, signifying their frustration at not being able to go out and party with their friends. Annie wants to have a night out drinking with some of her friends. Her husband doesn't think this is a good idea, he thinks Annie should concentrate on being a mother, rather than going out drinking. Sometimes they fight at home, but sometimes in public. Twice the police are called by their white neighbours and once her partner is placed in the local lock up. After the second police visit, Annie is approached by the Department of Community Services (DOCS) the next day and questioned about how the baby was being looked after during the fight. Even though the baby was being looked after by Annie's mother-in-law where they are staying, she is given her first warning by DOCS. Annie is furious but does not know who reported them. When she finds out a white neighbour was responsible, Annie threatens the woman with physical violence one night. As a result of this, the police and DOCS are called again. Annie is warned by DOCS that if they are continually called out they will have to take further action. Annie is frightened her baby will be taken away, which happened to two of her cousins. She doesn't understand why this is happening. She takes care of her baby and always leaves him with close relations if she is going out. She says to me, 'I feel real happy with how I look after son, after all the problems, but now it's all good. But then those arseholes [DOCS] come over and make me feel like I'm doing it all wrong, like I failed, like I'm a bad mother.'

Financial hardship within younger marriages

One of the underlying difficulties for Annie and her husband was their financial status. When Annie's husband was employed as a labourer they had to rely upon his low income and her Centrelink payments. At that time Annie was using the single mother's Centrelink pension, which

was \$330 a week. When he first lost his job, they were both able to live on Centrelink payments. They had a combined income of \$570 per week. After a while, her partner was no longer eligible for Centrelink, because he did not take up work offers in other neighbouring towns. They could not live on just one Centrelink payment of \$330 a week and had to reside at his or her parents' houses, which did not work for either Annie or her partner. Due to the lack of available employment options in Peak Hill, Annie and her husband could not afford local housing. They could not afford the larger more expensive houses located closer to her family and had to reside in smaller, subsidised houses in other towns, or live with relatives. Since the completion of my fieldwork, Annie and her husband still do not have enough money to buy a house and have moved around in different rental properties. Sometimes the moves have been because of problems reported by neighbours concerning fighting and noise, whereas other times it is due to the proximity to Annie's relations as her and her partner continually negotiate the role of her kin in their marriage and parenting.

The experience of Annie and her husband represents the broader situation in Peak Hill. Nearly all Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill rent, rather than purchase homes. Local ABS data indicates home ownership is much higher for white, rather than Aboriginal people. For white people living in Peak Hill, 44% own their house outright, 19% own their house with a mortgage, and 29% rent. For Aboriginal people, only 14% own their house outright, 15% own their house with a mortgage, and a much higher 60% of people rent (ABS online data: 2011). I was only aware of four Wiradjuri people who owned their own home, everyone else was renting, including both private and government housing rentals.

In contrast, Peterson and Taylor found that statistically in western New South Wales,

People in mixed marriages are economically better off, as measured by selected conventional social indicators, than those in marriages where both partners are Indigenous, especially in regard to home ownership and purchase (2002: 11).

In Peak Hill only one of the four people I knew who owned houses had a white spouse, although they later separated and the house remained with the Aboriginal spouse. Other Wiradjuri people with white affines rent houses or live with close relations, such as Annie and her husband.

There are no other socio-economic indicators in Peak Hill that suggest Wiradjuri people with a white spouse are economically better off. The economic status of married Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill does not correlate with ethnicity, rather it points to couples with long term, consistent employment histories. There are more Wiradjuri/Wiradjuri than Wiradjuri/white married couples who fit into this category, due to the availability of employment in the Aboriginal services sector, particularly for Wiradjuri women working in health and education. Peterson and Taylor's findings do not take the impact of employment or class into their analysis. In Peak Hill, nearly all non-kin relatedness occurs within the same class; it is the site of friendships and romances with white people. Since most Wiradjuri are located within the lower socio-economic class, consequently many marriages occur between people within this class. Put simply, struggling Wiradjuri people are not marrying rich middle class people, they are marrying people who are struggling financially like themselves.

Residence: Extended to nuclear households

A main point of conflict for Annie and her partner was residence - whether they would live in their own house as a nuclear family or with Annie's relations, as an extended household. Annie and her partner sometimes lived in a 'nuclear' family household and sometimes they lived with relations.

Other young couples, both Wiradjuri/Aboriginal and Wiradjuri/white, followed a similar pattern,

sometimes living at home, usually with Wiradjuri relations, or sometimes renting their own place. When Annie lived in her own house in Peak Hill, she often had other relations staying with her, such as her mother, aunts, and cousins. According to Beckett (1988: 126-7) in western New South Wales, it was common for younger women to remain living in or near their natal homes, due to the close relationship between mothers and their children.

In terms of stability and sentiment, the relationship between mother and children is by far the strongest. Women scarcely ever desert their children, and most never leave home at all... The bond is continued in later life, and old women, whose children have grown up, spend their lives visiting one another, including those who have gone to reside elsewhere. Once widowed, they move in with a son or daughter and often exercise considerable authority over the next generation (Beckett 1988c: 127).

Although relatedness has changed in Peak Hill from the time of Beckett's fieldwork in the mid twentieth century, the close relationship between mother and child is apparent in the case study. Annie prefers to live in her mother's house, where her mother can provide her with the logistical, emotional, and social support that is the norm. This does not suit her white partner, who prefers to live without other relations, in a house of their own. As a result of their differences, Annie and her husband divide their time between both types of living.

On the surface it appears that each Wiradjuri house only contains members of the nuclear family, meaning the parents and children. Macdonald (1996) observed that Aboriginal people in Peak Hill live in nuclear family clusters in their own households, which is born out of the 2006 ABS Census Data. On closer inspection, this is not the case, at least it is not 'living' in a white Australian sense of the term where the immediate parents and children live alone, with their own resources, with only occasional visits by grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins and friends.

I observed, at any one time, how dwellings that apparently housed a nuclear family (parents and children) were in practice being occupied by other close relations. Roger, an older Wiradjuri man, lives in a three bedroom house, which he rents. Living with him were: his teenage son, adult son, his son's white girlfriend and their baby, his teenage daughter, her aboriginal boyfriend and their baby, his nephew, and grand nephew. His ex-wife and brother stay with him regularly, meaning during some periods there were twelve people to this household. A middle-aged Wiradjuri woman lives in a three bedroom house with her three children. She regularly has her mother, aunty, two sisters, five nephews and nieces, and friends of her own children staying in the house with her. During the school holidays she has up to thirteen people staying with her. As school holidays take up a quarter of a year, this is significant to the notion of a household. These relations were residing permanently or temporarily. Visits could last from a weekend, during school holidays to months or years at a time. The number of relations present in residences increased dramatically during funeral periods, which can last for weeks, as well as during school holidays, particularly at Easter and Christmas times. During these times other houses are vacated as people move around to be with kin and it became common to see eight or more people residing in two or three bedroom homes. Although ABS statistics provide a statistical picture of nuclear households, this is rarely Wiradjuri practice.

Peterson and Taylor (2002: 14) recorded that 10 per cent of Indigenous dwellings contain more than one family, compared to only two per cent of mixed households. This indicates that Aboriginal people who have white spouses are more likely to live in nuclear, rather than extended, households. The idea of a nuclear family is more of an ideal than normal practice; it represents change among younger people who have been influenced by the nation-wide push for Aboriginal people to own homes and live in nuclear families. Annie was influenced by her partner, but also her own desire to have a place of 'her own'. She placed great significance on having her own things. She did not want

second hand furniture and cast off baby clothes from her relations, but preferred to buy new items, usually acquired on lay-by and financed by loans, resulting in Annie and her spouse getting into debt.³¹

Annie's case is not unique. Younger people, more generally, search for a new place for their growing nuclear family, usually after the birth of their first child. When they find a place, much excitement ensues, with regular conversations, texts, and Facebook updates about their new home. Like Annie, money is spent perfecting their homes, particularly on buying furniture, electronics, and general household goods. During this time, younger people emphasise their autonomy and desire to create distance between them and their relations. Once they have moved in and the excitement, along with continual visits from relations, has wound down, problems surface. Wiradjuri people, such as Annie, are not used to being alone. This is mainly a problem for younger Wiradjuri women who are expected to stay at home, looking after their young children and the house, whilst their partners are at work or out and about. Younger women, such as Annie, miss the feelings and experiences of

³¹ Like many younger people, Annie frequently relies upon other financial assistance to supplement her meagre Centrelink payments. Most of these options, such as on the spot credit cards and interest free loans for household furniture and appliances, result in people being in debt for longer periods. But they are instant and available to pensioners, when many other options are not. During my fieldwork, I frequently drove excited young people from Peak Hill to Dubbo, to get loans from the Cash Stop, attached to the pawn stop. The Cash Stop is a loan shop, offering on the spot, pay day loans from between \$500 to \$2000. If the loan is paid back in full by the next payday the interest remains low. If the loan is not paid back the interest grows substantially and quickly, up to 48% where the rate is legally capped in New South Wales. For example, Annie had previously gotten a \$500 loan, but was able to pay it back in time and had to pay an additional \$150, almost 30% interest. Annie had also used another type of cash loan from the same place, where she was loaned \$1000. The conditions of this loan were that she had a month to repay \$1500 back. This is an interest loan of the full 48% along with brokerage fees. Annie was on the single mother's pension from Centrelink, which at the time of my fieldwork was around \$660 fortnightly. Needless to say she was not able to pay back the full amount in time and charged additional fees.

relatedness they are used to and can become lonely, sad, and, in some cases, depressed. To avoid these negative feelings, Wiradjuri women open their homes to relations and friends, and call around for people to come and visit or stay. In this case, as illustrated by Annie, it becomes apparent that the push for nuclear housing as part of the assimilation project in New South Wales (and Australia more generally) has resulted in conflicting desires amongst younger people. On one hand, they want to live alone in nuclear households, yet on the other, they do not want to *be* alone.

Negotiating cultural and moral differences of relatedness

In many cases of Wiradjuri/white marriages these conflicting desires create friction. Often the white spouse has little patience for extensive and demanding Wiradjuri practices of sociality. Both spouses are embedded within the network of close relations of the Wiradjuri spouse; both partners are expected to live up to the emotional, social, and economic demands of what it means to be related Wiradjuri-way.

These difficulties are not restricted to a particular gender: both white male and female spouses struggle with the social and emotional demands of their Wiradjuri wives or husbands. In Annie's story, conflicts between the wife and husband are caused by cultural differences, in particular her close relationships with her older, female relations, specifically her mother. This is not restricted to Wiradjuri women married to Anglo-Australian men, Wiradjuri men also experience cultural challenges in relationships with white women. According to John, in reference to his male (Wiradjuri) cousin who recently broke up with his female white spouse, 'White people can't handle Aboriginal family ways, the family politics.' His reference to family politics is to the intense economic, social, and emotional relationships shared with close relations. Macdonald argued that 'consanguineal kin responsibilities take precedence over affinal ones, which places pressure on

spouses' (Macdonald 1996: 111). This creates even more friction when the spouse is non-Aboriginal and does not have the equivalent relationships, responsibilities, and expectations within their own extended families.

To unpack what Aboriginal family politics meant I spoke candidly with Joan, a white woman who was married to a Wiradjuri man for many years. Joan did not wish for our conversations to be recorded as they were often highly personal and emotionally charged. Instead she has allowed me to speak of some of the issues she experienced more generally. Joan found the biggest difficulty in her marriage was the constant pressure to socialise and to have her house always open to relations and friends. She often felt resentment at always having to provide people with accommodation, food, and whatever else was demanded of her, often at short notice. Joan preferred to spend time at home with her immediate family - her spouse and children - and did not enjoy travelling around the region, visiting members of her husband's kin network. She resented the times when her partner travelled away with relations for days, or weeks at a time, without her, even though she preferred not to go with him. These trips were often spontaneous and of an irregular nature; she would not necessarily know when her husband would be leaving or coming home. She tried to encourage a more regular everyday schedule, pushing her husband to work more regular hours like her. Alternatively, her husband explained that he enjoyed working but approached employment more seasonally. He was happiest when he worked hard for a bit and then took a substantial break from employment to spend time with his relations and 'enjoy life.' Her husband did not mind an irregular income because he was used to relying upon his relations when there were financial shortages. On the other hand, Joan did not find this satisfactory and wished for a regular income.

These differences are not just personality traits or individual variations. They are fundamental cultural differences about what it means to be a Wiradjuri wife or husband, compared to Anglo understandings of this role. In this example it was Joan who was expected to change, to adapt her ways of being a wife in line with the expectations of her Wiradjuri affines, a usual expectation made on white spouses married to people located within Wiradjuri sociality and social life. I did not observe, nor was ever told about a single occurrence of the reverse: where a Wiradjuri person had left their relations and Wiradjuri way of life to move to the white social world in Peak Hill.

Sometimes, as in the case of younger people such as Annie, there is a temporary shift where Wiradjuri spouses immerse themselves into the social and cultural world of their spouse. This shift is usually short lived as Wiradjuri spouses find themselves isolated from relations, lonely and sad like Annie.

Changes to Wiradjuri sociality, such as the increase of white affines, has a moral dimension. To highlight some of the pressures of competing moral demands of the inter-cultural domain, I return to Annie. Her husband, like Joan, did not understand why Annie preferred to remain spatially, socially and emotionally close to her relations. He did not understand why she did not enjoy staying at home with their baby by herself, but preferred to spend her days receiving visitors or visiting. Annie, like her older cousins, aunties, and mother before her, expected to share the duties of parenting her child with her close, older female relations and friends. For Annie, having other relations to look after her baby is a regular and important part of both parenting and the child's socialisation. But her husband interpreted this as either Annie not looking after her baby properly or her relations interfering too much. These differences caused simmering tension in their relationship, sometimes erupting to the surface in volatile arguments and fights and also increasing Annie's loneliness and depression when she tried to change her ways to suit her husband. During these

times, of depression, fights and their aftermath, sometimes involving the police and DOCS, Annie said she felt like she had failed as a wife and a mother. This idea of failure is the result of the living with the disjunction between two different moralities. Unless one person changes their moral values, they remain in a place of dissonance and constant negotiation.

Conclusion

In my examination of differences to the way Wiradjuri selves engage with non-Wiradjuri others, I have been looking at the ways both Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri are classified and how they perform relationships. I have argued that the concept of relatedness, in contrast to the more limiting one of kinship, can better account for those differences in the composition of contemporary Wiradjuri relationships in daily social life.

I have used a comparison between older and younger Wiradjuri through the medium of marriage to demonstrate how the category of ‘other,’ as potential spouses, has also changed. It has expanded from Wiradjuri kin - genealogically distant Wiradjuri - to non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian others. These others, sometimes first strangers, sometimes friends, become affinal relations and this results in meeting and disjunction of two different types of relatedness and being.

I illustrate the complexity in ways of being a ‘relation’, a husband, wife, or parent, within the inter-cultural domains of younger couples. An affine today is not necessarily a typical relation, because of the cultural and moral variation between some spouses, such as different understandings and expectations of where to live, who to live with, the significance of employment, how much time one should spend socialising, and the role relations have in the lives of spouses, particularly with the parenting of children. Due to the personal, and socially and spatially close nature of a relationship, such as the one between spouses, fundamental emotional and moral dissonance rises to the surface more frequently, than in other relationships, such as friendships. Subsequently, the junction of both

shared and unshared ways of being means relatedness takes on mutual and dual meanings, which can be complimentary or conflicting.

Chapter 7. 'Looking after' each other: Contemporary Wiradjuri sharing

In Peak Hill, a 'good' Wiradjuri person is someone who is 'sharing', 'caring', 'generous' and one who 'looks after' their relations and friends. This was explained in opposition to a 'bad' person, meaning someone who is 'stingy', 'impatient', 'mean' and doesn't 'look after' anyone. On the surface, these terms appear general and universal; people generally value those who are generous in opposition to stingy. Yet these terms are embedded with cultural values about what it means to be 'sharing', 'caring' and to 'look after' each other; what it means to *be* Wiradjuri in daily life.

The English expression 'caring and sharing' is a glossy, ambiguous expression which raises general notions of being a generous person. In English, the word 'sharing' denotes mutual ownership or use of an object or service. For example, if someone offered another to share their drink, the other would understand that the drink belongs to both people, most likely half each. For Wiradjuri, sharing has a different meaning. It does not mean objects, goods or services are automatically shared and that it has nothing to do with ideas about communal ownership, contrary to popular belief by local Anglo-Australian townspeople. Instead, sharing means that each individual, with their individual possessions, are willing to participate in a system of economic, social and emotional exchange, where one frequently offers, gives and is open to demands of one's self and possessions. Sharing is a practice which maintains the balance between autonomy and relatedness. Highlighted by both Myers (1976: 523-4) and Macdonald (1986: 325), sharing maintains this balance by keeping things 'square' or 'even.' I witnessed the importance placed on keeping things 'square' or 'even' in Peak Hill on numerous occasions. For example, I purchased some alcohol for a Wiradjuri man who lived a few houses down when he didn't have any money to buy some. Weeks later he supplied me

with some emu eggs I had been asking for and promptly said, ‘See we are even now.’ Sharing, as a form of looking after, is a way of asserting one’s autonomy by inclusion in social relations.

Sharing as a cultural practice in Aboriginal Australia has been examined in earlier anthropological literature by the likes of Myers (1976, 1986), Sansom (1980, 1988), and Macdonald (1986). More recently, building on previous accounts of sharing, Peterson (1993) coined the term ‘demand-sharing.’ Peterson (1993: 861) described demand-sharing as a form of delayed-return, reciprocal gift exchange where the onus is on others to demand or take, rather than to give (Peterson 1993: 861). Since the publication of Peterson’s (1993) seminal article on demand-sharing in Aboriginal Australia, demand-sharing has become common in Australian anthropological literature. I use the term ‘contemporary Wiradjuri sharing’ to distinguish between an older system of demand-sharing and one that includes additional types of forms of sharing, including giving, swapping, and buying and selling. Contemporary Wiradjuri sharing is an extension of demand-sharing, an economic system defined by Macdonald (2000: 90) as ‘a system of social relationships in which goods and services are circulated.’ Through my examination of Wiradjuri sharing practices, I argue that all forms of Wiradjuri sharing are based upon values of autonomy, relatedness and looking after, of what it means to be a Wiradjuri person and related to others. Below I illustrate how social practices of contemporary sharing maintain and reproduce a hierarchy of relations, a distinction between close relations and distant kin, and feelings of happiness and belonging.

Classifying contemporary Wiradjuri sharing

Contemporary Wiradjuri sharing is based upon principles of general reciprocity and maintaining relatedness, expressed by Wiradjuri as ‘sharing and caring’ or ‘looking after’ each other.

Contemporary Wiradjuri sharing is not just demand-sharing; it includes different forms of transactions. In this context a transaction means the instance or event where goods or services were exchanged, whether from demand-sharing, swapping, or a sale. At two points in my fieldwork, in the summer of 2010 and winter of 2011, I spent four days - Tuesday to Friday - recording the number and types of exchanges occurring within my household. I did this by staying at home and observing each transaction between residents and visitors during the day and evening, including our neighbours who are frequent visitors. On the Friday of each occasion I also recorded night time interactions.

I recorded transactions concerning goods, such as food items, cigarettes, tools, clothes, and easily identifiable services, such as mowing lawns, collecting and/or chopping firewood, lifts in the car, or baby-sitting. I call these economic transactions because the focus of the transaction is about a particular good or service. By using the term ‘economic’ I am not overlooking the overall focus of all Wiradjuri sharing, which is to maintain relatedness, rather I use the term to differentiate between other types of sharing, where the focus is predominantly emotional or social.³² I did not record services or exchanges that were murky in terms of definition, therefore tricky to classify. For

³² I also found that economic exchange and sharing social or emotional ways of being were not exclusive, and I discuss this later in the chapter.

example, requests for company, often expressed as demands, such as, 'Come over my place and watch this movie with me' or 'I feel growly, come see me' were not recorded because at the time I was not clear the role of these emotional and social requests in the system of contemporary Wiradjuri sharing.³³ In retrospect, I now see this as problematic because social and emotional forms of sharing are an important part of daily life in Peak Hill and, in future, I would attempt to capture these exchanges, although collecting such data would be difficult to interpret, obtain and measure. I also did not record instances of avoidance during this exercise.³⁴

The following table includes the types, number, and percentage of transactions I recorded.

Types of transactions	Number of instances	Percentage
Verbal demanding (asking)	41	46.7
Non-verbal demanding (taking)	8	9
Verbal offers to give	10	11.3
Non-verbal giving	24	27.3
Swapping	3	3.4
Buying/selling	2	2.3
	Total: 88	Total: 100

Table 4: Types of transactions in contemporary Wiradjuri exchange

³³ Growly is a word used by Wiradjuri to mean grumpy, angry, cranky, or, less commonly, sad.

³⁴ I do not have any statistical data on avoidance but I collected data on avoidance from participant observation and conversations during my fieldwork more generally. This is included in the demand-sharing section of the chapter.

The people involved in the transactions recorded in the table are mainly kin, consanguineal and affinal, and friends. Due to the low number of instances, only 88, the information alone is problematic as a representative, statistical sample. Table 4 does indicate the complexity of contemporary Wiradjuri sharing, which consists of different types of transactions and interactions.

The data illustrated in Table 4 shows that demand-sharing is only one type of Wiradjuri sharing, albeit the most common one - 55.7% of transactions. The second most common type of Wiradjuri sharing is giving, both verbal and non-verbal offers or gifts, - 38.6% of transactions. This number is relatively high. Swapping and buying and selling are the least common forms of transactions - 3.4% and 2.3% respectively - but they do occur. All of these transactions occur in ways which are embedded with Wiradjuri values about relationships and looking after between kin and friends.

Demand-sharing

Peterson (1993), on the basis of a review of literature about giving, sharing, and generosity, used the term 'demand-sharing' to describe the distinctiveness of Aboriginal practices from other forms of gift exchange. Demand-sharing is quoted as stemming from Polanyi's notion of reciprocity (Keen 2010: 4-5). Although this is not entirely correct, as Polanyi was referring to a centralised system of redistribution, such as one where head men or lords redistribute products (Polanyi 1944: 48-9).

Demand-sharing is reciprocal, but it is a delayed return form of reciprocal gift exchange where the onus is on others to take, rather than to give (Peterson 1993: 861). Peterson, using evidence from mainly Australia, contrasted demand-sharing to 'generosity' or 'unsolicited giving' because the exchange is not happening for altruistic reasons, rather to produce and maintain relatedness through social action (1993: 867).

Macdonald (1986, 2000), using field data from Wiradjuri in New South Wales, further elaborated on how demand-sharing is less about an immediate moral obligation to reciprocate gifts (or demands) and is more about creating long term social investments in kin relationships. Macdonald approaches demand-sharing as an 'economic system of social relationships' (2000: 90). This system incorporates understandings of Wiradjuri personhood which, in turn, guide the moral principles of demand-sharing.

Consistent with the findings of Peterson (1993) and Macdonald (2000), I observed demand-sharing practices in Peak Hill as reflecting a value placed on personhood and the relationship between the

self and others. Both the demand and the response are extensions of the self, repeatedly solidifying the social relationship between the people involved in transactions.

Verbal demanding (asking)

Among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill, the analytic term from anthropology - demand-sharing - is not used.³⁵ As mentioned above, people instead refer to 'caring and sharing' and 'looking after' each other. This was captured in other parts of Aboriginal New South Wales by anthropologists Reay (1945, 1948) and Bell (1965), who both noted instances of 'borrowing and lending' and 'caring and sharing' in communities. Older Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill who remember social life during the times anthropologists such as Reay and Bell were writing about, claim these instances have declined. Violet, in reference to the time of Bulgandramine, said,

Those were the days hey, the best days. We were all together, all the families. People looked after each other and shared everything they had. No one was greedy. We had everything we wanted, them days. Things were simple, we all knew where we stood [with each other] and looked after each other.

When Violet said this, she was sitting with her cousin Trudy, another older Wiradjuri woman, and fondly reminiscing about the time of their lives when Wiradjuri relations lived and worked together. This is similar to what Reay recorded sixty years ago when Aboriginal people she worked with remembered back to the life of their ancestors as a 'golden age', whether it be what she termed

³⁵ Altman (2011) tracks the movement of the term 'demand-sharing' out of the discipline, or academic world, into the popular and policy discourse and mainstream media. It is also used by public Aboriginal figures, such as Noel Pearson and has become a well known term in some parts of Australia. This is not the case in Peak Hill as no Wiradjuri people I spoke with were familiar with the term.

‘tribal life’ or life on the mission. Reay’s interpretation of this nostalgia is the ‘longing for a time of more ordered structures, including internal governance, food production and labour’ (Reay 1949: 99-100). It is more than this. Violet and Trudy were reminiscing for a particular moral order, when the values of demand-sharing and Wiradjuri subjectivity more generally, were in sharper focus because they lived with only other Wiradjuri people. These values not only included sharing and caring, but also a morality order which organised and hierarchised kin relationships.

Whether or not demand-sharing has declined since earlier times, I observed many instances of the practices and values it refers to, in both verbal and non-verbal forms.

Case study: Sharing fish

One afternoon in summer John and Jerry came back into town from fishing at the river with a reasonable catch of fish. I was with them in the car and we drove straight home to John’s place, quietly hoping no one would notice the rather large amount of fish flopping around in the back of the ute (utility truck). Our catch size was over the legal amount for one person; and we knew that as soon as other people saw the fish, John and Jerry would be obliged to share it. Luckily it was a quiet afternoon and we only passed a few young kids in the street and some white people we were not friendly with, mowing their lawn. Shortly after we arrived home, sneaking the ute down the alley into the back yard, the house was flooded with people who were just ‘dropping in for a cuppa.’ After the kettle was boiled the demands for fish began. A senior aunty looked over the yellowbelly, mullet and bream, and announced to John, ‘I’m taking these two fellas [yellowbelly].’ John laughed and said, ‘Two hey Aunty! Bit hungry are we?!’ She retorted ‘Don’t get cheeky to me! I’m your oldest and favourite Aunty you know. I’m taking these two.’ After ordering a young grand nephew to clean them properly and bag them up, she quickly left the house. John’s brother in law, married to John’s oldest sister, sipped his tea and reminded John, ‘Make sure you put one of those fish aside for me and your sister’ and John bagged one up for him. A more distantly related and younger cousin, who had been helping to clean and bag the fish, and got the fire

going outside ready to cook with, picked up a smaller bream and quietly asked, 'Hey John, do you think I could take this one home for me and the missus [wife] to have later?' John smiled broadly, clearly enjoying every moment of giving out the fish, and replied, 'No worries cuz, enjoy it!' John looked at the remaining fish and pulled out the two second biggest ones and snuck them off to the freezer, explaining to me he would run these up to his Mum later on. Another smaller one was partitioned off for his close friend, Walter, who is quite ill. There were two fish remaining. John laughed again and said to his cousin Jerry, 'Better get these on the fire quick smart and get a feed into these youngster,' referring to myself and John's nephew, who had been patiently waiting on the couch. John's nephew is too young to ask for a share of the fish, but knows John will always offer him whatever food is on the table.

Jerry wrapped up the two remaining fish in foil and cooked them gently on the coals of the open fire. We sat around breathing in the smell of freshly caught fish. About half an hour later, the four of us crowd around the table outside with forks, no plates, and start stabbing at the fish. I watch John, who eats a small amount - less than a third of one fish - and then sits back and watches us eat the rest. He smiles at me and says, 'Isn't it the best! Freshly cooked fish straight from the river?' I nod and offer him more. 'No, no darl, I'm full, couldn't eat any more, that taste was perfect.' 'But you caught them, you should get more of it' I argue. John replies, 'No, I'm all done. And I can always get more another time. You all eat it.' John's nephew and I fork-wrestle over the last remaining mouthfuls and then his nephew leaves. Jerry and I join John on the couch, full and content, watching the fire. John says to us with a smile, 'That was the best day I've had in a long time. Got lots of fish for everyone, had lots of visitors, nothing better, hey!'

There are several points which can be drawn from this story. First, the distribution of fish is uneven. It is based on a hierarchy centred upon relatedness and seniority of relations to John, who caught the fish. This leads into the second point: there is a clear distinction between close and distant kin. Third, friendship, such as the friendship between John and Walter, includes an obligation to share and look after each, which is why John put fish aside for Walter who was unable to come to his

house. Last, there is a psycho-social aspect to demand-sharing: John experiences happiness when responding to demands and sharing his fish, which stems from notions of nurturance, looking after, and authority, explained below.

Macdonald noted that Wiradjuri demand-sharing operates within an 'exclusive and hierarchal' system of 'close and distant' kin (2000: 92). Among Wiradjuri a hierarchy of authority is created by looking after or nurturing kin. Regarding the concept of nurturance, Von Sturmer (1980) has argued that for the Kugu-Nganychara, nurturance is at the heart of social ordering and relations, focused on the idiom of 'nurturing children'. Nurturance has a form of looking after, means that 'certain people are said to be the "boss" for others, they are in a position of authority over others and are also expected to 'look after' or care for others' (Von Sturmer 1980: 267). In a similar vein, Myers's (1986: 212) concept of looking after, *kanyininpa*, stems from the idiom of holding babies to the breast (*kanyirru yampungka*). Like nurturance, holding, or looking after someone, is a relationship between a senior and more junior person, creating an egocentric hierarchy of authority. Among Wiradjuri looking after is about the provision of things, such as shelter, food, or other resources, but it is also about providing one's junior relations with what they need to grow into a happy and healthy Wiradjuri person. A large part of this is about the transmission of knowledge. It is through this process of the transmission of knowledge based on relatedness that a hierarchy is formed: the most knowledgeable, therefore the people most able to look after have the most authority and those less able to look after have less authority. This is usually signified by age, as knowledgeable people tend to be older, but does not automatically mean all older people have authority over their younger relations. If an older person is not in a position to look after others they do not have the same authority as those who can, even if those who can are younger.

Demand-sharing is a social practice in which this hierarchy, hence kin authority, can be maintained and socially reproduced. The maintenance of authority occurs from the ability of one to provide and of others to demand. John has authority because he can look after his relations by continually providing, the fish being just one example. His aunty has more authority because she has looked after John in the past and can make demands of his provisions. This is illustrated in the case study, where John's senior relations, his aunty and mother, receive the greatest portions of fish; two large ones each.

Although looking after creates a hierarchy of authority between junior and senior kin, this does not mean that demands are not made by junior kin to more senior kin. Although John's nephew, Alex, did not make a verbal demand for a share of the fish, he did so by simply being present because he knew that John had an obligation and desire to look after him by providing him with fish. In other words, Alex knew that John would look after him - he did not need to ask him to do so. Younger people make many demands of older people, particularly parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, because this is part of the hierarchal process of looking after. In this sense the process is cyclical. When people are younger they have many people to look after them, to hold them, and they will make demands on these people to do so. As they become older and there are less people to look after them, they become 'bosses,' expected to look after their junior relations and respond to their demands. They will also make their own demands on younger people, as senior kin. Looking after is hierarchal but also a two-way process. Although John looks after Alex as a son, he also expects Alex to look after him in other ways. Not by providing material goods or knowledge, but by providing a degree of social and emotional care, such as spending time with John, joking around with John when John is feeling sad, or socialising with him when John is lonely. The transmission of emotional and social care, as a form of looking after, is located below, in the following chapter.

As participation in demand-sharing creates relatedness, the moment when the demand takes place is when realisation and re-affirmation of the relationship occurs. In practice, a way to ask for or demand something is to speak about the relationship between the people involved in the transaction, thus reinforcing it. In the example above, John's Aunty reminded him that she was his oldest and most favourite Aunty; calling attention to not only her seniority - 'oldest' - but the performed aspect - 'favourite' - of their relationship. John's Aunty was emphasising her relatedness to John, specifically that she has looked after him, rather than simply pulling rank as older kin. In the example above, as in other demand-sharing contexts, demands are made in accordance with the closeness of a relationship: close and distant are about performed relatedness rather than genealogical distance. People who are close kin and friends can make demands and do so by emphasising closeness. John's brother-in-law, who is not only genealogically close - married to John's sister - but also a close relation of John, reminds John that he will also be taking some fish home. He did so to illustrate his position as a close relation, to the other people present who were also asking for or taking fish. It is John's close kin and friends, rather than just his kin, who are able to make the strongest demands. John's cousin, present in the example above, had spent a lot of time with John leading up to and during the fishing trip. He had been staying at John's place, helping John with the garden, collecting firewood and some general household maintenance. Yet John's cousin only asked for and received one of the smaller fish. He asked hesitantly and politely, which at first appeared odd compared to his usual loud and out-going manner. John's cousin is on the edge of John's normal circle of close kin and friends. For many years their relationship was more distant; they lived in different places and only saw each other at ceremonies, such as funerals, or large social

events, such as birthday parties and the occasional football match. More recently, they have spent a greater amount of time together yet John still does not consider him to be close.

One's close social network includes people who are not kin, not Wiradjuri, nor Aboriginal, but are long-term friends. These friends have the same responsibilities of being related as close kin, particularly with economic and social obligations. In the case study, John put aside a fish for his close, non-Aboriginal friend Walter who was too ill to come fishing with John, as he usually did. Walter often came to John's house and made demands for goods and services, such as help fixing his car or to borrow tools. Walter makes his demands in the same way as John's close kin. I observed Walter walk around the back of the house and yell out to John that he was taking the whipper snipper. Another time, after cups of tea and a long chat with John, he simply picked up a battery charger on the way out. I asked John if that was Walter's charger, to which John replied 'No, that's mine. He must need it for his car or something.' Although John and Walter look after each other economically and socially, they do not share the same moral and emotional ways of being as John does with his close kin.

Demand-sharing as social practice of distribution and a mechanism for maintaining autonomy and relatedness, has been extensively covered in the Australian anthropological literature, for example, see Peterson (1993), Martin (1993), Schwab (1995), Musharbash (2000, 2008), Macdonald (2000), Kwok (2011), and Altman (2011). Yet the psycho-social effects of demand-sharing are not well covered in this literature. I am referring to the emotions (including emotional states of being) associated with demand-sharing, as a practice of looking after. Here, I address one of these - happiness.

Happiness in Aboriginal Australia stems from relatedness, looking after and sharing experiences. Myers (1979), one of the few earlier anthropologists to address emotions, analyses happiness among the Pintupi as a subjective evaluation of a social condition. He states,

While feeling “happy” is an endopsychic matter - a “rising of the spirit” - Pintupi seem to think that an individual experiences such states largely as the result of smoothly-running relations between the individual and those he or she considers *walytja* [kin, relations or family] (1979: 353).

According to Myers, Pintupi are most happy during times when relatedness is reinforced, such as during singing, and less happy when autonomy is being reinforced through times of fighting, although both are necessary for Pintupi sociality, as they are for Wiradjuri sociality.

More recently, Heil, from her research with Aboriginal people at Murrin Bridge, in the central west New South Wales, argues that relatedness is the key to happiness because ‘people do not consider wellbeing to originate from an individual; they start from the personal positioning within a kin-related network of relatedness with others’ (2012: 201). This is consistent with what I have observed among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. Happiness is related to belonging, to people and place, and most significantly, being embedded in relationships with kin and friends. Rather than being an individual pursuit, happiness includes all the others who are part of one’s sociality. In other words, for a Wiradjuri person to look after the self - to seek emotional and social fulfilment, happiness, - they are also looking after each other. For Wiradjuri, having an active and integrated social life is essential to well being, happiness, and cultural and social reproduction. Happiness is manifested through social and cultural practices of looking after. When a Wiradjuri person is happy, they actively participate in intense and frequent sharing and socialising, which in turn creates relatedness and subsequent feelings of being nurturing, caring, and generous; all key feelings associated with

Wiradjuri happiness. When someone is unhappy, it is because they cannot, for whatever reasons, participate in local social and economic life. This leads to feelings of isolation, loneliness, and boredom, all of which are associated with unhappiness.

Wiradjuri happiness in Peak Hill can be understood within Heil's (2009, 2012) concept of 'Aboriginal well-being.' Heil (2009: 89) moves away from the western conceptualisation of an embodied self to a more Aboriginal understanding of social selves. She makes the key connection between well-being and performative social relationships, in which social activities, 'such as demand-sharing and other engagements with one's mob, focus on activities that continuously re-affirm the social' (2009: 102). Consequently, participating in demand-sharing re-affirms well-being and happiness, clearly demonstrated by John in the case study. This example is only one side of the story. Too many demands or the lack of ability to respond to demands can tip the scales, and the person subjected to excessive demands can become exhausted, unwell, and unhappy. This is not because of the demands per se, it is due to the rejection of relatedness which occurs when demands are not met, discussed further below.

I cannot help but wonder if there has been less attention to the psycho-social effects of exchange because we, as non-Aboriginal anthropologists, are too influenced by the moral dimension of western economic and social systems. According to Altman the concept of demand-sharing expanded out of anthropology and, in doing so, has become imbued with a non-Aboriginal morality,

Of equal significance, the notion of demand-sharing has increasingly been imbued with moral dimensions, positive and negative. On the positive side, demand-sharing can be a mechanism for the redistribution of scarce resources. But on the negative side its operation can result in excessive demands generating hardship. Often the term demand-sharing is

interchanged with its negative extreme, called 'humbugging' - a term that I believe was first introduced in the anthropological lexicon by Grayson Gerrard (1989) (Altman 2011: 193).

The positive and negative moral aspects of demand-sharing raised by Altman can be found in other Australian anthropology literature. For example, Peterson (1993) examines the positive side of demand-sharing from an economic and social rationale: it makes sense in situations of scarcity and reinforces relatedness. Whereas, demand-sharing in the workplace becomes something negative, interpreted as 'sponging' or 'humbug' (Austin-Broos 2006: 6).

In Peak Hill the word humbug is not used, instead people refer to being 'bitten' or to 'bite'.³⁶ Being bitten is different to demand-sharing. Macdonald makes this distinction slightly differently by distinguishing between demand-sharing and 'bludging' or 'bumming', which is people who ask too much, resulting in the giver feeling like they have been 'conned' (2000: 95-6). Bludging is when someone is not pulling their weight so that reciprocal demands cannot be made of them; it is exploitative in nature. In Peak Hill, being 'bitten' all the time is also viewed badly and has negative effects, as people who are known to bite a lot are often avoided or refused, which, in turn, affects their social relationships with others, hence their own happiness.

Anglo-Australian people in Peak Hill, who are outside of Wiradjuri sociality, tend to conflate being bitten with demand-sharing and view both negatively. A local white business owner complained to

³⁶ The English word 'humbug' originally referred to a person who tricks or deceives and behaves in a way that is deceptive or dishonest. In remote, central Australia the term came to be used by white Australians in regards to Aboriginal demand-sharing, in particular the asking for goods and services. In Peak Hill the term humbug is not used. Instead people use the words 'bite', 'biting' or 'bitten' to refer to the same thing. For example, when Tania saw that I was intending on taking my purse with my week's spending money to the pub one night, she pulled me aside and whispered, 'hey go hide some of that money in the house. You can't take all that down - everyone will be biting ya.'

me that Aboriginal people in town were always bludging off each other and sometimes even the shop owners. He explained to me how annoying this was and how he believed it was the reason why 'they rarely get anywhere in life.' When I attempted to explain how demand-sharing works the business owner did not understand how this was different to his understanding of bludging as something exploitative and one-sided. It was clear from his views, and the fact he is not socially close to any Wiradjuri people, that he had never experienced demand-sharing in the way illustrated in the example above. Even if he had, it is still difficult for non-Aboriginal people to understand and value demand-sharing in the same way as Aboriginal people, because demand-sharing is not just a practice, but a culturally specific way of being, which includes culturally specific causes and expressions of emotional states of being, such as happiness.

The example above illustrates a moral and emotional dimension to demand-sharing, other than combating scarcity or creating relatedness. It is the happiness, joy, and contentment Wiradjuri people feel in being able to respond to demands, feelings expressed as the result of positive values of Wiradjuri personhood, such as being 'caring,' 'sharing with each other,' 'looking after' or being 'generous.' In the example above, John was only left with a small amount of fish yet he was happy with this. John only ate a little bit of the left over fish, leaving the rest for his cousin, nephew and myself. He then reclined on his lounge chair, smiled and said 'That was the best day I've had in a long time. Got lots of fish for everyone, had lots of visitors, nothing better, hey!'

Happiness felt and expressed by Wiradjuri people during demand-sharing transactions can be understood more culturally specifically than just general ideas about 'generosity' or being 'caring.' I isolate three main psycho-social aspects of demand-sharing, which result in happiness.

1. The continual confirmation of relatedness and belonging;

2. Looking after relations and friends; and
3. Participation in socialising during the transaction.

The first point is well covered in the anthropological literature, but it is not linked to happiness. In the case study, when John cheerfully responded to his aunt's request for fish, he was not only providing her with fish but confirming their close relationship and the shared emotional intersubjectivity that the relationship entails. Although John is always aware of his relationship with his aunt, including the obligations and responsibilities it entails, he does not walk around, experiencing daily life, in a permanent state of happiness or joy simply because he is related to his aunt. The emotional meanings of relatedness are intuitive and sit under the surface of everyday consciousness. It is during the transaction, where the fish is demanded and given, when the usually unconscious emotions surface and being related *Wiradjuri*-way becomes a conscious moment of happiness.

The moment of happiness through relatedness leads into the second point about looking after relations. There are two sides to this coin. The first is addressed above: the happiness involved in an economic and social practice of looking after as a way of continuing relatedness and nurturance (Von Sturmer, 1980). The second side of the coin is the more fundamental happiness and belonging which comes from the act of looking after or caring for relations. In this sense, being looked after is not just knowing people out there care for you, rather it is about being part of a particular social world with a certain affective structure. For example, I did not experience happiness at fishing all day and then being left with very little fish afterwards; in fact, I felt slightly annoyed. This is also how I would feel if my family frequently came over to ask for food just after I had grocery shopped. This is because demand-sharing is not part of my cultural understanding of what looking after

entails. Yet for John, and Wiradjuri people more generally, demand-sharing is a significant part of looking after, which results in people feeling happiness and a sense of belonging.

Non-verbal demanding (taking)

Non-verbal demand-sharing is an extension of demand-sharing among close relations and is when the request is not verbalised, but simply enacted. I have already spoken about observing people taking things, such as Walter taking John's battery charger, but I also want to refer the reader back to part of the conversation I had with Tony, included in the introduction of my thesis. When speaking about the difference between Aboriginal and white people, Tony said to me,

You'll always be right with us, that's how we are. We'll look after you. You know I had a white boss and he didn't get Aboriginal people. We went around one of our client's houses, he was a blackfella I knew, my cousin, and I was hungry so I just started going through the fridge and getting myself food without saying anything. My boss got all embarrassed and angry and then told me off. But he didn't understand - you can do that with Kooris.

Among close kin and friends demand-sharing does not always involve someone asking for something. In many situations, particularly with food and small household items, a person can just take what they need. The closeness of the relationship determines the kinds of objects that can be taken, and, vice versa, observations of different objects being taken can indicate who is one's close kin and friends.

Food is expected to be shared among nearly all kin present, but not necessarily equally, demonstrated in the demand sharing example above. Food can generally be taken by all kin and friends, without a verbal demand if there is plenty present. In the example above, Tony and his cousins are not particularly close kin. They have grown up together, live a couple of streets apart and

sometimes socialise together. Yet there are many other cousins who Tony is much closer to: they are the ones he sees regularly, plays football with, and goes to when he has a problem or needs help. Although there are not close, Tony can help himself to food at his cousin's house, when Tony did not have any.

Yet Tony could not just help himself to general household items: these are things which are generally only taken by close and friends, such as the battery charger taken by Walter. Household items are only taken by those people who are within one's close social network. They are friends and relations whom one sees every day or other day, socialises with frequently, and whom with one shares a long history of closeness.

Verbal demands for money are common among all kin and friends. In fact, a request for money - 'Come on aunty, just ten dollar!' has come to be a symbol of Aboriginal sharing more generally in Australian anthropology, (for example, see Reay 1949). Taking money, without a demand, is different: it is a privilege reserved for kin or friends who are very close, particularly those who are senior. In John's household, there were a select few who were allowed to help themselves to his coin jar, which he kept hidden from view. This included his mother, daughters, wife, two of his favourite nephews, and one particularly close, older cousin and older friend.

A middle aged Wiradjuri man, Hayden, explained to me,

You share because you know that when things go missing they'll come back in a couple of days or they'll be around the corner. Sometimes they never come back and that's ok too. But only for some things. Other things you feel more possessive about and when they go walk about, it causes rowls [fights].

Hayden's quote epitomises the foundations of demand-sharing from Peterson (1993) - general reciprocity or the importance of things just being 'around the corner.' Hayden also recognises that some things cannot just be taken; they are outside the realm of demand-sharing and general kin relatedness.

Avoidance

Whilst most demands are met, many are refused. How the refusal is termed is important for Wiradjuri and 'there exists a complex repertoire of strategies for refusing to share, even with those people to whom one has obligations' (Macdonald 2000: 99). To simply say 'no' without a reason is considered rude, mean or stingy. More significantly a blatant refusal is a temporary (or sometimes permanent) refusal of the relationship between the people involved in the transaction. A refusal of relatedness is an insult, therefore must be handled carefully. Blunt denials can result in fights, subsequently increasing social distance. I observed four main ways people refused demands: private refusal, public refusal, hiding, and non-committal answers.

A quiet, private refusal of a demand usually also signifies an end, albeit temporary, to the socialising occurring at the time between the people involved. For example, cousins of approximately the same age, Brent and Aaron, were drinking at the pub together tonight and Aaron had long run out of money, so Brent was buying him drinks. At one point, Aaron told Brent to buy him another drink, loud enough that all of us at the table could hear. Brent stood and pulled Aaron up with him. It appeared they were heading to the bar, but instead they stopped by the wall, a couple of feet from the table. Brent quietly and quickly spoke to Aaron and then they sat back down at the table. Aaron quietly left the pub a couple of minutes after. I asked Brent what happened, what did he say to Aaron? Brent replied, 'Oh, I just told him no. I've been buying him drinks all night and I had

enough, spending all my money, so I told him that's enough, I'm not buying him more tonight.' The key word here is 'tonight': the next day Brent and Aaron were back socialising together, driving around in Brent's car, visiting people. In this example, saying no to the demand was not a refusal of the relationship. It also was not confrontational, especially because refusals, such as this, are usually carried out quietly, away from the ears of others. Brent took care not to shame Aaron by making his refusal public.

When refusals are spoken loudly and in public, meaning in the presence of others who are close, they tend to signify a refusal of relatedness, as well as the demand. This refusal can be temporary or more permanent. For example, one evening we all gathered at Harold and Diane's place for cards. Diane's daughter Amy and her partner Rob were also present. Diane had confided in me earlier than Amy and Rob were having relationship problems and she was worried about them. Early on in the evening, Amy announced she did not want to stay for cards but wanted to go to Parkes with her friends and get dinner. She loudly asked Rob for money, loud enough for her mother to hear. Rob, equally loudly, refused. Amy and Rob begun yelling at each other and Amy threw a can of drink at Rob. Rob lunged at Amy but her mother, Diane, and Diane's partner Harold, stepped in. Tubs and a few others present calmed Rob down and Diane took Amy into another room. Diane gave Amy money to go to Parkes and she left. Rob calmed down under the watchful eye of Harold, a senior Wiradjuri man, and continued with cards. Amy and Rob broke up the following day but got back together a couple of weeks later.

The loud asking and refusal of the demand signified problems in the relationship, which Amy wanted to be heard by those close to her in the room. As the refusal was also a refusal of relatedness - their relationship was at breaking point - it resulted in a fight. Amy may have known her demand

was going to be refused and result in a fight, which is another reason for loudly asking in the presence of relations. This ensures the fight occurs within the safe and regulated environment of being with others. Fighting in public is just one part, or rule, of a regulated and ritualised way of fighting among Wiradjuri. Macdonald (1988) and Langton (1988) respectively argue contemporary Wiradjuri and Aboriginal, fighting is a ritualised means of maintaining social order, or resolving conflict. Macdonald and Langton are both referring to intergenerational fighting, and swearing also, in the case of Langton's research. Langton outlined the following set of rules that must be adhered to in a fight:

1. The aggrieved calls a fight by swearing and accusing.
2. The event must occur in a public place.
3. No-one but particular kin and close friends may interfere.
4. Kin must call off the fight before it goes too far.
5. Individuals tend not to become extremely violent (unless extremely intoxicated and finish the fight with threats and boasts about what they could have done (Langton 1988: 211).

These rules are similar to those followed in the 'Wiradjuri fight story' analysed by Macdonald (1988). Macdonald (1988: 182) found there must be accordance to the rules for the fight to be a 'good' or 'fair' fight. In this example from Peak Hill, Amy and Rob adhere to the first and second rule, and their older and close relations Harold, Diane and Tubs call the fight off.

Hiding items, even hiding one's self from view, and non-committal answers are ways Wiradjuri people avoid, rather than refuse, demands. The key difference here is that avoidance is used so that the relationship between the people involved is not threatened. Hiding goods is referred to by other observers, particularly Myers's (1988b) widely cited examples of hiding meat and cigarettes. In Peak Hill hiding objects such as cash and cigarettes also occurs, although hiding things happens to a lesser

degree than when people were camped closer together, such as when Wiradjuri lived up on the Hill. Individualised houses and rooms makes this less of a necessity.

Another part of hiding is to hide one's self. People pretend not to be home in order to avoid the emotional, social or economic demands of a visitor. When the unwanted car pulls up, curtains are closed, doors are locked, and the phone is ignored. The place appears to be empty from the outside, although most of the time, the visitor is well aware that people are home. The following day or when the visitor is next encountered, a quick comment about how they could not answer the door because they were unwell, sleeping, or out is made. Initially this appeared to me as rude and socially unusual: why pretend you are not home if they know you are? Yet in the eyes of Wiradjuri this practice is not rude: on the contrary, it protects relatedness. It is a way of refusing obligation without having to deny the demand outright and endanger the relationship.

Another tactic for avoiding demands is the use of non-committal answers, which may skirt around the request, such as 'maybe', 'ok, I'll see', or 'I don't have it here.' One day Terry dropped by Franks and organised to take some rubbish to the tip. Frank asked his friend for a 'lend of his 4WD' the following weekend to take some younger people out bush for a barbeque. Terry replied positively but warily, 'Yeah, look I'll see - should be right, mate.' Both Frank and I realised from his tone that Frank probably would not be getting the 4WD on the weekend. When the weekend did roll around Terry and his 4WD were conveniently absent.

Agreeing to a future demand with a positive response and then later being absent, or providing a reason or excuse why the action could not be carried out is a common way of avoiding demands. Peterson explains this reluctance to refuse as his fourth tenet of a kin-based demand-sharing moral economy. It is not as a response of scarcity but important for communication,

With sharing so central to the constitution of social relations and selfhood, saying no, outright, is not only tantamount to breaking off relations, but it is also egotistical and confrontational. The deflecting or avoiding of demands to share is a constant and delicate issue in part responsible for the indirectness, intentional vagueness and decentredness that inflects much hunter-gatherer communication giving rise to a characteristically anonymous style of discourse (Peterson & Taylor 2003: 110).

Heil and Macdonald (2008: 303) have also pointed out that contingency is always a factor in negotiating relatedness. One might 'decide' to do something on a future date but all kinds of things can, and do, and are expected to, come up between 'now' and 'then.' Therefore, Terry's absence would not have caused offence, because 'something came up' is all he would have to say later.

Egotistical is not the way in which refusals are regarded in Peak Hill, in the sense that it refers to selfishness or self-centredness, but it is considered 'stingy' and can be confrontational. Peterson refers to the deflection of demands in 'hunter-gatherer' communication. Wiradjuri are no longer hunter-gatherers, yet deflection or avoidance strategies are still common ways to avoid direct refusal of demands. This is because while saying no is a refusal of relatedness, as premised by Peterson (1993) and Macdonald (2000), it is also a refusal of what it means to be a Wiradjuri *person* in Peak Hill. People who refuse a lot become socially isolated, known as stingy or 'acting white' and this can lead to loneliness, sadness, and stress.

Verbal and non-verbal giving (offering)

Offering and non-verbal giving refers to when someone offers or gives something to another person, without a demand occurring first. I found offering and giving to make up a substantial part of contemporary Wiradjuri exchange: around 40 per cent of all transactions and almost as much as sharing in response to demands. Since the publication of Peterson's (1993) article on demand-sharing, subsequent anthropological research in Aboriginal Australia has been focused on demands rather than offers. Macdonald writes that 'the onus is on a person to ask, not on the possessor of valued items to give' (2000: 95). During her research with Wiradjuri Macdonald found that people rarely offered and argued that this is because 'the act of giving is an act of power' (2000: 95): it creates an inequality and indebtedness. Although Macdonald does not elaborate on why an act of power is discouraged, the reasons point to an upsetting of the balance between autonomy and relatedness, where too much power held by an individual separates them from the social dynamic of a relatedness which relies on at least an appearance of equality.

Kwok develops her argument from that of Peterson, where sharing takes place in the context of demand, rather than in the gift (2011: 160). Yet Myers (1988b), writing prior to Peterson (1993), placed more emphasis on giving. Myers's (1988b: 19) example about the hiding of cigarettes results in a young Pintupi man, Jimmy, giving Myers some of his cigarettes when Myers had lost all of his own through demands made of him. Furthermore, regarding Pintupi use of cars, Myers writes,

In contrast, "ownership" provides an opportunity for a person to "give," and one who helps his relatives is not only understood to be generous but also gains a degree of respect and authority for having "looked after" them (Myers 1988b: 24).

Being 'generous' and 'looking after' each other are words commonly used in Peak Hill to describe what it means to be Wiradjuri. Being generous is not giving to just anyone, rather it means looking after one's relations and abiding by the rules of relation distribution, particularly seniority and authority. It also means ensuring that one has access to the kinds of things that people want to demand.

Bird-David argues that there has been a tendency in anthropology to conflate demand-sharing with giving, where 'giving has not been analytically distinguished from reciprocity' (1990: 195). More recently, Altman acknowledged the importance of giving amongst the Kuninjku people of western Arnhem Land, Northern Territory. In this case, the Kuninjku carry out 'unsolicited giving' or 'kan-won' as a way of being compassionate with kin. The Kuninjku often make unsolicited presentations, leaving large pieces of meat or other gifts to relations (Altman 2011: 190).

The kinds of giving recorded by Altman are present in Peak Hill as part of being and belonging in Wiradjuri sociality.

Case study: Finding ten dollars in my bed

At one time, well into my fieldwork, I ran out of money. My savings had been depleted and whilst my scholarship was still active, after I had taken out money for rent, bills, fuel and food, there was little left. At first I hid the shape of my finances by making up excuses when I was asked to do something for which I did not have money, such as going to the local pub or movies in Dubbo, a 140km round trip. I felt embarrassed to admit to people, many of whom earned less than me, that I had run out of money. I didn't feel comfortable asking people for financial assistance when they were often struggling themselves. After a while I realised this was affecting my relationships and increasing the social distance between myself and others: I had to start participating, with or without money.

At first I simply made it known that I had nothing, when someone asked me for a lift, for tobacco or to go to the pub with them. Immediately, Wiradjuri friends began to offer me help, both financial and of other kinds: an offer of the use of a car when mine had no petrol, offers of food, drinks, tobacco and, sometimes, money. After a while I became more confident at accepting these offers, but then there appeared to be less offers. There was a definite reduction in the amount of times people would verbally offer goods to me. In my way of thinking, based upon equal reciprocity where you try to give back what you have been offered, I wondered if I had become too accepting and whether I needed to do more in return.

I approached a friend of mine, Martina, to ask what she thought. I expressed my concerns about being a burden, and not related or from Peak Hill, and maybe that is why people weren't really offering things to me anymore. Martina laughed and said, 'Don't be ridiculous. You have been here long enough to help yourself or just ask. Like when I say to you, come down to the pub. I know that if you have money you will pay and if you don't I'll pay. I don't have to spell it out to you, you know.' I felt relieved but still found the idea of asking for money, or just assuming it would be there, daunting and odd.

This came to a head one day when everyone was getting ready to travel to the football (and drinks after) in a neighbouring town. I did not have enough fuel to get there, nor any money for food and drinks when we got there. One problem was solved by Susanne and Jim, who offered me a lift in their car. But as they tended to stay late, sometimes all weekend catching up and socialising with relatives, I was worried how I would get home and where I would sleep: things which seemed ridiculous to those around me. A friend, Rose, who was also travelling to the football and wanted me to come drinking with her afterwards, proposed a solution, 'Go ask Brent for \$50, he's got heaps of money this week.' Even though I knew Brent well and he was closely related to people in my household and we socialised with overlapping people, we were not close friends. I explained to her, 'I just couldn't Rose, especially not with all these people around. What if he says no and everyone thinks I am a bludger, shame!' Rose looked annoyed at me and then yelled loudly, in earshot of everyone, 'Hey Brent, come over here, we need to ask you something.' He walked over, 'Yeah what?'

Rose demanded, 'Give Belinda \$50 so she can come to the football. She's got nothing and I don't got enough for us both.' Brent discreetly slipped me the money and told me to give it back to him another time, or maybe put some fuel in his car when he has none. As he walked away and I stood there stunned and marvelled at feeling of inclusion or perhaps belonging, Rose looked at me impatiently and yelled, 'What are you doing just standing there? Hurry up for fuck's sake, let's get our drink on!'

After that point I became adept at asking for the things I needed or wanted. Just like everybody else, I abided by the rules of demanding and accepting offers. I became more aware of the quick, almost imperceptible indications of offers. A nod down towards the table at the pub often indicated a cigarette or money being quietly slipped to me under the table. A comment, 'Shush, come over here' was followed with a drink being placed in my hand or someone taking my hand and leading me to the bar - a gesture which indicated I was to buy them a drink. Tobacco or ten dollars tucked under my quilt, out of view, on my bed alerted me to a gift from my neighbour. I realised that some of my white friends who had worked in Aboriginal Australia and complained of humbug or being bitten all the time for things, they had not experienced what I had. They had never run out of money and had to ask back, and because of this they had never been offered. More importantly, they had not experienced what it felt like to be completely looked after in an Aboriginal sense; to have that safety net underneath you, so when you fall it doesn't hurt, you simply bounce back to where everyone else is.

I have illustrated how looking after someone Wiradjuri-way involves a substantial amount of offering and giving. There is a clear distinction between verbal offering and non-verbal giving. Verbal offering, such as the deliberate, 'Here, have some money to come to the pub' is used less and reserved for more distant relations or those who are new to Wiradjuri social life, which is why Wiradjuri people at first offered me things, rather than just giving them to me or expecting me to take them.

Close relations are expected to be given things or to help themselves, aptly explained to me by Martina when I couldn't work out why people were making less offers to me. As I moved into the realm of closeness, or at least closer than I originally was, I became the recipient of gifts and subtle, non-verbal offers. I found little surprises of money, treats, or cigarettes, slipped under my quilt, a drink waiting for me at the pub, or money discretely slipped into my hand. As Altman (2011: 190-1) found with the Kuninjku, although the identity of the giver was unclear I was generally able to deduce who was responsible for the gift because there were a limited amount of people close enough to look after me.

Contemporary forms of sharing

Much of the anthropological literature regarding sharing in Aboriginal Australia, with the exception of Macdonald (1986, 2000) among Wiradjuri and Kwok (2011), on the New South Wales south coast, has come out of field research completed in remote Aboriginal communities in central or northern Australia. Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill are rural rather than remote. They have been living in an inter-cultural town with white Australians since the mid twentieth century. They have been participating as workers and commuters in mainstream Australian capitalist and market-based economies for well over a century. While delayed-return, reciprocal gift exchange is still common, other, more recent types of transactions also now occur, particularly among younger people.

Swapping

Notwithstanding the prevalence and social significance of demand-sharing, among younger Wiradjuri in Peak Hill there are also informal practices which can be referred to as exchange or ‘swapping,’ based upon a more direct and explicit reciprocity. This practice appears similar to barter at first, but it is actually more reminiscent of the social values embedded in demand-sharing. There are many instances of goods being swapped in Peak Hill: I offer three examples to illustrate how swapping as part of the contemporary Wiradjuri sharing is different from, for example, the non-Wiradjuri concept of barter.

I was sitting around Frank’s sister’s house one morning, drinking tea and chatting to Frank’s niece, Suzette, a Wiradjuri woman about my age. As talked about what we had been doing with our lives in

our early twenties, we were partially listening to her father and Frank discuss the possibility of swapping cars, and our conversation turned to this topic:

Belinda: Cars seem to be swapped quite a bit out here?

Suzette: Yeah, they are. Usually just for a while but sometimes for good. I swapped my car once.

Belinda: Really when? What for?

Suzette: When I was younger, for my year 12 formal. I couldn't afford a dress that I wanted and my cousin had a lovely one that I wanted to wear. So I swapped my car for the formal dress.

Belinda: Was the car working?

Suzette: Yes.

Belinda: Was it registered?

Suzette: Yeah.

Belinda: So you swapped a working, registered car for a dress?!

Suzette: [laughing] yes! It wasn't about how much they cost. It was just I needed a nice dress and she needed a car. We both got what we needed.

Another example occurred early on one of those mornings, when a group of John's kin, friends, and I would sit around on the veranda drinking tea and chatting. This particular morning Roger was the first to show up, around 6:30am, walking fast and looking angry. We asked Roger what was wrong and this is what he told us:

Roger: That bloody shit of a son I have down there [indicates down the street towards his house] lost me car! Bloody idiot.

Belinda: What do you mean he lost it? Where can you lose a car in Peak Hill?

Roger: Well, he didn't lose it. He swapped it! And you wouldn't believe what the idiot swapped it for - one of those fancy new phones. He swapped me car for a phone! He told me he was taking it for a drive and now it's gone!

Belinda: You mean one of the new iPhones?

Roger: Yeah, one of them bloody things. I tell you what, he got a hiding when I found out. It was my bloody car! With his mate in Dubbo. Well, I told him to march his growly ass over to Dubbo and get it back.

Belinda: The new iPhones are expensive, about \$800 new. Maybe it was a good deal?

Roger: No way! My car is worth way more than that.

My third example has a slightly different setting: the online Facebook group - 'Peak Hill buy, swap and sell.' This group is open to anyone who lives in Peak Hill and surrounding areas, and is popular among new mothers looking for baby gear or when people are moving house. Sonia, a quietly spoken, middle aged Wiradjuri woman, told me about it works:

Sonia: You can find all sorts of things on there if you look regularly. Some of it is free and some of it you swap for something you have. Or you can just pay a bit of money if you got it. I just swapped a heap of baby stuff - clothes, furniture, a pram - for some furniture. I got a single bed, mattress and an outside table with chairs. It was great. The woman I swapped it with, she is from Dubbo, but she drove out here with a ute.

Belinda: Who was she? Family? Friend?

Sonia: No, I didn't know her before. I reckon I have seen her around in town [Peak Hill] years ago, but she has been living in Dubbo for a long time now.

Belinda: So how did you decide what to swap for what? Like, how do you know how much to swap?

Sonia: We emailed each other before and worked out roughly how much our stuff was worth. Then we just matched the prices. We guessed a bit. But she showed me photos first, so I could see whether it looked right. We did it fair.

Belinda: That seems different to how things are done here, in town. Here, I don't think people really worry how much stuff is worth, they just swap it. What do you think?

Sonia: Yeah, but that is different. Here it is just family, so we look after each other, make sure we got what we need. But I didn't even know that woman.

In the first two examples the transactions were between people who were close. The goods being exchanged - a formal dress for a car, and a car for a phone - are not of the same market-based value. The value is determined by the desires of the people involved in the transaction and the quality and status of their relationship. This is similar to demand-sharing, where, according to Macdonald, the value of the object is not determined by the object itself, rather the social outcome relative to the item determines the value (2000: 96-7). The social outcome, particularly in the first example, where goods were swapped between cousins who are close, is the maintenance of their relationship. To this extent it is a dimension of the gloss, 'demand-sharing.'

In the second example, Roger's son was not in so much trouble because he had swapped a car for a phone. If he had swapped his own car for a phone I doubt Roger would care much. It was only because he had taken Roger's car and swapped it without permission that he was in trouble. Roger did not have the authority to take Roger's car and swap it without asking first. This is an example of Roger's son acting out and testing the boundaries of his relationship with his father, which was common among older teenagers.

This is quite different to the third example, in which the value of the goods had to be more equal, or 'fair.' The third example did not involve relations or friends, and is similar to barter where commodities are used as if they are currency and their values are approximated or equalised by the willingness of the two parties to swap. In this situation, as in many cross-cultural contexts of exchange or informal barter, 'one establishes a series of ranked categories of *types* of things' (Graeber 2012: 36). Unlike demand-sharing, or swapping between kin or friends, here, things are ranked by the value or sphere of the object, rather than the social relationship.

Buying and selling

Although example three above was between people who were not close, there has been a rise in the exchange of objects for cash, or ‘buying and selling’, among Wiradjuri in Peak Hill. Older Wiradjuri say it was rare for relations to buy or sell things among each other, things were simply shared. Now it is common for Wiradjuri, particularly younger people, to buy goods from each other. This change has most likely occurred due to increased relationships with Anglo-Australian residents of Peak Hill among the younger generations.

As with all nearly all forms of contemporary Wiradjuri exchange, the value of the relationship determines the value of the object in sales. In a contemporary Wiradjuri cash economy, this means it is the relationship between the buyers and sellers which determines the price, as indicated in the two stories below.

Cars for Sale

In Peak Hill, cars are one of the most mobile items, moving from owner to owner. Most middle aged Wiradjuri people have a main car, which is often borrowed by relations and friends, but not swapped or sold. Then they have additional one or two cars, generally worth a lot less or for a different purpose, such as ‘cars good for bush bashing.’³⁷ The following example involved the sale of an additional car between relations.

³⁷ Bush bashing is a reference to rough, off road driving. Bush bashing cars are used to collect firewood in the bush or to visit places off road, such as the Harvey Ranges.

John was selling a 1995 Toyota Ute, advertised at \$1800. He let people know the car was for sale and the price through word of mouth. There were no advertisements in the paper or on signs. John confided in me that he had advertised it at \$1800 but was hoping to get \$1400 or \$1500 for it. It was a 'great little bush bashing car' he said to people whilst discussing the particulars, such as the high number of kilometres on the clock. John informed two of his white friends and told them to let other people know the car was for sale. John quietly informed me he was hoping that someone who was not one of his relations would buy it first and not take the price too low. He had no such luck. One of his relations from Condobolin demanded the car be sold to him at \$600. John did not want to sell it for that little, but his cousin pressured him. She told John how much she needed it to get work and reminded John how close they had been for years now. In the end John sold it to her.

Another time, John was selling a car and advertised the price of the car at \$1800 to people in Peak Hill. A buyer from John's close social network demanded the car be sold for \$600, which it was. Days later I asked John if it bothered him that he got a lot less money for the car than he wanted? John replied, 'Nah, it doesn't really matter in the long run does it. My cousin, he really needed that car and I done the right thing by him.'

A spa on instalments

The second case study also involves a cash transaction between two Wiradjuri kin. A middle aged Wiradjuri man, Frank, had a disused spa bath for sale in his back yard. Again, word of mouth was used to let people know. It was not a hurried sale. The spa sat there for months and when someone noticed it, sitting there in the back yard, Frank mentioned to them that it was for sale. Frank seemed a bit unclear on the price of the spa. He said he would like to get a \$1000 for it, because it costs three times that amount new. It was a nice, large spa and in good condition, under a layer of dust.

Another time I heard him offer it to someone for \$700. Another time, I listened to him muse over whether he would sell it in Dubbo for \$1500. But months later the spa still sat there, unsold. Frank's aunty on his mother's side, an older Wiradjuri woman, saw the spa in Frank's yard and demanded he sell it to her. Frank agreed and his aunty was delighted because it would soothe her 'aching joints.' His aunty proposed a payment plan of \$50 a week until the spa was paid off at a total price of \$500. Frank accepted. A couple of days later, Frank confided in me that he did not want to sell the spa this way as it was worth a lot more money than \$500. More importantly, he doubted he would receive all of the promised payments. Well aware of the reluctance of many Wiradjuri to make direct refusals to kin, I asked Frank 'Why don't you just pretend you'd promised to sell it to someone else first?' Frank replied, 'I can't do that, she's my Aunty. And she would know, because it will still be sitting in the bloody yard.' The plan went ahead. Frank sold the spa to his aunty without mentioning his hesitations to her. Frank finalised the sale by enlisting the help of his nephews and moving the spa up to his aunt's yard and setting it up, by her request. After his aunty made two initial payments of \$50 each the payments ceased, forgotten by her and, apparently, Frank also. About six weeks later I asked Frank about payments for the spa and he replied, 'Oh that, I had forgotten about it. Water under the bridge now.'

Superficially these examples look like a cash economy with payments etc...but they are not. When Wiradjuri people buy from and sell goods to each other the values of relationships are privileged over commodities. In extension of Mauss's (1990[1925]) and Gregory's (1982) theories of gift exchange, the products or gifts are inalienable and the relationship is established between the subjects, rather than the objects, which happens in commodity exchange. The inalienability of the products means the transaction of the products in the case studies above have social reproductive power to continue the social system the transaction or practice is embedded in. In other words, the

transaction was used as a social practice to continue and reproduce relatedness between the buyer and seller, in the same way between the asker and giver in demand-sharing.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how contemporary Wiradjuri sharing is an important part of looking after relations, which is vital to Wiradjuri well-being and happiness, relatedness and personhood. Looking after is a key Wiradjuri cultural value, enacted and sustained by social practices, such as contemporary sharing. Looking after is extended to all members of one's close social network, whether they be kin or friends, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. This is not unique, Myers was defended by the Pintupi as,

Not as a kinsmen in the narrow sense, but rather as one who did things for people. I was - and I recalled how frequently the Pintupi had described me to visiting Aborigines as "one who freely gave" (*yungkupayi*) - the generous one (Myers 1986: 222).

Myers was not made into a kin member per se but he was part of certain people's close social network and expected to not only participate in social practices, such as demand-sharing, but was also expected to adopt Pintupi attributes of being a good person - being generous. In Peak Hill, I, like other non-related members of Wiradjuri sociality, was not considered kin, but expected to participate in contemporary Wiradjuri exchange and benefit from it. People did not share things with me when I ran out of money because they were simply obligated to, they did so for the reasons they share with each other, because it makes one a good person: a social, related, and happy self.

As Wiradjuri have changed from a hunter-gatherer subsistence to participating in the mainstream cash economy with Anglo-Australians, forms of exchange have also changed. Demand-sharing and giving are no longer the only way people economically interact with each other, and more recent forms of exchange, such as swapping, buying, and selling are also used. They are used in an adapted

form, where the inalienability of economic to the social remains, and Wiradjuri values of being a good person, a good relation, are embedded into these practices.

More specifically, looking after by contemporary Wiradjuri exchange creates a hierarchy of relations. In all forms of Wiradjuri exchange the value of the object of the transaction is determined by the seniority of the person asking, receiving or buying. Also, looking after reproduces a distinction between close relations and distant kin, as contemporary exchange reinforces relatedness the value of the object of the transaction is also determined by the social closeness of the relations involved in the transaction. People who are close can demand for and are given more than more distant kin. Within Wiradjuri sharing, like other social practices of relatedness, people who are part of one's close social network, or mob, include kin and friends. Last, looking after has positive psycho-social effects, experience when participating in this system. Happiness results from the continual confirmation of relatedness and belonging, looking after relations and friends, and the social interactions which occur during sharing transactions.

Chapter 8. Emotionally ‘looking after’: Avoiding loneliness and boredom in social life

‘I’m bored.’

‘This is boring.’

‘Today is boring.’

‘Peak Hill is boring.’

‘Wish it was Friday, it’s boring.’

‘Oh my god, I am sooooo bored.’

‘Dubbo was boring, no one around.’

‘There is nothing to do, it’s heaps boring.’

‘There was no one at the pub, it was boring.’

‘This afternoon is boring, everyone is at Condo.’

‘It is so boring in Peak. It’s too cold to do anything fun.’

‘Why is everyone so boring? Staying at home, not doing nothing.’

‘Peak Hill is so boring. I keep thinking I’ll leave – go somewhere fun, like Sydney. But I know I’ll stay here.’

I started my fieldwork in autumn, after summer had faded but before the cold settled over the town, forcing people to spend more time inside. As I faced my first winter in Peak Hill I noticed people began to speak about being bored. Just statements or comments, here and there, noting the feeling of boredom. These comments were most frequently made by middle-aged people and younger people, and were especially prominent among teenagers and young adults. Initially I interpreted statements of boredom from my own cultural perspective, as I would if I was with non-Aboriginal friends: a response to an absence of stimulus, or needing something to do. When seventeen year old Tamika loudly exclaimed her boredom, for example ‘Oh my god, it is so boring!’ I immediately responded by suggesting activities, such as looking up online courses or job opportunities, cooking

something, taking some photos, going for a walk or watching a movie. In each instance, Tamika rolled her eyes, laughed and replied, 'No that is boring too!' Sometimes she became frustrated with me and replied, 'No, you don't understand!' Or, if she was feeling particularly down, she would just quietly reply 'ok' and tag along behind me looking distant and subdued. The only time Tamika offered a positive and excited response with regard to my poor attempts at alleviating her boredom was when I suggested, 'Let's go visiting people.' Tamika would then grab her phone and almost sprint out to the front seat of my car, eagerly yelling at me to hurry up with a big smile.

In this chapter I demonstrate how understandings and expressions of two Wiradjuri emotional states of being - loneliness and boredom, are closely tied to involvement in social life. On one side of the coin, active participation in social life is required for a Wiradjuri person to feel happy and a sense of belonging, such as participating in contemporary Wiradjuri sharing. On the other side of the coin, a lack of social life, or passive participation, results in people feeling bored and lonely - two states of being or emotions that form part of Wiradjuri inter-subjectivity. The culturally specific ways Wiradjuri people understand and express these emotions, as a value, ideology and feeling, are at the heart of what it means to be Wiradjuri. Here I address Wiradjuri loneliness and boredom, as part of a broader argument in which I seek to establish three things: emotions are a language of the self, emotional norms are also the norms of a moral framework of personhood which guides relatedness, and emotions are resistant to change. I do this by demonstrating how loneliness and boredom are understood, related, and experienced in a culturally specific way, which are different to western or non-Aboriginal interpretations. Furthermore, I show how loneliness is caused by a social deficiency, which has particular Wiradjuri temporal and spatial dynamics, such as inter-generational and frequent and intense socialising within domestic spaces. I then draw a distinction between situational and existential boredom, linked by social deficiency but distinguished by the possibility of

high-risk activities. Last, I examine the social practices, such as gambling and online networking to show these are imbued with Wiradjuri moral and social values.

Methodology for understanding emotional states of being

In the contemporary anthropological literature of Aboriginal Australia concerning kin values and social practices of looking after, such as demand-sharing and participation in local social lives, the topic of emotions and emotional states of being is often left out, although it is clear from previous research by anthropologists, such as Myers (1986), Stasch (2009), and Sahlins (2013), emotions are vital to anthropological conceptualisations of kinship and relatedness. Some Australian anthropologists, including Musharbash (2007), Heil (2003, 2009, 2012), and Burbank (1994, 2011) and have tackled emotions or states of being within Aboriginal sociality, such as boredom, well-being, anger and stress, respectively. These works do not place emotions at the forefront of their accounts of kinship and relatedness in Aboriginal Australia.

By emotional states of being, I am referring to states of being which are associated with particular feelings and emotions, as well as, encapsulating a cultural value or idea. Emotional states of being are personal and social, universal and relative, rational and irrational. Drawing on Levy (1973), I view emotions as representations, or a language, of the culturally constituted self. This means that while emotions as personal, even individualised feelings that may be experienced in similar ways across cultural contexts, such as the way sadness is felt in an internal, psychological or psychobiological sense, the essential inner nature of sadness is nevertheless embedded in a relative socio-cultural and moral constructed category of relatedness. It is within a culturally specific context that emotions are learned, triggered and expressed.

Although I do not treat emotional states of being strictly as a value per se, I do acknowledge that there are theoretical debates around the idea of emotions as motivators for behaviour action (Bateson *et al* 1956, Lutz & White 1986). By tentatively accepting the premise that emotions do play a role in motivating behaviour, it is reasonable to argue that emotions also dialectically affect and are affected by changes to forms of social practices. This has been a popular view in culture and personality studies, where emotions are often ‘treated as a resource that is both structured by changing conditions and structuring of their meaning[s]’ (Lutz & White 1986: 422). Emotions are effective at illustrating what is morally normative and regulatory in social life and what is not. Myers, who understood emotions to be both internal feelings and forms of judgement, which are culturally specific, believed emotions could then also be understood as an ‘ideology, as models of and models for how one should feel and behave’ (1986: 344-45, 105). It is clear that Myers used a similar, but slightly differing approach from Bateson *et al* (1956) and Lutz and White (1986), where emotions are not just illustrators of social norms, but an actual ideology of the normative moral framework. Emotions are part of an ideology, a morality. They signify the fundamental constitution of cultural morals: the ‘right’ way of being and behaving within relationships.

In my analysis of relatedness and emotion I have steered away from phenomenological approaches to understanding emotion, as I do not have the data to venture far into this field. Having said that, I do not ignore the inner state of being or feeling of Wiradjuri emotions. Without at least some understanding of how Wiradjuri emotions are felt and expressed in everyday life, it is impossible to understand the relationship between the meaning of the emotion and relatedness. It is this inner state of being, the personal and embodied nature of emotions which makes them so resistant to change. The Australian state cannot simply send out representatives to Aboriginal communities to advise them to stop feeling lonely, distressed or sad when they are separated from relations or

country. People cannot simply stop feeling an emotion that has always been generated within a particular cultural context. The state can, however, encourage or enforce changes in local, social practices in which, slowly over time, affect the cultural development and reproduction of emotional responses. The way this happens does not take on any one simple form,

It may be that culture enables and shapes some kinds of emotion, partly through the expectations regarding emotion it implants (about love, rights or honour, for instance). Social and cultural forces together with historical contingencies can also allow emotional capacities to flourish or can starve them and thus prefigure what people are able to make out of their emotional lives (Pugmire 2005: 6).

I turn now to examine the contemporary but historicised context of Wiradjuri social life, which allows for people to feel happy and well, while keeping feelings of loneliness and boredom at bay.

Loneliness and social life

Loneliness is an undesirable emotional state of being among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill. This comment can be read more generally: no one wants to feel alone, regardless of their ethnicity, age, or gender. But for Wiradjuri it can be argued that they participate in social life, implicitly and explicitly, seeking the positive feelings of happiness and belonging, and avoiding the negative feelings associated with loneliness, such as sadness and insecurity. With the exception of a few very old or sick residents, Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill are rarely alone, although people do complain of being alone or being lonely. Loneliness, in psychological literature, is commonly recognised as a subjective, negative and unpleasant feeling resulting in some kind of social deficiency (Gierveld et al 2006: 485).³⁸ The definition is presented as universal and general, but what constitutes a ‘social deficiency’ is culturally specific. A ‘social deficiency’ for Wiradjuri is not the same as for Anglo-Australians in Peak Hill. Among Wiradjuri it refers to occasions when people are removed, for one reason or another, from the social contexts they value. As the frequency and intensity of participation in Wiradjuri social life is high, the margin for creating a social deficiency is small. When the intensity of Wiradjuri social life cannot be maintained, the deficit widens and people become lonely.

³⁸The kind of loneliness I am speaking of above is often called social loneliness in psychological literature (Weiss 1973, Stroebe et al 1996) which is different from emotional loneliness. Emotional loneliness stems from the loss of someone close, such as a spouse or family member, and is characterised by feelings of emptiness and abandonment. This is the kind of loneliness that will be felt regardless of how satisfied the person is with their social life, or social network, and it is situational to a particular event. Social loneliness is attributed to the absence of a wider network of social relationships, usually both relations and friends.

Wiradjuri social life has spatial - Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri spaces - and temporal - inter-generational - aspects.³⁹ Hence a Wiradjuri social deficiency also refers to a lack of a dynamic in the spatial and temporal aspects of daily life; an inability to activate relatedness. This happens, for example, when people cannot be with older relations or when they move away from Peak Hill. Loneliness thus has a temporal and spatial dynamic.

The temporal dynamic of loneliness and inter-generational sociality

The temporal dynamic of Wiradjuri socialising is rooted in a long history of conversations and interactions across generations. Loneliness affects Wiradjuri people from all three cultural generations, although older people say that the claim that one is lonely is a recent phenomenon. One day Trudy complained to me,

They [her younger kin] don't visit me enough anymore. The other day no-one even came to chop the wood. I miss living on the Hill. We was altogether. We're never left alone there, we was never lonely. I only been lonely since I lived here.

For Trudy, being lonely is an emotion she associates with living in town. Although many younger relatives do visit her, and often her son, grandsons and grandnephews come by to cut her firewood, mow her lawn and do odd jobs for her, Trudy is not always around people like she was when living with a large group of kin up on the Hill. In town, Trudy is also separated from the bush, therefore less connected to the spirits of her ancestral kin and her history of being with them on the Hill.

³⁹Elsewhere I have explained how space in Peak Hill is better understood by looking at Wiradjuri, non-Wiradjuri and shared spaces, rather than the western paradigm of public and private.

Belonging to people and place is part of what it means for a Wiradjuri person to be happy in Peak Hill. Inter-generational sociality is important for belonging because the presence of older and younger people together connects a past history to a present place and group of people.⁴⁰ Inter-generational sociality as a mechanism by which older people can economically, socially and emotionally look after younger people, and younger people can learn about what looking after entails at different stages of their lives.

Case study: A birthday party

The following story illustrates the spatial and social dynamics of intergenerational relatedness among Wiradjuri present at the birthday party of a young adult.

I have been invited to a birthday party tonight for a young woman's 18th birthday party. I am excited as this is the first formal invitation I have received for a large social event. I am also excited because I have now met enough people and collected enough genealogical information to know who people are and how they are related, unlike the last the social event I attended. I am advised that everyone on our side of town is having drinks at Roger's place down the road before the party. I dress in jeans and a black jacket at the advice of a few teenaged friends. After stopping at the Club to pick up a six-pack of beer I join the others at Roger's place. Roger's small house is filled with people getting ready for the party and chatting. Everyone there is Wiradjuri, except for two white spouses. The girls and women are in one room, chatting about the future births of two pregnant, teenage girls present among them. Both girls live at Roger's house for the time being: one is his daughter and the other is his daughter-in-law. The girls are braiding each other's hair and four younger

⁴⁰ There are other reasons why inter-generational sociality is important for Wiradjuri people that I do not discuss here, such as the role of older people in kin governance and local authority structures, different conceptions of time and age, and a historical factors, such as most young adults remaining in Peak Hill.

girls tease their older, pregnant kin, as they try to squeeze into their pre-pregnancy party clothes: tight jeans and cropped jumpers. The older women in the room are mothers and aunts. I fall between the two generations. I am closer in age to the mothers, yet being childless, often relate better to the daughters, soon to be first time mothers themselves. The mothers and aunts, five in total, drink, chat and laugh as their daughters and nieces style everyone's hair and apply make-up. Two other women in the room belong to the oldest generation of women in Peak Hill - grand aunts - although both the girls and their mothers and aunts, just call them 'aunt' or 'aunty.' Neither of the older aunts drinks alcohol. They sit in the best seat, on the bed with pillows, and laugh, tease and chastise the younger women for their choice in clothes and when they duck out to re-fill drinks or smoke a cigarette. The two pregnant women do not drink or smoke. One of them comes out with me to the kitchen as I get a beer and sighs, stating, 'I would love to have just a taste of drink tonight,' but explains she cannot, because if any of her aunts or grandmothers saw her even touch alcohol whilst being pregnant she would receive 'a flogging.' On the way back to the room, we pass the men, older and younger, all sitting around the lounge room and porch, talking together.

We all walk down to the party together from Roger's house. The party is being held in the Community Hall, which has been rented for the night. Although there are fires outside and a few heaters, the old, draughty hall is cold and many people bring blankets. It is early but already I count about forty people in the hall and another twenty outside, around the fires. There are long tables set up on each side of the hall and a large space in the middle and front of the hall for people to dance. A few young children are dancing. I look around and realise again that I am the only white person present who is not a close friend or spouse of Wiradjuri. Overcoming feelings of shyness, I begin to talk with people I know. A few people look at me questioningly but politely and others who I do not know well from neighbouring towns stare at me more sternly, clearly wondering who I am and why I am here. In the first hour I am introduced to countless new people and repeatedly explain, in order, who I am, where I am from, and what I am doing in Peak Hill.

After a couple of hours the party is at its peak and I count eighty-five people, ranging from infants and toddlers, to people in their late sixties. The social groups gathered around tables or fires are not divided by age or gender, but predominantly by family groups, as shown in Figure 3.

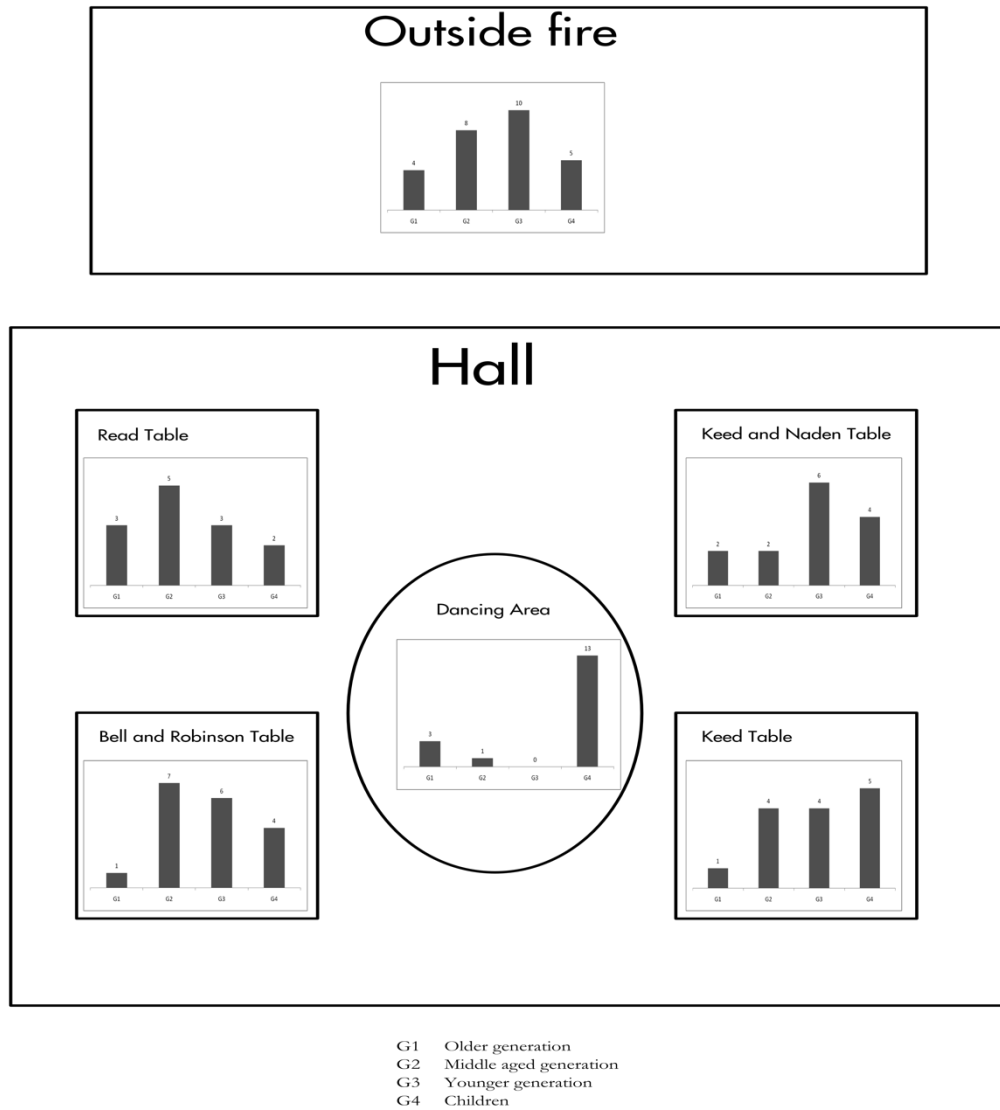


Figure 3: Spatial distribution of inter-generational family groups

Throughout the evening people eat, drink and dance and talk. Much of the talking is about kin and friends: who is with who, who is having a baby, breaking up, moving away, returning home. The other prominent feature of communication is story telling. Stories range from short accounts of funny or interesting recent events to longer, older stories about grandparents and great grandparents who have are now deceased. There are some quarrels but no actual fights, which seemed unusual and which became the subject of many conversations the following day. Older people dance with small children. The teenagers and young adults rarely dance, shyly steering clear of the dance floor. Outside, people tease each other and joke around, getting louder, more boisterous with lots of swearing and the drinks flow. By about 9:30pm, most of the elderly people and small children have left, along with the non-drinkers. I stay for another half an hour and then slip away, as protests by young drinkers for me to buy them alcohol from the club have escalated and I do not wish to be accused of supplying underage drinkers with alcohol the following day. The women I am with try to prevent me from leaving by staying close and holding my wrist - a common tactic in making sure people do not leave others. Eventually I have a moment alone in the bathroom and I make a quick exit. The party continues on until dawn.

This story is just one illustration of the many social events I attended, all of which involved inter-generational sociality. Whether the event consisted of a few drinks at the pub, a small party at someone's house, a dinner or movie out in Dubbo, travelling to the football, fishing at the river, or a barbeque in the bush, they were all frequented by kin and friends of varying ages. Wiradjuri socialisation has a spatial and temporal quality, of people of all ages are connected to ancestral belonging over time, and all are connected to places which are themselves interconnected, as people from different places socialise in town, or, occasionally, in the bush.

The spatial dynamic of loneliness

The spatial dynamic of loneliness stems from social deficiencies, which arise when Wiradjuri people are separated from place. Sociality, identity, and place are all intimately connected with being part of the 'Peak Hill mob.' Away from Peak Hill, Wiradjuri people become homesick, experienced as feelings of longing and loneliness. Feeling homesick and lonely is why Wiradjuri people who leave Peak Hill to live elsewhere often return. Jacqui moved to a city for about five or six years before returning to Peak Hill, where she has remained since. I spoke to Jacqui about her return to town.

Belinda: Why did you move back here?

Jacqui: We was lonely. I mean we had heaps of friends and people around but we missed it here.

Belinda: Lonely for what? What were you missing?

Jacqui: Peak Hill.

Belinda: What about Peak Hill?

Jacqui: It's hard to say. Like Peak Hill, like going to footy, going to the pub, sitting at the river. But mainly my mob. We missed Mum and Dad, and Nan and Pop, and my aunties and cousins.

Jacqui had many friends in the city and even lived close to some other Wiradjuri kin from a neighbouring town in rural New South Wales. Yet she missed her family and familiar places, and her history of both inter-twined together. In Peak Hill Jacqui has a long history, stretching over generations, which link her sense of belonging and happiness to sociality and place, even when some of those places are no longer frequently visited, such as the site of Bulgandramine mission.

Emotional and economic ways of being

Among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, there exists a tension between leaving town for better economic prosperity and staying in town to remain within the kin-based social world one has grown up with. During my fieldwork period, two Wiradjuri girls Peak Hill left for a city university. One stayed and one returned. When I spoke to the one who had returned about why, she said,

I missed everyone so much. And I had mum and my cousins and everyone ringing me up every day, telling me they missed me. I thought I better come back. But I'll go back [to university] later on.

The emphasis on missing family is also the response of younger men, who prematurely return to Peak Hill after heading away for work or to try their luck at professional football [rugby]. With men, the emphasis is placed on the need to return to *look after* their families. I spoke to a middle aged man, who left Peak Hill when he was younger, now some years ago, to give professional football and living in a city ago but he had returned less than a year later. I asked him why he came back,

I missed Peak Hill. I was only a young fella. I went away for a bit but I felt cut off from everyone here. Reckon I should be back here, looking after my family proper, so I come back. Sometimes I wish I hadn't come back, and given footy a proper go. We were only weeks into training when I come home. Sometimes I wonder if I could have made it big.

His competing desires are reminiscent of Annie (see Chapter 6) wanting to move away to her own place yet wanting to remain connected to her relations. This tension of personal autonomy and group relatedness is reflected in Wiradjuri peoples' desires and feelings regarding place, particularly Peak Hill. It is verbalised in conflicting comparative comments about Peak Hill and other places. I was often asked why I 'would leave Sydney and come to this shithole?' I frequently heard people describe Peak Hill as a 'shit hole,' 'hell hole,' and various others complaints. Conversely the same

people also spoke positively about Peak Hill, following up comments about how ‘shit’ or ‘fucked’ the town was, with statements, such as, ‘Nah, it's alright here, I like it here, it's all good.’ I found that the seemingly contradictory feelings and statements about Peak Hill, moving away, work, and so on, are not so much oppositional, but reflective of the tension between standing alone as an individual self, yet maintaining close relationships with kin and friends. Comparatively, places like Sydney, Canberra, and the New South Wales coast were always spoken about favourably, as places with ample opportunity and things to do, but, unfortunately, without the people who comprise of one’s close social network to be with.

Some people have been persistent in attempting to negotiate a desires to live elsewhere for improved economic opportunity, such as the north coast of New South Wales or Sydney, and to be part of local social life by returning to Peak Hill for every holiday, large social events, and sometimes, just for a weekend home. This tension and how it is negotiated varies for different individuals, but it stems from the shared economic and social values of being a Wiradjuri person. The tension between wanting to go away, wanting to stay, wanting better opportunities, wanting to remain with family at home also represents a parity between looking after each other and looking after the self.

Anglo-Australians in Peak Hill primarily identify as an economic person: a productive member of Peak Hill and the broader market state, where the social value of employment is high. Gibson noted this in Wilcannia, where in introductions or small talk among white people starts with questions such as, ‘What do you do?’ being a reference to employment (2010a: 145). In Peak Hill the same questions elicit answers, such as, ‘I’m an accountant’ or a ‘farmer.’ Whereas Wiradjuri people instead ask, ‘Who's your mob?’ or ‘Where you from?’ as their point of contact and a way for the speaker to

socially position the other in relation to their own social and spatial world. What one does in terms of employment or economic productivity is often not asked until later, if at all.

For younger Wiradjuri people, economic desires are at the forefront of their hopes and values, and perhaps more important than for older people. I found younger people have higher expectations regarding material quality of life, yet their emotional responses to social life, or a lack of it, remain similar to older people. Returning to Annie's story, I remind the reader of her predicament. Like many younger people, when she had a child of her own Annie no longer wanted to share a house with her older relatives and this desire was especially compacted by her white spouse who was keen for them to start a life of their own, separate from their families. Annie wanted a nice, small house or apartment, and longed to live elsewhere - in a neighbouring town or city. When she did move away, with her husband often absent for work, Annie found herself lonely, distressed and sad. She was homesick for her kin, friends, and the space she knew as home.

Avoiding loneliness: The intensity and frequency of daily social life

Seeking happiness and avoiding loneliness requires a high degree of socialising - in frequency and intensity. To participate actively in Wiradjuri social life one must maintain close dyadic relationships which are face to face. A daily phone call, text, or message on social media is not enough: there need to be multiple phone calls, texts or social networking and, especially, visits in person. In our household, the phone calls and texts began at day break; I never needed an alarm. I woke up to the ringing of my phone, or noises from various other phones, belonging to whoever was currently staying with us. About an hour later, when the sun had risen and it was completely light outside, the daily visits began. Kin and friends dropped by our house, sitting out on the front veranda and drinking cups of tea. People came to our house from other houses, bringing news from the previous visit and taking more news to the next. When I began doing the social rounds with John as he visited his close social network each morning, I found he visited, on average, six houses each day. For all those who did not have to rush off to paid employment, each morning was spent in this way: visiting others or accepting visitors. During these visits people discussed plans for the new day with each other, borrowed or returned household items, dropping off fish, fire wood or shopping, or checking up on medical appointments. It was as if the activities for the day required some kind of social consensus (Musharbash 2008: 146). It did not matter what plans were made the day before, they would be reviewed again in the following morning as their enactment was contingent on anything that had transpired in the meantime (see Heil and Macdonald 2008). Morning discussions were informal conversations about what needed to be done each day, how it should be done and who should be involved.

Case Study: Cups of tea and chats in the morning

The following two conversations were recorded on separate mornings, months apart. Both conversations are between John and Roger, two middle-aged men are cousins, and new grandfathers. They live on the same street and visited each other most mornings for cups of tea and deliberations about the new day.

The first conversation,

This morning Roger spoke about heading out bush to collect a plant he wanted. Roger mused over whether he should take his youngest son with him or not. John spoke of going out to collect fire wood for his daughter and another female relative, the wife of his father's oldest brother. Roger decided that he would go and collect firewood too. The discussion turned to whom else should come and whose car they should use. John's car was unavailable as his sister and niece wanted to use it for shopping in Dubbo. The conversation lasted over an hour and three other people arrived and joined in: Roger's nephew, John's nephew and John's elderly friend. Eventually it was decided that John would go to Dubbo with his sister and niece and Roger would go out bush another day. Instead, he headed off to cook a big meal for his children and their partners, all of whom lived at his house. Later, Roger and family members would get firewood, together with John's nephew and using the nephew's car.

The second conversation,

This morning Roger planned to clean the yard but only if his daughter and son-in-law would help him. Then, instead, he decided to go hunting rabbits with John. After that, they both decided that driving to Parkes to buy a dart board and darts would be a better idea, though this plan was halted by the need to use John's petrol to collect firewood. Roger remembered he needed petrol too, to take his daughter to the doctor in Dubbo sometime that afternoon. Moving from here, they both decided that since it was such a nice day the first plan of action

should be going down to the river and setting some crayfish [yabby] traps. This suggestion led into an exhaustive discussion about who might be free to go fishing. Before the conversation ended, they returned to the darts idea, but this time with a few drinks thrown in. About an hour later Roger and John go their separate ways and I am confused about what plans have been settled on. Later in the day I discovered John had spent the day gathering his nephews to mow the lawn of his mother and aunt. Roger took his daughter to the doctor in Dubbo and was later described to me as resting.

In both conversations the majority of plans made between John and Roger ultimately fell by the wayside. This does not mean that discussing the plans was irrelevant because conversation in itself is a significant part of social life, sometimes more so than the actual content. The conversation was informed by a particular way of conceiving past, present and future; one in which the past and future is always being brought back into the present.

The hours of conversation spent each morning on making plans for the day are crucial for three reasons. The first, and most crucial, is the interest Wiradjuri people have in each other, what they are doing, and what is happening is part of 'sharing experiences', a concept Heil (2003: 112) found to be part of relatedness in Murrin Bridge, NSW where Aboriginal people (Ngyiempaa and Wiradjuri) put a 'particular emphasis on the interactive processes between individuals and their sociocultural settings' (Heil 2003: 113). It is this continual, interactive relationship of experience one's own individual desires and emotions through their relatedness with others, through which Wiradjuri personhood in Peak Hill is understood. Second, these conversations are part of a broader decision-making process, in which it is necessary for many people to have their say and unacceptable for people to decide (or make plans) for others. Wiradjuri people value a high degree of individual autonomy (see also Macdonald 2013): each person is responsible for deciding their behaviour, rather than allowing a pre-determined schedule or others to be responsible for this. Third, the socialising

which occurs during this process is a practice which creates and reinforces relatedness, as well as feelings of being cared for, of nurturance and happiness. It is these rhythms of daily social life which provide Wiradjuri people emotional meaning, and which prevent them from feeling lonely, bored or depressed. Daily social life is, on the one hand, driven by an individual desire to be happy, which Wiradjuri people are when they are engaging with others: happiness is continually reinforced and reproduced by participation in social events, ranging from sharing to socialising to fighting.

Spaces of sociality

To avoid feeling lonely, Wiradjuri people ensure they are seldom alone. Although most people have their own rooms or personal spaces, they do not like being left alone even in these. The reaction to being left alone, even for a short period of time, ranges from loneliness to boredom and, sometimes, sadness, fear, anxiety, frustration, and anger. The reaction to being left alone for longer periods of time, days, weeks or months, is more serious: loneliness correlates with stress, sadness and depression. Wiradjuri people are most happy when they are occupying spaces with kin and friends. Looking back to the story - A Typical Day in Peak Hill - from Chapter 2, I remind the reader of the relationship between the rhythms and spaces of daily social life. Early in the morning, relations and friends visit each other's houses. The middle of the day is taken up by work: paid employment for some and unpaid work for others looking after kin and friends, such as taking people shopping or collecting firewood. During this period most people are away from home, out and about, or moving between each other's homes. Typically, by late afternoon most people have returned home to their own houses, although people continue to drop by each other's houses throughout the evening and night. Later on in the evening most people remain closer to home, visiting neighbours, and catching with others who live in streets further away through online social networking. Later in the night

(with the exception of weekends), socialising continues electronically, via phone calls, texts, and online messages.

I found myself looking forward to the quietness and peacefulness of the night, when socialising moved from in-person to the electronic realm: I struggled to find a balance between social life and private space. When I became overwhelmed or impatient with the intensity of social life, I would leave for my bedroom and close the door. The other residents of my household found this strange and would insist on continually coming into my room to check if I was sick or sad. When younger women dropped by and found me alone in my bedroom, writing field notes, reading or just resting, they expressed their bewilderment and harassed me to come out. Tamika, who I was close to, would always burst into my room unless the door was locked. When my door was locked, she would bang on it loudly, calling out to me repeatedly. When I let her in, she would settle on my bed and loudly comment about the undesirability of situation, such as ‘What are you doing in here by yourself like a loser?! Come on, you’ll get lonely ... come on, you are being boring!’ Older people, such as Tania, would approach more cautiously, standing outside my door, knocking and quietly asking if anything was wrong. There was not anything wrong. It was simply a difference between myself and the people I lived with regarding our conceptions of and need for boundaries between social and personal space. I understood ‘my house’, and particularly the bedroom, to be a private space: one only freely accessed by myself and my immediate family (parents and their children) or people who usually lived in the house. If anyone else wanted to access this private and personal space, such as friends or extended family (including grandparents, aunties and uncles, and cousins) I was used to this being done through formal protocols of permission, such as a phone call or pre-arranged visit. In contrast, in Wiradjuri houses, both the cultural conception of domestic space and the etiquettes for accessing that space are different.

The distinction of public and private is not relevant: Wiradjuri houses are social spaces compared to non-Wiradjuri spaces or shared spaces of town. Non-Wiradjuri spaces include areas in town where most Wiradjuri people do not feel comfortable, such as many white people's houses and the golf club. During the first half of the twentieth century, legalized and later informal segregation ensured most 'public' places were non-Wiradjuri spaces. More recently, these are considered shared spaces but, although they can be occupied by Wiradjuri people, they retain a white moral presence.

Wiradjuri social spaces are for all kin and friends, not just immediate family, and formal acknowledgements of permission to visit the house are not required. Kin and friends regularly drop in unannounced for a visit, for a quick cup of tea, a long conversation, spending the day, staying over for a few nights or moving in for a few months. Although a bedroom is off-limits to the opposite gender, and often a marital bedroom to anyone, as my story above indicates, a bedroom was not necessarily a private, individual space.

In our house, like many others, doors were never locked and, unless it was in the middle of winter, rarely closed. Closing or locking doors marks a delineation of social to private space. This constitutes a refusal of relatedness to those who would normally expect to be able to access the space, and results in people who are close feeling worried, cautious, or upset. In a manner similar to the evident avoidance of demands, marking out private space represents a (temporary) rejection of sociality or of a particular relationship. Eventually I succumbed to the social nature of our household and stopped closing doors, particularly when the lock on my bedroom door was conveniently broken one night. I got used to waking up with someone leaning in my door way, or peering into the dark, softly calling my name, looking for a smoke, a lift in my car, or just some

company. I relinquished the idea of individual, private space and settled into the social world of Wiradjuri space.

Non-Wiradjuri emotional ways of being

The desire to always be with others, kin and friends, and to not be left alone, is an emotional response fundamental to a Wiradjuri sense of happiness and self. This desire is not something that can just be turned off or ignored if situations change when people find themselves away from home and alone. For non-Wiradjuri people, this desire is not present; it is not part of the white self. The desire to always be with others and share domestic spaces is not usually shared by white relatives and friends, even close affines who had adapted to and were completely incorporated into Wiradjuri social life. This desire requires a significant adjustment to the way in which a person (such as myself) engages with others, as well as an awareness of the social and moral value to Wiradjuri people. This is not an adjustment that non-Aboriginal affines are necessarily willing or able to make, even if they understand it – which many do not.

I often spoke about this with another Anglo-Australian woman, Laura, who had a Wiradjuri spouse. Laura explained the tension between her husband and herself after they had an argument,

See Frank's Mum and Dad helped us out so much. I really can't complain. They used to bring us groceries when we had no money and take the kids when Frank and I were fighting. We wouldn't have survived without them, bless them. But they were always around. Frank's family is always here. Like Frank, he needs people around him. Like in the car he always likes people. When he went to Sydney last week, he had to take Stanley [young nephew]. He can't even drive to Dubbo without having someone in the car. See, I'm happy being by myself and just doing my own thing, but Frank always has to have company. Sometimes I just want it to

be the two of us, not friggin' everybody in town [sigh]. It's just his way, the way he was brought up. It'll never change.

The differences in Laura's and Frank's social expectations and desires, and the respective ways in which they sought happiness, caused tension in their relationship. Laura believed she understood why Frank was far more social than her, 'It's just his way, the way he was brought up,' but she cannot change her emotional responses to completely fit in to the Wiradjuri social world she has been embedded in for a long time. The persistence of her emotional resistance is evidence of the close relationship between emotions and cultural constructions of the self: emotions shape subjectivities. It is doubtful whether Laura really understood in an experiential kind of knowing the 'way Frank was brought up': rather, she knew it was different and that there was a cultural gulf that could not, in this respect at least, be bridged. But she did accept those differences and persevered, although some non-Aboriginal people did or perhaps could not.

Being bored in Peak Hill

Among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill boredom appeared to be associated with feelings of apathy, tiredness, restlessness, irritability, frustration or a general lack of interest in the present or future. Most researchers agree that boredom, whether understood as an emotion or state of being, is a problem of meaning or, more specifically, of ‘meaninglessness’ (Conrad 1997; Barbalet 1999; Lori *et al* 2003). In a similar vein to loneliness, the cause and expression of boredom (as a specific form of social deficit) are culturally-constituted. The experience of being bored might be universal, but the causes and expressions of meaninglessness are culturally specific. In Australia, boredom is often associated with a lack of meaningful work, with bored people counselled to find a job or ‘something to do’. Among Wiradjuri people, boredom might be experienced in a similar way – with feelings of restlessness, sadness, frustration or depression – but it is associated with social deficiency and loneliness rather than with a lack of opportunity ‘to do’ something: one cultural emphasis is on being engaged in meaningful activity (doing); the other is on being engaged in meaningful relationship (social being).

Situational boredom and social life

In English, the words loneliness and boredom have different meanings: one can feel bored, but not lonely, and *vice versa*. For Wiradjuri, this distinction is not as sharp: the word ‘lonely’ is often used inter-changeably with the word ‘bored,’ particularly by middle aged and younger people. After I returned to Peak Hill from a trip to Sydney, John commented to me, ‘It was boring when you were gone, no one coming to see me!’ Yet within an hour or two of being back in Peak Hill, I heard that

lots of people visited John and spent time at his house when I was away. John's statement, like most emotionally-charged comments, is not so much a statement of an actual state of affairs, such as no one at all coming to see him, but an emotional and moral illustration of how John experiences a deficit in his social life.

Likewise with loneliness, the meanings associated with boredom vary between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri people. There are few cross-cultural studies of boredom (Healy 1984; Sunberg et al 1991) and even less that use a phenomenological or ethnographic focus (but see Lori et al, 2003; Heil 2006; Musharbash 2007). Musharbash's research on boredom with Warlpiri people in Yuendumu is culturally comparable, because for Warlpiri the loss of meaning and 'desire' is 'clearly for social and emotional engagement' (2007: 310). In Murrin Bridge, Heil (2006:106) also found a comparable correlation between boredom and participation in social activities, such as drinking. These are both consistent accounts to what I observed among Wiradjuri. When everyday social life in Peak Hill decreased from the expected norm, daily life is less meaningful or engaging: it is 'boring.' Musharbash (2007) found that Warlpiri people of Yuendumu, central Australia, do not say 'I'm bored', they refer to 'boring' as a social condition, rather than a reflection of personhood or personality. Like the Warlpiri, Wiradjuri also use boring interchangeably with lonely, although not in the same way. Wiradjuri use bored and boring, but the terms are typically followed with a statement reflecting one's feeling of loneliness, such as 'I'm bored, there is no one around.' Someone can be called 'boring' but only as a temporary state, for example, 'Belinda, you are being boring!' was a comment I heard many times as I snuck off early from a party or social event. I did not hear anyone call anyone else 'boring' as a personal, permanent trait, such as 'Jordan is boring.' Boredom is not understood as a permanent state of being, nor personality trait: rather, it is a temporary state of being, which closely correlates with loneliness and being separated from one's close social network.

Existential boredom and high risk activities

Regular feelings and statements of boredom in Peak Hill reflect a longer-term more serious kind of boredom, existential boredom. This is different from situational boredom, which is caused by a temporary removal of or change in social life. Existential boredom is also different from the odd boring night out at the pub or being lonely for the afternoon when everyone has left town on Sunday for the football: it is an everyday boredom felt by people, particularly younger people, who are frustrated and bored with the greater circumstances of their lives, such as marginalisation from the opportunities experienced in mainstream Australia due to reduced access to education, employment, and wealth. In Murrin Bridge, Heil found that people made statements about boredom and argued,

Such comments not only illustrate the *idea* of boredom but the powerlessness of people who have been marginalised, with little opportunity to break out of the cycle. From a western perspective this could be referred to as chronic despair and hopelessness (2006: 100).

Building on Heil's holistic approach of understanding health and associated emotions *within* an Aboriginal cultural logic, I examine the relationship between existential boredom and daily life in Peak Hill. Existential boredom can also occur when Wiradjuri people cannot actively participate in local social life for extended periods of time, such as when people become unwell and are confined to the house or hospital, sent to prison, or when children are forced to live elsewhere.

I found existential boredom as an emotional state of being was closely correlated with longer-lasting feelings of sadness, distress, and depression. I am not suggesting boredom or loneliness is causal to depression, rather, the co-existence of existential boredom and sadness, depression or social withdrawal for many people in Peak Hill, suggests a correlation of some kind. Existential

boredom as long-term boredom, results in time 'standing still' (Lori et al 2003: 40). Alternatively, Musharbash describes this as a break in the daily, cultural rhythms or cycles of time, where 'all cup-of-tea times merge into one' (2006: 313). Among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill existential boredom is not just characterised by social withdrawal and loneliness, but also by a reduced ability to place one's self into future time, as if future and present merge into a kind of static existence. Already for Wiradjuri, conceptions of time are focused in the present, where the past and immediate future are continually brought into the present through daily socialising: making plans for the future and frequently telling stories of the past. When Wiradjuri people experience existential boredom the present appears to be intensified and inescapable and the future becomes something infinite and uncontrollable. One Wiradjuri man, Bill was sad, depressive and socially withdrawn for months at end, staying indoors and refusing to answer the door when relatives came to visit. He described his feelings as,

Bill: I'm just bored. Like really bored.

Belinda: But feeling how?

Bill: Like nothing. I feel nothing, but I'm a bit sad I guess.

Belinda: But what about all the good things coming up soon [listed a future marriage and birth].

Bill: I can't even think about it. It's like it's not there.

Belinda: How do you feel about the future?

Bill: I don't know. I just don't. These are hard questions, I don't want to talk about it.

As it is difficult for people to find the exact words to describe what they are feeling, I must rely upon my own interpretations to induce what such feelings are caused by as well as the meanings. From conversations with Frank, and other people who did not wish for their conversations to be recorded, the future appears to them as space without horizons, or simply, it ceases to exist as something linear, cyclical, or social, and instead continues to expand into nothingness. What people

do as a result of such boredom can be observed and interpreted with more validity, as people, like Frank, withdraw from social life, become socially disinterested, feel helpless and out of control as they their options appear limited and they begin to participate more heavily in activities classified as 'high risk,' such as heavy bouts of drinking alcohol alone and staying inside to watch television or play video games for days at a time. As time and the future becomes more infinite and uncontrollable with boredom, people in Peak Hill feel more helpless and out of control: becoming more likely to give in to the also uncontrollable nature of high risk activities, which often, ultimately add to the existing boredom and cause further social isolation. Whereas I argue that high risk activities result from feelings of hopelessness about the future and a restlessness of the present, Barbalet argues that high risk activities are undertaken because they have a meaningfulness based upon the meaninglessness of chance, creating feelings of hope and excitement (1999: 642). Meaning created out of the uncontrollable. Regardless of whether this or Barbalet's explanation is the case, 'high risk' activities, such as heavy drinking and large amounts of gambling in the cities, do allow one to surrender to the uncontrollable, which possibly makes it easier to cope with the helplessness and restlessness.

Gambling: Poker and the pokies

One problem with the psychological literature is that cultural variation is often not taken in account when discussing emotions and subsequent behaviour. While I agree with Barbalet (1999) that people are like to participate in 'high risk' activities, what high risk means is culturally variable. Barbalet (1999) states gambling is one of these high-risk activities undertaken to relieve boredom. The risk of gambling, of losing or winning does allows people to create meaning from the uncontrollable, a temporary fix for existential boredom. This does not necessarily make gambling 'high risk' though,

as there is a distinction between going to Canberra or Sydney and gambling for days on end at the casinos away from kin and participating in local, social forms of gambling. For Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, gambling, particularly poker and pokie machines is rarely high risk in terms of economic stakes, and it is certainly not a high risk activity in a social sense. Among Wiradjuri people local gambling, particularly poker and poker machines (pokies) are popular social activities and valued for the social engagement that also takes places, preventing loneliness and boredom.

Poker is currently the most popular card game played in Peak Hill.⁴¹ Once or twice a week, Poker Nights are held at the RSL Club, which attracts a regular, energetic crowd. In addition to this, once or twice a week Poker Nights are also held at someone's house. These nights are open to anybody who wishes to play, though they predominantly consist of Wiradjuri kin and friends, and are often held in Wiradjuri houses. Depending on who is playing in any one session, the risk can vary. Some Poker Nights are low risk: \$20 for chips, with only one buy-back in for \$5.⁴² Low risk nights are inter-generational and social. Children run around peeking at the cards and trying to help the players until bedtime. After playing, adults often move outside or to another room, occasionally dropping back in to see whether it is worth buying back in. Once a player is out, they have to leave the table, but everyone stays at the house, drinking, chatting and commenting on the continuing game. Other Poker Nights (or days in winter) involve a higher financial risk. The limit to how much material wealth will be gambled is only capped by what people are prepared to play with. I tried to participate

⁴¹People now prefer to play the more recent form - Texas Hold 'em, rather than the older 5 Card Stud.

⁴²To 'buy-back' into the poker game gives the player the option of purchasing more chips when they lose all of theirs. In the games in Peak Hill, the buy-back option can only be used once. When a player has no chips left and has used up or declined the buy-back option, they are eliminated from the game. Occasionally it is permitted for someone else to forfeit or sell their buy-back option to someone else in the game.

in these poker games, which consisted of a higher than normal proportion of men compared to regular mix of both men and women at the Poker Nights, but I was not prepared to take the necessary financial risks, ones I viewed as being quite substantial. In one game after a couple of rounds, I, and a few others, had lost the entire, monetary contents of our wallets. Hence, we decided to bow out. As more men lost their money, the rounds continued: money was spent, more items were gambled including, shirts, sporting merchandise, mobile phones (minus SIM cards) and for the final round, car keys.⁴³ No matter how high the risk, poker games were social and cheerful, with players remaining present to participate in the social life of the game, long after they have lost their cards, money and assets. Poker in Peak Hill is partly about the risk, emotion, and excitement, but it is also about the social and economic engagement experienced during the games, which can last long into the night.

In Peak Hill, playing pokies is the second preferred gambling activity, after cards. The only pokies in Peak Hill are located at the RSL Club (the Club). My view of people using pokies, when I first arrived in Peak Hill, was that pokies were generally played in individualistic and isolating ways, resulting in people losing large amounts of money. From previously working in pubs and clubs around Australia, I had encountered serious gamblers, who often lost entire wages, Centrelink payments, and savings into the machines; rarely ever winning more than a couple of hundred dollars. I viewed the pokies, and venues which supplied them in large numbers, with contempt as I found the effects of serious

⁴³The addition of car keys has an ambiguous meaning. It can mean that the car the keys belong to is being gambled or it can mean that only a loan of the car is being gambled. Even when ownership of cars is on the table this is rarely a permanent result. Most people will not take the car or they will take it for a while, until the original owner asks for its return.

pokie playing to be addictive, economically wasteful and socially isolating. When I saw the pokies located at the Club in Peak Hill occupied by the few serious pokie players, lone, solitary figures placing note after note into the machine, oblivious to the social environment around them, I was reluctant to ever participate.⁴⁴ I later discovered these kind of pokie players – regular and alone – were not the norm. The regular way Wiradjuri people played pokies involved a completely different economic and social dynamic, more complex than I had expected.

Pokie machines are economically individual by nature when compared to card games. Money cannot be instantly redistributed back into the community through the game itself, circulating through kin and friends as it does with card games. Pokie machines cater for profit, not redistribution: once the money has gone in, it is highly unlikely to return. While money is not reliably distributed to relations via the machines, money is redistributed as people play the machines together, in a similar fashion as card games where people will ‘hit-up’ [ask] certain relations and friends for money to keep playing. With pokies, distribution of money and participating in demand-sharing occurs before, during, and, if someone has won, after the game. Instead of adding to social isolation and boredom, which occurs with more serious forms of gambling, playing pokies in Peak Hill is a highly social, inter-generational activity which helps to relieve boredom. In the pokies section of the Club, a small cramped space next to the Totalisator Agency Board (TAB), Wiradjuri people from all generations fill the small room, often with two or three people to a machine. In between taking turns with the

⁴⁴The Club’ is a local term for the Retired Servicemen’s Club (RSL). This was the only the venue in Peak Hill that regularly has poker machines. At times, poker machines are also located in the Bowling Club, but this venue is rarely frequented by Wiradjuri people, due to a racist history associated with the previous owners and clientele of the Bowling Club.

gamble, the preferred way to play by most, people of all ages loudly chat, joke around and laugh. As the money runs out on one machine, more will be offered to or demanded from kin. Sometimes machines still containing money are swapped between kin and friends. Small children are taught how to play with small change and older people leave their machines to interact with the children present. The mood in the pokie machine room at the Club is far from quiet, sombre and lonely, rather it is loud and playful. Although an economic risk may be present, the social value helps to alleviate this and people often leave the Club out of money but socially content.

The boredom drive and new forms of socialising

In Peak Hill, not all social reactions to boredom involve activities which could be conceived of having financial or other risks. For a number of older and younger people who do not drink or gamble, having an active social life is still vital. Boredom as a catalyst to combat social isolation is what a number of psychologists since the 1950s and 60s, such as Myers & Miller (1954), White (1959), and Berlyne (1960) have termed the 'boredom drive.' This is where boredom acts as a drive to find activities that fill in missing meaning, ultimately relieving boredom (Barbalet 1999: 636).

This drive is particularly important for Wiradjuri sociality, which requires active participation at all times. Many anthropologists, who go back and forth visiting and leaving Aboriginal communities in Australia, notice how easy and commonplace it is to slip back into the social life of the community. Peak Hill is no exception: when people return to Peak Hill after being away, Wiradjuri kin and friends do not comment on where the person has been and what they have been doing because they already know the answer to these things. They do not loudly exclaim, 'Oh you are back! Where have you been?' or 'Why didn't you call more often?' Instead a simple greeting is offered and the current conversation around the returned person is resumed. To an untrained eye this could be interpreted

as a lack of care, but it is, in fact, the opposite: because the person is known and cared for, they are immediately slotted back into their place in daily social life, almost as if they never left.

Within Wiradjuri social life it is the individual, rather than the response of the group, to actively participate in social life. If a person cannot be active for some reason they will be largely left alone during, what I term, a 'passive' phase of social life, such as when a young Wiradjuri woman was away in hospital, in Dubbo, for months at a time, or when another woman was away in prison, over two hours drive away, for a period spanning over six months. Neither of the women were able to actively participate in social life. During these times, their kin remained in contact, usually visiting and calling on the phone. Other members of their close social network simply waited for their return. Here, the onus for participation in the social system lies with the individual, rather than the responsibility of the group. The concept of the boredom drive is particularly useful for an analysis of a social system that involves large degree of individual autonomy and agency. The boredom drive prevents people from leaving Wiradjuri social world for too long and drives the individual to continue to participate in local social life, preventing the manifestation of loneliness and boredom.

'Like for an inbox?' Online socialising

Facebook is used in Peak Hill to maintain social closeness during spatial separation and adds to the happiness of daily life. Far from being isolating, online social networking mediums such as Facebook, allow people to adapt to the physical isolation of separate houses, or being away, such as being sick in hospital, and remain embedded in Wiradjuri sociality. Wiradjuri, who are away from home, or at home but living separately in nuclear family style housing, can adapt to an increase in physical distance but retain social inclusion by continuing the intense and frequent level of socialising required to be an active member of social life in Peak Hill.

When I arrived in Peak Hill in early 2010, there were virtually no smart phones and limited use of the Internet. Although Vodafone offered mobile phone and Internet services, most Wiradjuri people had older, prepaid mobile phones, with call and text functions only. This meant that for people subsisting in a boom or bust local economy, often with a heavy reliance on Centrelink payments, mobile phones were only used frequently for a couple of days per month. On paydays, people would rush to the store in Parkes or Dubbo to renew their credit and then begin an almost constant flow of calls and texts to members of their close social networks. As prepaid calls and texts are expensive, within a couple of days one's phone credit had run out and phones were left at home, sitting on the shelf, turned off, until one could afford the next lot of credit. People accessed the Internet with home computers - older desktops, as the more expensive laptops were uncommon. Desktop computers are less suited to active and mobile individuals such as Wiradjuri; they are not designed for lugging around to houses, visits to neighbouring towns, or being taken out to the river or sporting events.

With the advent of affordable smart phones, including the availability of interest free twelve or twenty-four month loans and phone contracts, local people in Peak Hill found that use of the internet via smart phones was more suitable than pre-paid phone calls for staying in frequent contact with kin and friends. Browsing the Internet and accessing social networking sites requires little download data, meaning that unlike the cost of calls on mobile phones, social media can be utilised for longer before the monthly data allowance runs out. As smart phones became popular a greater number of Wiradjuri people began to frequently use Facebook, ranging from young teenagers to their much older grandparents. Older people with few computer skills quickly learnt how to navigate the interface, becoming active users of Facebook. Younger people taught them how to submit friend requests, post photos and use instant chat, nonetheless, the more complex aspects of Facebook,

such as how to adjust your privacy settings with the continual new updates and formats, generally remains under-utilized.

Social scientists, particularly anthropologists and sociologists, have written about different cultural ways of using older social technologies, such as radio, televisions, telephones and mobile phones. More recently, social science researchers have moved to the Internet: Myspace, Twitter, and Facebook. In one stream of research there are those who work with just online communities, particularly sociologists looking at degrees of relatedness through social networking. Another approach involves anthropologists who now research online communities as well. For example, McClard and Anderson (2008) focus on the creation of social identities and selves with Facebook. There are also a small number of anthropologists and social scientists who combine ethnographic and social research methods with online research, such as social geographer McKay's (2010) analysis of personhood and photos on Facebook amongst Filipino people with whom she had previously conducted field work. Another is Gershon's (2010a, 2010b, 2010c) work on media ideologies concerning communication about relationships and break ups with social media. Gershon's term 'media ideologies' refers to beliefs which are tied to cultural ideas about language and communication, therefore, varying across different cultural groups. Borrowing Gershon's concept of media ideologies is useful for an analysis of how Facebook use in Peak Hill is primarily a way of participating in local social life. Social participation is less pronounced with white, or non-Wiradjuri, Facebook users who also use social media as a creative representation of the self and imagined ideals; where images and posts are carefully selected to present a particular image of the self to the public.

The key difference here is the word 'public'. Amongst white Facebook users, it is clear the online domain is considered a public one, with photos and posts presented accordingly. Among Wiradjuri users there is also an acknowledgement of the public nature of Facebook, but it is used in a similar way to physical space: Wiradjuri social space compared to non-Wiradjuri space, distinct to the public/private paradigm among Anglo-Australians. In light of this, Wiradjuri Facebook use is an accurate reflection of daily, social life.

Rather than carefully creating and re-creating an objectified image of social life, Wiradjuri posts reflect it all: the everyday dramas of living in a close-knit world of relations and friends in rural Australia. This is evidenced by the frequency and irregularity of posts or updates. In Peak Hill there is less use of Facebook at regular time intervals, such as every day prior to work, or before 9am and after work, around 5pm. Instead, Wiradjuri use is more irregular and sporadic: reflecting social activity, rather than schedule. Irregular use is partly caused by different work schedules, or, for some, unemployment, but this is not the sole reason. In addition to this, the sporadic nature of online use is reflective to social life in the community. The numbers of posts increase dramatically before, during and after a social event, such as Friday night drinks or football. After this post activity can be quiet for days, unless it is concerning the logistics of everyday social life: locating a person, a phone number or a lift. On my Facebook the number of posts for Wiradjuri users is, on average, three times higher than other users. This is a reflection of the frequency and intensity of Wiradjuri socialising.

The content of the posts ranges from the everyday updates – 'snuggling in bed watching movies' or 'someone bring me some food?' - to the more serious dramas of relationships. For example, fights are played out in full on Facebook and posts and subsequent comments are written as they are

spoken out loud, when the fights occur in person. Posts include the causes of the fight, the swearing and threats of physical or verbal violence, potential repercussions of the fight. Post-fight comments are also displayed, usually in joking or remorseful tones. Whilst posts can sound frightening or violent during fights and disputes with other users, the opposite is also frequent. Wiradjuri users regularly post loving and generous comments to reaffirm relationships. The emotions of daily social life are represented in Wiradjuri posts.

Facebook acts as a kind of ethnographic medium in which the emotional and social obligations of relatedness can be understood. Facebook is also a mechanism to enhance happiness by enabling participation in Wiradjuri social life at all times, a way of overcoming spatial or physical separation. An increase in spatial separation of Aboriginal people in residential communities, towns and cities – a deliberate aim of particular government policies – can be viewed as a product of modernity. Social mediums, another product of modernity, are used by Wiradjuri people in a culturally specific way to overcome the former; a form of modernity being used to combat an effect of modernity.

The use of pokies and Facebook highlights two things. First, how people adapt to historical changes in subtle, culturally specific ways, where the historical change is simultaneously embraced and resisted. The complexity of such local changes cannot simply be understood by a dichotomy of change and continuity or an explanation of cultural resistance or rejection. Change is embraced, not blindly, but carefully and organically into a system of pre-existing emotional and social values embodied as representations of the self and contained within relationships with the other. Second, these examples illustrate the resilience of Wiradjuri social life in Peak Hill. Social life is resilient because it fulfils the emotional needs of the self and other, forming the shared basis of relatedness.

Conclusion

I have illustrated the two emotional ways of being among Wiradjuri sociality in Peak Hill. On one hand, happiness and belonging are associated with being an active participant in the frequent, intense and inter-generational sociality in Peak Hill. On the other hand, social deficiency, or not being able to participate in this sociality, results in loneliness and boredom, two interconnected emotional states of being.

These emotions are at the heart of what it means to be Wiradjuri and fundamental to construction and reproduction of Wiradjuri personhood, or self. As well as being feelings, emotions are ideologies, values and reflexive of a moral inter-subjectivity in which Wiradjuri personhood and relatedness is located. I demonstrated how daily, morning visits to kin and friends are a way of socially and emotionally looking after one's close social network, as well as being a 'good' Wiradjuri person. The reverse also occurs: if someone is suffering from existential boredom they can withdraw from social life, staying alone and not visiting their kin and friends. In this case they are not considered a bad person per se, but their behaviour is: they are not looking after those close to them. Although emotions can prompt a person to participate in or avoid particular activities, such as boredom and high risk activities or loneliness resulting in someone heading up to the pub to be with others, individual motivation is not the sole cause of social and emotional looking after. Emotions are socially and moral engendered: part of a culturally constituted self and way of being.

The causes, expressions and resulting behaviours of three emotional states of being – happiness, loneliness, and boredom – are culturally-constituted: part of a Wiradjuri inter-subjectivity. Wiradjuri

kin share this moral and emotional inter-subjectivity; whereas non-Wiradjuri kin and friends do not. Although non- Wiradjuri kin and friends share similar economic and social values of 'looking after' and participate within subsequent Wiradjuri social practices, such as demand-sharing, they have their own moral and emotional ways of being, which must be continually negotiated within these relationships.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

At the beginning of my thesis I introduced two questions: who is the mob and how are they related? In my quest to answer these questions I offered an exploration and examination of Wiradjuri sociality, kinship, and relatedness. I have covered a range of topics, at times seemingly disparate, from role of the bush in Wiradjuri kinship and being, via the moral dissonance experienced in contemporary inter-cultural marriages, to the emotional states of being which occur during times of social deficiency. Here, I bring together these approaches, topics and themes, to conclude my argument that Wiradjuri sociality is best understood as overlapping and inter-related ‘mobs.’ Mobs are constituted through a reference to place and its history; to socio-centric groupings of kin, often delineated by reference to one or more surnames; and ego-centric personal networks of close kin and friends. Mobs are inter-generational and may comprise significant diversity, including a wide age range, and older and younger members differ in the ways in which they intersect with place, ethnicity, and class. People within one’s own mob are ‘related,’ not just because they may be kin but because they inhabit, to different degrees, a shared economic, social, and emotional world. It is within a distinctive form of inter-subjectivity that relatedness is understood and performed as members of a mob participate in social life in a variety of ways.

To bring together the nuances of my conceptualisation of Wiradjuri sociality and relatedness, I analyse a funeral. I am not wanting to make a symbolic connection between the end of a life and the end of a thesis: rather, I conclude by briefly moving from the everyday, where the thesis is primarily situated, to the ceremonial. In doing so, I show how the different elements of everyday Wiradjuri relatedness identified above become intensely evident in a moment of collective mourning. This was a funeral for a prominent older Wiradjuri man and his young grandson, who died together in an

accident. The funeral presents an ethnographic moment of intersection: of life and death, sadness and happiness, Christianity and Wiradjuri belief, bodies with the earth, and of past and present. It is also time where different people and places come together, close and distant kin, friends and strangers, to look after each other in their mourning.

Case study: A funeral

In the days leading up to the funeral, Peak Hill, a town now in mourning, swelled with people, as Wiradjuri family and friends arrived to grieve, support relatives, and assist with funeral preparations. Homes quickly filled up with makeshift beds, mattresses, and sleeping bags to accommodate relatives. Some had travelled from the nearby towns of Wellington and Condobolin, whilst others had travelled from afar, from Canberra, Sydney, the New South Wales coast, and other parts of Australia. People stayed with their families for varying lengths of time: from a couple of days to weeks to months, depending on how much leave from work they had and how understanding their employers were, as well as other kin commitments. The close male kin of the deceased the older man spent hours at the cemetery, in unusually warm weather for that time of year, digging out the two graves by hand. The remaining kin and friends rallied around the family, who were trying to come to terms with a tragedy that had ended two lives, too soon. As emotions ran high, older people worked tirelessly sorting out arguments and looking after younger people. In our household, there was an endless flow of cups of tea and meals prepared for the additional people staying with us. As there were too many of us to fit inside, we pulled furniture outside, and I sat with younger kin as we listened to older people speak about death, cosmological beliefs about what happens after death, and tell stories of their past. Although this period was cloaked in a collective sadness, despair, and grief, there were also moments of joy and laughter, as family members and friends came together, younger people met more distant kin for the first time and humorous stories were told about family members, including the deceased.

On the day of the funeral everyone was up and about at dawn. More people poured into town from the closer neighbouring towns of Dubbo and Gilgandra and a flurry of cooking and cups of tea ensued as women made sure older people and children were prepared for the long day ahead. Many people could not face breakfast and only drank a little tea, as their grief took a physical, as well as emotional toll. Neighbours brought over additional mugs and items of clothing; last minute washing and ironing was carried out, and shirts, skirts, and trousers were taken, borrowed, and swapped between people from all over town - everyone had to be suitably attired for the ceremony. We sat down in the front yard and worked out who would travel to the church, and later to the cemetery, in the cars we had available. By mid-morning we were ready to leave. The town had closed: shops had shut their doors and services ceased, as nearly all the townspeople prepared to pay their last respects to a man and child, who were well known and liked by all.

The funeral was held in the Catholic Church. As we arrived, early, I was astounded to see how many people were already there. The day was unusually hot and dry, and we set up chairs in the shade of a few trees for older people to rest. More and more people arrived over the next hour, until at least five hundred people had gathered, awaiting the beginning of the service. The service was held in the church, which was too small for the large number of people. Close and/or senior kin filled the church, about two hundred of them, and the rest of us milled around the church grounds outside.

The service began with hymns and prayers that could barely be heard outside, over the crowd of people. Although the mood was sad, with many people crying, it was not quiet, different to the more sombre Anglo-Australian funerals I had attended, where everyone sat silently, weeping softly, grieving privately. This funeral was filled with noise and movement. Outside the church, people chattered among themselves, and women took this opportunity to catch up on news and gossip about distant kin from afar. Children ran around the grounds, playing games and laughing. People did not stand or sit still, but walked around to greet family members and friends, introducing them to children and explaining to them how the different people present were related. Younger people were delighted and amazed as they uncovered family connections for the first time and began to comprehend just how vast

their own kin networks were, in terms of geographic distance and genealogical breadth. There was some joking, but it was a quieter form of joking than usual, inclusive of children and without much swearing: the kind of joking which uses the antics of children to release tension among adults on such a sad occasion.

As Wiradjuri family and friends mingled together, I noticed the other townspeople, the farmers, business owners, and police, standing quietly together and separate from everyone else, on one side of the church. News reporters joined them, trying to catch a glimpse of the service. The coffins were carried out, draped with the Aboriginal flag and covered in flowers. Crying and wailing intensified, mingling with the sounds of a solitary man playing a didgeridoo. The coffins were carefully placed into hearses, as the old man and his grandson left the church for the very last time.

Police had blocked off the streets for the traditional funeral procession of cars, running in a line from the church to the cemetery. Although the cemetery is only located a couple of kilometres out of town, it took us half an hour to drive there due to the sheer number of cars and people. At the cemetery, the sun beat down on us fiercely, and many older people were forced to wait in cars as the heat and exhaustion became too much. In between prayers, the Catholic priest acknowledged the older man's Aboriginal identity and culture. The didgeridoo player resumed and the coffins were lowered into the ground, as two hundred or so family members and friends watched sadly. As the crowd dispersed to the wake, some people remained behind, taking the opportunity to visit and tidy the graves of other loved ones buried in that cemetery.

There were two wakes. The first was held at the church directly after the burials. Like the graveside service, the wake only included kin and friends. Other townspeople, such as the farmers and business owners, were absent. Drinks and food were laid out on tables, and younger people rushed to provide older people with cups of tea and chairs to sit on. I joined in and spend half an hour rolling cigarettes for various older people, while listening to them tell stories, linking people with places and bringing the past into the present. After an hour, the old and the very young returned to the houses to rest, while the rest of the people present left for the second wake, held at the pub. There, people crowded into the back area:

the veranda and yard. Tables were filled with drinks, and mothers sat on the grass, talking and laughing, whilst their children played - singing, dancing and performing acrobatic tricks for anyone who would watch them. Country and western music blared from the speakers and karaoke was set up for people to sing, accompanied by dancing. People raised their drinks and loudly toasted the old man and his grandson. The drinking, chatting, and laughing continued throughout the night, long after the pub had closed. By dawn the town was once again silent, save for the sound of one man quietly and privately weeping for his lost brother.

Wiradjuri sociality has undergone dramatic changes in the past century. No part of Wiradjuri social organisation, kinship, and relatedness has been left untouched by the continual colonial process.

Wiradjuri language is no longer spoken, in fact, the old man whose funeral it was, had been one of the few people who had learnt much of the Wiradjuri language as he was being raised. Initiation and other older ceremonies have ceased, and given way to new ones, such as Christian style funerals.

Many of the older mythologies, songs, and stories are gone, replaced by new stories of colonial subjectivity, of Bulgandramine Mission and the Hill, of segregation and assimilation, and of fighting for decades to remain together, on their land.

This thesis has not been a narrative of survival. Rather, it has been an analysis of the dynamic tensions of cultural transformations: the ongoing negotiations of what it means to be a Wiradjuri person living in Peak Hill today. Aboriginal cultural beliefs and practices cannot be separated from the colonial and historical contexts that everyday life is situated in. By locating the thesis within a junction of past and present, older and younger people, I have been able to address some of the cultural transformations that have occurred in recent Wiradjuri history, such as the way younger people relate to the bush, new categories of sociality, such as non-Aboriginal affines and friends, and how new forms of social practice, for example, the increase of online social networking, are performed in ways which reinforce expressions of Wiradjuri sociality, morality and relatedness.

Wiradjuri people remain Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, and/or Koori, not just as an identity, or because of the colour of their skin, or their connections to a specific past. 'Being Wiradjuri' is a distinctive way of being in the world. It is a reference to having particular cultural beliefs, such as the cosmological principles that link humans to non-human forms, people to place, ancestral kin to the living. It is the performance of particular cultural practices: the way Wiradjuri people use kinship terminology, participate in inter-generational engagements and share. As Wiradjuri cultural beliefs and practices have transformed, as the world changes around them, older forms have given way to new forms. But being Wiradjuri is more than just beliefs and practices: it refers to a deeper moral inter-subjectivity, based upon principles of looking after, caring and sharing, and ways of being in relationships with others. This shared morality is fundamental to Wiradjuri understandings of personhood and of what it means to be a good person. Although moral inter-subjectivities change, as do cultural beliefs and practices, these changes are slower, oddly stubborn and persistent through a tumultuous colonial history. I argue that this is because Wiradjuri moral inter-subjectivity contains an emotional dynamic - the causes, meanings, and expressions of emotion, which are shared by Wiradjuri people in their relationships with others. Somewhat hidden from the view of outsiders, these emotional states of being, such as nurturance, happiness, loneliness, and boredom are reinforced and reproduced through participation in cultural practices, but they also underlie such practices as foundational to the culturally constituted self.

I return now to the four themes I introduced at the beginning of my thesis, the: spatial, temporal, social, and relational. I do so to show how the funeral I have described above encapsulates what 'being Wiradjuri' means today.

Spatial: The role of place

During the funeral, and the days leading up to it, place was brought to the forefront of both experience and conversation. At the graveside service, as the old man and his grandson were being lowered into the earth, we noticed a large crow, sitting on a nearby grave, who appeared to be watching the coffins, one large and one painfully small, slowly disappearing from view. As someone commented, 'Look at the crow, one of the old fellas is watching over us,' I thought back to some of the stories I had heard during the days leading up to the funeral. Stories of ancestral spirits turning into crows, spiritual warnings about death and misfortune, how ancestral kin watched over and spoke with children, and warned adults of impending danger - this had happened to the brother of the old man on the night before the deaths. I had also heard stories of places: some still inhabited and others abandoned, rarely visited, but not forgotten, as well as the importance of looking after spiritual places, such as the river and the site of Bulgandramine Mission. I heard how some places are avoided because they are haunted by malignant beings, whereas others are spiritually safe, but are no longer Wiradjuri places - they are located on the private farms and properties of Anglo-Australian strangers. All of these various types of places and experiences were brought from the past into the present, in the form of stories being told by older to younger people, connected Wiradjuri sociality with place.

The relationship between Wiradjuri sociality and place is complex and varies between older and younger Wiradjuri. Relationships to the bush have changed over time from one of present experience - embodied and subjective to something belonging to the past - disembodied and objective. Although the bush is meaningful for young and old, among older Wiradjuri the bush is located within a cosmology in which the bush had a form of agency and is part of a reciprocal

relationship of looking after and being looked after, characteristics which remain part of close relationships. Among younger people, the bush is meaningful for identity and belonging, what it means to be Koori, but it does not have the same agency and power it once did.

More generally, being Wiradjuri is associated with local places, such as Bulgandramine Mission, the Hill, Bogan River, Peak Hill, and the central west region of New South Wales. And, of course, people belong to and come from place, just as they did for the funeral: uncles and cousins being met for the first time are not just kin, they are kin 'from' somewhere. They are emplaced. A Wiradjuri person does not have to be born in Wiradjuri country, nor do they need to live within it. They can be tied to place through ancestral connections of having family born and buried there, stories told to them in the present by older kin, and experiencing place through by visiting, such as attending funerals.

Today places have additional and new meanings. Peak Hill, the Bogan River, the site of Bulgandramine Mission, the Mish, these places intersect with Wiradjuri subjectivity and sociality illustrated by place-defined mobs, such as the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob. Place is another medium for the tension between group autonomy and relatedness to occur, as Wiradjuri people continually negotiate overlapping but distinct socialities, by simultaneously asserting their autonomy, as for instance, the Peak Hill mob through others from Wellington or Condobolin, while emphasising their relatedness to broader networks of kin that cut across locality.

Temporal: Changes from older to younger Wiradjuri

The funeral of the old man and his grandson was an ethnographic moment that brought together the past and present, and older and younger Wiradjuri people. As people of all ages gathered to

mourn the passing of a man and child from life to death, it was an opportunity for older and younger Wiradjuri people to look after each other. Older people looked after younger people by sharing economic resources, but more significantly, they shared stories and knowledge as they remembered the old man, who was not only a vibrant member of the Peak Hill community but considered by many to be a cultural activist. During such moments of the transmission of knowledge from older to younger people, the authority of senior kin intensified and became visible as younger people were reminded of who their 'bosses' were: the senior kin who had looked after people, places, and, in doing so, became the keepers of cultural and social knowledge. Younger people reacted to their authority, responding to the unspoken demands and needs of older people by making sure they had seats in the shade, lifts in cars, and plenty of cool drinks to combat the heat. Some of these demands were spoken out loud, as older kin called cups of tea or cigarettes, and for babies to be placed on their laps. Emotionally, older and younger people looked after each other. They mourned together, cried together, and made each other laugh to prevent the sadness and grief from becoming too overwhelming. They socially looked after each other. At the wake, older people played with babies and small children, keeping small hands away from the alcoholic beverages and ashtrays, while older, middle aged and younger people chatted, sang and danced the night away, enjoying generations of being together as kin.

I have addressed the intersection between past and present, of historical dynamic and changing cultural expressions, through an examination of older and younger Wiradjuri people's engagement in sociality and relatedness. I conceptualised older, middle aged and younger people into distinct yet overlapping cultural generations, signified by place and history, enabling me to analyse differences between them and incorporate change into an examination of sociality and relatedness. The Wiradjuri people of Peak Hill today are the younger of many generations who have, since the 1830s,

been in varying degrees of contact with non-Wiradjuri people, as fellow workers, bosses, government officials, welfare agents and shopkeepers. It was not until Wiradjuri people moved into town, during the 1950s and 60s that the divide between the spatialised and racialised began to shift to allow for non-Aboriginal affines and friends. The category of affinal kin has expanded because of an expansion of the 'too-close' rule to include Aboriginal people from further away. The distance from each partner's home communities often makes the pull to great to sustain both natal and affinal relations. In order to remain closer to home, more Wiradjuri people look to local but non-Aboriginal partnerships. In these, spatial tension is replaced by cultural tensions: marriage partnerships are unstable, reinforcing the primacy of natal kin.

What is evident is that the inclusion of more non-Wiradjuri people into Wiradjuri social arenas has not resulted in forms and expressions of Wiradjuri relatedness becoming 'white.' On the contrary, it is evident closeness with non-Aboriginal people formed because it is the white person who moves towards Aboriginal expectations. I used the case study of Annie's marriage to her Anglo-Australian spouse to illustrate how relatedness becomes an inter-cultural junction of morality, where one's expectations, obligations, and meanings of what it means to be a wife and mother had to be continually negotiated. In doing so, it is more often than not, that the non-Wiradjuri spouse, mother, or father is expected to 'fit in' with Wiradjuri relatedness and participate in the cultural practices that relatedness entails. It is within the Wiradjuri framework of relatedness that the different Wiradjuri and Anglo-Australian moral and emotional inter-subjectivities are negotiated. This is a complex, and often difficult, process, where different moral values and daily emotions come to surface as each person in the relationship tries to incorporate the other into their understanding of relatedness without compromising their own way of being.

As my research demonstrates, ‘looking after’ as the cornerstone of a moral being, not only remains key for understanding the history of Wiradjuri relatedness, it is what has enabled the changes and transformations, and yet coherence, over time and place of that way of being. In Chapter 7, I illustrated how contemporary Wiradjuri sharing now includes new forms of interactions between younger people, such as swapping, buying and selling. ‘Sharing’ as a socially grounded economic system in which people value the reciprocities, autonomy and relatedness of close social relatedness, rather than the market value of an object, remains the primary principle guiding such interactions. Sharing, as social and economic practice, creates both group relatedness and reproduces culturally-constituted and highly valued emotional states of being within individuals, such as nurturance and happiness.

Social: Social groups and personal networks

The funeral was a convergence of the different social groups that make up Wiradjuri social worlds. During the funeral, networks of close and distant kin and non-kin, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, from Peak Hill and other places throughout New South Wales came together to participate in a ceremony to say goodbye to one old man and his grandson, and to be with the grieving families. As they mingled, some, particularly younger people, met relations for the first time, discovering how far their kin networks extend. Friends were dispersed among family and townspeople, in different constellations of age, shared histories and interests, which shifted as they moved from the funeral to the wakes. Local white farmers, business owners, and other members of the middle class of Peak Hill attended: people who are ‘strangers’ to Wiradjuri forms of relatedness and who are usually absent from day to day Wiradjuri social life. The funeral had occurred early in my fieldwork and I was puzzled by the hundreds of people present. I remember thinking, who are

all of these people? Are they all kin? Friends? Strangers? Are they all one mob? A community? How is it they are all together at this one ceremony?

I sought to answer these questions, and, in doing so, present an analysis of the different groups and groupings of people who make up a Wiradjuri person's social world, as captured in their own expressions such as, my 'mob' or 'relations.' Initially I thought I could just rely on my genealogies as a way of piecing people together, believing this would provide a visual/diagrammatic representation of 'who' everyone was and how they fitted together. This was useful, but it only got me part of the way. Genealogically close kin were not necessarily socially close, because reference to one's 'mob' was ambiguous as apparently distinctive groupings overlapped. 'My mob,' although primarily an ego-centric conceptualisation is constituted by groupings which have place-centric, socio-centric, or ego-centric points of reference. One's mob can might to all of the Wiradjuri people of a place, such as the Peak Hill or Red Dust mob. It can refer to familial groups, which extend beyond locality and ethnicity, such as 'the Keeds' or 'the Reads'. Additionally, it can mean one's close social network, which also cuts across locality and ethnicity, as well as kinship: the close kin and friends who make up one's day to day social world, whether or not they are part of each day. While the more generalising and encompassing reference to one's mob are socially significant, it is in this more intimate sense of 'my mob' that the meaning of *being* Wiradjuri can be found.

It is common in Australian Aboriginal anthropology to define social groups in terms of dichotomies: Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal, kin/non-kin, knowable/unknowable, place/region, and close/distant. I have also used such dichotomies but at the same time I have deconstructed some of the taken for granted oppositional content these terms often convey. These dichotomies can mask the inter-

cultural realities of Wiradjuri experiences in Peak Hill. Wiradjuri socialities are played out across locality, ethnicity, class, and Anglo-Australian expectations in specific ways.

Table 5 shows the intersection of locality, ethnicity, class, and gender with three broad categories of Wiradjuri relationships: kin, friends and strangers.

Relationship	KIN	FRIENDS	STRANGERS
LOCALITY	Various	Same as ego	Various
ETHNICITY	Any	Not Wiradjuri	Not Wiradjuri
CLASS	Any	Same as ego	Any
GENDER	Both	Same as ego	Both

Table 5 Intersections of locality, ethnicity, class, and gender in Wiradjuri sociality

Table 5 shows that kin relatedness is not confined by locality, but friends tend to share the same residential locale. Strangers, on the other hand, include locals, people visiting town, as well as those encountered in other places for a variety of reasons. The category of kin now includes various ethnicities: Wiradjuri, non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal (predominantly but not exclusively Anglo-Australian people). The category of friend refers primarily to non-Aboriginal people. There are also Aboriginal people who are not Wiradjuri or kin but who can become friends although this is less common at the local level and more likely if, for example, a Wiradjuri person moved to a city without a Wiradjuri network. Kin and strangers can belong to different socio-economic classes, but friendships usually form within the same class. Friends generally do not form across gender.

Wiradjuri relationships are organised by principles of performative closeness and distance. Building upon the distinction between performative and non-performative kin, or close and distant kin, I have demonstrated how Wiradjuri relatedness can be understood in this way. In my analysis of Wiradjuri kinship terminology, I found that kin terms signified classificatory and performative categories of relatedness. One's 'Pop' may be a biological grandparent (MF, FF), a bilateral classificatory grandparent (MFB, FFB), or someone who is not genealogically close but close in a performative sense, meaning they are fulfilling the economic, social, and emotional obligations and responsibilities involved in 'looking after' their grandchild.

Among Wiradjuri people in Peak Hill, performative kinship is extended to non-kin. Friends are expected to participate in Wiradjuri relatedness in a similar way to kin: they must fulfil the social and economic obligations of a friendship which is located within a kin-based domain. Friends are expected to, and do, participate in contemporary Wiradjuri sharing and intense and frequent inter-generational socialising. This is different to people becoming kin, such as affines. Friends are rarely given a kin term and are not expected to have the same moral and emotional framework of personhood as Wiradjuri kin. In this sense, friendship cannot be slotted into kinship, but it is not in opposition to kinship either. Friendship is a relational category of sociality, dependant on shared notions of relatedness but distinct moral and emotional inter-subjectivities. Figure 4 shows the movement between the different social groups and one's ego-centric network of close people.

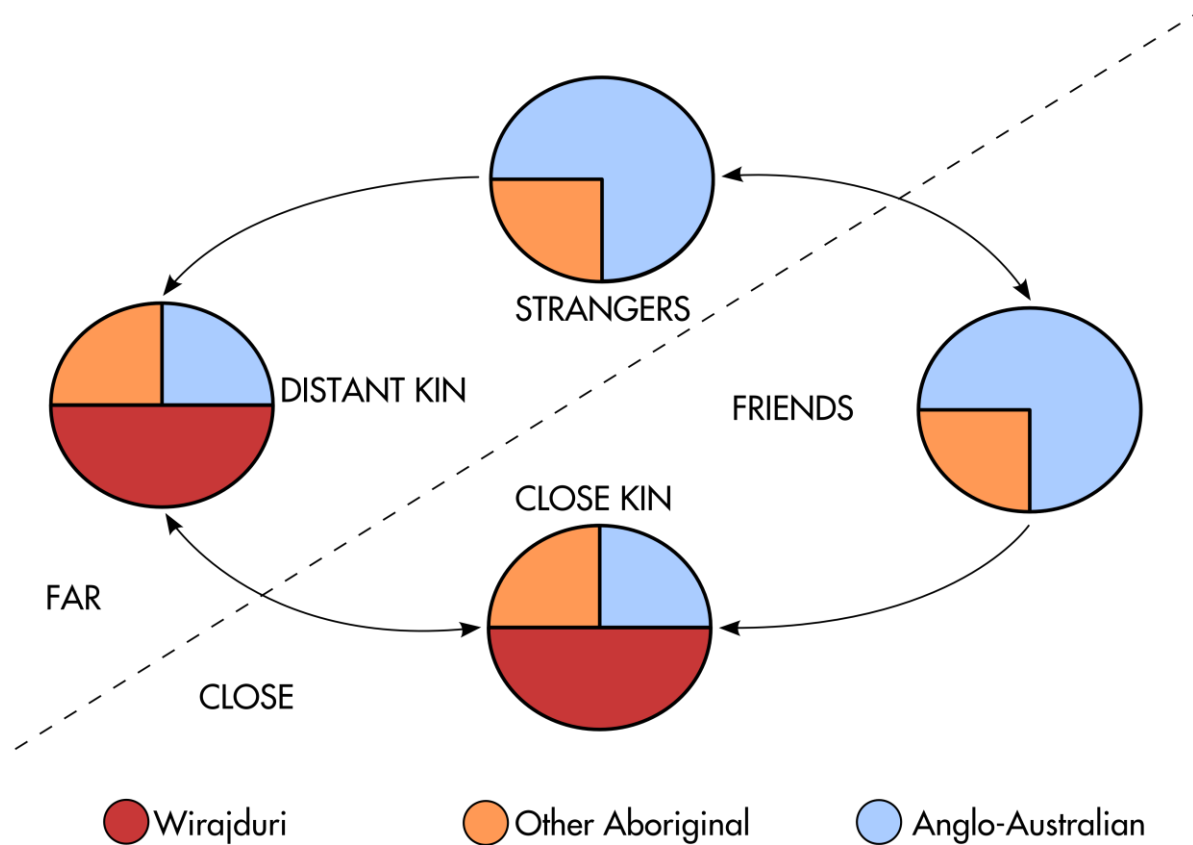


Figure 4: Composition of and relationships between different categories of Wiradjuri sociality

In Figure 4 the dashed line intersects the categories of people who are part of one's close social network, compared to those who are socially distant. Distant kin and strangers are removed in a performative sense, whereas close kin and friends make up one's close network. The colours indicate the ethnic composition of contemporary socialities. As explained in Table 5, kin, whether close or distant, predominantly Wiradjuri, as well as, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Friends and strangers are predominantly Anglo-Australians, with some non-Wiradjuri, Aboriginal people. There is a distinction between Wiradjuri and non-Wiradjuri Aboriginal people who might be 'close' as compared with non-Aboriginal people: all Wiradjuri and many other Aboriginal people are knowable in a way that does not apply to non-Aboriginal people. Not only are they part of kin networks which

span New South Wales and nowadays well beyond, they are also expected to understand the morality of relatedness as looking after. They are knowable in that they know what it means to be in a relationship. Most Anglo-Australian people are not knowable in this moral sense. Even as well-known locals in Peak Hill, they remain 'far' - strangers - unless they become close kin or friends. The arrows in Figure 4 demonstrate movement in both directions: the dynamic of distance and closeness in which lies the negotiation of day-to-day relatedness.

The social world for a Wiradjuri person is a complex structure of relatedness. The Wiradjuri self is constituted within a social-moral order in which kinship, friendship, and ethnicity interact, comfortably but also uncomfortably because the others, whether close or distant, older or younger, of one's world cannot be understood as sharing the same moral and emotional inter-subjectivity.

Relational: Wiradjuri relatedness, morality and being

In the period after the death of the old man and his grandson and leading up to the funeral, performing relatedness, meaning the Wiradjuri way of looking after or caring for one's relations, intensified. It often took precedence over other obligations, such as paid employment. Looking after includes the obligation for close kin and friends to financially support the families of the deceased and assist with funeral costs. They are also expected to emotionally look after the families of the deceased: during an intense period of emotionality, such as the funeral, expressions of autonomy and relatedness also intensify. Fights and arguments increased as individual emotions ran high, yet relatedness was reinforced as kin and friends came together, to collectively take part in this period of grief and mourning.

There is a difficulty in analytically separating aspects of relatedness, such as economic, social, or emotional. In reality, within practices of sharing or socialising, all of these aspects are inter-twined, for example demand-sharing is economic as well as social and emotional. This is evident in the distinctive ways in which emotions are culturally constituted and expressed among Wiradjuri people, closely tied to the social and economic values of Wiradjuri personhood, as in the way boredom directly correlates with loneliness, and loneliness with a lack of participation within a close social world.

Economic, social, and emotional orders of relatedness are all fundamentally moral orders as well. Relatedness rests upon a moral framework of being, the underlying structure of the different forms of social values and practices, which simultaneously creates and reinforces relatedness, whether distant, amicable, or conflicting. Wiradjuri morality is not just a value of personhood - it is about being a 'good,' 'generous,' or 'caring' person. It is a way of being in the world which is constitutive of - and inseparable from - a shared inter-subjectivity. The rules and dynamics of social practice illustrate these moral values. Yet it is emotions which are the language of moral being, of personhood. Emotions and emotional states of being open the window through which we can view the culturally-constituted self and the ways in which a way of being, a particular moral inter-subjectivity, expresses itself in relatedness. Here I reach the crux of my argument: that Wiradjuri relatedness includes emotional as well as distinctive social and economic ways of being in the world. Relatedness is informed by a Wiradjuri moral framework, in which emotional repertoires are recognised and shared between members of one's close mob. Wiradjuri social categories have changed in light of an inter-cultural history in which the world is no longer one of kin versus stranger, and who and kin are has changed considerably. These changes in these categories have not so much affected Wiradjuri relatedness to the extent to which these structural changes might

suggest. Wiradjuri relatedness is underpinned by a moral and emotional order which has clearly adapted itself to the transforming subjectivities which have been both imposed and willingly adopted by Wiradjuri people over time. To 'be Wiradjuri' and to 'be in a close relationship' with a Wiradjuri person, is not only to share a social and economic space, but also to be able to negotiate the moral and emotional dimensions of what it means to be both an autonomous person and a relational self.

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