

# Chapter 1

## Living with ambiguity: Aboriginal community experience in south-western Sydney

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**Abstract:** *This chapter focuses on how Aboriginal people experience community in south-western Sydney.<sup>1</sup> Aboriginal socialities tend to be understood (a) in terms of kinship and (b) in terms of their ties to their places of origin or ancestry, bonds that are considered the basis of their identity. While the importance of kinship ties for Aboriginal people is undeniable, the degree of emphasis placed upon them has tended to divert scholarly attention from the other forms of socialities that Aboriginal people have developed, a phenomenon epitomised in the use of the term ‘community’ in Aboriginal studies. This chapter examines the various uses of the term ‘community’ and how Aboriginal people experience Aboriginal community that is not exclusively based on kinship ties. In doing this it also explores Aboriginal people’s engagement with identity negotiation.*

### Introduction

To date, most research has supported the premise that ‘Aboriginal community’ is a collective term that refers to a specific people based in a single geographic location and connected through kinship ties. Although there have been some critiques (e.g. Peterson 1969) and works of note (e.g. Beckett 1988[1965]; Holcomb 2004; Macdonald 1986),<sup>2</sup> most have unquestioningly adopted the notion of community. Successive Australian governments’ use of the term ‘community’ has further complicated the issue. In 1972 the federal government introduced the term to identify a body or group among whom massive amounts of funding have been distributed, an action based upon the assumption that a ‘community’ consists of people in a single geographic location, who are organised accordingly (cf. Smith, B 1989). In practice, this has meant that Aboriginal people have had to establish legally constituted organisations in order to receive, manage and account for expenditure and services provided. Some research

highlights the difference between government use of the term ‘community’ and the ways in which Aboriginal people’s social organisations operate. Aboriginal people living in a single geographic location may not constitute a self-governing social unit (Smith, B 1989): their social organisations tend to be more labile and oriented towards kinship ties. According to Christopher Anderson (1989), governments’ use of the term ‘community’ can be subverted by Aboriginal peoples’ kin-based loyalties. In such situations, the term becomes a ‘convenient label used by those in administration of Aboriginal affairs’ (Palmer 1990:169). Rowse (1992) argues that anthropologists in general, who have undertaken research in remote areas, tend to be critical — even dismissive — of the term ‘community’. In settled Australia, the situation is not so different. Macdonald (1986) notes that in Cowra the term ‘community’, which used to refer to those who share the same historical experience, started to refer to those living in a single geographic location. Peters-Little (2000) suggests that organisations ostensibly representing the ‘community’ can be taken over by dominant families. This situation confused Aboriginal peoples’ understanding of the appropriate use of the term.

Some scholars who have addressed the problem of government use of the term have waived the opportunity to contemplate the word ‘community’ and Aboriginal peoples’ diverse social relationships, a problem evident in studies of urban settings. In these studies the term ‘Aboriginal community’ usually means a people connected through kinship ties associated with their places of origin (Barwick 1964, 1988[1971]; Gale 1972, 1981; Gale and Wundersitz 1982; Inglis 1961, 1964; Schwab 1988; Smith, H and Biddle 1975). In more recent times, Aboriginal people have developed various kinds of relationships that cut across kinship ties (Cowlshaw 2009; Matsuyama 2006; Suzuki 1995); whereas their kinship ties make them frequently move between the city and their places of origin (Anderson, K 1999; Staveley 1993), the conventional usage of the term ‘community’ often proves inadequate to grasp these relationships. Exceptions include Pierson’s (1977a, 1977b, 1982) work, which suggests the importance of the role of organisations to connecting non-related Aboriginal people (see also Plater 1993). Pierson’s (1977a, 1977b, 1982) approach is considered here, although it has not been developed subsequent to his work.

This chapter employs Delanty’s (2003) theory of community, which argues that community is based on the communicative experiences of belonging. I explore how Aboriginal people develop and experience a sense of community in south-western Sydney, where their main socialities are neither reliant upon kinship ties nor on shared localities. Questions vis-à-vis the relationship between community and identity are raised. In particular, consideration is given to questioning: if kinship ties are ‘what makes you Aboriginal’ (Peters-Little cited in Plater 1993:265), what happens to Aboriginal identity in communities not based on kinship ties?

In this chapter I first review the theoretical literature on community to provide a methodological tool. Delanty’s (2003) notion of community is used as an analytical

tool to facilitate an understanding of people's sense of community in urban settings. Second, I provide background knowledge on Aboriginal people living in south-western Sydney. Third, using Delanty's notion of community, I explore the Aboriginal community in south-western Sydney based on the field data, which derived from my one-year field research in south-western Sydney in 2004. Aboriginal peoples' sense of community is illustrated by investigating Aboriginal social relations. The issue of identity is examined in the fourth section, as is argumentation surrounding Aboriginal identity and its implications for socialities. Finally, I present my conclusions based on the implications of ambiguous community and identity experiences.

### **Community based on communication**

The concept of community was initially used as an analytical tool to grasp the relationship between social structure and emotional sentiment (Hazan 1984). In classical social science, the term 'community' referred to a reified, bounded group of people living in the same geographical area. Residents were assumed to have an emotional attachment to the community by virtue of living in close proximity with others. This model, however, could not cope with social fluidity which calls any idea of a fixed boundary into question (Barth 1969). In the 1980s the concept was reinterpreted as symbolic (mental) (Anderson, B 1983; Cohen 1985; Marcus 1994). But the link between this ideational aspect of community and actual social experience was not deeply debated. As a result, debate could not come up with a concept of community which could analyse why and how people use the term even when living in complex and fluid social situations.

Amit (2002) argues that the cognitive aspects of the concept of community should be re-embedded into actual social relations. Here I draw on Delanty's (2003) notion of communicative experience as the basis of community, which unites social and emotional aspects of community. He argues that community has always been based on *communication*, including within classically imagined small-scale communities. Nowadays, these communicative ties have been freed from former social structures such as family, locality, class or nation, having become more pluralised and fragmented. People belong to a number of communities, all of which have a weak sense of boundary and tend, if anything, to be abstract and imagined (cf. Marcus 1994). This model captures the fluid and overlapping characteristics of socialities formed in contemporary urban worlds in which people simultaneously belong to a nation, an online community, an academic community, a family, a neighbourhood and/or a workplace community.

If community is based on communication, people's communicative ties need to be explored in order to understand people's experience of community. Since kinship ties have been the primary basis of Aboriginal peoples' communicative ties, Aboriginal community has often been considered as based on kinship ties. In contrast, I argue that in situations in which Aboriginal social relations are not exclusively based on kinship

ties, communicative ties are constituted differently. In the following section, after providing a background picture of the Aboriginal people in south-western Sydney, I analyse the Aboriginal community based on this notion.

## Aboriginal people in south-western Sydney

South-western Sydney, an area located approximately 27–51 kilometres south-west of Sydney, comprises the Bankstown, Fairfield, Liverpool and Campbelltown Local Government Areas (LGAs). Within 30 years of the British arrival on the Australian coast in 1788, this area had become the ‘first white frontier’, with agriculture as its main activity. After the Second World War (post-1945) suburban development saw large public housing estates interspersed among private housing estates in the suburbs. Cheap land and housing attracted people with relatively low incomes (e.g. ex-servicemen and migrants) (Keating 1995). By 2006 the total population in this area was 658 061 (ABS 2006). Since the start of its suburban development, this part of Sydney has been considered a low socio-economic area (cf. Keating 1995): the cost of living is cheaper compared to the eastern or inner-city suburbs of Sydney and the population is generally less well educated, experiences relatively high unemployment rates and tends to have low income levels (ABS 2006). Crime and safety are issues of some concern (Bankstown City Council 2004; Campbelltown City Council 2004a, 2004b; Fairfield City Council 1999, 2003; Liverpool City Council 2003, 2005; New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2008). There is a high rate of one-parent families, which are more likely to be found living in low-rental houses provided by the government. Widespread stereotyping has resulted in this area being dubbed ‘Dodge City’, home to perceived ‘unsophisticated’ residents (cf. Delbridge et al. 2001).

Subsequent to European occupation, the original Aboriginal population was decimated by disease and violence. Today, only a few descendants of the Tharawal<sup>3</sup> people, the original inhabitants of the Campbelltown area (cf. Campbelltown City Council 2004a), can be found in the area. No records have been kept or studies undertaken indicating the presence of descendants of the original inhabitants living in south-western Sydney (cf. Everett 2006). According to the most recent census, in 2006 there were 7658 Aboriginal people living in south-western Sydney, most of whom had originally come from different areas of south-eastern and south-western Australia (cf. Beasley 1970). The Aboriginal population of south-western Sydney is younger, less well educated and experiences higher unemployment rates and lower income levels than the non-Aboriginal population (ABS 2006).

On first arriving in Sydney, Aboriginal people tended to take up residence in inner-city suburbs such as Redfern. Migration to this area started as early as the 1880s (Taksa 1999). In time, their overcrowded housing situation gave rise to public concern. In an attempt to deal with the problem, at the end of the 1960s the

government set up major public housing projects, including a special program later known as the Housing for Aborigines program in outer suburbia (Morgan, G 2006). Between 1971 and 2006 the Aboriginal population of this area rose from 491 to 7658 (ABS 1971, 2006). George Morgan (2000, 2006) notes the friction between the obligations of Aboriginal kinship and the assimilationist Housing Commission policy. In addition, what was called the 'salt and pepper' (e.g. Morgan, G 2006) housing allocation policy was designed to ensure that Aboriginal people lived dispersed among non-Aboriginal people.

Although family is important for most Aboriginal people, there is no single kinship connection which covers all or sufficient numbers of Aboriginal people in south-western Sydney to be dominant. The patterns of the distribution of family members and their interactions with each other are various. There also seems to be no predominant pattern of migration. While some Aborigines migrated to south-western Sydney to join their kin, others, who had no contacts in south-western Sydney, simply applied for public housing in the area and accepted the offer. As a result, the structures of the Aboriginal families living in south-western Sydney are diverse. Some have local kin networks large enough to warrant 60 people attending a birthday party: others' kin live mainly in the rural areas; some live in a home town or are dispersed among the towns, cities or states they have migrated to; many have kin elsewhere in Sydney, in the inner-city or outer suburbs. Interaction between the family members and the functions of the kin relationships are also diverse. Some Aboriginal people regularly visit their relatives in and outside south-western Sydney, providing social and material assistance to each other in the form of food, accommodation, money and the raising of small children. Some visit their relatives in rural areas only once a year or less. Others may not have visited their relatives in their original place of residence since their migration to the city, which could be decades ago. There could be various reasons for this. Some may have found it difficult to continue to meet the demands of kinship; others may have quarrelled with their kin and departed for the city.

In addition, considerable numbers of people do not have kin in any of the ways described above; for example, members or descendants of the Stolen Generations, those Aboriginal people who were removed from their Aboriginal families as infants or small children and raised in foster homes and institutions (cf. Read 1982). While some have established contact with their Aboriginal family members, others have either found it difficult to establish close ties with them or have not been able to find them. Another group comprises those referred to as 'newly identified'. There are various reasons for their histories. Some say that they knew about their Aboriginal descent but kept it hidden for a long time; others say their parents only recently told them of their Aboriginality. Some, through genealogical research, discovered that they are of Aboriginal descent. As a result of recent changes in social attitudes towards Aboriginal people in the wider society (and the new advantages which Aboriginality may attract), they have decided to re-identify as 'Aboriginal'. And while some go in search of their

Aboriginal families (Morgan, S 1987), others opt not to explore their immediate or extended family connections.

Aboriginal organisations were established in Sydney's outer suburbia, concomitant with Aboriginal peoples' migration. In inner Sydney, organisations dealing with Aboriginal peoples' social issues — including health and education — were established in the late 1960s and have mushroomed since 1972. In south-western Sydney Aboriginal peoples' involvement with organisation-oriented socialities commenced in the 1980s. In 1983 the Gandangara Local Aboriginal Land Council and the Tharawal Local Aboriginal Land Council were established under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW). Other Aboriginal, as well as mainstream, projects addressing Aboriginal issues proliferated. Currently, there are two Aboriginal organisations in Liverpool LGA and 11 in Campbelltown LGA<sup>4</sup>: these organisations run projects, monthly meetings and annual events for Aboriginal people. The Liverpool and Campbelltown City Councils employ Aboriginal project officers and hold monthly meetings. The South Western Sydney Area Health Service<sup>5</sup> has employed many Aboriginal health care workers and organises Aboriginal elders' groups, Aboriginal men's and women's clinics in Liverpool LGA and Campbelltown LGA, and an Aboriginal women's group in Bankstown LGA. It also funds projects for a non-government organisation that runs an Aboriginal playgroup in Fairfield. Some local schools employ Aboriginal Educational Assistants or Aboriginal Liaison Officers and have programs for Aboriginal students and parents. These projects are run by Aboriginal workers, who are connected through loose networks. Local Land Councils, some Aboriginal organisations, city councils and various community organisations either jointly or separately hold annual Aboriginal events such as NAIDOC (National Aboriginal Islander Day Observance Committee) Week celebrations and Sorry Day services. Aboriginal health care workers jointly hold an annual festival for Aboriginal women throughout south-western Sydney. Some of these groups meet two or three times a week and some meet monthly; most attract between ten and 30 people. Organisations that hold activities frequently do so for only one to three hours at a time. And because there are no central organisations or places to accommodate large and inclusive social gatherings, the building of strong social relations is limited.

There is therefore no comprehensive form of social relations that connects all of the Aboriginal people in south-western Sydney. They are not exclusively connected through kinship ties and they do not live in clusters; rather, they inhabit their diverse histories and backgrounds. In their everyday social interactions, they frequently mix with non-Aboriginal neighbours, friends, workmates and family members. However, in this situation it is not rare to hear an Aboriginal person refer to him/herself as a member of the 'community' or 'Aboriginal community'. Why do they do this?

## Aboriginal community in south-western Sydney

In south-western Sydney one finds the term ‘community’ used and applied in different ways; for example, it is used as a suffix to a suburb, as in the ‘Minto community’ or the ‘Bonnyrigg community’. Some people refer to their places of origin as their ‘community’; one hears Aboriginal organisations referred to as ‘the community’. The most frequent usage is ambiguous and general, such as ‘You are well known in the community’.

An examination of communicative ties helps to unravel this situation by finding out where and how Aboriginal people communicate.<sup>6</sup> As regards the appending of the term to a suburb, it only occurs in relatively geographically isolated suburbs like Minto, where residents have to travel by train, car or bus to visit other suburbs and have access to one shopping centre only for their everyday needs. In confined situations such as these, because the residents come into contact with each other frequently, communicative ties are concentrated in one geographical area. For this reason, the residents refer to the ‘Minto community’, which includes both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal residents.<sup>7</sup>

Aboriginal kinship ties, while not comprehensive in south-western Sydney, are nonetheless important to many Aboriginal people. For those who frequently visit their relatives in their places of origin, communicative ties are maintained; in such cases they refer to their places of origin as their ‘communities’. Aboriginal people, and organisations thought to be representative of Indigenous communities by government, use the term to attract funds. When Aboriginal people use the term ‘community’ in reference to local organisations, they may be reflecting this situation, although such inference requires cautious use due to the significance of the activities of the organisations dealing with Aboriginal issues, which involve a fourth way of using the term. Because the meetings, groups and events run by organisations dealing with Aboriginal issues do not occur on a regular basis, the people tend not to develop the strong social relations depicted in studies of rural area communities. But, notwithstanding, given that in south-western Sydney many Aboriginal people have limited recourse to their kin, organisations provide an opportunity to get to know — and form alliances with — other Aboriginal people and keep in contact with them. Some Aboriginal people have come to know others through their children’s schools, some through contact with the Land Council. Others attend Aboriginal health care services. When Aboriginal workers start work on new projects, they visit the above organisations in order to introduce themselves along with their projects. Organisations also offer opportunities to members of the Stolen Generations — and to those with ‘newly identified’ backgrounds — to become involved with Aboriginal people other than their own Aboriginal families.

In south-western Sydney the communicative ties among Aboriginal people are enhanced by the activities of organisations dealing with Aboriginal issues. It is through

their experiences with these organisations that Aboriginal people come to refer to themselves as ‘members of the community’. As a local Aboriginal elder stated:

For me, there are two communities. One is in my family, there. Here, for my children, is their community. So mine too. For me, it’s also this organisation on Aboriginal education that I have been involved with for a long time; for others, it may be through the health care network, for some it might be through football.

Referring to the organisations as ‘community’ could, in some cases, reflect the importance of the organisations. Most people are not involved solely with one particular organisation. They tend to participate in several different groups, meetings and events. For them, communicative ties in south-western Sydney are dispersed and varied, making their experiences of community diverse, slippery and unbounded. Aboriginal people may or may not attend the same groups, meetings and events: frequency of attendance varies and their experiences of community, rather than coinciding with each other, tend to overlap, all of which makes people’s use of the term ‘community’ at best vague and ambiguous. The elder made another important point, that Aboriginal people may experience more than one form of community. The fact that they communicate with their relatives, neighbours and with others who participate in the aforesaid organisations’ activities suggests that community in south-western Sydney is built around diverse experiences of participation.

### **Boundaries of being**

A significant feature of the Aboriginal community in south-western Sydney is that it is not exclusively based on kin-based socialities. For this reason, I question the premise that Aboriginal identity is based on kinship ties alone. Among Aboriginal groups and meetings in south-western Sydney, questioning what ‘Aboriginal’ means can on occasion trigger a huge argument. Identity is debated because it is no longer taken for granted (cf. Bauman 1999). In south-western Sydney Aboriginal people encounter not only people from different regions but also members of the Stolen Generations and people claiming newly identified backgrounds. This puts ‘being Aboriginal’ under question, as evident in the case below:

At one Aboriginal meeting, an Aboriginal woman, Daisy, asked a woman named Penny: ‘Penny, do you know who is Aboriginal?’ Penny replied: ‘Well, he or she has to identify as Aboriginal, has to be Aboriginal descent, and has to be recognised as Aboriginal by the Land Council, or TAFE [Technical and Further Education]...’ Daisy did not wait for her to finish the list. She said: ‘No, Aboriginality has to be from where it comes from. You cannot become Aboriginal by taking a TAFE course’. Penny, refuting this argument, asked: ‘What about the Stolen Generation?’



Daisy replied: 'Well, Link-Up...' But before she finished her sentence, a woman named Lila, who was new at this meeting, turned around and asked Daisy: 'What if my mum died?' Daisy asked: 'Where are you from?' 'Bourke', Lila replied. Daisy smiled, then said: 'Well, I am from Bourke. So we all know you.' A young girl named Tracy interrupted: 'Well, where is this thing from? Not everyone knows that.' Daisy seemed annoyed and said: 'Everyone knows that.' Tracy said: 'I did not know that'.

When the argument turns to the question 'What is Aboriginal?', people talk about their families and say things like, 'Being Aboriginal has to be from where you come from' or 'We know if we go back where we come from.' In south-western Sydney the argument about Aboriginality revolves around whether family ties should be the sole criterion. This indicates, on the one hand, the continuing significance of kinship ties for some Aboriginal people. However, the nature of the kinship ties argued here is not the same as that in the rural areas from where the majority of the Aboriginal people living in south-western Sydney originally came.

In the rural areas Aboriginal kin relationships are not solely reliant upon blood connections (Macdonald 1986, 1998, 2000). Macdonald (1986) also emphasises 'doing the right thing' by kin. What is important is the actual doing and engaging. For example, in cases where a woman gives birth to a child but fails to take care of the infant, the woman will not be treated as the child's mother. Kin relationships need to be 'activated' to be meaningful and need to be reinforced by regular visiting and by providing material and social assistance (e.g. Birdsall 1988). In south-western Sydney a social requirement is being able to tell where people come from, from which family and how — or to whom — they are connected. This can be achieved via identity negotiation that includes diverse Aboriginal populations, for not all Aboriginal people have kept their ties with their Aboriginal families in their places of origin. Some have not visited them since they left to live in Sydney and for this reason it may be that they will no longer be accepted by their rural kin. However, they can still show where they are from and to whom they are related. This can include members of the Stolen Generations, who have met their Aboriginal families only once.

But Penny's refutation showed that this requirement does not satisfy everyone. Daisy may have been going to say that members of the Stolen Generations can trace their Aboriginal families through Link-Up, an organisation which was specifically established to locate the Aboriginal families of the Stolen Generations. But to date some members have yet to find their Aboriginal families and some 'newly identified' people have not been connected with their Aboriginal families. Tracy's refutation of Daisy's comment reveals that even the reduced requirement for kinship connection is no longer taken for granted. In such cases, a person can be accused of being a 'wannabe', someone who is white (usually Anglo-Australian) but pretends to be

Aboriginal (cf. Cowlshaw 2009). At Aboriginal meetings, groups or other social gatherings in south-western Sydney, it is not unusual to hear people talking about someone 'who is supposed to be Aboriginal, but is actually not'. The rejection of someone's claim to Aboriginality can be seen as one way of dealing with the ambiguity surrounding Aboriginality. By doing so, Aboriginal people from Aboriginal family backgrounds redraw the boundary between 'Aboriginal' and 'non-Aboriginal', which has become blurred. A similar situation was observed by Schwab (1988) in Adelaide, where Aboriginal boys rejected one boy's claim to be Aboriginal not only because he was not related but also because he could not understand the subtle essence of Aboriginal cultural mores. This 'wannabe accusation', however, is never consistent. An Aboriginal woman, A, might accuse B of being a wannabe, but seems happy to work with C. Another Aboriginal woman, D, might accuse C of being a wannabe but will accept B. If a person is not happy in one group or at a meeting, there is always another that one can join or attend.

There is a further attitude towards those who cannot demonstrate their Aboriginality through kinship ties. This became evident in a conversation I held with an Aboriginal woman named Natalie:

*Natalie:* But also there is acceptance of people who cannot do it [demonstrate their Aboriginality by kinship ties]. For example, there are some Stolen Generation people who do not know their families but still are accepted. It is important to be involved in the community.

*Yuriko:* Does it mean being involved in NAIDOC Week and other activities?

*Natalie:* It is not only that but also like being part of the committee, part of the school Aboriginal programs, like ASSPA [Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness], and so on, being more actively involved in these things.

Natalie suggested that people who cannot demonstrate their Aboriginality through kinship ties can be accepted if they become involved in the activities of the various organisations. This attitude stems in large part from longstanding cultural values, which emphasise that rights and recognition are extended to people on the basis of committed practice. This has also underpinned Aboriginal kin relationships. What Natalie suggests, while predicated on similar cultural values, is based on the specific way in which Aboriginal social relations have developed in south-western Sydney, where organisations play crucial roles. Being involved in the activities run by the above organisations is what 'Aboriginal people do'. These organisations provide another way for those who cannot or do not meet the requirement via kin relationships to be accepted as 'Aboriginal', albeit through 'community commitment.' However, what constitutes community commitment is slightly subjective: not all Aboriginal people recognise others' inclusion, as frequent 'wannabe' accusations suggest. There is almost

always someone ready to accept or reject the aspirant. And it is the slippery, loose and unbounded nature of social relations in south-western Sydney that makes this situation possible; in other words, makes unified criteria for Aboriginality impossible. Here, the ambiguous nature of community resonates with the ambiguous Aboriginal identity.

## **Conclusion: living with ambiguity**

In south-western Sydney, Aboriginal people have developed their own sense of community in a particular social environment. They live among — and develop relationships with — people from diverse backgrounds. Applying the conceptual model of community, which understands community as based upon the experience of communication, one can see how Aboriginal people develop their sense of community through neighbourhood, kin and the activities of organisations dealing with Aboriginal issues. Aboriginal peoples' experiences of community in south-western Sydney may overlap but never coincide: not everyone frequents the same shopping centre or attends the same organisation's activities, and experiences of community are thus loose, unbounded and slippery. This ambiguity resonates with the ambiguity of Aboriginal identity in south-western Sydney, where Aboriginal residents are constantly engaged in negotiation and discussion surrounding Aboriginality. Will the day come when they reach unified criteria of Aboriginality? In this chapter I argue that community does not necessarily come with fixed Aboriginality: these arguments are part of the communicative experience that constitutes the community. As Simmel (1955) suggested, conflict is a form of sociation. It is through engaging in the Aboriginality 'argument' that Aboriginal residents in south-western Sydney experience their community.

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## Notes

1. South-western Sydney has changed since the paper on which this chapter is based was written. Further academic works about the area this chapter deals with are covered below.
2. The unquestioned usage of the term 'Aboriginal community' was also problematised in works such as Beckett 2012; Cowlshaw 2009; de Rijke 2012; Lumby 2010; Morgan and Warren 2011; see also Cowlshaw and Gibson 2012.
3. Alternative spellings of this word encountered in the literature are Dharawal, Tarawal, Darawa:l, Carawal, Turawal, Thurawal, Thurrawal, Thurrawal, Turuwal, Turuwul, Turrubul, Ta-gary.
4. This is based on field research conducted in 2004 and updated in 2009. Nomenclature of organisations, projects and events listed here could have changed.
5. The South Western Sydney Area Health Service was amalgamated into the Sydney South West Area Health Service in 2005. However, its function at the local grassroots level has remained the same.
6. This chapter focuses on face-to-face communication. The emerging importance of online communication among Aboriginal people was recently pointed out (Lumby 2010). In south-western Sydney, more and more people are now using online communication as well, which I observed during my visits.
7. The Department of Housing relocated some tenants in Minto to the suburbs further south-west after 2008. The sense of 'Minto community' has seemingly declined with this relocation.