

Critical Intervention

**An Archaeology of Modern Material Culture, Graffiti, and
Government Policy in a Remote Aboriginal Community,
Northern Territory, Australia**

by

Jordan Ralph

*Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
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Appendix Three: Material culture recording form (paper).

Appendix Four: Graffiti recording form (paper).

Appendix Five: Material culture recording form (digital).

Appendix Six: Graffiti recording form (digital).

Appendix Seven: Material culture data.

Appendix Eight: Graffiti data.

ABSTRACT

Barunga is an Aboriginal community in Jawoyn Country, in the Northern Territory of Australia. It is home to around 350 people, the vast majority of whom are Aboriginal. The Traditional Owners of the Barunga region have a rich cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. Despite this resilient connection to country and culture, the community at Barunga is one of many Aboriginal communities subjected to the race-based and punitive government policy known as the Intervention. Designed to bring about change in remote Aboriginal communities, the Intervention has had a number of impacts upon Aboriginal lives.

While the political situation in the Northern Territory, and beyond, has been interrogated from other points of view, little research has been conducted from an archaeological point-of-view. In fact, very little research has been conducted with respect to the contemporary entanglement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians in regard to material culture. While material culture was used as a tool of cultural assimilation during early colonisation, it follows that it still plays a central role in reinforcing colonial attitudes in remote Aboriginal communities. Recent thinking in archaeology speaks to the deeply complex relationship between humans and things, and as such this thesis set out to investigate the situation in Barunga. This thesis explores material culture and graffiti in Barunga, in order to gain nuanced understandings of the ways in which material culture is used in remote communities.

A theoretical model developed for this thesis is used in the interpretation of the material culture of Barunga. It can be used to explore the material culture of other communities as well. The model draws upon recent theoretical developments in the area of agency theory, entanglement, materiality and 'assemblage thought' to provide the intellectual tools with which material culture in Barunga can be understood as a cultural practice. The model consists of the themes, time and space; resistance and persistence, and memory and affect.

The major result of this research is that the use of modern material culture by Aboriginal people in the Barunga community is informed by Aboriginal social and cultural practices, rather than reflecting some kind of assimilation with the dominant external society. Moreover, because the material culture itself is familiar, its use by Aboriginal people is interpreted by the mainstream society within a primarily European epistemology. This has led to government policy which is viewed by Aboriginal people as punitive and which is certainly ineffective, as demonstrated by the successive failure of the Federal government to 'Close the Gap' between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal health, education, employment and lifespans.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jordan Ralph

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandparents, from Broken Hill and Barunga.

I was fortunate enough to have all four of my grandparents in my life while growing up. Little did I know that the time spent with them would equip me with the skills to talk to older people—skills that have been invaluable while working in Barunga, and which often escape younger people. Sitting around the camp in Barunga, drinking cups of tea and talking with the old men and women who visit takes me back to my childhood in Broken Hill. Those conversations in Barunga have shaped this thesis into a product that the community wanted.

This is for Grandma (Judith), Nan (Pat), Pop (John, who passed away just after I started), and Grandad (Henry, who passed away just after I finished).

It is also for the women and men who have been grandparents to me in Barunga, Nell, Esther, Jocelyn, Rachael, Guy, Margaret (d.), and Nicabini (d.).

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This thesis is a product of shared labour. First and foremost, I would like to thank the Traditional Owners and Custodians of Bagala clan lands of Jawoyn Country for, asking me to conduct this research and for hosting me in Barunga. I am submitting this thesis six months prior to the tenth anniversary of my first visit. It is likely I will graduate shortly after that anniversary. Given that I was 21 when I first visited, my association with the Barunga community has been a central part of my development as an archaeologist, an academic, and as an adult. I am forever indebted to the community and the people who live there—I hope I can continue to serve the community long into the future. I would like to thank Nell Brown, Esther Bulumbara, Joyce Bulumbara, Guy Rankin, Jocelyn McCartney, Rachael Willika Kendino, Jeannie Tiati, Elizabeth Moreen, Margaret Coleman, Jessala McCale, Troy Friday, Margaret Katherine, Ann-Marie Lee, Isaac Pamkal, Jasmine Willika, Adam McCale, Lily Friday and Logan Friday for their guidance and support during the time I lived in Barunga.

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My wonderful partner, Mia Dardengo, was there through the final two years of my PhD and I am so thankful to have had her support, both emotionally and professionally. Not only did Mia spend three weeks in the field with me recording data, she also spent a number of weeks digitising some of the earlier data I recorded (before I gave up and used a tablet), as well as drawing the site plans you see in Chapter Six.

My family, particularly Mum (Debbie) and Dad (Jamie) supported me emotionally (and often financially) during my PhD—I know they will breathe a sigh of relief that my education is now over.

To my various office mates, Susan Arthure, Jana Rogasch, Belinda Duke, Catherine Morton, Stephen Muller, Omaima el Deeb, and Mick de Ruyter, as well as the postgraduate colloquium group, I owe a great deal of thanks. Often, a PhD is an isolating experience, but knowing I had a friendly, supportive community of other young scholars to float ideas and get feedback from—as well as to escape academic life at the Tavern—made all the difference.

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CHAPTER 1: AT THE INTERFACE OF INTERVENTION

At a fundamental level, this thesis is about a remote Australian Aboriginal community and its material culture. The community is known as Barunga, a town of around 350 people, located in Bagala clan lands of Jawoyn Country in Australia's Northern Territory (Figure 1). Since its establishment in 1951 (as the Beswick Creek Native Settlement), Barunga, along with other Aboriginal communities, has been subjected to successive legislative interventions from Territory and Federal governments. Consequently, the ephemeral but constantly becoming materiality of Barunga exists as a cultural interface (following Nakata 2007), the product of the entanglement of traditional Aboriginal cultural practices and over a century of British and European colonialism. This thesis presents an archaeology of that materiality.

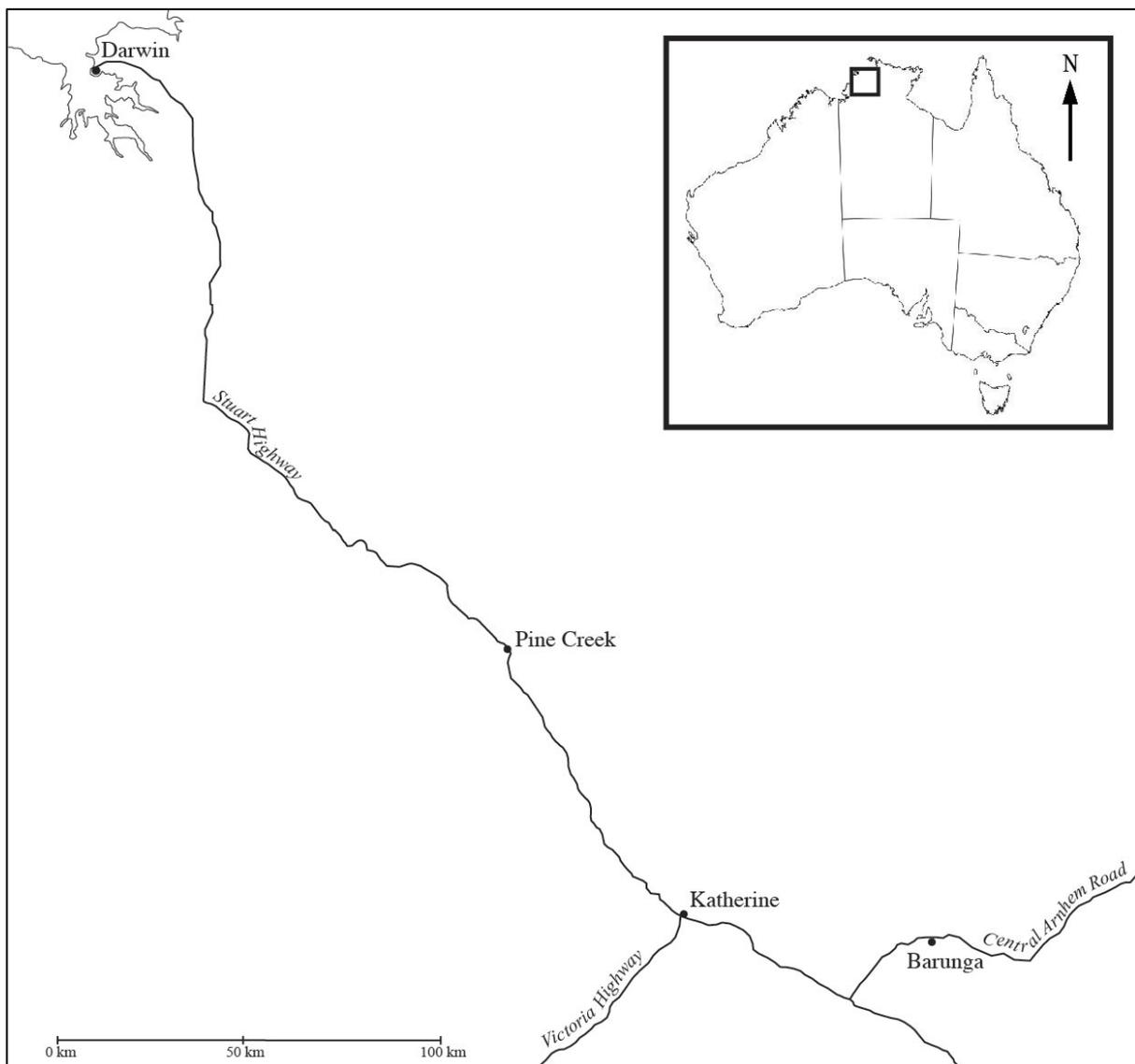


Figure 1. Barunga is located in Australia's Northern Territory, 80 km from Katherine and 400 km from Darwin.

At a more critical level, this thesis is about the way in which archaeology can intervene in the present, as a mode of enquiry to better understand our world (following Buchli and Lucas 2001a; Gould and Schiffer 1981; Rathje 1981). This kind of enquiry is pertinent in the twenty-first century, in a period that has become known politically as the ‘post-truth’ era, where:

[T]he primacy of unverified or outright fabricated claims in political debate, lack of general regard for truth within contemporary societies, dominance of emotion at the expense of knowledge etc. (Kalpokas 2019).

In these circumstances, archaeologies of the contemporary past can foreground those aspects of modern life that are passively obscured, or deliberately obfuscated, in this post-truth era, through what Harrison and Schofield (2010:12) term archaeology as material witness. Following a call from Gardner and Harrison (2017:4), ‘that archaeologists and heritage researchers should feel emboldened to engage directly with questions of popular nationalism and post-truth politics through their work’, this study works to develop nuanced understandings of a situation in the Northern Territory to which such politics have been applied. Two examples of how archaeology has been used in this way include archaeologies of forced migration in the US (De León 2015) and Europe (Hicks and Mallet 2019), as well as various archaeologies of homelessness in the US (Zimmerman 2013, 2016; Zimmerman and Welch 2011), the UK (Kiddey 2017, 2018; Kiddey and Schofield 2011; Kiddey et al. 2016), and Australia (Pollard 2019). Both examples have brought to light new knowledge on marginalised, misunderstood, and often maligned groups of people through an analysis of their material culture.

Given the obfuscation that surrounds the political motivation towards the Australian Federal government’s most recent legislative intervention into Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, known officially as the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007* (Cwlth), but colloquially as the Intervention (see critiques by Altman and Hinkson 2007; Brown and Brown 2007; Howard-Wagner and Kelly 2011; Lovell 2012; Macoun 2011), archaeology is well-placed to interrogate the materiality—or the interface of intervention—of those communities, in a similar way to those studies that have focussed on other marginalised groups.

Thematically, this study joins other social (McNiven et al. 2006; Meskell and Preucel 2004; Mizoguchi and Smith 2019; Smith et al. 2019) and engaged archaeologies (see Smith and Ralph 2020), which seek to address research agendas that are set by descendant communities. In addition, the conceptual basis for this thesis developed from recent theoretical discussions regarding archaeologies of the contemporary past (Buchli and Lucas 2001a; González-Ruibal 2008, 2019; Gould and Schiffer 1981; Harrison 2011, 2016; Harrison and Breithoff 2017;

Harrison and Schofield 2009, 2010; Holtorf and Piccini 2011; Piccini et al. 2013; Rathje 1981). In order to gain insight from the material assemblages from which the archaeological data for this study is derived, I draw upon concepts such as materiality (Hicks 2010; Ingold 2007; Knappet 2012, 2014; Meskell 2008), agency theory (Cowgill 2000; Dobres and Robb 2005; Dornan 2002; Robb 2010; Wobst 2000), and entanglement (both cultural and material) (Hodder 2012b; Silliman 2005) to build a theoretical framework that aids in understanding the role of material culture in the situation in the Northern Territory, as well as how concepts of identity are manifested in material culture.

With that in mind, the primary research question addressed in this thesis is:

During a period of radical change, how are concepts of identity manifested in material culture in contemporary Aboriginal communities?

Here, concepts of identity refers to traditional Jawoyn concepts of identity, as well as contemporary concepts, which have been shaped by decades of cultural entanglement. Along with the overarching research question, this thesis addresses several secondary questions:

- What are the specific kinds of objects present in the material culture of Barunga, and how do they relate to human behaviour?
- How does this material culture change according to season (i.e. dry season to wet season)?
- What role does material culture play in situations such as the Northern Territory Intervention?
- How does the modern material culture of Barunga relate to past cultural practices?
- What are the decisions that people make about the use of space in a community such as Barunga?

By addressing these questions, we can build new understandings of the role that material culture plays in shaping Western understandings of remote Aboriginal communities. In order to address these questions, I conducted archaeological surveys at 17 study places (i.e. the fenced yards around private homes) in Barunga. In order to understand change over time (in the short term), I surveyed each property four times over a twelve-month period, beginning in October 2016. The archaeological data presented in this thesis are derived from observations of material culture and graffiti at those 17 study places. The material culture data largely relate thematically to discard, recreation, and labour, as well as space; while the graffiti data consists of the content of the graffiti and media used in its production.

Thus, the focus area for this research is Barunga, a remote Aboriginal¹ community approximately 350 km south of Darwin, 80 km southeast of Katherine and 1,100 km north of Alice Springs (see Figure 1). Barunga is part of Jawoyn Country, which is a pre-colonial Aboriginal nation and language group. At the time of the 2016 Census, the population of Barunga was 363, with the majority of these people identifying as being of Aboriginal descent, with significantly fewer people identifying as Torres Strait Islander or non-Indigenous (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). People who reside in Barunga are not only Jawoyn descendants, but also descendants of other language groups, including Ngalkpon (Dalabon), Mielli, Nalakan and Rembarrnga. One outcome of colonisation was the loss of Aboriginal languages. While people who live in Barunga are descendants of the aforementioned groups, very few people speak the languages. Instead, the main language spoken in these communities is Kriol, which is a combination of Aboriginal language structures and English words. Despite the clear colonial entanglement in this language, Kriol is still considered an Aboriginal language.

Barunga was chosen as the study area for this project because of the long-standing relationship that both my supervisor and I have with members of the community. Claire Smith and Gary Jackson have been conducting research in Barunga and broader Jawoyn Country for around 25 years and I have been working here for ten years. The project at hand requires long-term collaboration and consultation as well as access to personal environments. As such, mutual trust and respect between the researcher and community is a necessity for the outcomes of the project to be realised.

1.1 The research problem

1.1.1 Political context

Since the invasion of Australia by the British in the late eighteenth century, Aboriginal people have been subject to dispossession of their land and violent conflicts on the colonial frontier. The assumption of early colonial administrators was that Aboriginal people would succumb to the superiority of the white man and vanish. When this process proved to be unsuccessful, Aboriginal people became a problem requiring legislative intervention. The historical tendency of successive Australian Governments is to enact top-down, punitive, and paternalistic policies around Aboriginal people, such as protectionism, assimilation, the White Australia Policy, and

¹ I use the term 'Aboriginal' more often than 'Indigenous' in this thesis as, although Torres Strait Islander people live in the community, 'Aboriginal' is the term preferred by people who live in Barunga. While in an Australian context, 'Indigenous' is often used to refer to both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, I instead refer specifically to Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander people individually, rather than collectively.

now the Intervention. It is widely accepted that these government-imposed structures are not successful, and often have an adverse effect on the wellbeing of Aboriginal communities (Altman 2009; Altman and Russel 2012; Brown and Brown 2007). These policies, which were often race-based, were informed by antiquated European views of Indigenous Australians as a homogeneous, 'simple' and 'child-like' people (Lydon 2009:1-2; Smith 2004:19-20). In the late twentieth century, the White Australia Policy was replaced by a policy of self-determination; however, in August 2007 this was reversed with the enactment of the race-based *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007* and its successor, the *Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012* (collectively known as the Intervention).

Thus, for over a decade Indigenous Australians who live in designated communities in Australia's Northern Territory have been subjected to government intervention in the form of the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007* (Cwlth). Affected communities range from urban town camps in Darwin, to regional 'satellite' communities near townships such as Alice Springs, Tennant Creek and Katherine, to remote communities spread throughout the Northern Territory (such as Barunga), which are often hundreds of kilometres from the nearest town. The legislation known as the Intervention was enacted in 2007 by the Australian Government led by former Prime Minister John Howard and his Indigenous Affairs Minister, Mal Brough. The motivation for the legislation was said to have been the findings of a report by Rex Wild and Pat Anderson (2007) for the Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse in the Northern Territory.

The report found that children living in Aboriginal communities were at heightened risk of neglect, and possible physical and sexual abuse due to overcrowded houses, and a prevalence of alcohol and substance abuse. Wild and Anderson made 97 key recommendations to address the problem, which focused on community-based, grassroots solutions to the problems that faced each community, as opposed to a 'one-size-fits-all', top-down approach. The Howard government's response was to enact the Intervention (a one-size-fits-all, top down approach) shortly after the Wild and Anderson report was publicly released. In doing so, Howard and Brough dismissed nearly all of the recommendations. The Intervention as designed by the Howard government used a centralised model, where the administration of the Act was based in Canberra, and rather than a policy that treated each community as an individual entity, the measures of the Intervention applied equally to all prescribed Aboriginal communities. The measures of the Intervention included, as described by Hinkson (2007:1-2):

- Widespread alcohol restrictions.

- Welfare reforms—to stem the flow of cash going to substance abuse, including the quarantine of welfare payments, which put half of a person's income onto a 'Basics Card', which could only be used to buy certain things at a select few businesses.
- Enforced school attendance through linking income support to school attendance.
- Compulsory health checks for all Aboriginal children, to identify and treat health problems and any effects of abuse.
- Acquisition of townships prescribed by the government through five-year leases.
- Increase in policing levels.
- Ground clean up and repair of communities to make them safer and healthier.
- Improvements to housing.
- Banning the possession of x-rated pornography.
- Scrapping the permit system for common areas within communities, a system which previously gave power to Traditional Owners over who visited their community.
- Improved governance through the appointment of managers of government business in prescribed communities.

While some of these measures were welcomed, many communities had been asking for similar policies for decades prior to the 'emergency' Intervention. Other measures of the Intervention have been seen as a misunderstanding of the social issues that face communities, and as a 'Trojan Horse' to gain control over Aboriginal land, which was previously protected by the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 2007* (NT). Additionally, the Howard government had to suspend the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cwlth) in order to enact the Intervention. The Intervention has been criticised and critiqued by many in the media and by academics from a range of disciplines (Altman 2007; Altman and Hinkson 2007; Brown and Brown 2007; Churcher 2018; Doyle 2015; Lovell 2012; Howard-Wagner and Kelly 2011; James 2016; Macoun 2011). It was largely viewed as a political manoeuvre on the eve of the 2007 federal election, whereby John Howard and his Indigenous affairs minister, Mal Brough, used the Wild and Anderson (2007) report to develop a political strawman, which was swiftly addressed through the rushed passing of the Intervention legislation.

While this manoeuvre was unsuccessful in the Howard government's re-election campaign, Aboriginal people who live in affected communities in the Northern Territory live with the consequences over a decade later. Although the Intervention was designed with a sunset clause of five years, the Labor government under Prime Minister Julia Gillard extended the Intervention for a further ten years through the passing of the *Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012* (Cwlth). The Intervention had two overarching effects: the first is that

affected communities and the people who live in them have been demonised across national and international media; and the second is that the Intervention has rapidly impacted upon cultural identities. The materiality of these two consequences are at the centre of this thesis. On the first point, the demonising of Aboriginal communities emerged from the baseless narrative that there were large-scale paedophile rings operating within these communities, and that alcohol, illicit substance and pornography addictions fuelled this behaviour. These narratives influenced the decision to erect large signs outside each community (see Figure 2). In the first few weeks of the Intervention, military personnel were deployed to some communities in order to 'secure' them. More than a decade on, the Intervention has failed to find any evidence of the paedophile rings, nor has it effectively addressed addiction.



Figure 2. One of the most externally visible outcomes of the Intervention was the erection of these blue signs outside affected communities.

The ways in which this legislation was able to be enacted emerged from a deep misunderstanding of contemporary Aboriginal lifeways, as well as imagined Western standards of those communities. The Intervention is far from an isolated case. In fact, it is part of a long history of government interference into Australian Aboriginal populations. The situation is complex, owing to the ongoing obfuscation of the facts, which has created confusion among politicians and the Australian public about the best way towards fixing the panoply of social

issues that affect Indigenous Australians. Archaeology can offer some insight into these political concerns.

1.1.2 A materiality of government intervention

Archaeologies of the contemporary past have been used to interrogate public understandings of present-day social and political circumstances, particularly in the last decade (see, for example, De León 2015; Kiddey 2017; Zimmerman 2013, 2016; Zimmerman and Welch 2011). We know from theoretical developments in historical archaeology that written documents are often subjective and that the same can be said of human memory, recollection, and even human experiences. Archaeology has been used to ‘ground truth’ claims made in historical sources and, building upon this, archaeologists have shifted their focus to the present, in order to gain greater insight into the circumstances of contemporary social and political phenomena (cf. Buchli and Lucas 2001a; González-Ruibal 2019; Gould and Schiffer 1981; Harrison and Schofield 2010; Holtorf and Piccini 2011). This research explores the material culture of a contemporary Aboriginal community—a material culture that is the manifestation of the intersection of Aboriginal cultural identities with nearly a century of colonial intervention.

This thesis seeks to address two research problems. The first is one of Australia’s greatest social issues, which has been a national research priority since the early twenty-first century: Aboriginal disadvantage. Of course, archaeology alone does not and cannot hold the answers to solving this social problem; however, given Aboriginal culture is largely misunderstood in Australia, it follows that public policy is informed by misunderstandings of the people it affects. Archaeologists have used their methods to counter colonial assumptions of Aboriginal people since the dawn of the discipline, it follows, then, that archaeology can provide nuanced understandings of those extant assumptions and attitudes. While researchers from other disciplines have provided evidence-based accounts of different issues impacting Aboriginal populations, the archaeological study of contemporary Aboriginal communities is in its infancy, carried out by only a handful of scholars (Beck and Somerville 2007; Pollard 2019; Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014; Smith et al. 2020).

The second research problem is an archaeological one. The discipline of archaeology in Australia has never before been deployed to address such complex, yet dire social issues. Emerging from a hobby of the elite, to a method initially intended to placate colonial and scientific curiosities, academic archaeology has developed in recent years to be more socially-minded (cf. Smith and Wobst 2005b), with a more contemporary focus. Additionally, in many ways, this thesis is inspired by Bill Rathje’s garbage project of the 1980s, which sought to use archaeological methods to address one of the modern world’s major social and environmental

issues: the way we manage our rubbish. In Australia, however, most socially-minded archaeologies have tended to focus on reconnecting Aboriginal Australians with places and knowledge lost through colonial incursions and displacement, while fewer again have focussed on contemporary issues facing Aboriginal Australians. Using an archaeology of modern material culture to inform Australian public policy is a new development in the discipline. While ever-present, material culture is often consequently rendered invisible, in that the use of material items is so normalised that humans are often not critically aware of the use or attitudes towards material culture. Given the reliance that humans have on material culture, it provides an opportunity to critique government social policy from an archaeological perspective—a perspective that can offer new and novel insights into more practical and culturally sensitive policy approaches.

The material culture of contemporary Aboriginal communities is an active manifestation of conflicting Indigenous and non-Indigenous epistemologies, which are themselves shaped by over a century of cultural entanglement and varied attempts at domination and resistance. Aboriginal Australians living in the Northern Territory have been subjected to various successive forms of government intervention since the British colonisation of Australia in the eighteenth century. Many of these interventions were paternal in nature, where Aboriginal Australians were widely considered to be unable to look after themselves. As such, these attitudes were often legislated and included such policies as protectionism, assimilation, and the White Australia Policy. Each of these policies has been superseded or abolished altogether, leaving a collective legacy of trauma among many Aboriginal populations—a direct result of the policies around forced child removal and the dispossession of land, among other things. We know that human behaviour leaves a material signature, and that ideologies, experience and trauma are encoded into material culture. The question, here, is what are the ways in which the effects of successive government intervention manifested into material culture, and what is the role of material culture in response to those circumstances?

It is well-documented that during the early European colonisation of Australia, colonisers, which often included missionaries, associated a lack of material complexity on the part of Aboriginal populations with a lack of civilisation (Lydon 2005, 2009). With that attitude came forced assimilation, where one of the aims was to ‘civilise’ Aboriginal people by requiring them to dress in European-like clothing, as well as to alter Aboriginal presence in the Australian landscape into Western conceptions of place—through the widespread displacement of Aboriginal peoples from country and into missions and reserves (Lydon 2005, 2009).

Archaeology, as a method to investigate the use of material culture, is well placed to provide nuanced commentary on current interventions into Aboriginal populations. As government interventions into Aboriginal communities are often unwanted and strongly opposed by people living in the communities, it follows that there would be material markers of the opposition to the policies, following the archaeological ideas of domination and resistance that others have studied of previously (González Ruibal 2014; Miller et al. 1995). In 2012, I tested this thinking with a study of contemporary graffiti on road signs outside of Jawoyn communities (Ralph 2012). Rather than examples of overt resistance in the material record, I found instead a desire to ignore the 'whitefella politics' (Ralph and Smith 2014) in favour of an emphasis on creating and expressing connections with kin and country. In that sense, the resistance of people in Jawoyn Country was covert, and there was a distinct manifestation of Aboriginal agency, whereby community people resisted government intervention by continuing to act culturally, for example, by marking places within their own country as a mode of visual communication, in a similar way to rock art. Until I undertook that project, the presence of graffiti in Aboriginal communities was largely misunderstood and equated to urban graffiti—an easy-to-ignore pollutant. By turning the archaeological gaze onto that ever-present Aboriginal visual culture, I was able to redress some of the flawed perceptions people have held about graffiti in remote Aboriginal communities. This thesis developed from the conclusions of my previous research with this community. If we misunderstand so much about Aboriginal graffiti, what, then, are we misunderstanding about other modern material cultures in those same communities?

Material culture, while certainly a functional aspect of human culture, also broadcasts various identity-making devices both within and between groups. In the case of early colonial Australia, there was a clear distinction between the material culture used by European colonisers and Aboriginal Australians. The seemingly less complex material belongings of Aboriginal people, when compared to European material culture, made those populations an easy target for paternalistic government attention and control. Following the primary result of my Honours research in this area (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014), that contemporary graffiti is an extension of traditional rock art practices, it is likely that other aspects of contemporary Jawoyn materiality are misinterpreted as 'uncivilised' by the colonial gaze in much the same way as during the early colonial period.

The aim of this research, then, is to track the extent to which Aboriginal Australians employ their materiality as a social strategy, to either advance their own agendas, or indeed to resist the persistent incursion of government interventions (which is perhaps an example of an 'artefactual interference', per Wobst (2000)). Of interest, here, is also the ways in which

concepts of identity are manifested in material culture, particularly during periods of radical political interference.

Using the remote Northern Territory Aboriginal community, Barunga, as a case study, this thesis sheds new light on Aboriginal agency and the material consequences of sustained colonial intervention in remote communities through the archaeological recording and analysis of a community's materiality. In recent years, archaeologists have moved from using static artefacts and assemblages to reconstruct past human behaviour, to attempts at theorising about the deep entanglement of humans and the objects they use. Ian Hodder (2012b) wrote that humans and 'things' (i.e. material culture etc.) are heavily bound up in webs of interconnectivity that we have become entangled with it, to the extent that it both assists human populations to advance their agendas, while at the same time holding them back. In that sense, this thesis is about the entanglement of humans and material culture in a remote Aboriginal community, where the material culture is so heavily relied upon to advance various community agendas (including the resistance of government intervention), as well as a key motivator of those interventions (where non-Aboriginal Australians make flawed judgements of Aboriginal material culture, which are then used to inform public policy and interventions). Moreover, recent approaches to materiality in archaeological theory holds that humans are created as social beings through the use of material culture. In that sense, this theoretical approach 'seek[s] to understand the mutual constitution of humans and things' (Harris and Cipolla 2017:89), or simply, 'person makes arrow, arrow makes person' (Harris and Cipolla 2017:106).

1.1.3 Project development

This project developed out of discussions I held with leaders of the Barunga community. I had already conducted archaeological research with this community for my Honours research in 2011 (see Ralph 2012). I have returned to the community each July since my Honours fieldwork to continue building a relationship with community members, with the intention of undertaking further research. During a meeting between Nell Brown (Senior Custodian of the Barunga region NT), Esther Bulumbara (Senior Traditional Owner), and I in July 2014 (Figure 3), I inquired about the types of research the community might want me to conduct in the future. Both Nell and Esther wanted research about how the most recent government interventions and policies are 'not working' (Esther Bulumbara pers. comm. 2014). I already had experience dealing with these issues from an archaeological point-of-view because my Honours thesis explored material and visual manifestations (i.e. graffiti) of attitudes towards the Intervention (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014). This thesis is the product of that meeting.



Figure 3. Meeting on the calico at Claire and Jacko's hut, Barunga NT. L-R Esther Bulumbara, Jordan Ralph and Nell Brown. Photograph by Antoinette Hennessy, July 2014.

The prospect of undertaking further archaeological research into the contemporary past in Barunga was fitting, both in terms of my own interests, as well as those of the community. While other archaeological and anthropological researchers have studied the pre- and early contact period in the Barunga region (David et al. 2011; David et al. 2013; Davidson 1981; Delannoy et al. 2013; Elkin 1952; Geneste et al. 2012; Gunn and Whear 2007a, 2007b; Gunn et al. 2011; Gunn et al. 2012; Macintosh 1951, 1952, 1977; Maddock 1970; Smith et al. 2016), very few have investigated the recent past, excluding Smith (1996, 2008) and myself (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014).

1.2 Significance

The significance of this research is threefold: it identifies material indicators of social disadvantage in Aboriginal communities; it informs the government policy that seeks to address it; and it is the first study of the contemporary archaeology of an Aboriginal community.

The first element in the significance of this research is how it identifies material indicators of social disadvantage. The focus of this research is cultural entanglement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Australia, which has impacted heavily on the material practices of

Aboriginal communities. We know that differences in material culture can lead to feelings of superiority/inferiority, which then reinforces social disadvantage (see Smith et al. 2020). Understanding this entanglement is a prerequisite to understanding the power Aboriginal people have over their personal lives, in terms of culture, health, wealth, and education. It is pertinent in contemporary Australia that we understand this contact, particularly in terms of the way in which we view and adopt government policy with regard to Aboriginal Australians. At present, we have policymakers who are pushing to legislate how Indigenous Australians run their lives and conduct their business (e.g. the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007*, the *Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012*, the proposed 'closure' of remote Western Australian Aboriginal communities, and income management cards, such as a Basics Card, or Indue Card). However, in many cases Aboriginal policy either did not have an adequate consultation process—with and between Aboriginal people—or simply the policymakers did not adopt the recommendations of those employed to consult and report on a situation (see, for example, the Little Children are Sacred Report (Wild and Anderson 2007), and the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody report (Johnston 1991)).

Secondly, this research has the capacity to inform policy approaches in Australian Aboriginal affairs. For example, 'Closing the Gap' policy has been at the forefront of the debate of Aboriginal equality since the policy was released in 2009. In fact, it is on the reform agenda of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG)—an annual meeting of Australian state and Territory governments—who collectively set the targets to improve life expectancy and access to education and employment for Aboriginal Australians. Closing the Gap has been linked to several of Australia's national research priorities and as a result has been investigated from legal, medical, educational and anthropological points-of-view; however, to date, this issue has not been investigated using archaeological methods. As this is a national priority, which is not on track to meeting the targets set by COAG (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2019), the Gap needs to be scrutinised from every possible viewpoint. Currently, the Gap is measured by the tools of government: quantifiable differences in health, life expectancies, school attendance, levels of education, household wealth. These are, in effect, the symptoms of the problem, rather than the cause. Archaeologists are well placed to examine these contemporary social issues as we have been using the material record to tell stories about and provide insight into past human experiences, practices and behaviours. Archaeologists who have shifted their focus to present-day societies have found that their archaeology acts as a material witness to challenge the more dominant or popular accounts of contemporary issues, including such things as modernity (Harrison and Schofield 2010), homelessness (Zimmerman

et al. 2010), graffiti (Frederick 2009; Crisp et al. 2014; Ralph and Smith 2014) and consumerism (Rathje 1979).

Finally, this research is the first to focus on the archaeology of the contemporary past of a remote Australian Aboriginal community. While O'Connell (1977) certainly conducted an archaeology of housing in a remote Aboriginal community in central Australia, he was less concerned with material culture and more concerned with what the change from ephemeral to semi-permanent and permanent housing would mean for cultural behaviours and the distribution of socially-segregated housing in the community. Most other archaeologies of the contemporary past have focussed on post-industrial and urban places. Building on previous research (Smith and Jackson 2008a; Ralph and Smith 2014), this research uses data to develop a nuanced understanding of social issues in Aboriginal communities. The fine-grained material analysis of the impact of the government policies on identity has the potential to shed new light that can: 1) identify critical cultural drivers, enablers and barriers that impact upon Aboriginal lives; 2) develop culturally safe and effective services; and 3) develop policies that foster cultural resilience.

Archaeological research has the potential to contribute to a more informed understanding of the past; one that does justice to both Indigenous and Western peoples and that can assist in cultural reconciliation (Meskell 1998). In each colonial society, there are multiple versions of the histories of the colonised and the colonisers (Meskell 1998). These opposing perspectives derive from the differing beliefs, memories and agendas of European colonisers and Indigenous groups. As Harrison and Schofield argue (2010:12), '[t]he nature of the media and its control by external forces means that late modern societies have rendered much of their recent past unknowable, either by processes of active concealment or passive forgetting'. This disremembering (Stanner 1968), whether active or passive, has led to the current situation in twenty-first century Australia where Indigenous issues are so heavily politicised that when they are written and rewritten by media outlets and individuals, the 'true' story is unknown, or rather unknowable.

Indeed, the archaeology of modern material culture can inform our understandings of contemporary issues, including exposing previously unknown issues and/or their solutions, which may not be obvious in the studies of other disciplines. As Harrison and Schofield (2010:287) explain, 'the archaeology of the contemporary past can also produce significant social commentary and suggest solutions to social problems that are based on the material record itself'. A detailed archaeological investigation of modern material culture can act as a 'material witness' (Harrison and Schofield 2010:12-13) to challenge the inaccurate views,

perpetuated by some politicians and journalists, that Indigenous Australians are a 'primitive' people and/or have 'lost' their culture. Further, this process allows us to observe Indigenous/non-Indigenous entanglement to understand current contact and redress these conceptions. In this sense, not only is this archaeology as a material witness, but archaeology as social commentary.

1.3 Limitations of the study

The primary limitation of this study is that it investigates only one of the numerous Aboriginal communities impacted upon by the Intervention. While the insights gained through this study can be used to inform future policy approaches in general terms, it may not be appropriate to apply the insights gained here to other communities. In that regard, I am hesitant to apply inferential statistics, because these have been used and abused in the justification of various policies in the Northern Territory, including the Intervention by establishing a baseline/standard. Instead, I advocate for a community-based approach, which takes into account the experiences and needs of individual communities, rather than judging each to a baseline which may not be achievable. Instead, this research offers some key insights and analytical tools, which can be applied to studies of other places within the Northern Territory. Moreover, the study focusses on only 17 of the 78 houses in Barunga. This limitation is overcome by the selection of a range of houses that are occupied by a different number of people; that are located in different areas in the community; and that are occupied by a range of different family groups.

Finally, the limited access to personal environments, both tangible and intangible is another limitation to this study. The 17 study places that were surveyed for this research are the spaces directly around private residences (i.e. the front and back yard). Some of the data that I collected is quite personal, and not everyone will want to share this, even with family members. This was addressed through assurance of anonymity and by providing an opt-out option. The key to success here is to obtain informed consent from all research subjects when I am recording my observations. During all aspects of this research, I follow the Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies (AIATSIS 2012), the 'Ask First' guidelines (Australian Heritage Commission 2002), the critical analysis of archaeological ethics by Gnecco and Lippert (2015), the guidelines for archaeological research in Jawoyn Country as discussed by Wijnjoroc et al. (2005), and the codes of ethics of the organisations of which I am a member: Australian Archaeological Association (n.d.), Australian Association of Consulting Archaeologists (n.d.), and the World Archaeological Congress (n.d.). This research has been granted approval

by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (approval number 6390).

1.4 Thesis outline

Chapter One introduced the theoretical and methodological basis for the study. It discussed the research problem—the ongoing government intervention in Aboriginal communities—and offered a means through which archaeology can help to unravel some of the colonial assumptions that are made about these communities, which are often based on the material record.

Chapter Two explores Barunga, the study area chosen as a case study for this research. A demographic profile of Barunga is presented in the chapter before a discussion of the physical and cultural landscapes that exist there. This discussion is presented with reference to previous archaeological and ethnographic work that has been conducted both in Barunga and its immediate surrounds. Chapter Two closes with a discussion of my personal relationship with the community, which includes receiving permission to undertake this research.

Chapter Three presents a review of the literature that informed the conceptual approach of this research. The chapter opens by laying the framework for the theoretical model, which consists of developments intellectual movements archaeology, namely, social archaeology, post-colonial and contact archaeology, and archaeologies of the contemporary past.

Chapter Four presents the model itself. It incorporates recent thinking around materiality, agency (both human and object), entanglement (both cultural and material), agency, and assemblage thought. The model provides the interpretive lens through which, firstly, a materiality of Barunga can be identified, secondly, how changing concepts of identity are manifested in that materiality, and, lastly, the political implications of that materiality.

Chapter Five discusses both the methodological approach taken in this study (i.e. an engaged archaeology (Smith and Ralph 2020; see also Low and Merry 2010)) and the specific methods employed to address the research question and aims. These include the way in which I went about gaining permission to survey each study place from the occupants of each property; as well as the specific archaeological methods employed to collect the research data; and the methods of analysis used in interpreting those data. Chapter Five closes with a discussion of the limitations of both the methods and the data.

Chapter Six presents the results of the archaeological surveys conducted at seventeen study places in Barunga. The results are presented in terms of the numbers of each type of material

culture and graffiti recorded at each study place. The chapter also presents the results according to space, as well as how the results differ over a twelve-month period.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, begins with a brief synopsis of the thesis before drawing upon the archaeological data (Chapter Six) and the theoretical model (Chapter Four) to address the research question and aims. Chapter Seven provides a commentary on the implications for government policy that this study has brought to light, as well as the contributions of this study to the discipline of archaeology. The chapter closes with a discussion on future research that can be undertaken in relation to this study, before ending with a critical discussion of the key findings.

CHAPTER 2: BARUNGA, COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY, AND ENGAGEMENT

2.1 Study area

Image removed due to copyright restriction. The original can be found at <https://www.jawoyn.org.au/culture/>

Figure 4. Geographic boundary of Jawoyn Country. Map courtesy of Jawoyn Association Aboriginal Corporation (n.d.).

Barunga sits on the southern edge of Jawoyn Country in the Northern Territory of Australia (Figure 4). Jawoyn people have a deep attachment to this area of the country, both culturally and temporally. The numerous rock art galleries that were painted in rock shelters across the landscape and other cultural sites are testament to that claim. For example, in central Jawoyn Country, recent excavations have produced dates of over 45,000 years BP (David et al. 2011), while during the same excavation, archaeologists excavated what might be a drawn charcoal motif on a piece of rock, which has been dated to 28,000 years BP (David et al. 2013), though there are opposing arguments as to whether the charcoal motif was in fact drawn by humans. While we have the above scientific allegories as evidence for the long history of occupation and practice of culture, Jawoyn people have maintained that they have always been in this country. Other recent archaeological work undertaken in Jawoyn Country has identified nearly 1,000 rock art sites in a dedicated survey (Jawoyn Association Aboriginal Corporation 2018; see also Gunn and Whear 2007a). The important detail here is that there is both a long history of

Aboriginal occupation in this region, as well as a deep-rooted practice of landscape-marking and visual communication.

Barunga is situated on the south eastern ridge of Beswick Creek, a seasonal waterway and distributary of the Waterhouse River which flows during times of flood. When water flows through Beswick Creek, it erodes the steep sandstone bank, creating rock shelters and caves that became the surfaces upon which Jawoyn people produced art. These include many of the galleries recorded by Elkin (1952) and Macintosh (1951, 1952, 1977), who were the first European anthropologists to travel through the area. Some of the sites described by Elkin and Macintosh were revisited by later researchers, for example, Tandangl Cave (Gunn and Whear 2007b), and Doria Gudaluk (Smith et al. 2016) (referred to as Beswick Creek Cave by (Macintosh 1952, 1977)). Through Professor Claire Smith, Flinders University researchers have worked in collaboration with Jawoyn communities for three decades, with a number of student research projects being undertaken here, as well as research by established academics. In addition, Jawoyn people have been able to have their voices published in international publications (Wijnjorroc et al. 2005), owing to the ongoing attempts at decolonising archaeology, led by Smith and Wobst (2005a).

With that in mind, it is clear that not only do we have a particular antiquity for Jawoyn occupation and visual communication in this region, but there is also a long-standing circumstance where non-Indigenous researchers investigate the cultural material of Jawoyn people. These interactions between researcher and community have transformed over the last few decades, from initial brief visits to significant places with local senior men (cf. Elkin 1952; Macintosh 1951, 1952, 1977); to later attempts at validating the earlier work (Davidson 1981); recently, extended annual fieldwork seasons have occurred at particular places with research value, in cooperation with the Jawoyn Association Aboriginal Corporation (the corporate body representing Jawoyn people) (David et al. 2011; David et al. 2013; Delannoy et al. 2013; Geneste et al. 2012; Gunn 1995; Gunn and Whear 2007a, 2007b; Gunn et al. 2011; Gunn et al. 2012; Harris and Gunn 2017). Claire Smith and Gary Jackson, on the other hand, have worked at a community level in what they refer to as the Barunga-Wugularr region of Jawoyn Country since the early 1990s. The difference between the previously cited research that has taken place in Jawoyn Country and the work by Smith and Jackson is that it developed from an early focus on topics significant to the archaeological discipline, such as theorising style in rock art (Smith 1996, 2008), to using the relationships built in the community to theorise around ethics in archaeology, and best practice for community archaeology more broadly (Smith and Wobst 2005a, 2005b; Smith and Jackson 2008; Smith et al. 2018). Currently, Smith's research interests have now been shaped by community needs, at a grassroots level, which has led to the

development of the idea of an engaged archaeology, which puts community needs at the forefront of research, and is a primary motive behind the push to extend the boundaries of what and how we think about archaeology (Smith and Ralph 2020). The longstanding collaboration between Jawoyn communities and Smith and Jackson has formed the basis of this research, and the key developments in Smith and Jackson's recent approaches to archaeology in this region—namely around community needs—informed the ethos of this research.

2.2 Barunga in profile



Figure 5. Sign at the entrance to Barunga (erected 2019), featuring a community map.

Barunga is a small, remote, Aboriginal community, located approximately 80 km south east of the township of Katherine, on the Central Arnhem Road (Figure 1 and Figure 4). Barunga is situated in the southern area of Jawoyn Country, which stretches from Pine Creek in the north, east towards Bulman, south to Beswick, and west towards the Stuart Highway, 30 km west of Barunga. The southern area of Jawoyn Country is land owned by members of Bagala clan. Esther Bulumbara and Nell Brown, who were introduced in chapter one, are members of Bagala clan. Jawoyn Country is bordered to the north east by Dalabon Country. The proximity of Jawoyn Country to townships such as Katherine, as well as the primary access route to Darwin (capital

city of the Northern Territory) has meant that people from Dalabon Country have spent extended periods of time in Jawoyn Country.

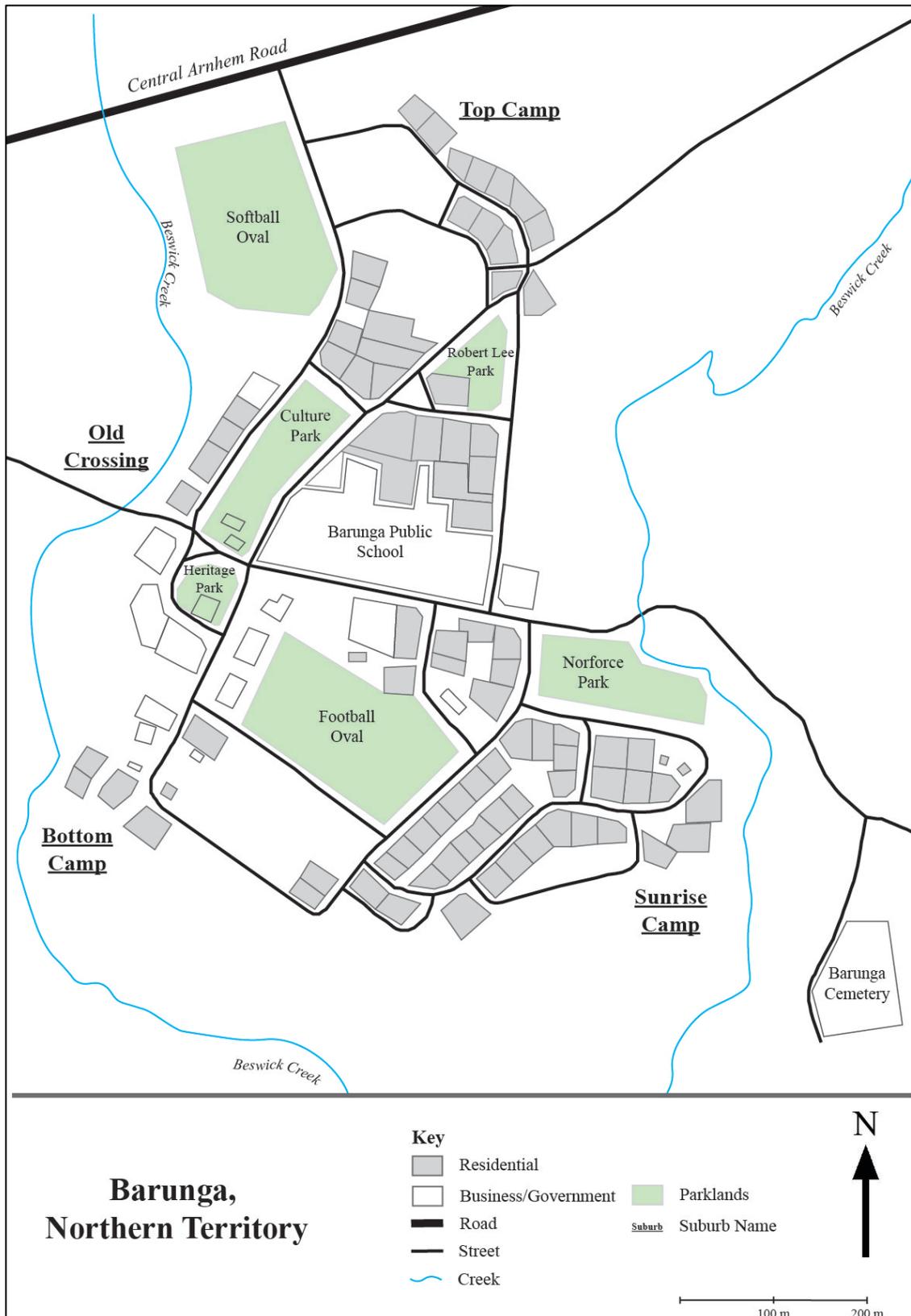


Figure 6. Plan of Barunga showing different kinds of space: residential, business, and parklands.

Barunga (Figure 5) was initially established in 1951 as a government Aboriginal reserve, the Beswick Creek Native Settlement. It was established on Bagala clan lands of Jawoyn Country, meaning that Bagala people are the Traditional Owners and Custodians of the land. In 1965, the settlement became known as Bamyili, before it was renamed as Barunga in 1985. Other Jawoyn communities include Wugularr (Beswick) and Manyallaluk (Eva Valley), where I have undertaken research in the past (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014), as well as the outstations (smaller communities of only a dozen or so people) Weemol, Rockhole, Emu Springs, Gorge Camp, Kalano, and Werenbun.

According to the 2016 Australian census, Barunga had a population of 363 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). In terms of ancestry, the population of Barunga is predominantly Aboriginal (n=318) and Torres Strait Islander (n=11), while the remainder identify as Australian (n=22), English (n=8), and Scottish (n=5). The primary language spoken in Barunga is Kriol, which is a creolisation of Indigenous language structures with English words. Most people speak Kriol as their first language (n=300) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016), though most also speak English as a second language. Barunga has a young population, where 89.2% (n=316) of residents are younger than 50 years of age.

In 2016 (during data collection) there were 78 houses in Barunga. Sixty-one of those were occupied by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people (two of which were unoccupied due to poor maintenance), while 17 were occupied by non-Aboriginal service workers, such as teachers, staff from the health clinic, council employees and the shop manager. Figure 6 presents the physical layout of the community. Although the community is quite small, it is separated into discrete areas by local people, which are often referred to as 'suburbs'. These include Top Camp and Bottom Camp, Sunrise, and Old Crossing. Other areas fall outside the named suburbs, and these tend to be the houses that are situated nearby other public infrastructure, such as the school, the council office, the health clinic, the shop, and the church. Barunga also features a number of grassed, open parklands, which are also visible on the map in Figure 6. The main organisations that service Barunga are:

- Roper Gulf Regional Council.
- Sunrise Health Service.
- Outback Stores (managed the old Barunga store until 2017).
- Bagala Aboriginal Corporation (has managed the new Barunga store since 2017).
- Power and Water NT.
- NT Department of Education.

Prior to the Howard Government's Northern Territory Intervention, Barunga had its own local council, Nyirunggulung, which employed a number of local people, and gave local people the power to manage their own local affairs. One of the outcomes of the Intervention was the amalgamation of these small, local councils, into 'super-shires'. The Roper Gulf Regional Council was consequently established in 2008 and covers an area a third of the size of the state of Victoria. From just south of Katherine, to further south at Ngukkur, and east to the coast, Roper Gulf oversees a number of remote Aboriginal communities—each with culturally distinct needs—as well as larger townships such as Mataranka.

2.2.1 The physical landscape of Barunga

When Barunga (then Bamyili) was first established as an Aboriginal reserve, the department responsible for establishing the community commissioned a series of small, one-room dwellings to be built. These were known as King's Strand houses, or Econo Huts, and they feature a central room, approximately 25 m², enclosed by sheets of iron, with large concrete verandas that encompass $\frac{3}{4}$ of the exterior of the building. The entire area is covered by a corrugated iron roof, for sun and rain protection. The philosophy behind these structures was that Aboriginal people were deemed to want to live outside, with a small protective space to keep their belongings. These initial structures were soon replaced by larger two- and three-bedroom houses from the 1980s, with the most recent houses being built in 2018. There is now only one complete example of the initial one-room structures still standing in Barunga, and it is used as a fieldwork base by archaeological researchers from Flinders University.

One of the most materially visible changes to the Barunga landscape was the widespread erection of fences around the yards of houses, which occurred from 2013 through to 2015. Prior to this, it was commonplace for house yards to have more diffuse boundaries. While the funding for fences came from the new Roper Gulf Regional Council, the new practice was not resisted by community members. In fact, residents of Barunga liked the idea of 'knowing their space', where they could keep kids and dogs inside the yard, and buffalo and cattle out. The erection of fences also established clear boundaries of the areas for which the council was responsible, versus those for which community residents are responsible. It has been argued—by researchers from the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research in particular—that one of the key motivators of the Intervention and other earlier Aboriginal welfare policies was to 'normalise' Aboriginal Australians, as well as to establish people from remote Aboriginal communities as productive members of the state (see Altman 2001, 2007, 2009a; Altman and Hinkson 2010). The erection of fences may then be part of an ongoing strategy to normalise Aboriginal Australians, though it is interesting that many of those who are impacted by the Intervention

actively want a fence. These ideas are explored in greater detail in Chapter Three, Four, and Seven, as the existence of fences in Barunga has significant implications for this thesis. Their presence highlights an area of particular cultural or identity change, for example, from more diffuse or open boundaries in the landscape of Barunga, to more rigid boundaries, with a clear regimented dichotomy between public and private space.

2.2.2 The cultural landscape of Barunga

The context in which the term community is used in this thesis is certainly in reference to the physical environment of Barunga, though it also refers to an extended network of kin-based relationships that transcend the physical boundaries of Barunga. As (Smith 2004:vii) noted:

The way in which Barunga and Wugularr people live the notion of community is much more fluid than the way in which Europeans conceive of this. Community is a part of a cultural landscape that dissolves geographic boundaries. This landscape includes not only geographic areas and landmarks but kinship networks.

While Barunga is situated in Jawoyn Country, the effects of European colonisation and the removal of people from traditional lands means that Barunga and other Jawoyn communities are home to people from other Indigenous groups. Primarily, this includes Dalabon people, though residents of Barunga also have familial and kin relationships with people from Mielli, Rembarrnga, Nalakan, Yolngu, Ngukkur, and Gunwingku, among others. Jawoyn and Dalabon people account for the highest portion of the population. Many Dalabon people, whose land is to the north east of Jawoyn Country, have lived instead in Jawoyn Country since the early twentieth century European colonisation of the region, as there is more housing and greater access to various health and education services, as well as greater opportunity for employment. As a result, many Dalabon cultural traits have been adopted in Jawoyn Country, particularly in relation to the kinship system. Peter Manabaru, a Dalabon man, who lived in Jawoyn Country and worked with Claire Smith and Gary Jackson, made reference to the idea that Dalabon people are the holders of traditional cultural knowledge of Jawoyn Country, as Jawoyn people have lost that knowledge (Smith 1992). While Manabaru did not offer reasons why this might be the case, one possibility is that Jawoyn Country is nearer to regional centres, such as Katherine, Pine Creek and Mataranka, and so would have experienced more frequent attempts at assimilation by colonisers and missionaries than those from Dalabon Country, which is much further from the Northern Territory centres of colonisation. As a result of this loss of Jawoyn knowledge, most people who live in Jawoyn Country follow the Dalabon kinship system (Figure 7), despite there being a Jawoyn system. Dalabon kinship is both a system of family relationships, marriage, and avoidance relationships, but also of social order and control.

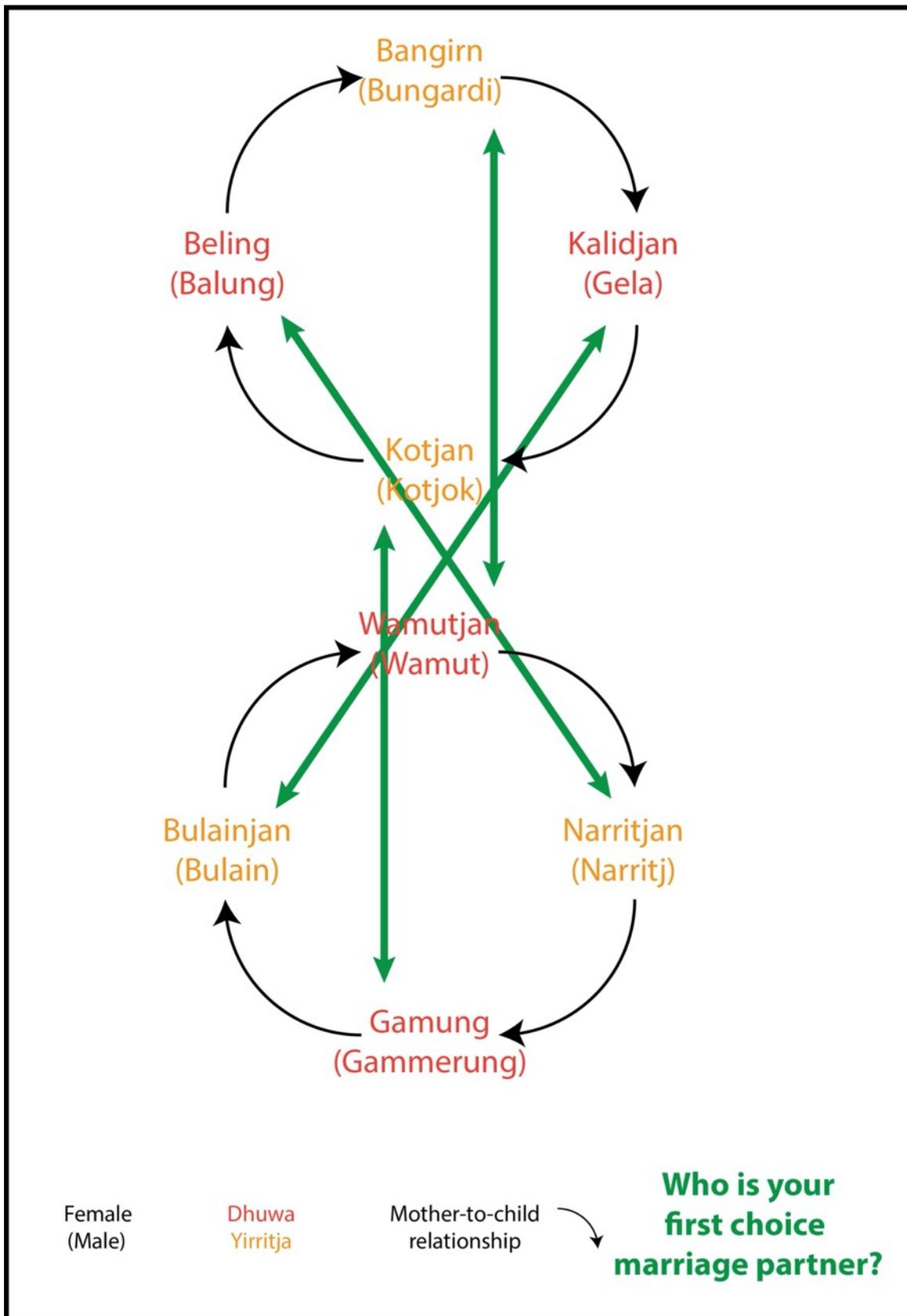


Figure 7. Diagram of the Dalabon kinship system, which is used in Jawoyn Country. Redrawn by Antoinette Hennessy from Smith (2004). Reproduced with permission.

At its most basic level, the Dalabon kinship system is represented by two moieties, Dhuwa and Yirritja, where, '[d]uring the Dreaming ... ancestral beings assigned everything in the world to moieties, and, where appropriate, also to a skin group' (Smith and Burke 2010:85). Smith and Burke (2010:97) explain that the union of the two moieties is the 'dominant structuring principle of Barunga-Wugularr society', where, '[b]ecause each moiety represents only one half of existence ... the two must be joined for the world to be complete' (Smith and Burke 2010:85). One example of this is in marriage, where partners must be of the opposite moiety, but also in ceremonial relationships as well. Moieties are patrilineal and there are several characteristics or features that are associated with each moiety. For example, short, broad features and dark colours are related to Dhuwa; while long, thin features, and lighter colours are associated with Yirritja. Beyond the two moieties, the Dalabon kinship system is further separated into what anthropologists call 'sections'. There are four sections in the Dalabon system, and these relate to father-son relationships, particularly during ceremony. Beyond that, there are 16 'sub-sections', which are known locally as 'skin names'. As with moieties, skin names are inherited, though in this case, they are passed on matrilineally, as per the diagram in Figure 7. These skin names have implications in family, marriage, and avoidance relationships, and they also determine the correct *Gidjan* and *Junggayi* (which tend to be referred to as 'Traditional Owner' and 'Traditional Custodian', respectively).

Barunga is Dhuwa country, owing to the dark earth found in the landscape. Dhuwa people of Bagala clan, then, are *Gidjan* (owners) of the land and are responsible for permission-giving. Yirritja people of Bagala clan are *Junggayi* (custodians), and are responsible for the ongoing care for the country, as well as decision-making. This system, while complex, helps maintain social order and control. Systems similar to this have been documented in many parts of Australia. There are clear reciprocal duties of members of distinct moieties. With this in mind, such an important, defining principle should have material manifestations.

The challenge for archaeologists is to determine how we might recognise this system materially. There have been attempts at analysing rock art and mobiliary art with an aim to identify even the most basic levels of this social system; however, as the rules—particularly in terms of the mutable/immutable aspects of those rules—are unknown (or unobtainable) by present-day archaeologists, this is a difficult undertaking. At the very least, we have been able to recognise this system at play in rock art, where moieties are depicted 'in company' through the combination of light and dark colours within a motif, or a panel of art (Smith and Burke 2010). Though, as Smith and Burke (2010:97) warn, 'the light background of a rock surface may be enough to indicate Yirritja moiety, or the knowledge that a painting on Dhuwa land may mean

that the joining of moieties can be achieved through depicting a painting solely in Yirritja colour’.



Figure 8. Graffito recorded in Barunga in 2011. It reads 'Wamutjan sisters always okay in 2010#'.

Such social complexity is strong evidence against those colonial ideas of a 'savage' or 'primitive' Aboriginal people. This sophisticated approach to social order, however, is often undermined by European interventions, as well as European misunderstandings of Aboriginal lifeways. While those early opinions may now be widely accepted as incorrect, it does little to prevent people in the present believing that Aboriginal Australians have lost their culture, owing to the differences in material culture between the traditional lifestyle of the past, and the colonised lifestyle of the present. In a previous study undertaken in Barunga, I identified a possible contemporary example of a continued practice of presenting moieties 'in company' in visual communication (Ralph 2012). I recorded a graffito in Barunga, which referred to a skin name in the Dalabon system (Figure 8). This particular skin name, Wamutjan, is of the Dhuwa moiety, and so it follows that Dhuwa people should be producing dark art on light backgrounds. Additionally, I also found that graffiti served a purpose in this region to communicate a person's

being and belonging to a place, as well as to identify with and reinforce cultural and family connections (Ralph and Smith 2014). Prior to conducting the archaeology of contemporary graffiti at Barunga, I was more interested in what it could reveal about present-day attitudes towards government intervention; however, what I found was far more interesting. I found that Aboriginal culture persisted in ways few had imagined. While many have considered the traditional Jawoyn practice of landscape marking through rock art to have ended, or at the very least to have transformed into a focus on mobiliary art, few recognised that contemporary graffiti was also part of a present-day Jawoyn art system, which developed from early rock art practices.

The revelation that contemporary Jawoyn graffiti was in fact an important element in the Jawoyn art system, was one of the primary motivators of this research. My previous approach in this area offered some valuable and nuanced understandings of contemporary Jawoyn lifeways, and consequently, I wanted to broaden my focus to determine what other material behaviours might be misunderstood.

In terms of the *physical* cultural landscape of Barunga, there are clearly many houses, fences, roadways, and graffiti. Beyond that, the most striking features in the landscape are vehicles in varying states from brand new to stripped shells, and rubbish. Anecdotally, these materials are often held up as examples of Aboriginal apathy for country and evidence for social dysfunction and lack of agency. With this in mind, the plan for this research was to record modern material culture across Barunga to develop new insights into human-thing interactions, in much the same way as in my previous study of contemporary Jawoyn graffiti.

2.3 The problem with the past

This research aims at understanding the ways in which ‘traditional’ (or, pre-colonial) Jawoyn cultural practices manifest in the present. In order to identify change and continuity it is important to understand how those practices operated in the past. However, it is difficult to build a comprehensive understanding of pre-colonial Jawoyn society that highlights cultural protocols, values and activities, considering the limited body of literature that describes those practices. While some literature certainly discusses Jawoyn people and their culture during early contacts, much of this information is piecemeal, problematic and unreliable. However, in addition to the spotted ethnohistorical record of Jawoyn Country, there is also a body of oral histories that can be drawn upon to fill some gaps. Those include the oral histories of people who live in and around Barunga who have first- and often second-hand knowledge of pre-colonial life in this region. Some oral histories were captured by early archaeologists and anthropologists who worked in the region (e.g. Elkin 1952; Macintosh 1951, 1952, 1977), while

others were recorded in the academic work of Claire Smith and Gary Jackson (in terms of archaeology and anthropology; see Smith 1992, 1996, 2004, 2008; Smith and Jackson 2008, 2012; Smith et al. 2016) and Francesca Merlan (linguistic anthropology; see Merlan 1995, 1998, 2006).

2.3.1 The problem with early Jawoyn ethnography

In other more populated parts of Australia, ethnohistorical accounts—journal entries, newspaper articles and such—detail colonialist observations of Aboriginal people. Given the relatively late and limited presence of European colonisers in the Northern Territory, the ethnohistorical record in Jawoyn Country is limited when compared with, for example, areas along the Murray River in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia. While sources such as early Australian ethnohistories are important records for understanding Aboriginal life prior to and during early colonisation, they can provide untrustworthy, or biased, insights into Aboriginal Australian life. Though that bias tends to form the basis upon which Aboriginal people are perceived in contemporary Australia, academics can wade through those descriptions in order to obtain a basic understanding of life prior to the arrival of Europeans. Instead, in Jawoyn Country, we have descriptions from colonialists such as Alfred Giles, who wrote about Aboriginal people living in the Roper River area (just south of Barunga), as being a threat to their expedition (Giles 1871, as noted in Smith 2004:11).

Rather than a wealth of ethnographic accounts of Aboriginal life in this region, we instead have scant descriptions of brief, often violent or hostile encounters, or as passive assistants to European aspirations—both of which are always told from a European perspective. Two examples of latter accounts of Aboriginal life in this region are semi-autobiographical novelisations of European endeavours: *I, the Aboriginal*, by Douglas Lockwood and *We of the Never Never* by Jeannie Gunn. Each of these describe the relationships between colonisers and Aboriginal people (who are mostly from the Roper River region south of Jawoyn Country). While interesting portrayals of early colonial life, these accounts do little to elucidate the traditional practices of Aboriginal people from this region, primarily because Aboriginal people tend to be the background characters who play a supportive or decorative role in the struggles of Europeans adapting to life in the Australian outback. Thus, with the absence of a broad-ranging or detailed ethnohistory of the area, which considers Aboriginal Australians as subjects in their own right, we are left with the accounts of archaeologists and anthropologists who have worked in this region from the mid-twentieth century onwards.

2.3.2 The problem with early Jawoyn archaeology

While the publications of early archaeologists who worked in this region through the mid-twentieth century are among the only written records of Jawoyn life prior to widespread European colonisation in the Northern Territory, this body of literature is problematic for a number of reasons. These reasons include that the researchers spent limited time in this region, that they worked with a limited number and range of people, and that they focussed predominantly on only one type of 'artefact', rock art, particularly in terms of its relationship to religious activities and knowledge—information which is highly restricted.

Despite their narrow, but persistent focus on rock art, the work of the first anthropologists and archaeologists to conduct research in this region were often incorrect in their interpretations of Jawoyn material and visual cultures, and indeed Jawoyn social systems. For example, Elkin (1950:5) described social organisation in this region as 'mainly of the Aranda type' (i.e. similar to that of northern South Australia / southern Northern Territory), though Merlan (1989:227) disagreed with that observation, writing 'my material shows no evidence to support this conclusion'.

To further illustrate the argument that early anthropological and archaeological work undertaken in this region is problematic, I draw upon the work of Macintosh (1977), who wrote a reappraisal of his earlier recordings of Beswick Creek Cave in 1952 (known locally as Doria Gudaluk, see Smith 2016). Macintosh (1977:197) wrote that previous interpretations made by researchers (who had limited relationships with local people and limited knowledge of their culture), lead to 'a 90% failure by the recorder to diagnose correctly the individual painted items'. By the time Macintosh wrote this appreciation for long-term relationships between researchers and communities, over two decades of ethnographic and archaeological work had already been carried out in Jawoyn Country. It is likely that, along with Macintosh's work, those other early works are flawed, given that those researchers tended to spend only one or two days at each place they visited with local guides (e.g. Macintosh 1951:179, 1952:256–257; see also Elkin 1952:246; and Davidson 1981:41).

Beyond the limited time spent at these places, early ethnographers were almost always men and worked predominantly with male guides. In Elkin's (1952) and Macintosh's (1952) visits to Doria Gudaluk, they were accompanied by senior Jawoyn man, Lamjorrotj (who they named Lamderod) and senior Ngalkpon man Charlie Mangga. Jawoyn, like other Aboriginal societies, is (and was) a gender- and age-segregated society, where men and women hold knowledge and power over their own affairs and cultural business, with limited transfer between the two (pers. comm. Guy Rankin 2016; see also the *Cultural Orientation Handbook* from Remote Area Health

Corps 2013). By predominantly working with men, the work of early ethnographers is biased in favour of men's business, while women's business is rarely considered in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric record. Given that Doria Gudaluk is known as a sacred women's place (Smith et al. 2016), it is likely that the gendered knowledge required to understand the place, including the art, was lacking. A public level of information was shared with Elkin and Macintosh by Charlie Mangga, as Macintosh (1952:261) reported '[Charlie Mangga] offered the information that it was a lubra's² cave, that lubra's came there and often had "big Sunday" there'. Lamjorrotj also mentioned to the researchers that the bundles in crevices belonged to women. It is likely that when Lamjorrotj and Charlie Mangga mentioned that women 'could go' to this place, that they meant that women were always allowed, but men were not. The idea that men had blanket permission to access all country is likely a value that the researchers imposed upon Jawoyn people from their own value system. This same gendered bias would have been encountered at each of the places recorded by early ethnographers.

Another issue around bias in early ethnographies of this region is that work conducted here typically focussed on rock art. While the production of art was a significant cultural practice in this region, it was not the only practice. By focussing primarily on painted art in caves and rockshelters, early researchers—and indeed recent researchers—have built a library of academic research concerning the archaeology of Jawoyn Country that gives preference to visual culture over other cultural practices, meaning that beyond the work conducted by Elkin (1952), Macintosh (1951, 1952, 1977), Davidson (1981), David et al. (2011, 2013), Gunn (1995; Gunn and Whear 2007a, 2007b; Gunn et al. 2011, 2012; Harris and Gunn 2017) very little archaeological work has focused on anything other than art.

2.4 Understanding 'traditional' Jawoyn culture

This section is concerned with the elements of human activity in Jawoyn Country—particularly the way in which people behave and think as a group and as individuals within that group—which can be termed 'culture'. Given the limited literature that considers pre- and early-colonial life in this region, the following discussion of 'traditional' Jawoyn culture is constructed from a combination of literature concerned with Jawoyn Country, literature concerned with other Aboriginal groups who are geographically and culturally linked to Jawoyn Country, as well as my own experiences having worked in Jawoyn Country alongside Jawoyn people for the greater part of a decade.

² 'Lubra' is a pejorative, racialised term used to refer to Aboriginal women.

In this section, I explore four Jawoyn cultural practices that are pertinent to this research. The first is cultural conceptions of space in both large (regional) and small (local) scale. The second is the cultural use of that space—i.e. how people move around and inhabit that space. The third is the Jawoyn way of perceiving and experiencing time. The fourth is the place that material and visual objects hold in Jawoyn culture, and how these are mediated by cultural conceptions of time and space.

2.4.1 Cultural conceptions of space

In the Jawoyn belief system, the land and all topographical features were created by ancestors, who later became part of the landscape (Smith 2004:3). The relationships that people have with the land is different in Aboriginal Australian societies to those of Western societies. In Western societies, people tend to think of the land as static and sterile, but in Jawoyn society, the land has its own identity and power:

Within the Indigenous Australian cosmos, power flows from inherently powerful ancestral beings to the land, which is imbued with a potency given to it by the actions of people and ancestors in the past. In this way, every facet of the landscape becomes imbued with ancestral associations and ascribed with social identity. This power then flows through to living people, some of whom have the ability to call upon the force and authority inherent in both the land and ancestral beings (Smith 2004:4).

The way in which space is conceived of is cultural (e.g. Núñez and Cooperrider 2013). In contemporary Australia, as in many urbanised societies, space is often conceived of in broad terms such as public versus private space (cf. Knox and Pinch 2010:152), which are often demarcated with a physical barrier, such as a fence. The lack of such demarcation in pre-colonial Australia in part was used by British lawmakers to install the concept of *terra nullius* over Australia (Borch 2001). *Terra nullius* held that there was no concept of land tenure or property in existence in Australia, because the Aboriginal inhabitants were perceived as being ‘in the original state of nature’ (Attwood 1996:ix). The ways in which space was perceived and demarcated by Australian Aboriginal groups was unfamiliar to colonisers, given that they were demarcated by the natural landscape and known through oral tradition, song and dance, which are connected through kinship systems, for example in Jawoyn Country:

[A]n integral part of growing up is for people to learn about their relationships to country. As they move through their lands they learn about the relationships between place and ancestors, in the process learning about themselves and their particular rights and responsibilities to land. Rock-art sites play an important role in this process of identification. Kinship relationships link ancestors, contemporary peoples, specific places, and wider

'country'. In this sense, there is no separation of land, kinship, inheritance or religion (Smith 2004:4).

With that in mind, Jawoyn people certainly had a land tenure system prior to European colonisation. The Jawoyn land tenure system determines the way in which land is apportioned, owned, and inherited. Despite a new system of land tenure being installed by British and Australian colonial legislation, traditional Jawoyn land tenure continues today in combination with other Western forms of tenure. While the separation of space was not demarcated or delineated in a way that was immediately recognisable to non-Aboriginal people, borders and boundaries certainly existed.

Jawoyn Country is a large estate (Figure 4), which was once made up of 43 clan groups, some of which have disappeared as an effect of colonisation, leaving 17 clan groups (Jawoyn Association Aboriginal Corporation n.d.). Jawoyn clans include Bagala, Bertbert, Bolmo, Derrkalo, Gayngumbitj, Wurrkbarbar, among others (see Merlan and Rumsey 1982), and can also be thought of as family groups. Each clan owns a particular tract of land within greater Jawoyn Country. For example, Barunga is situated on the part of Jawoyn Country owned by Bagala clan. Bagala Traditional Owners are Dhuwa people, under the kinship system outlined above, and the country within Bagala clan lands is Dhuwa land, owing to its dark colour.

This is one way in which traditional Aboriginal space was demarcated, and this idea demonstrates the way in which social relationships manifest in the physical landscape in this region. As Babidge (2011:92) wrote, '[t]he patrilineal clan is often argued to be the underlying formation of Australian Aboriginal 'classical' landholding units' (see also Morphy 1997)). 'Clan' is a term that has been applied to groups of Aboriginal people by ethnographers, anthropologists, and more recently, archaeologists, to refer to sections of Aboriginal populations that share a geographic, economic, kin-based, and familial bond, and who take ownership of 'estates' within particular tracts of land (see discussion of clan groups in Morphy 1997), though this application has been critiqued (see Babidge 2011; Keen 2000). The important realisation that has arisen from such discussions is that there was a complex land-tenure system in place within Aboriginal societies prior to European colonisation.

2.4.2 Cultural use of space

The way that space is used, navigated and cared for is also mediated culturally in Jawoyn society. For example, certain places are restricted according to age and gender, as well as a person's relationship to the Traditional Owner and their family. Restrictions either take the form of restricted physical access, or restricted knowledge-sharing of stories associated with a place, or the art and cultural features within. These cultural rules impact the number and

diversity of people who would visit a place, as well as the activities that occur there. For example, the way in which the cave, Doria Gudaluk, was used in Jawoyn Country was described by Charlie Mangga as a place for women to meet and have large gatherings (Macintosh 1952:261). During these times, men would not be allowed to attend this place.

In Jawoyn Country, as with other Aboriginal societies, life was spent outdoors, with built structures (like a bough shed) or natural features (like a cave or rock shelter) for protection. For example, family groups would occupy a single rock shelter for a time, before moving along and revisiting later as some places were only suitable in certain seasons. Wendy Willika (pers. comm. 2018), a Jawoyn woman from Werenbun, a small outstation north of Katherine, has described living in a rock shelter near Barunga known as Droopni, with her family when she was a young girl. Droopni is a natural shelter in the banks of the Beswick Creek. One of the significant archaeological features of this place is the immense rock art gallery. Droopni has been described by people from the region as a place for families, in the sense that there are no age or gender restrictions associated with visiting the place.

The focus of my own research is on 'the modern house' in Barunga, as well as the material culture that exists in close proximity. It makes sense that an understanding of the pre-colonial Jawoyn family unit would be helpful in understanding the culturally nuanced ways in which these houses are used in the present. Given the lack of detailed and reliable ethnography on this topic, we are left with present-day ethnographies, as well as oral histories and the accounts of researchers who work with culturally similar groups. Morphy (2007), who works with Yolŋu populations wrote that the way the Australian government conducts its census (and in turn the way in which funding is distributed), is based on westernised ideas of 'populations' and 'households'. Western households, Morphy (2007:163) argues, bound their subjects (i.e. in a single-family unit), though in Yolŋu society, the subjects of a household are not contained in the same way, instead being more mobile within a community and often staying at several places temporarily. This practice has consequences for the way in which remote Aboriginal communities are perceived, and ultimately the way in which policymakers deal with the problems which exist through flawed understandings and data collection:

The apparent capturing of Aboriginal sociality within the bounded container model of census data provides a basis for believing that Aboriginal people are just not very good at being contained: their households are too big and they move around too much; and it is government's job to formulate policies that help them to become better contained citizens. What has been argued here is that, instead, the census information, in the way it is collected and then processed according to the bounded container model, is radically transforming. It does not reflect the reality of Aboriginal sociality, which is founded on a very different meta-

metaphor. Much social policy directed at Aboriginal Australians founders, or produces 'unexpected' results, because this goes unrecognized (Morphy 2007:178-179)

The idea of households or dwellings as ephemeral, transitory spaces was also considered by O'Connell (1977, 1987), who explored the ways in which they were occupied, abandoned and moved in a central Australian community known as Bendaijerum. In his study, O'Connell found that the gender of unmarried occupants of a house determined its position in the 'settlement' (where men's quarters were positioned further from women's and family dwellings) and that the activities that occurred within a household were determined by the primary resident's gender. Beyond the gendered element in the positioning of dwellings, as they were mostly temporary structures, they could easily be taken down and moved elsewhere. O'Connell (1977:125) recorded that this would happen mostly after a death in the community, where people would move away from the place that the death occurred, as well as the dwelling that was once occupied by the deceased.

While the above examples are not directly concerned with Jawoyn Country, based on my own observations and experiences in Jawoyn communities, there are some similarities between the practices described by Morphy (2007) and O'Connell (1977, 1987) with those of Jawoyn people living in communities such as Barunga. Thus, cultural protocols around age, gender and death impact the way spaces are used in this region. The use of space in Barunga, then, can be described as being contained not by physical structures (such as houses and fences), but by networks of relationships, the material manifestations of which exist in the individual houses as the locus of those relationships.

2.4.3 Cultural perceptions and experiences of time

Another feature of Jawoyn culture that is pertinent to this research is the way in which Jawoyn people conceive of and experience time. It is well-documented that the supermodern period of the contemporary world can be characterised by accelerated change, as opposed to the slower rate of change experienced in the past (e.g. Harrison and Schofield 2010; Lucas 2005). While time may be experienced rapidly in other contemporary societies, it is not necessarily the case in remote Aboriginal societies.

Instead, there are a few ways in which time can be understood. Firstly, Jawoyn people conceive of time in relation to ancestors and spirits, who travel the country and shape it in their own form, and for their own reasons. This manipulation of country is often referred to as the Dreamtime, or the Dreaming, and is perceived by Europeans as a creation period that occurred in deep time. In Jawoyn Country, as with many other Aboriginal Australian societies, the 'Dreaming' is considered both 'then' and 'now' (Smith 2004:3) in the sense that the activities of

ancestors have happened already and are still happening. Time as it is conceived in Jawoyn Country, then, is non-linear.

Secondly, in my experience working with Jawoyn people—particularly in Barunga—there is a clear distinction between the ‘old ways’ of the past and of the ‘new ways’ of the present. While this might seem to highlight a linear view of time, this relates more to personal experiences and modern identity-making than it does to community experiences of time (i.e. individuals remember the past and make decisions about what aspects they want to retain, which they want to remember, and which they elect to leave behind). There is a certain respect and longing for the old ways, and this can act as a powerful driver in community activities. For example, the fabric of the past is carefully woven into the materiality of modern-day Barunga through the murals that adorn public buildings; the sculptures that appear in public parks; and indeed, street names (e.g. Lamjorrotj Road, named after a senior Jawoyn man).

Finally, Jawoyn time can be understood in relation to externally imposed processes. On a smaller (i.e. century-long) scale to the ‘Dreaming’ is the impact of historical events on the community. These intertwining and interconnected periods are well-summarised by Smith (2004) as:

- Before invasion (pre-nineteenth century).
- Contact, ‘protection’ and control (nineteenth century-mid-twentieth century).
- Stockman time (i.e. when stockman established settlements; from 1920s).
- Government time (i.e. during a period of forced cultural assimilation and strict government control; 1930s-1960s).
- Empowerment and community development (1960s to the present)

‘Intervention time’ can be included in this list as a period from 2007 onwards, which is characterised by more rapid change than preceding periods.

On a smaller scale again is the way time is experienced within a twelve-month period.

Wijnjorrotj et al. (2005) recorded Jawoyn seasons as:

- *Jiyowk*: January and February. Characterised by heavy rain and overflowing creeks and rivers.
- *Pangkarrang*: March-May. Characterised by minimal rainfall. Long grass covers the country and fires are lit to ‘clean up’ the area.
- *Malapparr*: June-August. Characterised by cold, dry weather.
- *Jungalk*: September-November. Characterised by high humidity and high temperatures with no relief from rain.

- *Kuran*: December. Characterised by high humidity and high temperatures, but with some rainfall.

Each of these seasons and the climactic variation is a signal to Jawoyn people that certain types of flora and fauna are available to hunt, gather, use and consume. In that, seasons are used as a form of temporal orientation, to measure the passing of time. It is important to note that the natural processes of the landscape, flora and fauna are the metrics of time in this system, rather than hands on a clock or the number of a day. This approach to marking the passage of time through the seasons also occurs in other Aboriginal communities, for example, in Yolŋu communities (e.g. Nhulunbuy Corporation n.d.)

2.4.4 Material culture in pre-colonial Jawoyn Country

The last feature of Jawoyn culture I wish to discuss here is a particularly archaeological one. The aim of this research is to explore the ways in which the past manifests in the present in distinctly cultural ways. Since material culture is a vital aspect of navigating and experiencing one's culture, it is important to view the 'traditional' or pre-colonial materials used by Jawoyn people, in order to appreciate the culturally specific ways that contemporary materials are used.

The range of traditional Jawoyn material culture was limited by the materials available in the landscape. Primarily, this included stones, which were either flaked to make a sharp edge for cutting, or ground to process food and pigment; ochre and clay, which were used to create natural pigments (mostly red, yellow and white) in the production of rock art, body art and to paint other items; wooden objects, which served a range of functions including hunting (e.g. spears), gathering (e.g. digging sticks), and in ceremony (e.g. didgeridoos and other items); fibre objects, such as baskets and bags which were used to store, carry and transport smaller objects; and other material such as sheets of bark from paperbark trees, which were multi-use items. Paperbark could be used as a drinking vessel, for shelter, as blankets, as a floor mat, in cooking, and as small canoes.

Many of these objects are organic and break down quickly once discarded. Often, the only pre-colonial Jawoyn objects that have lasted in the present are rock art and stone tools, though Elkin (1952) and Macintosh (1952, 1977) have reported the presence of fibre and wooden objects in their work. Stone on the other hand remains in place and I have observed flaked stone at Doria Gudaluk, Droopni, and at another shelter around 100 km north east of Barunga, Jerraewun, also known as Narritjbumbulam. At Doria Gudaluk, only a few stone artefacts are present on the surface, while a few dozen are present at Droopni. A remarkable archaeological feature of Droopni is the presence of several basal grindstones, which have been used as a 'pestle' to grind food and perhaps pigment (though there is no visible evidence of pigment). On the flat above

Jerraewun (which is situated in the banks of the Waterhouse River), is a quartz outcrop. Hundreds of flaked quartz artefacts can be found here, which have either been discarded, or are a consequence (detritus) of previous knapping events.

The traditional Jawoyn material culture can be described, then, as a combination of functional and ceremonial, though more research is required in this space in terms of other qualities of Jawoyn material culture. For example, to what extent can these items be classified as recreational? What more can we learn about pre-colonial Jawoyn life from early material culture—beyond the ideas that have already been explored in terms of Jawoyn art? While the present research is time-sensitive and vital to understanding contemporary Jawoyn culture, a broader comprehension of pre-colonial Jawoyn life is required to understand how the past informs the present, and to convey the full weight of this research results.

2.5 A personal history at Barunga

2.5.1 Paving the way to research

Before introducing the theoretical foundation of this thesis and detailing the methods I used to gather the data for this study, it is important to explain the process through which I went to attain permission to work in Barunga. Consultation for this project started in 2010—five years before I commenced the doctorate. That is not to say that was the time I began speaking to Jawoyn Elders about the ideas that are presented in this thesis; instead, it is when I first sought and attained permission to conduct research in Jawoyn Country (research that is presented in Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014), which ultimately paved the way for this project to go ahead.



Figure 9. Seeking permission to undertake a study of graffiti in Barunga. JR (L) and Sybil Ranch (R). Photograph by Claire Smith, July 2010.

Initially, the consultation with Jawoyn Elders was directed at collecting data for an Honours thesis (Ralph 2012). 2010 was the first time I had visited Barunga—and Jawoyn Country—though at that stage my supervisor, Claire Smith, and her anthropologist husband, Gary ‘Jacko’ Jackson had been working there for around 20 years. They were my conduit into the community—I remember Claire and Jacko sharing stories about their first visit to Barunga, where they had to wait on the outskirts of the community for local people to approach them, because they did not know anybody. Over twenty years, the couple cemented their relationships with people and families in the community, to the point where they have a unique position in Jawoyn society. Many of the Elders they originally worked with have passed away. Claire and Jacko now work with the children and grandchildren (and sometimes the great-grandchildren) of those Elders.

The initial groundwork for my entry into the community, both physically and conceptually, was (unknowingly) carried out by Claire and Jacko over twenty years. This allowed me to visit Barunga in 2010, accompanying Claire and Jacko, to ask the *Gidjan* (Traditional Owner), Sybil Ranch (Figure 9) and the *Junggayi* (Custodian), Jimmy Wesan (Figure 10), and be granted permission almost immediately to return and record visual responses to the Federal Government’s Intervention around the community. Additionally, Jimmy ‘put’ my skin name, which is Bulain (thereby making me his son). The expedited conferral of permission was undoubtedly due to my association with long-standing community researchers.



Figure 10. Seeking permission from Jimmy Wesan to undertake Honours research. (L-R) Rocky Lane, Gary Jackson, Bernie Yates (front), Jordan Ralph (back), Jimmy Wesan, Lynn Sumsion, Claire Smith, Glen Wesan, and Bulainjan. Photograph by Natalie Bittner, July 2010.

2.5.2 Building relationships

Post-Honours, I returned to the community at least once a year, for funerals and Flinders University field schools. This served another purpose, relevant to my doctorate, as it allowed me to maintain a connection with the community and to create and maintain my own relationships. In addition to this, I have hosted and visited Jawoyn people when they travel to Adelaide (for hospital stays and holidays), further cementing my place in the Jawoyn community.

Additionally, I was given an Aboriginal name, Jungnadum, by Rachael Willika. The man after whom I was named, Jungnadum, was also known as Jack Chadum (Figure 11). He was one of the old men who worked closely with Claire and Jacko until he passed away. The significance of my being given his name (Jungnadum) is such that I embody his memory—in essence, he and I are the same person. Not in terms of resurrection, as he passed away long after I was born, but that I exhibit certain traits that he possessed and, importantly, we share the same skin name, Bulain. To be given an Aboriginal name, you need to fulfil four criteria:

1. Have a meaningful, ongoing relationship with the community.
2. Exhibit personality traits similar to your namesake.
3. Have the same skin as your namesake.
4. Your namesake must have passed away.

There are many responsibilities associated with being given a name. These include taking care of your namesake's family and continuing the work that they carried out when they were alive.



Figure 11. Jack Chadum (Jungnadum) being interviewed for the documentary *Junggayi: Caring for Country* (Smith 1992). Reproduced with permission.

During the time I have spent working in Barunga, I have built a network of relationships with local people, and these relationships have given me the social capital required to conduct research in the community. My work here is informed by the work of Smith and Jackson (2012:47–48), who wrote of their longstanding relationship with Jawoyn communities, that while the relationships initially started as a researcher/‘informant’, these relationships became more familial over time. This development came with extra responsibilities beyond those of more conventional researchers:

the responsibilities of family means a lot of extra effort, as with any family: “Could you drive me to visit family in hospital tonight?” where the hospital is a 160 kms round trip. Or, “We have to take sticks and bash up that other family tomorrow because they went to the police about your nephew injuring one of their family.” These costs and benefits come together as part of the package of collaboration (Smith and Jackson 2012:48).

The reciprocal nature of these relationships requires me to undertake tasks other than archaeology. Often, fieldwork takes much longer because the philosophy of the approach our research team follows is that we fit in around people’s lives, rather than making our work a priority. In that sense, I help community people with various jobs that they need help with, which includes transport both within the community and from community to community; furniture collection/delivery (as we often drive utility vehicles); assisting with navigating bureaucracy; and helping with local events, among other things. The key here is that researchers once visited these communities with very personal agendas, which the community had very little opportunity to resist. As part of ongoing progress towards a true decolonised archaeology, the researcher’s agenda needs to be a secondary feature of community-based research, in favour of building relationships, as Smith and Jackson (2012:49; see also Smith and Jackson 2008) found, ‘we could not work with people without becoming engaged in their struggles, and using our skills for their purposes’.

During the period between the initial consultation for this research (July 2014) through to the submission of this thesis, I visited Barunga six times for extended field work, with each visit lasting from two weeks to two months. In addition to these field trips, I lived in the community for a period of ten months during an intensive data collection period. The extended contact with community allowed me to further develop strong relationships with local people. I prioritised social gatherings with senior community leaders during these visits, which centred around drinking cups of tea around a fire, sharing meals, and on one occasion, a community BBQ where we dug a ground oven and cooked roast beef, kangaroo tail and roast vegetables. The gatherings around the campfire meant that people would talk openly with me and often came to me to help deal with problems. Beyond that, I was able to speak with community leaders about my

research—through these gatherings, community leaders were active participants, and they shaped the way my data collection was carried out. The significance of this practice was made apparent to me during a visit with the Junggayi, Nell Brown. Nell asked what I would do once my project was complete, ‘will you leave and go to another community?’ I told her I would not do that. I have been working here for so long and I want to continue as long as the community want me there. Nell responded, ‘this is your community too’.

2.6 Discussion

Chapter two introduced the study area for this thesis, Barunga, which is a remote Aboriginal community located in Jawoyn Country in the Northern Territory of Australia. The chapter began by introducing the archaeological evidence for the deep Aboriginal occupation of Jawoyn Country, while discussing the development of research based in this region from small projects that prioritised the agenda of the researcher to larger projects led by research teams from multiple institutions, which prioritise the agenda of corporations and the research needs of the discipline. At the same time, community-based and community-led research was developed through the ongoing relationship between local Jawoyn people and Flinders University researchers Claire Smith and Gary Jackson—the community-based approach of this thesis is informed by the protocols developed by Smith and Jackson (2008) over three decades conducting research in this region.

Present-day Barunga was profiled in order to provide a clear summary of the community demographics, as well as the physical and cultural landscape. As this study aims at understanding the present-day machinations of the community, as well as cause and effect of government intervention, having a solid understanding of the physical and cultural characteristics of the community is vital.

Finally, this chapter closed with a discussion on my personal history with working at Barunga, with local people. I synthesised early research that I undertook here, before discussing how I was able to build meaningful relationships within the community, which ultimately provided me with the social capital I required to undertake a project such as this. The following chapter reviews relevant literature connected with the research topic, which, combined, helped to develop the theoretical framework used in this study.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

3.1 Research themes

The conceptual framework that underlies this research is informed by three fundamental research themes: social and engaged archaeologies; archaeologies of colonialism; and archaeologies of the contemporary past. This study builds upon previous studies that focus on social justice and that interrogate ‘supermodernity’ (González-Ruibal 2008, 2019) in colonised nations. Since the last major paradigmatic shift in archaeological thought in the 1980s (i.e. the rise in post-processual approaches), archaeologists have grappled with the ways in which we can derive new understandings about the world from material culture. Recent thinking in this area holds that a reconceptualisation of the term ‘assemblage’ (following Deleuze and Guattari 1987) from a collection of similar, or spatially or temporally related objects to collection of objects *and* processes holds the key to interpreting how observations of material culture relate to human practice. This chapter begins with a review of literature that inform the conceptual framework before discussing the theoretical model.

3.2 Social and engaged archaeology

3.2.1 Social archaeology

Recent discussion around social archaeology holds that social processes actively shape material worlds. For example, Preucel and Meskell (2004:16) wrote that while the products of archaeology have a social value to living societies, the idea of social archaeology differs in the sense that it ‘acknowledges the social construction of time, space, and material culture as constituent of social being’. McNiven et al. (2006) further developed the idea of social archaeology in terms of its applicability in an Australian context. They emphasised the need to not only recognise the social construction of the past and of material worlds, but also the need to collaborate with descendant Aboriginal communities and to incorporate Indigenous epistemologies—coupled with a critical awareness of Indigenous ontologies—into archaeological work. In a recent global re-contextualisation of social archaeology, Mizoguchi and Smith (2019) built on previous conceptualisations of social archaeology (see individual contributions in David et al. 2006; and Meskell and Preucel 2004) to argue that while social archaeologies acknowledge the social construction of the *past*; the social construction of archaeological *products*; and the social *practice* of archaeology, social archaeologies in the twenty-first century ‘can be used to address contemporary challenges and to further social justice and basic human rights’.

One objective of the present study is to interrogate the political, social and economic situations that have impacted upon Barunga, as a contemporary Aboriginal community, while at the same time working closely with members of that community. In that sense, this study finds its intellectual basis in social archaeology as: the social construction of the Barunga landscape provides the archaeological data for this study; and this thesis is certainly a social construction, which was generated through the network of relationships built prior to and during the data collection field work. Further, as the focus of this study is on the present-day political situation in Barunga, this study has clear social justice implications.

3.2.2 Engaged archaeology

Approaches to 'engaged archaeology' (Smith and Ralph 2020) are closely aligned to activist archaeology (Atalay et al. 2014b; Little and Zimmerman 2010; Stottman 2010); however, the principal difference is that while activist archaeologies are shaped in support of or in opposition to a cause or issue, 'engaged archaeologies' are shaped by the communities with whom archaeologists work. Smith and Ralph (2020) wrote that engaged archaeology is characterised as archaeology that:

1. Actively engages with the social, cultural, and political dimensions of the lives of the people with whom archaeologists work.
2. Is shaped by the community's wishes.
3. Aims to make a practical difference to people's lives.

In that sense, engaged archaeology arose from previous theoretical developments in community archaeology, though it involves a realignment of the key agenda of archaeological work. In engaged archaeology, the focus is no longer on researcher interests nor those of related organisations, but instead it is on those grassroots projects and areas of interest of those from the community. This approach extends the current intellectual focus on engaged anthropology (see papers in Low and Merry 2010) and the philosophical and practical framework of community-based participatory research, commonly called 'community archaeology' (Marshall 2002). In the process it addresses criticisms of archaeology as a colonial enterprise (Atalay 2006; Lilley 2000; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005a) and provides a new methodological approach to factor into discussions of the ambivalent legacy of archaeological and anthropological relations with Indigenous communities (Clifford 2004). The focus of this study is the complex, culturally-entangled space in which Aboriginal people live—what Nakata (2007:8) calls the cultural interface. By using an engaged approach to archaeology in Barunga, the researcher's focus shifts from the remote past to the recent and contemporary past. This shift in focus is caused, firstly, by the fact that the cultural connection to and knowledge of

places and things from the remote past has been less impacted on by colonialism in this part of Australia than in others; and, secondly, the political, economic and social issues currently facing the community are more pressing than the usual focus of archaeology.

3.3 Archaeologies of colonialism

The second element in the conceptual framework that informs this study is archaeologies of colonialism, which is related to archaeologies of culture contact. 'Culture contact' has been of major interest to archaeologists who have sought to investigate the material consequences of contact. In recent decades, archaeologists in colonised places, such as North America and Australia in particular, have sought to interrogate the negotiation of difference between two cultures during periods of early colonisation (e.g. Byrne and Nugent 2004; Clarke and Paterson 2003; Frederick 1999; Funari and Senatore 2015; Harrison 2004a; Head and Fullagar 1997; Hofman and Keehnen 2019; Lape 2003; Lightfoot 1995; Lydon 2005, 2009; O'Connor et al. 2013; Paterson 2003, 2008; Paterson and Wilson 2009; Smith et al. 2017a; Smith 2001; Torrence and Clarke 2000; Wesley et al. 2018).

Silliman (2005) called for archaeologists working in Native North American archaeology to be more critical in their use of terminology, particularly with regard to the so-called 'contact' between Native American peoples and European colonisers. While this argument was put forth from a north American perspective, the lessons are also relevant in an Australian context. Silliman argues that terminology such as 'contact', used in reference to the early colonisation of the Americas, lends itself to sanitising the lengthy turbulence, violence, and power imbalance between various Native American groups and European colonisers. He suggests, instead, that 'colonialism' might be a more apt term. With this in mind, and considering that Barunga exists in a colonial landscape, a product of colonial pursuit (i.e. through the establishment by the government of the Beswick Creek Native Settlement, which is now known as Barunga), and that the way in which forced cultural assimilation was enacted through material culture and restricted landscapes (see Byrne 2003; Lydon 2005, 2009), the approach taken in this thesis is that the material landscape of Barunga is not a product of culture contact, but of colonialism.

Thematically, archaeologies of colonialism in Australia tend to focus on the effects of colonialism and cultural entanglement, especially in terms of religion and industry (Brown et al. 2002; Byrne 2003; Byrne and Nugent 2004; Frederick 1999; Godwin and L'Oste-Brown 2002; Harrison 2004b; Head and Fullagar 1997; Lydon 2005, 2009; O'Connor et al. 2013; Paterson 2003, 2008; Paterson and Wilson 2009; Smith et al. 2017a; Gulson and Parkes 2009); frontier conflict and colonial massacres (Barker 2007; Burke et al. 2016; Burke et al. 2018; Grguric 2007; Litster and Wallis 2011; Lowe et al. 2018; O'Connor et al. 2013; Smith 2007; Smith et al.

2017b); and experiences of Aboriginal people living in fringe camps (Pollard 2019; Smith and Beck 2003). Mostly, these studies are conducted with particular places in mind as the locus of contact, such as conflict sites, mission sites, pastoral places, fringe camps, and urban settlements. These studies are pertinent for developing nuanced understandings of the shared histories of the colonised and colonisers, but also to locate the stories that are often-hidden—either passively or actively—about colonised populations from the more dominant accounts. One key development offered by this study is that while most archaeologies of colonialism are about past encounters, this study is about present interactions. It interrogates the relationship between the hegemonic power structure (in this case the Anglo-Australian population, including the Australian Federal government) and the ‘subaltern’ (in this case, Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory, Australia). This study uses modern material assemblages as a proxy to understand those interactions.

3.3.1 Post-colonialism

In addition to theory-building in culture contact and colonial archaeology, this research is also informed by recent discussions about ‘post’-colonial archaeology. At first, the term postcolonialism appears to describe a time after colonialism; however, in Australia there is no ‘after’ colonialism. Colonialism has operated across the country since British colonisation in the late eighteenth century and has had an extreme impact upon Aboriginal Australian communities and populations since then—particularly in terms of its effects on culture, health, livelihoods and removal from traditional homelands (Alford and Muir 2004; Kapellas and Jamieson 2016). Instead, in the context of this study, the term postcolonialism follows the way it is used by other researchers, particularly Lydon and Rizvi (2014:19), who wrote that while ‘post-colonial’ often refers to a temporal period, particularly post-WWII when the colonialism of that time was distinct from earlier forms of colonialism—due to the rise of globalisation and capitalism. They argue that there is more to this concept than temporality:

[T]he term does not imply the triumphant transcendence of colonialism: while these great world systems have been dismantled, various disguised forms of colonialism and neocolonialism continue to flourish. In what follows, we use the term primarily to refer to a specific theoretical approach rather than denoting a temporal period; we remain wary of defining our own time as somehow having left colonialism behind.

The conceptual approach of postcolonialism as it used in this study is defined by its key motives, to investigate oppression and inequality; and reject imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is composed of the thematic ideas of hybridity, subalternity, and orientalism. This approach has been linked to various forms of what is known as ‘activist’ archaeology (Atalay et al. 2014b;

Little and Zimmerman 2010; Stottman 2010; Zimmerman et al. 2010) and in many ways, this study is an answer to Smith and Wobst's (2005b:371) call for archaeologies that are committed to social justice, which 'touch on general questions relating to social justice and human rights, such as identity, political advocacy, social advantage and economic equality'.

Haber (2016:469) argued that to decolonise archaeology in South America, there are three paths that can be taken:

- 'A critical approach to the ways archaeology contributes to coloniality';
- 'A criticism of the mechanisms by which coloniality informs archaeology'; and
- 'A varied exposure of archaeology to subaltern (that is, non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic) knowledge'.

This study conforms to each of these pathways as set out by Haber. It does this through the critical self-awareness that comes through the reflexivity that I practiced throughout the preparation, fieldwork and analysis stages of this thesis. It comes through an understanding of the colonial history of the discipline and the harm some approaches have caused to different groups across the country (Langford 1983). It also arrives through an understanding that our archaeological imaginations are informed by our worldviews, and that being a white Australian, my worldview has been shaped by those consequent experiences. This study actively includes Jawoyn people, as owners not only of the materials I study, both tangible and intangible, but also as the co-owners of the intellectual material I produced in this thesis (following Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Smith et al. 2018).

3.3.2 Postcolonial theory: Hybridity and subalternity

Various approaches to theorising postcolonial archaeology have sought to explore the entangled landscapes and materiality that occur as a result of colonialism. One theoretical approach has been termed 'hybridity', referring to the 'blending' of materiality from two or more cultural groups, while another approach has placed a greater emphasis on the ability for archaeology to locate the 'voices' of marginalised people, who rarely have the opportunity to partake in mainstream forms of communication.

On hybridity, Liebmann (2015:319) notes that it 'is a term used by anthropologists to characterize the amalgamation of influences from two (or more) different cultural groups'. The concept of hybridity is significant to this study, as I am investigating the culturally-entangled—or hybridised—materiality of a contemporary Aboriginal community. The concept of hybridity has been critiqued in recent years, owing to its apparent Eurocentrism and the implication that a culture must be characterised by its traditional materials and iconography to be considered

'pure' or authentic. Liebmann (2015) accepts the premise of this critique yet argues that we should not have to leave the word behind entirely. Instead, he argues that both the term and concept can be useful in archaeology, provided it is critically defined, rather than used in an undertheorised way. Liebmann (2015:322) defines hybridity as 'the combination and modification of elements from two or more different social groups in ways that challenge pre-existing power relations'. This is a development on previous definitions that usually considered hybridity to be about a passive mixture of two or more cultures. The idea that hybridity was passive is perhaps the major weaknesses of previous approaches to this concept. Instead, with Liebmann's (2015) definition, we see that the hybridisation of different social or cultural groups is active and directly related to power and agency.

The concept of hybridity is particularly important to this study, as it directly addresses the idea that Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory are less 'authentic' since traditional cultural practices are not employed in the way that colonisers have imagined, for example, by painting art with Western implements like paint brushes, canvas and acrylic paints, instead of with ochres and grass blades. Viewing the use of these materials through the lens of Liebmann's (2015) approach to hybridity means this does not represent a loss of culture, but in fact that culture has persisted in spite of colonialism.

Previous approaches to hybridisation have been used to create an 'us' and 'them' view of material culture (see for example Liebmann 2015), and in doing so, inadvertently 'others' certain groups, particularly the subaltern. While it might be interesting to recognise the cultural histories of certain aspects of a group's material culture, it does not tell us much about how that material culture got there, why, or what it could mean. Liebmann's (2015) definition of hybridity offers a more practical use of the concept: an opportunity to scrutinise the power relations at play in a place, particularly with regard to existing coloniser/colonised dynamics. In this study, hybridisation is used to assess the degree to which the subaltern (in this case Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory) are actively in control of their lives, making deliberate decisions around the materials they use in the practice of culture.

Subaltern studies—another facet of postcolonial critique—are fundamental to this study of government interventions in Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory. 'Subaltern' can be defined as 'peoples subordinated by relationships of power' (McEwan 2009:59). Aboriginal Australians can be termed 'subaltern' in the sense that they exist outside of the power structures of the more dominant—or hegemonic—Anglo-Australian society. Scholars of postcolonial theory have considered the ways in which social scientists and other researchers might be able to locate or retrieve the experiences of the subaltern, or marginalised

populations—who are considered to be rendered silent through active exclusion to mainstream or popular forms of communication. For example, Spivak (1988) asked ‘Can the subaltern speak?’ where the general principle is that the subaltern are without agency, rendered invisible and voiceless by their social status and the hegemonic power structure at play. In this sense, the subaltern were considered ‘voiceless’, as their stories and histories were often lacking in the documentary records. Archaeologists have long attempted to locate the ‘voices’ of those whose experiences rarely enter the historical record. The experiences of women and children, migrants, racial minorities, and those who live in poverty or subjected to unfree labour has been the focus of historical archaeology for a number of decades (Burke 2008; Hall and Silliman 2006; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Orser and Fagan 1995; Orser 2004).

Hall (1999) demonstrated how we can use archaeology to locate those voices, as a way of seeing the invisible and hearing the muted—letting material culture speak for those without a voice. However, we cannot view subaltern groups as powerless, passively accepting the situation imposed upon them. While the agency of the subaltern has been rendered invisible or absent, Wobst (2000) argued that people use material culture to regain their agency when they cannot do so through non-material means, such as speech and gestures. In applying this idea, we can reveal the voices of the subaltern through the deliberate use, manipulation, or omission of material culture, particularly in unusual or atypical ways.

A common trend among previous archaeologies of the contemporary past is that scholars tended to interrogate places and things from their *own* cultures—which tend to be from the global West—and rarely those from non-Western cultures, including Indigenous societies in colonised places, for example:

A lingering problem with the definition of the archaeology of the contemporary past is its equation with the *archaeology of us* (Gould and Schiffer 1981), this *us* being equated to *Western*. It is true that late modern societies present problems of their own and deserve to be studied specifically. Yet this should not lead us to reduce the archaeology of the contemporary past to one kind of societies only (reversing the discrimination of ethnoarchaeologists). Although some practitioners have worked in both Western and non-Western contexts, there is still an important unbalance with the geographic scope of the subdiscipline, and the amount of non-Western archaeologists working on the recent past is still limited (González-Ruibal 2014:1684–1685).

González-Ruibal (2019:105–106) further developed this line of thinking to warn that applying such archaeological approaches in situations that involve the subaltern (which includes populations impacted by *terra nullius* colonialism such as Australian Aboriginal populations)

could prolong the epistemic violence that recent approaches to Indigenous archaeology have tried to stem. He argues that there are three issues at play, here, before offering a solution:

1. That while incorporating subaltern voices into the discourse certainly makes it seem democratic, this style of hybridity will always defer to the Western way of knowing.
2. In that sense, attempts to make the subaltern speak (see Spivak 1988) will always fail, because the subaltern speech will be superseded by Western speech, i.e. 'there is no discourse, but Western discourse' (González-Ruibal 2019:105).
3. Recent attempts to democratise archaeology by incorporating and preferencing Indigenous voices has done little to curtail these issues, as the recent theoretical developments in Indigenous archaeology have been too 'logocentric' (i.e. focused on 'discourses on discourse') rather than focused on 'pragma' (i.e. things and facts) (González-Ruibal 2019:106).

With that, González-Ruibal (2019:106) argues that a focus on 'things' may be the more ethical way forward:

What I think we can do is be less concerned with discourses on discourse and pay more attention to things. I would argue that despite its usually secondary role, things may be the path not to the subaltern's speech, which is an unrealisable illusion, but to appraise and manifest their conditions of existence. What I espouse is an ethical detour that does not intend to penetrate the traumatic core of the Other, but perambulate the Other's margins.

This is an interesting notion, which mostly centres around a perceived constraint of Indigenous archaeology, that more time is spent theorising the field than putting those ideas into practice. While González-Ruibal writes from experience in Europe, South America and Africa, the political context of archaeology as it is practiced in neo-colonial places of the former British Empire means that the persistent reinforcing of the need for Indigenous perspectives and inclusion is not so much a desire to expound its virtues, but rather a necessary fortification in the prevention of archaeology returning to its default, colonial state.

3.4 Archaeologies of the contemporary past

3.4.1 Background to archaeologies of the contemporary past

As the present study investigates the material culture of a contemporary community, it sits alongside other archaeological studies of the contemporary past. This thesis inherits its perspective from those other archaeologists who have enacted significant academic labour into developing this field of archaeology. Archaeologies of the contemporary past (or, simply, contemporary archaeology) have emerged over the last four decades as a significant new area of

interest to archaeologists. Contemporary archaeology has undergone several key theoretical developments since its inception in the 1970s and 1980s. This new area of archaeological enquiry was initially developed by proponents of ethnoarchaeology in the US during the 1970s and 1980s (Gould and Schiffer 1981; Rathje 1974, 1981; Rathje and Murphy 2001) and the practice was often referred to as ‘modern material culture studies’. While early proponents of the archaeological study of the contemporary world were focused on the ethnoarchaeological, heuristic, and pedagogic value of such studies, further theoretical developments took place in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in both the US and the UK, with the publication of Orser and Fagan’s (1995) volume *Historical Archaeology* (see also Orser 1996, 2004), and an edited volume by Buchli and Lucas (2001a), titled *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. The emergence of what we now call contemporary archaeology was born out of previous theoretical developments in historical archaeology (as well as post-Medieval archaeology in the UK). One of the key developments of contemporary archaeology—perhaps motivated by Buchli and Lucas (2001a)—was from a mostly heuristic practice, to one which sought to reveal and provide nuanced commentary on hidden aspects of contemporary societies. In this sense, archaeologies of the contemporary past became less focused on what those investigations could teach about archaeological praxis, and more focused on what they can teach about the modern world (i.e. the ‘archaeology of us’). Contemporary archaeologies, then, could be used as a tool for ‘critical intervention in contemporary society’ (following Shanks and Tilley 1992), where archaeology was used to uncover new knowledge of the contemporary world, some of which, Buchli and Lucas (2001a:8) argued could only be uncovered using archaeological approaches.

3.4.2 When is ‘contemporary’ and what is the object of contemporary archaeology?

Beyond the initial development of contemporary archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s and its reconceptualisation in the early twenty-first century, there have been more recent attempts to further theorise this subfield, in order to determine the temporal and thematic boundaries—or lack thereof—as well as ethical concerns and methodologies in the practice of contemporary archaeology (see González-Ruibal 2019; Graves-Brown et al. 2013; Harrison 2011; Harrison and Breithoff 2017; Harrison and Schofield 2010; see individual contributions in Piccini et al. 2013). Archaeologies of the contemporary past can be defined as the archaeological study of material things and landscapes that are related to the modern and postmodern period, which is often characterised as being from the end of the second world war to the present (cf. Harrison and Schofield 2010). González-Ruibal (2008; 2019:12) argued that the period of interest to

contemporary archaeologists is 'supermodernity', which he explains is 'modernity gone excessive—and awry'. This semantic distinction is based on the potentially unsuitable definitions of modernism and postmodernism, which, he argues, are periods that are temporally too short to be of real use to archaeologists, who tend to define archaeological periods in much greater length. Moreover, the use of 'supermodernity' escapes the issue of describing a time which has superseded modernity (e.g. *postmodern*). Instead, González-Ruibal (2008) argues that we should look to the technological and material origins of the contemporary world, and that the period of the first world war (1914-1918), the 'horizon of destruction', might be more appropriate, though it could be earlier still (2019:13). Harrison and Schofield (2010:2), in an earlier attempt at theorising contemporary archaeology, took a different approach, using the second half of the twentieth century as a marker for the period of interest to contemporary archaeologists, as '[t]his period encompasses the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the 'internet age', a period that sits firmly within what we would recognize to be one of 'lived and living memory'. Additionally, this is a period characterised by mass-production, consumption, and disposal (Harrison and Schofield 2010), particularly in relation to the dominance of new alloys and materials, such as aluminium and plastic.

While the ongoing discussions around the temporal boundaries and trajectories of contemporary archaeology, and indeed the contemporary world are to be expected given our interest in time, the view adopted in this study is that of Harrison and Schofield (2010), where the focus on lived and living memory is the significant aspect of archaeologies of the contemporary past. This appears to be in opposition to the view of González-Ruibal (2019:18), who contends that 'the proper domain of archaeology is the archaeological (following Nativ 2018), which refers to a specific mode of being of things. Not necessarily buried, as it is often imagined, but out of use'. In other words, the focus of archaeology should be what Nativ and González-Ruibal both refer to as *the archaeological* (i.e. things out of use; ruined; abandoned; etc.), rather than the *systemic* (i.e. living). Though he acknowledges that *the archaeological* can be remobilised in the present and that rather than a clear dichotomy, it is more productive to view things as existing on a continuum, because the idea as to *why* things join the archaeological record is of interest (González-Ruibal 2019). This argument is based upon the idea that archaeologists have something unique and valuable to say about the contemporary world, and that by borrowing from other disciplines (e.g. anthropology, history, etc.), we dilute our ability to advance the impact of archaeology as a discipline. While this view certainly has merit, the idea that we should be less interested in the systemic materials of contemporary societies seems counterproductive to previous attempts at making archaeologies of the contemporary past relevant in the modern world through its ability to act as a 'material witness' (Harrison and

Schofield 2010:12–13), or as a critical intervention in the present (Harrison and Schofield 2010:287; Shanks and Tilley 1992).

Regardless, the approach taken in this study is that the *systemic* things found in Barunga are of more interest than *the archaeological*, though both were recorded. This is a result of the focus of this study on a living community and its political situation—the effects of which are occurring right now. Further, the views of González-Ruibal (2019) seem to be of greater relevance in a European context, a point which he acknowledges, particularly as they relate to abandoned refugee camps, battlefields, and other places. In an Australian settler/colonial context, when the archaeologist is an outsider, the perspective has less relevance. For example, it is difficult in the context of Barunga to determine—at first glance—which of the materials (in particular litter and rubbish), are still in use versus those that are not. Rubbish is certainly reused several times, and indeed visits to the local dump to collect items for reuse is a frequent pastime in Barunga, so approaching the material landscape of Barunga with clearly defined, pre-existing ideas on ‘living’ versus ‘dead’ materials would result in a misinterpretation of the data.

Instead, the temporal and object-centred focus of this thesis is on the lived memory of the early twenty-first century, particularly from 2007 onwards. This is in relation to the federal government’s invasive Intervention into Northern Territory Aboriginal communities, which was enacted in July of 2007. Moreover, the complete panorama of material culture, from systemic to archaeological; material to visual (i.e. graffiti); ephemeral to lasting; and single use to reusable are included in that panorama.

3.4.3 Themes in the archaeology of the contemporary past

Regardless of the timing of contemporary archaeology, the fact remains that the interest of contemporary archaeologists is the material culture and landscapes that are produced by contemporary societies. Their study can provide insights into an increasingly globalised world, particularly in terms of consumption, excess, disposability, and social inequality, but also in terms of new modes of industry, conflict and migration. Previous archaeologies of the contemporary past have investigated, among other things, Cold War sites (see chapters in Schofield and Cocroft 2007) and modern conflict sites (González-Ruibal 2008; Schofield 2005, 2009); orbital debris in Earth’s atmosphere and sites associated with space exploration (Gorman 2009a, 2009b, 2019; see chapters in O’Leary and Capelotti 2015); refugees and migration (De León 2015; Hicks and Mallet 2019); graffiti in various forms and contexts (Frederick 2009; Frederick and Clarke 2014; Graves-Brown and Schofield 2011; Oliver and Neal 2010; Ralph and Smith 2014); rubbish, including household (Rathje 1974, 1981; Rathje and Murphy 2001) and e-waste (Reinhard 2014, 2015); contemporary shared spaces, such as zoos

(Holtorf 2008, 2013; Holtorf and Ortman 2008); and even virtual settlements in avatar-based computer games, such as *Second Life* (Harrison 2009).

Archaeologies of the contemporary past have developed into a wide-ranging, diverse field of enquiry. There is an increased emphasis on current political and identity concerns—which often transcend geographic boundaries—including inequality, exclusion, racism, social justice and politics. The ephemeral nature of many of the materials that contemporary archaeologists study means that some projects are urgent. As well as ephemerality, other themes that surface often are the transformative nature of the archaeological process; particularly the ability for this mode of enquiry to both retrieve, expose and preserve unknown or otherwise unknowable knowledge. Building on previous approaches to defining the thematic interests of archaeologies of the contemporary past, I offer a series of processes through which contemporary archaeologies can identify new and unique knowledge about our contemporary world. The processes are:

1. Transformation (of the systemic to the archaeological)
2. Retrieval (of the invisible yet everyday)
3. Exposure (of the deliberately concealed)
4. Preservation (of the ephemeral and the concealed)

This list of processes is not intended to be sequential, though in some instances it might represent a chronological or sequential process that future contemporary archaeologists might follow. These processes are explored below.

3.4.3.1 Transformation (of the systemic to the archaeological)

The first process in archaeologies of the contemporary past is the *transformation* of the systemic to the archaeological. This theme is informed by previous approaches to archaeological transformation, often referred to as ‘making the familiar unfamiliar’ (Buchli and Lucas 2001a; Graves-Brown 2000, 2011; Harrison 2011). This thinking is based on the need to re-order our approach to archaeological information, which, traditionally, involved the use of archaeological methods which make the unfamiliar objects we study become more familiar. In archaeologies of the contemporary past, it has been argued that since we are temporally—and often socially or culturally—connected to the objects we study, that the archaeologist may miss something vital due to this established relationship. The advantage of transforming objects through archaeological methods is that we then create distance between the archaeologist and the object. This distance permits the archaeologist to see the object/s differently, which can lead to new knowledge and understandings of our contemporary world. For example:

... consider what happens when the same methodology is applied to the contemporary past—when we classify objects in the home for example by material categories such as ceramic, metal or plastic, or when we quadrant a bedroom floor for spatial control of artefact distribution. This is almost a perverse exercise in making the familiar categorisations and spatial perceptions unfamiliar—a translation from an everyday perceptual language into an archaeological one (Buchli and Lucas 2001a:9).

In the context of this study, transformation relates primarily to the methodology used in the data collection stage and it addresses a concern raised by González-Ruibal (2019:18) regarding the proper domain of the archaeologist. As he contends, there is a difference between the systemic (living) and the archaeological (out of use, etc.) in terms of material culture, though it may be the case that when archaeological methods are deployed on systemic materials, that part of the transformation that situates them as unfamiliar also makes them archaeological. As many of the materials encountered in this study are ubiquitous in contemporary Australian society—including plastic bottles and containers, paper and plastic wrappers, and graffiti, among other things—it follows that they are familiar to the researcher, so dedicated strategies to creating distance between researchers and objects needed to be devised. Moreover, there is an added issue in the context of this study where the researcher is an outsider to the community—both culturally and geographically—and thus has a different worldview to the people who live in Barunga and who contribute to the cultural landscape. In this sense, transformation means that we are able to create distance not only between the researcher and objects being studied, but also the cultural contexts in which they might be interpreted or misinterpreted.

Examples of transformation in archaeologies of the contemporary past are ubiquitous, as even the application of the most basic archaeological techniques onto an object is an act of transformation, though this process is most clearly demonstrated in the study of the Ford transit van, a landmark study in the development of archaeologies of the contemporary past (Bailey et al. 2009; Myers 2011). The research team from the University of Bristol and Atkins Heritage ‘excavated’ a Ford transit van, with a distinct aim of critiquing approaches to the archaeology of the contemporary past. The ‘excavation’ involved the systematic disassembly of the van—which had been used by staff of a local museum—included both the mechanical and other vehicular components, as well as the recording of material culture, and environmental and forensic samples found throughout the vehicle. One of the key motivations of this study was that ‘[t]he complexity and abstraction of technological developments are widening the gap between materials and popular—or even specialist—understanding’ and that ‘it is critical that we develop methods with which to engage with these new materials’ (Bailey et al. 2009:2). In

this sense, the transformation of a commonplace object such as a vehicle into a body of archaeological data was carried out through the application of archaeological methods. Through this transformation, the research team was able to tell what is essentially a cultural history of the van, and were able to *retrieve* new insights into an everyday object.

3.4.3.2 *Retrieval (of the invisible yet everyday)*

The second process in the archaeology of the contemporary past devised for this study is the act of *retrieval* of the invisible yet everyday. *Retrieval* is based on approaches to ‘redemption’ and ‘presencing absence’ (Buchli and Lucas 2001a, 2001b; see also Harrison and Schofield 2010:10-11) and cognition through recognition (González-Ruibal 2019), which refer to the ability of archaeologies of the contemporary past to reveal information that is so visible in our ordinary lives that it becomes invisible, or that which is something we ‘unearth what we already knew from the beginning but did not know that we knew it’ (González-Ruibal 2019:24). This theme is distinct from *exposure*, the theme that deals with information that has been—deliberately or otherwise—hidden through political or social processes, which is discussed below. Instead *retrieval* refers to ‘bringing forward or indeed materialising that which was excessive, forgotten, or concealed’ (Buchli and Lucas 2001b). This often refers to the things that we know create our material environment but are so normalised and everyday that we may encounter them regularly without being critically aware. This theme is significant to the present study, as employing an archaeology on contemporary environments in Barunga could bring to the fore information that was previously unknown because it was so commonplace that it remained unremarkable and invisible. Moreover, González-Ruibal (2019) contends that archaeologies of the contemporary past that produce new knowledge of the already known is far from a superfluous undertaking, and instead it is one of the strengths of the practice. Not only do we improve our knowledge of the thing we are studying, but it forces us to remember the thing which has been forgotten and—in the case of conflict, violence, and oppression—this ‘cognition through recognition’ can assist in the preservation of cultural and social histories.

The excavation of the Ford transit van, discussed above, is an example of retrieval, particularly as it expands and reshapes our knowledge of something already known. Another example of retrieval is a study of contemporary ritual assemblages conducted by Houlbrook (2018), who recorded 409 ‘love-locks’ on a bridge in Manchester over a three year period. Love-locks are padlocks locked to a bridge or similar structure by a romantic couple, who then throw the key away (often into the river below) as a symbol of their commitment. The idea of Houlbrook’s study was to track the rate of deposition and accumulation for these ritual artefacts, information which is not readily or easily available for assemblages deposited in the remote past. This study

was essentially an ethnoarchaeological one, intended to build the middle-range theory lacking in studies of ritual deposits from earlier periods. The key findings of this study have provided new insights into the questions of ‘why’ and ‘when’ love-locks are deposited, as well as the frequency of deposition, and in doing so, Houlbrook (2018) has provided a new perspective on a practice that is part of the contemporary world—a perspective that could only have been gained through archaeology.

3.4.3.3 *Exposure (of the deliberately concealed)*

Related to *retrieval* is the third process, which is the act of *exposure of the deliberately concealed*. The knowledge that can be exposed through the archaeology of the contemporary past has on occasion been concealed by processes that are far more sinister and insidious than the more passive action of oversight as discussed in *retrieval*. Harrison and Schofield (2010:11) wrote that ‘archaeology has a major role to play in foregrounding those aspects of contemporary life at the margins that are constantly being overwritten by dominant narratives’, so the act of exposure becomes significant when we are dealing with contexts in which there is a power imbalance between two parties. The essence of the present study is such that archaeology is used as a means to investigate the material landscapes of an Australian Aboriginal community, to arrive at a lucid understanding of the situation, one which separates fact from fiction in the narratives that are told about those communities. In many cases, the power to narrate the experiences of remote Aboriginal Australians sits with those outside the community, who form part of the more dominant non-Aboriginal group. With this in mind, two key themes in archaeologies of the contemporary past surface. The first is a present that is haunted by its past (Harrison and Schofield 2010:8), the second is archaeology as a material witness (Harrison and Schofield 2010:12–13, 143–145). On the first, archaeologies of the twenty-first century are, in fact, archaeologies of ‘the twenty-first and all its pasts, mixed and entangled’ (González-Ruibal 2008:262; see also Harrison (2011) on surfaces). So, we can say that the cultural and material landscape of Barunga is a product of its various pasts, complete with the decisions, developments, removals and adaptations that have acted to alter the landscape. Moreover, there will be elements of more ‘traditional’ Jawoyn lifeways—that were once the dominant practices of this region—visible in the materiality of the community. This idea is significant in the development of this study, as it offers an interesting objective: what are the elements of traditional Jawoyn lifeways that persist in the materiality of Jawoyn Country? In this sense, archaeology can act as a ‘material witness’ to expose some of the more hidden elements of contemporary Jawoyn culture, which have been concealed from view through the dominant

narration of Aboriginal communities by outsiders, who most often exist in a neo-colonial context.

This perspective offers an opportunity for an archaeology of materiality in a contemporary Aboriginal community to act as a critical intervention in the present (following Shanks and Tilley 1992; see also Buchli and Lucas 2001a; Harrison and Schofield 2010), and to expose information that has been concealed through the 'disremembering' (Stanner 1968, 2009), or the collective amnesia of Australians concerning past wrongdoings towards Aboriginal populations.

3.4.3.4 Preservation (of the ephemeral and of the concealed)

The final process in the archaeology of the contemporary past is the *preservation* of the ephemeral and of the concealed. In this case, archaeology is used to preserve—in documentary terms—that which is rapidly assembled, adapted, removed and/or disassembled, as well as that which is hidden from view (through either passive forgetting, or active concealment). In the supermodern world, change is in excess, and given our highly disposable world, we often have a limited window in which we can document particular circumstances. For example, in the study of homeless populations, council workers may remove material culture left at a camp; or in the study of urban graffiti, the artwork may be painted over or washed away. The archaeological documentation of these normally ephemeral places and things preserves the information to ensure it is not forgotten. This creates a type of public memory (Harrison and Schofield 2010:8–9) that preserves the knowledge from being forgotten or concealed in the future. Two examples that highlight the significance of the need for preservation of materiality in certain contexts is in the archaeology of homelessness (Kiddey 2014, 2017, 2018; Kiddey and Schofield 2011; Kiddey et al. 2016; Zimmerman 2013, 2016; Zimmerman and Welch 2011; Zimmerman et al. 2010) and in the archaeology of forced migration and displacement (De León 2015; Hicks and Mallet 2019). In both examples, archaeologists have documented the materiality of people on the margins of society, whose material practices are ephemeral and often overlooked. In doing so, the archaeologists have preserved knowledge that otherwise would have been lost.

While the processes of transformation and preservation are clear, as they are carried out through the performance of the archaeological method, the question remains: how do we *retrieve* and how do we *expose* that information which has been overlooked or concealed? This is explored in the development of the theoretical model used in this study, which incorporates recent developments in archaeological theory, particularly in relation to human-thing relationships, also known as the 'material-turn', as discussed below.

3.4.4 Contemporary archaeology and ethics

There are certainly benefits to contemporary archaeology, yet as with other types of archaeology, ethical concerns arise from its practice. Some of the issues discussed in this section are compounded by the fact that this study takes place in an Aboriginal community. As such, ethical concerns that relate to archaeologies of the contemporary past, as well as those related to Indigenous and colonial archaeologies are directly relevant to this study. While ethics in Indigenous archaeology has a considerable body of literature (e.g. Colwell 2016; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Gnecco and Lippert 2015; Haber and Shepherd 2015; Ireland and Schofield 2015; Smith and Jackson 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005a; Wijnjoroc et al. 2005), ethical concerns in contemporary archaeology is an area that requires further discussion, though a number of scholars have contributed poignant warnings on topic. There are four overarching ethical considerations that relate specifically to contemporary archaeology: privacy and consent (Voss 2010), voyeurism (Harrison and Schofield 2010:74), interference (Graves-Brown et al. 2013:9) and the 'moral burden' of archaeology (González-Ruibal 2019:90, and Chapter Four).

In other kinds of archaeology, where there is much wider temporal distance between the researcher and the objects or places they are studying, concerns around privacy and consent are different. Consent rests with descendent communities or community groups, while privacy concerns are removed from the people who made or used the objects, as Voss (2010:187) mentions, '[u]nearthing recent consumption practices—and archaeological evidence of other aspects of social life—may generate substantial risk not only to those being studied but also to others who are connected to them'. The issue around consent (and privacy), then, is critical in contemporary archaeologies as it relates to the mitigation of harm, which is now a central tenet to best practice in archaeology (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Gnecco and Lippert 2015; Haber and Shepherd 2015; World Archaeological Congress n.d.). With this in mind, free, prior, informed and unambiguous consent (as described in the *Guidelines for ethical research in Australian Indigenous studies* (AIATSIS 2012)) is fundamental to achieving the aims of the research.

Given that contemporary archaeology deals with the living landscapes and objects of the present, there are particular concerns around voyeurism. This is particularly relevant to this research, as the archaeological data is collected from private space in Barunga. Harrison and Schofield (2010:74) warned of the possibility for contemporary archaeologies to become voyeuristic when recording sites still in use, for example 'to what extent might a study of street homelessness amount to voyeurism, and does the participation of a few street homeless

volunteers make it an acceptable study, or is voyeurism made worse through tokenism?' Approaches to 'slow archaeology' (see Chapter Five) can provide a way forward here, in order to address this concern, as can unambiguous consent, as discussed above.

The title of this thesis is 'Critical Intervention' and it relates both to the idea that contemporary archaeology can act as a critical intervention in the present (following Buchli and Lucas 2001a; Shanks and Tilley 1992) and to the critical situation in the Northern Territory regarding the Australian Federal government's intervention into Aboriginal communities. In her critique of the emergence of archaeologies of the contemporary past, Voss (2010:185) wrote that '[I]urking beneath most archaeological codes of ethics is the unspoken postulate that the past has already happened and nothing can be done about it', yet in contemporary archaeology practitioners have the potential to interfere in the present. Harrison and Schofield (2010) also questioned whether these interventions into living communities might cause harm, where even though community leaders may have supported the project, community members may not agree, which could then lead to conflict within the community. As with the concerns around consent and voyeurism, 'slow archaeology' provides a framework for mitigating this ethical concern, as does the practice of seeking permission from a wide range of people prior to commencing field work (see Chapter Four).

Finally, González-Ruibal (2019, Chapter Four in particular) took a different approach and discussed the ethical burden that archaeologies of the contemporary past places upon researchers, rather than the ethical boundaries in which they should practice. After discussing voyeurism, or 'witnessing', he talks about the associated burden of what has been observed, particularly in relation to its ephemerality or temporality. In that case, the archaeologist has a moral responsibility to record and often to share those observations for posterity, or what Harrison and Schofield (2010:9) describe as the creation of public memory—particularly in situations involving contested or obscured accounts of events or experiences. The final concern that González-Ruibal (2019) raises is that given the temporal proximity between contemporary people and the objects of interest to contemporary archaeologists, the practice of contemporary archaeology can evoke particular feelings, both comfortable and uncomfortable. The issues raised by González-Ruibal are of relevance to this research, given the political element of the research topic, as well as the way in which it contends with the private spaces and objects that are in use, I must be cognisant of the potential consequences of this work, including the harm that could arise from taking an uncritical approach to both the field work and data analysis. The ways in which I addressed each of these concerns in the context of this research is discussed in Chapter Four.

3.4.5 Contemporary archaeologies in a settler/colonial context

To conclude this section on contemporary archaeology, I discuss the few studies that have taken place in a contemporary Australian settler/colonial context. While it is true that ‘like any form of archaeology, the archaeology of the contemporary past must be seen as a political activity, and as a critical intervention in the present’ (Harrison and Schofield 2010:287), very little archaeological research has, to date, been used to explore the social issues that affect Indigenous people in the present (cf. O’Connell 1977; Pollard 2019; Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014; Smith 2001; Smith and Jackson 2012; Smith et al. 2019).

One such investigation was conducted by Smith and Beck (2003) on Indigenous fringe camps at Corindi Beach in New South Wales, where oral histories and archaeological data were combined to understand the usage of the site as well as Indigenous/settler culture contact of the early twentieth century. One of the key findings of the Corindi Beach study was the way in which cross-cultural interactions were made visible in the shared landscape, whereby settlers would mark their presence through ‘a geometric pattern of portions and lots, fixed buildings, and by the racecourse reserve’, while Indigenous people continued to mark their presence through ‘campsites, plants, scarred trees, and moveable buildings’ (Smith and Beck 2003:75).

Pollard (2019) recently completed her doctoral research at Southport in the Northern Territory, where Indigenous fringe camps during the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century were under the spotlight. In addition to examining the historical sites, Pollard is working with contemporary fringe dwellers (or “long grassers”) in Darwin to understand the state of fringe dwelling in contemporary Darwin. Similarly, Smith (2001) investigated Indigenous camps at a station in the Kimberley, Western Australia. Smith introduced a comparative model to understand the change of material culture through time as well as to identify cultural change and continuity by contextualising the function of an artefact within the relevant socio-economic framework. The implications of Smith’s model to this project is that while artefacts can be made from new materials to improve their functionality (i.e. indicating change), artefacts for ceremonial purposes continued to be made with the same, or similar, materials (i.e. indicating continuity).

Another example of archaeology being used to investigate contemporary Indigenous communities is research conducted by Frederick and O’Connor (2009: see also Frederick 2009), where they considered the role of traditional Indigenous rock art in contemporary urban Perth. One aim of this research was to explore how people use cultural heritage in contemporary settings, perhaps as a strategy for cultural survival or maintenance. Finally, Ralph and Smith (2014) considered the role that contemporary graffiti played in Jawoyn Country, particularly in

relation to communicating resistance to government interventions and communication within the community.

3.5 Discussion

Above, I have introduced the conceptual framework upon which this study is built. The present study builds on a growing body of research that seeks to redress the colonial roots of archaeology and which turns our archaeological gaze inward, onto ourselves as archaeologists, investigating the cause and effect of the postmodern form of colonialism, which Lydon and Rizvi (2014:19) tell us is 'disguised' and 'flourishing'. The introspective nature of this study helps to shed light on aspects of modern society that are so normalised they are rendered invisible, but also those that have been actively concealed through processes of ongoing colonialism. This relates to what Harrison and Schofield (2010) term 'archaeology as a material witness', where the material consequences of human action assist in retrieving or exposing concealed histories and experiences. As well as being an engaged archaeology, this study is also a sort of 'activist archaeology' (see individual contributions in Atalay et al. 2014b; Stottman 2010) in what Atalay et al. (2014a:8) describe as a movement to transform the discipline from a pastime that tends to fulfil the interests of the archaeologists, or the 'welfare of academic departments or cultural resource management/archaeological resource management firms', to something that is 'not only acceptable to communities but also useful and perhaps even necessary in our contemporary world'. This study, then, is also an archaeology for social justice and human rights (Mizoguchi and Smith 2019). While this chapter has so far introduced and explored the intellectual foundation of the thesis, the theoretical model through which the archaeological materials will be analysed remains to be discussed.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL MODEL

Archaeological theory has undergone a number of developmental revolutions since the discipline emerged. The history of archaeological thought has been traced in a number of comprehensive volumes (see Hodder 2012a; Johnson 2019; Praetzelis 2015; Trigger 2006) and another volume by Harris and Cipolla (2017) discussed current perspectives in archaeological theory. Broadly, the development of archaeological thought can be described by the following approaches:

- a. Object-centred (i.e. antiquarianism).
- b. Systems, or normative cultural process (i.e. New Archaeology/processualism).
- c. Human-centred (i.e. post-processual).
- d. Post-humanist (i.e. material turn, new materialism).

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, archaeologists have increasingly turned towards new ways of thinking, particularly in light of what has been termed the ontological (or material) turn. In this case, the key development is from a human-centred approach, where material culture was viewed as reflective of human behaviour, to a *post*-humanist approach, where the physical environment and material culture were considered to play a more active role in the ‘creation’ of humans (as social beings) and human culture. The relationship between humans and ‘things’ started to be viewed as mutually-constituting in this new way of thinking, which has permeated the social sciences—often termed the ‘new materialism’—and considers both humans and things to have agency in the construction not only of human culture, but of the physical world.

Approaches to theorising these ideas fall under a number of distinct but related theoretical approaches, some of which are drawn upon for the theoretical model for this study, namely, agency theory, entanglement (both cultural and material), materiality, and ‘assemblage thought’. Recent discussions regarding assemblage thought and the new materialism hold that they replace the need for discussions around agency, entanglement and materiality, though as Johnson (2019, see Chapter Eight) warns, there are few studies that explore these ideas beyond theoretical discussions and that there are a number of overarching concerns that proponents of the material turn and of the new materialism have sought to address. Johnson (2019) summarises these concerns as:

1. ‘Things’ are important.
2. Understanding why ‘things’ are important is complicated.

Central to this study is understanding the role that material culture plays in Barunga, both in terms of how concepts of identity are manifested within the assemblage of objects, as well as how the materiality of Barunga—and similar communities—might shape popular attitudes, which in turn shape public policy. The model presented in this chapter provides the analytical tools required to gather new insights into the important role of material culture in remote Aboriginal communities. From a review of recent literature that deal with ideas of materiality, agency, entanglement and assemblage thought, a number of key themes emerge. The themes—which are a central part of the theoretical model—are:

- Time and space.
- Resistance and persistence.
- Affect and memory.

Some of these themes are the typical realm of the archaeologist (e.g. time and space), while others emerged as part of the post-processual movement of the 1980s (e.g. resistance and persistence), where human action (or agency) became a key element to archaeological enquiry. The themes affect and memory are new ideas that archaeologists have incorporated into their work, particularly in the last two decades. Together, these themes can aid in understanding the role of material culture in Barunga.

4.1 Time and space

Understanding change over time and how space is used for different purposes is a staple of archaeology. Of interest in this study is the way in which the number and type of objects used in Barunga changes over time, as well as how residents of private places in the community use the space around them. Understanding these material practices can help us to gain new insights into the ways in which Aboriginal people living in the remote Northern Territory live their lives, which, to this point is not well understood by non-Aboriginal Australians and often leaves contemporary Aboriginal lifeways open to scrutiny by people outside the community.

The concept of time in archaeology has been theorised by a number of archaeological scholars, particularly Lucas (2005) and (Bailey 2007) (see also individual contributions in Holdaway and Wandsnider (2008); and Murray (1999)). Contemporary archaeologists such as González-Ruibal (2008; 2019 see Chapter Six), Harrison and Schofield (2010), and Olivier (2013) have also considered the concept, particularly with regard to the accelerated speed with which change occurs in a supermodern setting.

In the context of this research, time is significant because the Australian Federal Government's Intervention into Aboriginal communities was intended to effect change—rapidly—within

affected communities. This disruption will have a material consequence—as does all other human behaviour—and because this Intervention was swift and decisive in that it was enacted seemingly overnight, the consequences both intended and unintended will have started occurring. Lucas (2005:17–18) wrote that:

Both *Annales* and non-linear approaches to social change can, perhaps, be summarized by sharing a conception of time as the tension between continuity and change. Moreover, they articulate this conception by reference to two basic aspects of history—process (or the long term) and event (or the short term).

In essence, the concept of time as it is used in this thesis is, as Lucas observes ‘the tension between continuity and change’. One of the perceived outcomes of the Intervention is that open space in Barunga has been replaced by fenced areas—we know from work by Byrne (2003) that pastoral fences were a tool of colonisation in Australia and played an active role in the dispossession of Aboriginal land. While fences have been erected in Barunga in the past, the latest wave of fencing is far more meticulous and widespread. Only one house exists in Barunga without a fence and it appears that this is now council policy. The local school was fenced in 2019. The latest wave of fencing commenced in 2014, seven years after the Intervention commenced. While it is difficult to say that the fences exist as a result of Intervention policy, it is likely that the Intervention motivated two things, firstly, the policy frameworks upon which the local council funds fencing was established as a direct result of the Intervention (i.e. through the establishment of so-called ‘super-shires’ as described in Chapter Two), and local people have reported that they want the fences due to a desire to ‘know their space’. Regardless, there are clear identity concerns here around the changing ways in which space is conceived of in Barunga, which transformed from largely open areas with unclear physical boundaries, to a more rigid landscape with a clear dichotomy between public and private space. Following this rapid transformation of concepts of identity, it is likely that other material practices have changed as well. While a doctoral thesis does not allow a researcher to gain long term longitudinal insight into culture change, data collection that occurs over a longer duration than a typical field survey—including repeat visits to the same places—could reveal more about the changing nature of concepts of identity in Barunga than we are currently aware.

Recent arguments hold that time is accelerated in the contemporary world, represented by rapid technological developments, landscape modifications and social change, for example:

[T]he speed of technological and social change of late modern societies has meant that the recent past seems to recede more rapidly, and in this sense, becomes obscured at a rate not known before in human history ... At the heart of the archaeology of the contemporary past lies a desire to reconcile ourselves with a recent history that moves at such great speed that

we feel both remote from it and disoriented by its passage (Harrison and Schofield 2010:7–8).

With the above argument in mind, it is possible that the rate of social change in Intervention-period Barunga would look similar to the rate of change at an individual level on the schematic by Lucas (2005:18) (see Figure 12). Identifying changes in the materiality of Barunga, as well as those aspects of Jawoyn culture, and to an extent Aboriginal culture, that are rendered invisible as a result of rapid change is a key aim of this thesis.

Image removed due to copyright restriction. The original can be found in Lucas (2005:18).

Figure 12. 'Schematic representation of different rates of change for different processes', from Lucas (2005:18). Change at a social scale in Barunga under the Intervention might look more like that of an individual scale represented above.

Likewise, the purposeful and changing ways that space is used in Barunga is also of interest in this research. I spoke above about the new ways in which space is conceived of in Barunga (i.e. from open, borderless areas to fenced spaces with rigid, and regimented physical boundaries).. On that topic, González-Ruibal (2019:162–163) wrote:

Our era is one of space excess ... At the same time that it expands, supermodernity impoverishes both topography and spatial experiences. By impoverishment I have referred here to the material simplification of physical space made possible by supermodern technologies, which has social, psychological and cultural consequences. An impoverished space—flattened out, stretched, regimented—prevents unexpected encounters (with other people and with different pasts).

While there is a clear and striking visual indicator of this new use of space (i.e. the fences themselves), it remains that other material practices that relate to the use of space in a yard in Barunga are yet to be revealed. With these arguments in mind, the concepts of time and space play a central role in the formulation of the theoretical model used in the interpretation of material culture in Barunga.

4.2 Resistance and persistence

Identifying resistance (to change) and persistence (both change *and* continuity) has been a key objective in historical and contemporary archaeologies. Archaeological theorists have sought to explain this through agency theory—and more recently, entanglement—and other related approaches. These ideas are the second element to the theoretical model, which seeks to understand the role and nature of materiality in Barunga. Praetzellis (2015) explained that ‘agency is the idea that individuals are active creators of their own lives, rather than the hostages of forces they can’t influence’. This idea is a reversal of the previous theoretical positions that held that human culture was predetermined by external processes (e.g. environmental determinism), or that societal structures controlled human behaviour until people worked to oppose or resist them (structuralism and Marxism). Agency theory provides one avenue through which we can explain the processes at play in Barunga (and to an extent, broader Aboriginal Northern Territory) under the Federal Government’s Intervention, using material culture and graffiti to locate that agency.

On the concept of human agency, Giddens (1979) presented his idea of structuration, which holds that people are aware of the structures that influence their lives and employ agency to work with or against it. As Praetzellis (2015:110) astutely summarises, ‘in other words, they are agents in the creation of their own lives’. It is generally held that there are two defining principles at work over human behaviour: structure and agency. Structure contains us and controls our behaviour. We can think of structure as concepts like culture, geography, environment, economy, politics, and the law, among other things. Each of these concepts, in some way, shape how we act. Agency, on the other hand, is how we transcend, resist, or contradict those structures through daily action. This can be deliberate or unconscious, and rapid or gradual. Agency relates also to sociocultural reproduction, where individuals within a culture are active agents that bring about *both* continuity *and* change within that culture. This is an important point, as agency does not solely focus on what changes, but also the processes that keep things the same. Rather than being two distinct processes, agency and structure are two symbiotic parts of a single process (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). As agency is about sociocultural reproduction in human behaviour, and human behaviour leaves material signatures, the key

here, is that structure and agency are visible in the archaeological record. Understanding those signatures left by processes of structure and agency is central to understanding the Intervention and will help in creating more culturally appropriate outcomes for people living in Aboriginal communities.

By shifting our focus to the contemporary past in Barunga, we can identify present attempts at subsistence in the face of extensive government intervention, through what Kearney (2010:116) (drawing on Tarlow (1999:25–26)) called ‘the legacy of inherited motivational agency’, where motivation for continuity and change under certain circumstances is inherited culturally. Subsistence, here, is about sociocultural reproduction through both continuity *and* change; as (Cowgill 2000:57) argued, cultural reproduction is both constant and intentional, and can involve the presence and absence of change.

Wobst (2000:42) explained the concept of ‘artefactual interferences’, where people used material culture as a device to effect change, in situations where they are unable to interfere with non-artefactual means, including speech, gestures, motions, odours and touch. If we consider the above arguments and that ‘agency is a materially-grounded form of social reproduction’, and ‘social reproduction and culture change... depend fundamentally on the nexus of agency and materiality’ (Dobres and Robb 2005:162), the argument, then, is that people might use material culture as a covert—or even unconscious—strategy to retrieve power.

Discussions of ‘entanglement’ in archaeology have been prolific in recent years, both in terms of the material manifestations (or hybridised materiality) of cultural entanglement, as well as human-thing entanglement. While these discussions have tended to follow two distinct paths, in this study it is more productive to incorporate both, because the materiality of Barunga exists as a cultural interface (following Nakata 2007), the result of decades of forced European assimilation. I suggest that a blend of the two approaches might be a productive way forward, particularly in certain settler/colonial contexts. Discussions of entanglement in archaeology were first used to describe cultural entanglement, or perhaps hybridisation (see Liebmann 2015), of two or more cultural groups. Altman (2007) argued that one of the hidden motives of the Howard government’s Intervention into Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory was to establish members of Aboriginal communities as what the government saw as ‘normalised’ and ‘productive’ members of the state. If we were to consider the Intervention as ‘structure’ (in terms of agency theory), then it follows that we should be able to see—archaeologically speaking—the material manifestations of that structure. Additionally, we should also be able to identify the material signatures of the agency of people within the

community, either through 'artefactual interference' (Wobst 2000), or the hybridised persistence of culture. The cultural entanglement that has occurred in this colonial context is not equal, particularly as it involves the entanglement of more- and less-dominant groups.

Culture contact between Indigenous Australians and European colonisers, which effected much change in Aboriginal culture and lifeways, was not a short-term encounter that occurred in the past; instead, it is a long-term cultural entanglement (Silliman 2005:56) that still occurs today. In this sense, there is no 'post-contact' nor a post-colonial period in Australia; indeed, Australia is still experiencing culture contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (McIntyre-Tamwoy 2002). Hodder (2012b) argues that human-thing entanglement increases in complexity over time and this appears to be the case with contemporary Aboriginal social identity, which formed from a process of 'westernisation' of traditional Aboriginal culture as well as interweaving notions of Australian multiculturalism (Jang 2015:5). It would appear that Indigenous culture is being consumed by the more dominant non-Indigenous culture in this web of entanglement, which proceeds to influence negative perspectives toward Australian Indigenous peoples and their cultures. This view is understandable when we consider remote Aboriginal Australia, where contemporary lifeways and material behaviours (including graffiti, lack of furniture in a house, lack of material goods, presence of rubbish, and the seemingly derelict state of cars, houses and clothing) from a non-Indigenous point-of-view might represent social decay, an absence of control and/or dysfunction (Sutton 2009). Entanglement, then, increases the 'unknowability' (cf. Harrison and Schofield 2010) of contemporary Indigenous identity and culture.

Like other Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and elsewhere in Australia, Barunga is a theatre of colonial oppression. The home of many welfare-dependant Aboriginal Australians, white professional service providers and visiting missionaries and research groups, agency has been restricted to a point where Aboriginal people are not always in control of their daily lives. However, the presence of colonialism lacks a basis in research to deliver novel, yet critical, interpretations of the situation. Postcolonialism provides an avenue through which we can arrive at those interpretations, both novel *and* critical. To ponder postcolonialism in Barunga, we must explore it from two angles. The first is how colonialism exists there; i.e. what does it look like, both materially and in practice? And the second is how this study can identify and expose the extant colonial rule that governs the community, and communities like it, from a postcolonial perspective.

Analysis of the day-to-day use of material culture by Jawoyn people can provide greater insight into material practices in Barunga, including how they relate to attitudes of resistance and/or

persistence. Some of the objects from which the archaeological data are derived for this study could be what Wobst (2000) calls 'artefactual interferences'—materials used to effect change when non-artefactual means are impractical—and others material evidence of social reproduction, including sociocultural change and continuity (cf. Cowgill 2000:57). While others material practices could be examples of cultural persistence in spite of intervention. Of particular interest here is litter and graffiti, which are key aspects of the modern material landscape in Barunga—and which are not well understood by those outside the community. Moreover, the presence or absence of materials that relate more directly to traditional or spiritual Jawoyn culture, for example bambu (didgeridoos) and funerary bough sheds are also of interest, as their presence or absence speaks to the persistence—or lack thereof—of material practices that relate to ceremony. There are clear implications for understanding changing notions of Jawoyn identity in the presence and absence of such material culture.

4.3 Affect and memory

More recently, archaeologists have sought to retrieve knowledge about the affective qualities of the material world, including how it elicits feelings of nostalgia (which in turn drives the social construction of the contemporary material world). Material culture is such an important part of humanity that it is virtually impossible to imagine human beings or indeed human culture without those things that reflect their identities. These ideas have been explored in Donna Haraway's (1991) *A Cyborg Manifesto*, as well as by others, who hold that the gulf between humans and machines (or, humans and things) is closing rapidly to the point that our modern biological selves are often a blend of organic and inorganic material. With that in mind, we know that material culture is as much a part of human identity and being as our biological bodies. Recent thinking in this area relates to ideas of materiality and assemblage and these inform the final element in the theoretical model developed for this thesis.

Materiality refers to a group of vaguely related ideas that emerged in the humanities and social sciences in the 1990s. Miller (2005), a researcher in material culture studies, and Ingold (2007), an anthropologist who specialises in human interactions with the environment and material culture, both sought to define approaches to materiality. Materiality in archaeology emerged from a dissatisfaction with previous approaches that held that material culture passively reflected social identity and human behaviour, or 'the semiotic representation of some bedrock of social relations' (Miller 2005:3). Prior to this, it was considered that human agendas were driven by external influences, such as the environment, technology, social systems, and economies. Following what has been termed the material (or ontological) turn, archaeologists and other scholars have instead focused upon the relationship between people and things as a

key driver in social change. In the context of this thesis, materiality refers not only to ‘the intricate cultural nexus between artefacts and persons’ (Taylor 2009:99), but also the role of material culture in shaping human identities and agendas.

A desire for nostalgia (or memory) helps to drive the social construction of the material world. Space archaeologist, Alice Gorman, has discussed this idea in relation to the emergence (and re-emergence) of space themed playgrounds for children, as well as other space-themed ephemera as an outcome of the way in which the ‘space race’ permeated national identities both in Australia and elsewhere (Gorman 2019, see Chapter Three). The re-emergence of space-themed places and objects that Gorman described is particularly interesting because it highlights a uniquely human desire to shape the present world in an image of days gone by. In the context of this research, the concept of memory relates to the way in which elements of traditional Jawoyn culture are deployed in the present. For example, during a study of contemporary graffiti in Barunga (see Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014), I found that the role of graffiti in this region was as a type of ‘message board’ where community members could record their names for others to know what they were doing and where they were. Graffiti in Barunga acts as a sort of ‘visitor book’, and owing to the cultural markers evident in much of the graffiti I recorded in 2011, such as a strong desire to connect with familial and kinship networks, as well as with country, I have argued that graffiti is a contemporary extension of rock art practices. While this example likely represents more normalised behaviour, rather than a clear strategy to retrieve past practices (as in the space playground example above), it nonetheless indicates ‘the presence of the past in the present’ (Leone 1981:13) in Barunga, of which there are likely other examples.

The problem that arises from the material consequences of memory in Barunga is the way in which those persisting aspects of traditional Jawoyn culture are rendered invisible through misperception—perhaps from a flawed sense of familiarity, or from an ongoing process of colonialism, for example:

The time of our era has been described as both excessive and unjust ... The destruction of alternative pasts has always been on the agenda of authoritarian regimes, which have promoted historicist and homogeneous narratives. It has taken a more sinister dimension during the contemporary era, however, when such regimes have engaged in the obliteration of the present, the future and the past of political opponents. Yet even under (neo)liberal regimes, the past is continuously annihilated in the celebration of the present and the future (González-Ruibal 2019:136).

For example, the graffiti of Barunga—and other similar communities—has often been held up as an example of social decay. In fact, there have been programmes that seek to teach Aboriginal

people how to look after their houses the ‘whitefella way’ (e.g. Shelter South Australia’s housing education campaign (see reporting by Ashford (2015))). On the other hand, the archaeological research I have conducted in this region has concluded that perceiving graffiti in such a light ignores, or obliterates (in González-Ruibal’s words), the long-held cultural tradition of the contemporary practice.

While memory plays a significant role in the sculpting of material landscapes, those landscapes—and the individual objects found within—have an equally powerful affective quality. Hamilakis (2018:175) wrote that:

[T]he assemblage/arrangement is political in the sense that it is a *deliberate* (but not necessarily always intentional) co-presence of multiplicities, albeit one which can engender and activate involuntary processes, memories, and affects ... assemblages are political since their sensorial and affective force is subject to the rules of what J. Rancière (2004) has called ‘the distribution of the sensible’: the rules that govern what is allowed to be sensed and what not, and what is determined as worth perceiving sensorially and recalling mnemonically, and what not.

Following this argument, the material landscape of Barunga can be described as a deliberate (but not always intentional) (e.g. habitus, following Bourdieu (1977) product of social practice which is sensed and perceived differently by different people, depending on their worldview—or, as Hamilakis described, their rules that govern what is allowed to be sensed. The question that arises from this argument, which was first introduced in Chapter One, is how does the way in which the material landscape is sensed and perceived drive negative attitudes towards communities such as Barunga? For example, I have already provided an example of how one government-funded group (Shelter SA) has drawn upon negative perceptions of contemporary Aboriginal material practices to inform their policy approach. It follows that other groups who have a hand in writing policy around Aboriginal communities has also sensed, or perceived, only one dimension of the ‘co-presence of multiplicities’ in remote Aboriginal communities. This idea relates back to one of the regularly espoused functions of contemporary archaeology, which is to reveal those aspects of society that have been rendered invisible and/or actively concealed.

4.4 Discussion

The model presented above provides the analytical and interpretive tools required to gain critical insights into the role and nature of material culture in Barunga. The model draws upon agency theory, entanglement, materiality and assemblage thought. Recent theorising with regard to these distinct but related ideas highlight the complex relationships between humans and things (or, material culture), and as such, are the most appropriate concepts with which to

approach material culture in Barunga. By viewing material culture in Barunga relative to the above themes, we can reveal new and nuanced interpretations of contemporary Aboriginal life in remote Australia—particularly during a period of strict government intervention. The model, as discussed in this chapter, achieves this by targeting key aspects of human behaviour, for example, the perception of time (and performance of that perception), and the purposeful use of space; as well as the ways in which human social strategies change in (or persist in spite of) situations beyond their control; and the ways in which the material world is sensed and experienced (and how those affective qualities of the material world impact upon political situations).

CHAPTER 5: METHODS

This chapter discusses the methods employed in each of the three stages of this study, namely the research design, data collection, and data analysis. The methodological approach of this study is informed by recent approaches to Indigenous community-based, collaborative archaeology (see Colwell 2016; Greer et al. 2002; Marshall 2002; Smith et al. 2019), as well as ideas of engaged archaeology (Smith and Ralph 2020). While these ideas are discussed in Chapter Two in terms of their intellectual contributions to the study, in this chapter I focus on how the conceptual framework has shaped the methods of data collection and analysis. In other words, how does one actually *do* a collaborative, engaged archaeology? This chapter outlines the specific methods employed throughout the study, from consultation, to study place selection, and methods of analysis and interpretation. The structure of this chapter is:

1. Methodological approach (i.e. *doing* an engaged archaeology).
2. Consultation and collaboration with community members.
3. Study place selection.
4. Data collection methods.
5. Methods of analysis.

5.1 Methodological approach: *doing* an engaged archaeology

As discussed in Chapter Three, engaged archaeology (Smith and Ralph 2020) is archaeology that:

1. Actively engages with the social, cultural, and political dimensions of the lives of the people with whom archaeologists work.
2. Is shaped by the community's wishes.
3. Aims to make a practical difference to people's lives.

Given that the central aim of engaged archaeology is to actively reduce harm caused by archaeology, it is important to be cognisant of the potential impact of archaeological fieldwork. Community-based, collaborative archaeologies have been the standard for archaeological research in Australia for a number of decades—indeed one of the key early practitioners of Australian Indigenous archaeology, Isabel McBryde, made a point of incorporating Aboriginal perspectives into her research from the 1970s onwards (see McBryde 1974, 1984, 1986). That said, collaborative archaeologies look very different in the present when compared with the approaches of McBryde and her contemporaries. Rather than engaging with individuals, archaeologists now also collaborate with Indigenous corporations, representative groups, as well as Aboriginal land councils. While this situation has arisen from a desire to protect often

vulnerable people or communities from predatory researchers, in some ways it shifts the balance of decision-making away from traditional power structures to corporations, where non-local and often non-Indigenous people are given decision-making powers. The approach taken in this research is one that acknowledges the traditional power structure, whereby Senior Traditional Owners and Custodians of Bagala clan lands in Jawoyn Country have total decision-making power—which includes power to veto the project—over the entire project. The ways in which I have mitigated the concerns that have given rise to the practice of collaborating with representative bodies rather than Traditional Owners is discussed below in relation to collaborative and slow archaeology.

5.1.1 Collaborative archaeology



Figure 13. Jocelyn McCartney was the community guide for most of the field work. (L-R) Jordan Ralph, Antoinette Hennessy, and Jocelyn McCartney. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, April 2017.

The way in which collaboration occurred during this study was through informal 'sit-down' conversations, which often included hot tea. I visited Barunga a number of years leading up to the beginning of this study and it was in the six months before my candidature commenced that Esther Bulumbara, Nell Brown and I articulated the early concepts of this study (see Chapter Two). I returned to the community again in July 2015, over one year before I started data

collection to discuss the ways in which I might go about addressing the community's concern that the federal government's Intervention into remote NT Aboriginal communities is 'not working' (Esther Bulumbara and Nell Brown pers. comm. July 2014). A year later, during a meeting in July 2015, we spoke about the need to investigate places around the community, which would include the complete panorama of material culture at each place.



Figure 14. 'Sit-down' meetings were one of the ways in which consultation took place—often over tea or supper. (L) Guy Rankin, Jocelyn McCartney, and Mia Dardengo. (R) Margaret Katherine and Jocelyn McCartney. Photographs by Jordan Ralph, July 2017.



Figure 15. When Jocelyn was unavailable, Rachael Willika Kendino accompanied me during field work. (L-R) Adam McCale and Rachael Willika Kendino. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, July 2017.

Due to the sensitive nature of the archaeological data as well as the private landscapes upon which the material evidence was situated, consultation needed to be comprehensive and clear, with the pace of discussions decided by community members. Further, consultation was an ongoing process, one occurred not only at the beginning and end of a project, but throughout as well. This allowed community members to *actively* shape research and become true partners in the outcomes.

Throughout the life of the project, consultation included regular sit-down meetings where I would brief community members on the plan going forward (as discussed with community leaders), and a debrief after events (e.g. Figure 14). One of the key outcomes from these meetings was that I needed to be accompanied by a local person who had seniority in the community. Jocelyn McCartney (Figure 13) was chosen by Esther and Nell, owing to her seniority in the community, but also because I already knew her quite well. At times when Jocelyn was unable to accompany me, Rachael Kendino (Willika) took her place (Figure 15).

5.1.2 Slow and careful archaeology

One of the problems that arises regularly when working in Barunga is the language barrier. While conversing is rarely an issue in that I can understand and speak some Kriol, the cultural nuances are often lost. For example, this emerges when seeking permission to do something, such as record a house. Often, the response is not a clear yes (e.g. 'maybe tomorrow', or 'next week', or even more ambiguously, 'maybe after'). I have been involved with teaching archaeological field schools at Barunga for over five years and these responses often create confusion among students. Students—who are largely non-Indigenous—take the response as permission, deferred permission, but permission nonetheless. The actuality of the response is that the responder is taking the path of least resistance in order to avoid conflict. The approach I take in Barunga is that I do not assume that I have permission until I have clear and unambiguous approval. In many circumstances, I ask a number of times, and seek additional permission from a range of people, to ensure I have unambiguous permission from all relevant people.

This practice relates to an emerging movement in archaeology, which has been termed 'slow' archaeology, or the archaeology of care (Caraher 2019:373). This approach initially built upon similar movements in other disciplines:

Slow archaeology sought to articulate a critical approach to the use of technology in archaeological practice by aligning it with various anti-modern 'slow' movements that have appeared in twenty-first-century popular culture (e.g. Petrini's (2003) slow food movement;

Cunningham and MacEachern (2016) or Stengers (2018) for slow science) and critiques of 'fast capitalism' and the accelerated pace of contemporary society, culture, and life.

In this sense, slow archaeology sought to re-centre archaeological research priorities from a focus on time- and cost-efficiency (i.e. rapid research) to a focus on taking time and care while undertaking archaeological field work. It has been argued the end result of slow archaeology is that archaeologists become familiarised with the people, their culture, places and things more so than in instances where archaeologists rush a field project, which inevitably leads to more accurate interpretations of archaeological material. While the example above relates primarily to the use of technology in archaeology, the critical point is that the methods of data collection and analysis should not prioritise speed over care.

While this articulation of slow archaeology was recently discussed in the UK and US, it has been practiced in Australia for some time, and projects that are community-based—particularly those that are anthropological archaeology—are typical examples of *slow* Australian archaeology. The primary distinction here is that these kinds of archaeology, which often preference accuracy and respect over speed, have not been termed slow archaeology. That said, the earliest archaeologists and ethnographers to visit Jawoyn Country spent limited time there—often less than one day at a single site—and would publish on their observations for the remainders of their career (e.g. Elkin 1952; Macintosh 1951, 1952, 1977), despite having a limited understanding of those places and the people.

The way in which I practiced slow archaeology throughout this project is by taking the time required to ensure I had clear and unambiguous permission to undertake data collection. I commenced data collection fieldwork in 2016, after two periods of initial community consultation, the first in July 2014 and the other in July 2015. I departed Adelaide for Barunga on the 6th of June, 2016, with plans of commencing the data collection within a few weeks. The commencement of my data collection was contingent on my feeling comfortable that free, prior, informed and unambiguous consent was given by the community. In order to ensure I received unambiguous consent, I held a series of consultation sessions that were attended by community leaders, where I detailed my recording strategy and asked for feedback and questions.

Another concern I had with my research is about the optics of my fieldwork. It is invasive, without a doubt. I intended to explore private yards in Barunga and record the material and visual culture within, which consequently meant that I would record things that are considered litter and graffiti—for which residents might feel judged—and perhaps even more contentious materials, like alcohol containers and other related paraphernalia, which are prohibited in Barunga. I had to tread carefully and put my needs and my requirements behind those of the

community. Essentially, I did not want to be seen as a researcher who was coming into the community to ‘take’ information’ without giving back and potentially causing harm in the process. This became a source of stress, as I felt I was not living up to the expectation of timely and efficient fieldwork that I have become accustomed to in my work as a heritage consultant. To marry my concerns around optics, efficiency and my desire for unambiguous consent, I decided, early on in my field trip, not to commence recording until I felt unequivocally comfortable that each of these three things had been addressed. This meant that I waited in the community for four months before I undertook any archaeological recording. I dedicated the first four months of my fieldwork instead to a period of acculturation. This time was spent integrating myself into the community, to gain a greater insight into its functions and intricacies to enrich my forthcoming analysis and interpretation of the material behaviours I recorded.



Figure 16. Rachael Willika Kendino translates a letter into Kriol, while Jordan Ralph records the translation. Photograph by Antoinette Hennessy, September 2016.

Ultimately, this was achieved by waiting to commence the research, rather than commencing on the day after I arrived. In fact, I arrived in Barunga in late June 2016 and it was not until late October that I began to record data. The intervening four months was spent discussing the methods of the survey with community leaders and refining my approach. While at times it felt as though that four months was time wasted—because in my experience as a commercial

archaeologist, I had been trained for efficiency and all I had to show for my time was a number of conversations and no data—but it was key to the success of the field program. One of the key outcomes of this four months was a letter I drafted in both English and Kriol (translated with the assistance of Rachael Kendino) (see Figure 16 and Appendix One), which outlined the aims of the survey and what was involved in taking part. These letters were posted around the community on notice boards in the shop and clinic, and they were given to people whose houses we were targeting. The letters were given to the occupants of houses community leaders that I decided to target, with an opt-in message. I did not want to start the survey until it was unequivocally clear that it was within the community's control and that I had unambiguous permission to commence. This came late in October when I received a phone call from Jocelyn McCartney asking when we were going to start work. I said, 'Whenever you're ready, I'm waiting for permission'. Jocelyn replied, 'Let's go then, we'll do it today'. This approach satiated my concern that my project was too intrusive. I did not force the launch of the survey, nor did I pressure anyone to abide by my timeline. I worked under the timeline of the community guides as well as those of the occupants of each house.

5.1.3 Permission to record in private spaces

While permission to conduct fieldwork and collect archaeological data in Barunga was granted at a senior level after four months of consultation, I still needed to obtain permission from the individuals who leased the houses that would become the study places. Seventeen study places were selected for this thesis and each of these were private yards situated around houses in Barunga. The letter described above was given to the occupants of 25 houses, though only the occupants of seventeen granted permission. The process through which these houses were selected is discussed in the section below. The archaeological data for this study includes material culture, which was recorded in each of the study places, as well as graffiti which was primarily found on the walls of houses in Barunga.

Permission was sought through several means. Firstly, residents were given the opportunity to take part by contacting me directly and requesting to take part through the flyers I distributed around Barunga. This was an unsuccessful method, given no one contacted me; however, it did raise awareness of my study. Secondly, I spoke with many in the community directly requesting access. This was much more successful and led to permission to access nine of the total 17 yards. Six other lessees declined access, either by avoiding the answer or through continued postponement. Finally, Jocelyn asked the remaining nine lessees if we were able to access their yards for the purposes of the survey, which worked much more smoothly than my efforts.

Private space in Barunga was defined as space which is privately owned³ or occupied and for which permission to access must be provided by the owner or other authority. Usually, private spaces, houses and yards, are fenced. Private spaces are not under the direct control of an organisation or government agency, but of individuals and families; however, most private spaces are owned by government agencies and organisations, such as the Department of Housing and Community Development, or Bagala Aboriginal Corporation.

5.1.4 Survey place selection and sampling strategy

As the research problem centres around identity, as well as how material practices are both used by people within the community and interpreted by those from outside the community, I needed to investigate spaces that are within the direct control of individuals and family groups (i.e. private spaces). Local government and other groups have oversight over different public spaces within the community, which is one reason why they were not included in this study. Moreover, one of the key issues with existing and previous government social policy directed at Aboriginal Australians is that it often presents non-Indigenous Australia as the standard to which Aboriginal Australians must reach. This has caused numerous problems in the areas of health, education and employment and as such, a comparative study between non-Indigenous spaces and Indigenous spaces was considered undesirable, because there was too much opportunity for the results to be interpreted as non-Indigenous material culture being the standard.

Instead, the study focussed solely on private spaces in Barunga. These were determined to be the space between the exterior walls of a house and the fence line, which acts as an administrative and physical boundary for the property. The interior of houses was also excluded as this was considered invasive by both community leaders and the researcher. With that, to understand both the role of material culture and the different ways in which material culture is used (i.e. material practices), the complete panorama of objects was recorded at each study place during each survey. To record the ways in which material practices change over a year according to season, each study place was surveyed four times (pending permission), once in October 2016, and again in January, April, and July of 2017.

The inclusion of places in this study depended on a number of factors, with access and permission being the major considerations. At the beginning of my fieldwork, in July 2016, in

³ I use the word 'ownership' here in an abstract sense. While the occupants of houses in Barunga do not own the premises in a legal sense, instead community members lease the houses. They nonetheless have ownership over them in the sense that it is their space to control.

conjunction with community elders, I developed a list of places of interest in which I would conduct surveys was to be negotiated over the next few months with homeowners and other stakeholder groups. Below, I detail the processes through which I went to select study places in both public and private space.

I recorded material culture and graffiti in private spaces in Barunga, which are defined as the yards around individual houses, inside the fence boundaries. There are 78 houses in Barunga. In August 2016, I drove around the community while Jocelyn McCartney identified who lived in each house, which allowed me to count the total number of houses and determine a sampling strategy. The original sample for this aspect of the data collection was 50% (n=~40) of those houses. The original sample was determined arbitrarily because I wanted to ensure I had a good coverage of the community, capturing data from houses of people I work closely with, those I do not, as well as other variables, such as overcrowded houses and sparsely occupied houses; houses that might be economically disadvantaged, and those that are not; and so on.

The initial vehicle survey of houses in Barunga revealed that of the total 78 houses, 61 were occupied by Aboriginal people, while the remaining 17 were occupied by non-Aboriginal service providers, such as teachers, clinic staff, council staff and shop staff.

Image removed due to copyright restriction. The original can be found at <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/anger-over-whitefella-way-advice>

Figure 17. Shelter SA brochure that sought to teach Pitjantjatjara people who live in public housing how to look after their houses like white people (Ashford 2015).

From the outset of this study, I resisted the logical and reasonable temptation to conduct my field recording in houses occupied by non-Aboriginal people. Early concepts of this study involved me surveying not only the houses of non-Aboriginal service providers in Barunga, but also a number of non-Aboriginal yards in Katherine, and perhaps other parts of Australia. The rationale for resisting this temptation is simple: I did not want to fall into the trap of creating a narrative that held non-Aboriginal uses of space, material culture and graffiti as the standard to which Aboriginal people should be aspiring, as was the case in South Australia when Shelter SA

issued a brochure to Aboriginal people living in state homes in the APY lands that sought to ‘teach’ Aboriginal people how to look after their homes the ‘Whitefella way’ (Figure 17).

The deliberate diversity of private survey places ensured that the data revealed a more accurate representation of the community as a whole and, through this, could address some of the issues around false depictions of remote Aboriginal Australians in mainstream media.

During the time between the initial vehicle survey of Barunga in August until I commenced the field survey on 25/10/2016, I consulted homeowners about my study and sought permission. Falling short of my target sample, I received permission to survey 21 houses (or 35%). For myriad reasons, it took several sessions to survey all of these houses—and these sessions spanned from the 25th of October until the tenth of December; however, I still did not get to survey four of these houses, owing to a lack of access as the owners were not available each time I scheduled their survey. Therefore, the final sample was revised down to 28% (n=17 yards out of a total of 61).

#	Lot #	First survey	Second survey	Third survey	Fourth survey
1	219	26/10/2016	18/01/2017	26/04/2017	14/07/2017
2	227	25/10/2016	18/01/2017	26/04/2017	14/07/2017
3	235	10/12/2016	20/01/2017	26/04/2017	17/07/2017
4	158	27/10/2016	18/01/2017	26/04/2017	No access
5	166	29/10/2016	No access	28/04/2017	No access
6	168	27/10/2016	18/01/2017	28/04/2017	18/07/2017
7	316	28/10/2016	19/01/2017	No access	20/07/2017
8	178	26/10/2016	18/01/2017	28/04/2017	17/07/2017
9	346	26/10/2016	18/01/2017	26/04/2017	24/07/2017
10	230	30/11/2016	No access	No access	24/07/2017
11	261	30/11/2016	No access	No access	No access
12	262	30/11/2016	No access	No access	17/07/2017
13	208	29/10/2016	18/01/2017	27/04/2017	19/07/2017
14	209	27/10/2016	18/01/2017	26/04/2017	24/07/2017
15	210	30/10/2016	No access	No access	20/07/2017
16	192	28/10/2016	21/01/2017	No access	25/07/2017
17	196	27/10/2016	18/01/2017	27/04/2017	25/07/2017

Table 1: Lot number and survey date for all yards surveyed.

To record change over time, I surveyed each yard four times over a twelve-month period. The first round of survey was held in October 2016; the second in January 2017; the third in April 2017; and the fourth and final was held in July 2017. The yards I recorded and the dates I recorded them are presented in Table 1 above.

Several yards were inaccessible during the second, third and fourth surveys, due to the homeowner not being present. Additionally, many of the yards that were not surveyed during the third survey belonged to family of a person whose funeral was being held near the survey period—out of respect I did not record these houses at that time. Only once during my fieldwork did I receive a direct ‘no’ from a homeowner, and that was when I was seeking permission to record Lot 230 during the second survey. I recorded 17 houses in the first survey (28% of houses in Barunga occupied by Aboriginal people); 12 houses in the second survey (20%); 11 yards in the third survey (18%); and 123 yards in the fourth and final survey (25%).

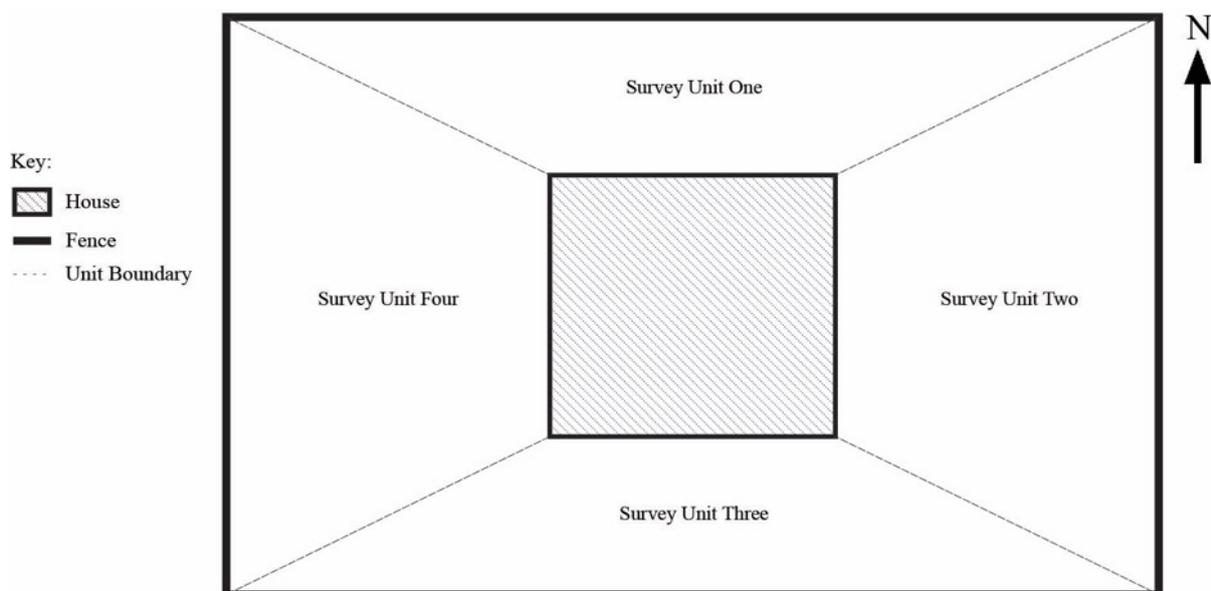


Figure 18: Diagram of a typical yard in Barunga, featuring a house in the centre of the yard, bordered by a fence. Also featured in this diagram, signified by the dashed lines, is an example of how a typical yard was divided into four survey units.

Typically, I divided each yard into four survey units, as illustrated in Figure 18. The survey units allowed me to collect spatial data in yards. For example, without the use of an instrument such as a Total Station, I had to develop another strategy for collecting the spatial arrangement of material culture. A Total Station was unnecessary, because that offered a level of specificity that I did not require for this study—having centimetre-accurate data would not make or break the study. It did not matter where specifically individual items were located; instead, what mattered was where concentrations of material culture were located, for example, at the front of the

house, or the rear; near the front door; on the veranda; under a bough shed; or around a fireplace.

Only one of the houses did not have a fence (Lot 196). In this case, I determined the boundary to be 5m from the outer walls of the house, as this was consistent with the yards at other houses. Often, the yard was not square, or the fence was closer to the house on some sides, which meant that some of the survey sections had varying areas. I decided that would still determine the survey sections from the walls of the house regardless, to be consistent across the survey, and to ensure when I returned to re-survey the yard, that I could immediately re-establish the survey sections and commence recording immediately.

During each survey period, I was supervised by a senior community member and assisted by at least one volunteer. For the first three survey periods I was supervised by Jocelyn McCartney. Rachael Kendino relieved Jocelyn for most of survey period four; however, Jocelyn still accompanied me on many of the remaining yard surveys during this survey period. Jocelyn and Rachael were remunerated for their time. Antoinette Hennessy assisted me throughout the first three survey periods; Marc Fairhead assisted me for a portion of the first survey period and for all of the fourth survey period; while Mia Dardengo assisted me for the duration of the fourth survey period.

During each yard survey, at least one occupant of the house was present. Over the duration of the data collection, when I returned to survey a yard, the occupants tended to become more trusting—perhaps indifferent—to my presence. Occasionally, this meant the occupants would stay inside while I was there, and other times, they would leave the premises completely, trusting me to complete the work, particularly under the watch of either Jocelyn or Rachael.

Working with community members in this way has two benefits. Firstly, Jocelyn and Rachael were able to act as intermediaries between the homeowners and me. As Jocelyn and Rachael were well versed in both the aims and the methods of my study, they were able to explain my intentions and requirements in Kriol to the homeowners, which expedited permissions and gave the homeowners a higher degree of confidence that I was working in their interest. Secondly, it meant that the ethnographic component of my fieldwork was more readily accessible, as I could defer to my community supervisors or the homeowners at the time of recording.

5.2 Archaeological surveys

Once I had determined the places I was going to sample, I had to attend each place and record the material culture and graffiti found there. The following section details my recording strategies, from the archaeological data to the spatial data.

The archaeological data for this study was recorded using a series of standardised recording forms and photography. In total, there were four forms:

1. Study place recording form (Appendix Two)
2. Material culture recording form (Appendix Three)
3. Graffiti recording form (Appendix Four)

Form 1 was used to capture contextual and biographical information about yards (i.e. the macro details of each place), while forms 2 and 3 were used to gather specific archaeological data at each place (i.e. the micro details). A detailed explanation of and justification for the different elements that make up each form appears in sections 5.2.1–5.2.3.

For survey periods one to three, I used physical recording forms, where each entry was handwritten. This was cumbersome, as it meant many lost hours entering the data into a spreadsheet post-survey. Additionally, depending on who was recording at the time, the terminology that the surveyor used could vary significantly. I opted to use a digital recording form for the fourth and final survey period. I purchased three tablets, two Samsung Tab A 7" tablets and an iPad mini (4th generation). I used software called Mobile Data Studio to record material culture and graffiti during the final survey period. The digital form was exactly the same as the paper forms; however, it restricted the variability in terminology that I found to be a problem with the paper recording forms; and it also allowed me to capture spatial data for each item we recorded, using the built-in GPS of each device. While the use of mobile devices slowed the recording process (as a single entry took longer to complete than on the written form), it was much more time-efficient overall, because the data was born digital and did not have to be double-handled and entered into a spreadsheet. An example of the Mobile Data Studio recording forms can be found in Appendices Five and Six, for comparison with the paper recording forms in Appendices Two to Four. Data collected on the paper recording forms was entered into a computer using the desktop version of Mobile Data Studio, thus ensuring consistency across the data. I entered data from the first three surveys into Mobile Data Studio after the final field program to ensure consistency with the data and to ensure the data were stored in the same database.

5.2.1 Place recording forms

The macro details of each place were recorded onto contextual recording forms (see Appendix Two).

These forms recorded the following information:

- Time and date of recording.
- Weather (temperature, humidity, etc.).
- Photograph numbers.
- Lot number/place name.
- Name of homeowner/name of responsible organisation.
- Street name.
- Suburb.
- Lot numbers of adjacent houses.
- Description of the place
- A mud map.
- General notes about the place, and our time recording the property.

In addition to the above entries about the physical landscape at each property, the below entries allowed me to develop a biography of each place, which helped to understand the uses of the place. Additionally, information, such as time and weather allowed me to understand the impact that the conditions might have had on recording; for example, the impact that temperatures above 40°C or humidity above 80% might have had on the data collection.

- Number of tenants at present, including their names and skin names.
- Number of dogs.
- Information about the house itself, such as:
 - Type of house (stand alone; duplex; 'upstairs' house, etc.).
 - Number of external doors and type.
 - Number of windows and type.
 - Material of the external walls.
 - Colour of the external walls.
 - Whether there is a veranda.

It is a hypothesis that overcrowded houses lead to an abundance of material culture, particularly litter—the narrative commonly described in the media is that Aboriginal people in remote communities such as Barunga are dysfunctional and cannot look after themselves, and the presence of litter and graffiti tends to be used as physical evidence to support that tenuous

claim. By recording information such as the number of tenants (particularly in terms of the number of adults and the number of children) as well as the number of dogs, I will be able to retrieve a more accurate account of the use of material culture and space in remote communities and use the data to address some of the weaker claims made about these communities. Likewise, recording the skin names of the people in each house was aimed at mapping the extent to which people in Barunga still live according to the strict requirements of the Jawoyn kinship system, therefore adding another element to the narrative that is most often absent in media stories. On the other hand, capturing information about the house itself is aimed at developing the place biography.

5.2.2 Recording modern material culture

Material culture was recorded on a standardised recording form (Appendix Three), which was developed and tested in August 2016, prior to the commencement of the survey. The recording form was designed to capture the diversity of artefact types in each place, the number of individual artefacts of each type, and the style and age (if known) of each artefact.

Material culture was classified according to thirteen types, which were identified post-survey (Table 2). The thirteen types defined below relate to the function or purpose of objects. The idea behind categorising material culture in this way is to understand the activities undertaken by individuals and groups that take place in private yards in Barunga. As many objects in Aboriginal communities are stereotyped as detritus (see Department of Health 2010), capturing this archaeological data can help to arrive at a nuanced understanding of material practices in remote Aboriginal communities—an understanding that hitherto has not been articulated in a way that has been able to overturn or at least combat popular and racist stereotypes.

Type	Description
Beverage	Disposable objects related to the consumption of beverages. These include plastic and glass bottles, aluminium cans, tea bags, plastic straws, single-use cups and other objects that are single-use, disposable containers for beverages. Beverage objects also include fragments of larger objects, for example bottle caps, ring pulls, straw wrappers, etc.
Food	Disposable objects related to the consumption of food. These include various wrappers and packaging from snack foods, take away containers, and other food containers designed to be disposed of once empty. This included single-use, disposable plastic cutlery and crockery.
Health and hygiene	Disposable objects related to health and hygiene. These include various containers or bottles of such things as cosmetics, medicines, and various creams or ointments, as well as items such as cotton wool buds.
Paper/plastic media	Books, brochures, envelopes, paper, letters, and pre-paid electricity cards. This category also includes other items that are made of paper or plastic and intended to be used for communication.

Smoking	Disposable objects related to smoking tobacco. These include cigarette butts, empty packets of cigarettes, empty tobacco pouches, cigarette papers, and empty cigarette paper packets.
Furniture	Chairs, tables, desks, shelves, and other such furniture. Tarpaulin sheets that were laid out on the ground for people to sit were included in this category. Those tarpaulin sheets that were used to cover other items or that were folded and stored were categorised under tools and equipment.
Linen	Bed sheets, blankets, and towels.
Pets	Pet food bowls, water bowls, pet food (both the packets and the actual food), bones, and other items related to the care of dogs, cats and other pets.
Sport and entertainment	Reusable objects that relate to sport and entertainment, for example, various toys and balls, playing cards, bicycles, exercise equipment, fishing equipment, balloons and other party decorations, and other items deemed to relate to this activity during the survey.
Clothing and personal accessories	This type of material culture included various articles of clothing and footwear, hats, sunglasses, and hair ties. This category includes any other objects considered clothing or personal accessories during the survey.
Domestic objects	This type of material culture was broad and included reusable items used in dishwashing and laundry (e.g. detergents, bleaches, and cloths), as well as reusable cutlery and crockery, various cooking equipment (such as spatulas, tongs, oven plates etc., yard decorations such as wind chimes or fairy lights, and objects related to childcare (i.e. nappies, prams, etc.).
Tools and equipment	This type of material culture was also broad and included reusable items intended for use in yard and garden work, cleaning inside the house (i.e. mops, mop buckets and brooms), vehicle maintenance equipment and car parts, storage containers (i.e. plastic and cardboard boxes, milk crates, and various bags), as well as general tools, such as spanners, screwdrivers, torches, etc.
Whitegoods	Refrigerators, deep freeze (i.e. a wide, deep freezer used for the long-term storage of frozen items, meat in particular), washing machines, microwaves, and other such appliances.

Table 2. Material culture classifications by type.

Contextual photographs were taken of each house, to capture a visual overview of the yard. Each time I recorded a yard, I took three photographs from each corner of the yard, looking in different directions (e.g. in the northeastern corner of a yard, I took photographs looking west, southwest, south). I also took detailed photographs of some of the material culture found in each yard, with particular focus being placed on unusual items.

The material culture recording form included the following entries:

- Date.
- Lot number/place name.
- Photograph numbers.
- Associated recording forms.
- Descriptive information about material culture:

- Survey unit.
- Type (see above).
- Item (what it actually is, e.g. bottle cap, can, wrapper, furniture, vehicle, etc.).
- Quantity (if there was more than one of this type of item in 1 m²).
- Brand (if known).
- Flavour/type of product.
- Material.
- Colour.
- Weight/volume/dimensions.
- Condition/state of the item (i.e. is it intact, fragment, empty, is there a lid or label?).
- Other relevant description.
- Photograph number.
- Upon using Mobile Data Studio, the following entries were added:
 - Time (specific time that each item was recorded).
 - GPS location (easting and northing of the particular entry).
 - Photograph (using the built-in camera on the back of the device; only where necessary).

The strategy for recording each yard was to divide them into four survey units, as described above. I would then commence recording all of the large, less mobile material culture, such as furniture, structures and vehicles, before walking transects of between one and five metres, depending on the density of material culture on the ground. Every diagnostic material culture was recorded on the form and photographed if necessary (either as an example, or if it was a unique piece, or difficult to describe using words). Undiagnostic objects, such as small fragments of glass, plastic, paper, etc. were not recorded.

5.2.3 Recording graffiti

The recording strategy for graffiti in Barunga builds upon methods discussed in Ralph (2012) and Ralph and Smith (2014). Using a standardised recording form (Appendix Four), graffiti that appeared on any surface within each survey area was recorded. Essentially, the form recorded the content of the graffiti (what the graffiti said, verbatim); the content type; and media used in its production.

Graffito type	Description
Signature	The given name, initials, skin name, or alias of an individual, occasionally followed by additional text, such as a date, or an affirmation of presence (e.g. a version of the phrase 'was here' or simply 'W-H'), or accompanied by the word 'only', or O.A.O. (one and only).
Group signature	The given names, initials, skin names, or aliases of a group/groups of people. It should be noted that when a graffito had five or more letters and was not considered an English or Kriol word, this was classified as a group tag in the form of people's initials. Group signatures often included additional messages, such as dates, or remarks about the relationship between the people whose names appear in the graffiti.
Reference	A reference to a place, a sports team/personality, musician/band. These graffiti do not contain signatures.
Romantic declaration	A declaration of romantic love between two people, often accompanied by an illustration of a love heart, or a variation of the acronym 'OTTL', which means 'only these two lovers'.
Statement	A graffito that features letters, words or numbers that does not fit into any of the above categories.
Illustration	A drawing, image or symbol, i.e. not a word, name or letter. Includes stickers and temporary tattoos.
Handprint	Where a person's hand has been dipped into paint and pressed onto a surface.
Horizontal line	A painted horizontal line—usually red paint—that appears at about waist-height on the exterior of a house.
Indeterminate	A graffito that was illegible for reasons including superimposition and/or fading.

Table 3. Graffito classifications by type.

The content types into which every graffito was categorised is presented in Table 3 below. Recording different types of graffiti allows for the diversity and prevalence of different types of messages to be identified, so that the active role of graffiti in the community can be better understood. Currently, its popular conception as a marker of dysfunction and lack of social cohesion is based upon the same stereotypes that hold that Aboriginal communities are replete with litter. The graffiti content categories defined in Table 3 are based upon the categories defined in Ralph and Smith (2014), though with a number of developments.

These developments emerge from the need to identify the array of different messages that were categorised under the heading 'individual and group declarations' by Ralph and Smith (2014). As presented below, these messages are now classified into more specific categories, which include: references, romantic declarations, and statements. These graffiti types are defined below. Moreover, graffiti that featured the names of individuals and groups were named

individual and group tags by Ralph (2012) and Ralph and Smith (2014), which have now been altered to 'signatures' and 'group signatures'.

The reason this was altered is because signature graffiti in Barunga are dissimilar to 'tags' that are found in urban centres—in terms of shape and style—and 'tag' often carries negative connotations that relate to vandalism. Though, the additional reason behind this change is that these graffiti are quite literally the signatures of people in various forms. Two other additional types are handprints and horizontal lines, both of which relate more directly to traditional local visual cultures than others. Handprints relate visually to handprints and hand stencils in nearby rock art galleries, while horizontal lines are part of a fading funerary practice whereby red ochre or paint was painted in a line around the home of a deceased person. This tends not to be practiced as much as it once was, though given its once prevalent place in the Barunga community and its fading status, it followed that this type of visual communication deserved a category of its own.

The graffiti recording form (presented in Appendix Four) featured the following entries:

- Date.
- Lot number/place name.
- Photograph numbers.
- Associated recording forms.
- Descriptive information about graffiti:
 - Content (what the graffiti is/says, verbatim).
 - Type (see above).
 - Technique.
 - Photograph #.
 - Panel #.
- Description of each panel.

5.2.4 Spatial data

To record spatial data at household yards, I produced a detailed mud map, using the pacing method. These maps were digitised using Adobe Illustrator and can be seen throughout the Chapter Six. Originally, I wanted to map these spaces in a more technical way, using either a total station or remote imagery, such as a kite or drone. Both of these were determined to be too invasive for what is required here.

In the first instance, setting up an instrument in a person's yard and mapping the material culture of their lives, while informative, was deemed too imposing, given the amount of time a

meaningful site plan would take to produce and how self-conscious it would make the residents feel. In the second instance, given the level of government oversight in the community—and other similar communities—I decided against the literal oversight and intrusiveness of a drone or kite. Even if I had chosen this method, it is unlikely that it would have been approved by the community.

Instead, spatial data was collected via photography and the recording forms through a combination of the mud map and observations. For example, each yard was divided into four units, which were determined by the angles of the house and fence (e.g. Figure 18 above).

The purpose of collecting spatial data is to identify primary activity areas in private spaces, to better understand how the space around private residences is used. The idea here is that this is one element of a Barunga material culture that, to this point, is not well understood. In order to arrive at a critical understanding of material culture in this community, we need to understand the deliberate ways in which space is used. The premise of the argument presented here is based on the assumption that a high number of material culture found in one area of a yard means that this is certainly the primary activity area. This begs the question, what is meant by the term ‘primary activity area’ and why is it a concern in this thesis? First, these results raise the question: does the number of material culture found in one area of the yard mean that it is indeed the primary activity area? Could it not mean instead that things are simply discarded or stored there? While this could certainly be the case, observations made over my time working in Barunga highlight that most activity is carried out in the same places every day and that this tends to be in the same areas in which furniture is found, along with accumulations of other material culture, such as food and beverage containers, cups, crockery, and cooking implements in particular. With that, there is a high-confidence that the areas of a yard that feature the highest numbers of material culture are indeed the primary activity areas.

5.3 Data analysis

The challenge of this research is to translate observations of archaeological material (i.e. data) into meaningful accounts of the ways in which material culture is used in Barunga. This translation is made possible through the analysis of material culture via the theoretical model discussed in Chapter Four. This section discusses the finer points of analysis.

While the archaeological data for this study consists primarily of the number of each type of object, as well as the number of each type of graffito, as outlined above, I also recorded the diversity and ubiquity of each item and classified them according to type, function and/or style.

The archaeological data also includes the spatial arrangement of material culture, which can offer insights into the ephemeral use of space, and the rate of material change in this community, which relates to how material culture indicates change in identity and if or how that change is driven by government policy.

5.3.1 Methods of analysis

Recording the panorama of material culture and graffiti in private yards in Barunga can help to understand the broad variety of material practices that occur in the community, though without knowing the numbers of different types of things, or the relationship between different types of material culture, then the data would be disconnected and unclear. Descriptive statistics provides a valuable method of analysis through which we can understand the basic number of each type of thing in each yard, as well as its relationship with space.

The thirteen types of material culture defined above can be classified under three overarching themes:

- Discard.
 - Beverage.
 - Food.
 - Health and hygiene.
 - Paper and plastic media.
 - Smoking.
- Outdoor recreation.
 - Furniture.
 - Linen.
 - Pets.
 - Sport and entertainment.
- Labour.
 - Clothing and personal accessories.
 - Domestic objects.
 - Tools and equipment.
 - Whitegoods.

While the thirteen types of material culture relate to an object's function, the above themes relate to activities that occur in Barunga. These can help to provide nuanced understandings of material practices in the community—particularly those that have been misinterpreted by those from other cultural groups who often see the presence of things such as rubbish and broken

objects as evidence of a dysfunctional, careless community. By categorising types of material culture in this way, the role of material culture in this remote community can be better understood. Material culture classified under the discard theme relates to the actions of eating, drinking, and smoking, but it also relates to social activities. In this community, people often eat outside, either sitting on furniture in the yard, or on tarpaulin mats that are laid out for multiple people to sit upon. A prevalence of discarded material culture, then, relates to social activities. The presence of discarded material culture (which is essentially litter), is often the most visible aspect of the material assemblage in remote communities. It is often remarked by visitors and public commentators, including policymakers and politicians, that these communities need to be 'cleaned up' and that the people living there need to 'clean up' more often; however, this point-of-view is lacking in critical thought around the cultural motives behind discard behaviours, as well as the barriers that stop people from doing so. This study provides a critical reflection on the issue of litter in Barunga (and other remote Aboriginal communities), which can help situate the practice in terms of an Aboriginal cultural context, rather than the non-Aboriginal Australian context in which it is regularly interpreted. Moreover, the outdoor recreation and labour themes work to round out the activities that occur in these communities, and which are often overlooked in favour of the ubiquitous litter. In addition to these material culture themes, the results are discussed (in Chapter Seven) in relation to theoretical model, which incorporates concepts that relate to local identities, such as:

- Time and space.
- Resistance and persistence.
- Memory and affect.

Descriptive statistics can aid in understanding the number of things in each yard, as well as how those numbers change during each of the four surveys conducted over a twelve-month period. This is sufficient to answering the research question, which is about understanding the role of material culture in remote communities. By knowing the numbers of different types of objects present in private yards, as well as how those numbers differ according to different houses (with different numbers and ages of occupants), as well as different seasons, then a clear picture of material practices can be attained.

Further relational statistical analyses, or confidence tests could be of use to determine relationships between things; however, the lack of comparable attributes within the diverse dataset makes that impossible. For example, there are few comparable variables across the dataset, such as between beverage containers or furniture. This leaves the possibility to undertake a statistical analysis of like-material culture where the frequency of beverage

containers. The relationship between the number of food and beverage containers and furniture could provide more weight in indicating primary social activity areas in a yard; however, there are a number of unobtainable variables, such as whether items of furniture were placed inside on a particular day. In that sense, those relational analyses and confidence tests could instead be misleading, whether they indicate a relationship with high confidence or not.

5.4 Limitations of the data

There are several limitations to the data collected in this study. Firstly, I am an outsider to this community and many of the behaviours I am recording are normalised; however, I can only interpret them from my own point-of-view. The method I employed to overcome this limitation is the ethnographic approach detailed in section 5.1 above. By living in the community for an extended period—as well as having nearly ten years' experience working with this community—I was able to obtain a level of acculturation that would not have been possible if I had only visited the community to survey and leave again.

Secondly, I incorporated feminist critiques of archaeology into the methodology (Gero and Conkey 1991). This was vital, as it highlights that I need to consider what gendered material culture looks like in Barunga. Moreover, it reminds me that my worldviews and values will not map directly onto those in the Barunga community. Values influence a person's behaviour, and that behaviour has particular material manifestations. Likewise, it follows that as Aboriginal people living in Barunga have different values, which shape their behaviour, so their behaviour will have different material manifestations to mine. As such, I cannot seek to explain and interpret the material culture, material behaviours and assemblages as I record them, in reference to my own behaviours, or those of others from my culture, or cultures similar to my own. In this sense, we can say that material culture is equifinal—we can achieve the same 'end' result through a number of different behaviours and actions. Archaeologists continue to fall into the familiarity trap that the early feminist archaeologists warned us about, where if an item looks similar—or familiar—to something we know, we will assign the same meaning to it.

Finally, site formation processes is another limitation to this research. While there is a wealth of studies that consider site formation processes in other contexts (e.g. Pilla 1982), the processes that impact the formation and visibility of contemporary archaeological materials and places has rarely been considered in academic literature. Rathje and Murphy (2001; see chapter five in particular) certainly discuss the taphonomic processes through which garbage joins the archaeological record, and decays (or stabilises). This gap in the literature poses some problems in terms of unintended issues arising from a poor understanding of the processes at play; however, this is addressed firstly, through the repeated recording of study places (i.e. to identify

whether the results are accurate, or if they are anomalous; secondly, the guidelines set out by Burke et al. (2017:97) provide a framework for the identification and documentation of areas of poor visibility.

5.5 Discussion

This chapter outlines the methods used in this study. It began with a discussion of the definition and classification of space in Barunga, where I discussed the tripartite classification system I employed during my field surveys (i.e. public space, private space and exclusive space). Public space was defined as the publicly available space in the community, such as local reserves, sport areas, the community church and the area around the local store. Private space was defined as the yards around people's houses, within the boundary of a fence. Exclusive space was defined as the space inside houses, which is only available to those who live there and their guests—this study did not explore the use of material culture in exclusive space due to the likelihood of invasiveness and negative effects from entering and investigating these spaces, which has not been undertaken by other researchers.

Moreover, the procedure for obtaining permission for the study to go ahead, as well as the strategy to consult and engage with community members in a meaningful way was detailed in this chapter. I started by recounting my experiences working with Jawoyn communities since 2010, as well as the ways in which I built relationships, which ultimately enabled this study to go ahead. I explained how this study was born out of a meeting I had with Senior Traditional Owner, Esther Bulumbara, and Senior Traditional Custodian, Nell Brown, who asked me to look into the effects of the Intervention. I discussed the concept of slow archaeology and why it was beneficial in this project to take my time during fieldwork, not to rush, or be caught up in the need for efficiency, which has been instilled in me through my time working as a heritage consultant.

In terms of data collection, this chapter outlined the survey area sampling strategy, as well as the approach I used to select both yards and public places for inclusion in this study. It also details the system used to record both archaeological and spatial data using a combination of recording forms, mud maps and photography. Following recognised methods for working with Indigenous communities (e.g. Burke et al. 2017, see Chapter One), ethnographic data was recorded using both participant observation, in which information was documented in my field journal, as well as semi-structured interviews. Both methods allowed me to enrich my own understandings of the material behaviours I recorded and analysed.

Finally, this chapter concluded with a discussion of the methods I used to analyse the data, as well as the limitations of that data. The following chapter presents the results of this study.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of four archaeological surveys conducted in Barunga in October 2016, and January, April and July 2017. Overall, the surveys recorded 6,669 objects and 988 graffiti at seventeen study places in Barunga. Taken together, these material and visual cultures reveal much about contemporary Aboriginal lifeways in the face of government intervention and they also reveal much about the endurance of traditional cultural practices in the present. These results are discussed in relation to the theoretical model in Chapter Seven.

I begin this chapter with a general overview of the results, before exploring each study place in detail. This chapter is structured according to the different areas, or 'suburbs' in Barunga in order to provide some geographic context to the results (see Figure 19). The sections that make up this chapter are titled according to these suburbs:

- Old Crossing and Culture Park.
- Sunrise Camp.
- Norforce Park.
- Top Camp.
- Bottom Camp.
- School and medical clinic area.

Within each section, the results of the archaeological surveys conducted at each study place is presented, following the same format for each property:

- A biography of the study place, which includes the number of times it was surveyed, the number of people who live there, as well as other details pertinent to the results.
- Results of the material culture survey, with regard to the four overarching themes in the material culture:
 - Discard.
 - Recreation.
 - Labour.
- Results according to spatial arrangement of material culture.
- Results of the graffiti survey, with regard to graffiti content and the media used in its production.

The raw data collected during the surveys can be found in Appendices Seven and Eight.

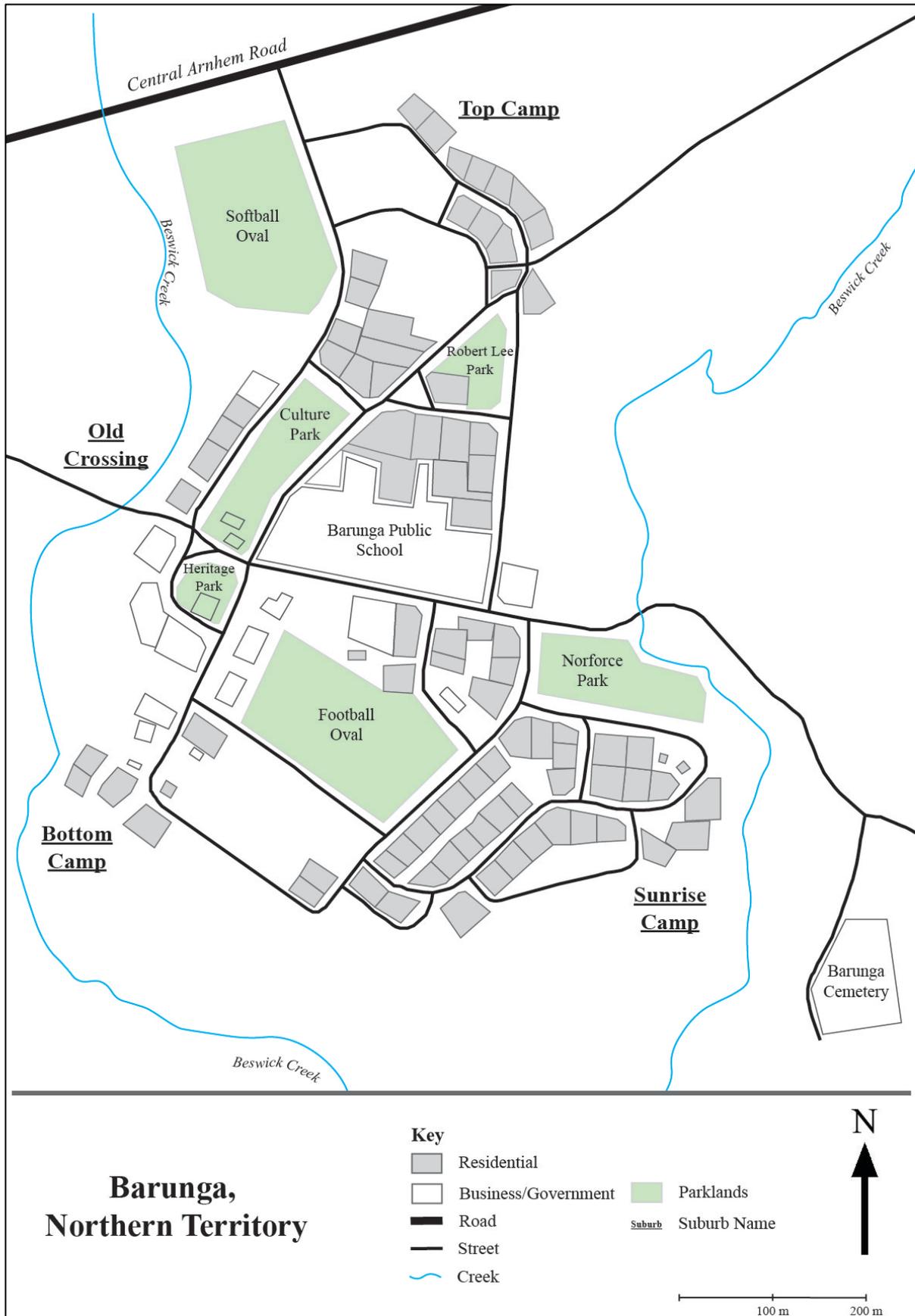


Figure 19. Plan of Barunga showing the different 'suburbs' in the community.

6.1 Overview

6.1.1 Material culture

In total, 6,669 objects were recorded during the four archaeological surveys conducted in Barunga. Objects were classified into one of thirteen general types, which broadly fit under three overarching themes:

- Discard
 - Beverage
 - Food
 - Health and hygiene
 - Paper/plastic media
 - Smoking
- Recreation
 - Furniture
 - Linen
 - Pets
 - Sport and entertainment
- Labour
 - Clothing and personal accessories
 - Domestic objects
 - Tools and equipment
 - Whitegoods

The results of the surveys are presented in Table 4 in relation to the total number of objects recorded at each study place during each survey. Additionally, the results are explored further in Table 5 in terms of the number of objects recorded under each of the overarching themes.

The total number of objects differed from survey to survey, with a higher number being recorded in the build-up to the wet season (October, n=1,998) and the dry season (July, n=3,143) than in the wet season (January, n=896) and shortly thereafter (April, n=632). While the results of January and April may be indicative of the fact that fewer houses were surveyed in those periods (i.e. 12 and 11, respectively) when compared to October (n=17) and July (n=14), though the averages presented at the bottom of Table 4 also show the same pattern (i.e. a higher average was recorded in October and July than in January and April. It is likely that these results are an outcome of three interlocking processes, which are explored further in Chapter Seven:

- Climate (i.e. more material culture in better climatic conditions; fewer material culture in less favourable conditions).
- Archaeological visibility (i.e. grass is overgrown in January and April as a result of rain and moisture in the atmosphere, limiting archaeological visibility; while there is essentially no grass and excellent visibility in the dry season).
- Community events (the Barunga Sport and Cultural Festival, Territory Day, and the Katherine Show are all held within about one month of each other. These events bring people from neighbouring communities to Barunga).

The results presented in Table 4 are explored in greater detail in relation to each study place throughout this chapter.

Lot #	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	TOTAL	AVERAGE
219	76	108	126	339	649	162.25
227	56	53	54	144	307	76.75
235	78	83	60	318	539	134.75
158	70	83	43	N/A	196	65.33
166	70	N/A	31	N/A	101	50.5
168	76	58	68	292	494	123.5
316	126	108	N/A	401	635	211.67
178	101	102	83	147	433	108.25
346	9	8	6	10	33	8.25
230	231	N/A	N/A	155	386	193
261	153	N/A	N/A	N/A	153	153
262	350	N/A	N/A	396	746	373
208	116	89	77	223	505	126.25
209	61	38	23	82	204	51
210	122	N/A	N/A	239	361	180.5
192	207	90	N/A	220	517	172.33
196	96	76	61	177	410	102.5
Total number of places surveyed	17	12	11	14	17	-
Total number of objects recorded	1,998	896	632	3,143	6,669	1667.25
Average	117.53	74.67	57.45	224.5	392.29	-

Table 4. Number of objects recorded at each of the 17 study places during each of the surveys.

Table 5 presents the number of objects recorded at each study place according to the three overarching themes in material culture. More specific results are presented throughout the chapter. Objects classified as 'discard' were predominantly plastic, aluminium, glass, and paper receptacles for beverages and food. Various cigarette butts, tobacco pouches, health and hygiene items (such as cotton wool buds) and discarded printed media (i.e. letters/brochures) were also included in this theme. As presented in Table 5, discarded objects account for the highest

number of material culture in Barunga and, therefore, is a key feature of the material landscape in Barunga. On the other hand, items classified as 'labour' were less common but still very much present, and these items typically included gardening and yard maintenance tools, vehicle parts, objects related to domestic labour (i.e. cooking and cleaning), and other similar items.

Meanwhile, recreation objects were the least common, and this category included things related to sport and entertainment, furniture, pets, and linen (which is often used by people wanting to keep warm outdoors at night). These results are explored in greater detail below—including in relation to the thirteen specific types of material culture as defined in Chapter Five. They are also discussed in relation to the theoretical model in Chapter Seven.

Lot #	Discard	Recreation	Labour	TOTAL
219	433	74	142	649
227	230	37	40	307
235	306	58	175	539
158	124	37	35	196
166	17	12	72	101
168	344	39	111	494
316	413	77	145	635
178	68	145	220	433
346	2	6	25	33
230	238	67	81	386
261	64	40	49	153
262	550	94	102	746
208	190	112	203	505
209	73	61	70	204
210	123	68	170	361
192	302	53	162	517
196	232	90	88	410
Total number of objects recorded	<u>3,709</u>	<u>1,070</u>	<u>1,890</u>	<u>6,669</u>
Average	<u>218.18</u>	<u>62.94</u>	<u>111.18</u>	<u>392.29</u>

Table 5. Number of objects recorded at each of the 17 study places according to material culture theme.

Table 6 presents the number of objects recorded of each type across all study places. Discarded objects, such as food and beverage containers, health and hygiene items, objects related to smoking and paper and plastic media accounted for over half of the dataset (56%; n=3,735). Objects related to recreation were the least common, at only 16% of the dataset (n=1,070). Objects categorised as labour accounted for 28% of the dataset (n=1,864). The results displayed below are presented in greater detail and in relation to each study place throughout this chapter. The raw data are presented in Appendix Seven, and the specific objects categorised as food and beverage are presented in Appendix Seven.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	592	230	131	1,065	<u>504.5</u>
	Food	265	84	74	552	<u>243.75</u>
	Health and hygiene	14	13	9	123	<u>39.75</u>
	Paper/plastic media	43	9	9	59	<u>30</u>
	Smoking	76	52	26	309	<u>115.75</u>
	Subtotal	990	388	249	2,108	<u>$n=3,735$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=933.75$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	139	88	73	92	<u>98</u>
	Linen	18	4	0	16	<u>9.5</u>
	Pets	12	6	6	20	<u>11</u>
	Sport and entertainment	171	61	58	306	<u>149</u>
	Subtotal	340	159	137	434	<u>$n=1,070$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=267.5$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	78	33	18	99	<u>57</u>
	Domestic objects	137	60	50	152	<u>99.75</u>
	Tools and equipment	431	244	165	334	<u>293.5</u>
	Whitegoods	22	12	13	16	<u>15.75</u>
	Subtotal	668	349	246	601	<u>$n=1,864$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=466$</u>
	TOTAL	1,998	896	632	3143	<u>$n=6,669$</u>

Table 6. Total number and average of objects recorded during each survey according to general object type.

The final element in the material culture data presented in this chapter are the results according to space. Each study place was divided into four survey units (or three, if the yard was smaller), and these results have provided some insight into the use of space in private yards in Barunga. It is difficult to synthesise the results here, as each yard is different—in terms of size, and also in terms of the shape and arrangement of the house and yard. Instead, these results are presented in much greater detail below, and a broader discussion on the implications is presented in Chapter Seven.

6.1.2 Graffiti

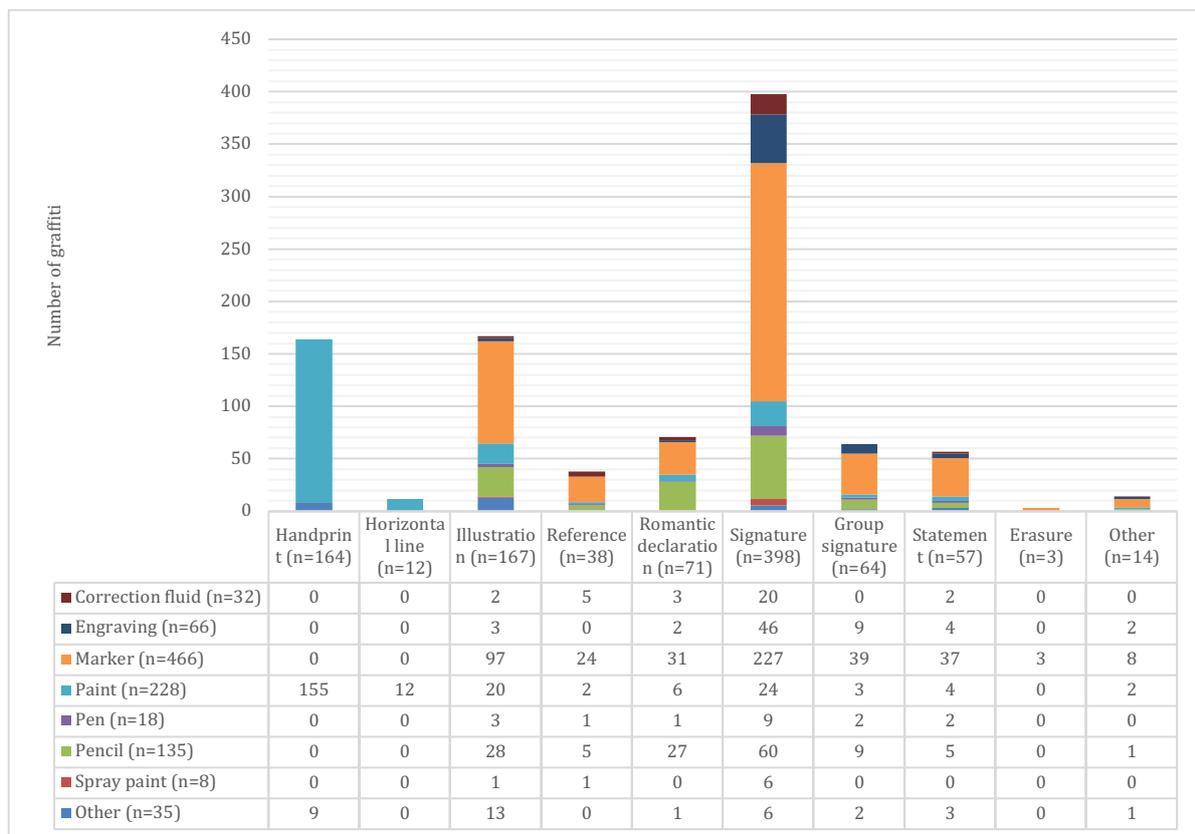


Figure 20. The number of each type of graffiti according to content and media (n=988).

Figure 20 presents the number of graffiti recorded at all 17 study places, according to content category and media (which were defined in Chapter Five). In total, 988 graffiti were recorded over the entire project and most of these were categorised as signatures, which indicates the role of graffiti as eternalising presence, and connecting to place—this is discussed in further detail throughout this chapter and in Chapter Seven. Illustrations and handprints were also a key feature in the graffiti recorded in Barunga, and some of these relate more clearly to traditional rock art practices than some of the textual graffiti. Horizontal lines, while not graffiti in the same sense as the rest of the examples here, are still a visual culture and thus are included here. The practice of painting these horizontal lines around a house stems from traditional funeral practices whereby a red line was painted around the home of a deceased person, in order to keep spirits away. Horizontal lines, then, are an example of a modern but traditional visual culture. The results also show that messaging between groups of people (i.e. group signatures and romantic declarations) was also an important motif in the production of graffiti, and in that sense, those graffiti relate to the significance of situating oneself within a network of kin relationships (following Nicholls 2000). Likewise, graffiti classified as ‘reference’ were those that referred to a person/group of people, or a place. Many of the references to people were to

African American urban music groups and individuals, as well as sports personalities (Australian Football League in particular). The references to places mostly concerned local or regional places within the Northern Territory (primarily other Aboriginal communities), as well as places associated with US urban music culture (e.g. Compton, California). These results indicate that graffiti is also a tool with which people establish themselves as associated with particular places, and within pop. cultural movements. Additionally, there were few statements (i.e. a message without a signature/reference to a place) written in graffiti, nor were there many examples of erasure (i.e. where the message of the underlying graffiti was scribbled out). Finally, those few graffiti classified as 'other' did not fit into the specific content categories, and these are discussed below.

Overwhelmingly, markers (n=466) and paint (n=228) were used in the production of graffiti. Relatively fewer were made with pencil (n=135), while hardly any were made by engraving into a surface, or with correction fluid. Pen and spray paint were rarely used, while those classified as 'other' above were made using primarily using chalk, crayons, stickers, and temporary tattoos. These results are explored further in Chapter Seven and the raw graffiti data are presented in Appendix Eight.

6.2 Old Crossing and Culture Park

6.2.1 Lot 219

6.2.1.1 Biography

Lot 219 (pictured in Figure 21) is located in an area of Barunga known as 'Old Crossing' and is located opposite Culture Park. The property was surveyed for material culture and graffiti four over a twelve-month period on the following dates:

- 26/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 14/07/2017 (dry season)

In order to understand the use of space at this property, the yard was divided into four survey units and a plan of Lot 219, which includes the survey unit boundaries, can be found in Figure 26.

At the time of recording, Lot 219 was occupied by a woman in her 60s, who lived with her adult daughter and teenage grandson. The woman has lived in this house since 1992 and at different times of the year her two older grandsons (late teens to early 20s) and four younger great-

grandchildren (all around ten years of age) live with her, but they mostly live in Jabiru. At other times of the year, depending on events in the community (e.g. the Barunga Festival, community meetings and funerals), people from other parts of the Northern Territory stay at this house. While the woman, her daughter and grandson are the primary residents, across a twelve-month period up to fifteen people may stay at this house for varying periods of time.



Figure 21. Building at Lot 219, featuring rear veranda. Perspective: north east. Date: 6 January 2017. Photograph: Antoinette Hennessy.

The house at Lot 219 is a freestanding building made from concrete blocks and sits at ground level (as opposed to being raised off the ground like some other houses in Barunga). The building is a rectangular shape that is painted dark blue, and there is a front and rear veranda that each extend the length of the front and rear sides of the house. The roof is made of corrugated iron and the laundry of this house is located outside, on the rear veranda.

The yard of the house is enclosed by a fence, which is of an older style (i.e. pre-dates the latest round of fencing in Barunga, c. 2012-2015). Older styles of fencing tend not to have a top rail for greater structural support as the newer ones do. As one of the aims of this research was to identify examples of traditional cultural practices, I was particularly interested in the presence of any funerary bough sheds (which are used to house the casket in the days leading up to a funeral). That said, no bough sheds were present at this property during any of the surveys. The

only direct neighbour to this property is at the side of the house, to the north. All other sections of the yard are visible from public land.

6.2.1.2 Material culture

Overview

Four surveys were conducted at Lot 219 and a total of 649 objects were recorded according to object type, as well as the survey unit in which they were found. These objects were categorised according to 13 general categories that related to various activities carried out in the yard. Table 7 presents the total count and average of each type of object recorded during the four surveys at Lot 219. In total, 649 objects were recorded. Seventy-six of these were recorded in October 2016, while slightly more were recorded in January (n=108) and April 2017 (n=126). A significantly higher number of objects were recorded in July 2017 (n=339). Overwhelmingly, objects relating to discard were the most frequently recorded types of material culture, averaging 108.25 objects per survey. Objects related to recreation (\bar{x} =18.5), and labour (\bar{x} =35.5) were recorded less frequently.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	17	21	40	121	<u>49.75</u>
	Food	11	5	21	66	<u>25.75</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	2	0	8	<u>2.5</u>
	Paper/plastic media	3	9	9	10	<u>7.75</u>
	Smoking	2	3	4	81	<u>22.5</u>
	Subtotal		33	40	74	286
Recreation	Furniture	15	9	17	10	<u>12.75</u>
	Linen	0	1	0	0	<u>0.25</u>
	Pets	0	2	0	2	<u>1</u>
	Sport and entertainment	5	4	0	9	<u>4.5</u>
	Subtotal		20	16	17	21
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	2	12	6	4	<u>6</u>
	Domestic objects	5	13	13	19	<u>12.5</u>
	Tools and equipment	15	25	14	8	<u>15.5</u>
	Whitegoods	1	2	2	1	<u>1.5</u>
	Subtotal		23	52	33	34
	TOTAL	76	108	126	339	<u>n=649</u>

Table 7. Number and average of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 219 according to general object type.

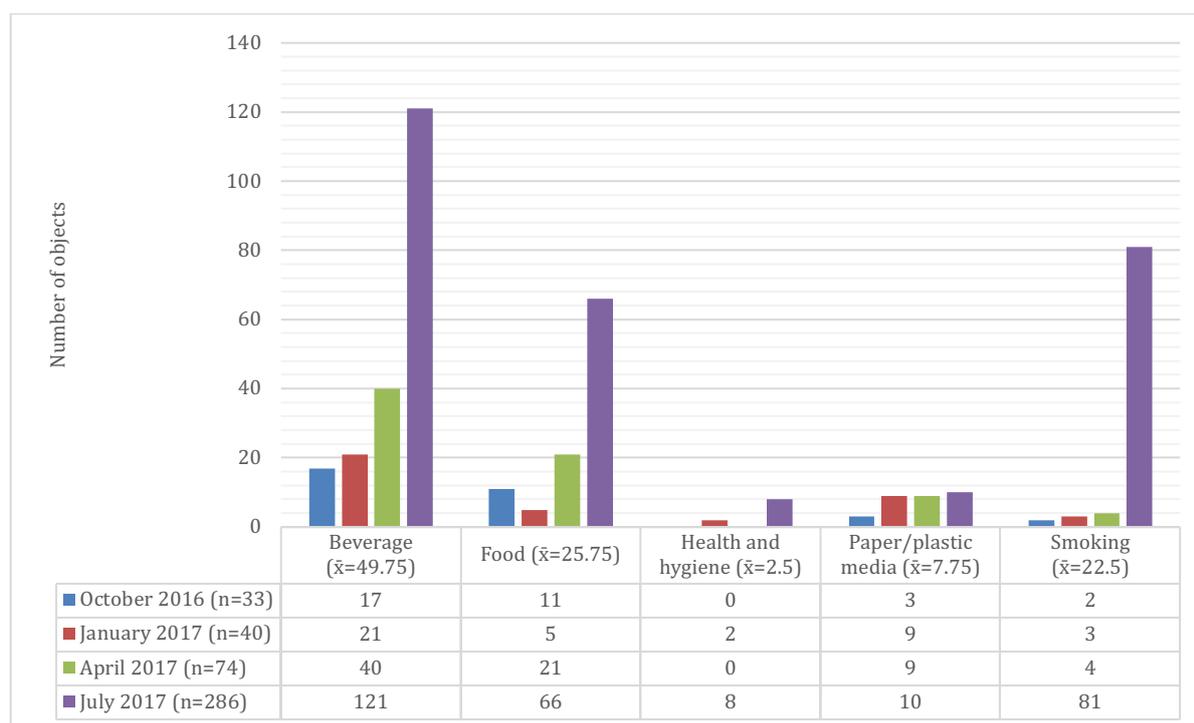
Discard at Lot 219

Figure 22. Number of material culture at Lot 219 classified as discard, according to general type category.

Items classified as discard were the most frequently recorded items at Lot 219, averaging 108.25 per survey. These objects were categorised into four general types according to function (Figure 22). These assemblages consisted of items that might generally be considered litter. For example, items related to the consumption of beverages (such as bottles, bottle caps, labels, aluminium cans, ring pulls, drinking straws, and tea bags) were recorded at an average of 49.75 per survey, though the total count increased steadily over the four surveys. Food-related items were recorded at a rate of 25.75 per survey, following the same trend as beverages. Items related to smoking were relatively uncommon until the final survey, where 81 smoking items were recorded. It is likely this reflects new visitors to the house who smoke. Finally, health and hygiene objects were uncommon at Lot 219 during all four surveys, as were paper and plastic media. The majority of paper and plastic media were pre-paid electricity meter cards, which are used to pay for electricity to the house (see Figure 23).



Figure 23. A pre-paid electricity card. Residents of housing commission homes must pre-pay electricity prior to use. The idea behind this initiative is that people in remote communities will not pay post-paid electricity accounts. Photograph: Jordan Ralph, January 2017.

Recreation at Lot 219

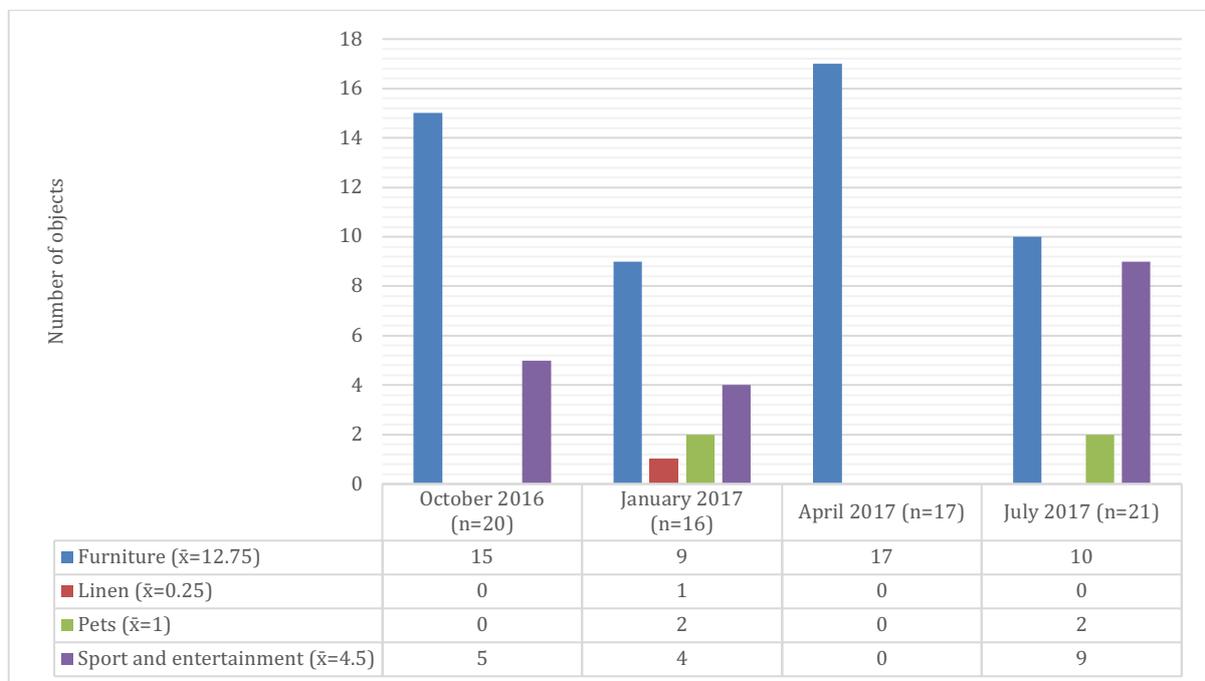


Figure 24. Number of material culture at Lot 219 classified as recreation, according to general object category.

Objects categorised as recreation averaged 18.5 objects per survey. Figure 24 presents the number of each type of object that was recorded during each survey. Furniture was the most frequently recorded type of object relating to outdoor recreations, averaging 12.75 items per survey. Predominantly, these items included various chairs and tables. Sport and entertainment objects were relatively infrequent at Lot 219 (\bar{x} =4.5), and the items that were present included toys, games, a basketball, playing cards, and cut logs of wood which were piled for burning. Items related to pets (\bar{x} =1) and printed media (\bar{x} =1.5) were also infrequent at Lot 219. Details of the specific types of items recorded under this category can be found in Appendix Seven.

Labour at Lot 219

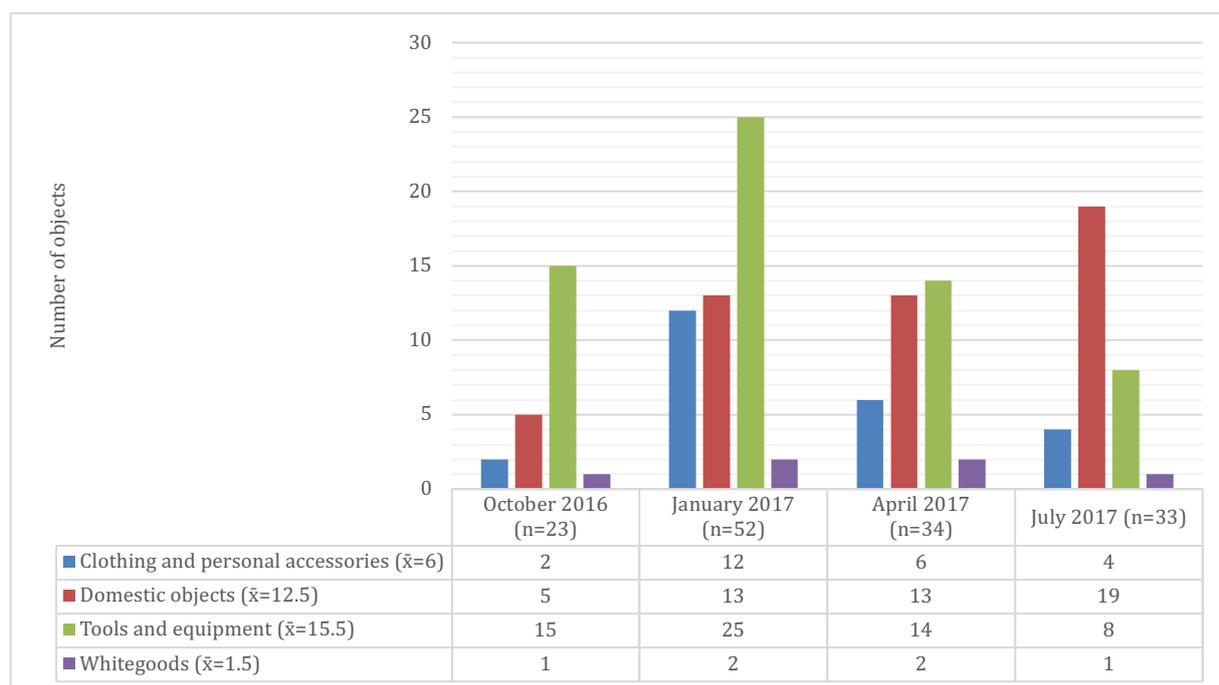


Figure 25. Number of material culture at Lot 219 classified as domestic labour according to general object category.

Material culture that was classified as domestic labour included clothing and personal accessories, domestic objects and tools and equipment. These items averaged 35.5 items per survey, a total of 142. Figure 25 presents these results according to the categories. Tools and equipment were the most frequently recorded type of material culture under this theme, averaging 12.5 items per survey. Domestic objects also featured regularly in the Lot 219 material assemblage, averaged as 12.5 items per survey. Clothing and personal accessories were present (\bar{x} =6), though not as regularly as the other types of material culture. A washing machine was present on the back veranda (where the laundry is located) during each of the surveys, while a refrigerator was present on the back veranda in both January and July 2017. These are categorised as whitegoods above.

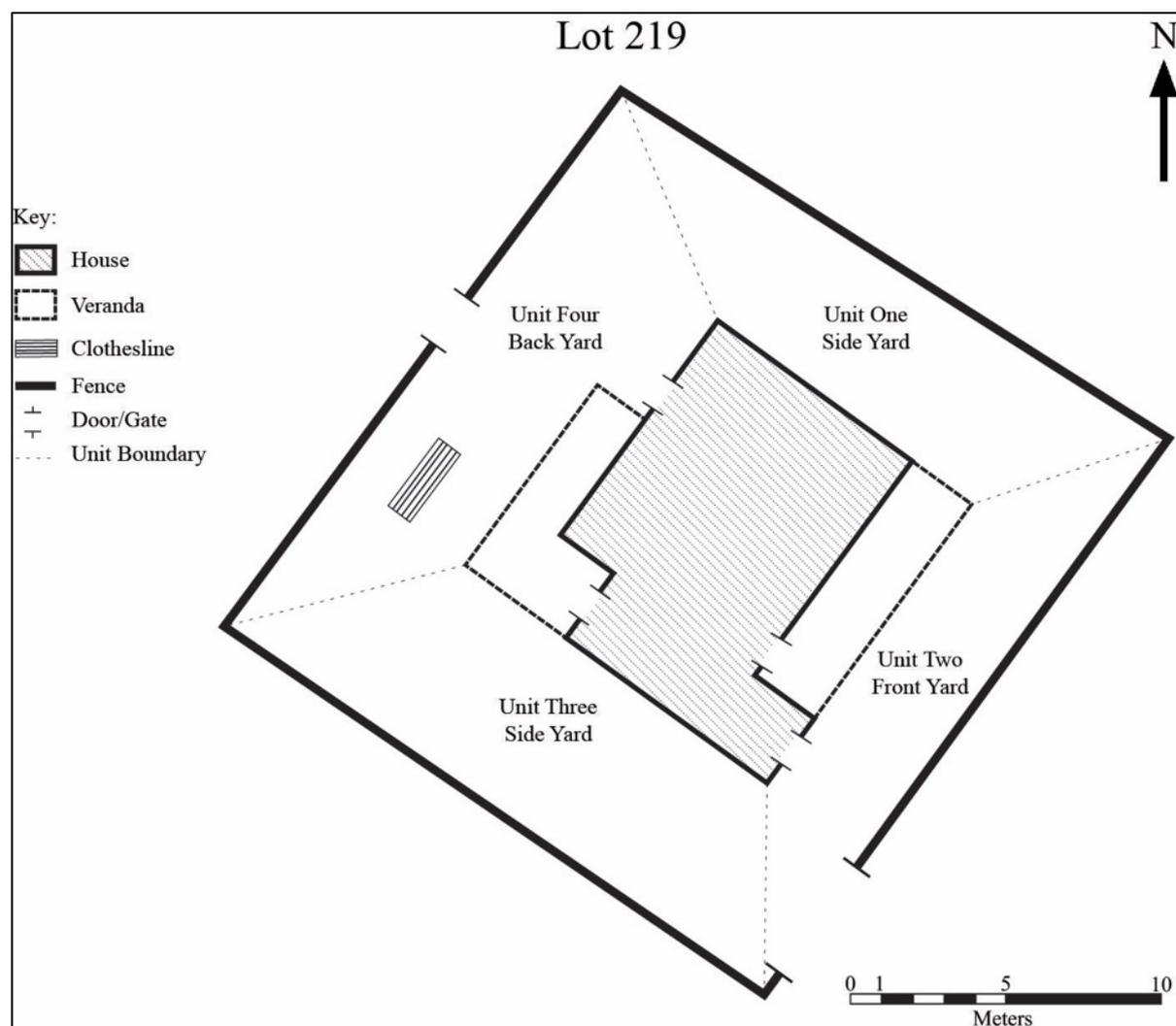
Results according to space

Figure 26. Plan of Lot 219 showing the four survey units. The veranda at the front of the property is in survey unit two, while the veranda at the rear of the property is part of unit four.

The yard at Lot 219 was divided into four survey units in order to understand the use of space within the yard. Table 8 displays the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, as well as how this differed from survey to survey. These results indicate that units two and four were the areas of primary activity at this premises as they tended to feature more material culture than others, at an average of 40.25 and 75.75 per survey respectively. This is in contrast to areas of lower activity, such as units one (\bar{x} =16.75) and three (\bar{x} =29.5). Unit two is the most publicly conspicuous area of the yard, while unit four is the most hidden.

Survey	Unit one (side yard, north)	Unit two (front yard, east)	Unit three (side yard, south)	Unit four (back yard, west)	TOTAL
October 2016	2	29	15	30	76
January 2017	9	23	11	65	108
April 2017	14	21	19	71	125
July 2017	42	88	73	137	340
<i>Average</i>	<i>16.75</i>	<i>40.25</i>	<i>29.5</i>	<i>75.75</i>	<i>649</i>

Table 8. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

Figure 27 presents the average number of objects of each type according to the survey unit in which they were found. Unit two is the front yard of the property. This area was identified as one of the primary activity areas. The types of material culture that were found in unit three suggest it is a combined social and labour space. For example, beverage containers and related paraphernalia were recorded at an average of 15.75 items per survey, while food-related items ($\bar{x}=5.25$), smoking items ($\bar{x}=4.5$), furniture ($\bar{x}=2.25$), and tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=5.5$) also tended to be present in this survey unit.

Unit four, the backyard, was another area of primary activity—perhaps due to the fact it is protected from the afternoon sun. The types of material culture found in unit seven indicate this area is primarily a social area, though some items related to domestic labour were also found here regularly. The higher frequencies of items related to discard (i.e. beverage ($\bar{x}=22.25$), food ($\bar{x}=8.25$), and smoking ($\bar{x}=12.25$)), as well as those related to outdoor recreation (e.g. furniture ($\bar{x}=9$)) reinforce that conclusion. Unit four also contains the outdoor laundry, which can explain the high frequencies of items related to labour found here (e.g. clothing and personal accessories ($\bar{x}=4$), domestic objects ($\bar{x}=7.75$), and tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=6.25$)).

Unit one is located along the northern boundary of the yard, where the fence to the neighbour's house is situated. This unit featured low numbers of material culture. This indicates this part of the yard is not used as much as the eastern and western areas of the yard. Finally, unit three is the southern area of the yard and tended to feature slightly more material culture than the northern areas, though far less than units two and four. The southern areas of the yard are the main access to and from the property, so the material signature here might be a result of people discarding objects after use, while moving into and out of the property.

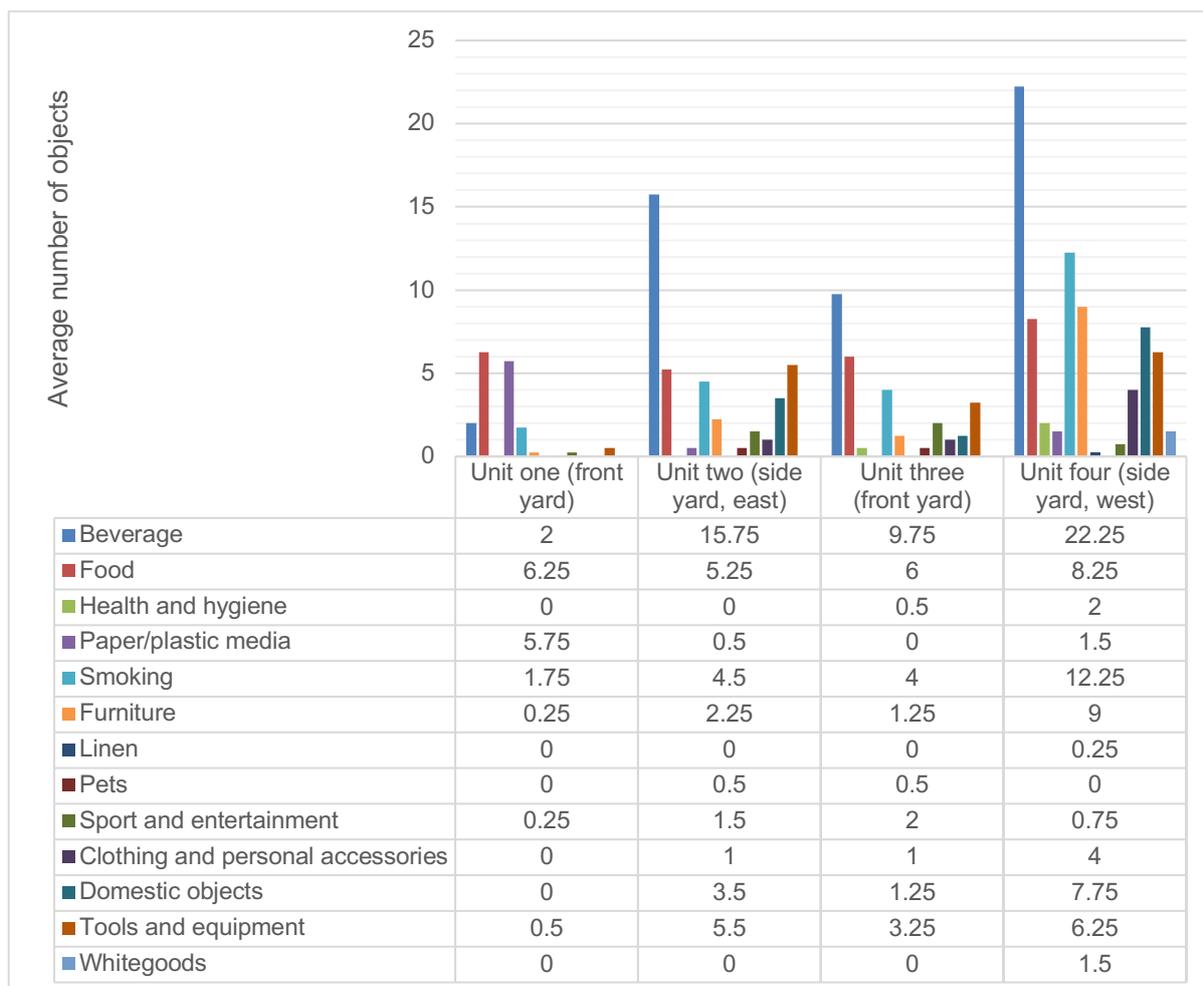


Figure 27. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

6.2.1.3 Graffiti

The results of the graffiti survey at Lot 219 are presented below, in terms of the count, content, and media used in its production. Lot 219 featured 293 graffiti, which were produced at a rate of between 11 and 38 every three months. Of the 293 graffiti recorded at Lot 219, 215 were pre-existing, while a further 38 were produced by January 2017; 11 by April 2017; and 29 by July 2017.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	0	215	215
2. January 2017	215	38	253
3. April 2017	253	11	264
4. July 2017	264	29	293

Table 9. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 219.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 219

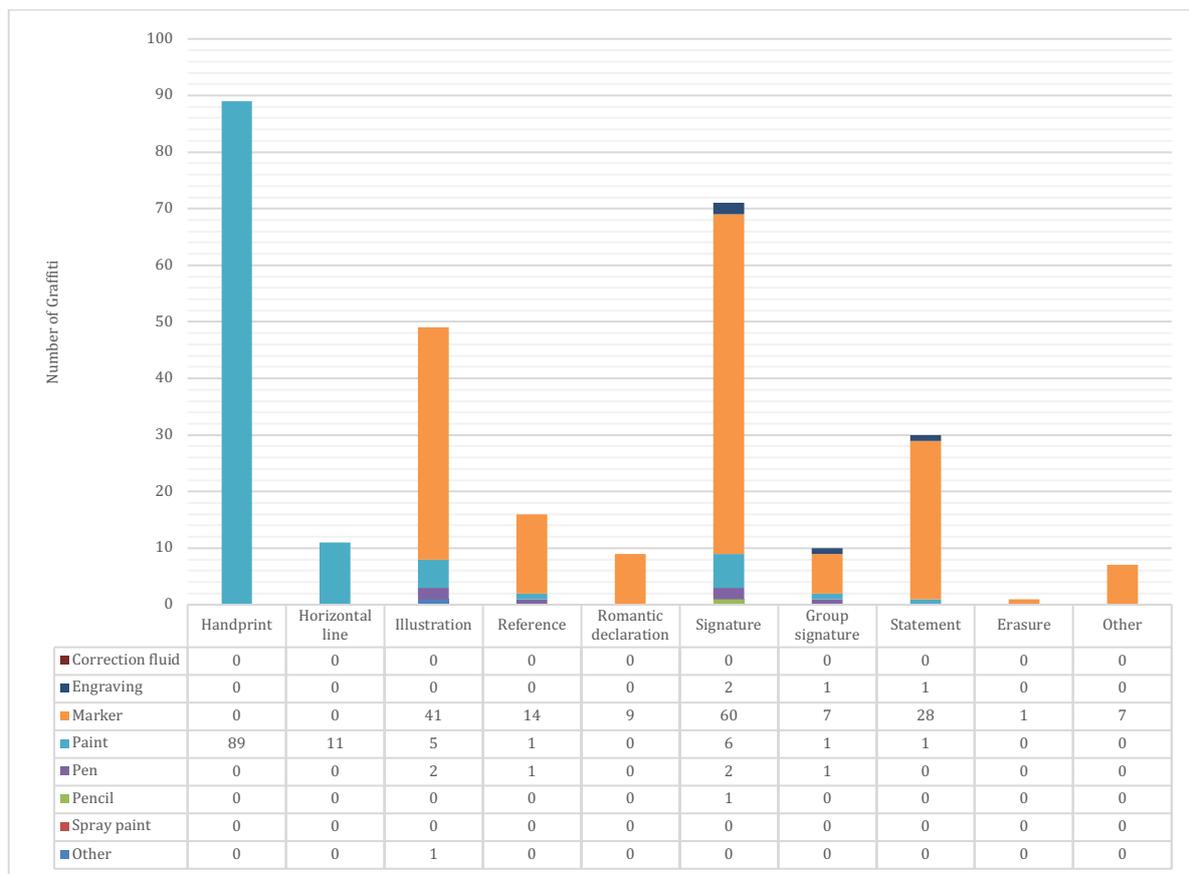


Figure 28. Graffiti at Lot 219 according to primary content type and media.

Handprints were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 219, with 89 instances recorded over the four surveys. The handprints were predominantly made with adult hands (as indicated by the size of the handprints) (n=79); however, a number of child-sized handprints were also recorded (n=10). Some of these were clearly sets of hands (i.e. left and right) (n=17), though the majority were of a single hand (where right handprints were the majority (n=40) over left handprints (n=32)). All handprints found at Lot 219 were made with paint.

Signatures were the next most common type of graffiti (n=71). Signatures were produced in a variety of forms, which are presented in Table 10. These included initials (n=25), aliases (n=16), first names (n=13), surnames (n=8) and full names (n=8). One signature graffito featured the skin name of an individual, demonstrating that this is a key aspect of the individual’s identity. Some of the signatures also featured references to places (n=2) (which were Barunga, Northern Territory and Bulman), while others featured affirmations such as ‘was here’ (n=2), and some also provided a date (n=5), which were all between 2015 and 2017. Signatures were predominantly made using markers (n=60), though paint (n=6), pens (n=2), and pencils (n=1) were also used. The final two graffiti were engraved.

Secondary type	Example	Total (n=71)
Skin name	Balang Boy	1
Initials	KAMB	25
First name	Dexter	13
Surname	S. Martin	8
Full name	Susans Suthlee	8
Alias	YELLA BOY	16

Table 10. Number of signature graffiti according to secondary type.

Illustrations were common features of the Lot 219 graffiti gallery (n=49), and these came in a range of different forms. The specific details on illustrations can be found in Appendix Eight. Most illustrations were drawn using marker (n=41), while paint also tended to be used (n=5). Two illustrations were made with a pen, while the final illustration was a sticker.

Statements also featured regularly in the graffiti of Lot 219 (n=30) and some of these were quite aggressive in tone (n=3), for example:

FUCK YOU MOB

One example was self-censored:

M**R***K**

Other statements featured innuendo (n=7), for example:

Big hole [erased] 4 sux ha ha

The above is essentially saying the person whose name has been erased is promiscuous and available for oral sex. Other statements were more innocuous and referred to particular places within Barunga, such as Southside and Riverside. One final statement read:

BALA...

This is a Kriol word, that is often used to express sympathy in another's situation. Most statements were produced using a marker (n=28), while paint was used in one instance, and one statement was engraved.

Reference graffiti were also popular at Lot 219 (n=16). These references largely concerned popular culture. Many US hip-hop and rap artists feature in the Lot 219 graffiti (n=7). Furthermore, references to sport, sporting codes and teams were also common (n=3), while references to places—Jabiru in particular—were repeated in the graffiti of Lot 219 (n=6). Reference graffiti were mostly made with markers (n=14), though paint (n=1) and pen (n=1) were also used.

Graffiti was used also as a medium to eternalise associations between people at Lot 219, as group signatures (n=10) and romantic declarations (n=9) tended to be a feature of this gallery. Group signatures tended to be lists of initials, and these tend to be about forming familial bonds, for example:

**RIVERSIDE
BOYZ
DWAYN M
SHANE R.M.
KEENAN M
ONLY US
3BROTHERS**

Group signatures tend to feature members of one gender at a time. Romantic declarations on the other hand, were about establishing a romantic link between two people of opposite genders:

SJM 4 AaO only us 2 for ever

All romantic declarations were made using markers, while group signatures were also made with engraving (n=1), paint (n=1) and pen (n=1) as well as with markers (n=7).

Horizontal lines were painted around the exterior wall of the house at Lot 219. These were made with red paint and were faded in many locations. They were all at waist height, and in total, eleven horizontal lines were recorded. When they were made, it is likely that these lines were in fact one continuous line, which was painted around the house. It was a common practice in Barunga that after a person passed away, a red line is painted around that person's house (sometimes with ochre, but also with red paint), and it is left unoccupied for a period of time. The eleven instances of horizontal lines could in fact be an extant example of this practice.

Finally, seven graffiti in the gallery at Lot 219 were classified as 'other'. These tended to be numbers, simple mathematic equations and representations of the alphabet, for example:

39999999 [sinuous line]

and:

2 + 8 = 10

These examples indicate that one of the functions of graffiti in Barunga is in the cognitive development of children. It is clear that the production of visual culture is an important way in which children learn to navigate the world around them. One final example of graffiti classified as 'other' is a hand stencil, where a child has used a marker to draw an outline of their hand. All graffiti classified as 'other' was produced with markers.

6.2.2 Lot 227

6.2.2.1 Biography

Lot 227 is also located near Old Crossing and Culture Park. Lot 227 (Figure 29) is occupied by a young husband and wife who are in their early 40s and late 30s, respectively, and who have two infant children. They also have two pet dogs. The house is owned by the Territory Housing Commission. It is painted light blue and is raised on stilts with a front and rear door accessible by stairs. The walls are made of iron and there are a number of glass louvre windows around the house. Adjoining the house is a storage area, enclosed by wire mesh and covered with a corrugated iron roof. The family use this to store things that are not currently in use. As with other internal areas of other properties in Barunga, the storage shed at this place was not surveyed.



Figure 29. Front of Lot 227, including house, storage area, and bough shed. Perspective: Southeast. Date: 25/10/2016. Photograph: Jordan Ralph.

There are three structures around the yard of the house: a fence, a clothesline and a bough shed. Of note are the style of fence, which lacks a top railing, indicating it was erected earlier than the more recent round of fence building in Barunga (c. 2012-2015).

The bough shed (Figure 30) was constructed in 2015 for the funeral of the male resident's father. It consists of four posts, with four beams and a wire mesh roof. It is strengthened by

fencing wire at the corners, and dry leaves from an ironbark tree are scattered on top of the wire mesh roof. There is another post along the southern side of the bough shed, that would have acted as a doorway when the structure was wrapped in cloth during the funeral.



Figure 30. Bough shed at Lot 227, constructed in 2015. Perspective: Northwest. Date: 25/10/2016. Photograph: Jordan Ralph.

The yard of this property was surveyed four times during the field work component of this research on the following dates:

- 25/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season).
- 18/01/2017 (wet season).
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons).
- 14/07/2017 (dry season).

I divided the yard of Lot 227 into four survey units, in order to understand the different uses of space within the yard. A plan of Lot 227 can be found in Figure 34.

6.2.2.2 Material culture

Overview

Lot 227 was surveyed four times between October 2016 and July 2017, and a total of 307 objects were recorded (see Table 11). These objects were categorised according to thirteen general object types, which can be used to understand the role of material culture at this

property. The objects categorised into the thirteen categories fit underneath the three overarching themes of Barunga material culture, discard (where an average of 57.5 objects were recorded in each of the surveys); recreation ($\bar{x}=9.25$); and labour ($\bar{x}=10$). These results are explored in greater detail below, before they are discussed according to space.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	40	32	18	49	<u>34.75</u>
	Food	2	4	6	20	<u>8</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	2	0	32	<u>8.5</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	1	<u>0.25</u>
	Smoking	0	0	9	15	<u>6</u>
	Subtotal		42	38	33	117
Recreation	Furniture	2	5	0	4	<u>2.75</u>
	Linen	0	0	0	2	<u>0.5</u>
	Pets	1	0	0	1	<u>0.5</u>
	Sport and entertainment	3	0	11	8	<u>5.5</u>
	Subtotal		6	5	11	15
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	2	0	0	2	<u>1</u>
	Domestic objects	0	2	1	1	<u>1</u>
	Tools and equipment	5	7	8	9	<u>7.25</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	1	0	<u>0.75</u>
	Subtotal		8	10	10	12
TOTAL		56	53	54	144	<u>307</u>

Table 11. Number and average of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 227 according to general object type.

Table 11 also presents the number of objects found at Lot 227 across time. It is evident that there was a variation in activity at this property from season to season, as indicated by the number of material culture. For example, there were lower numbers of material culture in October 2016 ($n=56$), January 2017 ($n=53$), and April 2017 ($n=54$), when compared to July 2017 ($n=144$). These results indicate that the yard of this property was used more in the drier, cooler months around July, rather than the warmer months over the wet season (October to February). Moreover, the higher number of material culture in July is a likely consequence of the increase in visitors from other communities at that time, owing to events such as the Barunga Festival.

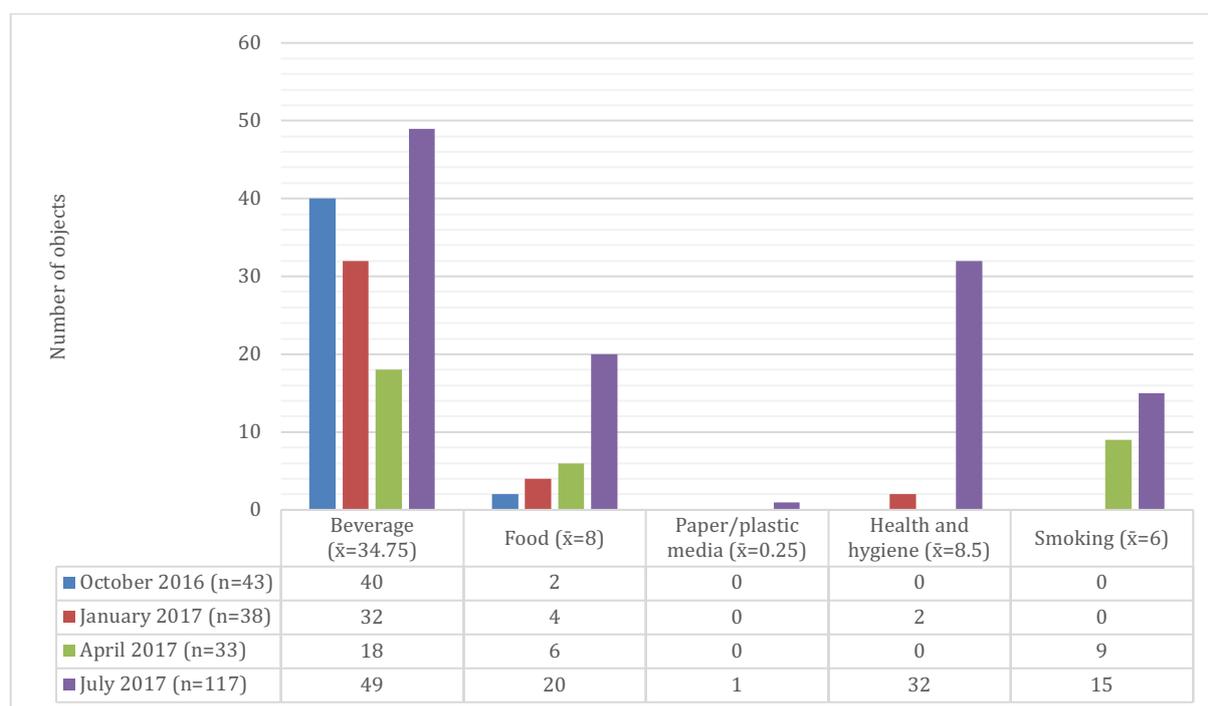
Discard at Lot 227

Figure 31. Number of material culture at Lot 227 classified as discard, according to general type category.

The most common type of material culture at Lot 227 was those that fit under the discard theme. These included objects related to food and beverage consumption, as well as health and hygiene and objects related to smoking. Collectively, these objects were common in October 2016 (n=43), January (n=38) and April 2017 (n=33), though in July 2017, they were even more ubiquitous (n=117).

Beverage containers were the most common type of discard material culture at Lot 227, averaging 34.75 items per survey. The majority of beverage items were used and discarded tea bags (n=91). The remaining 48 objects categorised as beverage were plastic bottle caps (n=23); plastic bottles (n=2); bottle labels (n=1); aluminium cans (n=2); ring pulls (n=15); cartons (n=2); and drinking straws (n=3).

Objects related to health and hygiene were the next most frequently discarded type of material culture at Lot 227, averaging 8.5 items per survey. The majority of these, however, were discarded in July 2017 (n=32). All objects categorised as health and hygiene were used cotton wool buds.

Objects related to the consumption of food were also frequently discarded at Lot 227, as an average of 8 items were recorded per survey. In terms of the total count, the number of food objects steadily increased in presence from October through to July. Specific objects included in

this material culture type are various food containers, bread bags, foil wrappers, and various ‘junk’ food wrappers.

Objects related to smoking were recorded relatively infrequently at Lot 227, at a rate of six items per survey. No smoking-related items were recorded in either of the October or January surveys, though nine were recorded in April, while a further 15 were recorded in July 2017. This indicates that someone who smokes has visited the premises in those periods. The majority of these items were cigarette butts, empty tobacco pouches, and empty cigarette paper packets.

Finally, only one instance of printed media was recorded at Lot 227, and this was in July 2017. This printed media was an information card from the Fred Hollows Foundation, which was likely received from a stall at the Barunga Festival and discarded in the yard at Lot 227 sometime afterwards.

Recreation at Lot 227

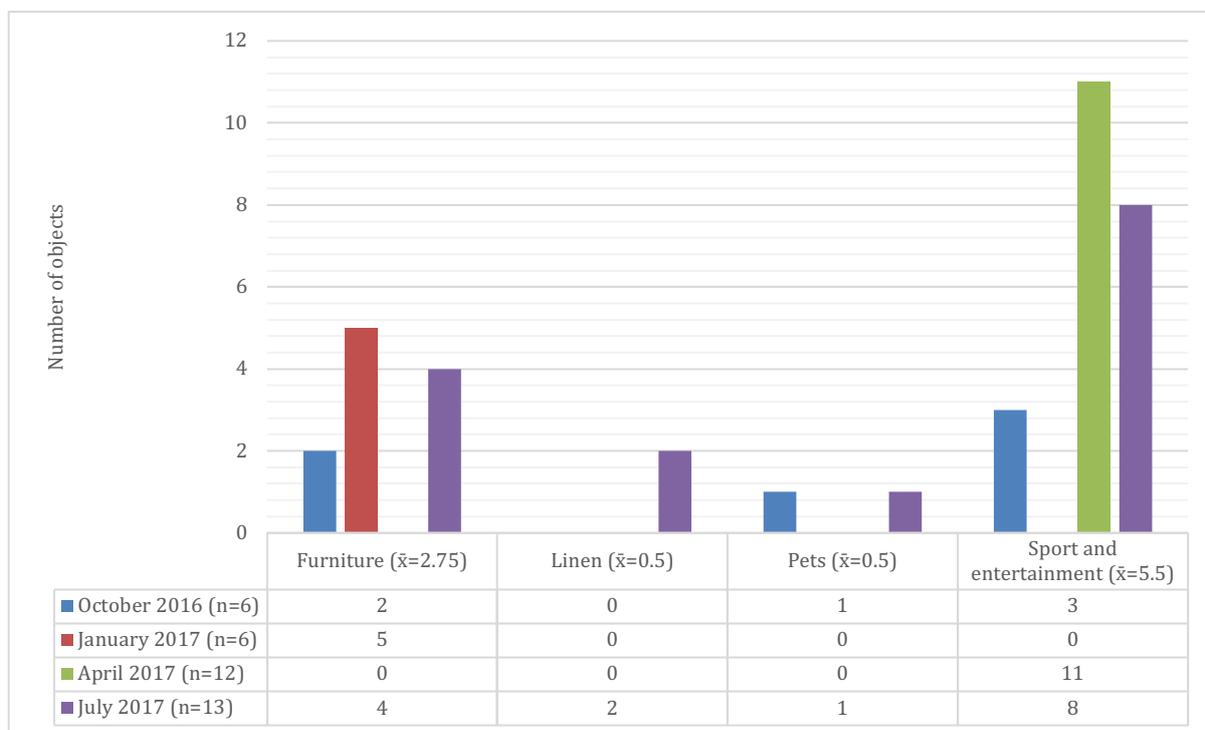


Figure 32. Number of material culture at Lot 227 classified as outdoor recreation, according to general object category.

Material culture classified as outdoor recreation averaged 9.75 items per survey. Sport and entertainment objects were the most frequently recorded types of material culture under this theme, at an average of 5.5 items per survey (a total of 22). The number of sport and entertainment items varied from season to season, with few items recorded in October 2016 (n=3), none in January 2017, before increasing significantly in both April (n=11) and July 2017

(n=8). Specific items in this collection of objects included toys, games, balloons, various balls, playing cards, a trampoline, and lengths of wood that have been piled for burning at a later date.

Furniture and whitegoods were another common type of material culture under this theme, as an average of 3.5 items were recorded each survey. Instances of furniture varied over the year, and were mostly plastic chairs, a steel drum that was being used as a fire pit, and a refrigerator, which was out of service and laying on the ground for the entirety of the survey.

Instances of pet-related objects were relatively uncommon, at an average of 0.5 items per survey. Both of these items were the leg bones of either cattle or buffalo, which had been given to the two dogs who live at the property. Finally, only two instances of linen were recorded at Lot 227. Both of these were towels, which were hanging on the rear staircase.

Labour at Lot 227

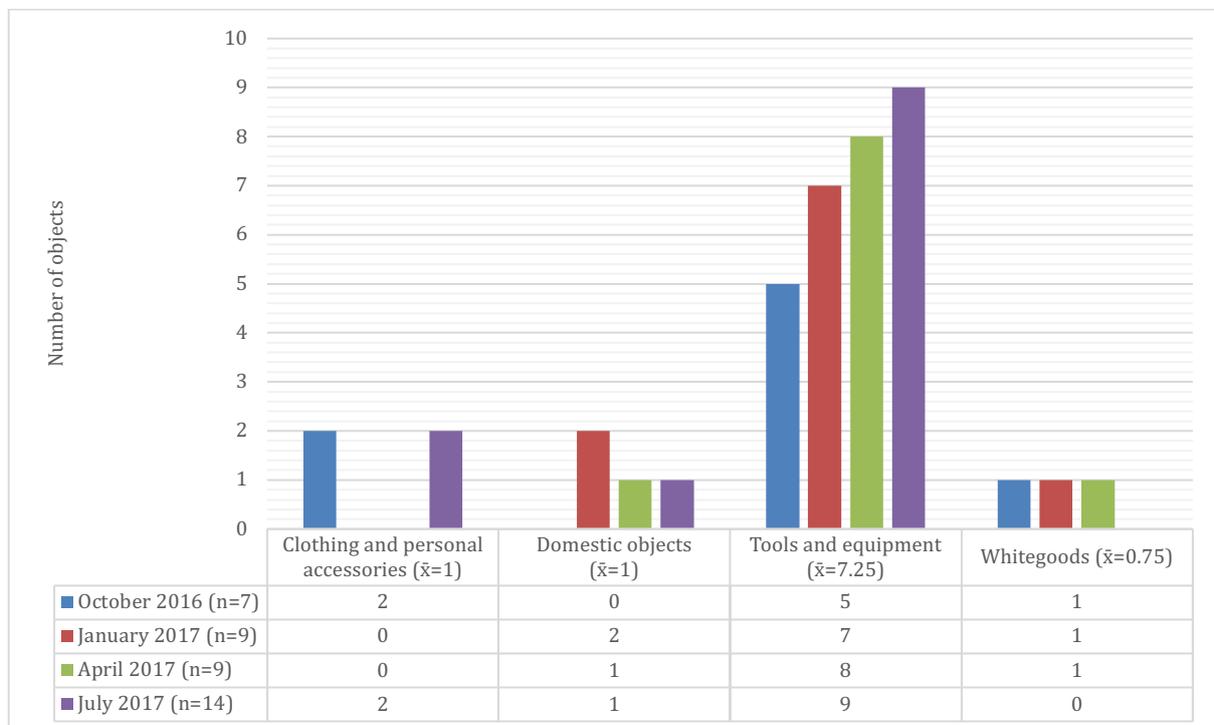


Figure 33. Number of material culture at Lot 227 classified as domestic labour according to general object category.

Material culture that represents labour was recorded at Lot 227 at an average of 9.75 items per survey. Predominantly, tools and equipment were the most frequently recorded type of material culture under this theme, as an average of 7.25 items were recorded during each of the surveys. The number of tools and equipment varied between five and eight instances over the twelve-month period, and objects such as gardening tools, rubbish bins, storage containers, batteries, and a mop were among the assemblage of tools and equipment.

Domestic objects also featured in the material assemblage of Lot 227, though relatively infrequently ($\bar{x}=1$). No instances of domestic objects were recorded in October 2016, while two domestic objects were recorded in January, and one in each of April, and July 2017. Three of these items were reusable eating utensils, and an oven tray, while the remaining one was a set of artificial flowers.

Clothing and personal accessories were also infrequently recorded at Lot 227 ($\bar{x}=1$) and those items that were recorded were present in October and July. Specific objects in this category include a football shoe, a child’s jacket, a shirt, and a pacifier.

Results according to space at Lot 227

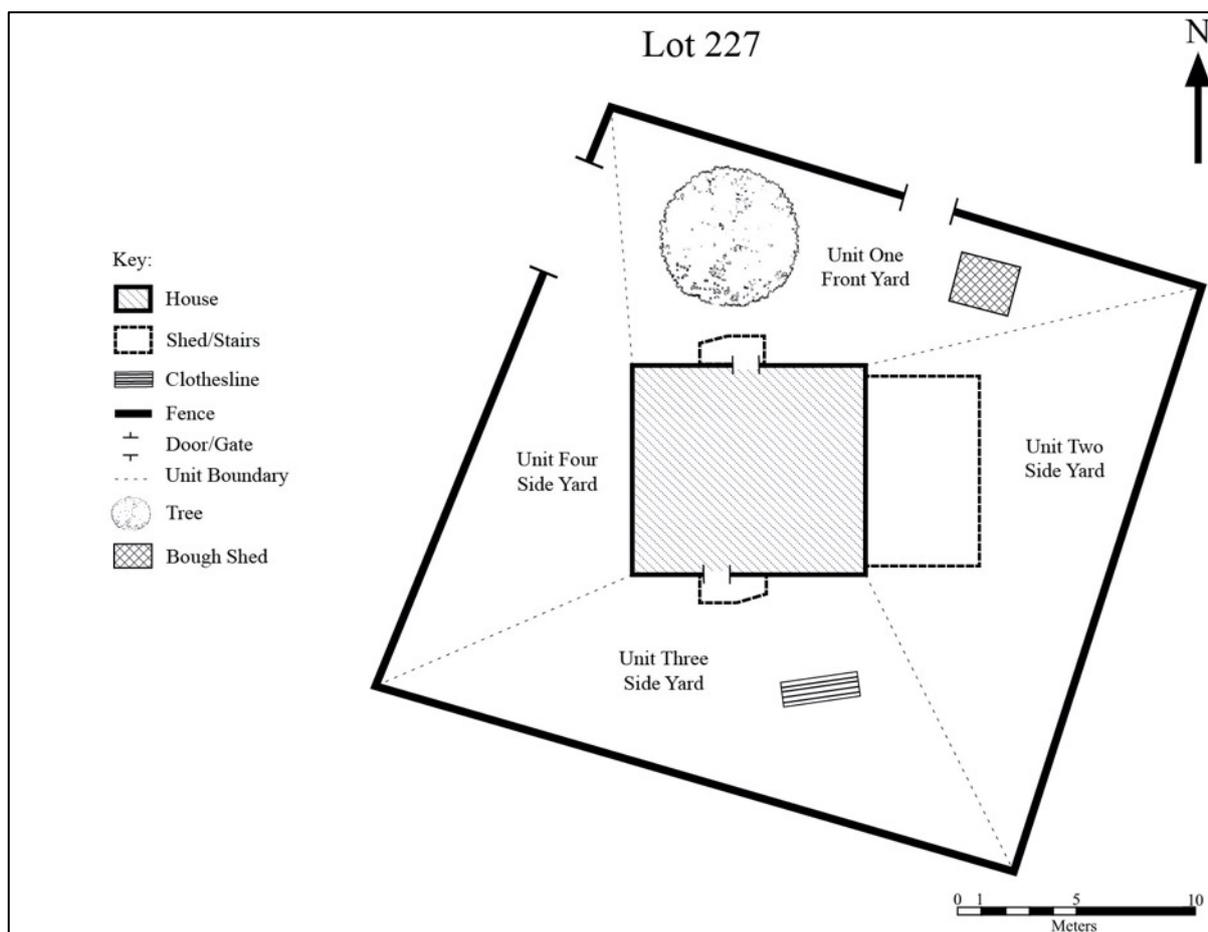


Figure 34. Plan of Lot 227 showing the four survey units.

There are particular areas of intensive activity at Lot 227, as demonstrated by the number of objects found in each of the four survey units (see Figure 33 and Table 12). Unit one, the front yard, is the clear focal point of activity at this property, as an average of 51.75 objects were found in this area during each of the surveys. The back yard of the property, unit three, was the next most populous area, though it featured significantly fewer objects ($\bar{x}=14$) than unit one.

The side yards, units two and four, featured fewer material culture (\bar{x} =6.25 and 4.75, respectively). Unit one is the main access to the property, and it is also the most publicly conspicuous area of the yard. In addition, it is furthest from the closest neighbouring property and the tree located in this area provides shade in the afternoon.

Survey	Front yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (east) Unit two	Back yard (south) Unit three	Side yard (west) Unit four
October 2016	46	1	5	4
January 2017	50	3	0	0
April 2017	24	10	16	4
July 2017	87	11	35	11
Average	51.75	6.25	14	4.75

Table 12. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

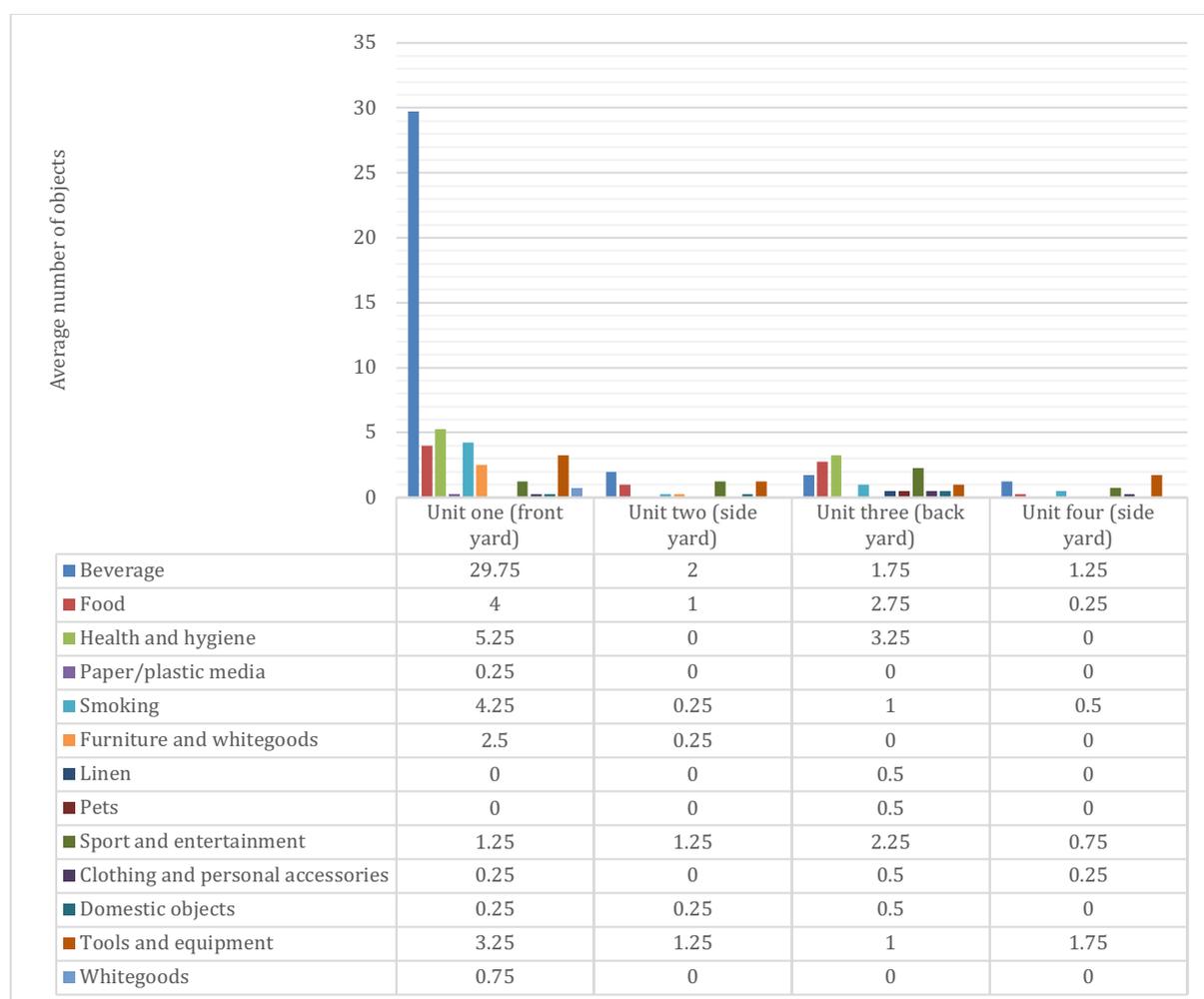


Figure 35. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

Figure 35 presents the spatial results of the four surveys at Lot 227 according to general type. Unit one, the front yard, is the most publicly conspicuous area of the Lot 227 yard. It was

identified as the primary outside activity area of this property, and the data presented in Figure 35 highlights the particular activities that occurred there. For example, the discard of food and drinks was common in this area, as an average of 29.75 beverage objects and four food objects were found in this area. Moreover, health and hygiene items—which were mostly cotton wool buds—were also a common feature ($\bar{x}=5.25$), as were objects related to smoking ($\bar{x}=4.25$). Objects that fit under the discard theme were relatively uncommon in the other three survey units. Moreover, the higher frequency of objects related to outdoor recreation were slightly more common in the front yard than in other areas of the property, as were objects related to domestic labour. The blend of different types of material culture in the front yard, from discard, to outdoor recreation and domestic labour, indicate that this is the preferred area of activity for a range of tasks, which includes both labour and social activities. In comparison, the side yards, units two and four, tended to feature low numbers of material culture, which were limited to such types as food and beverages, sport and entertainment, and tools and equipment.

6.2.2.3 *Graffiti*

The results of the graffiti survey at Lot 227 are presented below, in terms of both the number of graffiti recorded during each survey, as well as the graffiti content and media. Six graffiti were recorded at Lot 227, and four of these predate the project, as they were recorded in October 2016. Two additional graffiti were recorded in July 2017. The rate of production of graffiti at this property is low, at two per year.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	N/A	4	4
2. January 2017	4	0	4
3. April 2017	4	0	4
4. July 2017	4	2	6

Table 13. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 227.

Results according to graffiti content and media

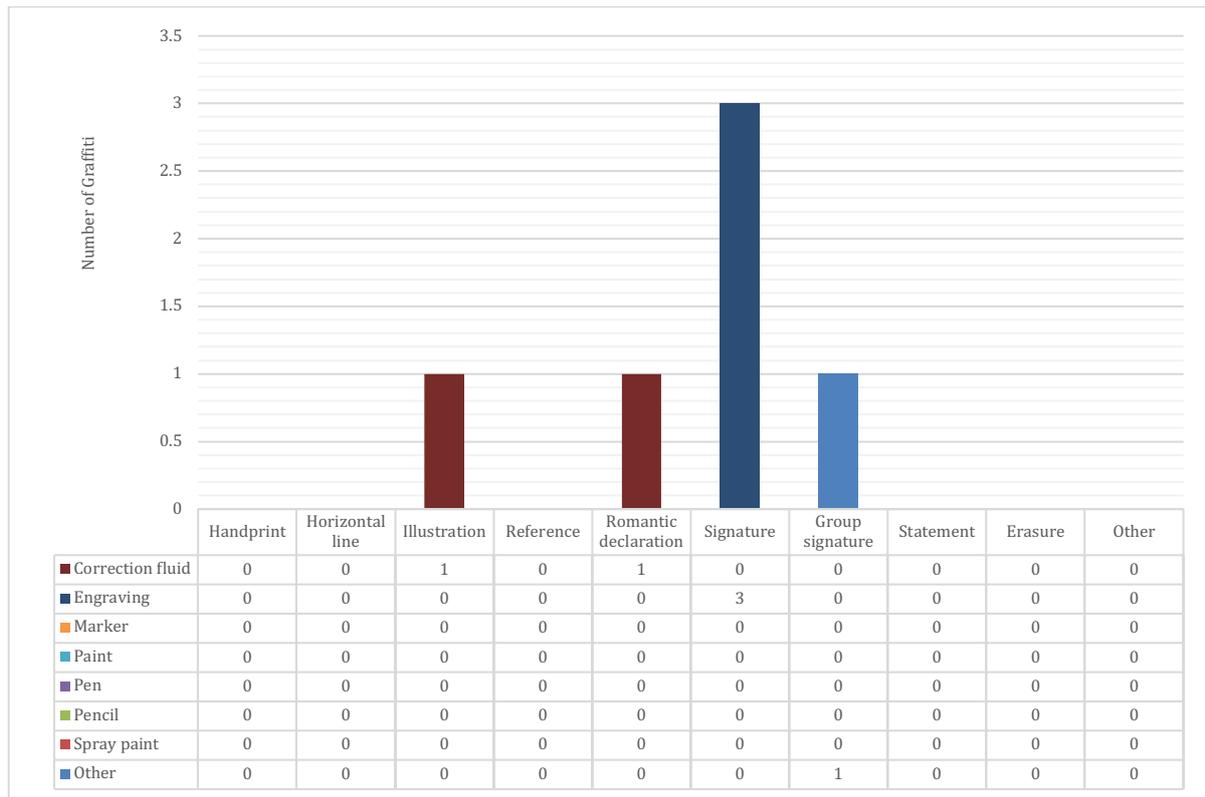


Figure 36. Graffiti at Lot 227 according to primary content type and media.

Figure 36 presents the results of the graffiti survey according to content and media. Signatures were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 227 (n=3). Each of these were etched into the concrete surface of the rear storage unit (presumably when the concrete was wet) and featured the names of the graffiti writers, as well as a date:

Richard Murrungun 1992

Joey 1992

Wayne 1992

One of the graffiti at Lot 227 was an illustration of a love heart with an arrow through it, and there was also a romantic declaration (determined as such as it was written inside a drawing of a love heart):

**JJF
SEMD**

The above graffiti was written using correction fluid. The final graffiti at Lot 227 was a group signature that read:

TJLF

**JRM
LCF
LCF**

This graffiti features the initials of the four residents of the household, as 'TJLF' and 'JRM' are the initials of the husband and wife, respectively, while 'LCF' and 'LCF' are the initials of their infant daughter and son. This group signature was made by writing into the chalky build-up on the electricity meter box (presumably with a finger), which is attached to the house.

6.2.3 Lot 235

6.2.3.1 Biography



Figure 37. The house and yard at Lot 235. (L-R) Jocelyn McCartney, Margaret Coleman, Nell Brown, and Tyrell Fredericks. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, December 2016.

Lot 235 (pictured in Figure 37) is also located near Culture Park in Barunga. Three older women live at this property with some of their children and grandchildren. The total number of people fluctuates throughout the year, as the residents move between Barunga and Beswick. Two dogs live at this property. The main building at Lot 235 is the house, which is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted a light blue. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and the same at the rear door and side door. The laundry is also located on the side veranda to the east. There is a clothesline in the

eastern area of the yard and it is of a design typical to others found in Barunga. The yard of Lot 235 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the older design, constructed between 2015 and 2016, as indicated by the lack of top railing found on the fence. No bough sheds were present at this property during any of the four surveys. In terms of neighbouring properties, there is a direct neighbour to the west and to the north, while to the east and south, Lot 235 is bordered by a road.

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 235 are explored further below. Four surveys were conducted at this property and the results of those surveys provide insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period. Lot 235 was surveyed on the following dates

- 10/12/2016 (build-up to the wet season).
- 20/01/2017 (wet season).
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons).
- 17/07/2017 (dry season).

I divided the yard of Lot 230 into four survey units in order to understand the different ways in which the space of is used. A plan of Lot 208 can be found in Figure 41.

6.2.3.2 *Material culture*

Overview

Four surveys were conducted at Lot 235 and a total of 545 objects were recorded according to the survey unit in which they were found. These objects were categorised into thirteen general categories that related to various activities carried out in the yard of the property. Those thirteen categories fit underneath three overarching themes, discard, recreation and labour.

The results of the archaeological survey of Lot 235 are presented in Table 14. They show that activity increased at this property by July 2017, as indicated by the higher number of material culture recorded during that survey ($n=318$), when compared with the surveys conducted in October 2016 ($n=78$), January ($n=83$), and April 2017 ($n=60$). Overwhelmingly, objects related to discard were the most frequently recorded types of material culture across all four surveys ($\bar{x}=76.5$), while those related to labour ($\bar{x}=43.75$), and outdoor recreation ($\bar{x}=14.5$) were recorded less frequently.

Material culture theme	General object category	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	27	20	5	126	<u>44.5</u>
	Food	8	12	14	63	<u>24.25</u>
	Health and hygiene	1	0	0	14	<u>3.75</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	1	<u>0.25</u>
	Smoking	1	3	6	5	<u>3.75</u>
	Subtotal		37	35	25	209
Recreation	Furniture	8	8	8	7	<u>7.75</u>
	Linen	1	0	0	0	<u>0.25</u>
	Pets	0	0	1	3	<u>1</u>
	Sport and entertainment	5	3	4	10	<u>5.5</u>
	Subtotal	14	11	13	20	<u>n=58</u> <u>$\bar{x}=14.5$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	1	5	1	28	<u>8.75</u>
	Domestic objects	10	15	6	12	<u>10.75</u>
	Tools and equipment	15	16	13	48	<u>23</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	2	1	<u>1.25</u>
	Subtotal	27	37	22	89	<u>n=175</u> <u>$\bar{x}=43.75$</u>
TOTAL	78	83	60	318	<u>539</u>	

Table 14. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 235, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 235

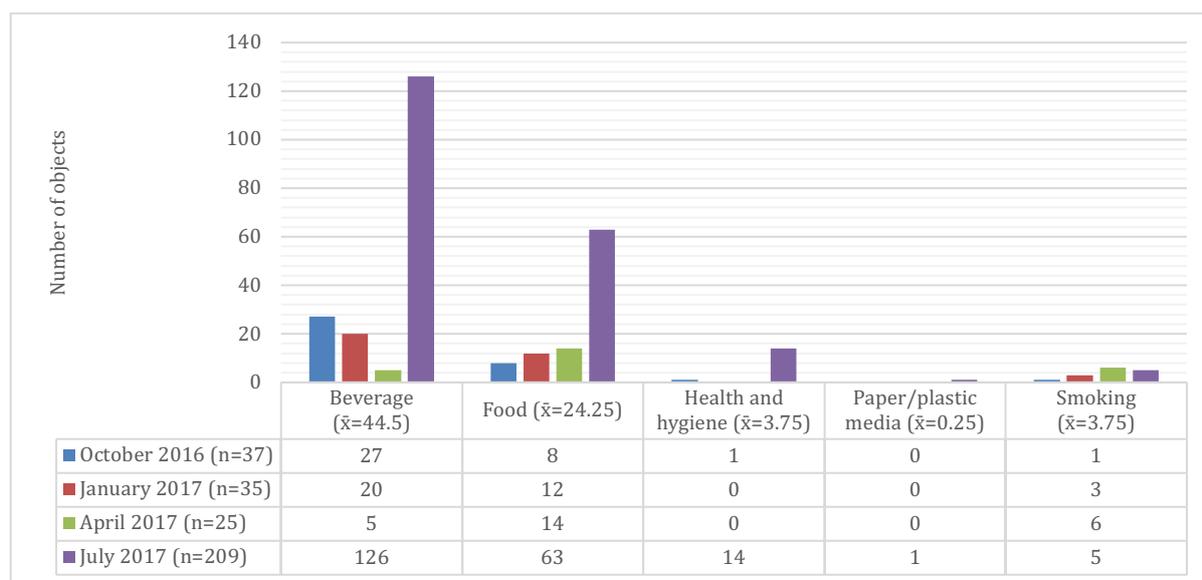


Figure 38. Number of material culture at Lot 235 classified as discard, according to general object category.

Material culture that fit under the discard theme was categorised into five general types (i.e. beverage, food, health and hygiene, paper/plastic media, and smoking). These assemblages consisted of items that might generally be considered litter. Items related to the consumption of beverages were recorded at an average of 44.5 per survey, though the total number varied significantly over the twelve-month period.

Items related to the consumption of food averaged 24.25 items per survey, though the total number slowly increased in each survey through to July 2017. Specific objects found in the assemblage of discarded food items included wrappers, packets, and containers for deli meat, tuna, spaghetti and eggs, as well as various ‘junk’ foods, lollies, ice creams, potato chips, etc., as well as bread bags and the plastic tabs that seal them.

Health and hygiene items were recorded relatively infrequently at Lot 235 ($\bar{x}=3.75$), and as with other types of material culture, the majority of these items were recorded in July 2017. Specific objects included in this category are cotton wool buds, band-aids, and blister packs for medication.

Items related to smoking were also infrequently discarded at Lot 235, as an average of 3.75 were recorded during each of the surveys. Specific items included in this category were cigarette butts, cigarette packets, tobacco pouches, packets for cigarette papers, and cigarette lighters.

Finally, a book titled *The Romans were the Real Gangsters* was recorded in July 2017. This was the only instance of printed media found at Lot 235 across all four surveys. The book was partially burnt.

Recreation at Lot 235

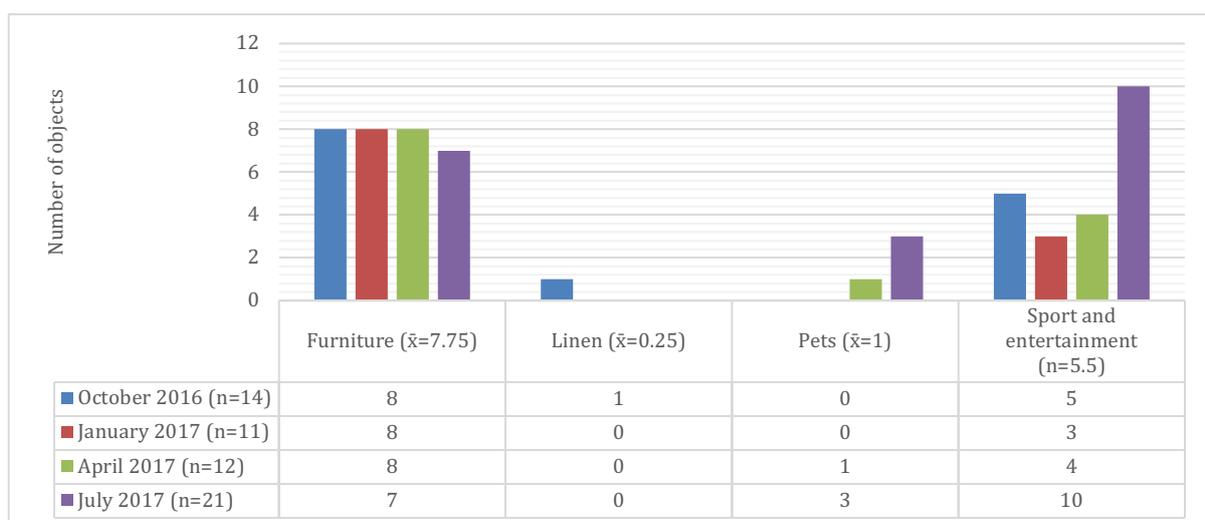


Figure 39. Number of material culture at Lot 235 classified as recreation, according to general object category.

Material culture that fit under the recreation theme averaged 14.5 items per survey. In total, 58 items were recorded over four surveys, and these were categorised into general types, as shown in Figure 39. Furniture was the most populous type of material culture relating to outdoor life, averaging 7.75 items per survey. Predominantly, these items included plastic chairs, a table, and in one instance, a mattress for a single bed. Numbers of furniture remained relatively stable across all surveys. Furthermore, items classified as sport and entertainment featured frequently at Lot 235, with an average of 5.5 items per survey. Items classified as sport and entertainment included toys, bicycles, balloons, glow sticks and playing cards. The number of sport and entertainment items was lower between October and April 2017, before increasing in July 2017. This trend is consistent with the increase in activity indicated by discard objects in the same period. Finally, items related to pets were present in both the April and July 2017 surveys. These objects included bones, most likely from cattle or buffalo, which had been given to dogs to chew.

Labour at Lot 235

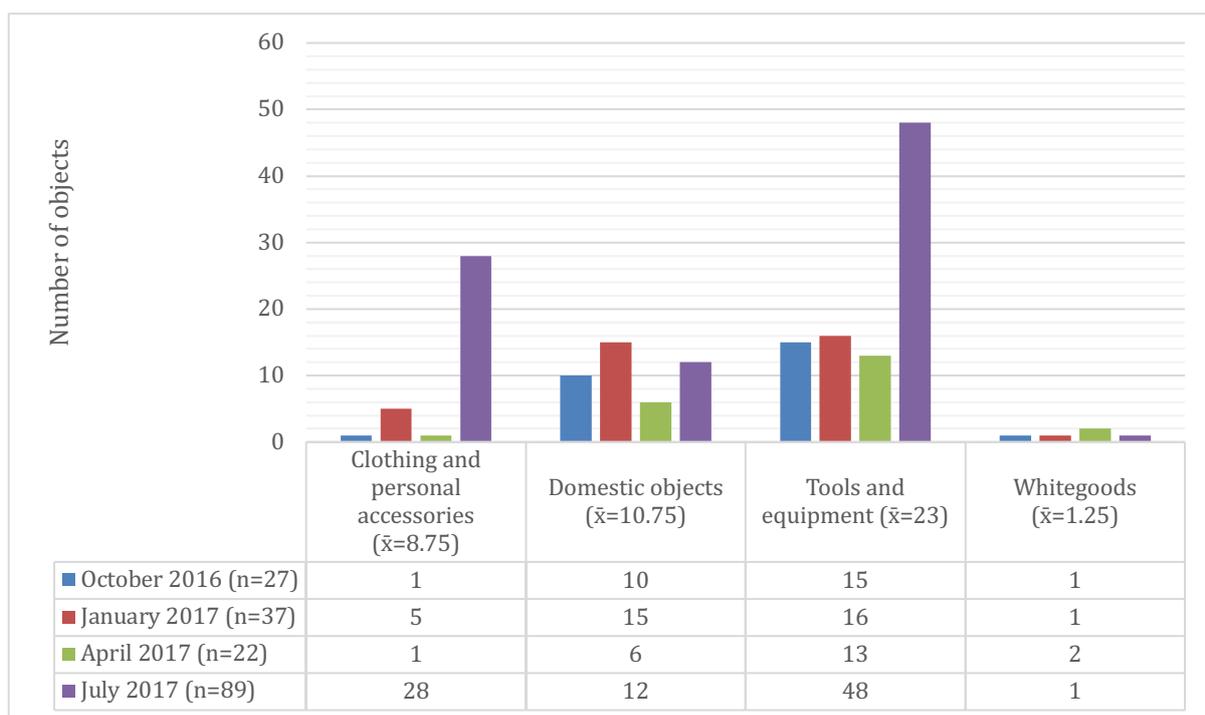


Figure 40. Number of material culture at Lot 235 classified as domestic labour, according to general object category.

Material culture that fit under the domestic labour theme was recorded at an average of 43.75 items per survey at Lot 235, to a total of 175. Tools and equipment were the most frequently recorded types of material culture under this theme, averaging 23 items per survey. Often, tools and equipment consisted of gardening implements, such as rakes and garden hoses; vehicle

equipment, such as car jacks and jerry cans; general tools such as screw drivers, scissors, torches, etc., clothes pegs, as well as various storage containers and bags. The number of tools and equipment was moderate between October and April 2017, before increasing significantly by July 2017.

Domestic objects, such as reusable eating utensils, cooking implements, and laundry powder, were also common in the material assemblage at Lot 235, averaging 10.75 items per survey. Clothing and personal accessories, such as footwear, shirts, pants, etc. were typically uncommon in the material assemblage of Lot 235, though an increase in the presence of these items in July 2017 lead to a higher average ($\bar{x}=8.75$). Finally, whitegoods were also recorded at Lot 235, owing primarily to the location of the laundry (outdoors, to the east of the building).

Results according to space at Lot 235

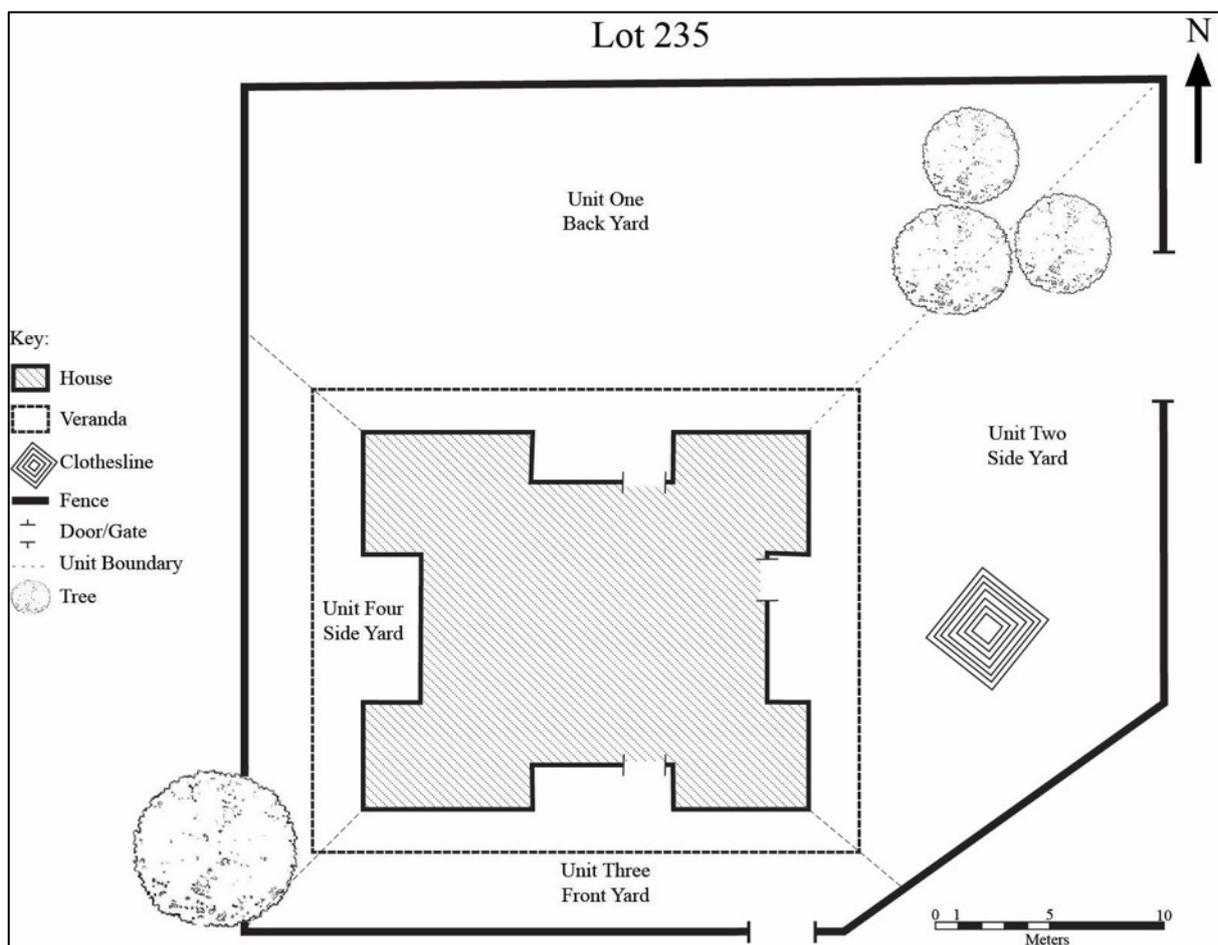


Figure 41. Plan of Lot 235 showing the four survey units.

Survey	Back yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (east) Unit two	Front yard (south) Unit three	Side yard (west) Unit four	Total
October 2016	27	24	21	7	79
January 2017	16	27	32	9	84
April 2017	10	11	26	14	61
July 2017	128	107	48	37	320
Average	45.25	42.25	31.75	16.75	544

Table 15. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

In order to understand the use of space at Lot 235, the yard was divided into four survey units. The number of material culture recorded in each of the survey units during each survey is presented in Table 15 above. The average number of objects found in each of the survey units is also presented above. These results indicate that the unit one, the backyard (\bar{x} material culture per survey = 45.25), unit two, the eastern side yard (\bar{x} =42.25), and three, the front yard (\bar{x} =31.75) are the primary activity areas of Lot 235. This might be an expected result, as these survey units are all directly outside the three main entrances to the house, though a further exploration of the types of material culture found here can reveal the particular types of activities that occur in these units. Unit four on the other hand featured fewer items than the other survey areas (\bar{x} =16.75), and this is likely to be the case because unit four was a smaller area between the side wall of the house and the fence to the neighbouring property.

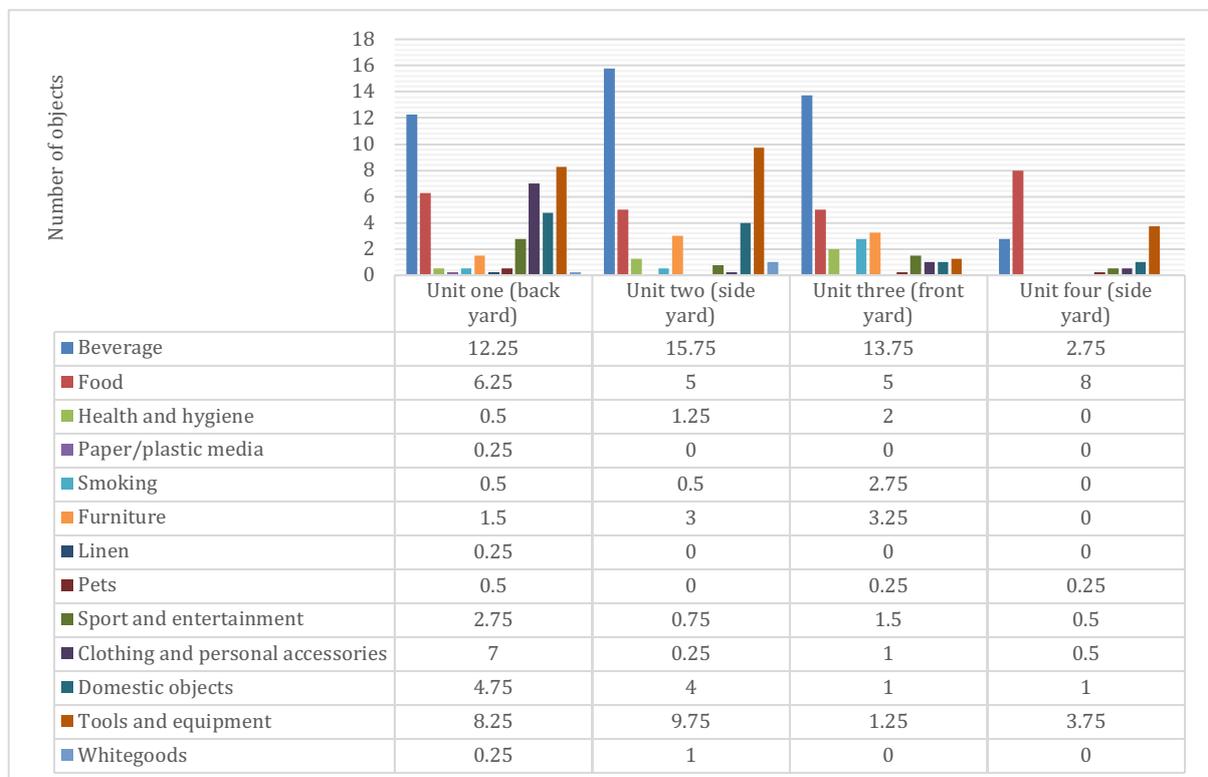


Figure 42. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

Figure 42 presents the average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units according to general type. Discarded objects were frequently recorded in the back yard of Lot 235 (unit one)—beverage ($\bar{x}=12.25$ per survey) and food-related items ($\bar{x}=6.25$) in particular. Labour objects such as clothing and personal accessories ($\bar{x}=7$), domestic objects ($\bar{x}=4.75$) and tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=8.25$) were also a frequent feature of unit one. Outdoor recreation objects on the other hand were relatively absent in unit one. The blend of objects classified as discard with domestic labour in this area—combined with the lack of outdoor recreation objects—indicates the back yard is used primarily for eating and drinking, as well as labour. This conclusion is further supported by the lack of furniture found in this area.

Unit two, the eastern side yard, also featured a number of discarded items (e.g. beverage ($\bar{x}=15.75$) and food ($\bar{x}=5$)), and more health and hygiene objects were located in this area than in unit one ($\bar{x}=1.25$). A higher number of outdoor recreation objects such as furniture ($\bar{x}=3$) were located in this unit than in unit one, though few of other kinds of outdoor recreation items were found here. Labour objects, such as domestic objects ($\bar{x}=4$), tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=9.75$) and whitegoods ($\bar{x}=1$) were also frequently recorded in unit two. This result is expected, as the Lot 235 outdoor laundry is located in unit two. The combination of higher frequencies of discard items, furniture, as well as domestic labour objects indicate that this area is a combined social/labour area.

Unit three, the front yard of the property featured very few domestic labour objects when compared with unit two. This area featured higher numbers of discard objects (e.g. beverage ($\bar{x}=13.75$), food ($\bar{x}=5$), health and hygiene ($\bar{x}=2$), and smoking ($\bar{x}=2.75$), as well as objects relating to outdoor recreation (e.g. furniture ($\bar{x}=3.25$) and sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=1.5$)). The combination of discarded objects with those related to outdoor recreation found in this survey unit indicate that this area is primarily used as a social space.

Unit four featured minimal material culture, though some food ($\bar{x}=7.5$) and beverage ($\bar{x}=2.75$) objects, as well as domestic objects ($\bar{x}=1.5$) and tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=3.75$) were found there. These results might indicate that this area could be a combined dining/labour space, though it is more likely—due to its smaller area—to have been used as a storage space for various domestic labour objects. The food and beverage objects found here could either have been swept there by people wanting to clean unit three (the likely social area), or those objects could have been deposited there by wind.

6.2.3.3 *Graffiti*

Fifty-two graffiti were recorded at Lot 235 during four surveys. The results of the graffiti survey are presented in Table 16 and Figure 43. Fourteen graffiti were present in October 2016, which

means they were made before the projects commenced. A further 28 graffiti were recorded in January 2017, while nine were recorded in April and the final graffiti was recorded in July 2017. The rate of graffiti production at this property is high, at almost 40 graffiti per year.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	N/A	14	14
2. January 2017	14	28	42
3. April 2017	42	9	51
4. July 2017	51	1	52

Table 16. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 235.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 235

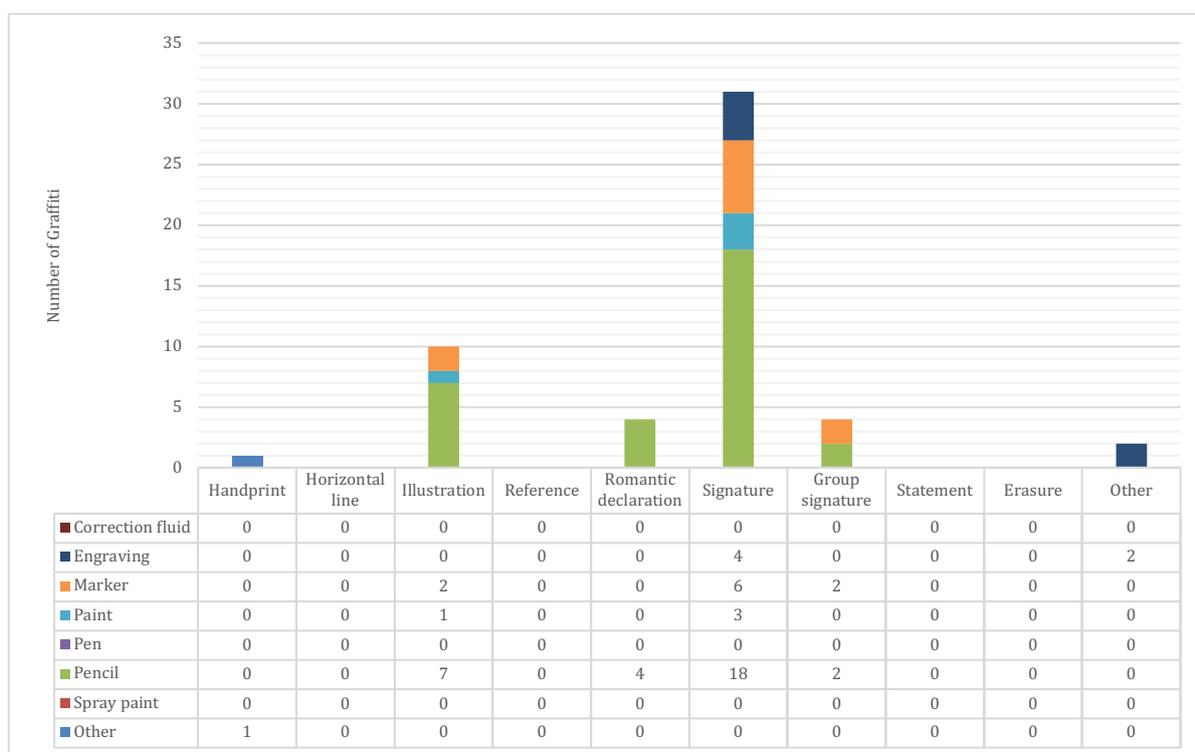


Figure 43. Graffiti at Lot 235 according to primary content type and media.

Graffiti was used primarily as a way to communicate and eternalise presence at Lot 235, as signature graffiti were the most common type found at this property (n=31). These graffiti took a number of forms, which are presented in Table 17. The majority of signature graffiti featured only the initials (n=9), first names (n=12), or surnames (n=2) of an individual. Others featured an additional message, such as an affirmation of presence, or a reference to popular culture (n=3), while others were erased (n=3). Two of the signatures featured an alias, such as a nickname. The majority of signatures were written with pencils (n=18), while others were made with markers (n=6), and paint (n=3). The four remaining signatures were etched into a surface.

Signature types	Example	Total (n=31)
Name (initials only)	NR	9
Name (first name)	Joel	12
Name (surname)	ESJ Brown	2
Names with additional text: Affirmation Reference (musician)	Meg only 2002 Paddy DJ Moni	3
Erasure	harhold	3
Alias (nickname)	Dessy	2

Table 17. Number of forms that signature graffiti take at Lot 235.

Illustrations were common in the graffiti gallery at Lot 235 (n=10). The majority of these were drawings such as human skulls and skull and crossbones (n=3), while others were of a leaf, a cube, a human torso, a human face, and a flower. Two illustrations were reminiscent of common motifs used in traditional Jawoyn art systems, a snake and a fish. Illustrations were made with pencils (n=7), markers (n=2), and paint (n=1).

Graffiti was used also as a way to communicate and reinforce associations between people at Lot 235, as group signatures (n=4) and romantic declarations (n=4) were equally common in the graffiti gallery at this property. Group signatures largely took the form of a series of names, for example:

D. HOOD
D. HOOD
S. HOOD
J. HOOD
A. RUNYU
L. RUNYU

While others incorporated a popular abbreviation to highlight the relationship (i.e. 'ft.' is short for 'featuring', which is often used by recording artists who collaborate with others):

Eddisha ft Tegan

Another example of a group signature involved the characterisation of Lot 235 as an identity-making device, for example:

CORNERHOUSE CREW #2017# ☺ PEACE OUT

Three of the romantic declarations were repeated instances of this graffiti (n=3):

A♥K

And the final romantic declaration read:

GWD OTLOVERS 4EVER

One handprint (right hand) was recorded at Lot 235. The size of the handprint indicates it was made by a child, and the media was unclear, though it could have been made using bread dough.

The final two graffiti at recorded at Lot 235 were numbers, for example:

89754112

The above graffiti is a local phone number. The presence of this number on the exterior wall of the house at Lot 235 indicates that one of the functions of graffiti is as a message board or notepad.

6.3 Sunrise Camp

6.3.1 Lot 158

6.3.1.1 Biography



Figure 44. House at Lot 158. Photograph: Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

Lot 158 (pictured in Figure 44) is in the region of Barunga known as ‘Sunrise Camp’, or just ‘Sunrise’—so named as it is the eastern-most ‘suburb’ of Barunga, where the sun rises. This is one of the largest areas of Barunga in terms of population and number of houses. Many of the

houses are quite old; however, some of the newest houses in Barunga have recently been built in this area (e.g. Lot 316). Many of the older houses have a lot number in the 100s and 200s, while the newer houses are listed in the 300s. As such, Lot 158 is one of the older houses in Barunga.

Lot 158 is bordered by other properties to the north, east, and west, and opens to Buhymi Crescent to the south. The house is owned by the Territory Housing Commission and at the time of fieldwork, it was occupied by six people: a husband and wife in their late 30s (primary residents); their teenage son; the brother of the primary male resident; as well as the primary male resident's cousin and his wife. The house is a freestanding, single-storey building made from red bricks. The residents of this property do not own any dogs.

In terms of structures, there were no bough sheds present at Lot 158 at any point during the survey. The fence that encloses the yard is of a style typical of newer fences, as the fence is made of cyclone wire and features a top rail.

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 158 are explored further below. Lot 158 was surveyed only three times during the project, owing to a lack of access in July 2017 when the residents were not in Barunga. The three surveys conducted at Lot 158 nevertheless provide an understanding of how the space is used during different seasons:

- 27/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- No access (dry season)

I divided the yard of Lot 158 into four survey sections, to understand the different ways in which the space is used. A plan of Lot 158 can be found in Figure 48.

6.3.1.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 196 objects were recorded during three surveys at Lot 158. The objects were placed into eleven general types, which fit under three overarching themes. Table 18 presents an overview of the results of the surveys according to the number of each type of object, as well as the average number recorded over time. The majority of material culture recorded at Lot 158 related to the discard theme (n=124). As most of the objects in this theme were discarded food and drink containers, it follows that the material assemblage at Lot 158 consisted of a variety of

objects that are often considered litter. Objects related to outdoor recreation were also common at this property, as a total of 37 objects were recorded here over the three surveys. Finally, items related to labour were also present, though fewer instances were recorded than other types of material culture (n=35).

Material culture theme	General object category	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	31	53	18	<u>34</u>
	Food	7	7	2	<u>5.33</u>
	Health and hygiene	1	1	0	<u>0.67</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Smoking	4	0	0	<u>1.33</u>
	Subtotal	43	61	20	<u>$n=124$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=41.33$</u>
Recreation	Furniture and whitegoods	9	7	2	<u>6</u>
	Linen	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Pets	0	1	1	<u>0.67</u>
	Sport and entertainment	6	3	8	<u>5.67</u>
	Subtotal	15	11	11	<u>$n=37$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=12.33$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	6	1	3	<u>3.33</u>
	Domestic objects	1	1	5	<u>2.33</u>
	Tools and equipment	5	9	4	<u>6</u>
	Whitegoods	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal	12	11	12	<u>$n=35$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=11.67$</u>
TOTAL	70	83	43	<u>$n=196$</u>	

Table 18. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 158, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 158

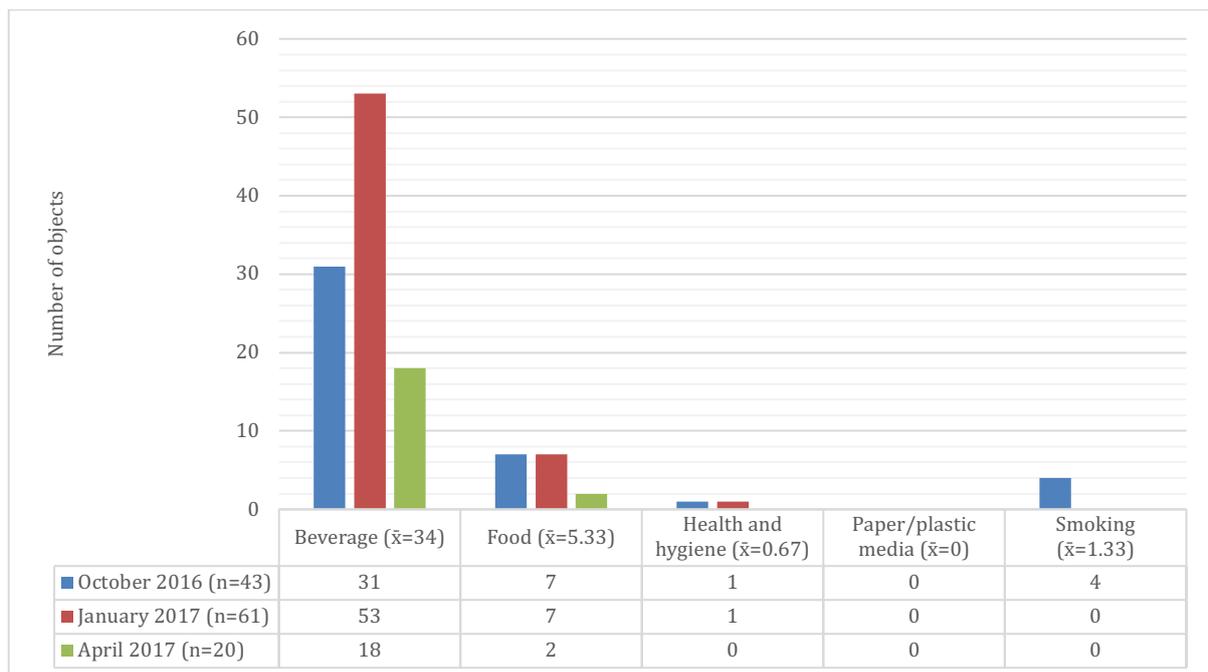


Figure 45. Number of material culture at Lot 158 classified as discard, according to general type category.

Material culture that relates to the discard theme was the most common type recorded at Lot 158. Objects related to the consumption of beverages were the most frequently recorded type of object under this theme, with an average of 34 items per survey. Each of these objects were either empty containers, bottle caps, labels, or tea bags. In that sense, these objects have been discarded after their contents have been consumed.

In contrast, food-related objects were uncommon at this property, averaging only 5.33 objects per survey. This could indicate that food is either consumed indoors at this property, or it might provide some insight into diet, as the assemblage of food-related objects featured more items related to meals, rather than snacks. Fast food items bought in Katherine (e.g. McDonald’s and Red Rooster), as well as processed meat packaging, bread bags, and a dried fruit packet were present in the assemblage. Flavoured ice block packets and one potato chip packet were also present, though these tended to be the only ‘junk’ snack foods. This result is different to other properties in Barunga where discarded takeaway containers from the Barunga store, as well as snack food containers account for the majority of food-related objects.

Items related to smoking were present in October 2016 (n=4), and no further instances were observed in any of the later surveys. Health and hygiene items were present in both October 2016 and January 2017, though not in April 2017. The first object was a pair of crutches, while

the other was an empty jar of lip balm. No items classified as paper/plastic media were recorded at Lot 158 during any of the surveys.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 158

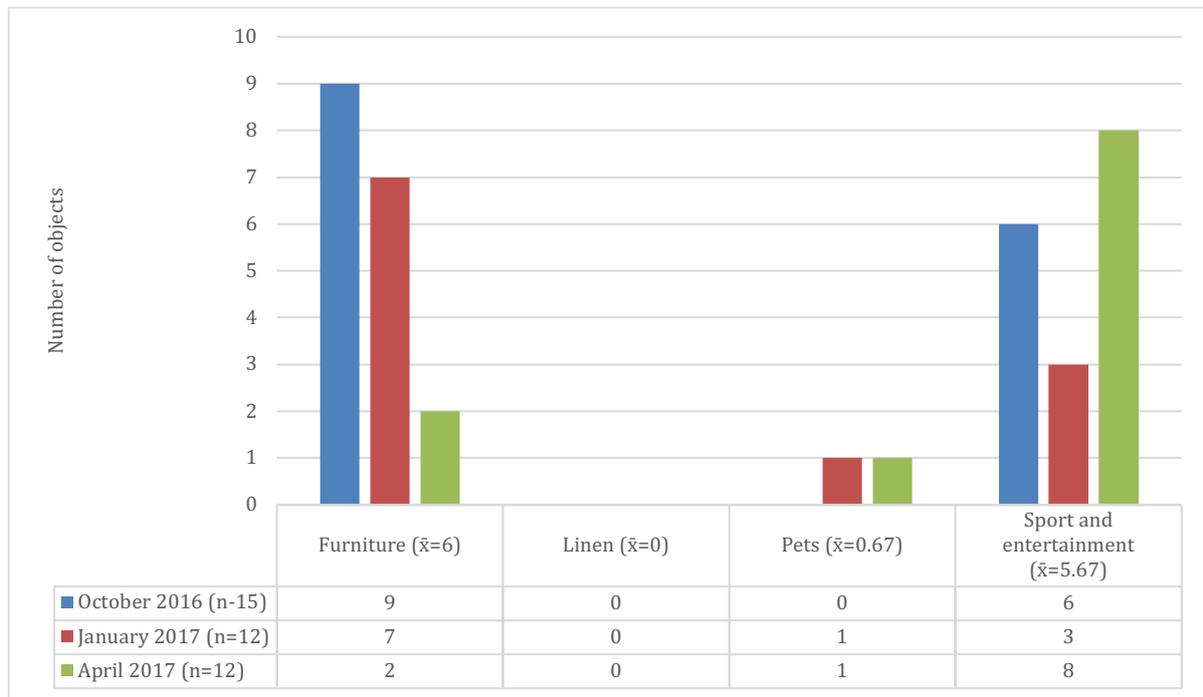


Figure 46. Number of material culture at Lot 158 classified as outdoor life, according to general object category.

Furniture was the most frequently recorded type of outdoor recreation material culture at Lot 158 ($\bar{x}=6$). These objects were mostly plastic chairs, tables, and a wicker outdoor setting, though it also included a large cut log which was often used as a seat. A camp stretcher was included in this category, and this was found on the veranda of the house. Sport and entertainment objects were also recorded frequently ($\bar{x}=5.67$) and these were mostly toys and games, though a number of adult and child bicycles were also recorded here. Items related to pets were recorded infrequently at Lot 158, though the two objects that were recorded were a ceramic dish filled with water, and the leg bone from cattle or buffalo, which had been given to a dog to chew.

Domestic labour at Lot 158

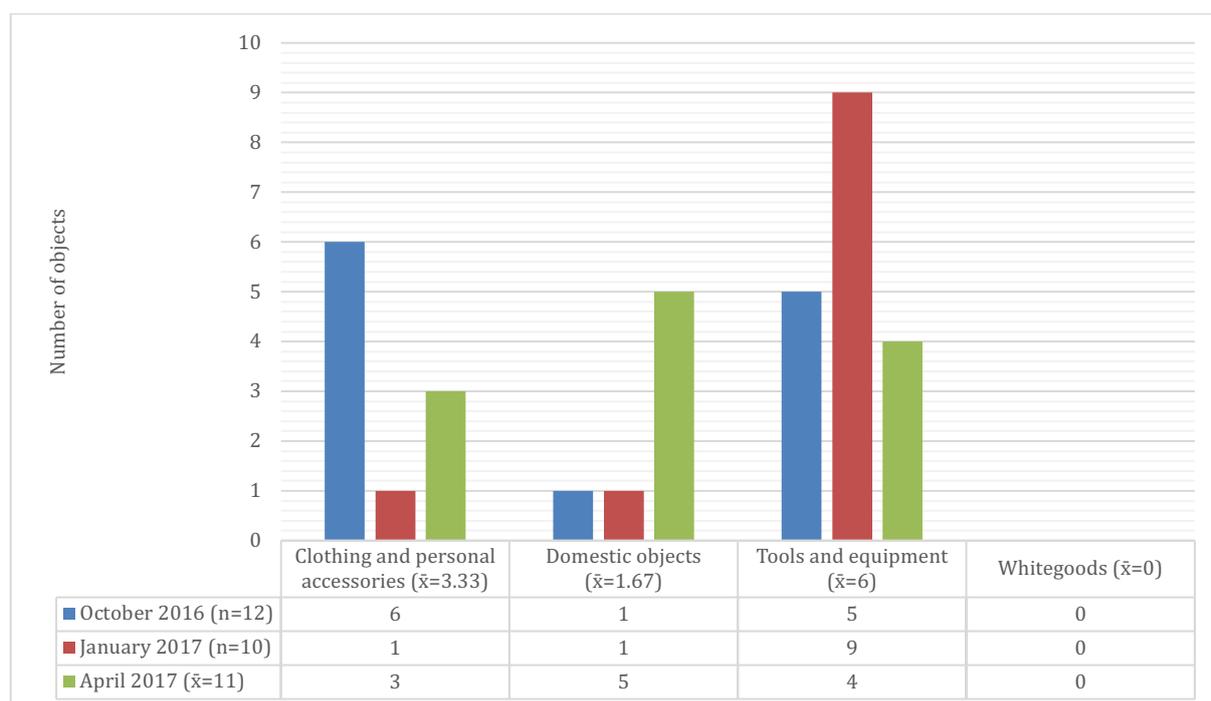


Figure 47. Number of material culture at Lot 158 classified as domestic labour, according to general object category.

Objects related to domestic labour were recorded relatively infrequently at Lot 158. Tools and equipment were the most frequently recorded type of material culture under this theme ($\bar{x}=6$), and these objects included rubbish bins, gardening equipment, a makeshift clothesline, and various storage containers. Clothing and personal accessories were also present in the material assemblage at Lot 158 ($\bar{x}=3.33$), as were domestic objects ($\bar{x}=1.67$). No whitegoods were present in the yard at Lot 158—and this is likely a result of the laundry being situated inside the house at this property, unlike other properties in Barunga.

Results according to space at Lot 158

The yard of Lot 158 was divided into four survey units in order to understand the use of space. Table 19 presents the number of material culture recorded in each of the survey units over time. More activity occurred in the front yard (unit two) of the property, as more material culture was found there ($\bar{x}=41.67$), compared with the back yard ($\bar{x}=9.67$), or either of the side yards (north ($\bar{x}=6.33$) and south ($\bar{x}=7.67$)). It is likely that this is the case because the house provides afternoon shade in the eastern area of the yard.

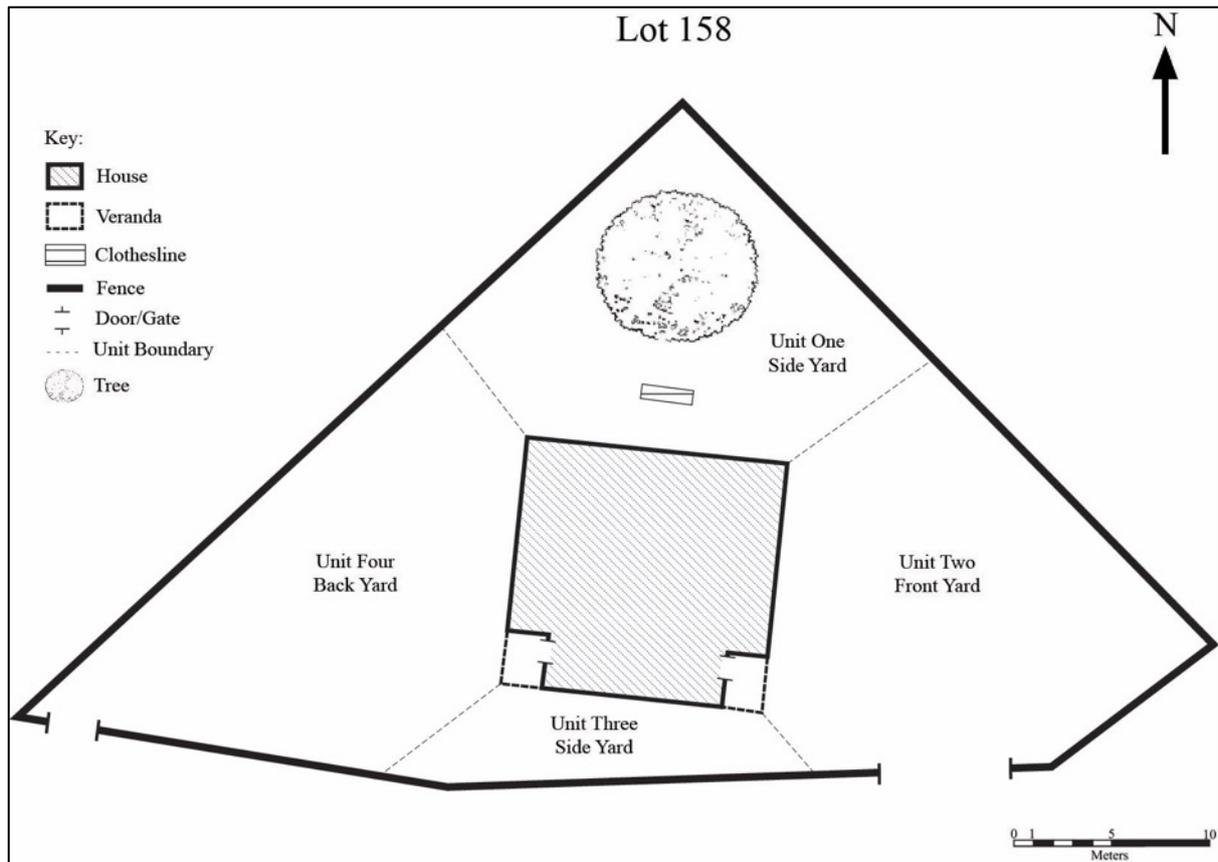


Figure 48. Plan of Lot 158 showing the four survey units.

Survey	Side yard (north) Unit one	Front yard (east) Unit two	Side yard (south) Unit three	Back yard (west) Unit four	Total
October 2016	6	42	0	22	70
January 2017	3	58	15	7	83
April 2017	10	25	8	0	43
Average	6.33	41.67	7.67	9.67	196

Table 19. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

Figure 49 presents the average number of objects recorded at Lot 158 according to type. Unit two, the front yard, was identified as the primary activity area, owing to the higher number of material culture found there in each of the surveys, compared to other areas of the yard. The type of material culture found in unit two indicates specific activities that occurred there. A high frequency of items related to consumption was found in this survey unit, which included beverage-related objects ($\bar{x}=21.67$), as well as food ($\bar{x}=2.67$) and smoking-related items ($\bar{x}=1.33$). The combination of higher numbers of objects related to discard with those related to outdoor recreation (i.e. furniture ($\bar{x}=5.67$) and sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=4$)) indicate this is mostly a social area, though higher frequencies of objects related to domestic labour were also

found here (e.g. tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=4$), and domestic objects ($\bar{x}=1.67$)) when compared to other survey units.

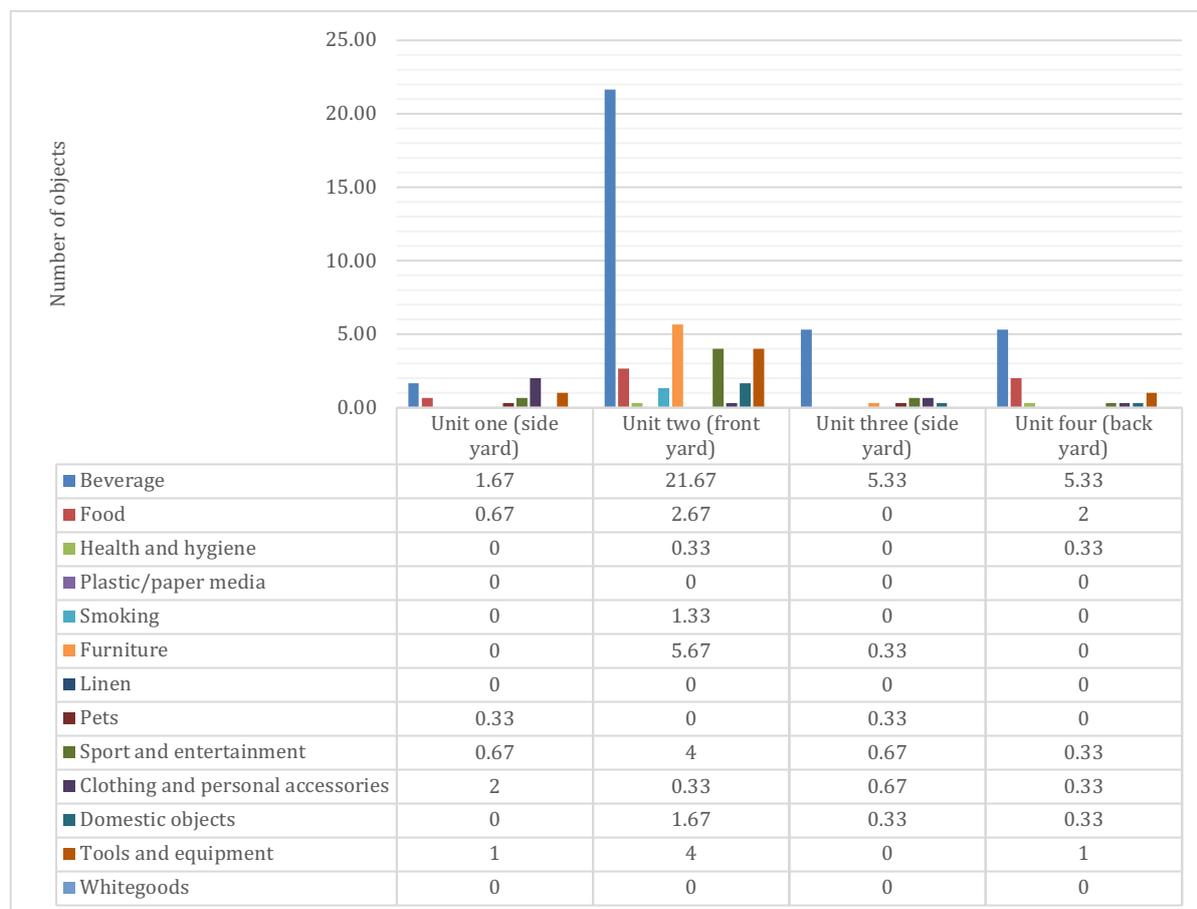


Figure 49. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

In fact, there was limited material culture in the remaining survey units. Unit one (the northern side yard, which is located between the house and the fence to the neighbour’s property) featured few objects related to discard, and items related to outdoor recreation. More instances of clothing ($\bar{x}=2$) were found here, and this can be explained by the fact that the clothesline is located in this survey unit. Unit three, on the other hand, is the area between the house at Lot 158 and the fence near the road at Buhymi Crescent, and this featured very little material culture, except a number of items related to beverage consumption ($\bar{x}=5.33$). Unit four (the back yard) followed this trend, though a few more instances of food containers ($\bar{x}=2$) and tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=1$) were found here as well.

6.3.1.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
October 2016	N/A	2	2
January 2017	2	1	3
April 2017	3	9	12

Table 20. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 158.

Twelve graffiti were found at Lot 158 over three surveys. Initially, only two graffiti were present at the property and these were recorded in October 2016. A further graffiti was recorded in January 2017, bringing the total to three graffiti. Nine more graffiti were recorded in April 2017. As there was no access to this property in July 2017, there is no information relating to the graffiti that might have been produced after April 2017. Thus, the rate of graffiti production at this property is around ten in a six-month period.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 158

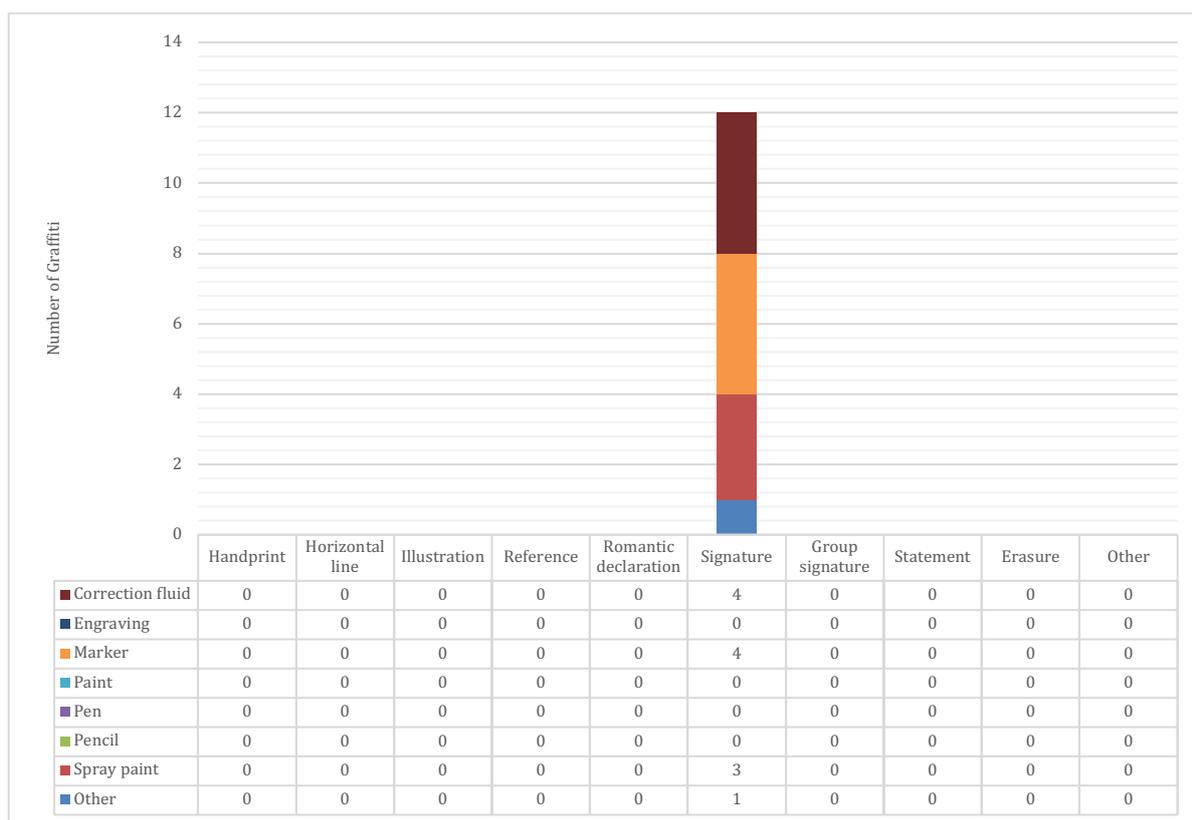


Figure 50. Graffiti at Lot 158 according to primary content type and media.

All twelve graffiti recorded at Lot 158 were categorised as signatures, which featured the names or initials of individuals. Two of the twelve were recorded in October 2016; one was recorded in

January 2017; and the final nine were recorded in April 2017. Most of the autographs featured only names or initials (n=8), for example:

R-W

While the remaining four were accompanied with a date (n=2):

DMP 2001

An affirmation of presence and a date (n=1):

Reggie W WAS Eya 2017

And an affirmation, date and illustration (n=1):

McKEY W/H 1999 [loveheart] 'NG - ONE 4 SUX

No other graffiti types were recorded at Lot 158. Most of the signatures were made using a marker (n=4) or correction fluid (n=4), while another was made using chalk. In an interesting departure from media used in graffiti production at other places in Barunga, three were made with spray paint at Lot 158.

6.3.2 Lot 166

6.3.2.1 Biography



Figure 51. The back yard of Lot 166. The external laundry is visible in this image. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

Lot 166 (pictured in Figure 51) is also situated in the area known as Sunrise Camp. It is bordered to the west by an occupied property, and to the north by a vacant property, neither of which were included in this study. To the east, another property is across Buhymi Crescent, Lot 168, which was included in the study, and is discussed in the following section.

A couple in their late 40s reside at Lot 166. There are no children who live here, though, the couple's adult children and infant grandchildren visit often. No dogs live at Lot 166. In terms of structures at Lot 166, there is the house, which is a standalone, single-storey building made from concrete blocks that are painted blue. On the eastern side of the yard is a small building that serves as an external laundry, and houses the washing machine as well as other tools and equipment related to cleaning. This is the only example of a separate laundry building being provided in Barunga that I have encountered. Most other laundries exist on rear verandas, connected to the main house. There is also a clothesline at the front of the house, which is of a design found throughout Barunga. No bough sheds were recorded at Lot 166 during any of the surveys.

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 166 are explored further below. Lot 166 was surveyed only twice during the field work component of this study, though those surveys nevertheless provide insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period:

- 30/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- No access (wet season)
- 28/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- No access (dry season)

I divided the yard of Lot 166 into four survey sections, to understand the different ways in which the space of is used. A plan of Lot 166 can be found in Figure 55.

6.3.2.2 *Material culture*

Overview

The material culture recorded at Lot 166 over two surveys was classified according to 13 general types. These types fit under three overarching material themes. The types of objects found at Lot 166 highlight different activities that have taken place at this property. In total, 101 material culture were recorded over two surveys, and these results are presented in Table 21. In a departure from the pattern found in other places in Barunga, objects related to domestic labour were the most frequently recorded at Lot 166 ($\bar{x}=36$), while those related to discard

were recorded less frequently ($\bar{x}=8.5$). Items related to outdoor recreation also featured infrequently ($\bar{x}=6$). The raw data are presented in full in Appendix Seven.

Material culture theme		October 2016	April 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	7	1	<u>4</u>
	Food	4	4	<u>4</u>
	Health and hygiene	1	0	<u>0.5</u>
	Printed media	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Smoking	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal	12	5	<u>$n=17$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=8.5$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	2	2	<u>2</u>
	Linen	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Pets	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Sport and entertainment	7	1	<u>4</u>
	Subtotal	9	3	<u>$n=12$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=6$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	7	0	<u>3.5</u>
	Domestic objects	9	5	<u>7</u>
	Tools and equipment	31	17	<u>24</u>
	Whitegoods	2	1	<u>1.5</u>
	Subtotal	49	23	<u>$n=72$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=36$</u>
TOTAL	70	31	<u>$n=101$</u>	

Table 21. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 166, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 166

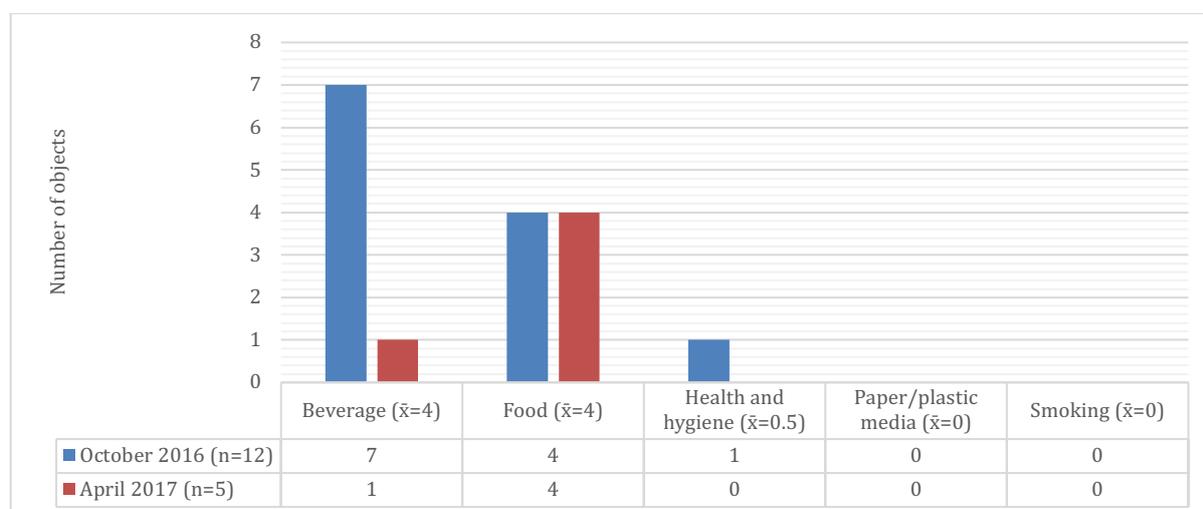


Figure 52. Number of material culture at Lot 166 classified as discard, according to general type category.

The relative scarcity of objects classified as discard at Lot 166 sets this property apart from others in Barunga, as more items classified under this theme tended to be ubiquitous. Access to this property was not permitted in either January or July 2017, and thus this departure from the norm could reflect the fact that more discarded materials tend to be recorded in July. However, the number of objects related to discard is still low at this property in the two surveys when compared with surveys conducted at other properties during the same period. Observations of the researcher when seeking permission to record the property in both January and July were that there was little material culture in the yard during these periods.

Figure 52 presents the number of discard objects recorded at Lot 166 according to type. Equal numbers of beverage and food-related objects were recorded at Lot 166, though more beverage containers were recorded in October (n=7) than in April (n=1). Four food objects were recorded in each of October and April. One object classified as health and hygiene was recorded in October 2016, and no items related to smoking or paper/plastic media were recorded in any of the surveys.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 166

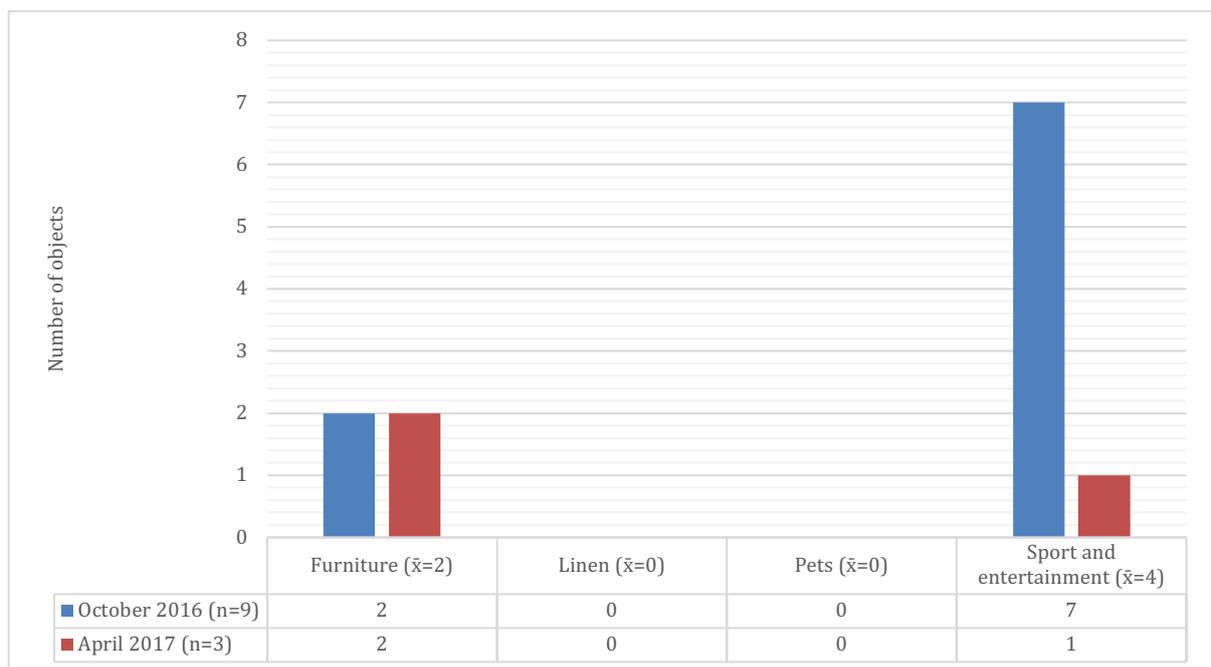


Figure 53. Number of material culture at Lot 166 classified as outdoor recreation, according to general type.

Items related to outdoor recreation were also uncommon at Lot 166. This could indicate that the residents of this property spend little time outdoors. Two instances of furniture were recorded in each of October 2016 and April 2017. These were a table (which was present during both surveys), a chair, and a tarp (which is often used by groups of people who sit on the ground, out of the dirt). Sport and entertainment objects were relatively common at this

property, though more so in October (n=7) than in April (n=1). The majority of these items were toys, children’s bicycles/tricycles, and a large plastic slide. No instances of linen or pet-related items were found at Lot 166.

Domestic labour at Lot 166

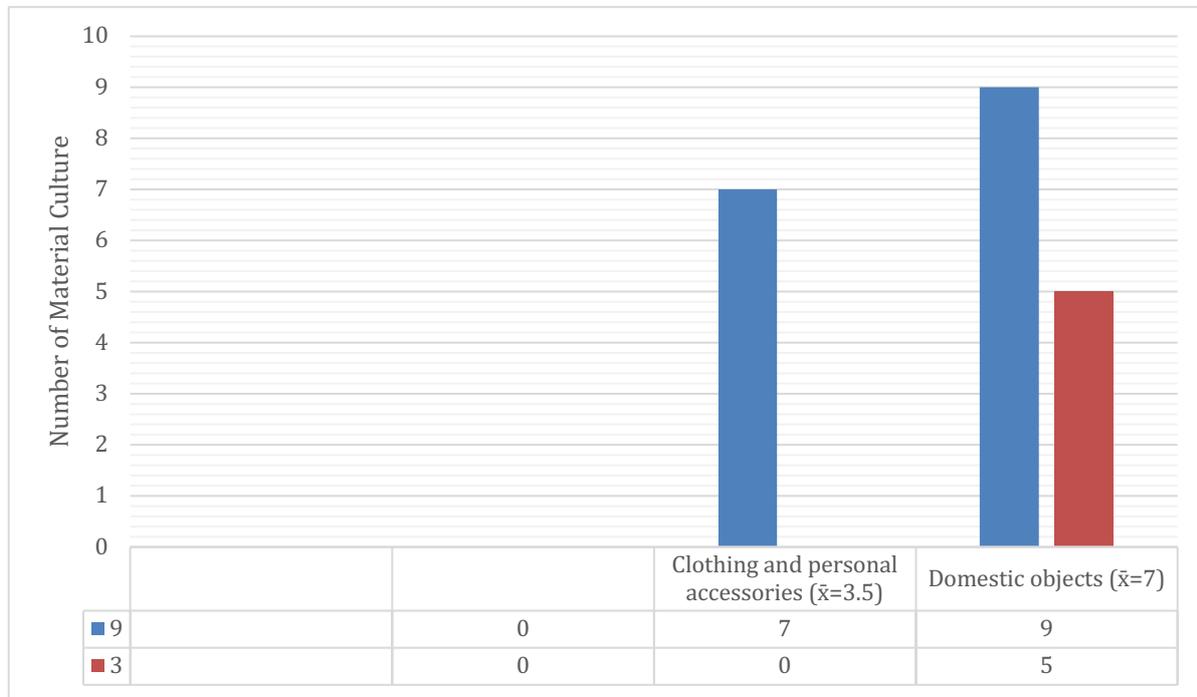


Figure 54. Number of material culture at Lot 166 classified as domestic labour, according to general type.

Material culture related to domestic labour was the most common type of material culture at Lot 166. Tools and equipment were the most common type of object recorded during the two surveys, at an average of 24. The majority of these objects were cleaning equipment, garden tools, plastic storage containers, and screens that have been added to the house to provide more privacy. Domestic objects were also common ($\bar{x}=7$), such as various cooking and eating utensils, cleaning substances, bedding, decorations, an ironing board and a pram. Moreover, clothing and personal accessories ($\bar{x}=3.5$) were present, though uncommon. These were mostly various shoes (n=3) and a pile of clothes (n=4). Whitegoods were also recorded at Lot 166 ($\bar{x}=1.5$), and these objects were a washing machine (which was present during both surveys), as well as the exterior cover of an air-conditioning unit.

Results according to space at Lot 166

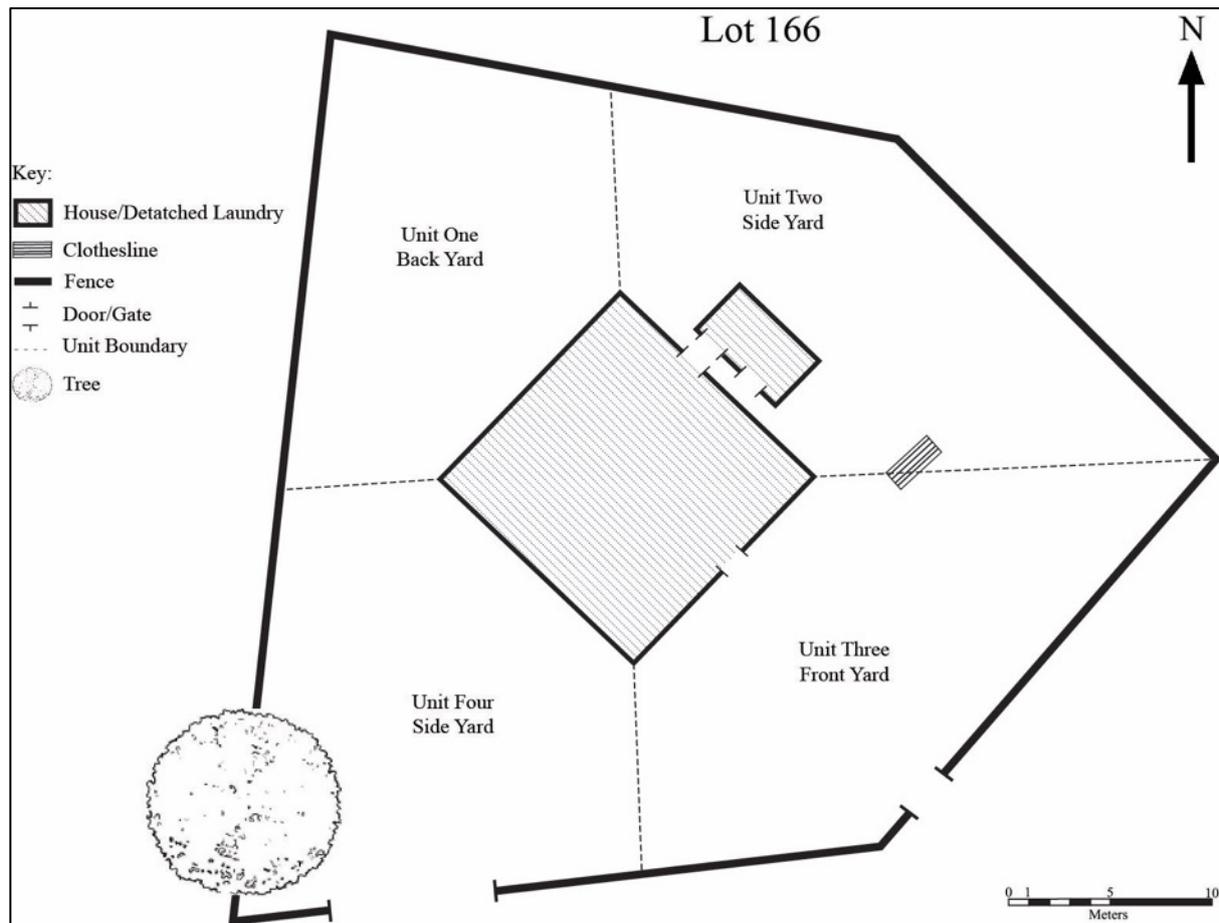


Figure 55. Plan of Lot 166 showing the four survey units.

The yard at Lot 166 was divided into four conceptual survey units in order to understand the use of space at this property. The results indicate that units two (eastern side yard) and three (front yard, north) were the primary activity areas of the property, as a higher average of material was found in these units than in units one and four. Unit two is the area to the side of Lot 166 and the rear door and exterior laundry are situated in this survey unit. Unit one is the front yard, while unit one is the back yard, and unit four is the western side yard, which shares a fence line with the neighbour. These results indicate that the more publicly conspicuous areas of the yard are more favourable activity areas than those that are closer to neighbours.

Survey	Back yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (east) Unit two	Front yard (south) Unit three	Side yard (west) Unit four	Total
October 2016	2	26	32	10	70
April 2017	2	16	12	1	31
Average	2	21	22	5.5	196

Table 22. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

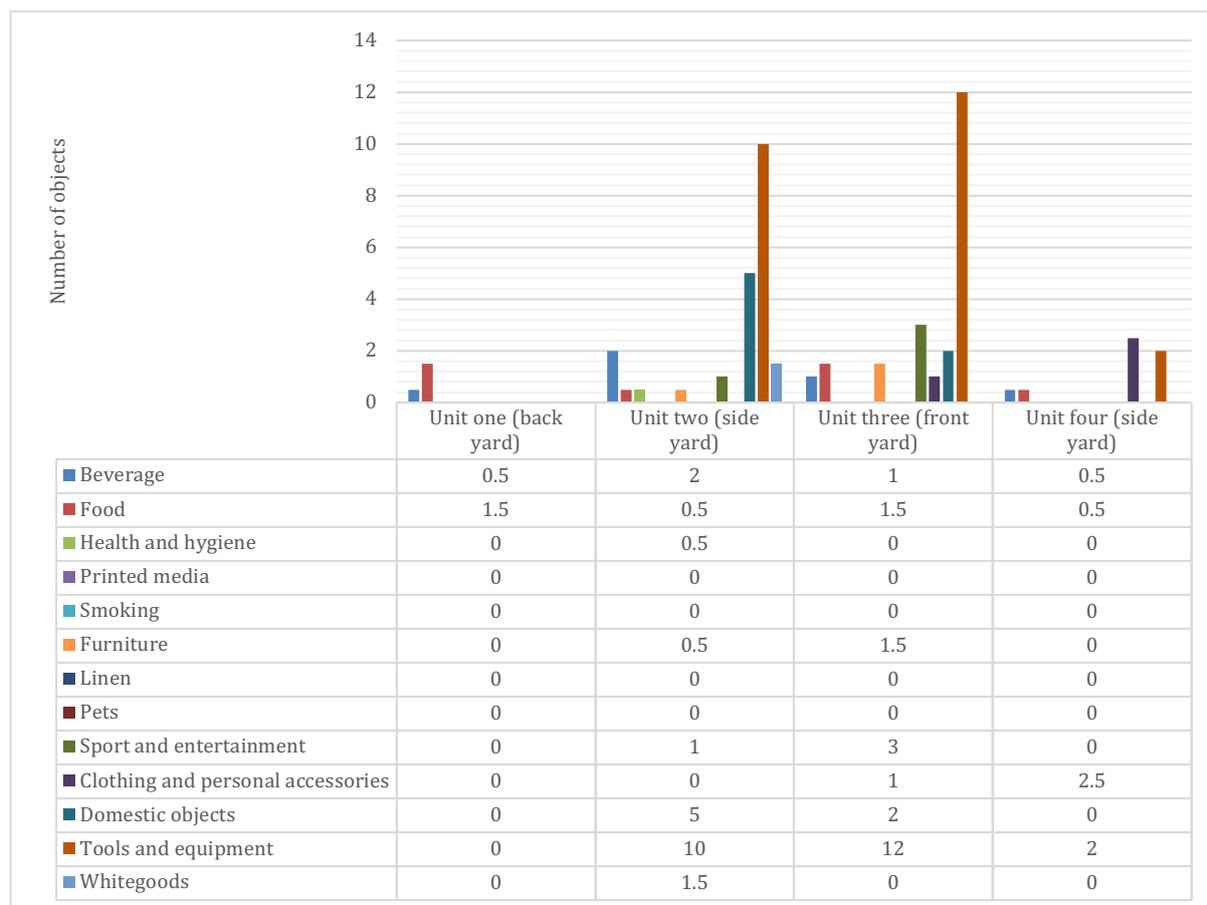


Figure 56. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

Figure 56 presents the average number of each type of object recorded in each of the survey units over the two surveys. As unit two, the eastern side yard, was identified as a primary activity area, the above results reveal the specific kinds of activities that occurred there. While outdoor activity is minimal, as discussed above, material culture related to domestic labour featured often (e.g. domestic objects ($\bar{x}=5$), tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=10$), and whitegoods ($\bar{x}=1.5$)). Discarded objects featured relatively often in unit two when compared with other survey units (e.g. beverage ($\bar{x}=2$), food ($\bar{x}=0.5$), and health and hygiene ($\bar{x}=0.5$)), while those related to outdoor recreation were relatively uncommon (e.g. only few instances of furniture ($\bar{x}=0.5$) and sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=1$) were recorded here). While outdoor activity appears to be minimal, it is likely that this area of the yard is used primarily for domestic labour.

Unit three, the front yard, was another primary activity area, though this time, it featured more items related to outdoor recreation than unit two (e.g. furniture ($\bar{x}=1.5$) and sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=3$)). The front yard also featured similar frequencies of discard objects, as well as those related to domestic labour. In that sense, because this area of the yard featured a higher frequency of material related to outdoor recreation, these results indicate that this area of the yard is the primary social area, though it is also used for domestic labour, dining, and storage.

Units one (the back yard) and two (the western side yard) featured very low numbers of material culture and it is likely that these parts of the yard are used relatively infrequently. This may be the result of the fact that there are no doorways that lead to the house in these areas as opposed to the doorways that are situated in units two and three. The question here is how is the decision around primary activity area being made? Is it a purely functional decision (i.e. ease of access to the building), is it for protection from the afternoon sun (e.g. the eastern side of the yard), or is it about conspicuousness?

6.3.2.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
October 2016	N/A	15	15
April 2017	15	0	15

Table 23. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 166.

Lot 166 featured minimal graffiti (n=15), which were all recorded in October 2016. Of the two surveys conducted at Lot 166, new graffiti was only found in the first of the two. In that sense, the rate of production of graffiti at this property is minimal. Graffiti content and media types recorded at Lot 166 are explored further below.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 166

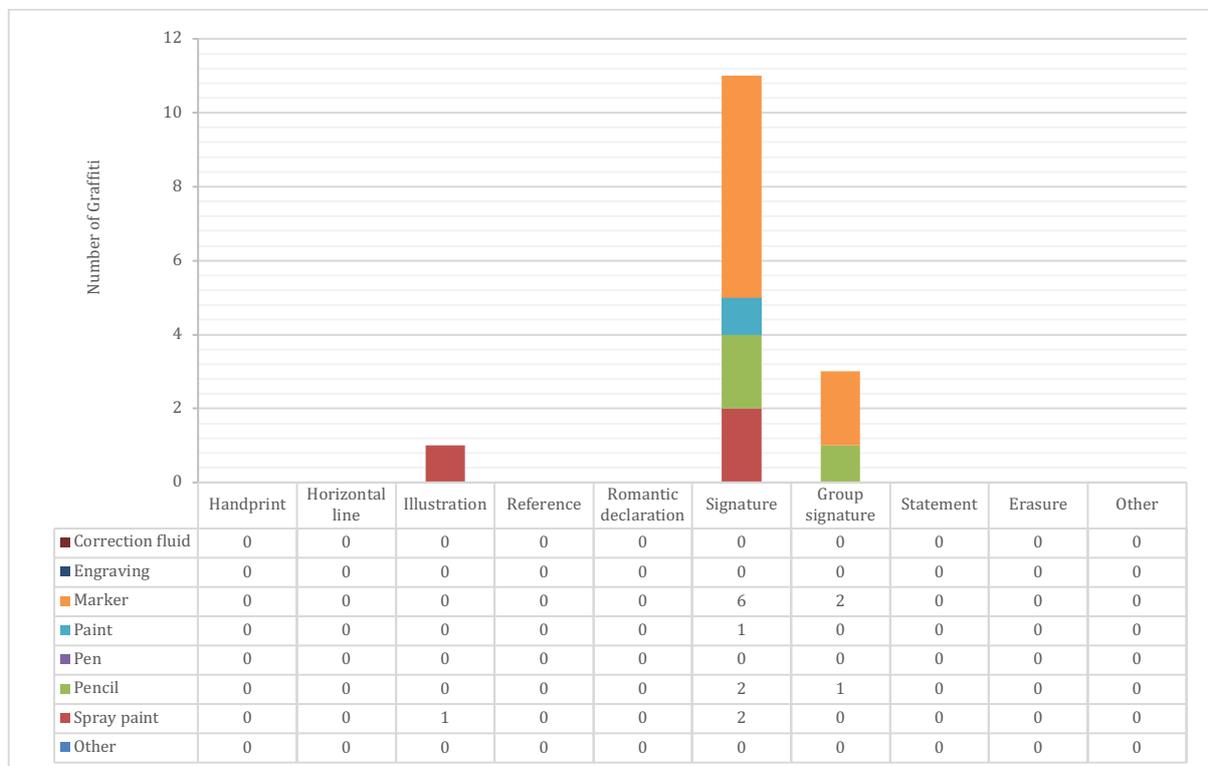


Figure 57. Graffiti at Lot 166 according to primary content type and media.

Signatures were the most common type of graffiti found at Lot 166 (n=11), as shown in Figure 57. Signatures were produced in a variety of forms at this property and they are explored in below. The inscribing of full names was the most popular type of autograph at this property, while others tended to inscribe various forms of their names, including initials, first names and surnames, and some of the graffiti featured affirmations of presence and of longevity. The number included in the graffiti which reads 'FIGGY #24 2006' is likely a reference to the player number of the graffiti writer when playing AFL or other sport. Signatures were written predominantly with markers (n=6), while a further two were written with pencils. Two signatures were engraved into the paint of the house at Lot 166, while the final two signatures were made using spray paint. The use of spray paint at this property is a departure from the trend at other properties in Barunga, where graffiti tends not to be produced using spray paint.

Secondary type	Example	Total (n=11)
Initials	Kh	1
Initial and surname	TJ Bono	2
Initial and affirmation	[indistinct] W-H	1
First name	KIARNAH	1
Full name	Hilde Koimala Brown	3
Affirmation	[indistinct] 43V3R!	1
Pseudonym	Bizzy	1
Pseudonym with number and date	FIGGY #24 2006	1

Table 24. Range of forms that signature graffiti take at Lot 166.

Three group signatures were recorded at Lot 166. One of these was an imperfect attempt at writing, which could have been made by a child. The next group signature featured an affirmation, where 'OU4' is shorthand for 'only us four':

WHITNEY LILLA NICKY TILLA ///OU4 BADASS///

This is a declaration of the close nature of their relationship. The final group signature featured two sets of initials, though one was crossed out:

AIQ CR

This strikethrough could mean that the relationship between the two people has ended, or that there has been a falling out in some way. Or it could have been erased by another party, where jealousy or disapproval played a role in the motivation to erase the initials. The final graffiti recorded at Lot 166 was an illustration (n=1) and this painting was of a 'smiley' face.

6.3.3 Lot 168

6.3.3.1 Biography

Lot 168 is also located in Sunrise. The premises is occupied by family of the senior Traditional Owners and the primary resident of this house holds considerable cultural and spiritual knowledge, and as such is known as a Clever person (i.e. a personal with spiritual abilities).

The house at Lot 168 is a freestanding, single storey building with a corrugated iron exterior, which is painted a light orange colour (see Figure 58). The yard largely features very dry grass that is often cut, and there is one tree in the yard, providing shade to the rear of the house. This house is on the edge of the community, bordered by one house to the south, and another house across the road to the west. To the north is open grassland, extending to Norforce Park, while to the east is grassland that extends to a stand of trees along the Beswick Creek. On the other side of the creek is the Barunga cemetery.



Figure 58. The house at Lot 168. Perspective: northwest. Photographer: Jordan Ralph. Date: 27/10/2017.

In terms of structures, there are two bough sheds at Lot 168. One of them is a typical bough shed made from iron bark wood; however, it is different in that it is smaller than many of the others I have observed in the community, at only 3.5 m x 3 m in dimension; and it adjoins the house. This is interesting, as most other bough sheds I have seen are placed away from the house. Furthermore, the second bough shed is interesting as it is made from steel. It is unknown whether this bough shed served the same purpose as the wooden funerary shelters. Moreover, there is a clothesline, which can be seen in Figure 58 above—made in a design typical to most others in Barunga. Finally, the yard of Lot 168 is enclosed by a cyclone wire fence. The southern boundary of the fence is the older style of fence found in Barunga, designated as such as it does not feature a top rail; while the remaining fence lines are the newer style, which do feature a top rail.

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 168 is explored below. Lot 168 was surveyed four times during the project, to understand how the space is used during different seasons:

- 27/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 28/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 18/07/2017 (dry season)

I divided the yard of Lot 168 into four survey sections, to understand the different ways in which the space of is used. A plan of Lot 168 can be found in Figure 62.

6.3.3.2 *Material culture*

Overview

Material culture recorded at Lot 168 (n=494) was categorised into eleven types, based primarily on function. The eleven types fit under three overarching themes, which are explored in detail below. The number of objects of each type recorded during each survey are presented in Table 25. These numbers are also averaged over time. Most of the material culture recorded at Lot 168 related to the discard theme (n=343; \bar{x} =86). Other materials were classified as labour (n=111; \bar{x} =27.75) and outdoor recreation (n=39; \bar{x} =9.75). The raw data are presented in Appendix Seven.

Material culture theme	General object category	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	41	18	25	115	<u>49.75</u>
	Food	7	5	3	36	<u>12.75</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	1	9	19	<u>7.25</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	3	<u>0.75</u>
	Smoking	6	8	7	41	<u>15.5</u>
	Subtotal		54	32	44	214
Recreation	Furniture	7	6	3	6	<u>5.5</u>
	Linen	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Pets	0	0	1	0	<u>0.25</u>
	Sport and entertainment	1	1	1	13	<u>4</u>
	Subtotal	8	7	5	19	<i>n=39</i> <i>$\bar{x}=9.75$</i>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	0	1	5	8	<u>3.5</u>
	Domestic objects	2	2	3	32	<u>9.75</u>
	Tools and equipment	11	14	8	17	<u>12.5</u>
	Whitegoods	1	2	3	2	<u>2</u>
	Subtotal	14	19	19	59	<i>n=111</i> <i>$\bar{x}=27.75$</i>
TOTAL	76	58	68	292	<i>n=494</i>	

Table 25. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 168, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 168

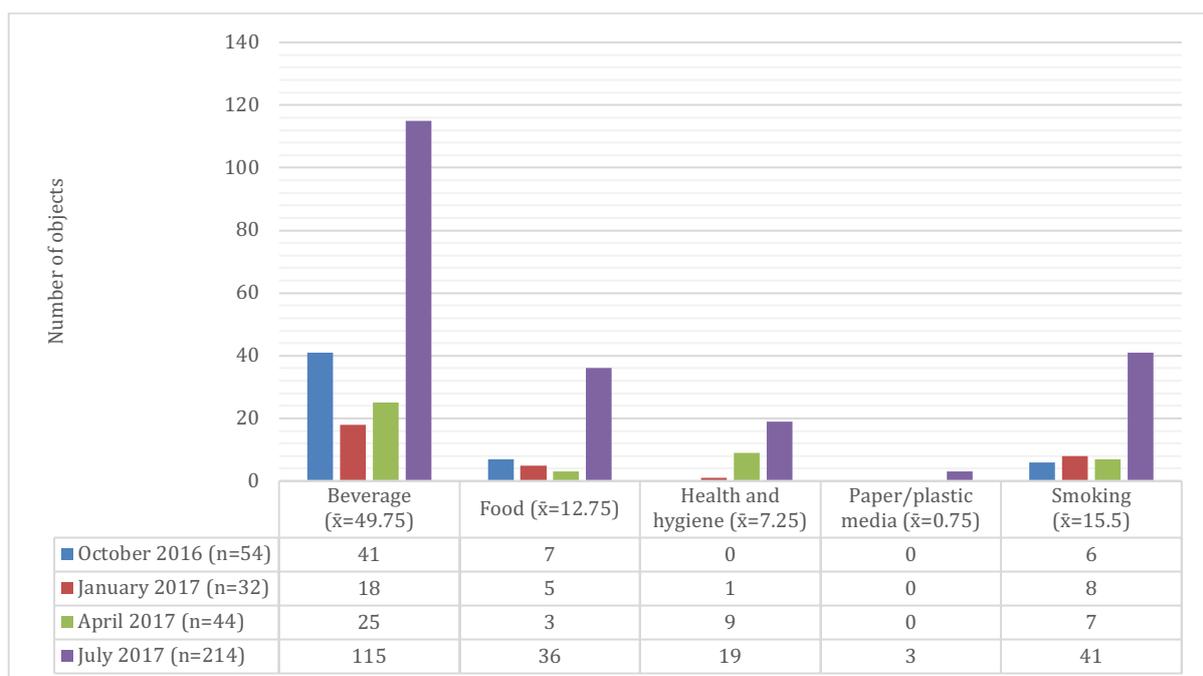


Figure 59. Number of material culture at Lot 168 classified as discard, according to type.

The relative proliferation of discarded consumption objects at Lot 168, as well as at other properties in Barunga, can provide some insights into the 'life' of disposable objects in remote communities, as well as discard practices, which has implications for waste management in the community. Objects related to discard were the most frequently recorded type of material culture at Lot 168. Items related to the consumption of beverages were the most common type of material culture that fits under this theme ($\bar{x}=49.75$). These objects were all used/empty drink containers, bottle caps, ring pulls, and tea bags that have been discarded. Forty-one instances were recorded in October 2016, while fewer were recorded in January ($n=20$) and April ($n=21$). A significantly higher number of beverage containers were recorded in July 2017 ($n=115$). These results indicate the yard was used more frequently in the drier, cooler months (i.e. around July) than during the warmer, wetter months of the wet season (i.e. November-March). Moreover, July is also school holidays and a number of events also occurred in Barunga, Katherine, and the Northern Territory around this time (e.g. the Barunga Festival, Territory Day, and the Katherine Show).

Other items related to discard followed the same trend in number, where numbers dropped from a moderate number in October, to a far lower number in January and April, before increasing significantly in July 2017. For example, disposable food-related items were recorded at an average of 12.75 per survey, though the number of these objects changed dropped from seven instances in October, to five and three instances in January and April respectively, before increasing significantly in July. Over a quarter of food-related objects were wrappers from various snack foods (35.3%), while another quarter were wrappers from various brands of instant noodles (25.5%). Empty bread bags and bread bag tags also appeared in the assemblage (21.6%), while the remaining 17.6% of food products were empty bags of brown onions, an empty butter container, empty packets of cheese slices, an empty packet of rindless bacon, and a rib bone from a kangaroo. Objects related to health and hygiene, smoking-related items, and paper/plastic media were also present in the Lot 168 material assemblage, though were relatively uncommon.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 168

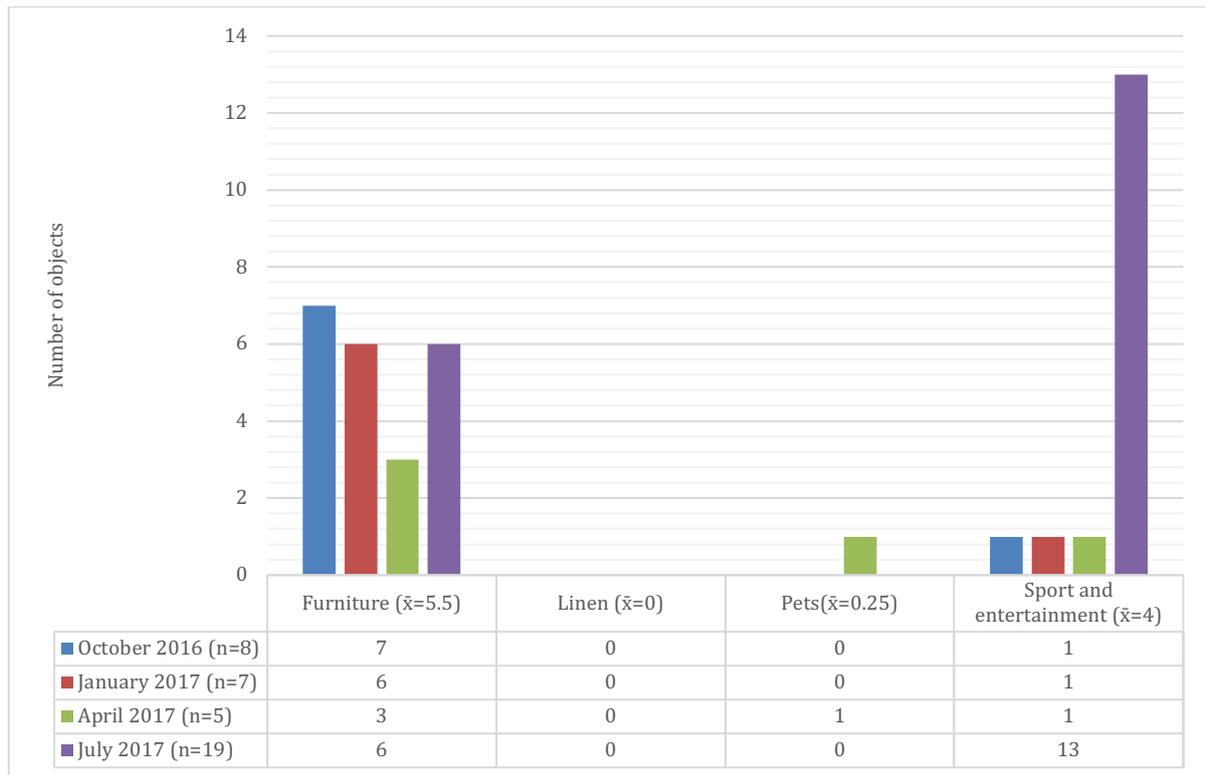


Figure 60. Number of material culture at Lot 168 classified as outdoor recreation, according to general type.

Objects related to outdoor recreation were present at Lot 168. Furniture was recorded at an average of 5.5 objects per survey, and this number remained stable across the data collection, except for the April survey when fewer instances were recorded. These items were mostly tables and chairs, though in July a single bed frame was set up in the yard, with a door placed on top. It is likely this was used as a lounge while sitting around a fire outdoors. Sport and entertainment objects were recorded infrequently at this property ($\bar{x}=4$), and the majority of these were recorded in July 2017. Sport and entertainment objects included playing cards, toys, and various speakers/headphones, as well as a series of cut wooden logs waiting to be burnt. Items related to pets ($n=1$) and linen ($n=0$) were uncommon at this property.

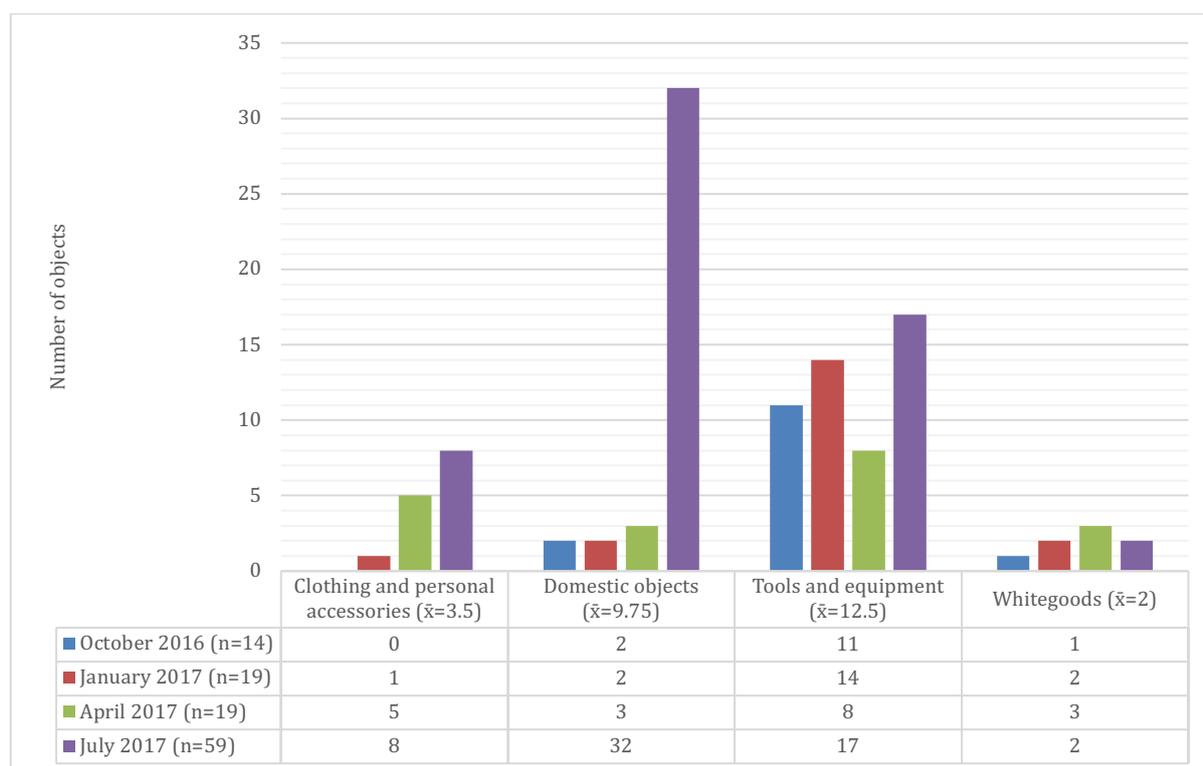
Labour at Lot 168

Figure 61. Number of material culture at Lot 168 classified as domestic labour, according to general type.

Items related to domestic labour were relatively common at Lot 168 ($n=111$; $\bar{x}=27.75$). Tools and equipment were the most common type of material culture recorded under this theme ($\bar{x}=12.5$) and specific items recorded in this category were gardening tools, electrical equipment (such as extension leads), tools (such as bolt cutters), and various bags. Moreover, domestic objects were also relatively common at Lot 168 ($\bar{x}=9.75$), though the majority of these were recorded in July 2017 ($n=32$). These objects were mostly reusable utensils for eating, cleaning implements, and decorations like fairy lights. Clothing and personal items were uncommon ($\bar{x}=3.5$), while whitegoods were common, when compared to other properties in Barunga ($\bar{x}=2$). Whitegoods included a deep freeze, a fridge, an as yet uninstalled air-conditioning unit, and a washing machine. These results are despite the laundry being located indoors at this property.

Results according to space at Lot 168

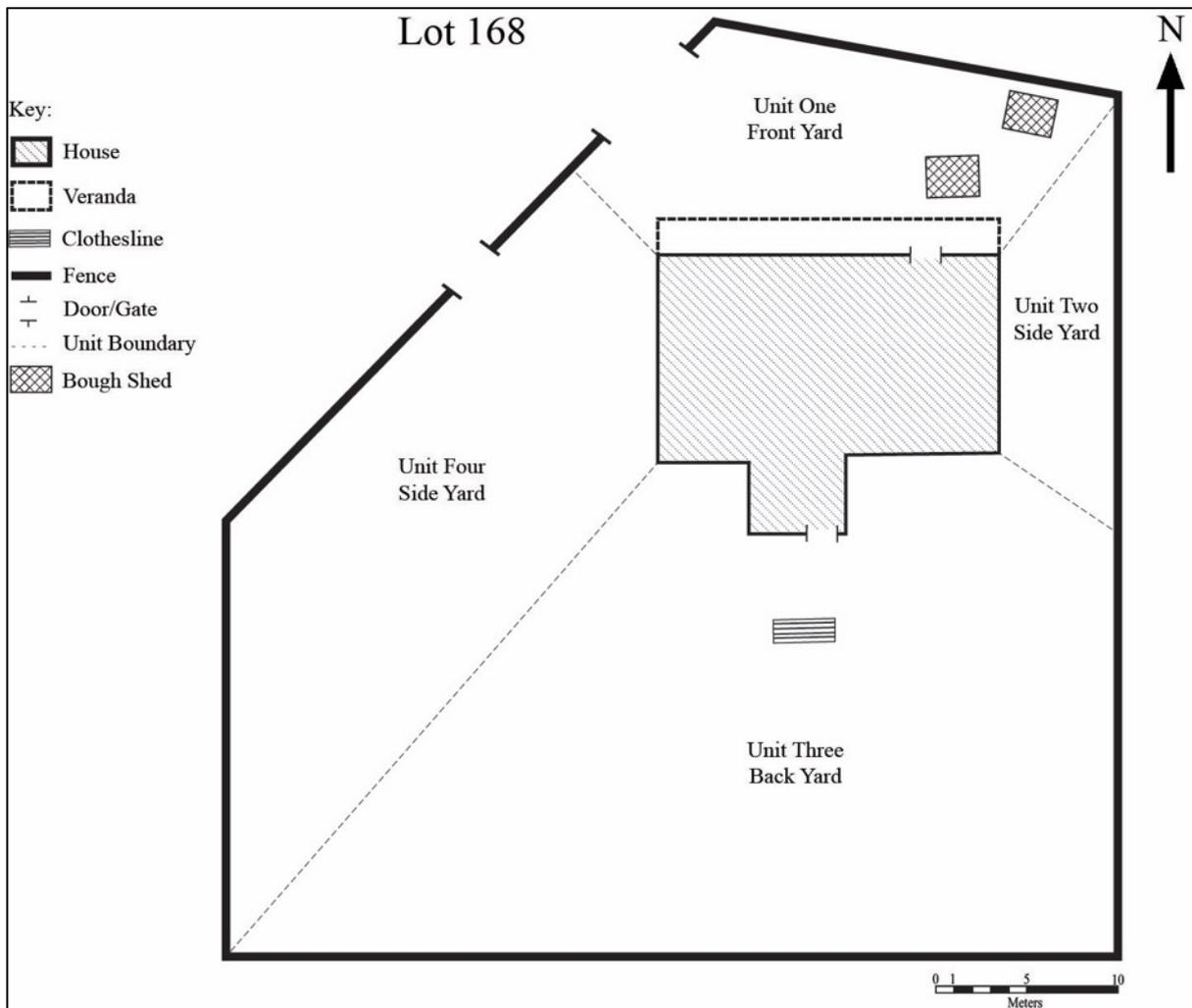


Figure 62. Plan of Lot 168 showing the four survey units.

Table 26 presents the number of objects found in each survey unit during each survey, and a plan of the property, including the location of the survey units, can be found in Figure 62. These results shed light on areas of intensive activity in the yard at Lot 168. Overwhelmingly, the results indicate that the front yard (unit one) was the primary activity area of this property ($n=379$; $\bar{x}=94.75$ per survey). There was a relative dearth of material culture in other areas of the property, though the backyard (unit three) featured the next most populous number of material culture ($n=63$; $\bar{x}=15.75$). Unit two (eastern side yard) ($n=32$; $\bar{x}=8$) and unit four ($n=20$; $\bar{x}=5$) featured very low numbers of material culture.

Survey	Front yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (east) Unit two	Back yard (south) Unit three	Side yard (west) Unit four	Total
October 2016	72	2	2	0	76
January 2017	49	1	6	2	58

April 2017	59	1	7	1	68
July 2017	199	28	48	17	292
Average	94.75	8	15.75	5	494

Table 26. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

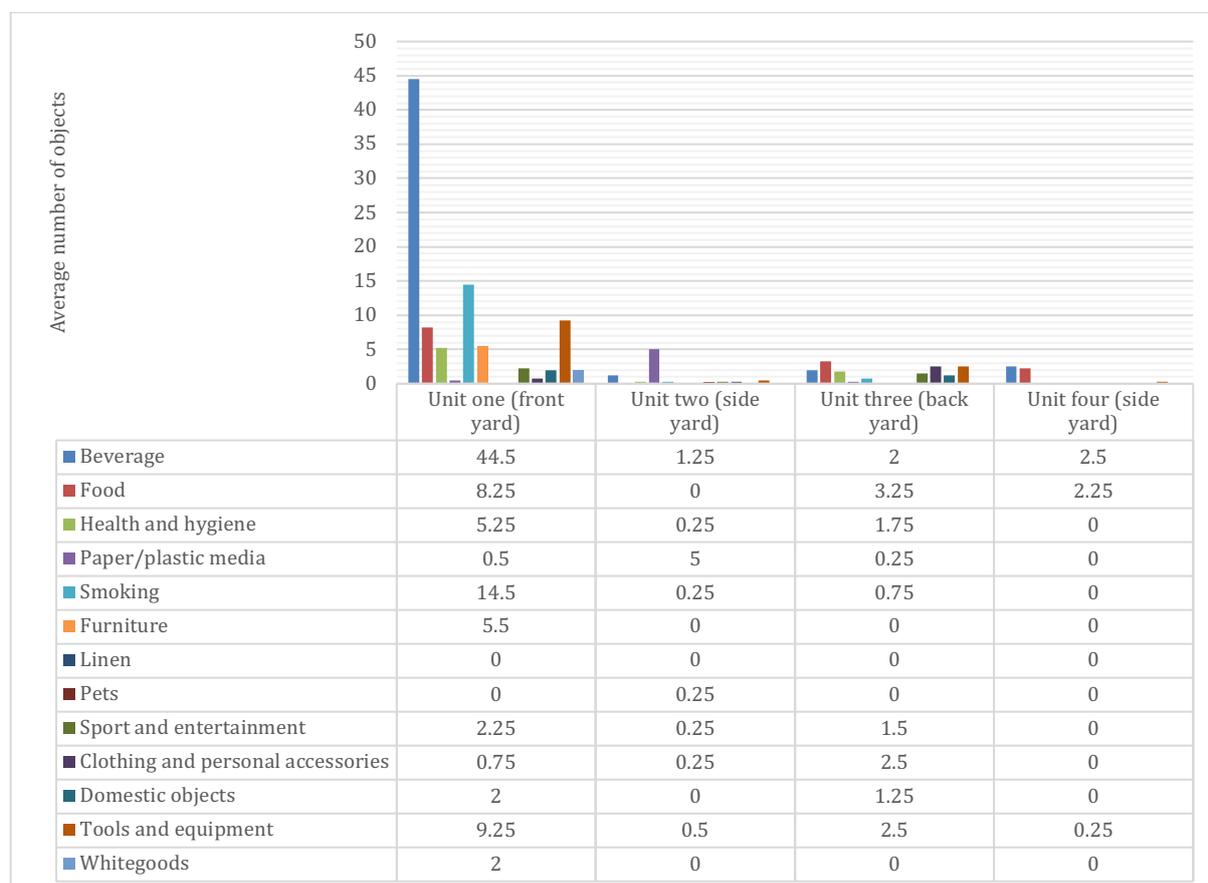


Figure 63. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

Figure 63 highlights the specific activities that were carried out at different areas of Lot 168. Unit one, the front yard, was identified as the primary activity area at Lot 168 and the results presented above indicate that this area is a combined social, dining and labour area. Beverage items were particularly prominent (\bar{x} =44.5), though food (\bar{x} =8.25), health and hygiene (\bar{x} =5.25), and smoking items (\bar{x} =14.5) were also present. Outdoor recreation objects were also frequently recorded in unit one than in other areas of the property, which were mostly furniture (\bar{x} =5.5) and sport and entertainment objects (\bar{x} =2.25). Domestic labour objects were also recorded in this survey unit more frequently than others, and the specific types of objects under this theme were mostly tools and equipment (\bar{x} =9.25), domestic objects (\bar{x} =2), and whitegoods (\bar{x} =2).

Unit three, the back yard, was the next most populous area, though it featured significantly fewer objects than unit one. The items that it did feature were mostly items related to discard, as well as domestic labour. The relative lack of objects related to outdoor recreation in unit

three indicates that little time is spent here. Specific types of objects found in this survey area are presented in Figure 63. Unit three is the area between the rear of the house and the fence which separates this yard from the neighbour's yard. It is of note that the preferred activity area is the most publicly conspicuous area of the yard, while those that are more visible from the neighbour's property are relatively barren of material culture.

The side yards (both east and west) featured very few objects, though these were mostly related to discard and domestic labour.

6.3.3.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	New graffiti	Total
October 2016	N/A	38	38
January 2017	38	8	46
April 2017	46	7	53
July 2017	53	1	54

Table 27. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 168.

The total number of graffiti recorded at Lot 168 over four surveys was 54. Thirty-eight of these were produced prior to October 2016, while the rate of accumulation appears to be between one and eight graffiti every three months, as eight new graffiti were recorded in January 2017; seven new graffiti in April 2017; and only one new graffiti was recorded in July 2017.

Results according to graffiti content and media

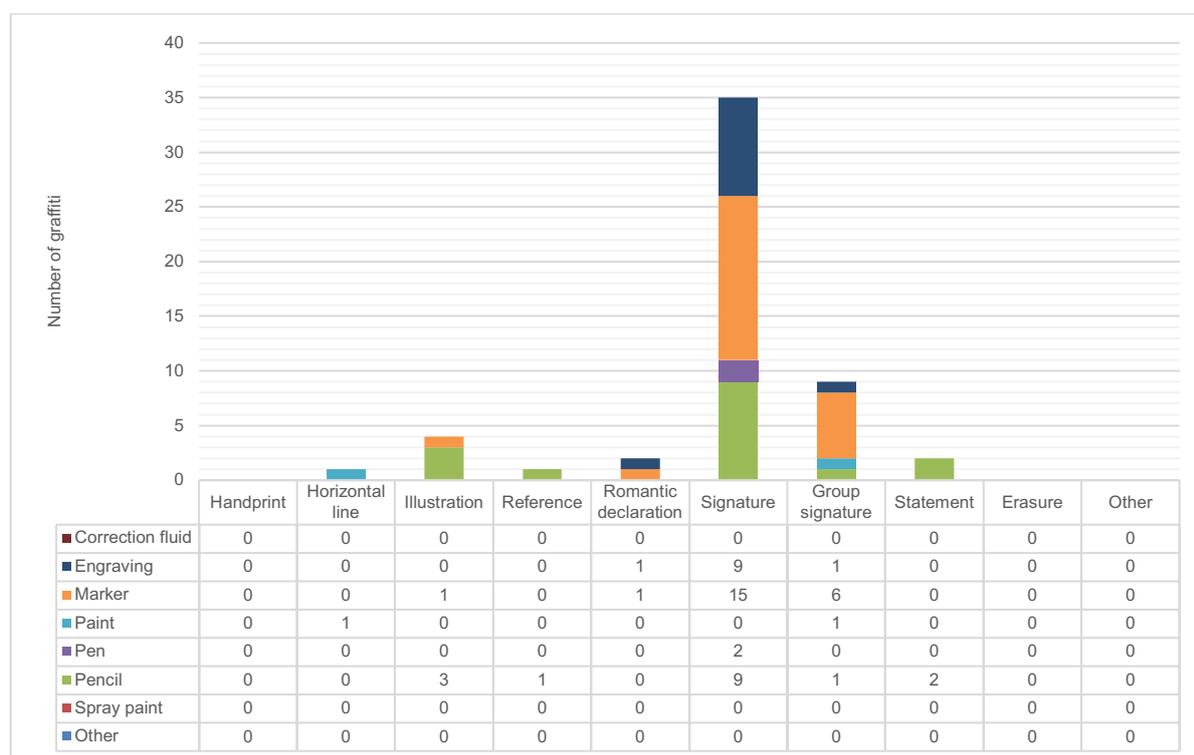


Figure 64. Graffiti at Lot 168 according to primary content type and media.

Signatures were the most frequently recorded graffiti at Lot 168, with 35 of the 54 graffiti being classified as such. Signatures took a variety of forms, which are presented in Table 28.

Predominantly, signatures took the form of an individual’s initials, first- and last-names, and full names. Few signatures featured an additional message at Lot 168, though a number of signatures also featured an alias, or nickname. For example, it is a common feature of Barunga graffiti to use the conjunction ‘as’ after a person’s name to highlight that person’s alias. Often this is used in conjunction with popular sports personalities or musicians. It is likely this is used as an identity-making device, as well as a way to declare an aspiration. Signatures were mostly written using a marker (n=15), while many others were engraved (n=9), or written with pencils (n=9), while few were written with pen (n=2).

Signature types	Example	Total (n=35)
Name (initials only)	JTW	13
Name (first name)	KIERAN	6
Name (surname)	RANCH	1
Name (full name)	Cheryl Bush	7
Names with additional text: Affirmation	MDF ONLY	2

Alias (nickname)	RANCH AS RANCHO	5
-------------------------	-----------------	---

Table 28. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 168.

Group signatures were the second most common graffiti recorded at Lot 168, with nine of the 54 graffiti classified as such. Primarily group signatures featured the names or initials of a series of people (n=5), for example:

**RJBBB
DBWHBB
TJJPB
TKB
NJB
LAH
2015**

Others featured an affirmation of exclusivity (n=2), for example (where '02' means 'only two'):

CB 02 YO YO 02 CB

While the remaining two featured a collective alias:

Rancho Boys

Group signatures were mostly made with markers (n=6), while others were engraved (n=1), or produced with paint (n=1) or pencil (n=1).

Four illustrations were recorded at Lot 168, and two of these were drawings of fish, while another was a design similar to the Union Jack. The final illustration was a stylised 'S', which is often referred to as the 'Stüssy S', a regular feature of Australian schoolyard graffiti. Illustrations were made with pencils (n=3) and a marker (n=1).

Two romantic declarations were recorded at Lot 168, for example (where the number 4 is code for 'likes' or 'loves'):

DJD 4 KFD

Moreover, two statements were also recorded, where the first was a declaration/accusation about an individual, which could have been either jocular or sinister in intent, as it relates to the individual performing a sexual act (deidentified for privacy):

******* ***** for Sux**

The other statement referred to a popular NT past time:

I like going hunting for pigs

The single instance of reference graffiti at Lot 168 referred to a popular Northern Territory band, B2M, who regularly perform in Barunga at the annual Sports and Cultural Festival. This graffiti simply read the name of the band.

The final graffiti recorded at Lot 168 was a red horizontal line, which was found on the east-facing wall of the house. This horizontal line is of the kind similar to those painted around a house after an occupant has passed away. Traditionally, this would have been made using ochre, though the use of paint in this instance does not detract from its authenticity as a cultural practice.

Finally, no handprints were recorded at Lot 168 and no graffiti were produced using correction fluid or spray paint.

6.3.4 Lot 316

6.3.4.1 Biography

Lot 316 (pictured in Figure 65) is also in the region of Barunga known as Sunrise and is located on Buhymi Crescent. The house at Lot 316 is a duplex, where the single storey house is split in the middle and another family occupies the other half of the house. Each half of the house has its own fenced yard. The yard at Lot 316 is bordered to the east by the adjoining yard; and to the west by the yard of another house (family to the residents of Lot 316). The northern aspect of the yard opens to Buhymi Crescent, while the southern side of the yard opens onto grassland that extends 200 m to Beswick Creek. A plan of this property can be found in Figure 69.

The house is owned by the Territory Housing Commission and is one of the more recent houses built in Barunga, having been built between 2013 and 2014. The house is occupied by a young couple in their early thirties and their two infant daughters. The grandmother of the primary female resident often visits and stays here. The grandmother is the Senior Traditional Owner of the Barunga region. While there is only four or five people who live here regularly, this location tends to be a primary meeting place for a lot of family. At times, there could be 15-20 people in the yard during the day. There is also a gate cut into the western fence, allowing access between this yard and the yard of the neighbouring house. Moreover, as this property is leased by the Traditional Owners, family from elsewhere often stay here and at the property next door during times of celebration; therefore, the higher numbers of material culture found at Lot 316 could be attributed to visitors. Finally, there are between two and three dogs that routinely access this property.



Figure 65. The house and yard at Lot 316. Photograph: Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

In terms of structures, there is one bough shed at Lot 316, which was built for the funeral of the grandmother's sister. It is positioned in the north-western area of the yard (unit two) and is built from ironwood, with four posts, four beams, and chicken wire mesh, which forms the roof. The northern, eastern, and southern fence lines are of the newer design found in Barunga, as the fence in these areas has a top railing. The fence in the west, however, is one of the older designs (i.e. without a top railing). Finally, there is a clothesline in unit three, which is constructed using the typical design found throughout Barunga.

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 316 are explored further below. Lot 316 was surveyed only three times during the project, owing to a lack of access in April 2017 due to Sorry Business (i.e. a funeral). The three surveys conducted at Lot 316 nevertheless provide an understanding of how the space is used during different seasons:

- 27/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- No access (between wet and dry seasons)
- 20/07/2017 (dry season)

I divided the yard of Lot 316 into only three survey sections, because the yard is much smaller than others in Barunga. A plan of Lot 158 can be found in Figure 69 below.

6.3.4.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 635 objects were recorded at Lot 316 over three surveys. These objects were categorised according to thirteen types, which fit underneath the three overarching themes. The number of objects of each type recorded at Lot 316 are presented in Table 29. The majority of material culture recorded at Lot 316 related to the discard theme ($n=413$; $\bar{x}=137.67$ items per survey), while a number of others related to the labour theme ($n=145$; $\bar{x}=48.33$). Fewer objects related to recreation were recorded at the property ($n=77$; $\bar{x}=25.67$). The raw data are presented in Appendix Seven.

		October 2016	January 2017	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	23	23	119	<u>55</u>
	Food	15	4	73	<u>30.67</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	4	19	<u>7.67</u>
	Paper/plastic media	3	0	7	<u>3.33</u>
	Smoking	9	37	77	<u>41</u>
	Subtotal	50	68	295	<u>$n=413$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=137.67$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	10	7	4	<u>7</u>
	Linen	1	0	1	<u>0.67</u>
	Pets	1	0	1	<u>0.67</u>
	Sport and entertainment	12	4	36	<u>17.33</u>
	Subtotal	24	11	42	<u>$n=77$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=25.67$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	7	0	6	<u>4.33</u>
	Domestic objects	13	7	21	<u>13.67</u>
	Tools and equipment	32	22	35	<u>29.67</u>
	Whitegoods	0	0	2	<u>0.67</u>
	Subtotal	52	29	64	<u>$n=145$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=48.33$</u>
TOTAL	<u>126</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>401</u>	<u>$n=635$</u>	

Table 29. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 316, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

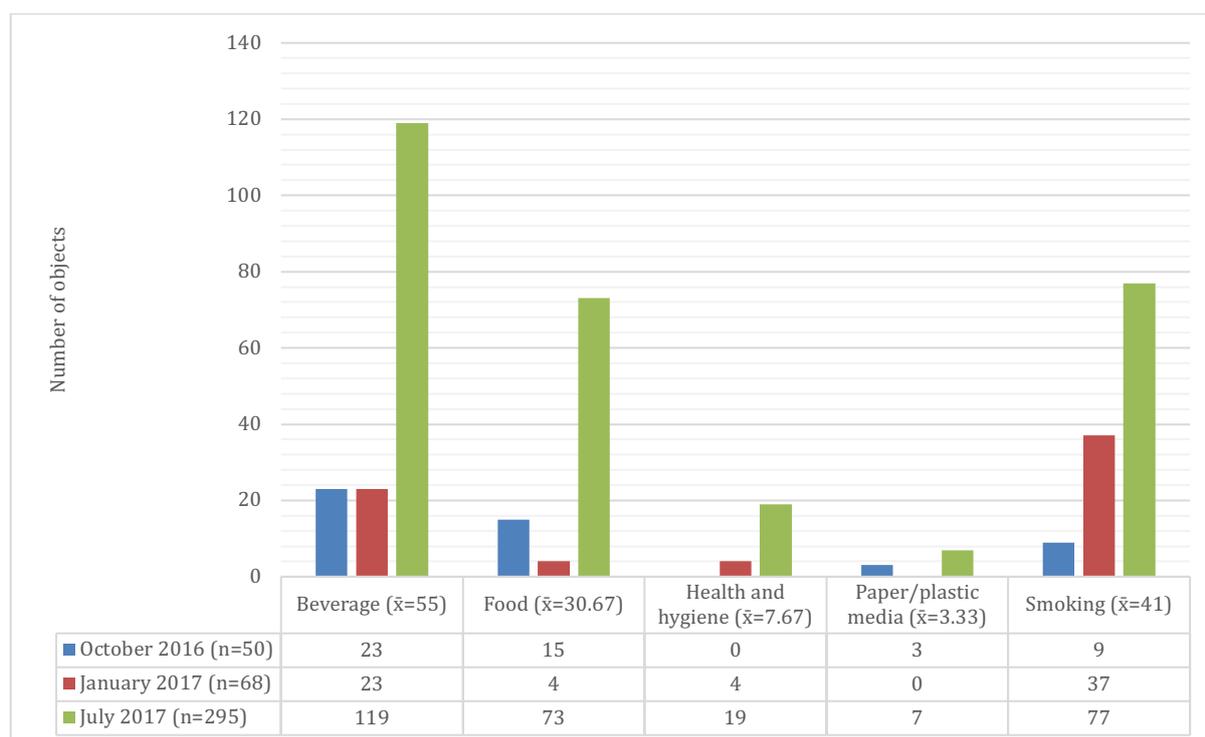
Discard at Lot 316

Figure 66. Number of material culture at Lot 316 classified as discard, according to type.

Figure 66 presents the number of objects related to discard according to type. Overwhelmingly, items related to the consumption of beverages were the most common type of material culture that fits under this theme. An average of 55 beverage objects were recorded during each of the surveys, though the majority were recorded in July 2017 (n=119). Moreover, items related to the consumption of food were also common under the discard theme and were recorded at an average of 30.67 items per survey. As with beverage objects, most food objects were recorded in July 2017. The specific objects and products found in the assemblage of food and beverage objects can be found in Appendix Seven.

Finally, health and hygiene objects as well as objects relating to smoking were also present at Lot 316, though not as regularly as beverage and food objects. Health and hygiene items were predominantly used cotton wool buds (n=14), empty cotton wool bud packets (n=2), a toothbrush, an empty Panadol rapid blister pack, a tampon wrapper, a wrapper for a blood sugar test strip (diabetes), a lid for a deodorant can, a syringe for liquid medication, and a government-issued low-income health care card. Smoking items included cigarette butts (n=116), empty tobacco pouches (n=2) cigarette packets (n=1), as well as empty packets for cigarette papers (n=2) and loose cigarette papers (n=2). Paper/plastic media included a notebook and loose sheets from the notebook, as well as a magnet advertising local Member of Parliament, Warren Snowden, and a brochure advertising the nearby Cutta Cutta caves.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 316

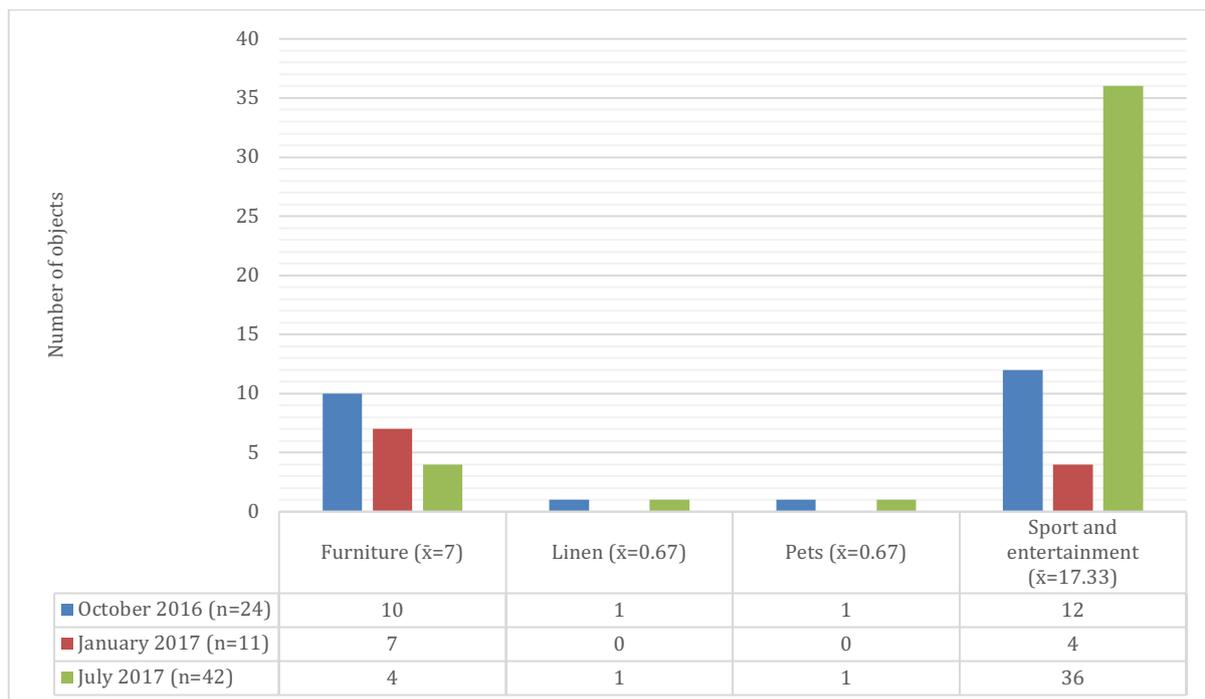


Figure 67. Number of material culture at Lot 316 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture related to the recreation theme was recorded at Lot 316 at an average of 25.67 items per survey. Most of these were classified as sport and entertainment objects (n=52; $\bar{x}=17.33$ items per survey). The majority of these items were recorded in July 2017 (n=36), while fewer were recorded in October and January (i.e. when outdoor conditions are unpleasant). Twenty-one of these were various toys, while other types of sport and entertainment objects were playing cards (n=15), bicycles and various bicycle parts (n=6), as well as a coloured pencil, a tennis ball, various parts of a tent (n=3), an empty DVD packet (*The King and I*), and a firework cartridge (presumably left over from Territory Day celebrations). Moreover, items that were likely left over from a party or celebration (such as a birthday) were also recorded, e.g. fragments of balloons (n=2) and a party whistle (n=1).

Furniture was also present at this property, though its presence declined in number progressively over the three surveys. Specific items in this category included a range of chairs (n=16), tables (n=3), and a steel drum that had been cut in half for use as a fire bucket. Pet-related objects and printed media were uncommon here. Specific items included a bottle of dog shampoo, as well as a leg bone from a buffalo, which had been given to dogs to chew.

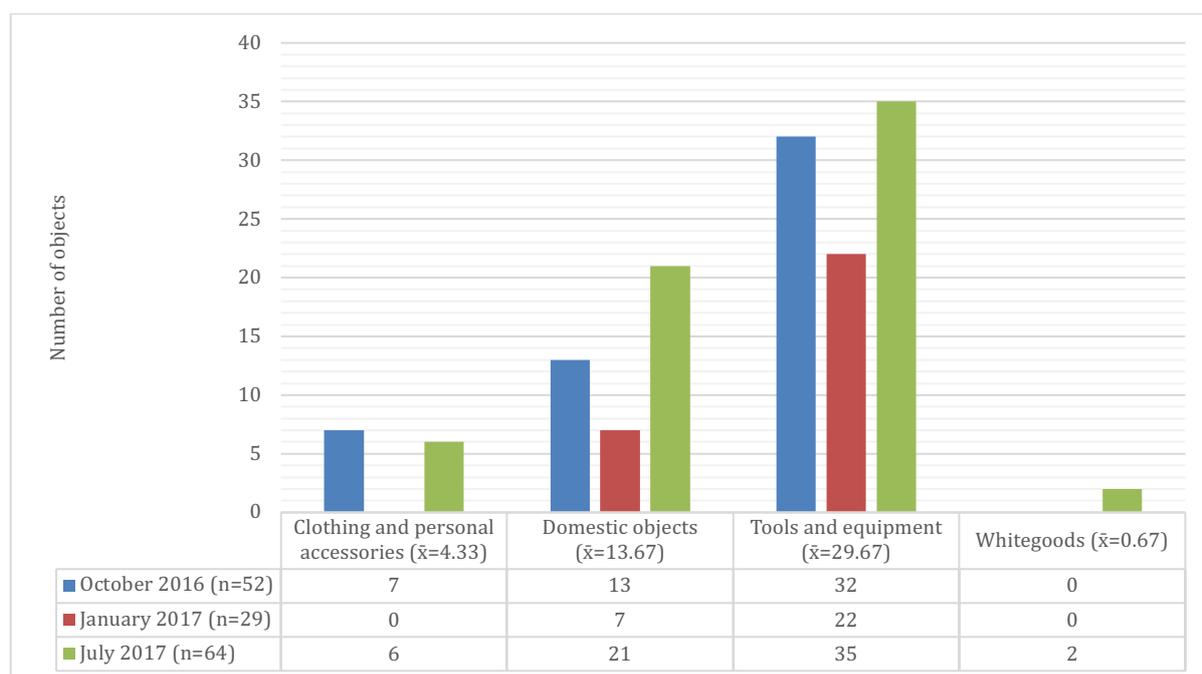
Domestic labour at Lot 316

Figure 68. Number of material culture at Lot 316 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified as labour at Lot 316 was recorded at a rate of 48.33 items per survey (n=145). These were further classified into four general types, which relate to function. The number of each type of domestic labour object that was recorded at Lot 316 is presented in Figure 68. The majority of domestic labour objects were classified as tools and equipment (n=89; $\bar{x}=29.67$ items per survey). Specific items in this category included general tools (n=15), gardening tools (n=14), rubbish bins (n=7), storage containers (n=10), electrical leads/chargers (n=4), and cooking (n=3) and cleaning tools (n=6). Equipment related to vehicle maintenance was also present (n=21), while various steel panels were used to enclose the veranda (n=5).

Domestic objects were also recorded frequently (n=41; $\bar{x}=13.67$ items per survey). The specific domestic objects recorded at this property included cooking implements (n=4), reusable eating utensils (n=3), disposable eating utensils (n=6), dishwashing items (n=3) and laundry items (n=5). Objects related to childcare (n=5), and bedding (n=8) were also present. Sixteen items classified as domestic objects were further classified as detritus, as they had been used and discarded. These included pre-paid electricity cards (n=5), broken cups (n=2), empty toilet rolls (n=8), and a child's nappy (n=1).

Clothing and personal accessories were also recorded at Lot 316, though relatively infrequently. These objects were all clothes, footwear, and various accessories such as handbags and hair bands. Whitegoods were relatively uncommon at this property, as only two instances were

recorded, and both of these were in July 2017. The specific items were a deep freeze and a washing machine. It is likely the lack of whitegoods at this property when compared to others is because it is one of the new buildings in Barunga and the laundry is built inside the house, rather than on the rear veranda.

Results according to space at Lot 316

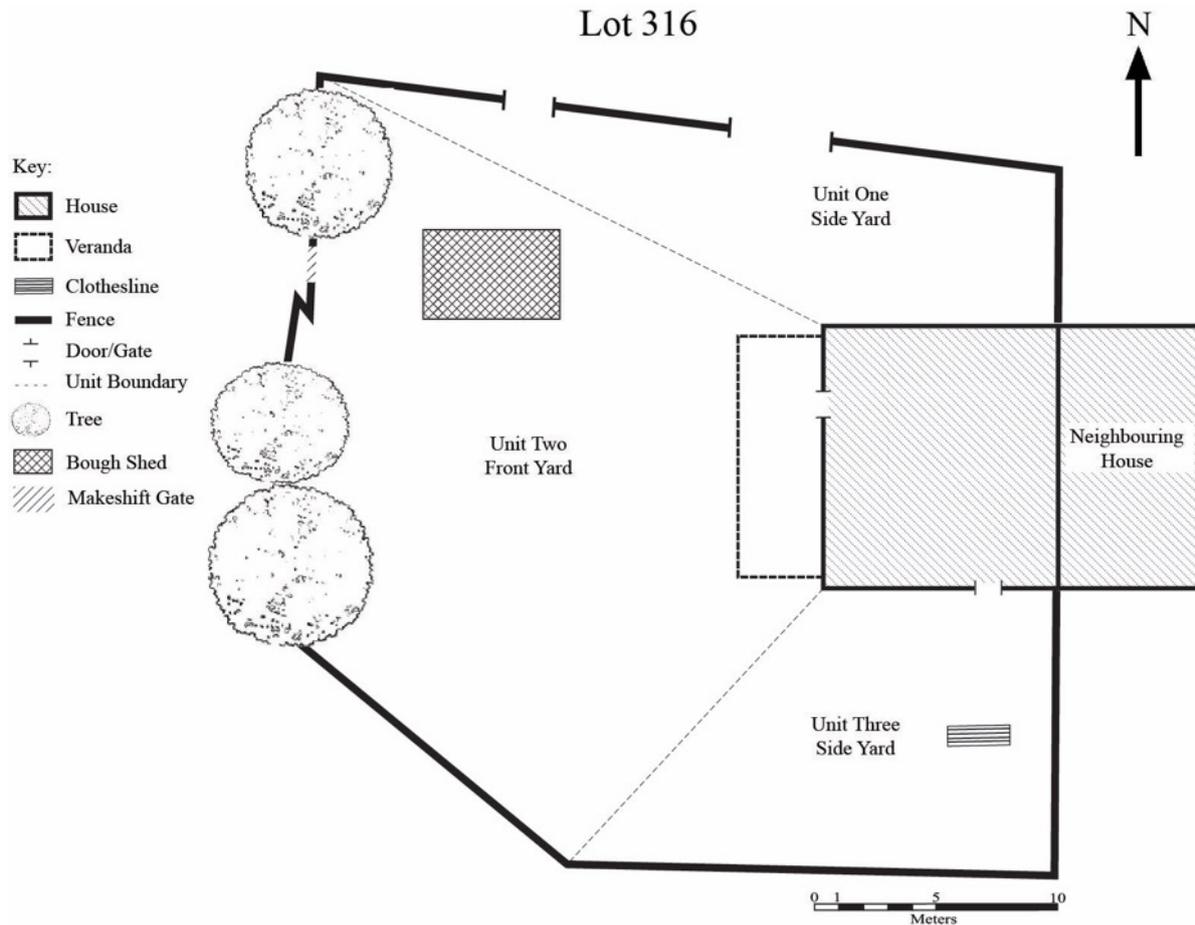


Figure 69. Plan of Lot 316 showing the three survey units.

The yard at Lot 316 was divided into three survey units. This allowed the identification of primary activity areas. The number of material culture found in the three survey units during each of the surveys is presented in Table 30. Most of the material culture was found in the side yard, unit two (n=322; \bar{x} =107.33 items per survey), and unit one, the front yard (n=244; \bar{x} =81.33). Relatively fewer numbers of material culture were found in the back yard (unit three) (n=69; \bar{x} =23).

Survey	Front yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (west) Unit two	Back yard (south) Unit three	Total
October 2016	47	77	2	126

January 2017	49	51	8	108
July 2017	148	194	59	401
Average	81.33	107.33	23	635

Table 30. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

The type of material culture found in each of the survey units can provide insight into the kinds of activities that take place there. The average number of objects found in each survey unit is presented in Figure 70 according type. The results indicate that units one and two are used primarily for socialising, dining, and labour, while unit three is primarily used for labour. Unit one, the front yard, featured a high number of discard objects, as well as those related to outdoor recreation and domestic labour. Unit two, the side yard, also followed this trend, though it featured a slightly higher average of discarded objects, and labour objects, and a lower average of outdoor recreation objects. Unit three, on the other hand, featured a significantly lower average of discard material, as well as domestic labour, while outdoor recreation objects were uncommon.

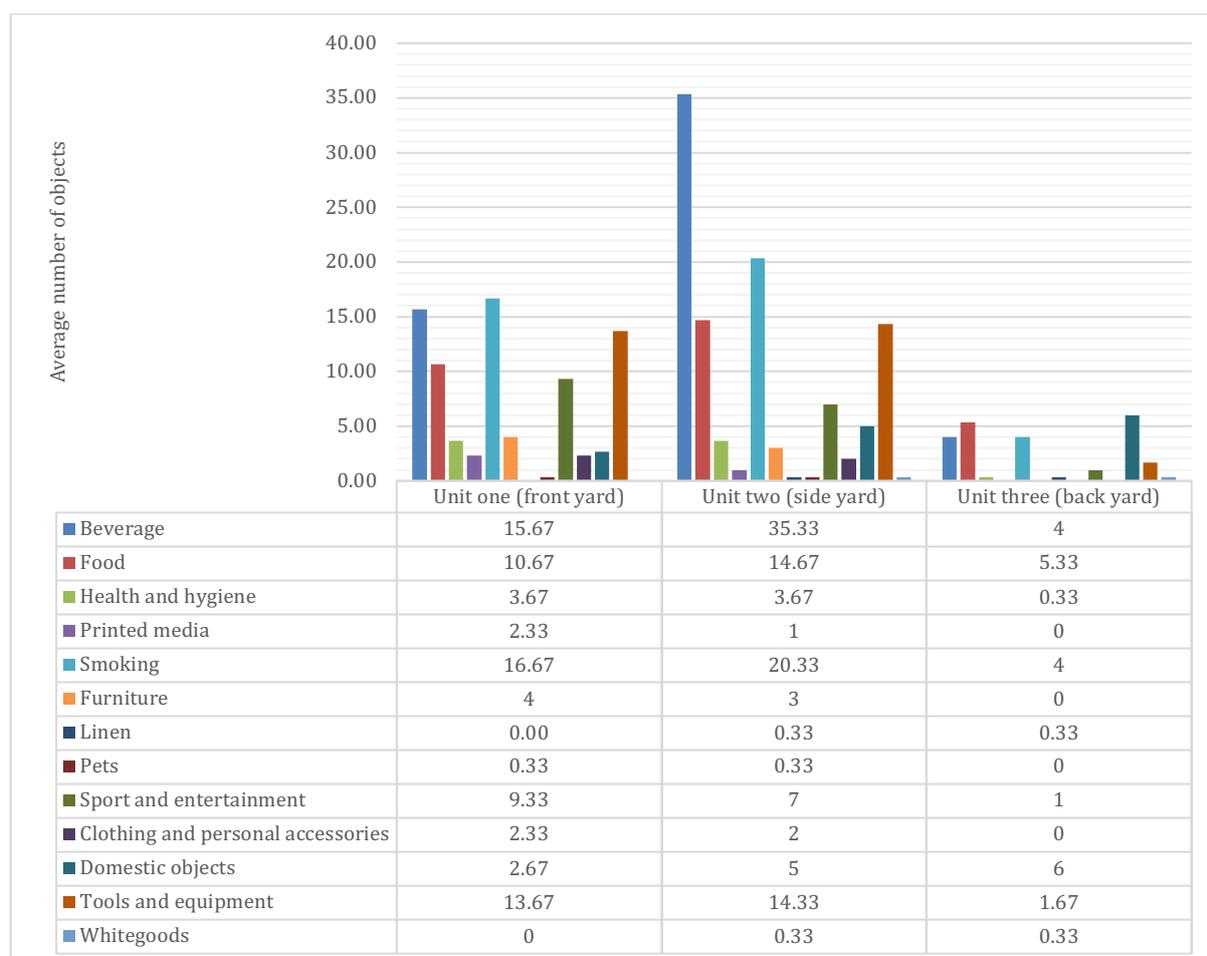


Figure 70. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

6.3.4.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	New graffiti	Total
October 2016	0	17	17
January 2017	17	6	23
July 2017	23	6	29

Table 31. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 316.

Lot 316 featured a relatively low number of graffiti, as a total of 29 graffiti were recorded at this property over three surveys. Seventeen of these were recorded in October 2016, while a further six were recorded in January 2017, as well as in July 2017. Table 31 displays the rate at which new graffiti was produced at Lot 316, and this tended to be quite low, at a rate of six graffiti every three-six months.

Results according to graffiti content and media

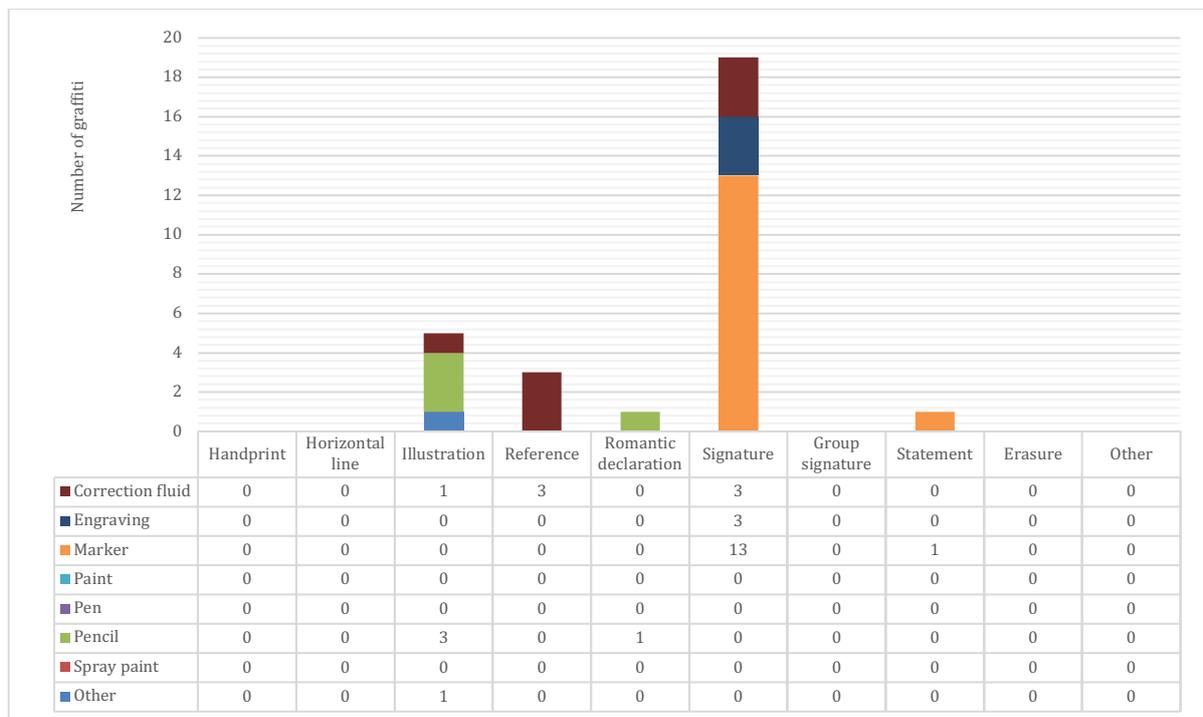


Figure 71. Graffiti at Lot 316 according to primary content type and media.

Signatures were the most common type of graffiti recorded at Lot 316, with 19 of the 29 graffiti found here being recorded as such. Table 32 explores the different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 316. Autographs featuring initials as well as those featuring the full names of individuals are the most common, with those that feature only a first name, an affirmation, a date, or have been erased are less common. Signatures were primarily written using marker (n=13), while others were made using correction fluid (n=3) or were engraved (n=3).

Signature types	Example	Total (n=19)
Name (initials only)	WD	5
Name (first name)	Jeffrey	4
Name (full name)	LEIGHTON JAY	5
Name with additional text:		5
Affirmation	DB W/H	
Date	N RUNYU 2016	
Erasure	Mikale e cooper	

Table 32. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 316.

Illustrations were the next most common type of graffiti found at Lot 316 (n=5). Illustrations included a drawing of a car; a face; a drawing of the Hustler logo; and of a hangman game. The final illustration was a temporary tattoo, which had been applied to the western exterior wall of the house. Illustrations were drawn with either pencil (n=3) or correction fluid (n=1), while another was a temporary tattoo, which had been applied to a surface of the house.

Reference graffiti (n=3) were also recorded at Lot 316. Each of these referred to musicians/bands (in these cases US rappers Tyga, Eazy-E, and US hip hop group N.W.A):

HM Tyga yg Eazy HOMIE

BOYZ NWA

NWA

One statement graffiti was recorded at Lot 316. It was made using a marker and the message contained within was unclear:

2x ZKR wit

The final graffiti at Lot 316 was classified as a romantic declaration and this particular one featured a romantic message and illustration:

AE♥LO

The above romantic declaration was made using a pencil. No graffiti recorded at Lot 316 were categorised as group signatures, handprints, horizontal lines, or erasure. All references were made using correction fluid.

6.4 Norforce Park

6.4.1 Lot 178

6.4.1.1 Biography

Lot 178 (pictured in Figure 72) is located near Norforce Park in the eastern area of Barunga. It is occupied by a woman from Torres Strait Islands and her adult son. On occasion, her granddaughter (her son's daughter) lives in the house; however, the granddaughter normally lives at the woman's sister's house (Lot 208), with the other children in her family.



Figure 72. House and yard at Lot 178. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

The house at Lot 178 is a freestanding building made of concrete blocks which are painted blue. The roof is made of corrugated iron and there is a veranda that extends the length of the rear of the house, while the front door is covered only by a small patio, enough for one chair. The fence around the yard of this property is of an older style, as indicated by the lack of top railing on the fence. There is a bough shed (see in the front yard of the property, which was built for the funeral of the primary resident's husband. Over the duration of the survey, one of the posts of the bough shed broke, causing it to collapse, which is the traditional way of managing such structures (i.e. allowing it to collapse, reusing the wire that once held it together, then using the wood as fuel for a fire).



Figure 73. Bough shed at Lot 178. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

The yard of this house is different to others that I have observed in Barunga, as it is a quadrilateral rather than square (see the plan in Figure 77). Another striking difference to some other yards in Barunga is the presence of a number of mango, hibiscus, and palm trees around the yard, as well as a cultivated garden at the front of the house.

The archaeological data presented below is derived from observations made during four surveys conducted at Lot 178. Lot 178 was surveyed on the following dates:

- 26/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 28/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 17/07/2017 (dry season)

I divided the yard of Lot 178 into four survey units, in order to understand how the space is used during different seasons. A plan of Lot 178 can be found in Figure 77.

6.4.1.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 434 objects were recorded at Lot 178 over four surveys. These objects were categorised according to twelve types, which fit under three overarching themes. The number of

objects of each type recorded at Lot 178 are presented in Table 33. In a departure from the trend observed at other places in Barunga, items classified as domestic labour were the most common type of material culture ($n=220$; $\bar{x}=55$ items per survey), while those related to outdoor recreation were the next most common at this property ($n=145$; $\bar{x}=36.25$). Objects classified under the discard theme were relatively uncommon ($n=68$; $\bar{x}=17$).

The number of objects recorded in each of the four surveys varied. Similar numbers were recorded in October ($n=101$), January ($n=102$), and April ($n=83$), while significantly more objects were recorded in July 2017 ($n=147$). This variation follows seasonal trends observed at other places in Barunga. The raw data are presented in Appendix Seven.

		October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	AVERAG E
Discard	Beverage	1	0	0	27	<u>7</u>
	Food	0	6	0	18	<u>6</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	0	0	4	<u>1</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Smoking	0	0	0	12	<u>3</u>
	Subtotal	1	6	0	61	<u>$n=68$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=17$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	18	18	16	11	<u>15.75</u>
	Linen	0	1	0	1	<u>0.5</u>
	Pets	3	3	3	5	<u>3.5</u>
	Sport and entertainment	18	18	14	16	<u>16.5</u>
	Subtotal	39	40	33	33	<u>$n=145$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=36.25$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	5	2	2	3	<u>3</u>
	Domestic objects	4	5	10	11	<u>7.5</u>
	Tools and equipment	51	48	37	38	<u>43.5</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	1	1	<u>1</u>
	Subtotal	61	56	50	53	<u>$n=220$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=55$</u>
TOTAL	101	102	83	147	<u>$n=433$</u>	

Table 33. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 178, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 178

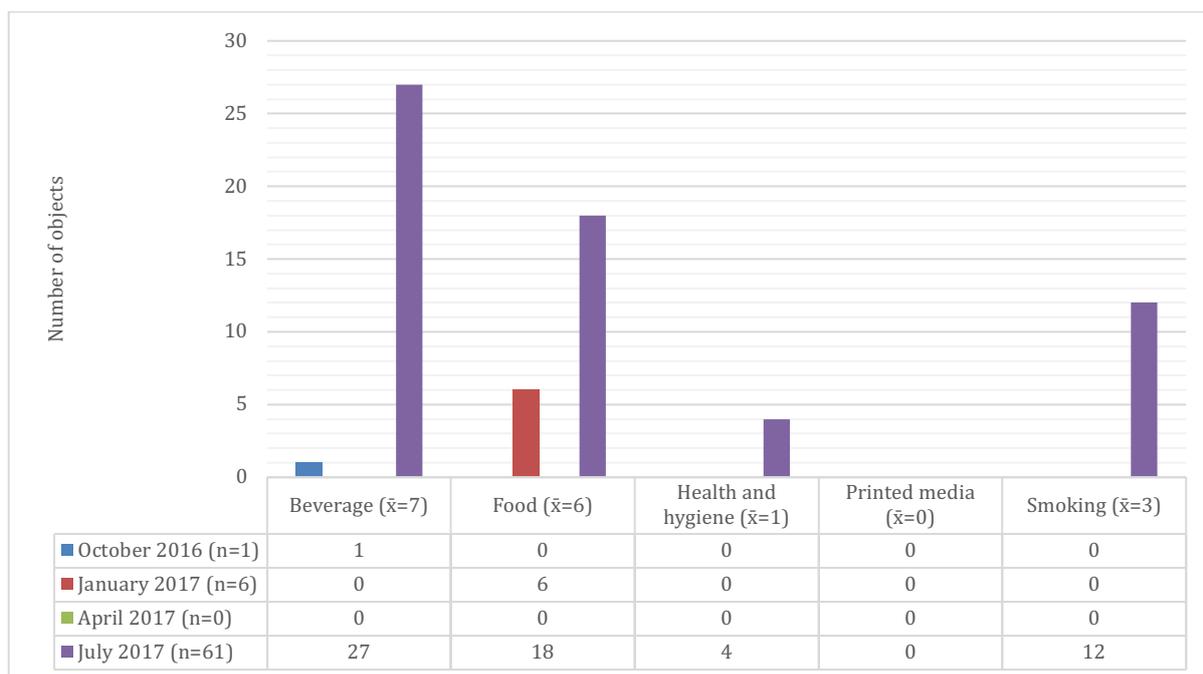


Figure 74. Number of material culture at Lot 178 classified as discard, according to type.

Material culture classified as discard were uncommon at Lot 178 (n=68; $\bar{x}=17$) and the majority of these were recorded in July 2017 (n=61). In an interesting departure from the trend observed at other locations in Barunga, beverage objects were not the most frequently recorded type of object. Only one was recorded between October and April, while 27 were recorded in July. Similar variations were recorded for food objects, health and hygiene and smoking objects.

Specific products featured in the assemblage of beverage products were soft drink containers, bottle caps and ring pulls (n=14), tea bags and labels (n=8), juice containers (n=3) water containers (n=2), and a milk container. Food products consisted of sweet snack foods (n=9), bread (n=5), instant noodles (n=2), take away (purchased in Barunga) (n=2) and vegetables (n=1). The five remaining food products were the shells of freshwater mussels, which can be caught in mud of Beswick Creek, which surrounds Barunga. The health and hygiene items were a cotton wool bud, a pad from a heart rate monitor, an empty wrapper from a band-aid, and an empty tampon wrapper. All smoking objects were cigarette butts.

The increase of discard objects in July 2017 is interesting, particularly because these items were not typically found at the property beforehand. This departure from the norm could be explained by the fact that the primary resident had an extended stay in hospital immediately prior to the July survey. Her son was the sole resident at that time. It is likely that the woman who leases this property is in charge with maintaining ‘cleanliness’. Moreover, as this family is

from the Torres Strait Islands, it is possible there is a cultural difference impacting the material assemblage at this property.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 178

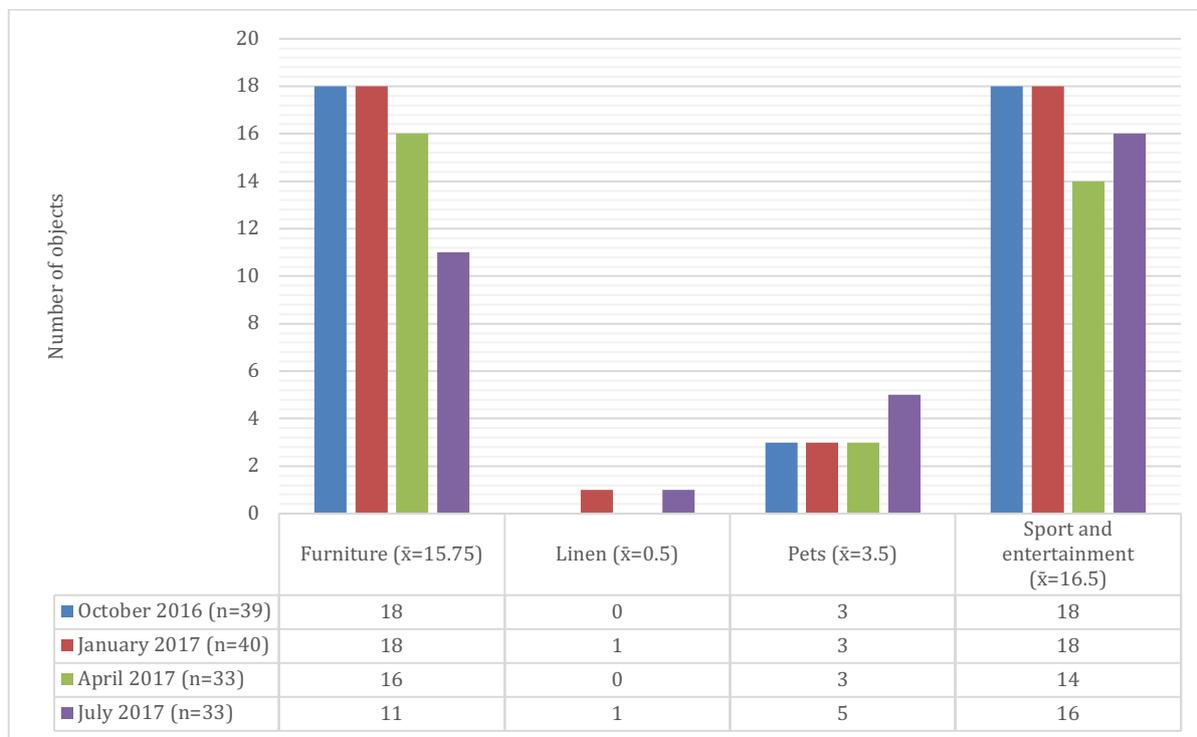


Figure 75. Number of material culture at Lot 178 classified as outdoor recreation, according to general type.

Outdoor recreation objects were more common at Lot 178 ($n=145$; $\bar{x}=36.25$) than those classified as discard. Items related to sport and entertainment were the most common type of material culture under this theme ($\bar{x}=16.5$). The majority of these were toys ($n=43$), tents ($n=8$), gym equipment ($n=5$), bicycles ($n=3$), a blank DVD disc, an inflatable wading pool, and nets for catching crustaceans ($n=2$).

Furniture was also common at this property ($\bar{x}=15.75$). The items included in this category were chairs ($n=21$), tables ($n=18$), lounges ($n=7$), various steel drums for fire/cooking ($n=9$), and a number of single bed frames ($n=8$), one of which was assembled and had a mattress placed on top.

Objects related to pets were frequently recorded at Lot 178. These were all stainless-steel dishes that held water and food. Most of them were for cats that live at the property, though by July, a dog had been living here, which explains the increase in pet-related objects during that survey. Two objects were classified as linen (both bath towels). One was present in January 2017, and the other in July 2017.

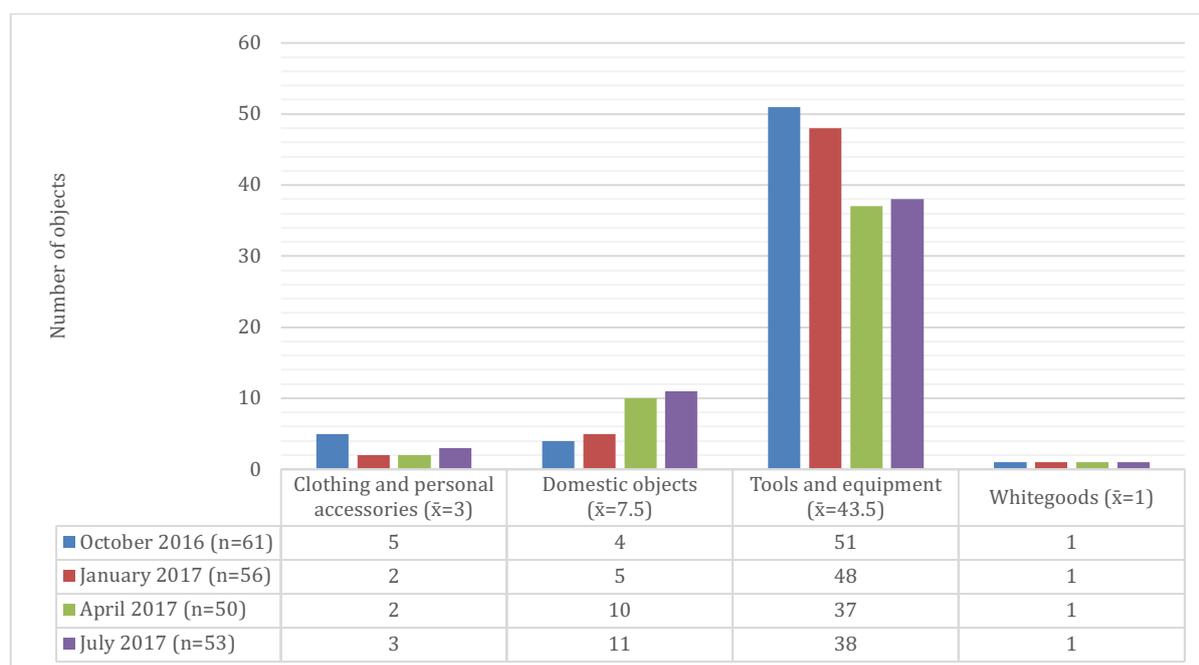
Domestic labour at Lot 178

Figure 76. Number of material culture at Lot 178 classified as domestic labour, according to general type.

Objects classified as domestic labour were the most common type at Lot 178 ($n=220$; $\bar{x}=55$).

Most of the objects related to domestic labour were classified as tools and equipment ($\bar{x}=43.5$), and the specific items in this category were gardening equipment ($n=31$) storage items ($n=52$), various tools ($n=37$), cooking equipment ($n=11$), cleaning equipment ($n=35$), and rubbish bins ($n=8$).

Clothing and personal accessories were uncommon at Lot 178 and those that were present were clothes ($n=3$), shoes ($n=8$), towels ($n=2$), and a ribbon. Domestic objects on the other hand were relatively common, and these included cooking ($n=4$) and cleaning ($n=1$) utensils, decorations ($n=4$), two reusable cups, objects related to childcare ($n=7$), and items related to the laundry, such as washing powder ($n=10$). One washing machine was recorded during each of the surveys. It remained in the same location in the outdoor laundry.

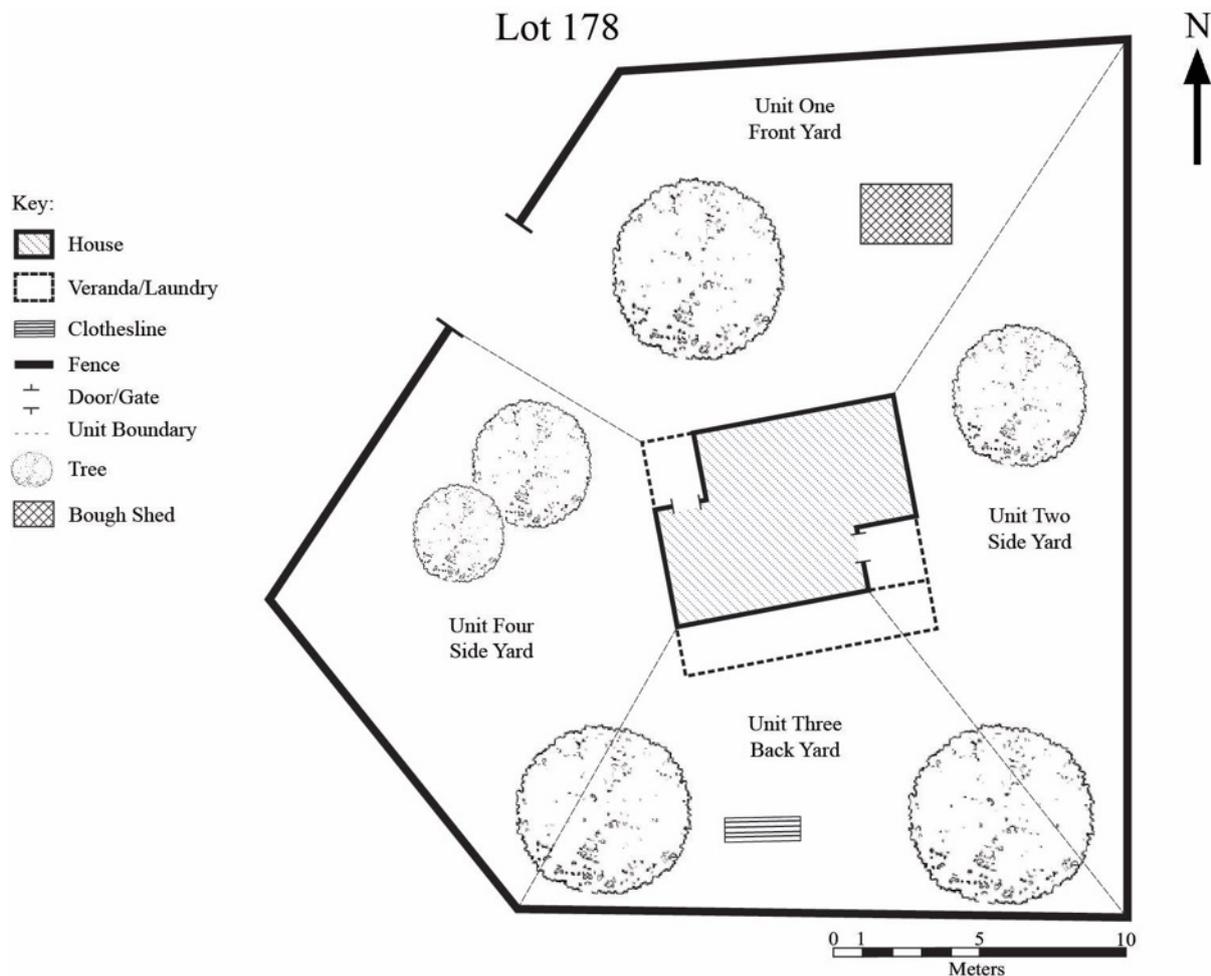
Results according to space

Figure 77. Plan of Lot 178 showing the four survey units.

The yard at Lot 178 was divided into four survey units to understand the use of space at the property. The results are presented in Table 34 below and they indicate that the eastern side of the yard (unit two) ($\bar{x}=49.75$ items per survey), and the back yard (unit three) ($\bar{x}=38.5$) are the primary activity areas of this property. This is a departure from the trend observed at other places in Barunga, where the primary activity areas were in the front yard of the property, or the more publicly visible areas. At Lot 178, the more publicly inconspicuous areas of the yard are the primary activity areas. Unit one, for example, is relatively barren of material culture ($\bar{x}=5.5$), while unit four, the western side yard, had a slightly higher average ($\bar{x}=14.5$). The backyard is also in shade in the afternoon.

Survey	Front yard (north) Unit one	Side yard (east) Unit two	Back yard (south) Unit three	Side yard (west) Unit four	Total
October 2016	4	54	35	8	101
January 2017	4	49	40	9	102
April 2017	4	45	25	9	83
July 2017	10	51	54	32	147
Average	5.5	49.75	38.5	14.5	433

Table 34. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

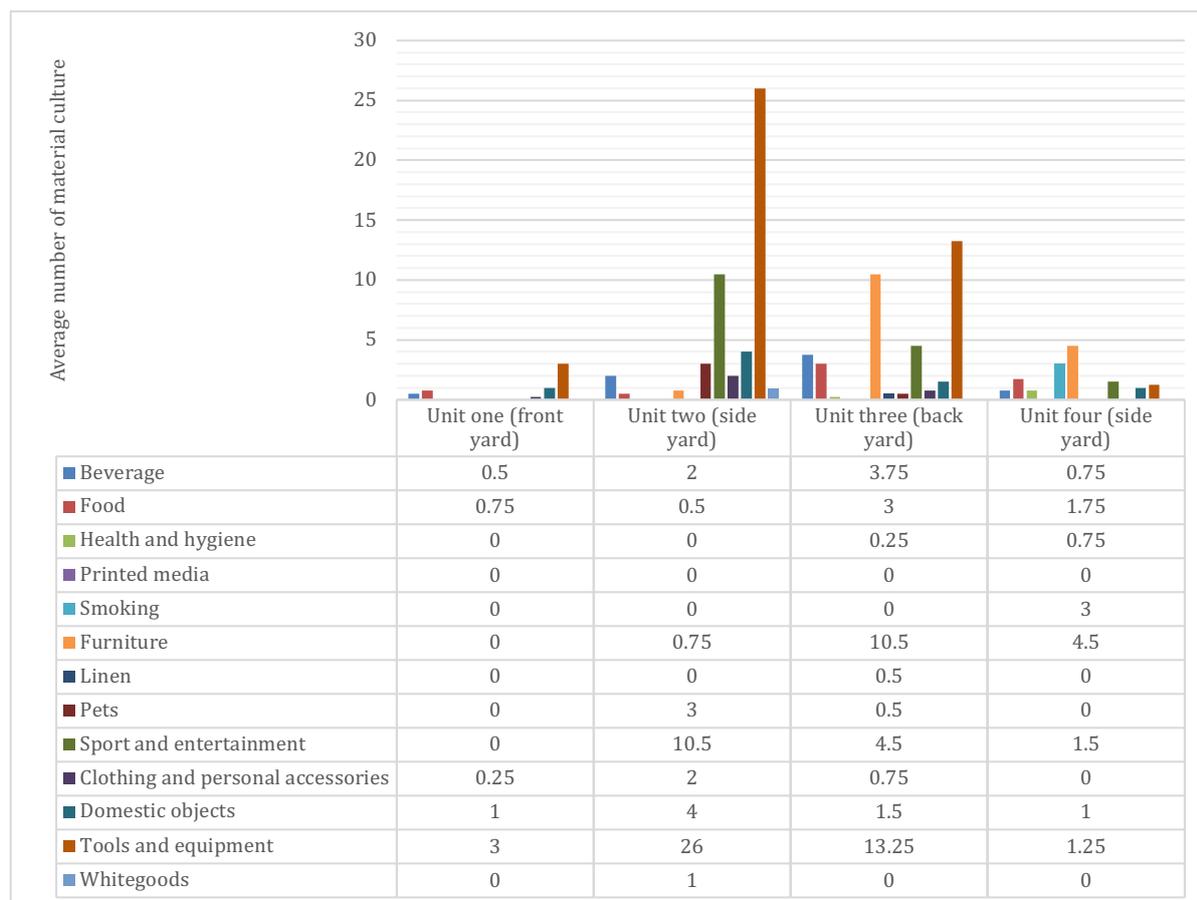


Figure 78. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units, according to general type.

The specific types of material culture found in each of the survey units can provide insight into the particular activities that have been carried out there (see Figure 78). For example, unit two, the side yard, was identified as a primary activity area and the majority of material culture found there related to domestic labour ($\bar{x}=33$), while a lower average of outdoor recreation ($\bar{x}=14.25$) and discard objects ($\bar{x}=2.5$) were recorded in this unit.

Moreover, the back yard (unit three) featured a lower average of domestic labour objects than unit two ($\bar{x}=16$), but a higher average of outdoor recreation objects ($\bar{x}=15.5$) and discard items ($\bar{x}=7$). The difference in results between units two and three indicate that the eastern side of the

yard (unit two) is used primarily as a work/storage space. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the outdoor laundry and a storage rack appear in unit two. Unit three, the back yard, is the primary social area, though some items related to domestic labour are stored here.

Unit one, the front yard, is barely used. The lack of any kind of outdoor recreation material culture indicates very little time is spent here. Slightly more material culture was found in the western side of the yard (unit four), and this is likely the case because the front door to the house is in this area.

6.4.1.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	New graffiti	Total
October 2016	N/A	0	0
January 2017	0	4	4
April 2017	4	2	6
July 2017	6	0	6

Table 35. Number of graffiti recorded during each survey at Lot 316.

There is minimal graffiti at Lot 178, with only six being recorded across the four surveys. No graffiti were found in October 2016, though by January 2017 four new graffiti were recorded. Likewise, two new graffiti were recorded in April 2017, and no new graffiti were recorded in July 2017. Thus, the rate of graffiti production is very low at Lot 178.

Results according to graffiti content and media

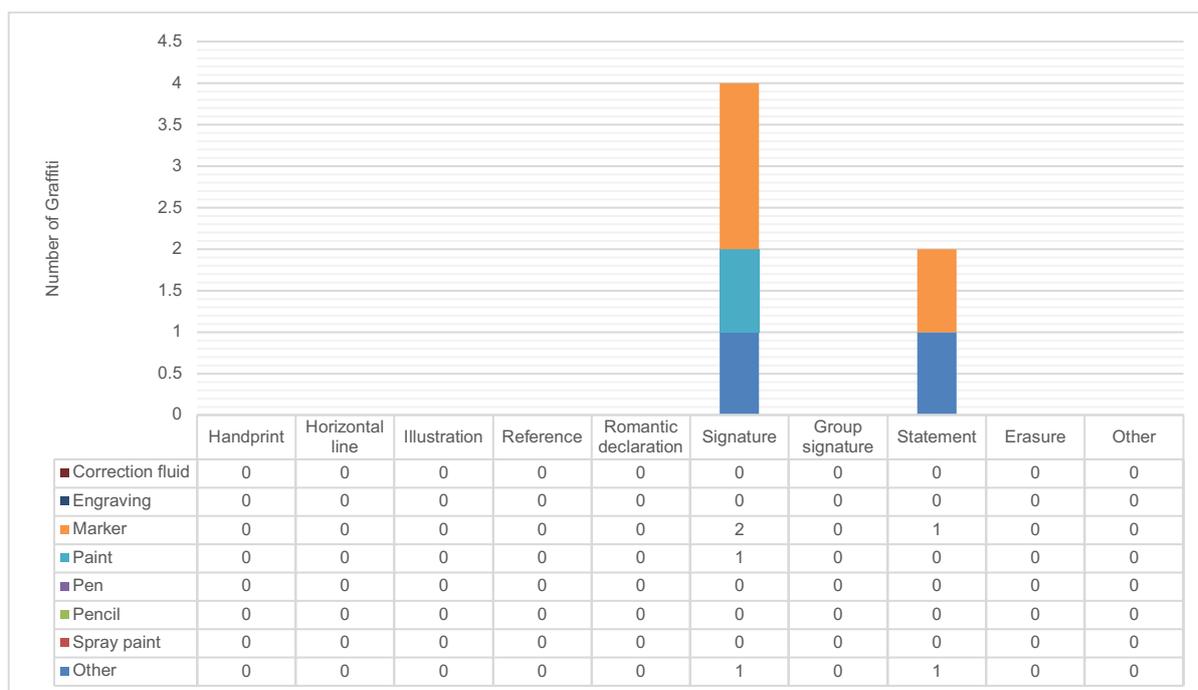


Figure 79. Graffiti at Lot 316 according to primary content type and media.

Only two types of graffiti were recorded at Lot 178: signatures (n=4) and statements (n=2). The signatures were produced in different forms. For example, initials only:

SO

A person's first name/surname (n=2):

HARVEY

And a full name:

DARCY TIATI BARUWEI

Signatures were made with markers (n=2), paint (n=1) and chalk (n=1). One of the statements read:

TIATIS HOUSE

The above graffito is a clear example of graffiti being used to profess ownership of, or attachment to, a place. The other statement read:

Belongs

While the direct meaning is unclear, it is likely that this statement is another example of the role of graffiti in determining ownership over a place or thing. The statements were produced using a marker and chalk. No graffiti recorded at Lot 178 were categorised as any of the remaining content types.

6.4.2 Lot 346

6.4.2.1 Biography

Lot 346 (pictured in Figure 80) is one of the newer houses built in post-Intervention Barunga and it is located adjacent to Norforce Park. Two people live in this house, a man in his 40s and his son who is in his 20s. There was very little material culture on the ground at Lot 346 and there was no graffiti on any of the walls during any of the surveys.

The building is a duplex, built at ground level and made from concrete blocks which were painted a peach colour. There is a front veranda, but as there is technically no 'rear' to this house (as the rest of the building is a different house, with a different lot number), there is no rear veranda. The laundry is located inside the house, unlike some of the older buildings in the community. Likewise, as this is a newer house, the fence is of the newer style, with a top rail, as depicted in the image below. No bough sheds were present in this yard during any of the surveys.



Figure 80. The house and yard at Lot 346. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

The archaeological data presented below was derived from observations made of material culture during four surveys. The dates on which those surveys took place are:

- 26/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 24/07/2017 (dry season)

The yard of Lot 346 was divided into three survey sections, in order to understand how the different ways in which the space of the yard is used. A plan of Lot 346 can be found in Figure 83.

6.4.2.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 33 objects were recorded at Lot 346 over four surveys. This number is significantly lower than any of the other places surveyed for this study. The material culture recorded at this property largely fit under the domestic labour theme ($n=25$; $\bar{x}=6.25$). A smaller number of objects fit under the outdoor recreation theme ($n=8$; $\bar{x}=2$), and no material culture was classified as discard. There was little variation in the number of objects recorded in each survey, though

fewer items were present in both January and April, though only marginally when compared to October and July.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Food	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Paper/plastic media	2	0	0	0	<u>0.5</u>
	Smoking	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal	2	0	0	0	$\frac{n=2}{\bar{x}=0.5}$
Outdoor recreation	Furniture	2	1	1	2	<u>1.5</u>
	Linen	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Pets	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Sport and entertainment	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal	2	1	1	2	$\frac{n=6}{\bar{x}=1.5}$
Domestic labour	Clothing and personal accessories	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Domestic objects	0	0	0	1	<u>0.25</u>
	Tools and equipment	4	6	4	6	<u>5</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	1	1	<u>1</u>
	Subtotal	5	7	5	8	$\frac{n=25}{\bar{x}=6.25}$
TOTAL	9	8	6	10	<u>33</u>	

Table 36. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 346, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 346

The only material culture recorded at Lot 346 that was categorised as discard were two blank pieces of paper. This result is a significant departure from the trend observed at other places in Barunga. Lot 346 is one of the newer houses at Barunga so it is possible that this reflects a limited amount of time in which occupants of the house could build the material assemblage seen at other houses in Barunga, though it could also reflect the fact that this house is not overcrowded like others, nor are there children who live here. The combination of these three things could be the reason so few objects were recorded at this property.

Outdoor recreation at Lot 346

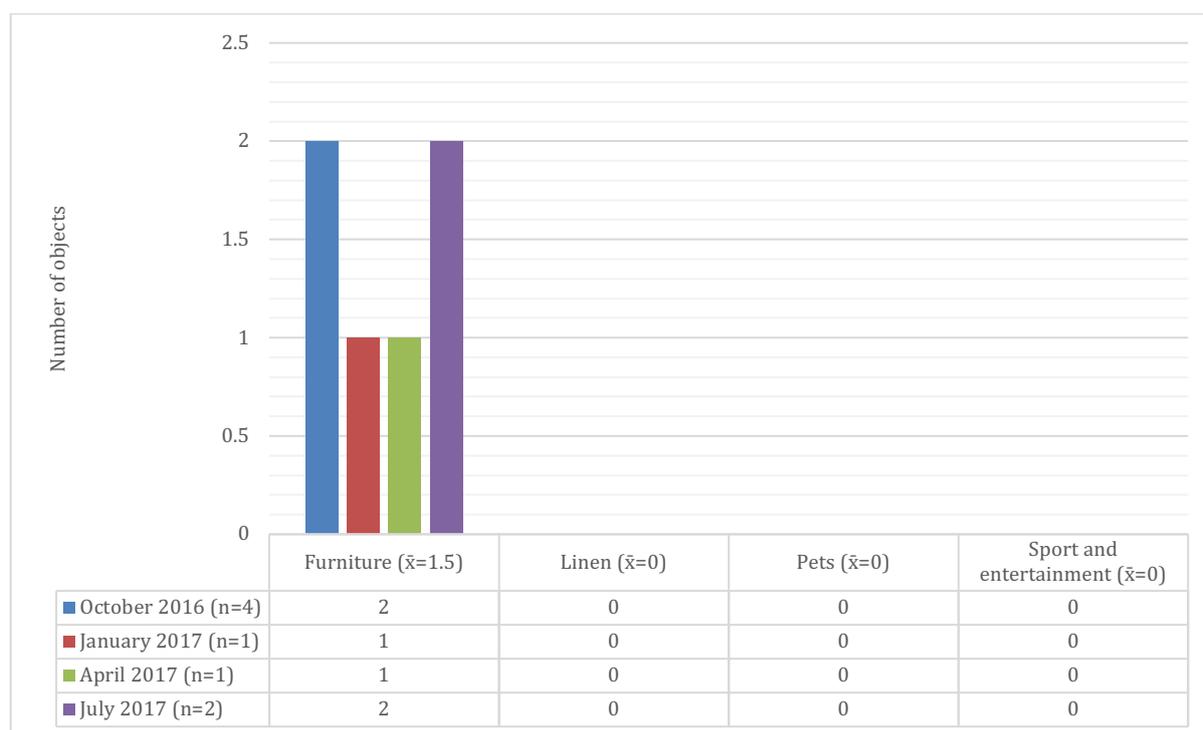


Figure 81. Number of material culture at Lot 346 classified as outdoor recreation, according to general type.

Items related to outdoor recreation were present at Lot 346, and the majority of the objects were classified as furniture. Specific objects that were classified as furniture included chairs and a bench, which was made from recycled pallet wood. Benches such as these were common in Barunga in 2016/2017, as their manufacture was a project undertaken by welfare recipients in Barunga under the Community Development Program.

Domestic labour at Lot 346

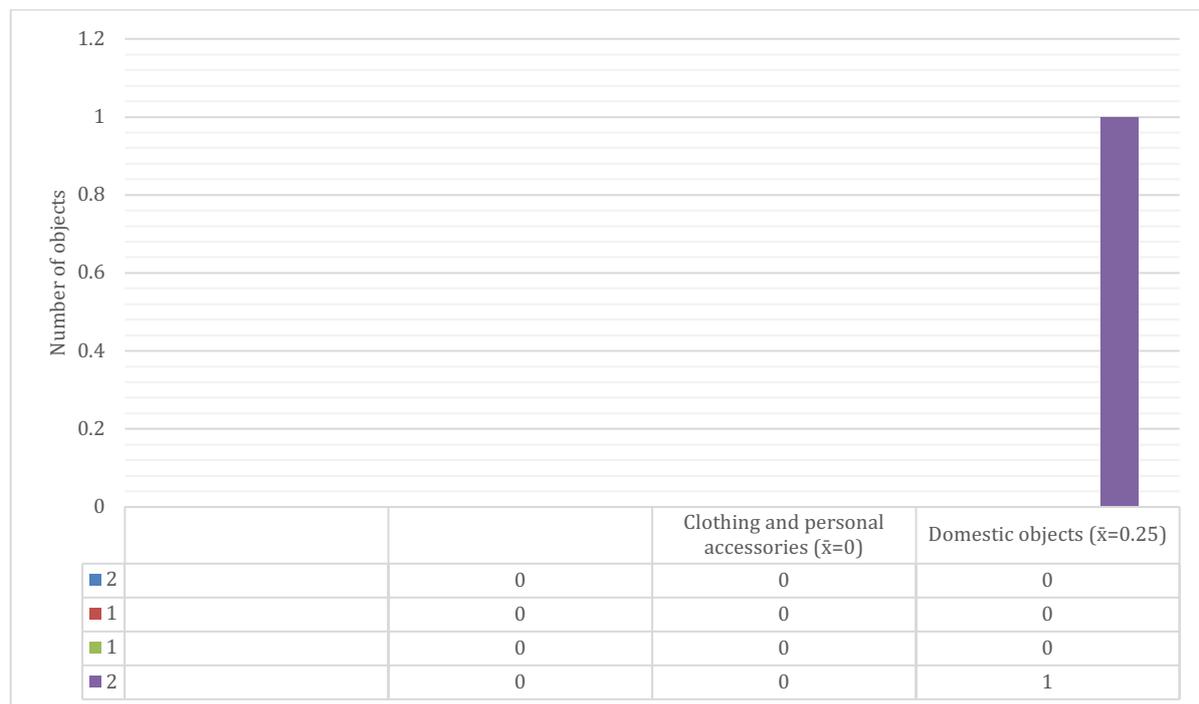


Figure 82. Number of material culture at Lot 346 classified as domestic labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified as domestic labour was the most common type recorded at Lot 346. Tools and equipment were the most frequently recorded type of material culture under this theme, at an average of five items per survey. Specific objects in this category included rubbish bins, hoses, brooms, storage containers and a water drum. Many of these items were located on the front veranda of the property and were covered by a tarp. A deep freeze was also located on the front veranda during each of the surveys. It is classified above as whitegoods. Finally, one domestic object was recorded during the July 2017 survey and this object was a plastic reusable bowl.

Results according to space at Lot 346

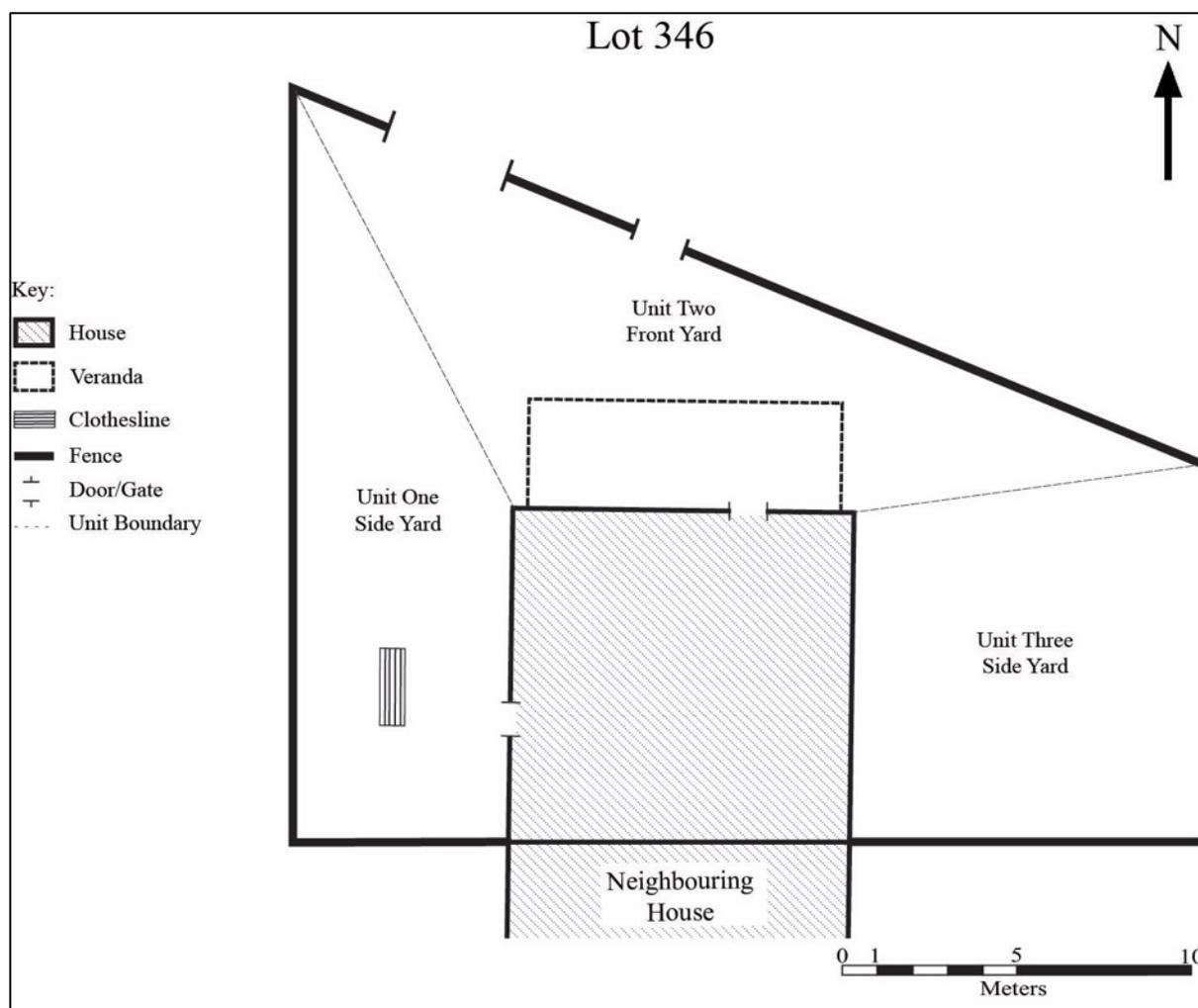


Figure 83. Plan of Lot 346 showing the three survey units.

Table 37 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units (see Figure 83). Unit two, the front yard, averaged 4.75 objects per survey, while unit one, the western side of the yard, average three objects per survey. Based on these results, it is likely that units one and two are the primary activity areas of the yard, when compared with unit three (the eastern side of the yard), which averaged only 0.5 objects per survey. The specific types of material culture found in these units can highlight particular activities that are carried out there.

Survey	Side yard (west) Unit one	Front yard (north) Unit two	Side yard (east) Unit three	Total
October 2016	5	2	2	9
January 2017	3	5	0	8
April 2017	2	4	0	6
July 2017	2	8	0	10
Average	3	4.75	0.5	33

Table 37. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

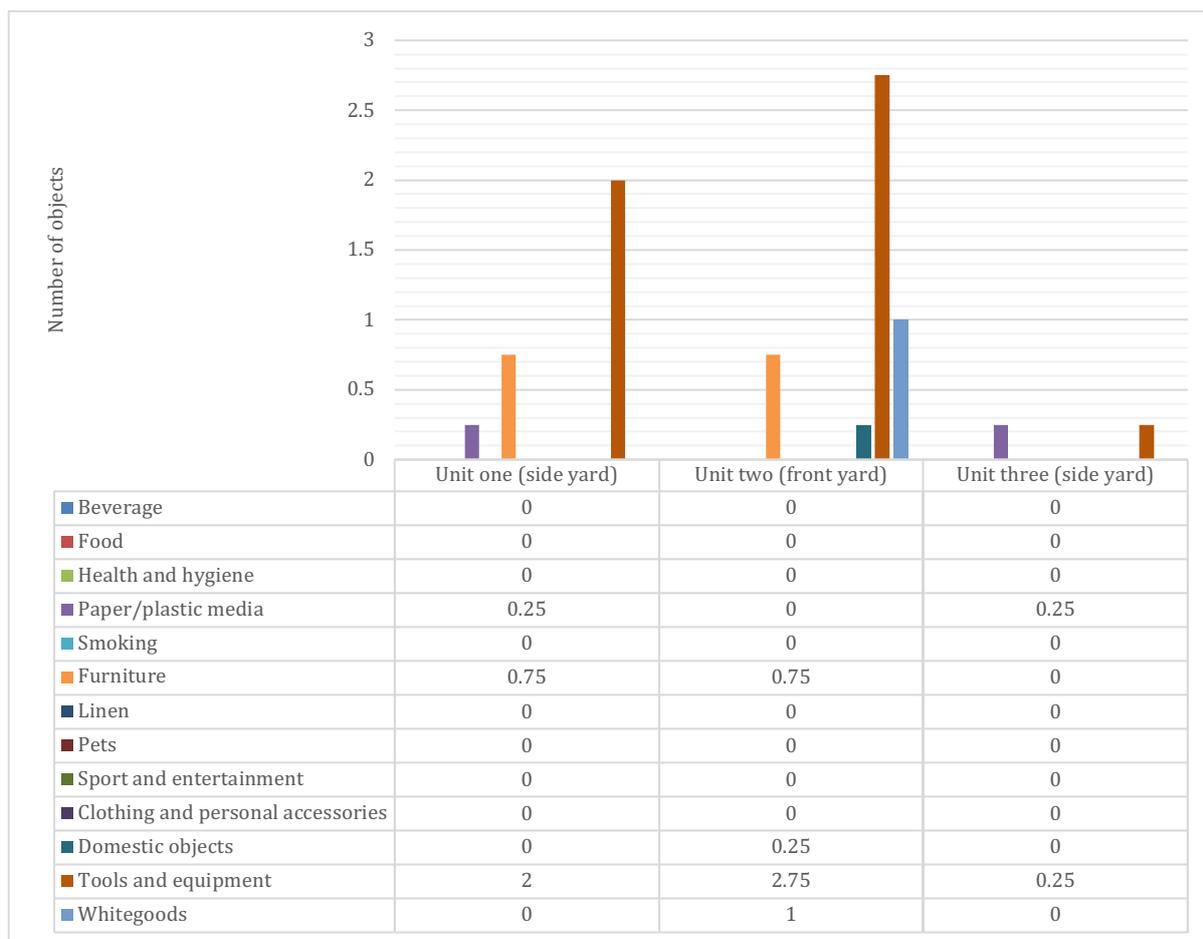


Figure 84. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units according to general type.

Figure 84 presents a more detailed view of the particular types of objects found in each of the survey units. The relative prevalence of both furniture and tools and equipment in survey units one and two indicates that these are the areas in the yard where the residents spend most of their time. The lack of beverage, food, and recreation items—relative to other private places surveyed for this study—indicates that the residents either spend their downtime inside the house, or elsewhere, rather than in the yard of the house. Alternatively, the residents might not discard various items relating to these activities in the same ways that people in other houses might. There is a clear relationship here with the lower number of residents with the lower number of material culture.

6.4.2.3 Graffiti

No graffiti were recorded at Lot 346 during the survey. As with the lack of material culture related to discard, it is likely the lack of graffiti at this property is a combination of it being a

new property that has not been lived in for as long as other places, it is not overcrowded, nor are there children or adolescents who live here.

6.5 Top Camp

6.5.1 Lot 230

6.5.1.1 Biography

Lot 230 (pictured in Figure 109) is in the area of Barunga known as Top Camp—so named as it is located at the ‘top’ of the community (i.e. the northernmost area), and because it is on the side of a small hill, elevating it above the rest of the community. A husband and wife who are in their 50s live at this property, and often host visiting family members. They do not have any pets. The main building at Lot 230 is the house, which is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted a dark blue. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and the same at the rear door. The laundry is also located on the rear veranda. The yard of Lot 230 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the older design, constructed prior to 2012-2015, as indicated by the lack of top railing on the fence. No bough sheds were present at this property during any of the four surveys and in terms of neighbouring properties, there is a direct neighbour to the south, while to the north and east of Lot 230 is open grassland. The western side of Lot 230 opens to Lamjorrotj Road.



Figure 85. The yard and house at Lot 208. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, November 2016.

Two surveys were conducted at this property. The results of those surveys provide insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period. Lot 230 was surveyed on the following dates

- 30/11/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- No access (wet season)
- No access (between wet and dry seasons)
- 24/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 230 are explored further below.

6.5.1.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 386 objects were recorded at Lot 230 over two surveys. The objects were classified into thirteen types, which are based largely on function. These types fit broadly under three overarching themes in the material culture, which relate to activities that have occurred at the property. The results of the surveys are presented in Table 38. The majority of material culture recorded at Lot 230 was classified as discard, as a total of 238 objects were recorded, with an average of 119 per survey. Objects classified as labour were also common, with a total of 82 and an average of 41 items per survey. Objects related to recreation were relatively uncommon, with a total of 67 objects being recorded over the two surveys, at an average of 33.5.

The results indicate a change in outdoor activity at Lot 230. In an interesting departure from the norm observed at other private properties in Barunga, there was a decrease in the number of material culture in July 2017 (n=155) when compared with October 2016 (n=231). These results could have been impacted upon by a range of contributing factors, though it is unlikely that they represent a decrease in outdoor activity. The number of recreation objects actually increased in number between October and July, while discarded objects and labour objects decreased. Instead, it is likely that the decrease represents a lower number of occupants in the house. One argument could be that a different waste management practice has been employed; however, many of the items classified as discard in both surveys had been raked into piles—thus, there is already a dedicated waste management strategy in action at this property. If the decrease in discarded material culture is a result of increased waste management, it is more likely we would see far fewer numbers of beverage and food containers. As those numbers remained similar across the two surveys, it is more likely that these numbers reflect a decrease

in the number of occupants, rather than a change in practice. In terms of the decrease in items classified as labour, it is likely that these items are now being stored inside rather than outside.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	71	58	<u>64.5</u>
	Food	56	29	<u>42.5</u>
	Health and hygiene	1	3	<u>2</u>
	Paper/plastic media	6	2	<u>4</u>
	Smoking	9	3	<u>6</u>
	Subtotal	143	95	<u>n=238</u> <u>$\bar{x}=119$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	6	9	<u>7.5</u>
	Linen	0	3	<u>1.5</u>
	Pets	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Sport and entertainment	20	29	<u>24.5</u>
	Subtotal	26	41	<u>n=67</u> <u>$\bar{x}=33.5$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	10	4	<u>7</u>
	Domestic labour	15	5	<u>10</u>
	Tools and equipment	35	9	<u>22</u>
	Whitegoods	2	1	<u>1.5</u>
	Subtotal	62	19	<u>n=81</u> <u>$\bar{x}=40.5$</u>
	TOTAL	231	155	<u>n=386</u>

Table 38. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 230, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 230

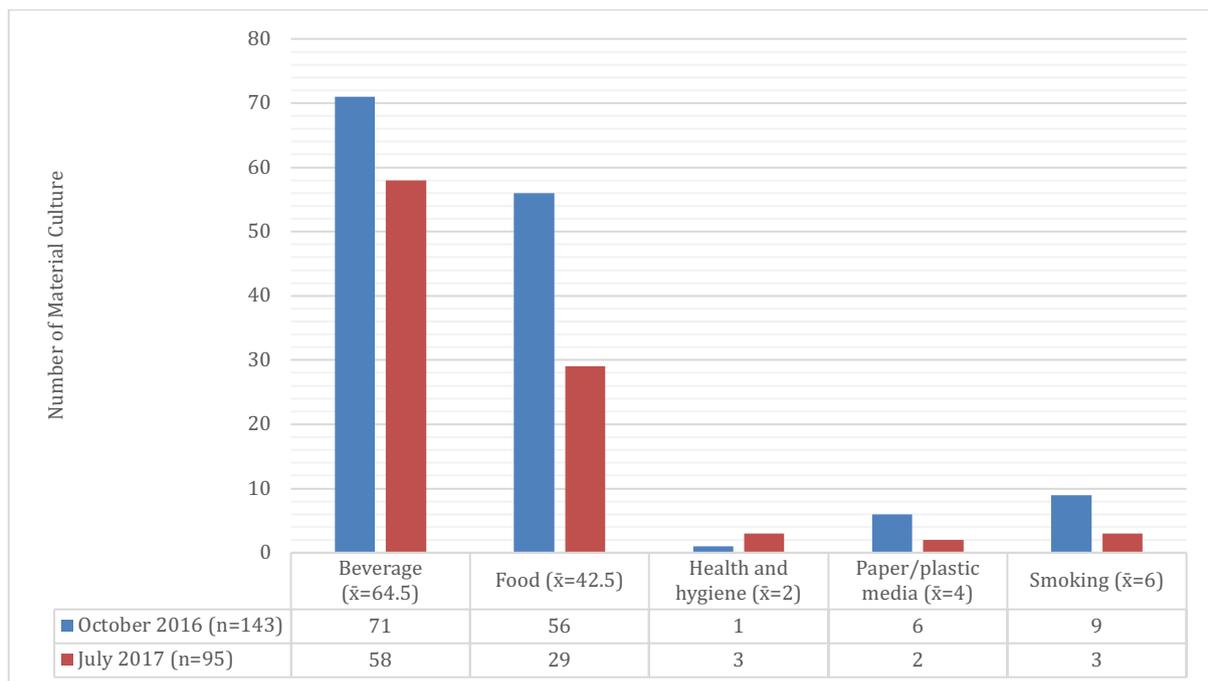


Figure 86. Number of material culture at Lot 230 classified as discard, according to type.

Material culture classified as discard at Lot 230 was the most common type recorded at Lot 230 (n=238; \bar{x} =119 items per survey). Beverage objects were the most frequently recorded type of discarded object at this property, with 71 instances recorded in October 2016 and 58 in July 2017. The assemblage of beverage containers at Lot 230 consisted primarily of empty bottles and cans, as well as an assortment of bottle caps, ring pulls, tea bags and other items. More specific details, including the types of objects recorded at Lot 230 can be found in Appendix Seven.

Various food containers were also recorded at Lot 230. Fifty-six instances were recorded in October 2016, while 29 were recorded in July 2017. The collection of food-related objects consisted mainly of empty food packaging as well as disposable cutlery and crockery. Other discarded objects, such as health and hygiene (\bar{x} =2), printed media (\bar{x} =4), and smoking items (\bar{x} =6) were recorded infrequently at Lot 230.

Recreation at Lot 230

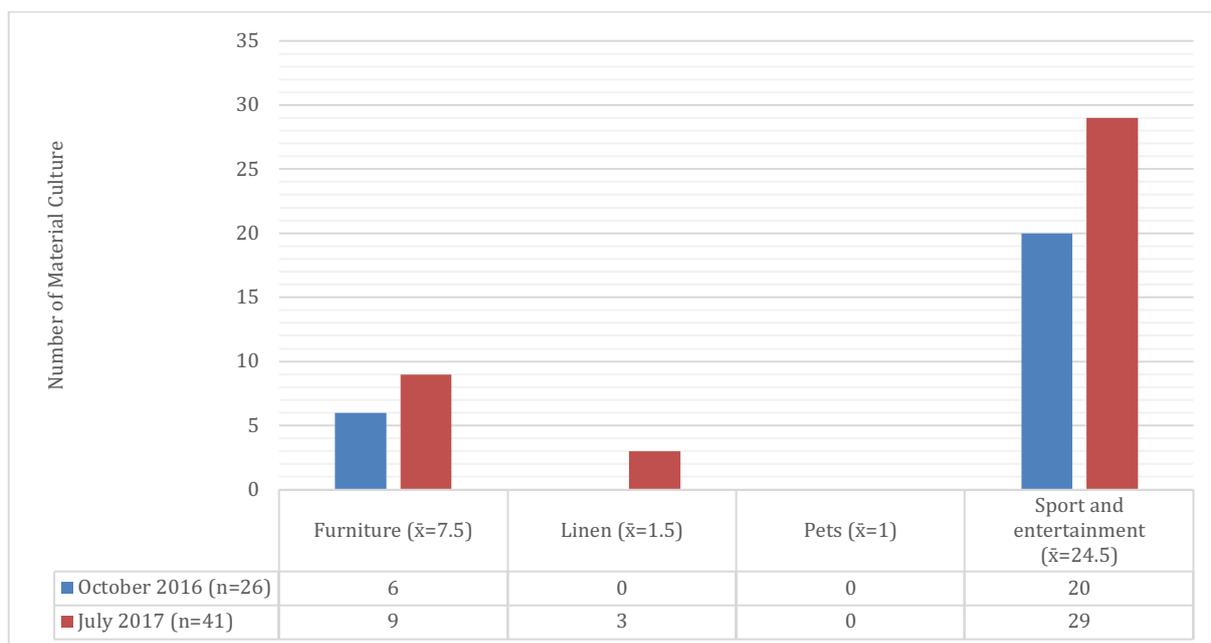


Figure 87. Number of material culture at Lot 230 classified as recreation, according to general type.

As noted above, objects classified as recreation were relatively uncommon at Lot 230 (n=67; $\bar{x}=33.5$) when compared to discarded items and objects classified as labour. The majority of recreation items recorded at Lot 230 were classified as sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=24.5$). The majority of these were toys (n=32) while the remaining items in the assemblage of sport and entertainment objects were: timber for camp fires (n=3); fishing equipment (n=2); firework cartridges (n=2); bicycles (n=2); balloons (deflated) (n=7); and a boomerang (n=1). It must be noted that the boomerang was a novelty boomerang.

An average of 7.5 instances of furniture were recorded at Lot 230. Specific items included chairs (n=3); various tables (n=5); wooden benches (n=2); mattresses (single bed) (n=2); a hammock (disassembled) (n=1); and two tarpaulin sheets, which were laid out in the yard for people to sit on (n=2). In addition to the furniture, three pieces of linen (a pillow, a blanket, and a sheet) were also recorded in the yard at Lot 230. The combination of these items, as well as the discarded beverage and food containers, indicates that the yard of this property are living spaces. No pet-related items were recorded at Lot 230.

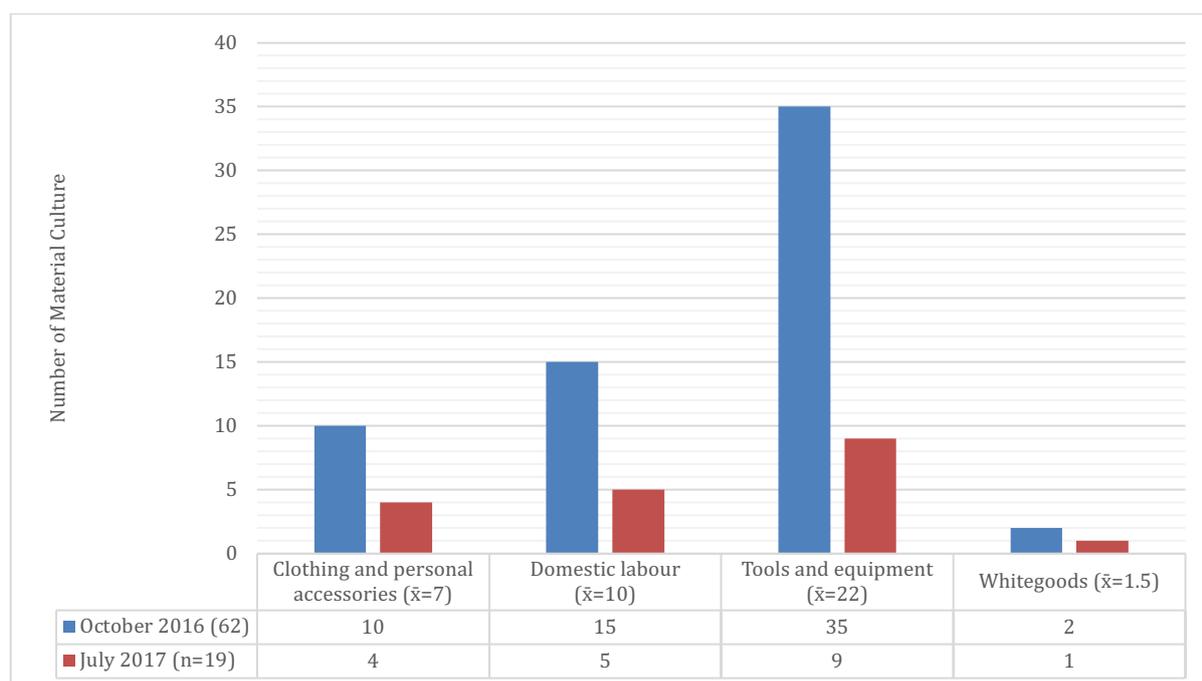
Labour at Lot 230

Figure 88. Number of material culture at Lot 230 classified as labour, according to general type.

Objects classified as labour were present at Lot 230, with a total of 81 items being classified as such. The majority of these were recorded in October 2016 ($n=62$), while fewer were recorded in July 2017 ($n=19$). The majority of objects recorded under this theme were tools and equipment ($n=44$; $\bar{x}=22$). The majority of tools and equipment were recorded in October 2016 ($n=35$), while significantly fewer were recorded in July 2017 ($n=9$). Specific items in this category at Lot 230 were related to gardening ($n=3$); cleaning ($n=3$); storage containers ($n=18$); various tools ($n=7$); writing implements ($n=3$, a pen and two markers); and various fragments of items that would otherwise be classified as tools and equipment, which can be considered detritus ($n=10$).

Objects related to domestic labour were also recorded at this property, with a total of 20 items recorded over two surveys ($\bar{x}=10$). Following the trend seen in other types of material culture at this property, the majority of objects classified under this type of object were recorded in October 2016 ($n=15$), when compared to the lower numbers recorded in July 2017 ($n=6$). Specific objects classified as domestic labour included objects related to childcare ($n=3$); cleaning ($n=3$); cooking ($n=7$); decorations ($n=1$); reusable cups ($n=4$); and reusable cutlery ($n=1$); and one fragment of a reusable cup ($n=1$).

Clothing and personal accessories were also present at Lot 230, with the majority of the 14 items being recorded in October 2016 ($n=10$). The majority of clothing and personal accessories

recorded at Lot 230 over the two surveys were articles of clothing (n=9), jewellery and wristbands (n=2); umbrellas (n=2); and a hair tie. Finally, whitegoods were also present at Lot 230. In October 2016, a deep freeze and a washing machine were present on the rear veranda; however, in July 2017 only the washing machine was present. The deep freeze had been removed, either to inside the property or elsewhere.

Results according to space

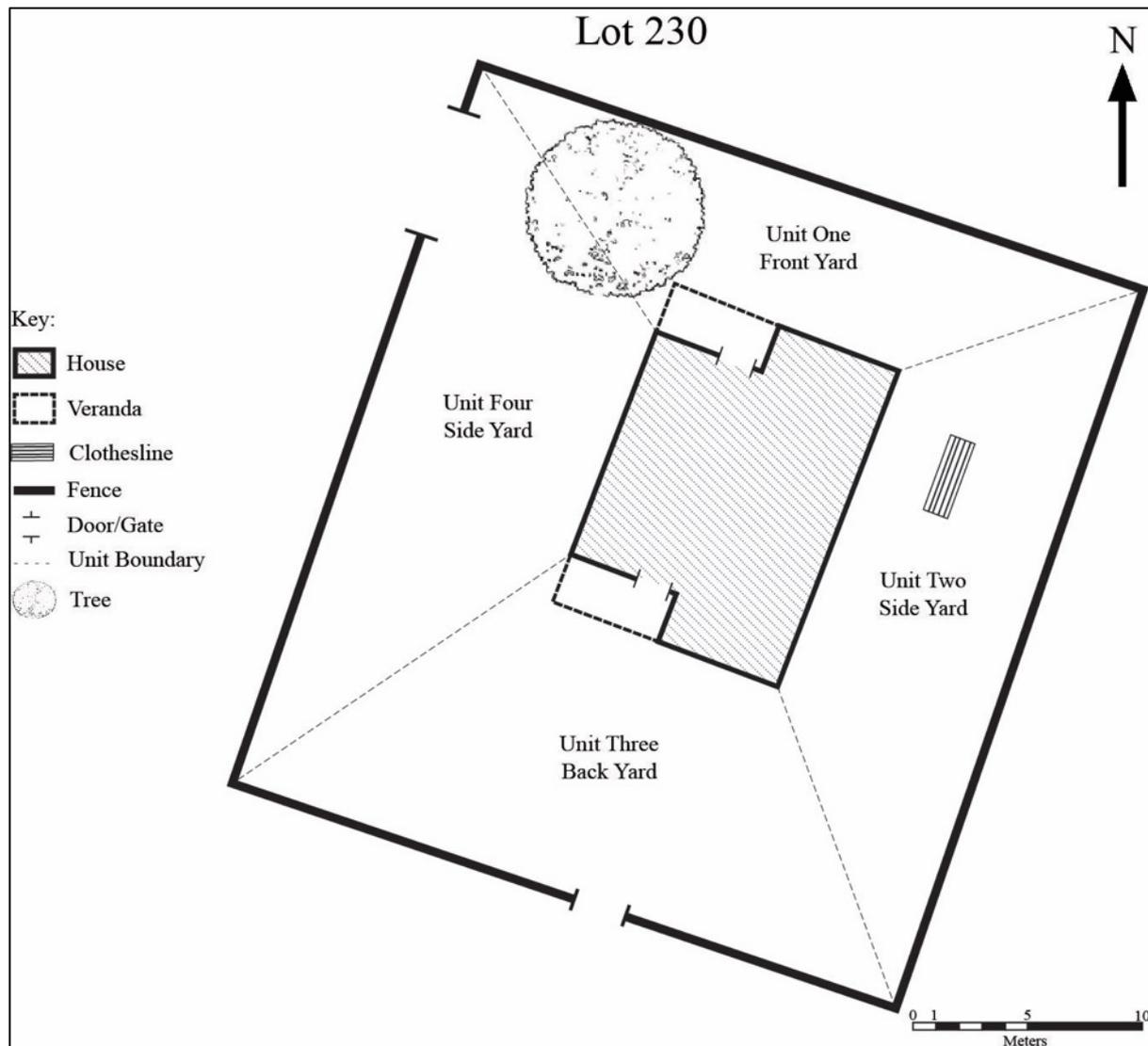


Figure 89. Plan of Lot 230 showing the four survey units.

Table 39 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 230 (which are shown in Figure 89). Unit one, the front yard, averaged 68 objects per survey, while unit two, the eastern side of the yard, and unit four, the western side of the yard, averaged 53 and 52 objects per survey respectively. Based on these results, it is likely that unit one and two is the primary activity area of the yard, though units two and four also appear to be used quite

frequently as well. Unit three is the area of the yard closest to the neighbour’s house and it featured the lowest number of material culture, averaging only 20 items per survey. The specific types of material culture found in these units can highlight particular activities that are carried out there. The large tree in the front of the yard provides shade in the afternoon, which might be an additional reason why more material was recorded here.

Survey	Unit one (front yard)	Unit two (side yard, east)	Unit three (front yard)	Unit four (side yard, west)	TOTAL
October 2016	69	53	31	78	231
July 2017	67	53	9	26	155
Average	68	53	20	52	386

Table 39. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

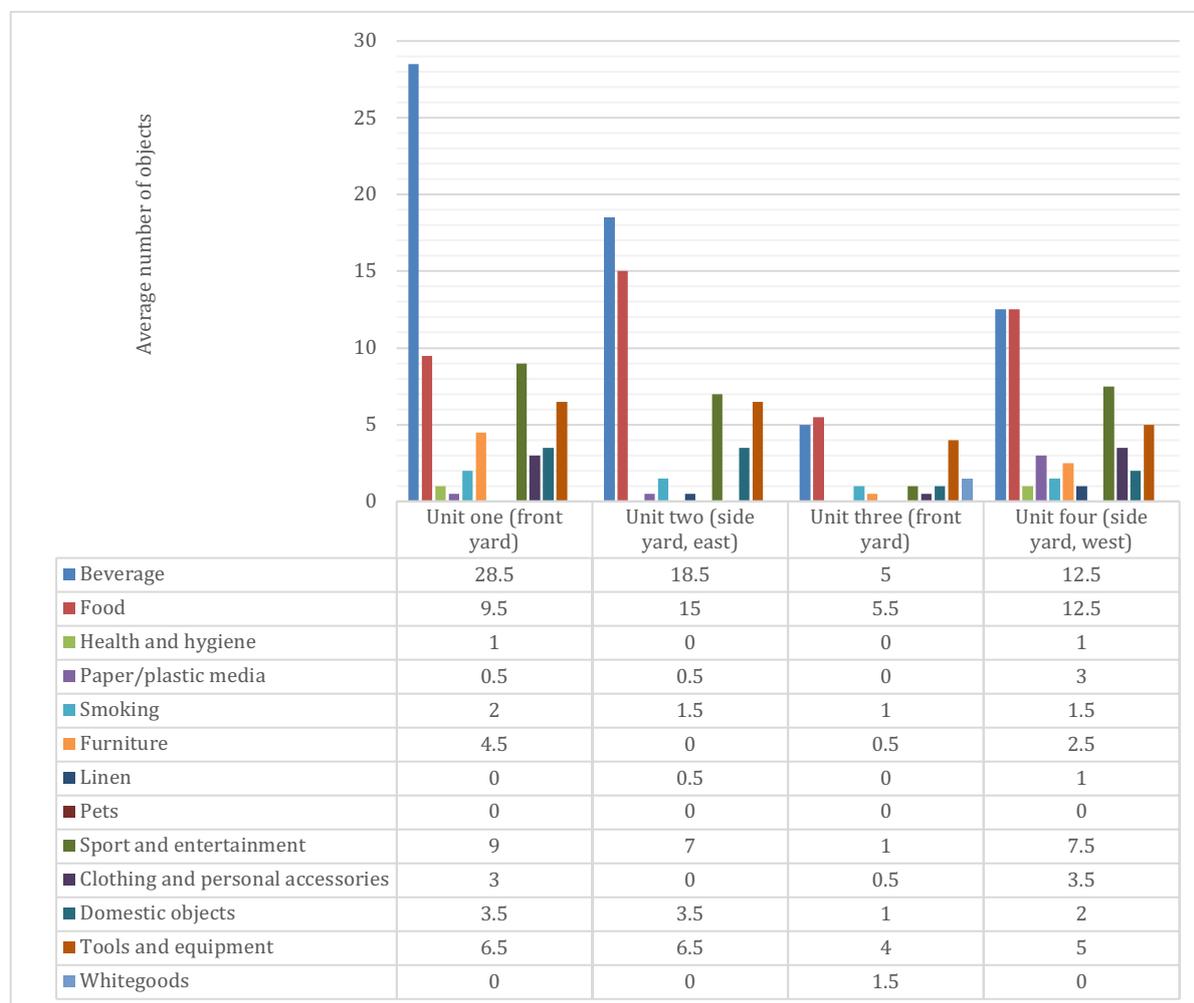


Figure 90. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 230 according to general type.

Figure 90 presents the average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units according to type. Unit one tended to feature higher frequencies of discarded objects (\bar{x} =41.5),

recreation objects (\bar{x} =13.5), and labour (\bar{x} =13) than other survey units; though, units two and three largely featured similar averages of each material culture theme. In that sense, these three areas are likely to have been used for multiple activities, including social activities, eating and drinking, resting, as well as labour. Labour objects appear to have been stored at all locations around the yard. It is interesting that unit three tended not to feature similar numbers of discarded or recreation objects, and this could be because it is too visible or too close to the neighbouring property.

6.5.1.3 Graffiti

The results of the graffiti survey at Lot 230 are presented below, in terms of the number of graffiti, its content, and the range of media used to produce them. Lot 230 featured a moderate number of graffiti (n=78) and the majority of these were pre-existing, as shown in Table 40. Only one new graffiti was recorded after the initial October 2016 survey, demonstrating that the rate of graffiti production at this property is quite low.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	N/A	77	77
2. July 2017	77	1	78

Table 40. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 230 during each of the surveys.

Results according to graffiti content and media

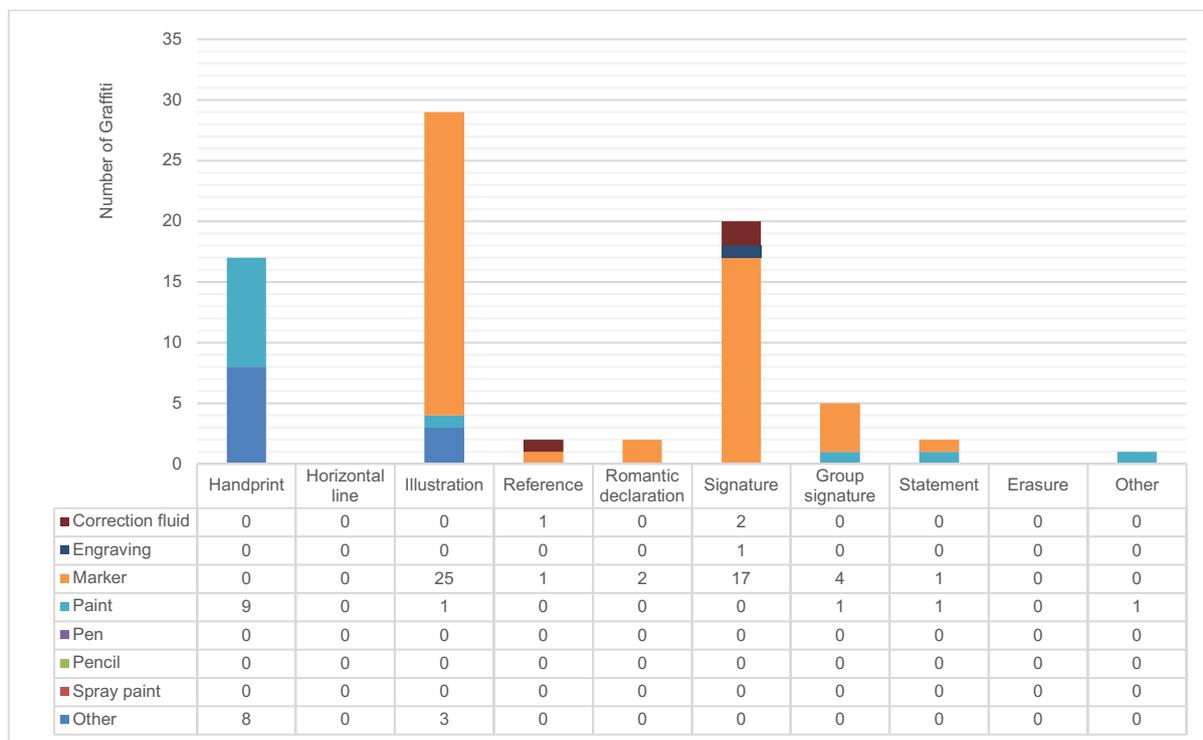


Figure 91. Graffiti at Lot 230 according to primary content type and media.

Illustrations were the most common type of graffiti recorded at Lot 230 (n=29), as shown in Figure 91. The majority of these were drawn onto the front door of the house, and many of them depicted various animals (particularly buffalo) and people. Given the quality of the drawings, it is possible that the majority have been drawn by children. Markers were used in the majority of illustrations (n=25), though paint was used in two instances, while the final three were made using an ink stamp (n=1), chalk (n=1), and a sticker (n=1).

Signatures were the second most common type of graffiti found at Lot 230 (n=20). Looking closer at signature graffiti, Table 41 presents the various forms in which signatures were produced. The most common were those that featured an individual's first name, in various forms (n=10). Graffiti that featured only the initials of an individual were the next most common (n=5), while pseudonyms (n=4) also featured regularly. One of the signatures was categorised as indistinct, as it was unclear whether it was intended to be a first name, full name, or initials. As shown in Figure 91, markers were primarily used in the production of signature graffiti at Lot 230 (n=17). Correction fluid was used in two further instances of signature graffiti, while the final signature was made by engraving into a surface.

Signature type	Example	Total (n=20)
Initials	SCRW	5
First name	Tenartia	4
First name [indistinct]	Leis [indistinct]	4
First name (stylised)	TRIZTAN	1
First name with a date and number	Tarym 2015 61410	1
Pseudonym	Layzie Bone	4
Indistinct	Witl	1

Table 41. Number of graffiti in secondary autograph type categories at Lot 230.

Handprints were the next most common type of graffiti at Lot 230, with 17 instances recorded in October 2016. These 17 handprints can be separated into two distinct assemblages, separated by space and media. The first assemblage of handprints (n=8) was produced on a wooden board that was being used to fill the gap made in a window to support an air conditioning unit on the eastern side of the house. This assemblage featured an even split between right and left hands, and the size of the handprints indicate they were made by an adult. The media used to make the handprints was interesting, in that they were made from mud. The other nine handprints were found on the north-facing wall and these were all made from white paint. Five of the handprints in this collection were right handprints, while the remaining four were left handprints.

Group signatures also featured at Lot 230 (n=5). One of these featured the initials of two people, while three further instances included an affirmation as well. For example:

**Tristan
Mishai
Tanya
Martin
for
Life**

The final group autograph recorded at Lot 230 featured a group alias, referring to the suburb of Barunga known as 'Top Camp':

Top Camp Girls

Group signatures were predominantly made using markers (n=6), though paint was used in one instance. Two romantic messages were recorded at Lot 230, which followed this form:

A♥K

Both romantic declarations were produced with a marker.

Two graffiti recorded at Lot 230 were classified as references. One was a reference to the US rapper Tupac and the other was a reference to urban US gangs, for example:

**Blood
VS
Crip**

These examples are further evidence of the influence of urban US culture on remote Aboriginal communities.

Statements were the final type of graffiti recorded at Lot 230 (n=2). The statements recorded at this property took various forms, with the first being described as related to 'place', as it was a reproduction of the lot number, 230, using black paint with a white outline. This could have a functional use, in that it could have been painted by a tradesperson or service worker, though it was recorded nonetheless, as it took an unusual form that was consistent with other graffiti at the premises (i.e. it was hand drawn with paint). Another statement was a series of numbers, which was essentially a reproduction of a countdown from 11 to 1. The final graffiti recorded at Lot 230 was classified as 'other'. This graffiti was made by a person who applied paint to the wall of the house with their lips.

6.5.2 Lot 261

6.5.2.1 Biography

Lot 261 (pictured in Figure 92) is also located in Top Camp. Ten people live at this property. A woman in her 40s is the primary resident, while her daughters, their partners, and her grandchildren also live here. They do not own any dogs. The main building at Lot 261 is the house, which is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted a light brown. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and the same at the rear door. The laundry is also located on the front veranda to the south. There is a clothesline in the eastern area of the yard, and it is of a design typical to others found in Barunga. The yard of Lot 261 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the older design, constructed prior to 2015, as indicated by the lack of top railing found on the fence. A structure similar to a bough shed was recorded at this property, though it was made from steel. In terms of neighbouring properties, there is a direct neighbour to the north (Lot 262, which was included in this study), while to the east is a rocky hill that leads up to the community's water tank, to the south is grassland, and to the west is a road.



Figure 92. The house and yard at Lot 261. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, November 2016.

Only one survey was conducted at this property, owing to lack of access and absence of the residents during later field trips. The results of that survey nonetheless provide insight into the

use of material culture in the build-up to the wet season. Lot 261 was surveyed on the following dates:

- 30/11/2016 (build-up to the wet season).
- No access (wet season).
- No access (between wet and dry seasons).
- No access (dry season).

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 261 are explored further below.

6.5.2.2 Material culture

Overview

Material culture theme	General object category	October 2016	Average
Discard	Beverage	30	<u>N/A</u>
	Food	18	<u>N/A</u>
	Health and hygiene	5	<u>N/A</u>
	Paper/plastic media	10	<u>N/A</u>
	Smoking	1	<u>N/A</u>
	Subtotal	64	<u>n=64</u>
Recreation	Furniture	10	<u>N/A</u>
	Linen	8	<u>N/A</u>
	Pets	0	<u>N/A</u>
	Sport and entertainment	22	<u>N/A</u>
	Subtotal	40	<u>n=40</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	14	<u>N/A</u>
	Domestic labour	11	<u>N/A</u>
	Tools and equipment	23	<u>N/A</u>
	Whitegoods	1	<u>N/A</u>
	Subtotal	49	<u>n=49</u>
	TOTAL	153	153

Table 42. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 261, and average number of object types recorded in October 2016.

Lot 261 was surveyed only once (in October 2016) for this project, as access was not permitted by the occupants of the house during any of the subsequent survey periods. A total of 153 objects were recorded, which fit broadly under three overarching material culture themes, which relate to particular activities that were carried out at the property. The themes are discard (n=64), recreation (n=40), and labour (n=49). The material culture was further

categorised into thirteen types, which relate to their function. As this property was only surveyed once, it is not possible to discuss these results in relation to seasonal differences or variation over time. Instead, these are used in the comparison of all study places at the end of the chapter.

Discard at Lot 261

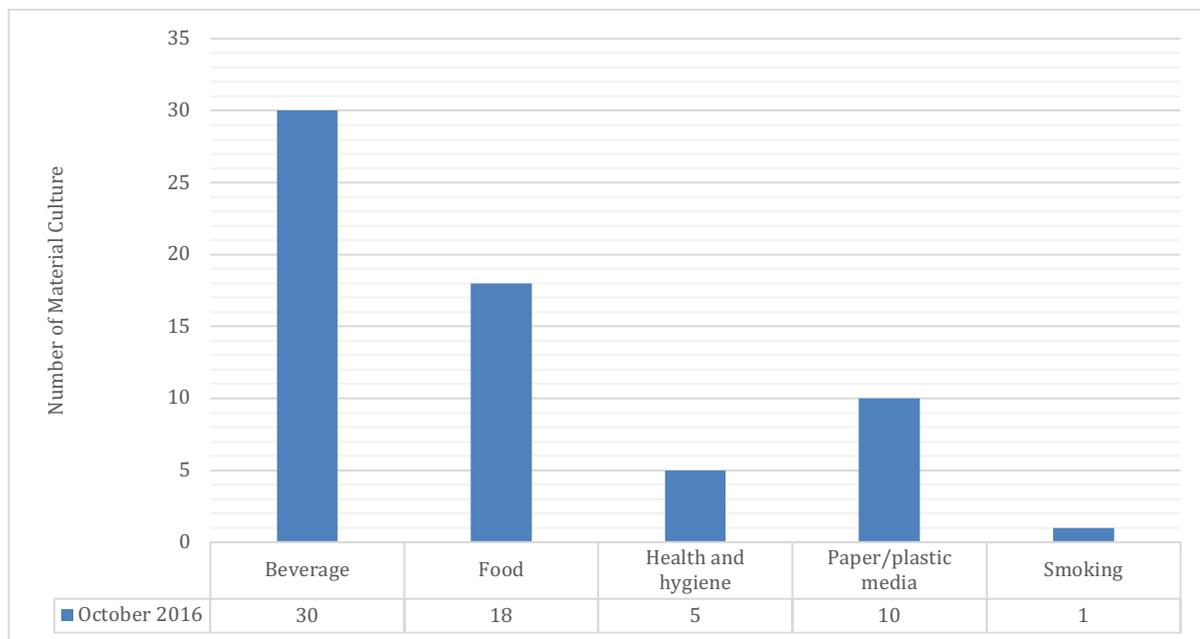


Figure 93. Number of material culture at Lot 261 classified as discard, according to type.

Objects categorised under the discard theme were the most common type of material culture recorded at Lot 261 (n=64). The most common type of discarded object was items related to the consumption of beverages (n=30). Objects related to the consumption of food were also prevalent at Lot 261 (n=18). Specific objects categorised as food and beverage are presented in Appendix Seven.

Paper and plastic media was the next most common type of discarded material culture recorded at Lot 261 (n=10). Seven of these were pre-paid electricity cards, four of which were valued at \$10 and three were valued at \$20. Two further plastic and paper media objects were a label for GNR Wholesalers, and a plastic phone card for use in a phone booth. The final object recorded as paper media was a ‘mini’ Bible. While it is unlikely that this item had truly been discarded, its presence on the ground in the yard at Lot 261 indicates that objects that have meaning and significance to occupants are sometimes stored openly, in ways that might appear unconventional. This open storage of things of importance alongside things that have been discarded might be driving the stereotype that Aboriginal people do not care for their

belongings, though the idea that these things must be kept separate is a Western cultural value that may not translate into Jawoyn culture, nor Australian Aboriginal culture more broadly.

Five health and hygiene objects were recorded at Lot 261, which included:

- An empty bottle of hair gel.
- A label for baby wipes.
- The head of a safety razor.
- An empty container of baby lotion.
- A used nappy.

Finally, only one item related to smoking was recorded at this property, an empty tobacco pouch (25g).

Recreation at Lot 261

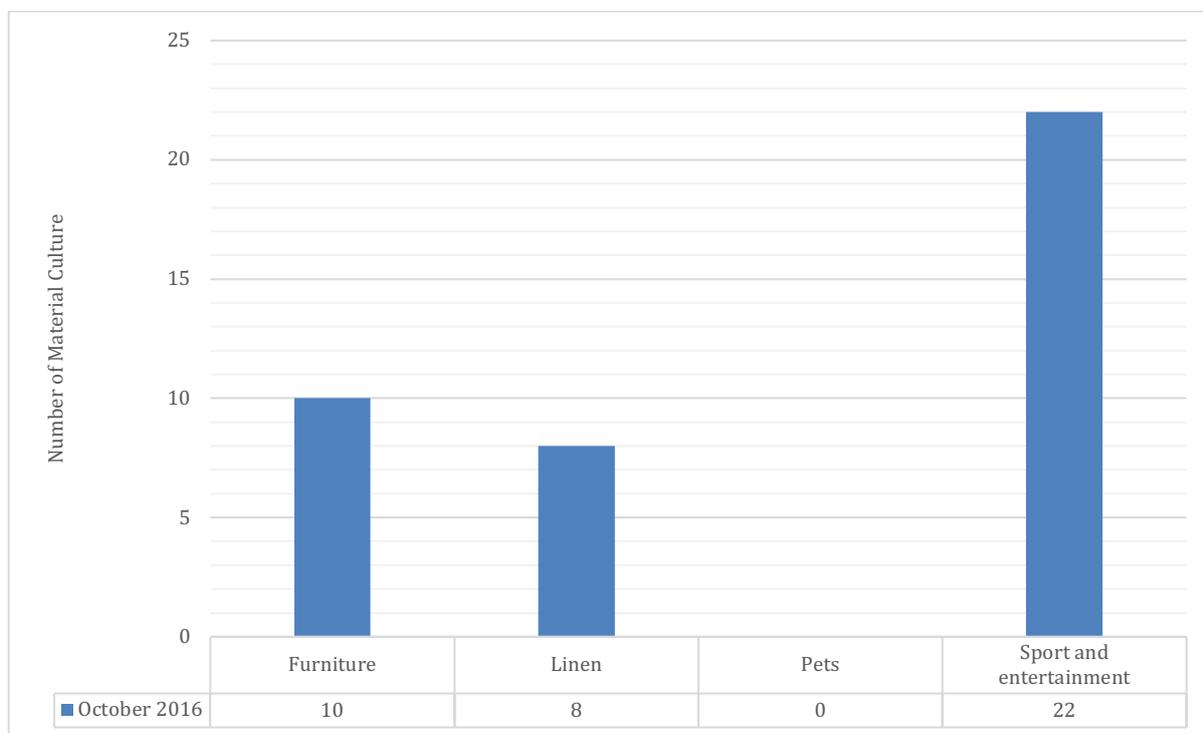


Figure 94. Number of material culture at Lot 261 classified as recreation, according to general type

Forty objects recorded at Lot 261 were classified under the recreation theme as furniture (n=10), linen (n=8), and sport and entertainment (n=22). No objects found at Lot 261 were related to pets. These results can provide insights into recreation activities at this property. Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation material culture. Six of these were various toys while an additional two were empty toy packaging. A number of balloons were also present (n=13), and the final sport and entertainment object was a cut length of timber—likely iron wood—that was set aside to be burnt.

The assemblage of furniture was much more diverse at this property than others in Barunga as it consisted of two tables, a plastic chair, two desks, a set of drawers, a shelf, a cot, a lounge chair (double seat), and a single bed frame. A number of blankets (n=5) were also recorded at this property, which might indicate that a lot of time is spent outdoors during the evening at this property. Two towels and a single bed sheet were also present in the yard at this property.

Labour at Lot 261

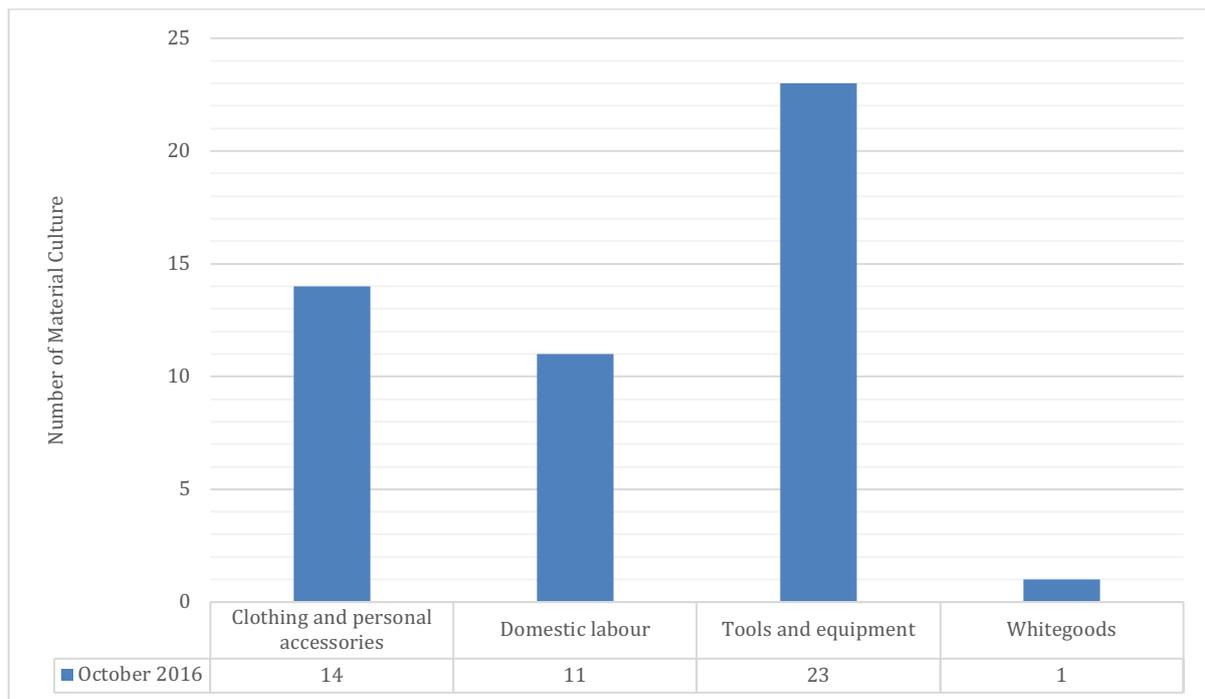


Figure 95. Number of material culture at Lot 230 classified as labour, according to general type

A number of objects recorded Lot 261 were classified under the labour theme as clothing and personal accessories (n=14), domestic labour (n=11), tools and equipment (n=23), and whitegoods (n=1). Tools and equipment were the most common type of labour object found at Lot 261. It is possible that while the majority of these were found on the ground, that these items were actually being stored for later use. Specific items in the assemblage of tools and equipment were:

- Shovel.
- Rake.
- Broom.
- Garden hose.
- Power board.
- RCA audio cable.
- A pencil.

- Sheet of corrugated iron.
- Various storage receptacles (n=6).
- Various tools (n=7).

In addition to the functioning tools and equipment listed above, two fragments of objects were found that would normally have been included in the tools and equipment category, though were classed as detritus. These items were a broken tent pole, and the face panel from a mobile phone.

A number of clothing and personal accessories were also recorded in the yard at Lot 261. These included six t-shirts, three socks, three pairs of shorts, one rubber thong and a dressing gown. Many of these items, the shirts, shorts and dressing gown in particular, were hanging over the fence, presumably to dry after being washed.

Domestic objects were also recorded at Lot 261. The specific items that make up this assemblage were:

- Three reusable cups.
- An oven rack (these are often removed from ovens in Barunga and used to cook outside over a fire).
- Two clothes pegs.
- A piece of steel wool (dishwashing).
- A food storage container (Sistema brand).
- A Disney magic ice dispenser.
- A pram.
- Empty packaging for a rattle.

The final object recorded under the labour theme was a washing machine (a 6.5kg top loader, Simpson brand). This was located in the outdoor laundry on the southern side of the house. The washing machine was plugged in. and functional.

While these results have shed some light onto various activities that occurred at this property, an exploration of these results in relation to space will help to gain a more critical understanding of material practices at this property.

Results according to space at Lot 261

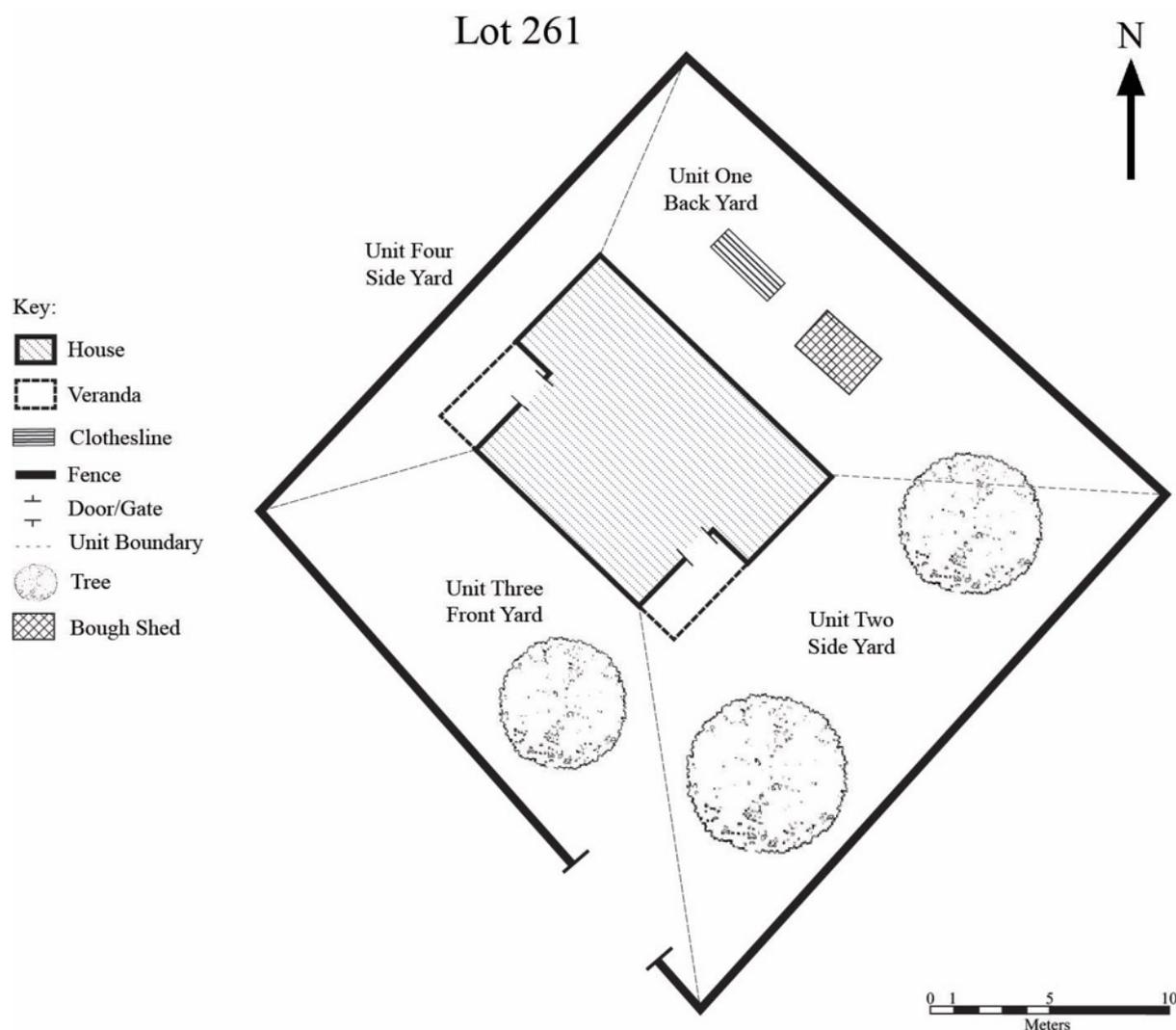


Figure 96. Plan of Lot 261 showing the four survey units.

Table 43 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the four survey units at Lot 261. Comparable numbers of material culture were found in all four survey units, which range from 35 to 42 objects per unit. Unit four, the northern side of the yard featured the most material culture (n=42). The back yard (unit one) featured the next highest number of objects, while units two (the southern side of the yard) and three (the front yard) featured 35 and 36 objects respectively. From these data alone, it is difficult to determine a primary activity area. The results according to material culture theme and the types of objects found in each unit can shed more light onto this area. For example, the unit with more discard and recreation objects could be the primary activity area, versus one which has an abundance of labour material culture, which might be the primary work area.

Survey	Unit one (back yard, east)	Unit two (side yard, south)	Unit three (front yard, west)	Unit four (side yard, north)	Total
October 2016	40	35	36	42	153
Average	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	153

Table 43. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

Figure 97 explores the spatial results of the survey according to type. As unit four was identified as having the most material culture, the results presented in the table above show that it featured a high number of discarded objects ($n=28$), which, as shown in Figure 97 below, includes higher numbers of discarded beverage, food, health and hygiene and paper media objects than other survey units. However, unit four also featured lower numbers of recreation objects and labour objects. In that sense, it is likely that this area was used to primarily to consume food and drink, or to store refuse associated with those activities.

Unit three, the front yard, featured the next highest number of discarded objects, as well as the equal highest number of recreation objects. It is possible, based on this result that this area of the yard is the primary social area. Though, in a further exploration of these results, in Figure 97, the number of furniture items is also low in unit three. Instead, the high number of recreation objects in unit three can be attributed to sport and entertainment objects. It is possible that this area of the yard is used primarily by the younger occupants of the house.

The same can largely be said of unit one, the back yard, which featured equal numbers of recreation objects as the front yard, as well as a number of discarded objects ($n=10$) and a high number of labour objects ($n=17$). In this sense, the use of this section of the yard is likely to have been multi-purpose, between social activities, domestic labour, and resting.

Unit three, the southern side of the yard featured high numbers of discarded objects ($n=17$), as well as high numbers of recreation ($n=10$) and labour objects ($n=16$). Included in the recreation objects found in unit three was the highest number of furniture. Given this result, it is likely that this section of the yard is the primary activity area. This result follows the trend observed at other properties in Barunga whereby the primary activity area is both the furthest from the closest neighbour's fence line, as well as publicly visible. Moreover, the primary access door to the house at Lot 261 is also situated in unit three, as is the gate which provides access to the yard. It is likely that a combination of the following factors determines primary activity areas in the yards of Barunga:

- Publicly conspicuous.
- Hidden from neighbour.
- Close to access and egress points from both the yard and house.

This idea is explored further in the following chapter.

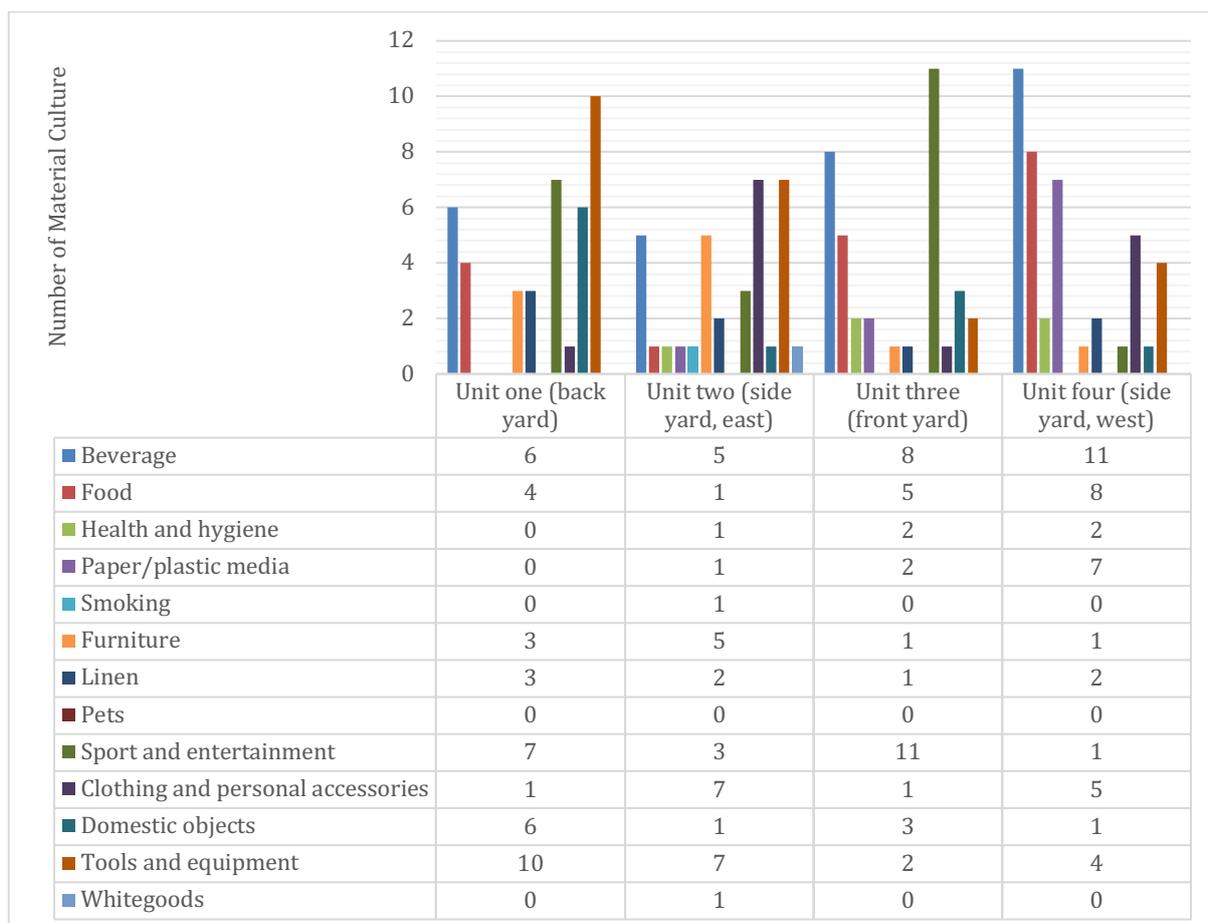


Figure 97. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 261 according to general type.

6.5.2.3 Graffiti

Lot 261 featured a moderate amount of graffiti (n=69). This property was surveyed only once (in both October 2016), meaning all graffiti recorded at Lot 261 predate October 2016. The graffiti results are explored further below, in terms of both content and media.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	N/A	69	69

Table 44. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 261 during each of the surveys.

Results according to graffiti content and media

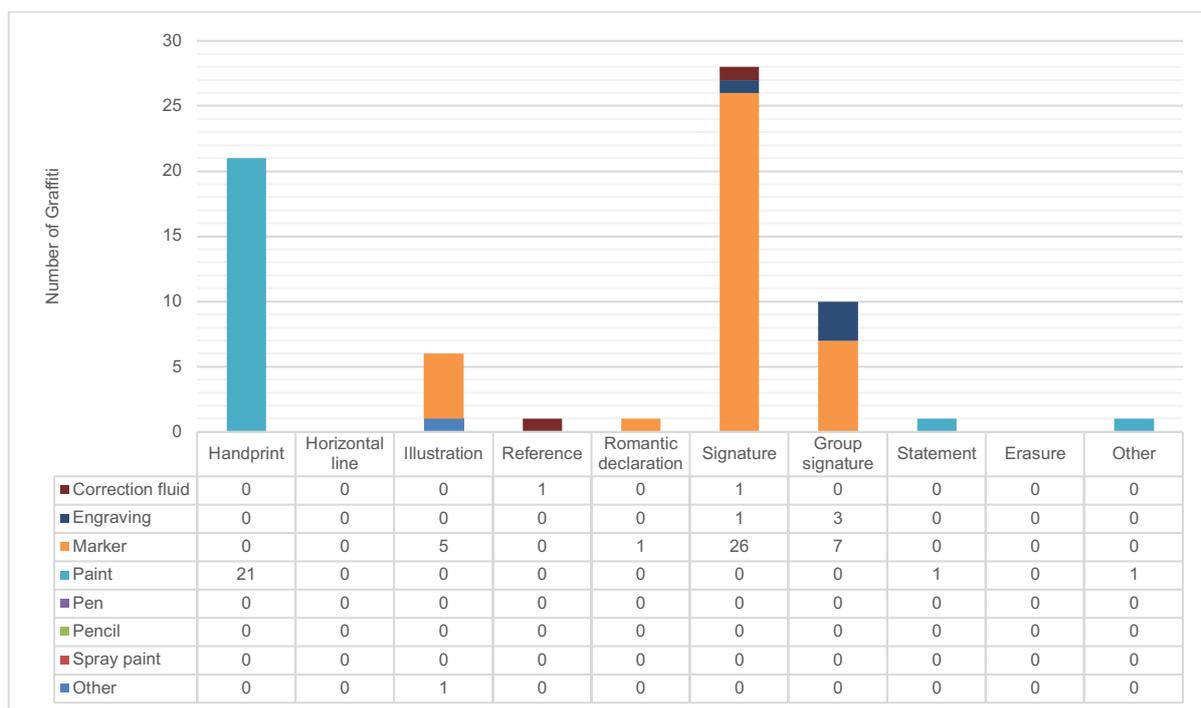


Figure 98. Graffiti at Lot 261 according to primary content type and media.

Signatures were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 261 (n=28). The majority of these featured initials (n=7), as well as initials and other names/features (n=8). Many of the signatures featured the first names of individuals in various forms (n=10); while the remaining three signatures featured the full names of individuals. In terms of media used in relation to signatures, markers were the most common, with 26 signatures written in this manner. The final two signatures were made with correction fluid (n=1); and engraving (n=1).

Signature type	Example	Total (n=28)
Initial/s	QKJ	7
Initials; Affirmation	TRB 1AOK	2
Initials; Date	TNRB 2K16	1
Initials; Illustration	DKB [inside box]	3
Initial; Surname	QK Johnson	1
Initials; Surname; Illustration; Date	QKJ BILLY [picture of smiley face with sticking out] 2016	1
First name	TEAGAN	5

First name; Affirmation; Illustration	Cassie W/H 2K16 ❤️ [smiley face] xo	1
First name; Illustration	Kelcer [bounded by a box]	1
First name; Question	fone You? TaenhEtl	1
First name; Erasure	Kxxxx	2
Full name	Gail Rogers	1
Full name; Date	TAHNEYA SAMPSON 2016	1
Full name; Affirmation; Date	Tahneya Sampson Donnelly Nangala Only 1 2016	1

Table 45. Number of graffiti in secondary autograph type categories at Lot 261.

Handprints also occurred regularly in the Lot 261 graffiti gallery (n=21). All of these were made using paint. Group signatures were the next most common type of graffiti with ten instances being recorded at this property. Eight of these were made with markers, while three were engraved onto a surface. There were six illustrations, where five were made with paint and the other with chalk. One statement was recorded at Lot 261, which was made with paint. A reference graffiti was made with correction fluid, while a romantic declaration was made with other was made with a marker. The final graffiti at Lot 261 was a hand stencil made with paint.

6.5.3 Lot 262

6.5.3.1 Biography

Lot 262 (pictured in Figure 99) is also located in Top Camp. Six people live at this property (three adults in their 30s and 40s, and three teenagers). They do not own any dogs. The main building at Lot 262 is the house, which is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted a light grey. The building is of the same style as Lots 230 and 261. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and the same at the rear door. The laundry is also located on the rear veranda to the south. The yard of Lot 262 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the older design, constructed prior to 2015, as indicated by the lack of top railing found on the fence. No bough sheds were present at this property during any of the surveys. In terms of neighbouring properties, there is a direct neighbour to the

southeast (Lot 261, which was included in this study), while to the east is a rocky hill that leads up to the community's water tank, to the north is grassland that stretches to the Central Arnhem Road, and to the west is a road.



Figure 99. The house and yard at Lot 261. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, November 2016.

Only two surveys were conducted at this property, owing to a lack of access during two of the field trips. The results of those surveys nonetheless provide insight into the use of material culture in Barunga. Lot 262 was surveyed on the following dates:

- 30/11/2016 (build-up to the wet season).
- No access (wet season).
- No access (between wet and dry seasons).
- 17/07/2017 (dry season).

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 262 are explored further below.

6.5.3.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 746 objects were recorded at Lot 262 over two surveys. The objects were classified into thirteen types, which are based largely on function. These types fit broadly under three

overarching themes in the material culture, which relate to activities that have occurred at the property. The results of the surveys are presented in Table 46. The majority of material culture recorded at Lot 230 was classified as discard, as a total of 550 objects were recorded, with an average of 275 per survey. Objects classified as labour were also present, with a total of 102 and an average of 51 items per survey, as were objects related to recreation, and a total of 94 recreation objects were recorded over the two surveys, at an average of 47 items per survey.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	145	170	<u>157.5</u>
	Food	74	45	<u>59.5</u>
	Health and hygiene	4	12	<u>8</u>
	Paper/plastic media	11	3	<u>7</u>
	Smoking	34	52	<u>43</u>
	Subtotal	268	282	<u>n=550</u> <u>\bar{x}=275</u>
Recreation	Furniture	6	7	<u>6.5</u>
	Linen	3	1	<u>2</u>
	Pets	1	0	<u>0.5</u>
	Sport and entertainment	24	52	<u>38</u>
	Subtotal	34	60	<u>n=94</u> <u>\bar{x}=47</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	6	10	<u>8</u>
	Domestic labour	15	23	<u>19</u>
	Tools and equipment	25	19	<u>22</u>
	Whitegoods	2	2	<u>2</u>
	Subtotal	48	54	<u>n=102</u> <u>\bar{x}=51</u>
TOTAL	350	396	<u>746</u>	

Table 46. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 262, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

The results show a slight increase in the number of objects at Lot 262 by July 2017 (n=396) when compared with October 2016 (n=350). The increase in material culture in July was seen in all three material culture themes. In terms of discarded objects, this increase was due primarily to the fact that more beverage, health and hygiene and smoking items were present in July when compared to October. This increase could indicate that more time was spent outdoors in the drier, cooler month of July. The increase in recreation objects seen in July 2017 is primarily due to the marked increase in sport and entertainment items, while the increase in labour objects was due to the presence of a higher number of domestic labour objects.

These results show that there are a number of activities that occur in the yard at Lot 262, which range from dining, socialising, and resting (as indicated by the number of discard and recreation themed material culture), but the presence of labour items shows that these are also used for work and the storage of tools and other domestic labour objects. While these results work to indicate various activities that take place at this property, it is important to consider the active role the material culture plays in identity-signalling and social strategy. In that regard, the presence of particular types of material culture, such as the juxtaposition of discarded objects and furniture, as well as its spatial arrangement can provide the lens through which we can understand the active role of material culture.

Discard at Lot 262

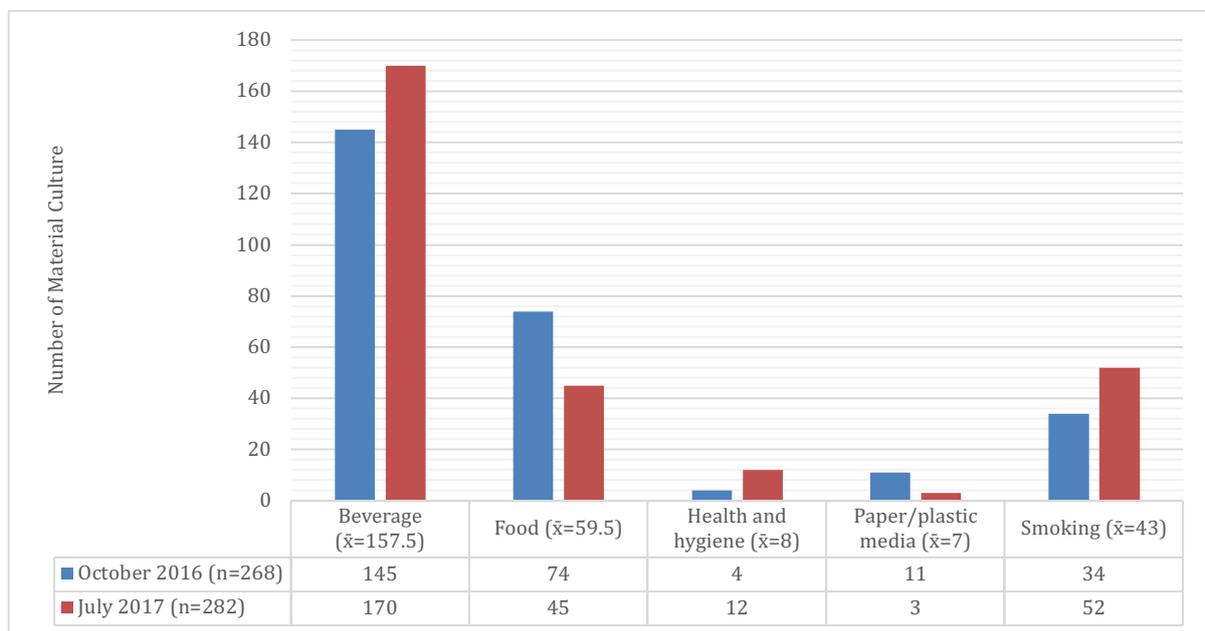


Figure 100. Number of material culture at Lot 262 classified as discard, according to type.

Material culture that relates to the discard theme was the most common type of material culture recorded at Lot 262, as a total of 550 objects were recorded. Objects included in this theme would usually be considered litter (i.e. discarded, empty beverage and food containers, as well as used/empty health and hygiene products and packaging, as well as discarded media and various items related to smoking).

Overall, the trend observed at other properties in Barunga, where a higher number of discarded items were recorded in July 2017 (n=282) than in October 2016 (n=268) was also observed at Lot 262. The increase in discarded items could indicate that the yard of this property is used more in the cooler, drier months than in the more humid and warmer months. It is important to note that these results do not indicate a direct accumulation of material. While some items could

have been present during both surveys, the majority of discarded items recorded in July 2017 were newly deposited.

Beverage items were the most common type of discarded material culture at Lot 262, as 145 items were recorded in October 2016 and a further 170 items were recorded in July 2017. All objects classified as beverage were related to the consumption of various drink products and specific items included such things as plastic and glass bottles, aluminium cans, cardboard cartons, bottle caps, bottle labels, ring pulls, and tea bags. Disposable plastic cups and plastic straws were also included in this category. All objects included in this category were used and/or empty. The diversity of the products represented in this assemblage are presented in Appendix Seven.

Food containers were also present at Lot 262, as a total of 119 food-related objects were recorded over the two surveys. A higher number of these were recorded in October (n=74) than in July 2017 (n=45) and the specific objects categorised as food items consisted of a variety of food containers, wrappers and other packaging, as well as disposable crockery and cutlery. The diversity of products included in this category are presented in Appendix Seven.

Objects related to smoking, such as cigarette butts, empty packets of cigarettes and tobacco, as well as cigarette papers were also recorded at Lot 262. A total of 86 smoking objects were recorded over the two surveys, with 34 of these being recorded in October 2016, while a further 52 were recorded in July 2017. Seventy-seven of these objects were cigarette butts; two were empty tobacco pouches (both 25g); three empty packets of cigarette papers; two lighters; one empty cigarette packet (for pre-rolled cigarettes); and one fragment of a cigarette packet.

Used health and hygiene items were also present at Lot 262 (n=16). Four of these were recorded in October 2016, while another twelve were recorded in July 2017. Three health and hygiene objects were cotton wool buds, four were empty tampon wrappers; three empty band-aid wrappers; one band-aid; an empty packet for a face towel; an empty bottle of hair tonic; a toothbrush; and two syringes for the oral delivery of medication.

Finally, paper and plastic media were also recorded at Lot 262, at a total of 14. Eleven of these were recorded in October 2016, while only three were recorded in July 2017. Pre-paid electricity cards made up the majority of paper and plastic media at Lot 262 (n=11) and these ranged from values of \$10 (n=6) to \$20 (n=5). The final three media were brochures—one brochure was for Apple, while the other two were for Katherine-based supermarkets.

Recreation at Lot 262

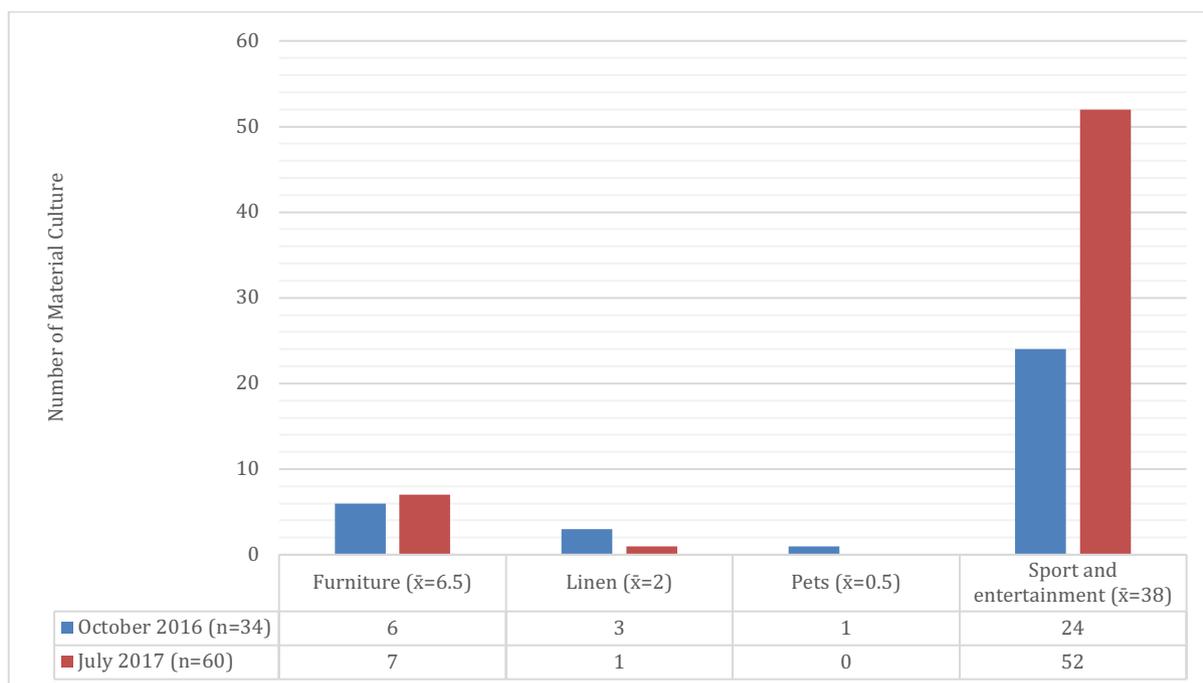


Figure 101. Number of material culture at Lot 262 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the recreation theme at Lot 262 included furniture, linen, pet-related objects, as well as sport and entertainment objects. A total of 94 recreation objects were recorded at this property, with 34 of them being recorded in the first survey (October 2016) and the remaining 60 in July 2017. Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation material culture at Lot 262, with a total of 76 items being recorded over both surveys. The majority of these (n=52) were recorded in July 2017, while fewer were present in October 2016 (n=24). Specific items in the sport and recreation assemblage at this property included:

- Trampoline (n=1).
- Toys (n=41).
- Uno cards (n=10).
- Playing card (n=1).
- Fishing implements (n=3).
- Balloons (n=17).
- Bicycles (n=2).
- Billiard ball (n=1).

Furniture was also present in the yard at Lot 262. Six items of furniture were recorded in October 2016, while seven were recorded in July 2017. The majority of furniture in this yard

relates to sitting (i.e. chairs and tarpaulin), while others were various tables and storage shelves. Linen was also present in the yard at Lot 262. Three pieces of linen were recorded in October (two towels and a blanket). One piece of linen (a towel) was recorded in July 2017. Finally, only one object related to pets was recorded. This object was a bone from either cattle or a buffalo, which had been given to a dog to eat. This bone was recorded in October 2016.

Labour at Lot 262

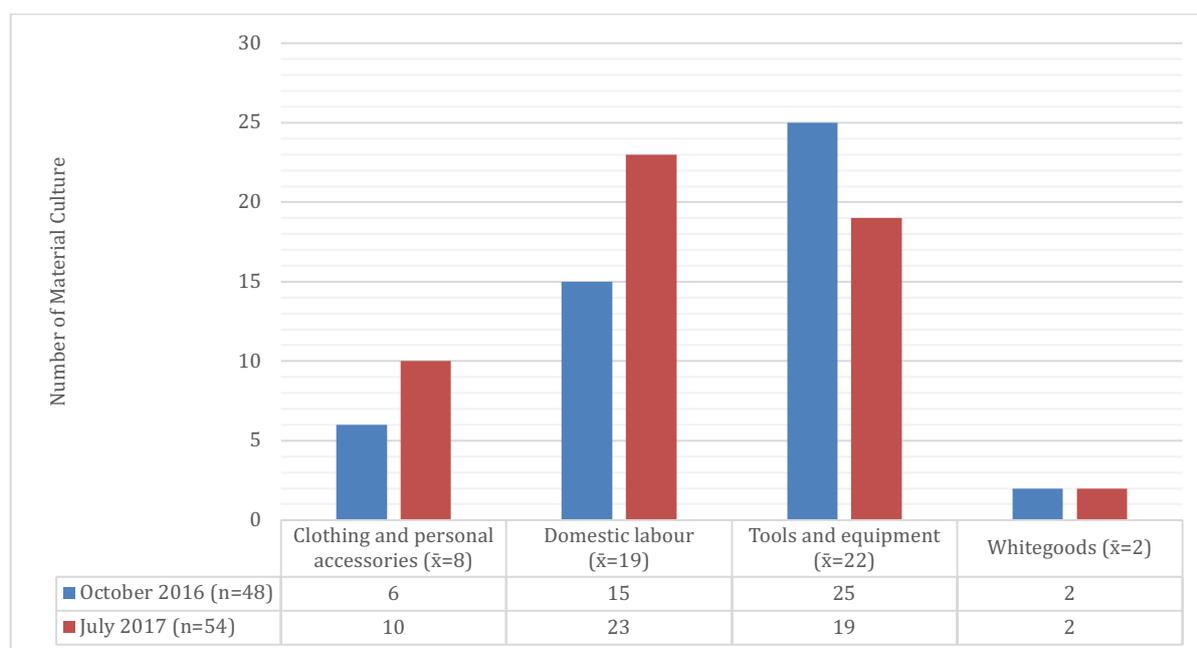


Figure 102. Number of material culture at Lot 262 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the labour theme were recorded at Lot 262 at an average of 51 objects per survey, to a total of 102. Forty-eight of these were recorded in October, while the remaining 54 were recorded in July 2017. Tools and equipment were the most common type of labour material culture at this property, as a total of 44 items were recorded (25 were recorded in October, while 19 were recorded in July). Specific objects in this category included:

- Garden and yard maintenance tools (n=6).
- Cleaning equipment (n=3).
- Storage containers (n=5).
- Various tools for vehicle maintenance (n=5).
- Electronic device chargers (n=3).
- Writing implements (n=3).
- Other various tools (n=9).

The material assemblage at Lot 262 also included fragments of things that would normally be classified as tools and equipment. As such, these were designated as detritus (n=10).

Objects related to domestic labour were also recorded at Lot 262, at an average of 19 items per survey. Fifteen domestic labour objects were recorded in this first survey, while 23 were recorded in the second. Specific items recorded in this category included items related to cooking (n=9), cleaning (n=3), and laundry (n=2), while others were related to food storage (n=2) and the consumption of food and drinks using reusable cutlery (n=15), crockery (n=3) and cups (n=3).

Sixteen objects were categorised as clothing and personal accessories at Lot 262. Six of these were recorded in October 2016, while the remaining ten were recorded in July 2017. Specific items in this type of material culture included various shoes, boots and rubber thongs (n=8), t-shirts (n=4), socks (n=3); and a cap.

Finally, whitegoods were also present at Lot 262, as a washing machine and a deep freeze were recorded during both surveys conducted at Lot 262. The deep freeze had been unplugged and tipped onto its side by July 2017, though it was standing the right way up and it was plugged in and functioning in October 2016.

Results according to space at Lot 262

Table 47 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the four survey units at Lot 262. These results shed light on the primary activity areas of this property. Unit four, the western side of the yard appears to be the hub of activity at Lot 262, as an average of 129.5 objects were recorded here over the two surveys. In October 2016, 112 objects were recorded in unit four, while a further 147 were recorded here in July 2017. Unit four is a publicly visible part of the yard, and it is also the furthest area of the yard from the closest neighbour's property. Further, the primary access door to the house at this property is located in unit four. This result follows the trend observed at other places in Barunga that were surveyed for this study, where areas that are more publicly visible (but less visible to neighbours), and that have an access point to the house, are the primary activity areas.

Unit one, on the other hand, is the least publicly visible area of the yard (the back yard), and it features the next highest number of material culture (n=56 (October) and 145 (July)). This result could be explained by the fact that the house provides shade from the afternoon sun in unit one, so the myriad of activity represented by the number of objects found in this area could be a result of seeking shelter rather than a need to be conspicuous/inconspicuous.

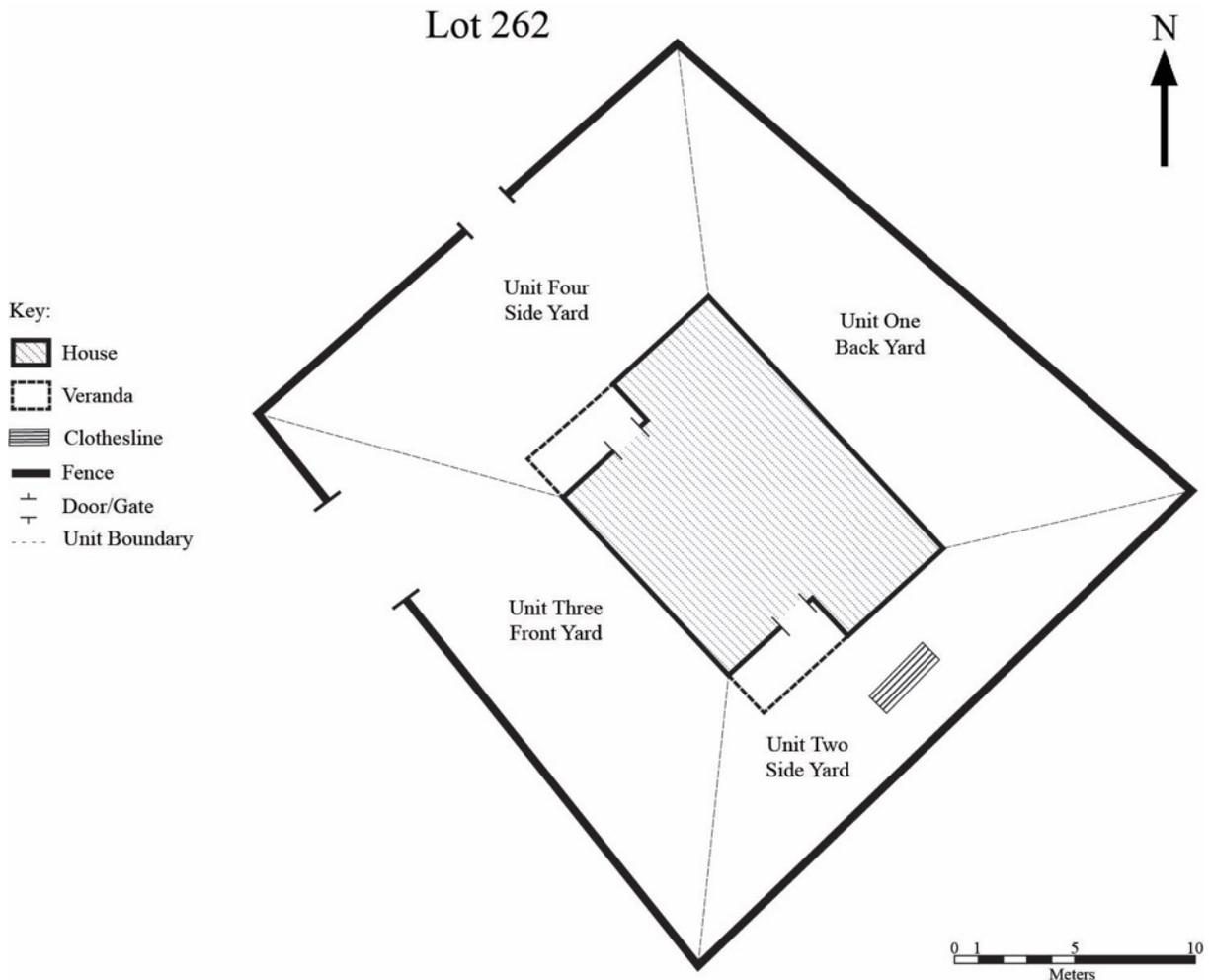


Figure 103. Plan of Lot 262 showing the four survey units.

Units two and three featured fewer objects and these are the areas of the yard that are both publicly visible, as well as visible from the neighbouring property, and they lack shade in the afternoon sun. That said, unit two (the eastern side of the yard) includes the outdoor laundry, and another door to the house. The number of material culture here could be a result of house design rather than a decision from the occupants. An exploration of the types of material culture found in each survey unit can shed further light on the types of activities that occurred across the yard at Lot 262.

Survey	Unit one (back yard)	Unit two (side yard, east)	Unit three (front yard)	Unit four (side yard, west)	TOTAL
October 2016	56	142	40	112	350
July 2017	145	38	66	147	396
Average	100.5	90	53	129.5	746

Table 47. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

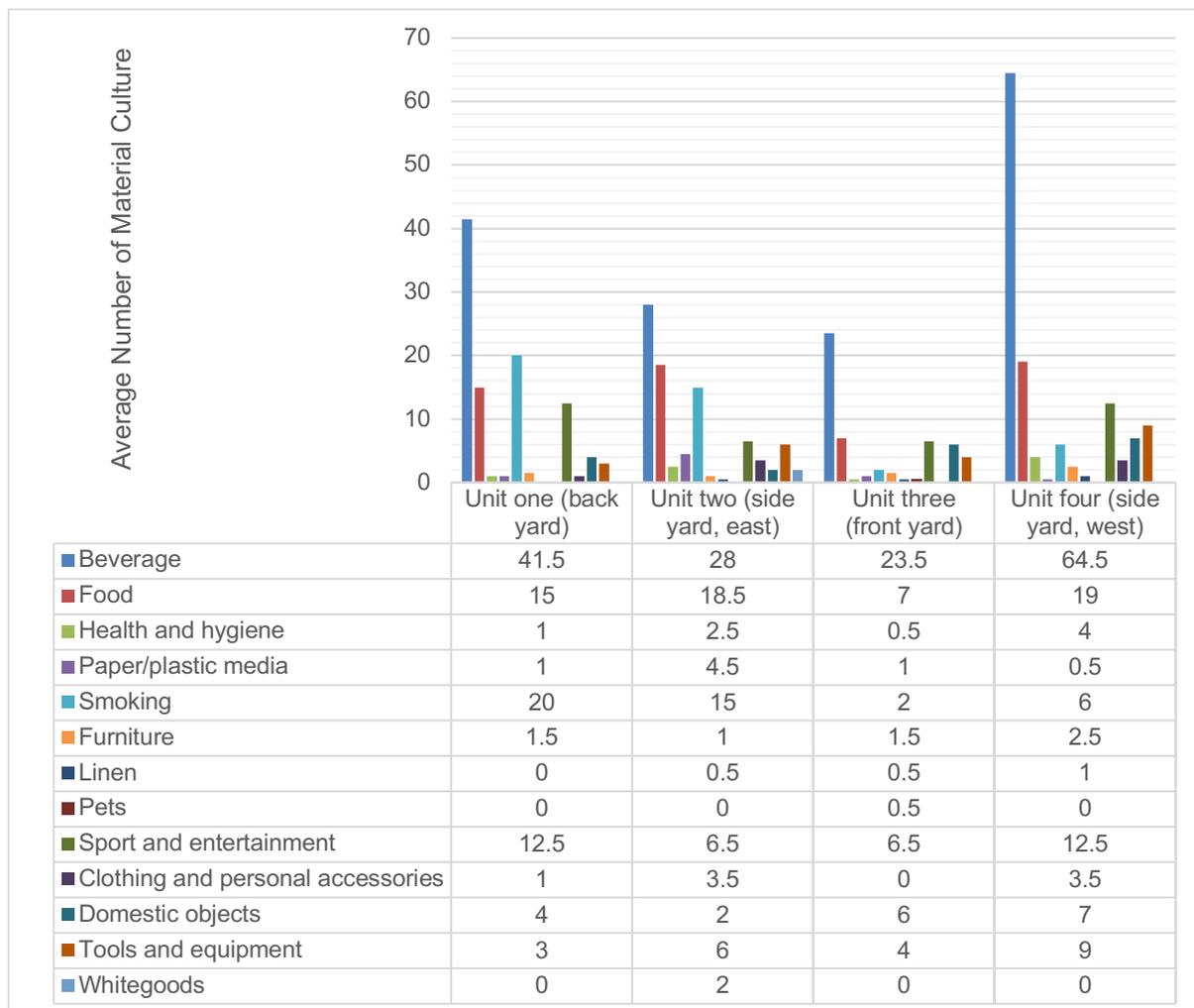


Figure 104. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 262 according to general type.

Figure 104 presents the average number of objects of each material culture theme recorded in each of the survey units. Unit four featured higher frequencies of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=94$), recreation objects ($\bar{x}=16$), and labour ($\bar{x}=19.5$) than other survey units; though, units one and two largely featured similar averages of each material culture theme. In that sense, these three areas are likely to have been used for multiple activities, including social activities, eating and drinking, resting, as well as labour. Labour objects appear to have been stored at all locations around the yard.

6.5.3.3 Graffiti

The results of the graffiti survey at Lot 262 are presented below. Lot 262 featured a relatively low number of graffiti (n=42) and the majority of these were recorded during the initial survey, conducted in October 2016 (n=41), while one additional graffiti was recorded in July 2017. As

the results presented in Table 48 indicate, the rate of graffiti production at Lot 262 is low. These results are explored further below, relative to the content types and media of graffiti at Lot 262.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
1. October 2016	N/A	41	41
2. July 2017	41	1	42

Table 48. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 262 during each of the surveys.

Results according to graffiti content and media

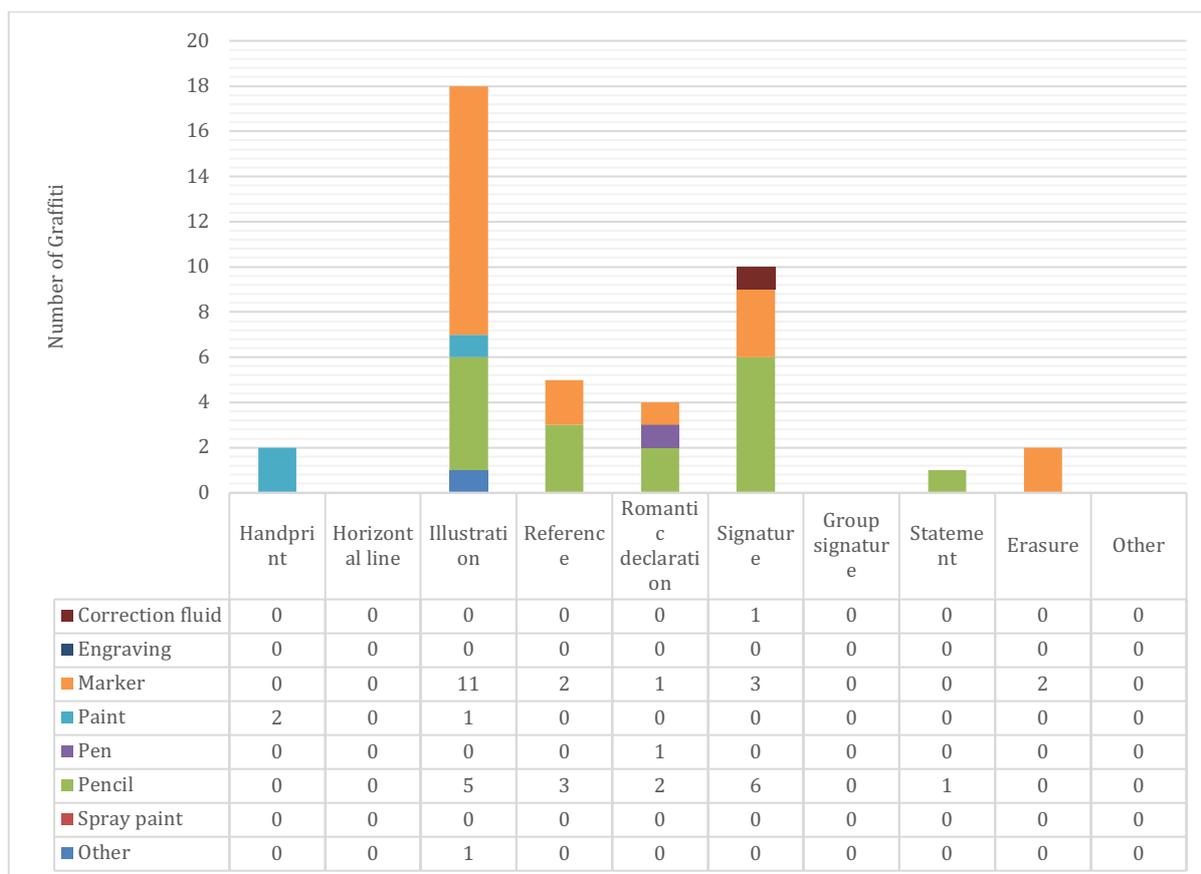


Figure 105. Graffiti at Lot 262 according to primary type category and media.

Eighteen of the 42 graffiti found at Lot 262 were categorised as illustrations. These took a range of forms, including stylised dollar signs, a handgun, circles, a broken heart symbol, as well as stick figures and a long neck turtle, as shown in Figure 107 and 87 below. Most of the illustrations were drawn with a marker (n=11); while pencil was used in five instances. Paint was used to make one illustration, while the final one was made with crayon.

Signatures were the second most common type of graffiti found at Lot 262 (n=10). Eight of these featured the initials of various individuals, while the remaining two featured an alias (possibly nickname or abbreviation), such as 'Fasy' and 'Jrella'. Six of the signatures were made with

pencils, three were made with a marker, while the last signature was made using correction fluid.

Secondary type	Example	Total (n=10)
Initial/s	TL	8
Alias	Fasy	1
Alias with an illustration	Jrella [arrow through heart illustration]	1

Figure 106. Number of graffiti in secondary autograph type categories at Lot 262.



Figure 107. Illustration graffiti at Lot 262. Note the stylised \$ figures.



Figure 108. Illustrations in the graffiti at Lot 262. Note the purple jellyfish-like drawing on the right, and the small drawing of a long neck turtle in the centre.

References were the next most common type of graffiti at Lot 262 (n=5). Four of these referred to a place in the US, which is related to the rap group N.W.A. The graffiti read the following (in various forms):

COMPTON

Compton is the city in California, USA where N.W.A. band members lived. Their first album (1986) was titled 'Straight Outta Compton'. A film based on the band was released in 2015 and this graffiti may have been motivated by the graffiti artist's affinity with the themes of the film. This is further evidenced by the presence of an accompanying reference graffito, which reads 'ice cube'. Ice Cube is the pseudonym used by one of the N.W.A. band members.

Four romantic declarations made up part of the graffiti gallery at Lot 262, all of which featured the initials of two people and a love heart symbol.

The remaining graffiti at Lot 262 were categorised as handprints (n=2), erasure (n=2), and statement (n=1). The statement simply read 'DOOM' and its meaning is unclear. The handprints were made using brown paint, and both a left and right handprint were present. Finally, the two instances of erasure are likely to have been autographs that have been rendered illegible due to

being scribbled out. Both of these graffiti were made using markers. No graffiti recorded at Lot 262 were categorised as horizontal lines or indistinct.

6.6 Bottom Camp

6.6.1 Lot 208

6.6.1.1 *Biography*

Lot 208 (pictured in Figure 109) is in the area of Barunga known as Bottom Camp—so called because it is in the southernmost area of the community. The property does not have any direct neighbours, though across the road to the west are lots 209 and 210, which were both included in this study. To the south of Lot 208 is open grassland, which extends 300 m to the Beswick Creek. Across the road to the east are the shop manager’s residence, and the Flinders University field camp, neither of which were included in this study. To the north is a dusty field, that extends around 100 m to the Barunga store. A laundromat was built between the Barunga store and Lot 208 in 2018, after the fieldwork was completed.



Figure 109. The yard and house at Lot 208. Note the overgrown grass to the left of the image. This is indicative of the tall spear grass that grows in Barunga during and after the wet season. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, April 2017.

A woman from the Torres Strait islands, who is in her 60s, lives at this property along with her brother, her nephew who is in his 20s, and her grandchildren—a boy and a girl—twins, who are

around ten years old. During one of the surveys (July 2017) the residents had a pet dog and a cat.

In terms of structures at Lot 208, the main building is the house, which is a standalone, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted a light blue. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and there is no rear veranda at this property, unlike other residences. There is a small tool shed in the southern area of the property, built on top of a cement slab that was once the foundation of an old Econo hut (as described in Chapter Two). The yard of Lot 208 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the newer design, constructed between 2012 and 2015, as indicated by the top railing found on the fence. There were no bough sheds found at this property during any of the four surveys.

Lot 208 was surveyed four times during the field work component of this study, to gain insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period:

- 29/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 27/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 19/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 166 are explored further below.

6.6.1.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 505 objects were recorded at Lot 208 over four surveys. The objects were classified into thirteen types, which are based largely on function. These types fit broadly under three overarching themes in the material culture, which relate to activities that have occurred at the property. The results of the surveys are presented in Table 49. The majority of material culture recorded at Lot 208 was related to labour ($n=203$; $\bar{x}=51$ items per survey), in a departure from the trend observed at other properties in Barunga where items under the discard theme are the most abundant. Discarded objects were the next most common type of object at Lot 208 ($n=190$; $\bar{x}=48$), while those related to recreation were the least common ($n=112$; $\bar{x}=28$).

The results displayed in Table 49 show that the number of objects present in the yard at Lot 208 fluctuated over the four surveys, and largely followed the trend observed at other properties where there is a comparatively moderate number of items at the property in October 2016 ($n=116$), while fewer objects were present in January ($n=89$) and April 2017 ($n=77$). Further, in

July 2017 the number of objects increased significantly (n=223). It is likely that these results are impacted by the different seasons, where it is more pleasant outside. For example, more time appears to have been spent outside in the lead-up to October 2016 and July 2017 (dry season), than in January 2016 and in the lead-up to April 2017 (wet season). Moreover, these results could have been impacted by the lower archaeological visibility of both January and April, as grasses and gardens tended to be more overgrown during these months due to seasonal rain.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	19	5	10	52	<u>22</u>
	Food	20	9	9	57	<u>24</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	0	0	4	<u>1</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	5	<u>1</u>
	Smoking	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal		39	14	19	118
Recreation	Furniture	11	9	6	6	<u>8</u>
	Linen	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Pets	2	0	0	8	<u>3</u>
	Sport and entertainment	15	10	11	34	<u>18</u>
	Subtotal		28	19	17	48
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	0	10	0	2	<u>3</u>
	Domestic labour	7	7	6	13	<u>8</u>
	Tools and equipment	42	39	35	42	<u>40</u>
	Whitegoods	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Subtotal		49	56	41	57
TOTAL		116	89	77	223	n=505

Table 49. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 208, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

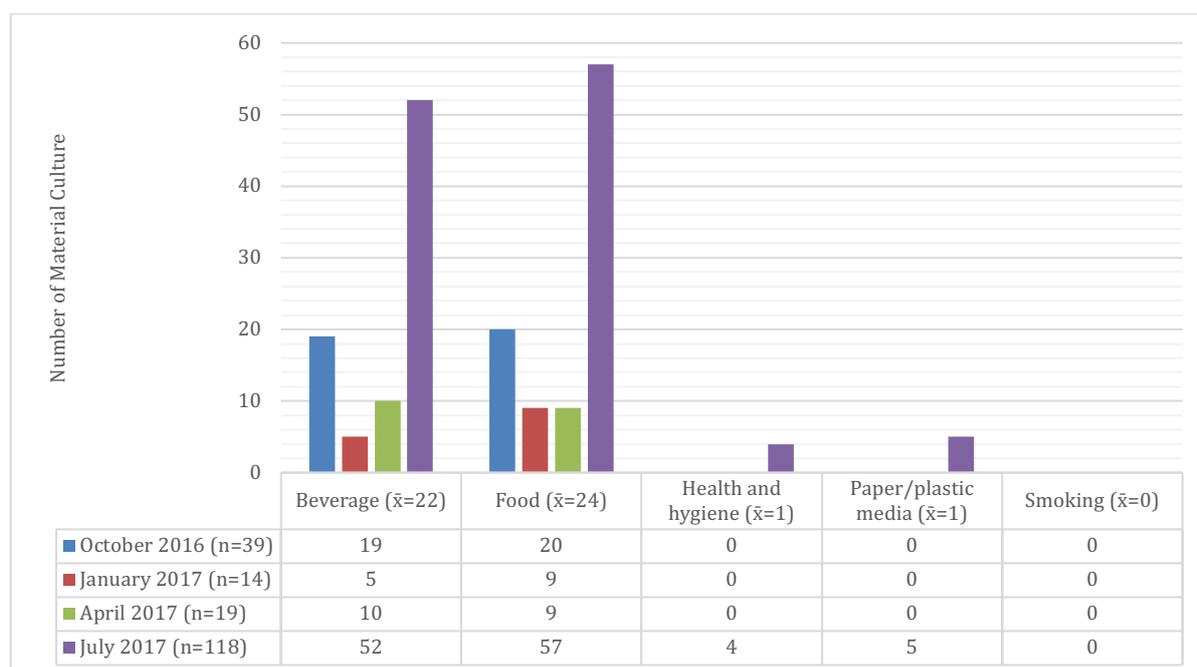
Discard at Lot 208

Figure 110. Number of material culture at Lot 208 classified as discard, according to type.

Material culture recorded at Lot 208 that was categorised under the discard theme was the second most common type of material culture at this property, at a total of 190 objects. The total number of discarded objects recorded per survey fluctuated from 39 in October 2016 to 14 and 19 objects in January and April 2017, before increasing significantly in July 2017 to 118 objects. Overall, the trend observed at other properties in Barunga, where a higher number of discarded items were recorded in July 2017 than in October 2016 was also observed at Lot 208. The increase in discarded items could indicate that the yard of this property is used more in the cooler, drier months than in the more humid and warmer months. It is important to note that these results do not indicate a direct accumulation of material.

Discarded objects were the most common types of material culture at most other properties, except Lot 178 (which was also occupied by a family from the Torres Strait Islands), Lot 346 (which was a new property) and Lot 166 (which was occupied by a middle-aged couple). These results indicate a relationship between the number of occupants, the age of those occupants, and the number of discarded objects found in the yard. Moreover, the results of this property (Lot 208) as well as Lot 178 show that the cultural backgrounds of the occupants might also play a part. This idea is discussed further in the following chapter.

Beverage (n=86; $\bar{x}=22$) and food objects (n=95; $\bar{x}=24$) accounted for most of the discarded objects at Lot 208. This result is interesting, because in most other places in Barunga, beverage objects were the most common discarded material culture. Eighty-six items related to the

consumption of beverages were recorded at Lot 208. Food objects were the most common type of discarded material culture at Lot 208 (n=95; \bar{x} =24). The specific objects that make up the assemblage of food and beverage items are presented in Appendix Seven.

Only nine other objects classified under the discard theme were recorded at Lot 208. Four of these were health and hygiene objects:

- A toothbrush.
- An empty tube of toothpaste.
- A band-aid.
- Band-aid wrapper.

Five objects were paper/plastic media:

- A letter
- An envelope
- A label
- A receipt from Target (a department store in Katherine).
- A sheet of cardboard bearing the written phrase: 'sunny day barunga'.

No smoking objects were recorded at this property in any of the four surveys.

Recreation at Lot 208

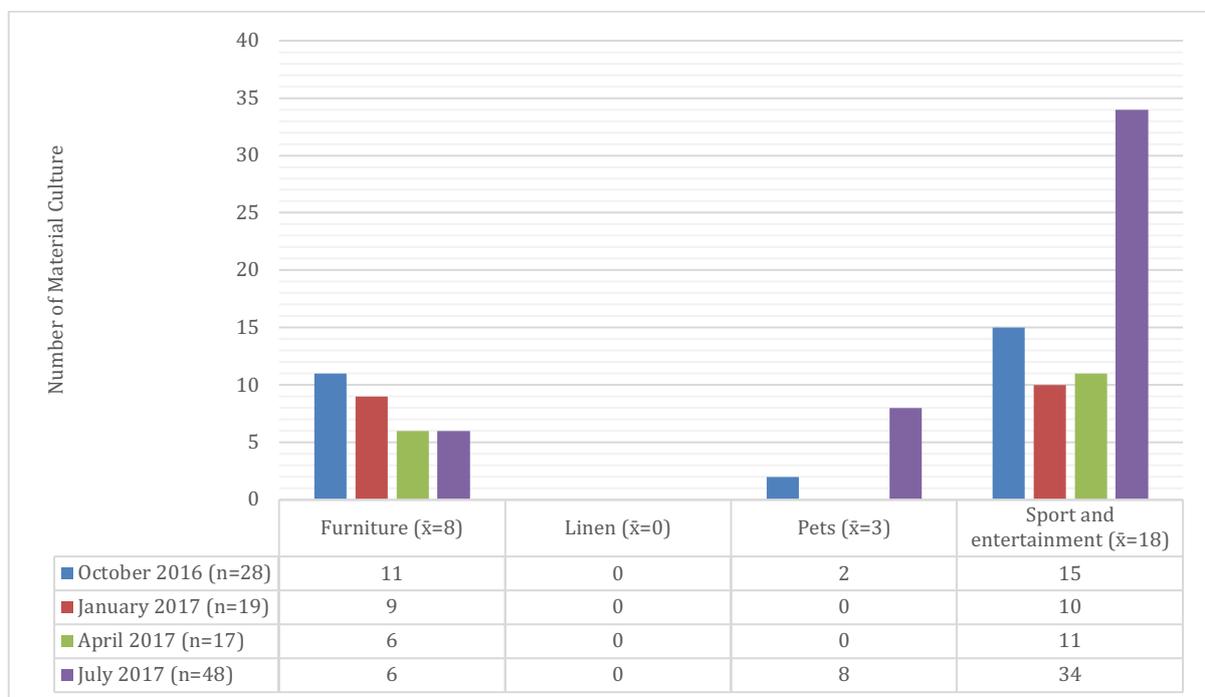


Figure 111. Number of material culture at Lot 208 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the recreation theme at Lot 208 included furniture, pet-related objects, and sport and entertainment objects. No linen was recorded at this property. A total of 112 recreation objects were recorded at this property, with 28 of them being recorded in the first survey (October 2016); 19 were recorded in January; 17 in April; and 48 in July 2017.

Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation material culture at Lot 208, with a total of 70 items being recorded over four surveys. The majority of these (n=34) were recorded in July 2017, while fewer were present in October 2016 (n=15), January (n=10), April (n=11). Specific items included a number of bicycles, electric scooters and a go kart, as well as an assortment of toys and balls. A number of balloons were also recorded, mostly in April and July 2017, as were playing cards. A totem tennis game was set up in the yard in January 2016 (a possible Christmas present) and remained in the yard through to the end of the survey. Finally, one set of headphones and a skateboard were also present in the yard at different times.

Furniture was also present in the yard at Lot 208. Eleven items of furniture were recorded in October 2016, while nine were recorded in January 2017. Six items of furniture were recorded in each of the April and July 2017 surveys. Specific items in this category included a number of chairs (which were present in each survey), various tables (which were also present in each survey), as well as a few items that were not always present, such as a steel fire drum and a single bed mattress.

Ten objects related to pets were recorded at Lot 208. Two of these, recorded in October 2016, were aluminium dishes. It is likely that these dishes had been kept in the yard since the occupant's dogs passed away a number of years prior. However, the occupant bought a new dog and a cat sometime between April and July 2017, which would explain the increase in pet-related objects in the final survey. Eight pet-related objects were recorded in July 2017. These items included the two dishes (which were previously recorded), as well as a clip from a dog leash, a label from a pet cushion, a pet travel cage, a bone (likely from a buffalo or cattle), as well as an empty packet of dog food and an empty packet of cat food.

No linen was recorded at Lot 208.

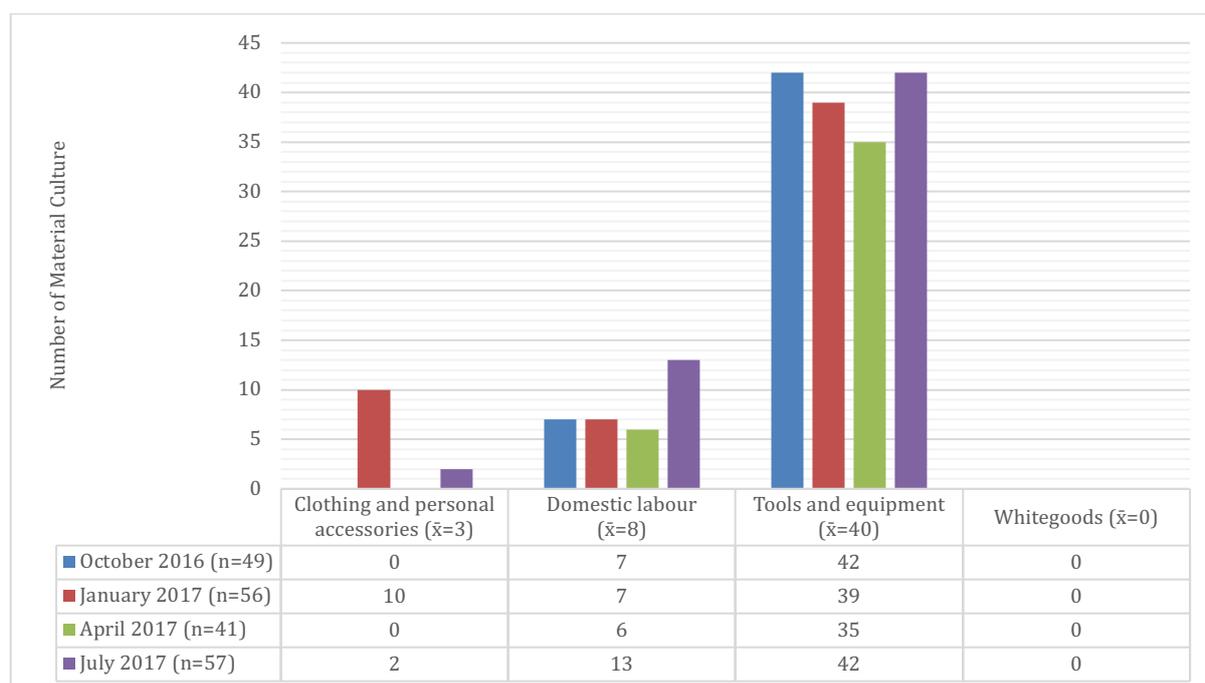
Labour at Lot 208

Figure 112. Number of material culture at Lot 208 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the labour theme was recorded at Lot 208 at an average of 51 objects per survey, to a total of 203 objects. Forty-nine of these were recorded in October, 56 were recorded in January, 41 in April, and 57 objects were recorded in July. Tools and equipment were the most common type of labour material culture at this property, as a total of 158 items were recorded over four surveys and mostly related to gardening and yard maintenance tools.

Objects related to domestic labour were also recorded at Lot 208, at an average of 8 items per survey. Seven domestic labour objects were recorded in each of the first and second surveys, while six were recorded in the third survey, and 13 in the final survey. Specific objects included in this assemblage were:

- Fairy lights
- Crepe ribbons (red, white and blue, which had been tied to the fence).
- A flat plate and a grill (for cooking over a fire).
- A wok.
- Reusable cutlery.
- Reusable cups.
- A pram.
- A booster seat.

- A wind charm.
- A laundry basket.
- A vacuum.
- A lid to a bucket of washing powder.
- Two cans of air freshener.
- One roll of cling wrap.

Some of the items listed above were present in multiple surveys.

Twelve objects were categorised as clothing and personal accessories at Lot 208. Ten of these were recorded in January 2017 and they consisted of an assortment of t-shirts and shorts, all of which were drying on the clothesline. The remaining two were recorded in July 2017, and these were a sock and a bead bracelet. No whitegoods were recorded at this property and this is likely to be the case because the laundry is inside the house, rather than on the veranda as it is at other properties in Barunga.

Results according to space at Lot 208

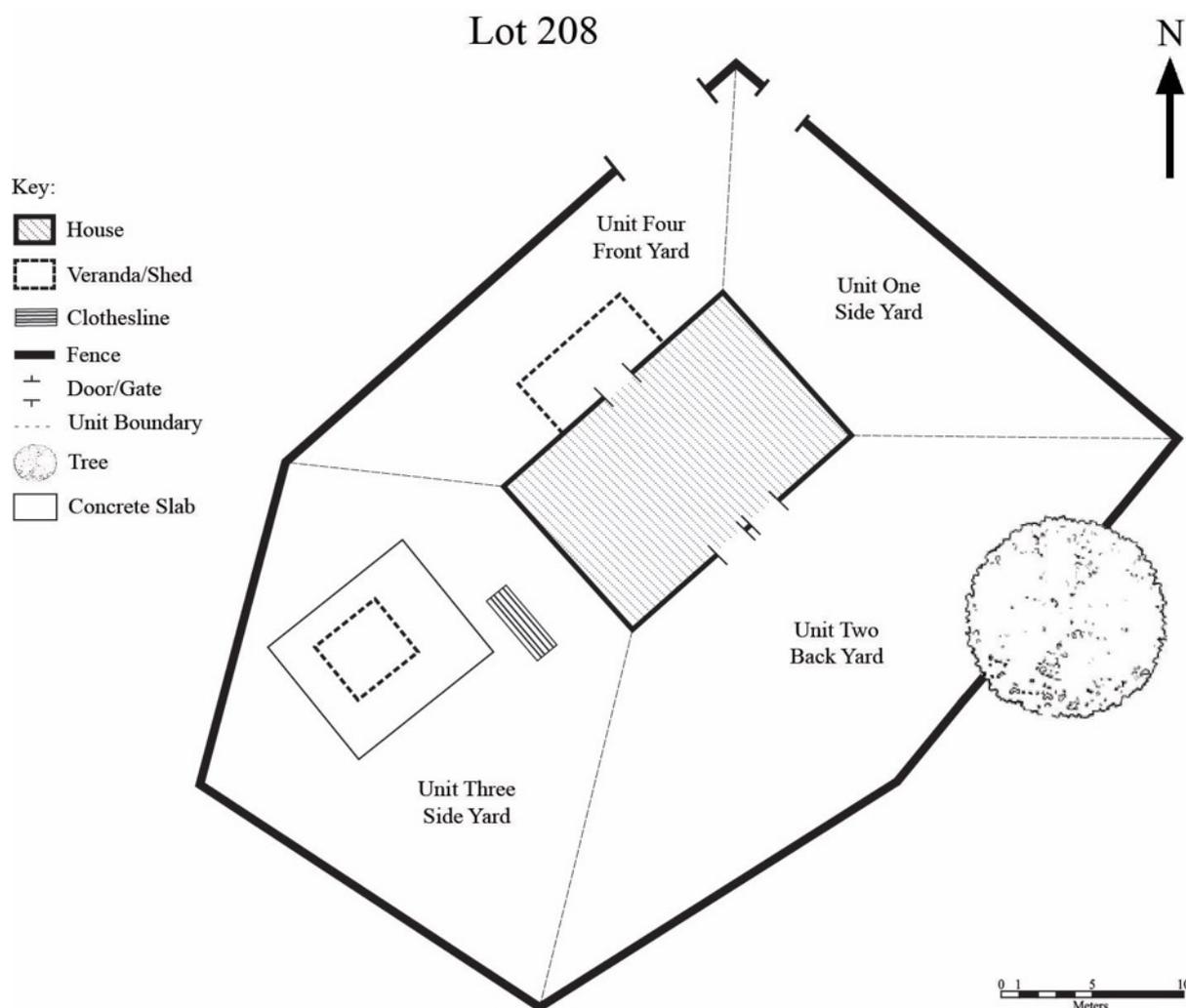


Figure 113. Plan of Lot 208 showing the four survey units.

Table 50 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the four survey units at Lot 208. These results indicate that both the back yard (unit two) (\bar{x} =43 objects per survey) and the southern side of the yard (unit three) (\bar{x} =42.75) are the primary activity areas, owing to the higher numbers of material culture recorded in these areas than in units one (\bar{x} =23.5) and four (\bar{x} =17). Lot 208 does not share a fence line with its neighbours and the closest neighbouring houses are across an unnamed dirt track to the west of the property. In that sense, unit four is the area of the yard that is most visible to neighbours. Unit two (the back yard) on the other hand is one of the most publicly conspicuous areas of the yard, along with unit one. The rear door to the house is also located in unit two, and unit two offers the most protection from the afternoon sun in an otherwise exposed yard. These results indicate a pattern in the use of space that conforms with other places in Barunga, where the highest accumulations of material culture tend to be situated in areas that are:

- Hidden from closest neighbours.
- Publicly visible.
- Close to doors of the house.
- In shade during the afternoon.

While units two and three appear to be the primary activity areas owing to the number of material culture in those spaces, the types of material culture found in each of the survey units can shed more light onto the particular activities that occur in the yard.

Survey	Unit one (side yard, north)	Unit two (back yard, east)	Unit three (side yard, south)	Unit four (front yard, west)	Total
October 2016	16	53	34	13	116
January 2017	6	24	49	10	89
April 2017	6	19	34	18	77
July 2017	66	76	54	27	223
Average	23.5	43	42.75	17	505

Table 50. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

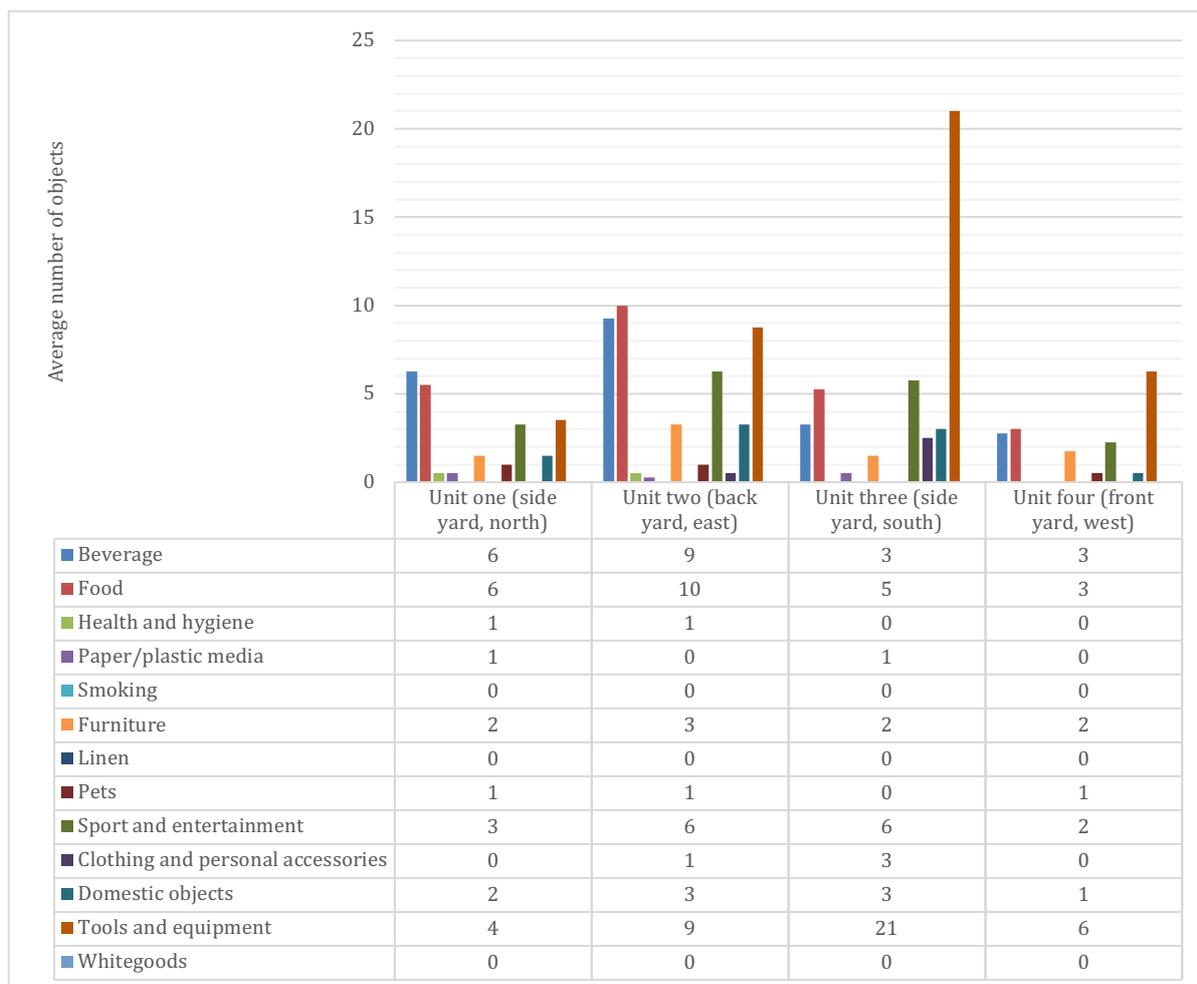


Figure 114. Average number (\bar{x}) of objects found in each survey unit according to type.

Figure 114 presents the average number of each type of object recorded in each survey unit. Unit two was identified as a likely area of primary activity, and the results show that a high average of discarded objects (i.e. beverage (\bar{x} =9.25) and food containers (\bar{x} =10) in particular) was recorded here (\bar{x} =20). Likewise, unit two featured the highest average of recreation objects (\bar{x} =11) and the second highest average of labour objects (\bar{x} =13). These results indicate that unit two is used primarily as a social area.

Unit three was also identified as a primary activity area, though the results of the surveys indicate that this area is used more for the storage of labour objects, due to the higher average of tools and equipment recorded here (\bar{x} =21) when compared to the other overarching material culture categories (i.e. discard (\bar{x} =9) and recreation (\bar{x} =7)).

Relatively few material culture was recorded in unit one, the northern side of the yard, though those that were tended to be discard (\bar{x} =12.75), while a lower average of recreation objects (\bar{x} =6) and labour objects (\bar{x} =5) were found here. Finally, unit four, the front yard, featured the lowest number of material culture, though the kinds of objects that were recorded in this survey unit were mostly tools and equipment (\bar{x} =6.25).

6.6.1.3 Graffiti

Minimal graffiti was recorded at Lot 208 over the four surveys conducted at this property (n=5). All five of the graffiti were recorded in October 2016, which means they predate this study. No new graffiti were recorded in any of the subsequent surveys, which means the rate of production here is quite low when compared to other properties in Barunga.

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
October 2016	0	5	5
January 2017	5	0	5
April 2017	5	0	5
July 2017	5	0	5

Table 51. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 208 during each of the surveys.

Results according to graffiti content and media



Figure 115. Graffiti at Lot 208 according to content type and media.

Romantic declarations were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 208 (n=4). Three of these followed the same style as this example:

E♥D

The fourth romantic declaration featured only one name, however:

KalwoL ♥

Three romantic declarations were made using pencil, while one was made with paint.

The final graffiti recorded at Lot 208 was a signature and this featured only the initials of an individual:

LD

This signature was written with a pencil.

6.6.2 Lot 209

6.6.2.1 Biography

Lot 209 is also located in the area of Barunga known as 'Bottom Camp'. The house at Lot 209 (Figure 116) is a freestanding, single storey building made out of concrete blocks, which are painted dark yellow. Lot 209 is occupied by a woman in her 40s and her three sons, who are all in their 20s. Lot 209 is on the edge of the community, meaning that there is only one Lot that shares a fence line (to the north), while another Lot is across the road (to the east). The southern border of Lot 209 is open grassland, which runs to Beswick Creek, while the western border slopes down to the creek.

In terms of built structures, there is a bough shed just outside the yard (most likely owing to the fact that there is so much space outside the yard). It is 6m x 4m x 2.5m and is constructed with six posts, with three beams covered in wire mesh to form the roof. The structure is strengthened by fencing wire, and there is a 'doorway' that opens to the north. Moreover, the fence at Lot 209 is a typical cyclone wire fence that is common in Barunga; however, there is no railing across the top of the fence, which indicates it is an older style of fence, as opposed to the newer fences which do feature a top railing.



Figure 116. The house and yard at Lot 209. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

Lot 209 was surveyed four times during the project, to understand how the space is used during different seasons:

- 27/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 26/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 24/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 209 is explored below.

6.6.2.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 204 objects were recorded at Lot 209 over four surveys (see Table 52). Discarded objects were the most frequently recorded type of material culture at Lot 209 at an average of 18.25 objects per survey, to a total of 73. Objects categorised as labour were the next most common, at an average of 17.5 items per survey and a total of 70 items. Recreation objects were the least common, at an average of 15.25 items per survey and a total of 61. Table 52 also presents the number of each type of object that was recorded in each of the four surveys. These results are discussed further below.

In terms of the variation in number of material culture over time, the number of objects recorded during each of the surveys fluctuated. In the initial survey (October 2016), 62 objects were recorded, while 35 (January 2017) and 23 (April 2017) objects were recorded in the second and third surveys. The number of objects increased in the fourth survey (July 2017) to 84 objects.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	10	6	1	17	<u>8.5</u>
	Food	0	0	1	8	<u>2.25</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	3	0	1	<u>1</u>
	Paper/plastic media	7	0	0	0	<u>1.75</u>
	Smoking	10	0	0	9	<u>4.75</u>
	Subtotal	27	9	2	35	<u>$n=73$</u> <u>$\bar{x}=18.25$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	7	7	7	5	<u>6.5</u>
	Linen	1	1	0	0	<u>0.5</u>
	Pets	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Sport and entertainment	3	3	1	26	<u>8.25</u>

	Subtotal	11	11	8	31	$\frac{n=61}{\bar{x}=15.25}$
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	4	0	0	1	<u>1.25</u>
	Domestic labour	1	0	1	1	<u>0.75</u>
	Tools and equipment	17	17	12	13	<u>14.75</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	0	1	<u>0.75</u>
	Subtotal	23	18	13	16	$\frac{n=70}{\bar{x}=17.5}$
	TOTAL	61	38	23	82	n=204

Table 52. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 209, and average number of object types recorded across all four surveys.

Discard at Lot 209

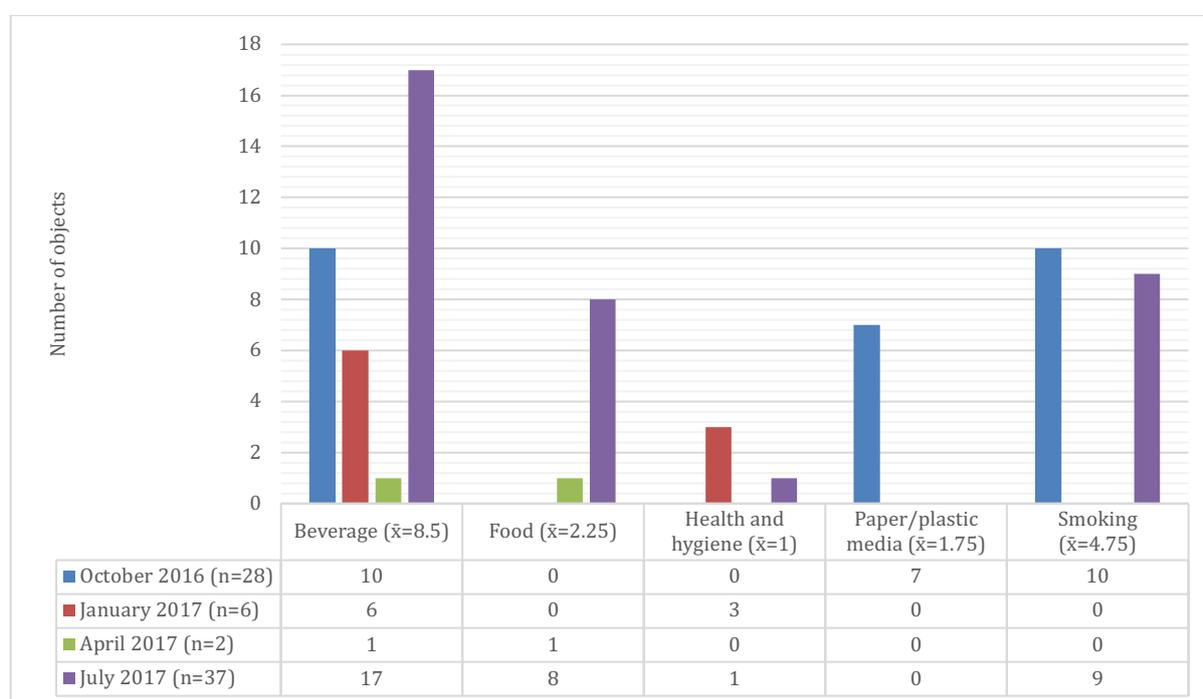


Figure 117. Number of material culture at Lot 209 classified as discard, according to type.

Material culture recorded at Lot 209 that was categorised under the discard theme was the most common type of material culture at this property, as a total of 73 such objects were recorded over four surveys. The total number of discarded objects recorded per survey fluctuated from 28 in October 2016 to six and two objects in January and April 2017, before increasing significantly in July 2017 to 37 objects. Overall, the trend observed at other properties in Barunga, where a higher number of discarded items were recorded in July 2017 than in October 2016 was also observed at Lot 209. The increase in discarded items could indicate that the yard of this property is used more in the cooler, drier months than in the more

humid and warmer months. It is important to note that these results do not indicate a direct accumulation of material.

Beverage objects (n=34; \bar{x} =8.5) accounted for most of the discarded objects at Lot 209. The specific objects that made up this assemblage are presented in Appendix Seven. Food objects, on the other hand, were relatively uncommon at this property when compared to others in Barunga, as only nine food objects were recorded at Lot 209 over four surveys. Specific objects recorded as beverage and food are presented in Appendix Seven.

Objects related to smoking were also uncommon at this property, and averaged only 4.75 objects per survey, to a total of 19. Ten smoking objects were recorded in October 2016 and the remaining nine were recorded in July 2017. Specific items included in this type of object were cigarette butts (n=17) and empty tobacco pouches (25g) (n=2).

Paper and plastic media were uncommon at Lot 209, as all seven instances were recorded in October 2016. Specific objects included five pieces of paper, each of different sizes, a receipt from Woolworths, a supermarket in Katherine, and a label for a length of canvas. Finally, four health and hygiene objects were recorded at Lot 209, three of which were recorded in January and the other was recorded in July 2017. All four health and hygiene items were used cotton wool buds.

Recreation at Lot 209

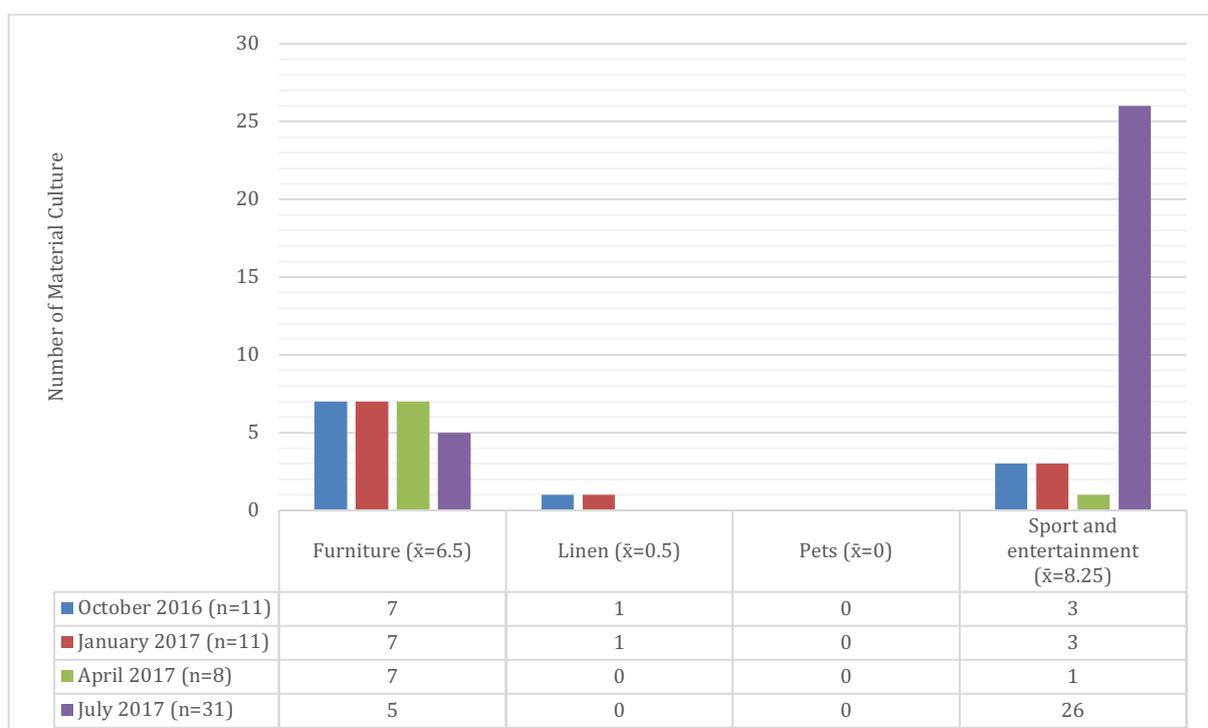


Figure 118. Number of material culture at Lot 209 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture categorised under the recreation theme at Lot 209 included furniture, linen, and sport and entertainment objects. No pet-related objects were recorded at this property. A total of 61 recreation objects were recorded at this property, with 11 of them being recorded in the first survey (October 2016); 11 were recorded in January; 8 in April; and 31 in July 2017.

Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation material culture at Lot 209, with a total of 33 items being recorded over four surveys. The majority of these (n=26) were recorded in July 2017, while fewer were present in October 2016 (n=3), January (n=3), and April (n=1). Specific items included a number of balloons, balls, bicycles, a go kart, a scooter, a tent, a wading pool and various plastic toys.

A total of 26 items of furniture were recorded over four surveys at Lot 209. Seven items of furniture were present in each of the October, January, and April surveys, and six were present in July. Specific items in this category included a number of chairs (which were present in each survey), various tables (which were also present in each survey), as well as a few items that were not always present, such as a steel fire drum, a single bed mattress, and a plastic coffee table.

Two linen articles were also recorded under the recreation theme at Lot 209. One of these was a blanket (which was recorded in October 2016) and the other was a sheet (recorded in January 2017). No objects recorded at Lot 209 were categorised as being related to pets.

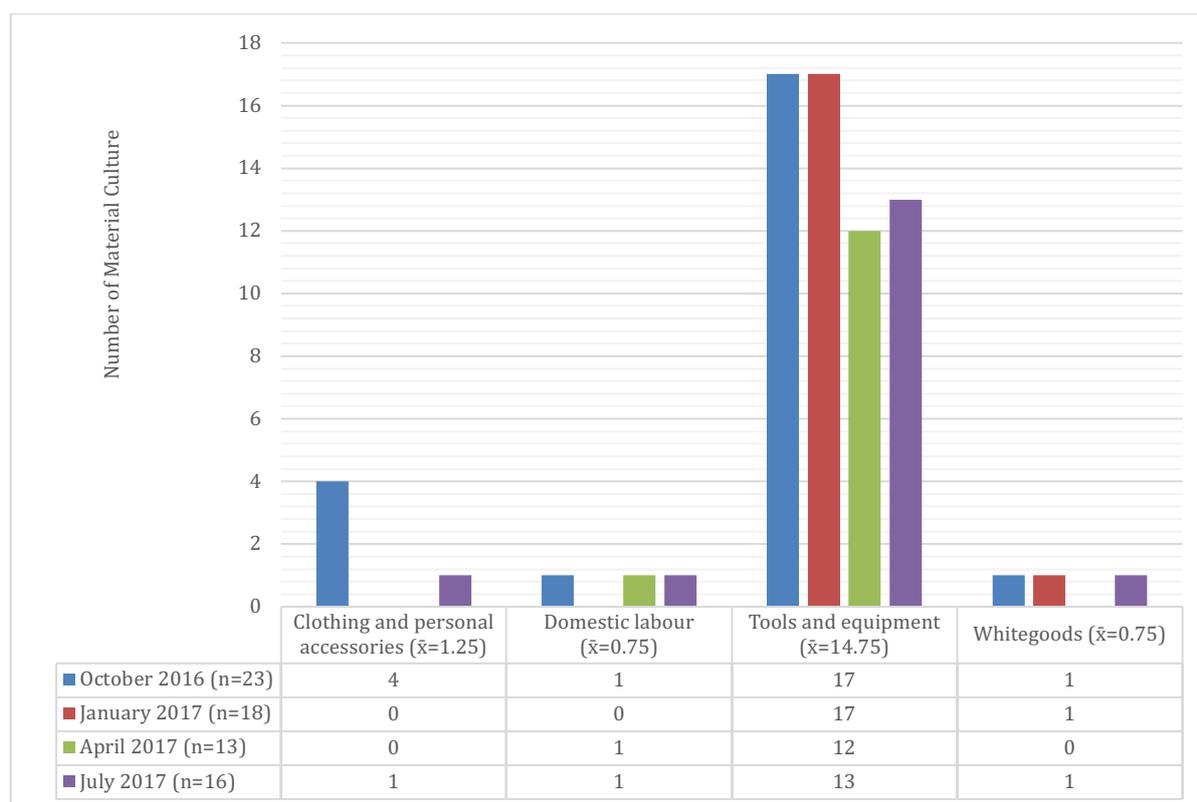
Labour at Lot 209

Figure 119. Number of material culture at Lot 209 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture categorised under the labour theme was recorded at Lot 208 at an average of 17.5 objects per survey, to a total of 70 objects. Twenty-three of these were recorded in October, 18 were recorded in January, 13 in April, and 16 objects were recorded in July. Tools and equipment were the most common type of labour material culture at this property, as a total of 59 items were recorded over four surveys. Specific items recorded as tools and equipment are presented in Appendix Seven.

Clothing and personal accessories were also recorded at Lot 209. Four instances were recorded in October 2016 and these included two shoes, a tee shirt and a jumper. One further instance was recorded in July 2017, and this object was a hair tie. Three instances of objects related to domestic labour were also recorded:

- An empty box of laundry powder (Recorded in October 2016).
- A reusable plastic cup (April 2017).
- A measuring cup (July 2017).

Finally, three instances of whitegoods were recorded, as a washing machine was present in both October 2006 and January 2017 (it was removed or placed inside by the April 2017 survey), while the third instance—recorded in July 2017—was a deep freeze.

Results according to space at Lot 209

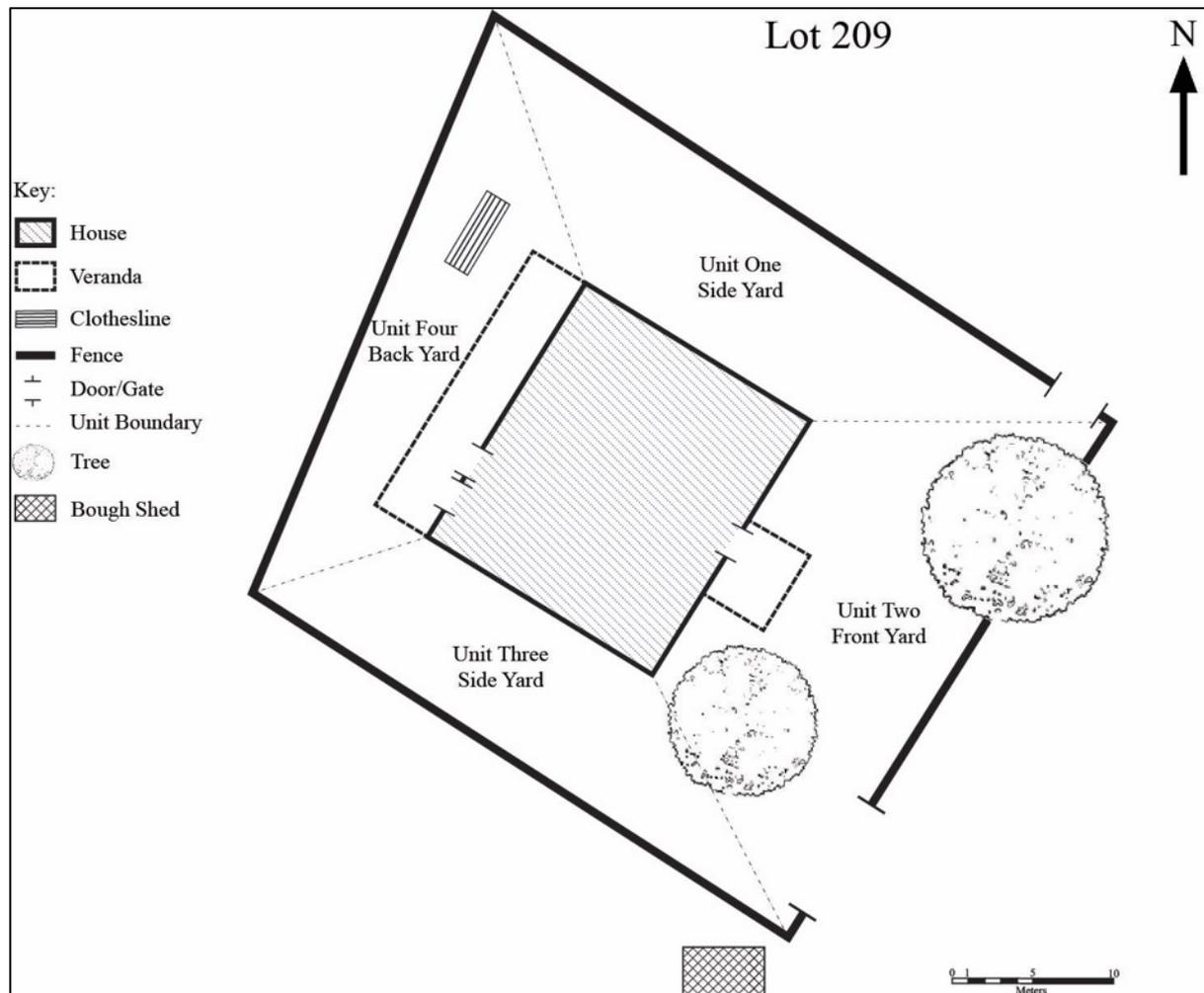


Figure 120. Plan of Lot 209 showing the four survey units.

Table 53 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the four survey units at Lot 209. These results indicate that the back yard (unit four) ($\bar{x}=26.75$ objects per survey) is the primary activity area, owing to the higher number of material culture recorded in that area than in units one ($\bar{x}=9.75$), two ($\bar{x}=12$) and three ($\bar{x}=2.5$). Unit four is the back yard to this property and the rear door to the house and a large veranda are situated in this area. While the back yard is visible from the neighbouring property to the north (Lot 210), it is not the closest. Unit one is the closest area to the neighbouring property, while unit two is visible from Lot 208, which is across an unnamed dirt track.

In that sense, units one and two are the areas of the yard that are most visible to neighbours. Unit four (the back yard) on the other hand is one of the most hidden areas from both public space and from neighbouring properties. These results indicate a pattern in the use of space

that conforms with other places in Barunga, where the highest accumulations of material culture tend to be situated in areas that are:

- Hidden from closest neighbours.
- Close to the doors of the house.
- In shade during the afternoon.

However, these results differ from the results of other places in Barunga, as in other places, the most publicly visible areas of the yard tend to contain the highest numbers of material culture. This is not the case at Lot 209. It could be that these results reflect a desire to be hidden from neighbours rather than to be visible publicly. While units two and four appear to be the primary activity areas owing to the number of material culture in those spaces, the types of material culture found in each of the survey units can shed more light onto the particular activities that occur in the yard.

	Unit one (side yard, north)	Unit two (front yard, east)	Unit three (side yard, south)	Unit four (back yard, west)	Total
October 2016	4	15	2	40	61
January 2017	6	4	2	26	38
April 2017	2	2	0	19	23
July 2017	27	27	6	22	82
Average	9.75	12	2.5	26.75	204

Table 53. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

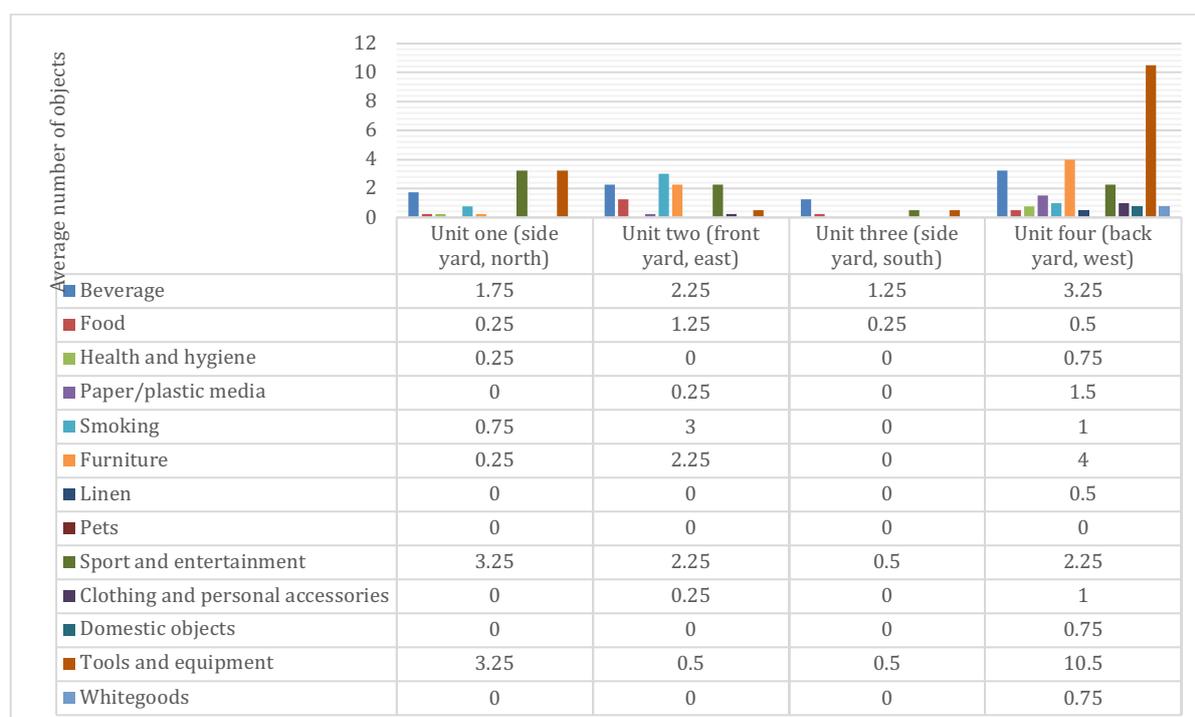


Figure 121. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 209 according to type.

Figure 121 presents the average number of each type of object recorded in each survey unit. The back yard (unit four) was identified as a likely area of primary activity, and the results show that the highest averages of discarded objects (i.e. beverage objects in particular ($\bar{x}=3.25$)) was recorded here ($\bar{x}=7$). Likewise, the back yard featured the highest average of recreation objects ($\bar{x}=27$) and the second highest average of labour objects ($\bar{x}=13$). These results indicate that unit four has multiple purposes, including as a social area, dining, and for labour.

Unit two, the front yard, featured the next highest frequency of material culture. This area featured a similar average of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=6.75$) as the back yard, but a lower average of recreation objects ($\bar{x}=18$) and essentially no labour objects ($\bar{x}=0.75$). These results indicate that this area is used primarily as a social area, though it is not used as intensively as unit four.

Unit one featured a low average of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=3$), the third highest average of recreation items ($\bar{x}=14$), and the second highest average of labour objects ($\bar{x}=3.25$). These results indicate that this area is used predominantly for labour. Unit three, the southern side of the yard, featured the least material culture. The results presented in Table 53 indicate that this part of the yard was rarely used.

6.6.2.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
October 2016	N/A	60	60
January 2017	60	3	63
April 2017	63	27	90
July 2017	90	0	90

Table 54. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 209 during each of the surveys.

A total of 90 graffiti were recorded at Lot 209 over four surveys. This data is presented in Table 54 above. Sixty of these graffiti existed at the property prior to the initial October 2016 survey. Three new graffiti were recorded in January 2017, while 27 new graffiti were recorded in April of 2017. No new graffiti were recorded in July 2017. These results show that the rate of graffiti production at this property is high when compared to other properties in Barunga.

Graffiti content and media at Lot 209

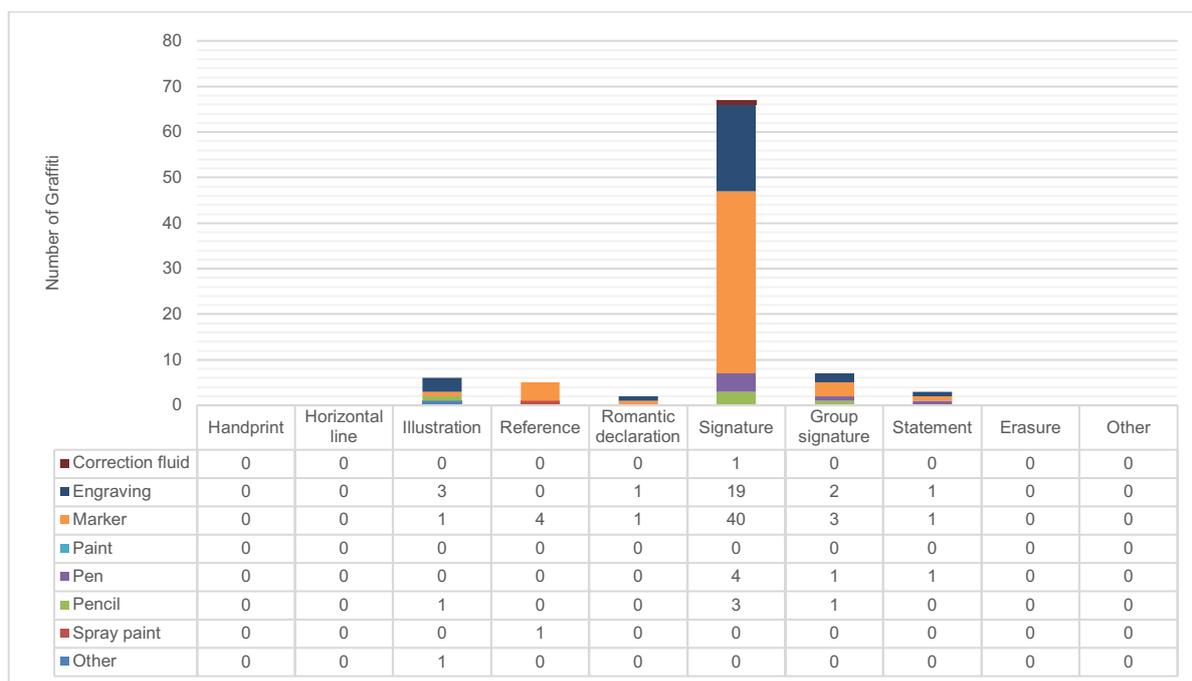


Figure 122. Graffiti at Lot 209 according to content type and media.

Graffiti classified as signatures were the most frequently recorded type at Lot 209 (n=67). The majority of signature graffiti featured the name or initials of an individual with additional text, which included either an affirmation of presence (i.e. ‘was here’ or a variant), a date, or both, for example:

DJB W/H 2017

Signatures that featured only initials were the second most common, while the use of an alias was the third most common type of signature. Some alias signatures were variants of a person’s name, but the majority featured the word ‘Yella’, which might refer to the skin colour of the graffiti writer. ‘Yellafella’ is local slang for a person of mixed ethnic descent. The deployment of this word in the graffiti at this house indicates that the graffiti writer has taken ownership of a word that in other contexts could be used as a slur. Moreover, first names, surnames and full names also appeared in signatures at this property. Interestingly, two signatures used skin names as identity-signalling devices. One read:

WAMUT W/H 2017

While the other read:

BANUNG

Signature graffiti was produced by markers (n=40), pen (n=4), pencil (n=3), and correction fluid (n=1), and nineteen of them were engraved.

Signature types	Total (n=67)
Skin name	2
Name (initials only)	15
Name (first name)	3
Name (surname)	6
Name (full name)	6
Name (alias)	12
Name (various) with additional text	23

Table 55. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 209.

Group signatures were the next most common type of graffiti at this property (n=7) and they came in a range of forms, from a set of initials:

JR RP

To a set of initials that reference a place (where 'Riverside' refers to the location of Lot 209, as it is next to Beswick Creek):

RIVERSIDE DJM CC

And an affirmation:

ENP RPR BAD BOYZ for life

While another featured the full names of two people who come from a different community. This graffiti also affirms the strength of their friendship/brotherhood:

MYRON, LEWIS DOOLAN ONLY US 2 to FROM LAJAMANU COMMUNITY

Another group signature featured a collective name for a group of brothers, while including a friend and referencing the camp (where 'Bottom' refers to 'Bottom Camp', the area of Barunga in which this property is located; 'futerer' is a likely misspelling of the word 'featuring', which is often used by recording artists when they collaborate):

McCartney Bottom Brothers futerer Matty B 2016

One group signature featured a group identity-making device through the deployment of the word 'Yella', as discussed above:

YELLA MEN

The final group signature read:

W33D H3ADS

Three group signatures were made with a marker, one was made with a pen, one with a pencil and two were engraved.

Six illustrations were recorded at Lot 209. Two of these were drawings of faces, one was a drawing of a human, another was an arrow, while the last drawing was of flowers. One final graffito classified as an illustration was a sticker. This sticker advertised the Fred Hollows Foundation. Three illustrations were engraved, one was made with a marker, another was made with a pencil, while the last was a sticker.

Five reference graffiti were recorded at this property. Two of these referenced NT sports teams, for example:

LAJAMANU SWANS

Another referenced a US rap musician:

DR. DRE

While the final two referenced the location of the property (i.e. being in 'Bottom Camp'):

BOTTOM CAMP AKA

And an Indigenous language group that has a great presence in Jawoyn Country:

DALABON

Four references were produced with markers, while the last reference graffito (i.e. the one that read 'Dalabon' was made with spray paint.

Three statements were recorded in the graffiti at Lot 209. Often, the precise meanings of these graffiti are unclear, for example:

lack

And:

THE GAME

A final statement simply read:

2008 ALL WAYZ

The final two graffiti recorded at Lot 209 were categorised as romantic declarations:

JWB O.T.L. 08

The above is likely to refer to a married couple, for example 'John and Wendy Brown, Only Two Lovers 2008'), while the romantic declaration below is likely to be two separate sets of initials, where '042TL F/E' likely means 'Only for two these lovers, forever':

JJ DMW 042TL F/E

6.6.3 Lot 210

6.6.3.1 Biography

Lot 210 is also in the area of Barunga known as Bottom Camp. It is bordered to the south by another property that was also included in this study, Lot 209. To the north is an open field that extends around 200 m to the Barunga store, while the eastern aspect of Lot 210 opens to a dirt track, which is the main vehicle access to the property. Across the track to the east is Lot 208, which was also surveyed for this study. Lot 210 is bordered to the west by a steep slope that extends 20 m down to Beswick Creek. A couple in their mid-40s live at this property, along with eight dogs. During the October 2016 survey, the only people staying in this property were the husband and wife couple; however, by July 2017, family from Bulman were visiting, and had been there since the Barunga Festival in early June. The extra six people, which included two adults and four children, planned on staying at the property until after the Katherine Show, at the end of July.



Figure 123. The yard and house at Lot 210. Photograph Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

The house at Lot 210 is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks, which are painted a dark blue (Figure 123). There is a small veranda at the front door to the house, while at the back door, a veranda extends the full length of the house. There is a concrete floor under each of the verandas. A plan of this study place can be found in. In terms of structures at Lot 210, no bough sheds were present during the field work. The fence is of a design typical of an older style found in Barunga, as there is no top railing.

Lot 210 was surveyed only twice during the field work component of this study, though those surveys nevertheless provide insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period:

- 30/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- No access (wet season)
- No access (between wet and dry seasons)
- 20/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 210 are explored further below.

6.6.3.2 *Material culture*

Overview

A total of 361 objects were recorded at Lot 210 during both surveys that were carried out at this property. Fewer objects were recorded in the first survey, October 2016 (n=122) than in the second (n=239). These results largely follow the trend observed at other properties in Barunga where fewer objects are recorded during the build-up to the wet season, which typically occurs in the months around October, than in the dry season, which occurs in the months before and after July.

Material culture recorded at Lot 210 was categorised into thirteen types, which relate to the function of the object. These types fit broadly under three overarching material culture themes, which relate to various activities that take place in the yards of Barunga. The number of each type of object recorded at Lot 210 is presented in Table 56. Material culture classified under the labour theme was the most frequently recorded material culture at Lot 210, at an average of 85 objects per survey to a total of 170 objects. Discarded objects were the next most frequently recorded, at an average of 61.5 objects per survey to a total of 123. Recreation objects were the least frequently recorded, with an average of 34 objects recorded per survey and a total of 68. These results are explored in greater detail below and the raw data is presented in Appendix Seven.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	July 2017	AVERAGE
Discard	Beverage	3	71	<u>37</u>
	Food	5	31	<u>18</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	3	<u>1.5</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	7	<u>3.5</u>
	Smoking	0	3	<u>1.5</u>
	Subtotal		8	115
Recreation	Furniture	12	12	<u>12</u>
	Linen	0	3	<u>1.5</u>
	Pets	3	0	<u>1.5</u>
	Sport and entertainment	6	32	<u>19</u>
	Subtotal	21	47	<u>n=68</u> <u>$\bar{x}=34$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	0	6	<u>3</u>
	Domestic labour	23	14	<u>18.5</u>
	Tools and equipment	68	54	<u>61</u>
	Whitegoods	2	3	<u>2.5</u>
	Subtotal	93	77	<u>n=170</u> <u>$\bar{x}=85$</u>
TOTAL		<u>122</u>	<u>239</u>	<u>n=361</u>

Table 56. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 210, and average number of object types recorded across both surveys.

Discard at Lot 210

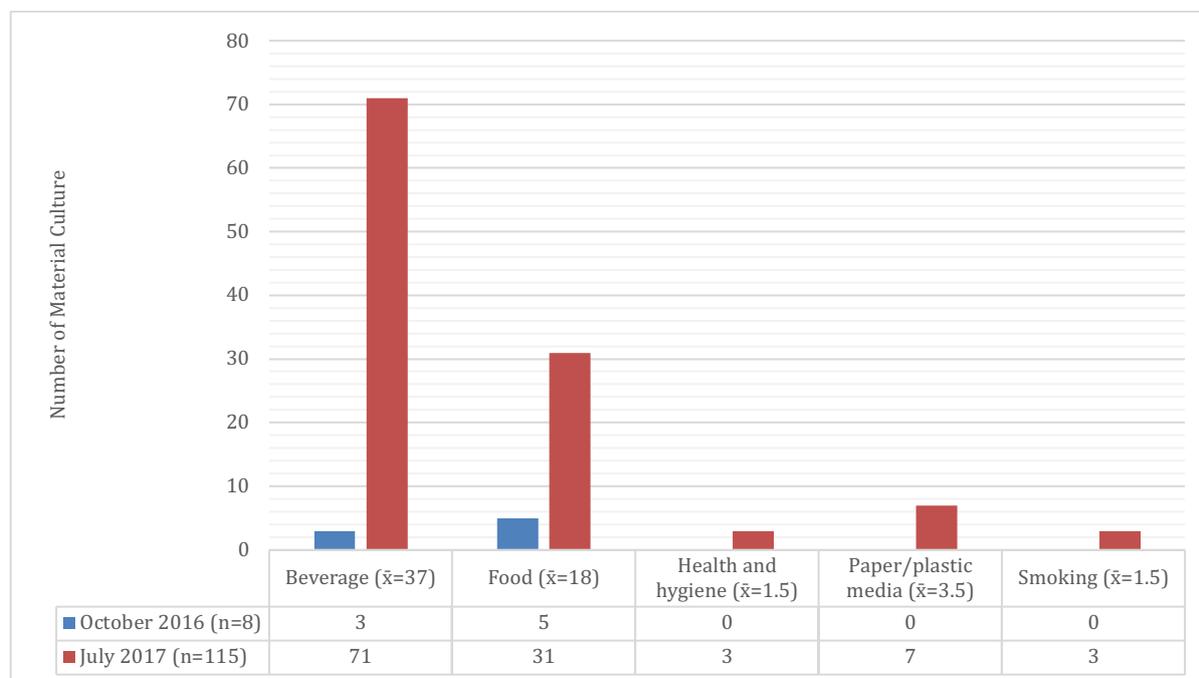


Figure 124. Number of material culture at Lot 210 classified as discard, according to type.

Discarded objects were the second most common type of material culture at Lot 210. The majority of these were categorised as beverage ($n=74$; $\bar{x}=37$), though only three were recorded in October 2016, while the remaining 71 were recorded in July 2017. The increase in discarded beverage objects in July 2017 coincides with the increase in the number of people staying at the property. The same can be said of food objects, as they increased in presence from five in October to 31 in July. Specific objects categorised as food and beverage can be found in Appendix Seven.

Paper and plastic media was the next most common type of discarded object at Lot 210, with all seven instances being recorded in July 2017. Four of these were loose sheets of newspaper, from the *Katherine Times*, three of which were the Wednesday 19 July issue, while the fourth was from Monday 22 May. One other piece of media was a brochure from Target, a department store in Katherine, while another was a label from the same store, which had been removed from the purchased product (indeterminate) and discarded in the yard. The final piece of media at Lot 210 was a photograph that was heavily weathered, rendering the image invisible.

Three objects were categorised as health and hygiene at Lot 210. Two of these were crutches which were broken and thrown onto the roof of the house. The other health and hygiene object was an empty packet of 'Nordic blonde' hair dye, Schwarzkopf brand.

Only three items related to smoking were recorded at this property. One of these was an empty 25g pouch of tobacco, another was a cigarette lighter, while the final object was a discarded cigarette paper, which would have been used to roll a cigarette had it not been discarded.

Recreation at Lot 210

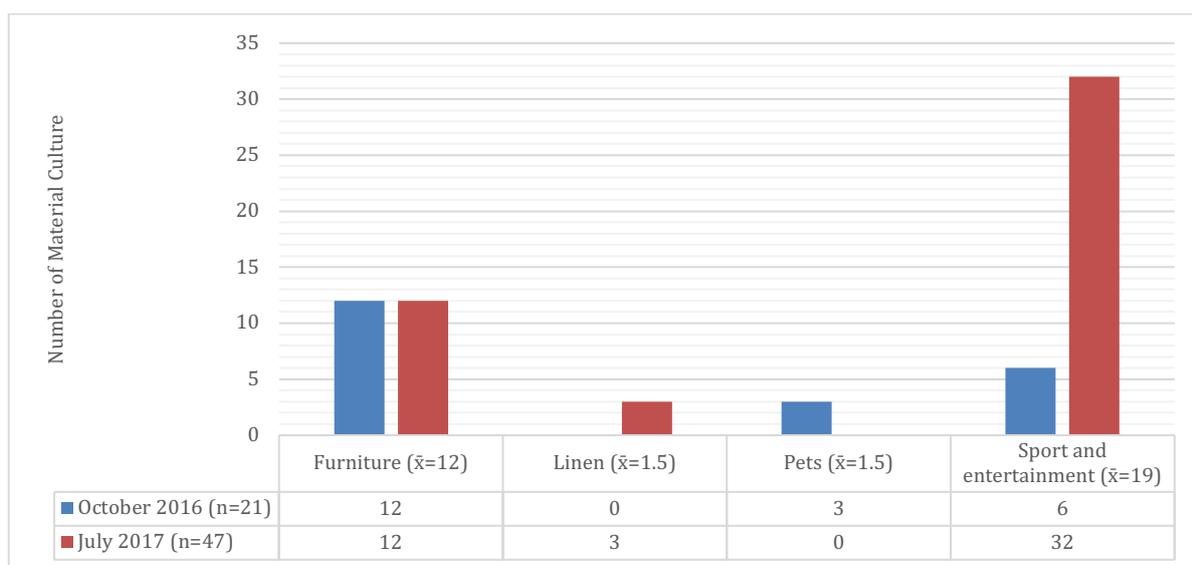


Figure 125. Number of material culture at Lot 210 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the recreation theme was the least common type of material culture at Lot 210. While the number of furniture remains the same over the two surveys, the number of sport and entertainment items increase significantly, which is likely to reflect the increase in the number of children staying at this property at that time. The number of linen items in the yard also increased in July 2017, which could reflect the idea that more time was spent outdoors during this period than in October. On the other hand, pet-related items decreased in July, which could be a reflection of the idea that dogs were fed elsewhere, or regular practices were disturbed by visitors. In a conversation with the female permanent resident of this property, she mentioned that the visitors were often mean to the dogs, who she sees as part of her family. The dogs at this property are well looked after, as the husband and wife mentioned they regularly cook meals for the dogs, including porridge for breakfast and a beef stew for dinner.

Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation material culture at Lot 210, with a total of 38 items being recorded over the two surveys. The majority of these (n=32) was recorded in July 2017, while far fewer were present in October 2016 (n=6). Specific items in the sport and recreation assemblage included (in October) two pieces of firewood, as well as a tent, a speaker, a deflated wading pool, and a hula hoop. In July, these included a number of toys (which were mostly cap guns, cap cartridges and associated packaging) (n=14), as well as several balloons, electrical devices (two speakers and a television), a bag full of camping equipment, a marble, two hand reels for fishing, a single playing card, and three used firework cartridges. Some of these items are seasonal, for example, many of the toys and balloons appeared to have been purchased at the Katherine Show, while the fireworks cartridges would have been left over from Territory Day celebrations. However, the remainder are a likely material manifestation of the increase in the number of people—particularly of children—at this property, when compared to the results of the October 2016 survey.

A total of 24 items of furniture were recorded over two surveys at Lot 210. Twelve items of furniture were present in each of the October and July surveys, and the type of furniture present during each of the surveys varied minimally. Specific items in this category included a number of chairs (which were present in each survey), various tables (which were also present in each survey), as well as a few other types of furniture, such as a steel fire drum, a single bed frame, a coffee table, a shelf, and a woven rug that had been spread out in the front yard for people to sit on.

Three linen articles were recorded in July 2017 and all three were blankets. Finally, three objects were classified as relating to pets and two of these were dishes that were used for

food/water for the dogs, while the third was a leg bone of a buffalo/cattle, which had been given to the dogs to chew.

Labour at Lot 210

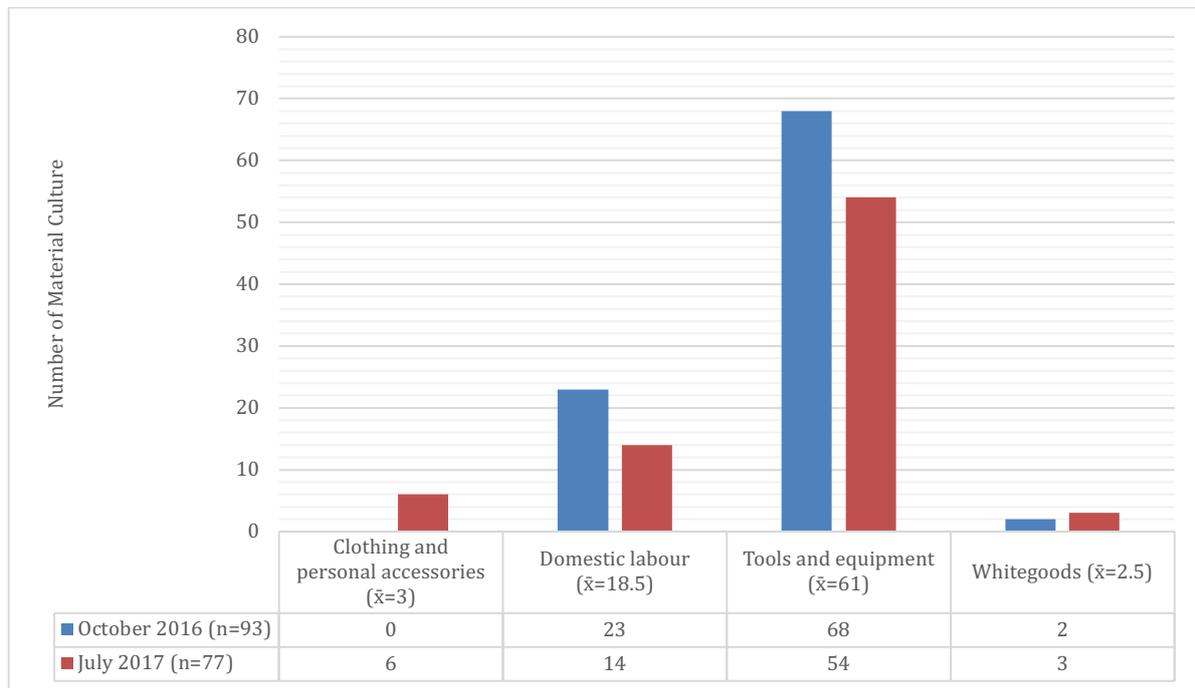


Figure 126. Number of material culture at Lot 210 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the labour theme was the most common type of material culture at Lot 210. It is interesting that the numbers of tools and equipment and of domestic objects decrease in July 2017. This could reflect the removal of these items from the yard in order to protect them from visitors. Tools and equipment were the most common type of object recorded under this theme, as a total of 68 items were recorded in October 2016, while a further 54 were recorded in July 2017. Various bags and containers for storage were the most common type of object under this category (n=31), while gardening and yard work tools were the second most common (n=22). Vehicle maintenance equipment was also common (n=19), while some cleaning implements, electrical cords and devices, and various tools were also present, though relatively uncommon. Several tools and equipment were classified as ‘other’ in the table below, as they were uncommon at other properties and did not fit under the tool and equipment types presented below. These objects included:

- Star pickets.
- A length of security screen from a window (in use as a garden fence).
- A length of chicken wire (in use as a garden fence).
- A sheet of corrugated iron.

- Several lengths of wire mesh (used to fill holes in the fence).
- Various lengths of wooden board.
- A ladder.
- A paperclip.
- Several pieces of cement (used to fill holes in the fence).

Items related to domestic labour were also recorded at Lot 210. Twenty-three were recorded in October 2016, while fourteen were recorded in July 2017. Specific items included (some items were recorded in both surveys):

- An electric fan.
- A fold-away gas BBQ.
- A bathmat and a door mat.
- Empty boxes of laundry powder (n=4).
- A number of clothes pegs (n=11).
- Various cooking utensils (n=7).
- Reusable cutlery (n=2).
- Reusable crockery (n=4).
- A bottle of dishwashing liquid.
- An empty packet of reusable forks.
- An empty cardboard tube (toilet roll).

Clothing and personal accessories were also recorded at this property, though only in July 2017 (n=6). Specific items included a wide brim hat, a sandal, a shoe, a tee shirt, and two hair ties. Given that the clothing and shoes found at Lot 210 appear to be for children, it is likely that their presence is indicative of the visitors to this property. The results of Lot 210 show that there is a correlation between the overcrowding of a property and the number of material items in the yard. This idea is explored further in the discussion chapter.

Finally, two whitegoods were recorded in October 2016, while three were recorded in July 2017. In October, an air-conditioning unit was present (disconnected and sitting on a table at the rear of the property), as was a small bar fridge (also disconnected and laying on its back). In July, both of these items were present; however, the air-conditioning unit was now near the rear fence, while the bar fridge was on the rear lawn. Another full-size fridge/freezer was also present in July. This item was also disconnected and laying on its rear. No other whitegoods were recorded and the lack of a washing machine can be explained by the fact that the laundry at this property is inside the house.

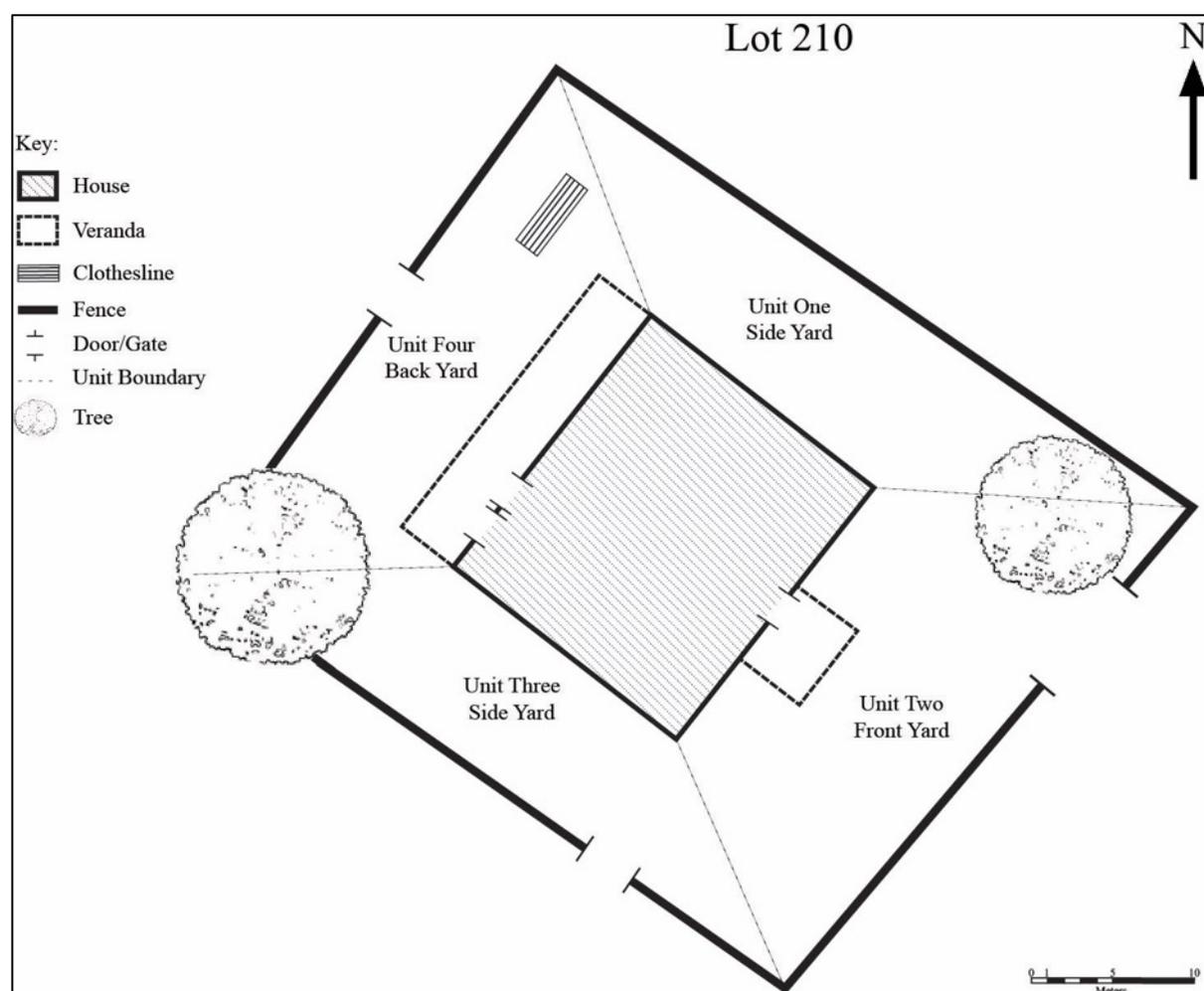
Results according to space at Lot 210

Figure 127. Plan of Lot 210 showing the four survey units.

Table 57 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units during each survey. These results indicate that the back yard, unit four, is the primary activity area given that the highest average of material culture was recorded here ($\bar{x}=75$ items per survey). Unit two is the least publicly visible area of the yard, and it is also hidden from the neighbour's property (Lot 209). This unit contained the highest number of material culture in each survey. Fifty-one objects were recorded in this area in October 2016, while a further 75 were recorded here in July 2017. While the number of objects certainly indicates that much time is spent here, the type of objects found here can provide nuanced insight into that observation. For example, a majority of discarded and recreation objects can indicate that this is a social area, or a majority of labour items can indicate it is used mainly for work and the storage of tools and equipment. These results are discussed further below with regard to the types of objects found in each survey unit.

The northern side of the yard, unit one, featured the next highest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=51.5$), though this result is skewed by the significant increase in material culture from sixteen in October to 87 in July. This result could indicate that the new visitors to the house used this area more intensely, or that the permanent occupants sought respite from family in this area. The type of objects found in this area can shed light onto this scenario and this is discussed below.

Unit two, the front yard, featured the third highest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=45$) and the number of objects in this survey unit decreased from 50 in October 2016 to 40 in July 2017. This result was impacted by the fact that one of the permanent residents of the property tidied this area halfway through the survey. She mentioned that she was unhappy with the mess that her visiting family had made. This part of the yard is both publicly visible and it is also visible from a neighbouring property, Lot 208, which is across an unnamed dirt road.

Finally, unit three, the southern side of the yard, featured the lowest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=9$). This result is significantly lower than other areas of the yard, and this result could have been impacted by the fact that this is the area closest to Lot 209, the neighbouring property to the south.

In that sense, units one and two are the areas of the yard that are most visible from public space. Units two and three are both visible from neighbouring properties, while unit four (the back yard) on the other hand is one of the most hidden areas from both public space and from neighbouring properties. These results indicate a pattern in the use of space that conforms with other places in Barunga, where the highest accumulations of material culture tend to be situated in areas that are:

- Hidden from closest neighbours.
- Close to the doors of the house.
- In shade during the afternoon.

However, these results differ from the results of other places in Barunga, as in other places, the most publicly visible areas of the yard tend to contain the highest numbers of material culture. This is not the case at Lot 210, nor is it the case at Lot 209, where the same parts of the yard are visible/invisible to neighbours and from public spaces as this property. It could be that these results reflect a desire to be hidden from neighbours rather than a desire to be publicly visible. While units one, two and four appear to be the primary activity areas owing to the number of material culture in those spaces, the types of material culture found in each of the survey units can shed more light onto the particular activities that occur in the yard.

Survey	Unit one (side yard, north)	Unit two (front yard, east)	Unit three (side yard, south)	Unit four (back yard, west)	Total
October 2016	16	50	5	51	122
July 2017	87	40	13	99	239
Average	51.5	45	9	75	361

Table 57. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

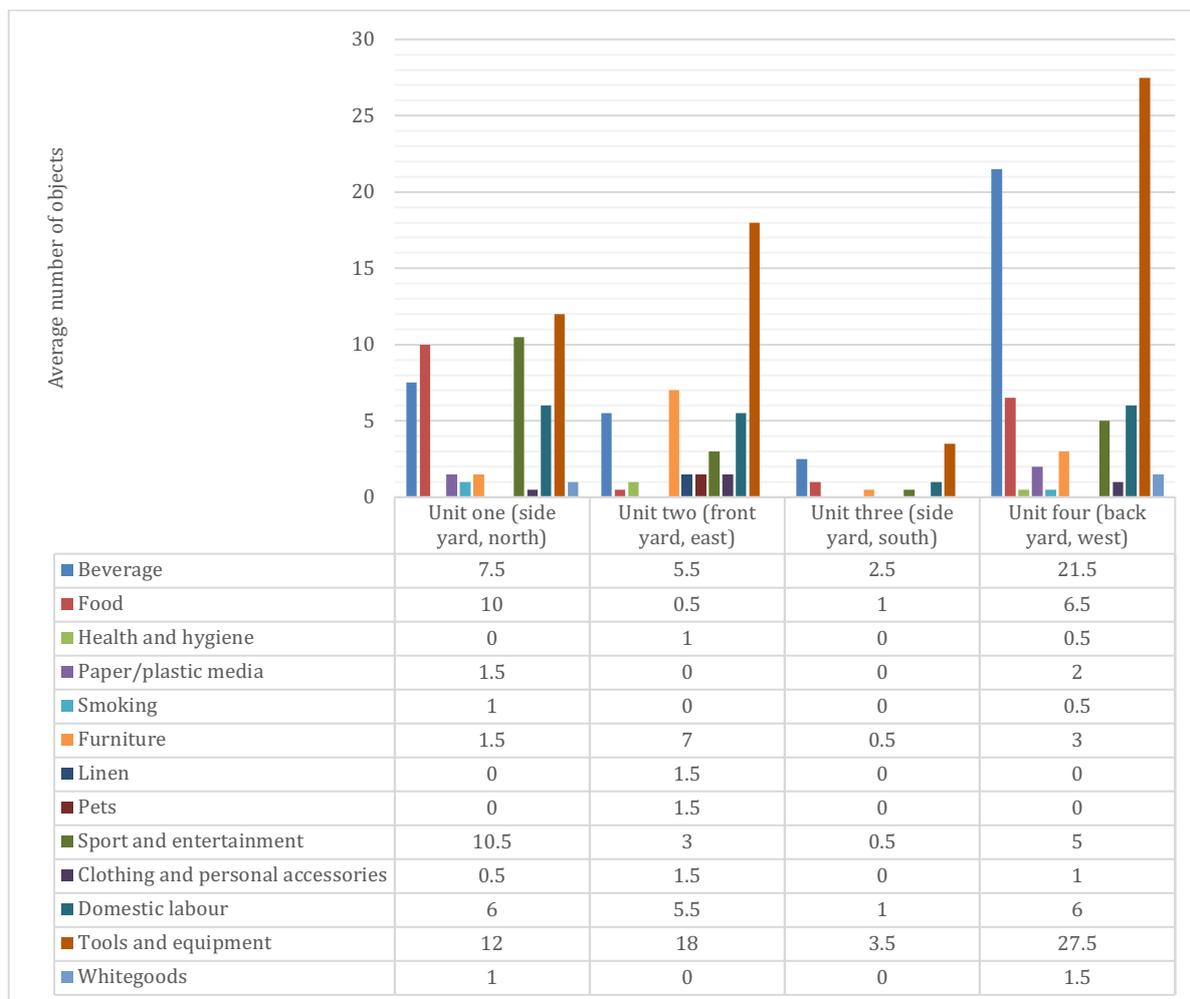


Figure 128. Average number of objects recorded in each of the survey units at Lot 210 according to type.

As the back yard, unit four, was identified as the primary activity area, the results presented in Figure 128 show that the highest averages of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=31$), as well as labour objects ($\bar{x}=36$) were recorded in this area, while the third highest average of recreation items was recorded here ($\bar{x}=8$). Given these results, it is likely that this area is used primarily for work and storage. This conclusion is supported by the fact that low numbers of recreation items were found here (i.e. furniture in particular).

When we compare the results of the back yard (unit four) with the front yard (unit two) we see that unit two is more likely to have been used as a social area, for both dining and resting.

Discarded objects were recorded here at an average of seven items per survey, while the highest average of recreation items was recorded here (which includes the highest average of furniture items ($\bar{x}=7$)). Fewer items related to labour were recorded here than unit four, though still a high average ($\bar{x}=25$). Given these results, particularly the number of furniture found in this area, it is likely this is the primary social area. Moreover, the front yard is the most publicly visible area of the yard, the front door to the house is in this area, and the shadow of the house provides protection from the afternoon sun. This means that the results of Lot 210 largely follow those of other properties in Barunga, where primary activity areas are in places that have the best access to the house, are protected from afternoon sun, and that are publicly visible. The only deviation from the trend observed at other properties is that this area of the yard is also visible from neighbouring properties.

Unit one featured high averages of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=20$), as well as labour objects ($\bar{x}=19.5$), and the second highest average of recreation objects ($\bar{x}=12$), which were mostly categorised as sport and entertainment ($\bar{x}=10.5$). It is possible that this area is also a social area, though the low average of furniture recorded here ($\bar{x}=1.5$) indicates that it was not used as intensely as unit two.

Finally, unit three featured very low average of all types of material culture. This area is the closest to the neighbouring property to the south (Lot 209) and the fence that separates the properties is located in this survey area. It is likely that these results reflect a desire to have one's own space which is hidden/distant from neighbours.

6.6.3.3 Graffiti

	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	TOTAL
October 2016	0	13	13
July 2017	13	0	13

Table 58. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 210 during each of the surveys.

Thirteen graffiti were recorded at Lot 210 over the two surveys (Table 58). All thirteen were recorded in October 2016; therefore, no new graffiti was produced at this property in the intervening period. The content of the Lot 210 graffiti and the media used to create them are explored in detail below.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 210

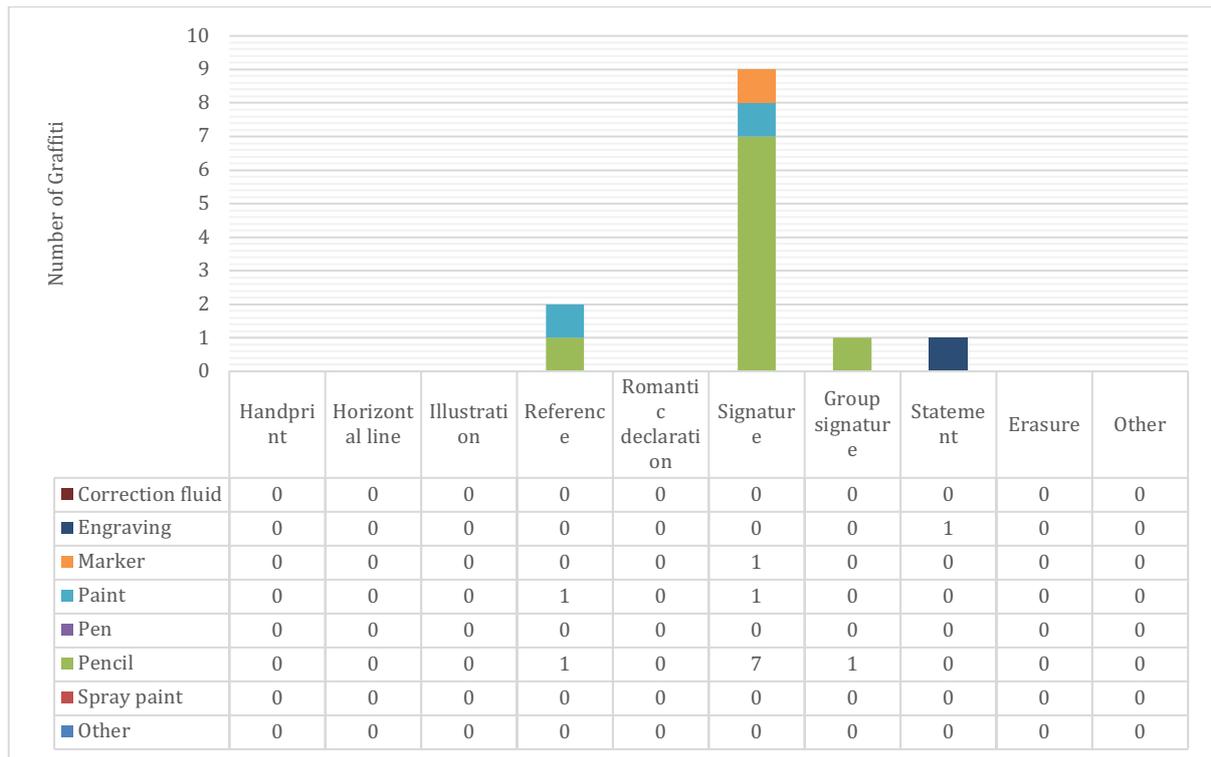


Figure 129. Graffiti at Lot 210 according to content type and media.

The graffiti recorded at Lot 210 fit into only four categories: signatures, group signatures, references, and statements. Signatures (n=9) were written in a variety of forms, which are presented in Table 59. Two of the signatures featured the first names of individuals, for example:

ROSITA

While three more featured an alias, for example:

DANIEL B AS BROWNEY

Signatures that feature an alias such as the one above (i.e. that feature the word ‘as’) tend to be of an older style of graffiti in Barunga (pers. obs. of other such graffiti in Barunga that features a date). The argument that this kind of graffiti is an older style is supported by the presence of other graffiti at this property that bears a date, such as 1996 and 2000. These kinds of alias signatures mean that the graffiti writer has a particular affinity with the person they reference and often these are musicians or sportspeople. In this example, ‘Browney’ could be an AFL player. This is supported by the presence of graffiti that references AFL at this property (discussed below).

The final four signatures at Lot 210 featured the names of individuals along with an additional message, such as ‘was here’ and/or a date, for example (where the date can be quite specific):

JANE MCDONALD W/H 2000 13/7

Another featured a surname and an additional message (where ‘9T6’ likely refers to the year 1996):

BUNDY W-H 9T6

Signature types	Total (n=9)
Name (initials only)	0
Name (first name)	2
Name (surname)	0
Name (full name)	0
Name (alias)	3
Name with additional text	4

Table 59. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 210.

Reference graffiti were also recorded at Lot 210 (n=2). One of these referred to a place in Katherine, the name and phone number of the Northern Land Council:

NLC OFFICE KATHERINE 722894

The Northern Land Council is responsible for administrative oversight of Aboriginal Lands in the northern half of the Northern Territory. The above graffiti is evidence for one of the functions of graffiti in Jawoyn communities: as a message board. The final reference recorded at Lot 210 referred to an Australian Football League team. This graffiti also included a date (where ‘199T4’ refers to the year 1994):

COLLINGWOOD 4EVER AT 199T4

One group signature was recorded at this property and it included the first names of three people, as well as a date and an affirmation of presence:

CORDELL KURON JANE W/H 2001

The final graffiti at Lot 210 was classified as a statement and it was simply a mobile phone number. This is further evidence for the argument that graffiti serves a purpose as a noticeboard in Jawoyn Country.

In terms of media used to produce graffiti at Lot 210, the majority were made with pencil (n=9). Given that many of the graffiti at Lot 210 are over 20 years old, it is possible they have only survived due to being made with a graphite pencil. Moreover, paint was used in two instances, while in a departure from the norm observed at other properties in Barunga, markers were used in the production of only one graffiti. Finally, one graffiti was engraved into a surface on the exterior of the house.

6.7 School and medical clinic area

6.7.1 Lot 192

6.7.1.1 Biography



Figure 130. The yard and house at Lot 192. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, April 2017.

Lot 192 (pictured in Figure 130) is located in an area of Barunga that does not have a 'suburb' name in the same way as 'Top Camp' or 'Sunrise'. Instead, this area is referred to by its proximity to the school and medical clinic. Lot 192 is situated across the road to the Barunga Public School. At the time this property was surveyed, 13 people lived there, five adults and eight children. They do not have any pets. The main building at Lot 192 is the house, which is a freestanding, single storey building made from concrete blocks that have been painted yellow. A small veranda stands over what might be described as the front door, and a veranda extends the

full length of the rear of the house. In a departure from the norm observed at other premises, there is a carport to the west of the house. Though, like many other houses in Barunga, the laundry is also located on the rear veranda. The yard of Lot 192 is enclosed by a fence, which is of the older design, constructed prior to 2012-2015, as indicated by the lack of top railing on the fence. No bough sheds were present at this property during any of the surveys and in terms of neighbouring properties, there is a direct neighbour to the south west, and to the east. The northern and western sides of Lot 192 open to a sealed road.

Three surveys were conducted at this property. The results of those surveys provide insight into the changing uses of material culture over a twelve-month period. Lot 192 was surveyed on the following dates

- 28/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 21/01/2017 (wet season)
- No access (between wet and dry seasons)
- 25/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures recorded at Lot 230 are explored further below.

6.7.1.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 517 objects were recorded at Lot 192 over three surveys. The number of objects recorded in each of the surveys varied, from 207 in the first survey (October 2016), to 90 objects in January 2017, before increasing again to 220 in July 2017. Access to the property was not granted in April 2017. These results largely follow the trend observed at other properties in Barunga where fewer objects are recorded during the wet season, which typically occurs in the months around January, than in the dry season, which occurs in the months before and after July.

Material culture recorded at Lot 192 was categorised into thirteen types, which relate to the function of the object. These types fit broadly under three overarching material culture themes, which relate to various activities that take place in the yards of Barunga. The number of each type of object recorded at Lot 192 is presented in Table 60. Material culture classified under the discard theme was the most frequently recorded type of material culture at Lot 192, with an average of 100.67 objects recorded in each survey, to a total of 302. Objects recorded under the recreation theme were the least common, with an average 17.67 objects recorded during each survey to a total of 53. Objects related to labour were the second most common, averaging 54

objects per survey to a total of 162 objects. These results are explored in greater detail below and the raw data are presented in Appendix Seven.

Material culture themes	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	72	36	83	<u>63.67</u>
	Food	38	18	41	<u>32.33</u>
	Health and hygiene	1	0	3	<u>1.33</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	1	<u>0.33</u>
	Smoking	0	1	8	<u>3.00</u>
	Subtotal		111	55	136
Recreation	Furniture	3	0	1	<u>1.33</u>
	Linen	4	0	5	<u>3.00</u>
	Pets	1	0	0	<u>0.33</u>
	Sport and entertainment	13	5	21	<u>13.00</u>
	Subtotal		21	5	27
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	14	1	21	<u>12.00</u>
	Domestic labour	20	8	15	<u>14.33</u>
	Tools and equipment	38	19	19	<u>25.33</u>
	Whitegoods	3	2	2	<u>2.33</u>
	Subtotal		75	30	57
TOTAL		207	90	220	<u>n=517</u>

Table 60. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 192, and average number of object types recorded across both surveys.

Discard at Lot 192

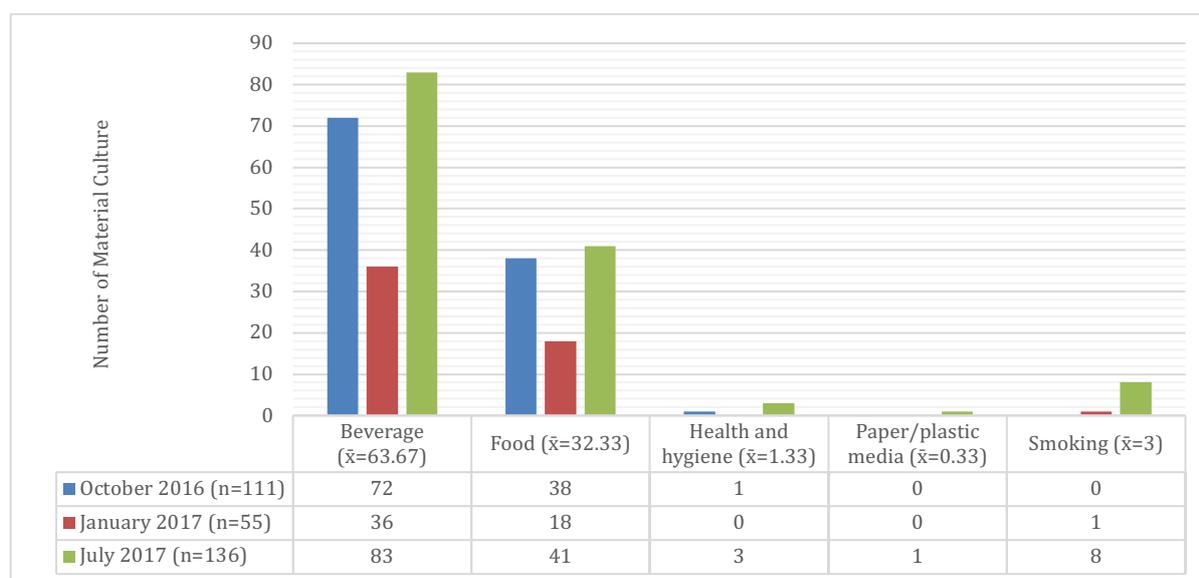


Figure 131. Number of material culture at Lot 192 classified as discard, according to type.

Discarded objects were the most common type of material culture at Lot 192. The majority of these were objects related to the consumption of beverages, averaging 63.67 objects per survey and a total of 191. Food objects were the second most common, with an average of 32.33 objects recorded and a total of 97. Other types of discarded material culture were uncommon at this property, with only four health and hygiene objects, nine smoking objects and one paper/plastic media object. Specific items categorised as food and beverage are presented in Appendix Seven.

Only fourteen discarded objects recorded at Lot 192 were not related to food and beverages. Four of these was classified as health and hygiene, three of which were used cotton wool buds, while the fourth was an empty jar of Vaseline. Nine objects related to smoking were also recorded, which included seven cigarette butts, one empty tobacco pouch (25g), and an empty packet of cigarette papers. The final discarded object at Lot 192 was classified as paper/plastic media and this object was a pre-paid electricity card with a value of \$20.

Recreation at Lot 192

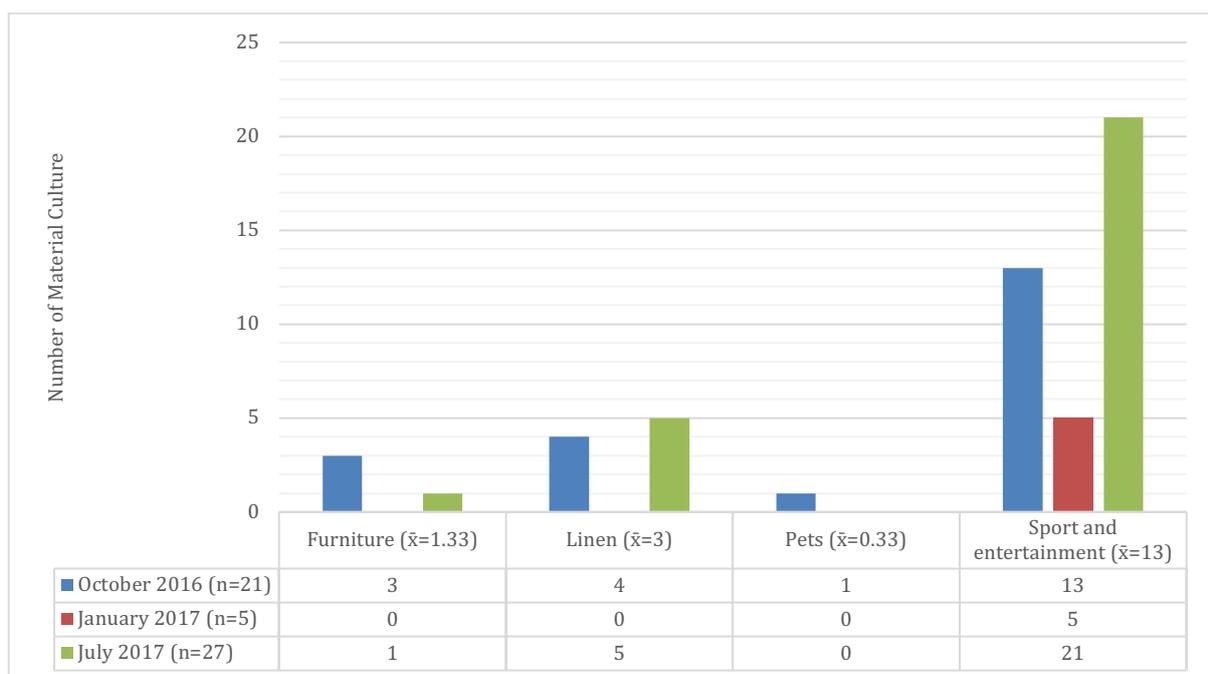


Figure 132. Number of material culture at Lot 192 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture recorded under the recreation theme was the least common type of material culture recorded at Lot 192. The majority of these were classified as sport and entertainment objects, as a total of 39 objects were recorded over the four surveys. The total number of objects recorded at this property varied over the different surveys, from 13 in October 2016, to only five in January 2017, before increasing significantly to 21 in July 2017. Specific items in the sport and entertainment assemblage at Lot 192 were:

- A large inflatable bouncing castle (2m x 3m x 1.5m), 'Shrek's Club' brand.
- Several tents and tent accessories.
- Bicycle (n=2).
- A handlebar from a scooter.
- A 'super woofer' speaker.
- A portable Bluetooth speaker.
- A basketball.
- A 'Skylander' trading card.
- Playing cards (n=9).
- A totem tennis paddle.
- Empty packaging for earphones.
- An empty DVD cover (no branding).
- A burst balloon.
- Several toys (various).

Some of these items were present in more than one survey. Full details of the sport and entertainment objects recorded at this property can be found in Appendix Seven.

Very few items of furniture were recorded at this property (n=4). Those that were recorded at Lot 192 included two plastic chairs and a cot for a baby (all three of which were recorded in October 2016). The final piece of furniture was a collapsible camping chair, which was recorded in July 2017. No furniture was recorded in January 2017. The lack of furniture at this property is interesting because it differs from the results of surveys at other properties in Barunga, where more items of furniture were recorded. The results in this instance might indicate that less time is spent outdoors at this property, or it could represent an anomaly where furniture was kept inside during the days of the survey.

Four articles of linen were recorded in October 2016 (a single bed sheet and four towels), while five were recorded in July 2017 (a pillow and four blankets). No linen was recorded in January 2017. Finally, only one object recorded at Lot 192 was classified as relating to pets, and this item was a leg bone from buffalo or cattle, which had been given to dogs that live at the property.

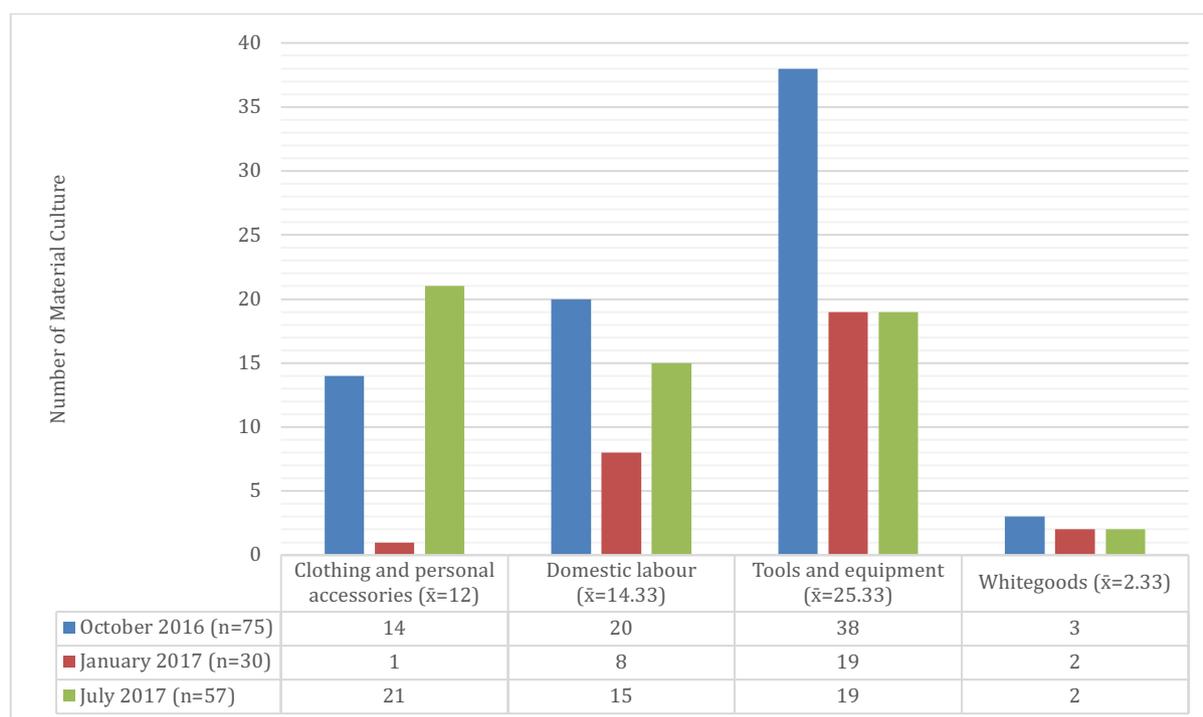
Labour at Lot 192

Figure 133. Number of material culture at Lot 192 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the labour theme was the second most common type of material culture recorded at Lot 192. Objects categorised as tools and equipment were the most common type of material culture recorded under this theme, at an average of 25.33 objects per survey to a total of 76. Storage containers were the most common type of object under this category, as a total of 32 such objects were recorded at this property. Various tools used for vehicle maintenance—which includes car parts—were the next most common type of tools and equipment recorded at his property, as a total of 14 such objects were recorded. Gardening and yard work tools were also relatively common (n=12), while cleaning implements (n=2), electrical cords and devices (n=2), and various tools (n=1) were less common. Twelve tools and equipment were classified as ‘other’ in the table below, as they were uncommon at other properties and did not fit under the types presented in the table below. These objects included:

- Rubbish bin (n=1).
- Packing foam (n=3).
- Plastic and cardboard packaging (n=4).
- Short lengths of wood (n=2).
- Hollow steel beam (n=1).
- Fragment of flyscreen (n=1).

All of the items listed above had been raked into 'refuse' piles, some of which had already been burned. It is likely that given the objects were used/broken/open that they had been discarded and were being prepared for disposal.

Items related to domestic labour were the next most common type of labour object at Lot 192, at an average of 14.33 objects per survey to a total of 43. Specific items included (some items were recorded in more than one survey):

- A number of sponges/cleaning cloths (dishwashing) (n=5).
- A tea towel.
- Empty chemical bottles (i.e. liquid detergent) (n=4).
- Reusable cutlery, crockery and cooking utensils (n=13).
- Aluminium foil (n=2).
- Zip lock bags (n=3).
- Toilet paper rolls (n=11).
- An empty packet of toilet paper rolls.
- A laundry hamper.
- A used nappy.
- A pram.

Clothing and personal accessories were also recorded at this property, at an average of 12 items per survey, to a total of 36. Specific items included a number of items of clothing (n=25). The majority of these were children's tee-shirts and shorts that were located in the outdoor laundry at the rear of the property. As well as the articles of clothing, eight shoes and rubber thongs were also recorded, none of which formed a pair. The final three personal items were a pair of novelty sunglasses, beads on a string (possibly a necklace), and a black hairbrush.

Finally, whitegoods were also present at this property. A washing machine and dryer were recorded in all three surveys, and these were located in the outdoor laundry at the rear of the property. In the October survey, a microwave was recorded in the front yard of the property. It was badly damaged and unusable. As such, it had been placed on one of the many refuse piles in the yard at this property. The presence of the microwave in the yard at Lot 192 is interesting, as it points to the purposeful waste management practices of those living at the property. This idea is explored further in the following chapter.

Results according to space at Lot 192

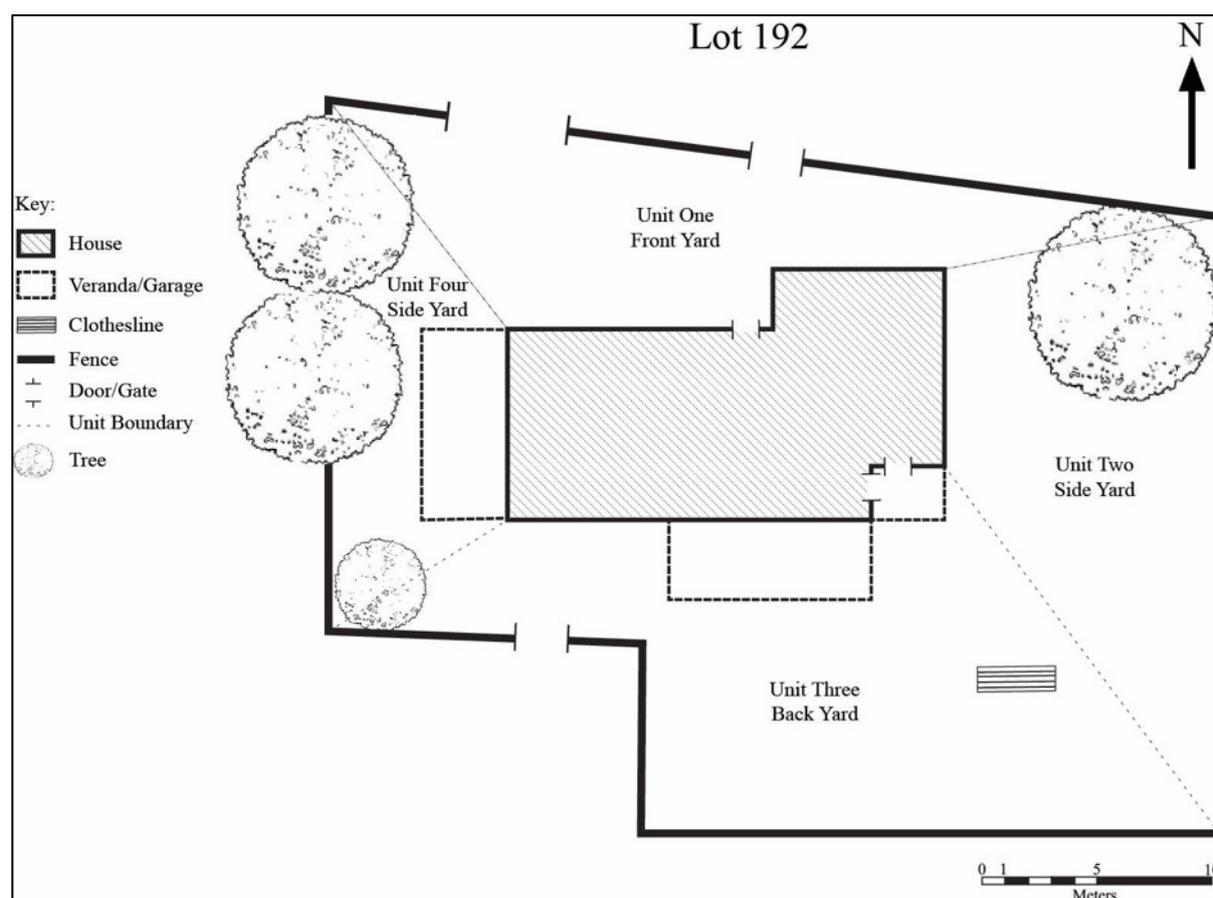


Figure 134. Plan of Lot 192 showing the four survey units.

Table 61 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units (presented in Figure 134) during each survey. These results indicate that the front yard, unit one, is the primary activity area of this property given that the highest average of material culture was recorded here when compared to other survey units ($\bar{x}=98.33$ items per survey). Unit one is the most publicly visible area of the yard, though the wire fence had been covered with sheets of corrugated iron. This area of the yard is also the furthest from the closest neighbouring house, which is situated to the south of Lot 192 near units three and four.

The back yard, unit three, featured the next highest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=32$). The number of objects present in this area was very low in January 2017 when compared with the number recorded in other surveys, and this can be explained by the fact that this area was quite overgrown during that survey.

Unit two, the eastern side of the yard, featured the lowest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=19.33$) and the number of objects in this survey unit ranged from 17-23 over the project.

Finally, unit four, the western side of the yard, featured the second lowest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=22.67$). This result is significantly lower than other areas of the yard, and this result could have been impacted by the fact that this is the area closest to the neighbouring property to the south. Moreover, in January 2017 this survey unit was also overgrown.

In that sense, units one and two are the areas of the yard that are most visible from public space as well as the most hidden from neighbouring properties, while units three and four are both visible from neighbouring properties. These results indicate a pattern in the use of space that conforms with other places in Barunga, where the highest accumulations of material culture tend to be situated in areas that are:

- Publicly visible.
- Hidden from closest neighbours.
- Close to the doors of the house.
- In shade during the afternoon.

Survey	Unit one (front yard, north)	Unit two (side yard, east)	Unit three (back yard, south)	Unit four (side yard, west)	Total
October 2016	95	18	67	27	207
January 2017	71	17	2	0	90
July 2017	129	23	27	41	220
<i>Average</i>	98.33	19.33	32	22.67	517

Table 61. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

The front yard, unit one, was identified as the primary activity area at Lot 192, and the results presented in Figure 135 show that the highest average of discarded objects were recorded there ($\bar{x}=63.67$), as well as the highest average of recreation objects ($\bar{x}=8.67$) and labour objects ($\bar{x}=26$). Given these results, it is likely that this area is used primarily for social activities, recreation, as well as work and the storage of items used in domestic and yard labour.

Unit three, the back yard, featured the second highest average of all three material culture themes, though it did not feature any furniture, which indicates that this is not the primary social area. Instead, it is likely that this area was used for brief activities, ranging from the consumption of food, and domestic labour (given the higher averages of whitegoods, as well as clothing and personal accessories). As mentioned above, this area was quite overgrown with long grass during the second survey, January 2017.

Unit four, the western side of the yard, featured the next highest average of material culture and these included a relatively lower average of discarded objects (predominantly beverage objects ($\bar{x}=8.33$)) and recreation objects, as well as the lowest average of labour objects. Parts of this

area of the yard were overgrown in January 2017, and it is also quite close to the neighbour’s property—in fact there is a gate that allows access between Lot 192 and its neighbour to the south that is located in survey unit four.

Finally, unit two, the eastern side of the yard featured the lowest averages of discarded objects and recreation objects, and the second-lowest average of labour objects. Given these results, as well as those of unit four, it is likely that very little time is spent in these areas, owing primarily to the absence of furniture, as well as the low averages of discarded food and beverage containers.

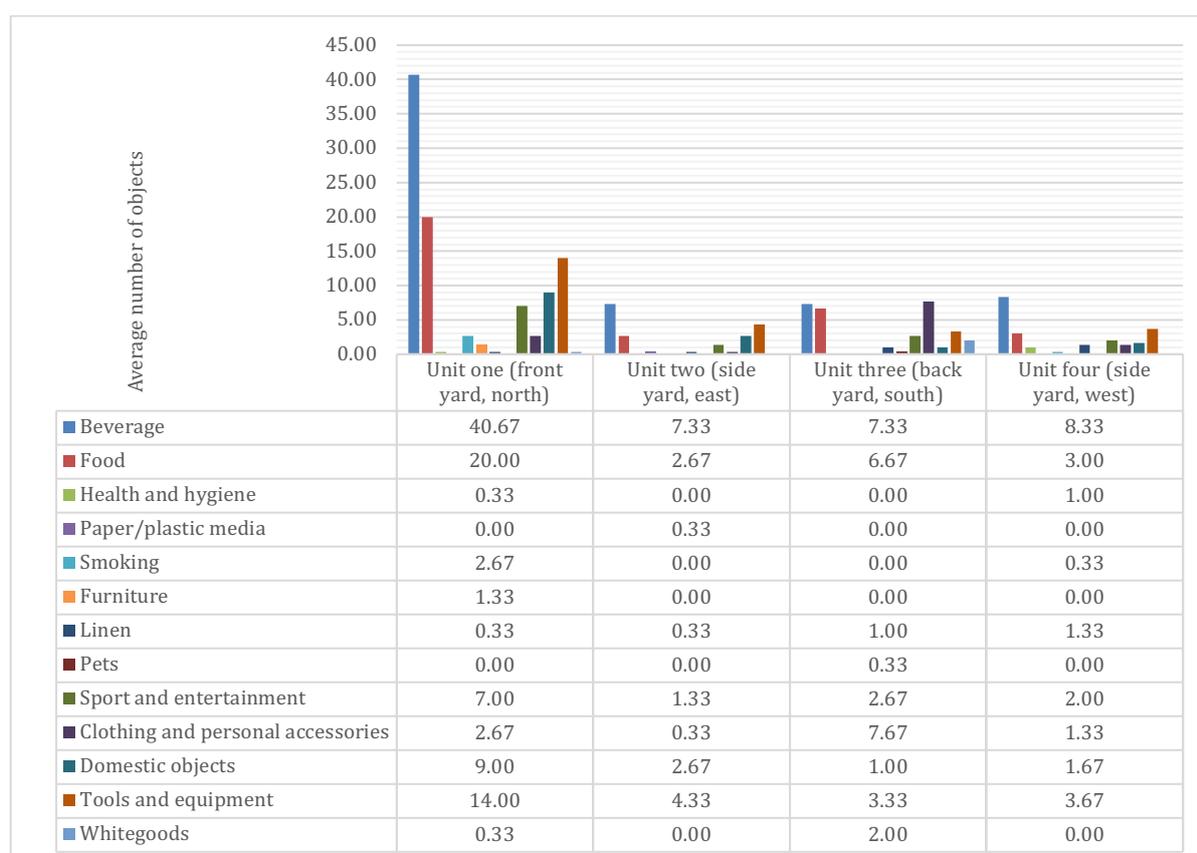


Figure 135. Average number (\bar{x}) of objects found in each survey unit according to type.

6.7.1.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	Total
October 2016	0	210	210
January 2017	210	0	210
July 2017	212	2	212

Table 62. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 192 during each of the surveys.

Lot 192 featured a relatively high number of graffiti (n=212), albeit with a very low rate of production, which could indicate the graffiti has been accumulating there for some time. In

October 2016, 210 of the graffiti were recorded, while the remaining two graffiti were recorded in July 2017. No graffiti was recorded in the January 2017 survey.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 192

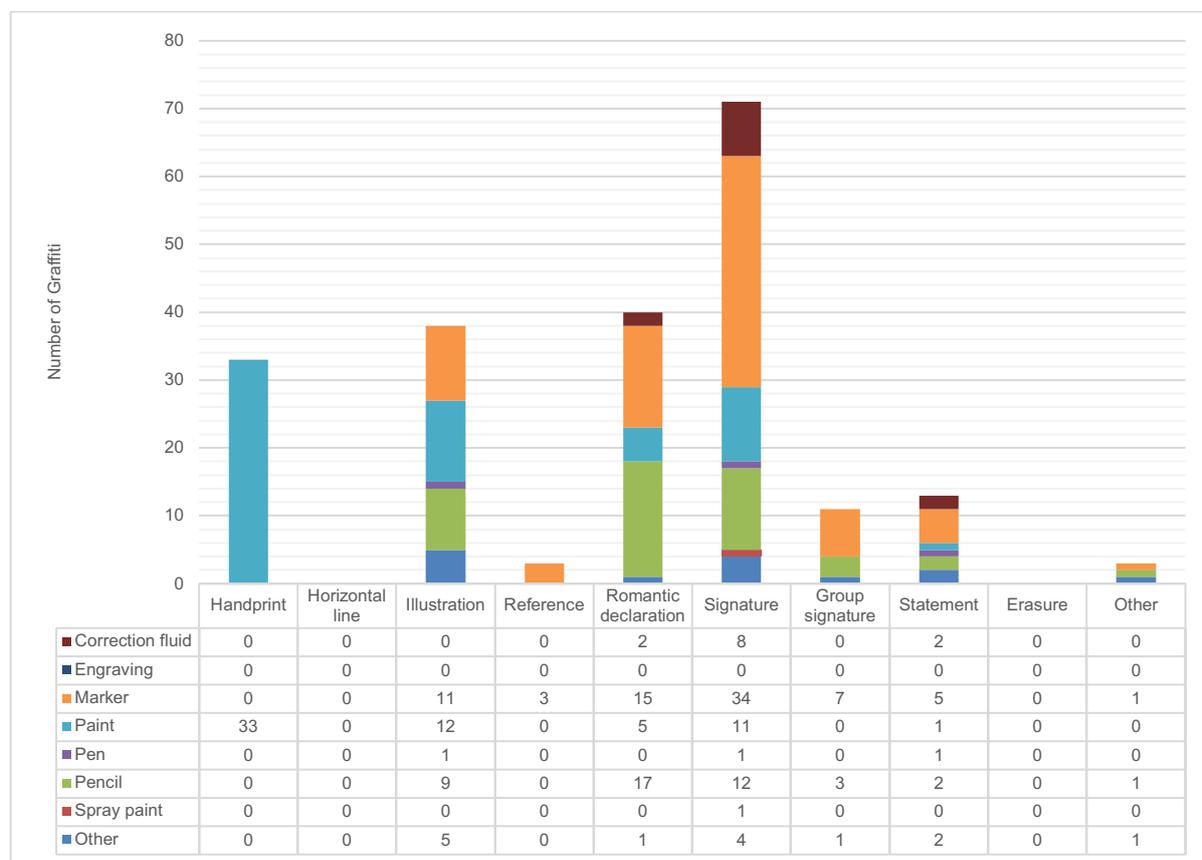


Figure 136. Graffiti at Lot 192 according to content type and media.

Signatures were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 192 (n=71). Signatures that featured only the initials of an individual were the most common type of signature graffiti at Lot 192, while initials with additional text and signatures with only the first name of an individual being the next most common. Other kinds of signatures were less common (see Table 63). Signatures that featured additional text typically featured affirmations of presence, such as ‘was here’ or ‘w/h’, dates (particularly 2015 and 2016).

Signature types	Total (n=71)
Name (initials only)	28
Name (initials with additional text)	13
Name (first name only)	10
Name (first name with additional text)	8
Name (surname only)	2
Name (surname with additional text)	5
Name (full name only)	1
Name (full name with additional text)	0

Name (alias only)	1
Name (alias with additional text)	3

Table 63. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 192.

Romantic declarations were the next most common type of graffiti at Lot 192 (n=40). These typically included the first name or initials of one or two people as well as a drawing of a love heart. This type of graffiti was more common at this property than in other places in Barunga that were surveyed for this study. Illustrations were also common at Lot 192, accounting for 38 of the 212 graffiti. Likewise, 33 handprints were present, with 17 of these being left handprints and 16 being right handprints.

Statements were the next most common type of graffiti (n=13), while group signatures accounted for eleven of the graffiti recorded at Lot 192. Three graffiti were classified as ‘other’ below and in each case the specific type of graffiti could not be determined.

Markers were the most commonly used media in the production of graffiti at Lot 192 (n=76). Paint was the next most commonly used media, with 62 of the 212 graffiti being produced with paint. Pencils were used in 44 instances, while correction fluid (n=12), pens (n=3) and spray paint (n=1) were also used, though infrequently. Media classified as ‘other’ included crayons (n=10), chalk (n=1), and stickers (n=3).

6.7.2 Lot 196

6.7.2.1 Biography

Lot 196 (pictured in Figure 137) is situated between the football oval and the Barunga medical clinic. It is unique for this study, as it is one of the only remaining lots in Barunga that does not have a fence around the yard—and is the only example included in this study. The house is owned by the Bagala Association, which is owned and operated by the Traditional Owners of Bagala clan lands. At the time of recording, the house was occupied by three adults in their late 30s and seven children, ranging from infants to teenagers.

The house is a single storey building made from concrete blocks, which are painted a dark green. As Lot 196 does not have a fence line to delineate the survey boundary, a conceptual boundary was established along the driveway to the west, the laneway to the east, and the edge of the football oval to the south. There is an established fence to the north, which delineates the yard of the health clinic. Across the four surveys, the yard was covered by green grass that—besides an overgrown area along the fence to the north—was typically cut short. However, in July 2017, most of the grass had been cut or burned, including that along the northern fence line, which might provide a reason why significantly more material was recorded in this area in the

July 2017 survey. In terms of structures at Lot 196, no bough sheds were present at this lot during the field work; nor is there a fence.



Figure 137. The yard and house at Lot 196. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, October 2016.

Lot 196 was surveyed four times during the project, to understand how the space is used during different seasons:

- 27/10/2016 (build-up to the wet season)
- 18/01/2017 (wet season)
- 27/04/2017 (between wet and dry seasons)
- 25/07/2017 (dry season)

The archaeological data derived from the material and visual cultures present at Lot 196 are explored further below.

6.7.2.2 Material culture

Overview

A total of 410 objects were recorded at Lot 196 over four surveys that were carried out at this property. Ninety-six objects were recorded in the first survey (October 2016), while fewer were recorded in both the January (n=76) and April (n=61) surveys. The number of objects recorded in the fourth survey (July 2017) was significantly higher (n=177). These results largely follow

the trend observed at other properties in Barunga where fewer objects are recorded during the build-up to the wet season, which typically occurs in the months around October, than in the dry season, which occurs in the months before and after July.

Material culture recorded at Lot 196 was categorised into thirteen types, which relate to the function of the object. These types fit broadly under three overarching material culture themes, which relate to various activities that take place in the yards of Barunga. The number of each type of object recorded at Lot 196 is presented in Table 64. Material culture classified under the discard theme was the most frequently recorded type of material culture at Lot 196, with an average of 58 objects recorded in each survey, to a total of 232. Objects recorded under the recreation theme were the next most common, albeit far less common than discarded items, with an average 22.5 objects recorded during each survey to a total of 90. Objects related to labour were the least common, averaging 22 objects per survey to a total of 88 objects. These results are explored in greater detail below and the raw data are presented in Appendix Seven.

Material culture theme	General object type	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	Average
Discard	Beverage	56	18	12	56	<u>35.5</u>
	Food	0	11	13	62	<u>21.5</u>
	Health and hygiene	0	0	0	1	<u>0.25</u>
	Paper/plastic media	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Smoking	0	0	0	3	<u>0.75</u>
	Subtotal	56	29	25	122	<u>n=232</u> <u>$\bar{x}=58$</u>
Recreation	Furniture	11	11	11	8	<u>10.25</u>
	Linen	0	1	0	0	<u>0.25</u>
	Pets	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>
	Sport and entertainment	12	10	7	19	<u>12</u>
	Subtotal	23	22	18	27	<u>n=90</u> <u>$\bar{x}=22.5$</u>
Labour	Clothing and personal accessories	0	1	1	2	<u>1</u>
	Domestic labour	2	1	2	8	<u>3.25</u>
	Tools and equipment	14	22	13	17	<u>16.5</u>
	Whitegoods	1	1	2	1	<u>1.25</u>
	Subtotal	17	25	18	28	<u>n=88</u> <u>$\bar{x}=22$</u>
TOTAL	96	76	61	177	<u>n=410</u>	

Table 64. Number of objects recorded during each survey at Lot 196, and average number of object types recorded across both surveys.

Discard at Lot 196

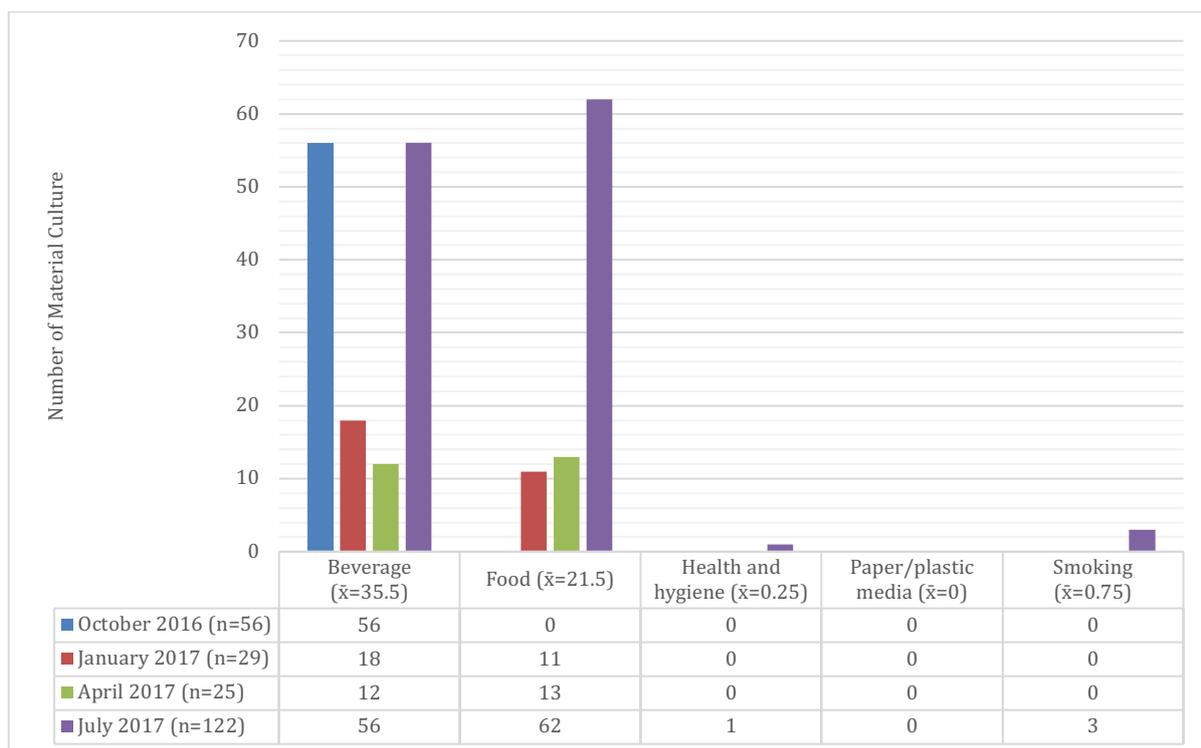


Figure 138. Number of material culture at Lot 196 classified as discard, according to type.

Discarded objects were the most common type of material culture at Lot 196. The majority of these were categorised as beverage (n=142; \bar{x} =35.5 objects per survey). Food objects were the second most common type of discarded object at Lot 196, with an average of 21.5 objects recorded per survey, to a total of 86. The majority of these (n=62) were recorded in the final survey. This represents a significant increase in the presence of food-related objects in previous surveys and can be explained by the fact that much of it appears to be left over from a party held in the days prior to the July 2017 survey, and that a significant number of items appear to have blown into the fence at the rear (northern area) of the property. As there are no fences around the remaining areas of the yard, it is likely that these items were blown hereby the wind. Very few other discarded objects, in particular those related to health and hygiene, and smoking were recorded at this property. Specific objects categorised as beverage and food are presented in Appendix Seven.

Only four discarded objects recorded at Lot 196 were not related to food and beverages. One of these was classified as health and hygiene. This item was an empty bottle of liquid paracetamol (100mL). The final three discarded objects were related to smoking. Two of these were empty packets of cigarette papers, while the final object was a cigarette butt.

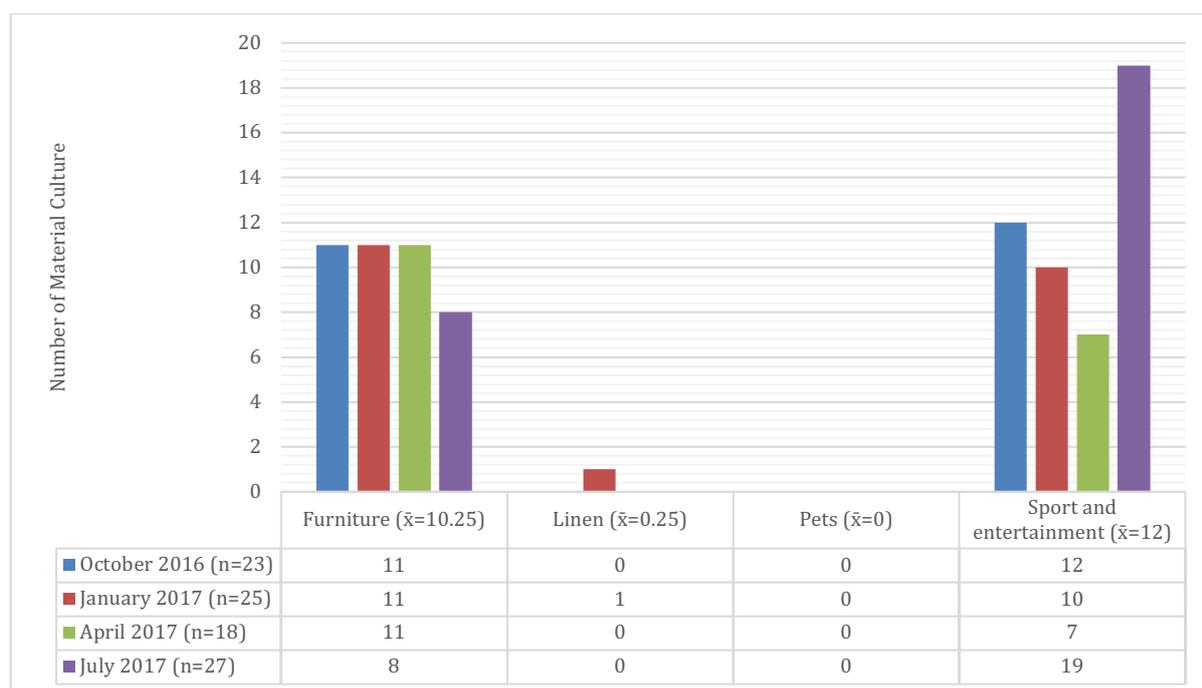
Recreation at Lot 196

Figure 139. Number of material culture at Lot 196 classified as recreation, according to general type.

Material culture recorded under the recreation theme was not as common as those classified as discard; however, this is to be expected as items recorded in this theme are far more expensive than many of the food and beverage containers mentioned above. Sport and entertainment objects were the most common type of recreation object at Lot 196, with a total of 48 items being recorded over the four surveys. Specific items in the sport and recreation assemblage at this property were:

- A weightlifting bench.
- A four-wheel motorbike.
- Several bicycles.
- An electric scooter.
- A totem tennis pole.
- A pogo stick.
- A basketball.
- A number of wading pools.
- Two tent poles.
- Two playing cards (seven of clubs and five of spades).
- A Pokémon card.
- A party popper.

- A glowstick.
- A hand reel (fishing).
- Four spent fireworks cartridges.
- A framed photograph of the Geelong Football Club (AFL).

Some of these items were present in more than one survey.

A total of 41 items of furniture were recorded over the four surveys at Lot 210. Eleven items of furniture were present in each of the October, January and April surveys, while only eight were present in the July survey. Specific items in this category included a number of chairs (which were present in each survey), various tables (which were also present in each survey), as well as a number of woven mats that were laid on the ground for people to sit on. Finally, one mattress (for a single bed) was recorded at this property.

One linen article was recorded under the recreation theme at Lot 196 and this was a large beach towel, which was recorded in January 2017. No objects recorded at Lot 196 were classified as relating to pets.

Labour at Lot 196

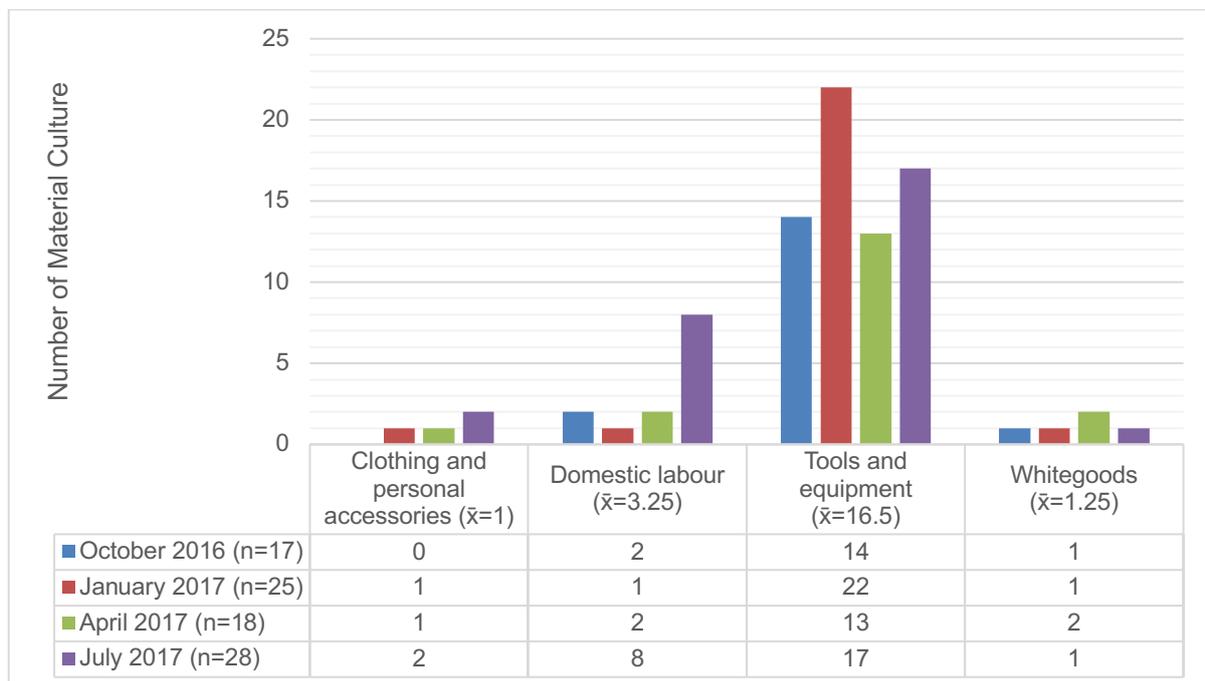


Figure 140. Number of material culture at Lot 196 classified as labour, according to general type.

Material culture classified under the labour theme was the least common type of material culture at Lot 196. Objects categorised as tools and equipment were the most common type of material culture recorded under this theme, at an average of 16.5 objects per survey, to a total of 66 objects. Various tools used for vehicle maintenance—which includes car parts—were the

most common type of tools and equipment recorded at his property, as a total of 28 such objects were recorded at this property. Gardening and yard work tools were the second most common (n=13), while various storage bags and containers (n=7), cleaning implements (n=7) and general tools (n=5) were less common. Six tools and equipment were classified as 'other' in the table below, as they were uncommon at other properties and did not fit under the tool and equipment types presented in the table below. These objects included:

- Rubbish bins (n=4).
- An empty box of matches (Redhead brand).
- Empty packaging for a padlock.

Items related to domestic labour were the next most common type of labour material culture at Lot 196, at an average of 3.25 objects per survey. Specific items included (some items were recorded in more than one survey):

- A number of sponges (dishwashing).
- A number of clothes pegs.
- A reusable butter knife.
- A fridge magnet (City of Darwin pet registration reminder).
- An empty packet of toilet paper.
- An empty packet of diapers.
- A plastic walker for a toddler.

Clothing and personal accessories were also recorded at this property, though relatively infrequently ($\bar{x}=1$). Specific items included two rubber thongs (not a pair), a tee shirt, and a pair of boxer briefs.

Finally, whitegoods were also present at this property. A washing machine was recorded in each of the four surveys, though it was not connected to either electricity nor plumbing. Instead, it was sitting under a window supporting an air-conditioning unit which was installed precariously in the window. Moreover, a deep freeze unit was also recorded in April 2017. This, too, was not connected to electricity.

Results according to Space at Lot 196

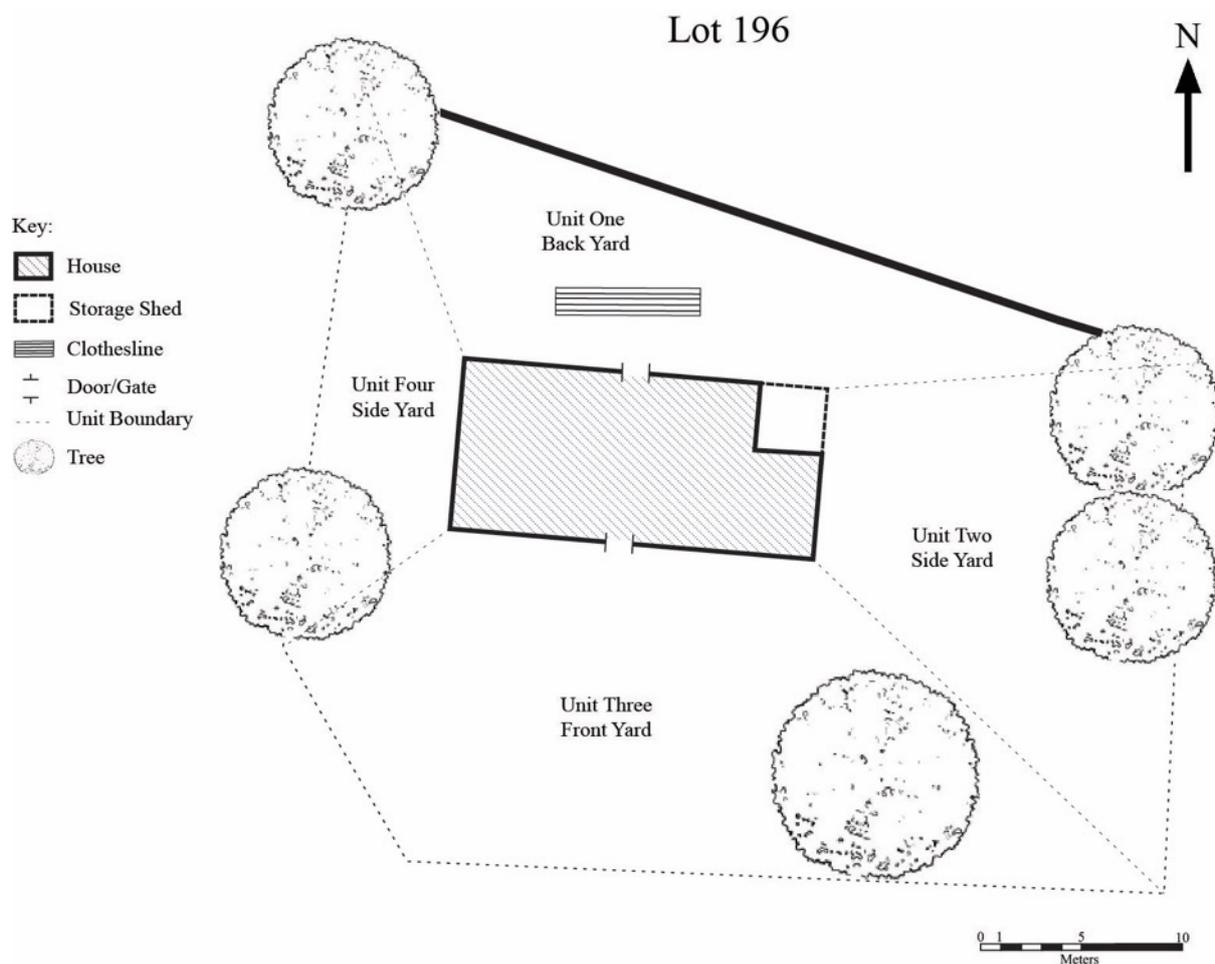


Figure 141. Plan of Lot 196 showing the four survey units.

Survey	Unit one (back yard, north)	Unit two (side yard, east)	Unit three (front yard, south)	Unit four (side yard, west)	TOTAL
October 2016	8	21	63	4	<u>96</u>
January 2017	10	16	41	9	<u>76</u>
April 2017	11	14	33	3	<u>61</u>
July 2017	81	46	39	11	<u>177</u>
AVERAGE	27.5	24.25	44	6.75	<u>410</u>

Table 65. Number of material culture recorded in each survey unit during each of the surveys.

Table 65 presents the number of objects recorded in each of the survey units during each survey. These results indicate that the front yard, unit three, is the primary activity area given that the highest average of material culture was recorded here (\bar{x} =44 items per survey). Unit three is the most publicly visible area of the yard, and the furthest from closest neighbour (the Barunga Health Clinic). While the number of objects certainly indicates that much time is spent here, the type of objects found here can provide nuanced insight into that observation.

The northern side of the yard, unit one, featured the next highest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=27.5$), though this result is skewed by the significant increase in material culture from the first three surveys, which ranged from eight to eleven objects per survey, to the final survey in July where 81 objects were recorded. Two factors impacted these results. In the first three surveys, the grass at the rear of the property was quite overgrown and therefore limited archaeological visibility. Secondly, as there is no fence at this property, it is likely that many of the objects were blown from surrounding areas against the rear fence by the wind.

Unit two, the eastern side of the yard, featured the third highest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=24.25$) and the number of objects in this survey unit increased in July ($n=46$) to the lower numbers recorded in the previous surveys (see Table 65). The increase in the number of objects in this area in July 2017 can be explained by the fact that a party was held at this property a few days before the survey. Many of the objects recorded here were discarded beverage and food objects (see Appendix Seven).

Finally, unit four, the western side of the yard, featured the lowest average of material culture ($\bar{x}=6.75$). This result is significantly lower than other areas of the yard, and this result could have been impacted by the fact that this area is exposed to the afternoon sun.

In that sense, units two and three are the areas of the yard that are most visible from public space, unit one is visible from neighbouring properties, while unit four (the back yard) is exposed to the elements. These results indicate a pattern in the use of space that conforms with other places in Barunga, where the highest accumulations of material culture tend to be situated in areas that are:

- Publicly visible.
- Hidden from closest neighbours.
- Close to the doors of the house.
- In shade during the afternoon.

While units two and four appear to be the primary activity areas owing to the number of material culture in those spaces, the types of material culture found in each of the survey units can shed more light onto the particular activities that occur in the yard.

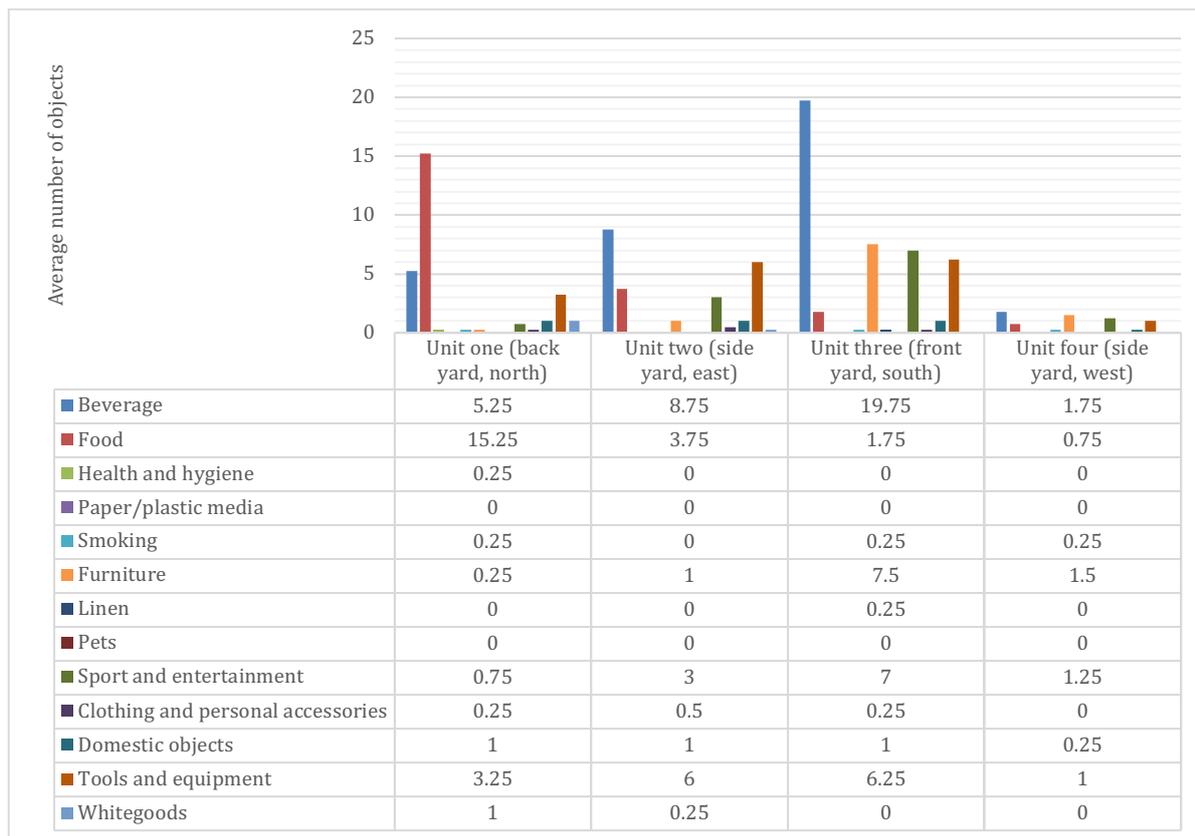


Figure 142. Average number (\bar{x}) of objects found in each survey unit according to type.

The front yard, unit three, was identified as the primary activity area, the results presented in Figure 142 show that the highest averages of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=21.75$), as well as recreation objects ($\bar{x}=14.75$) were found in this area, while the second highest average of labour items was recorded here ($\bar{x}=30$). Given these results, it is likely that this area is used primarily as a social area, for dining, resting and socialising with family and visitors. This conclusion is supported by the fact that high numbers of discard and recreation items were found here (i.e. food and beverage objects and items of furniture in particular).

Unit one featured a high average of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=21$), which was mostly made up of beverage and food objects. As discussed above, it is likely that many of these had been deposited against the back fence—to the north of the property—by wind, as the area to the east, west and south of Lot 196 is not fenced. The majority of food and beverage items found in unit one was recorded in July 2017 (see Appendix Seven). Unit two rarely featured items related to recreation, as an average of only one such object per survey was recorded, though it featured a higher average of objects related to labour (tools and equipment, domestic objects and whitegoods in particular). Given the low number of discarded objects, as well as the low number of recreation objects, it is likely that this area of the yard is not a social space, but rather for household and yard labour. This result could have been impacted upon by the fact that this area

of the yard borders the nearest neighbour's yard, which follows the results of other properties in Barunga surveyed for this study.

Unit two, the eastern side of the yard, featured a relatively moderate average of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=12.5$), and of recreation objects ($\bar{x}=4$), but the highest average of labour objects ($\bar{x}=31$). Given that the majority of discarded objects were recorded in this area in the final survey, it is likely these are left over from the party held at the property in the days leading up to the survey. In that sense, as labour objects are the most common objects found in this area, compared with the lack of other kinds of objects, it is likely that this area is used for labour—vehicle maintenance in particular—and for the storage of those objects.

Unit four, the western side of the yard, was relatively barren of material culture and this is likely to be a result of it being exposed to the afternoon sun. the lowest averages of discarded objects ($\bar{x}=2.75$) and labour objects ($\bar{x}=5$) were found here, as well as the second lowest average of recreation items ($\bar{x}=2.75$). These results indicate that the residents of this house spend little time here when compared with other areas of the yard.

6.7.2.3 Graffiti

Survey	Previously recorded graffiti	Number of new graffiti	TOTAL
October 2016	0	0	0
January 2017	0	8	8
April 2017	8	4	12
July 2017	12	0	12

Table 66. Number of new graffiti recorded at Lot 196 during each of the surveys.

There is minimal graffiti at Lot 196, as the total number of graffiti recorded at this place totals twelve. Initially, no graffiti were recorded at Lot 196 in October 2016, though eight were recorded in January 2017, with a further four recorded in April 2017. No new graffiti were recorded during the July 2017 survey. It is likely that some of these graffiti were in fact present in October 2016; however, due to access issues around the electricity meter box where they were found, they were not recorded. The raw graffiti data for this property can be found in Appendix Eight.

Results according to graffiti content and media at Lot 196

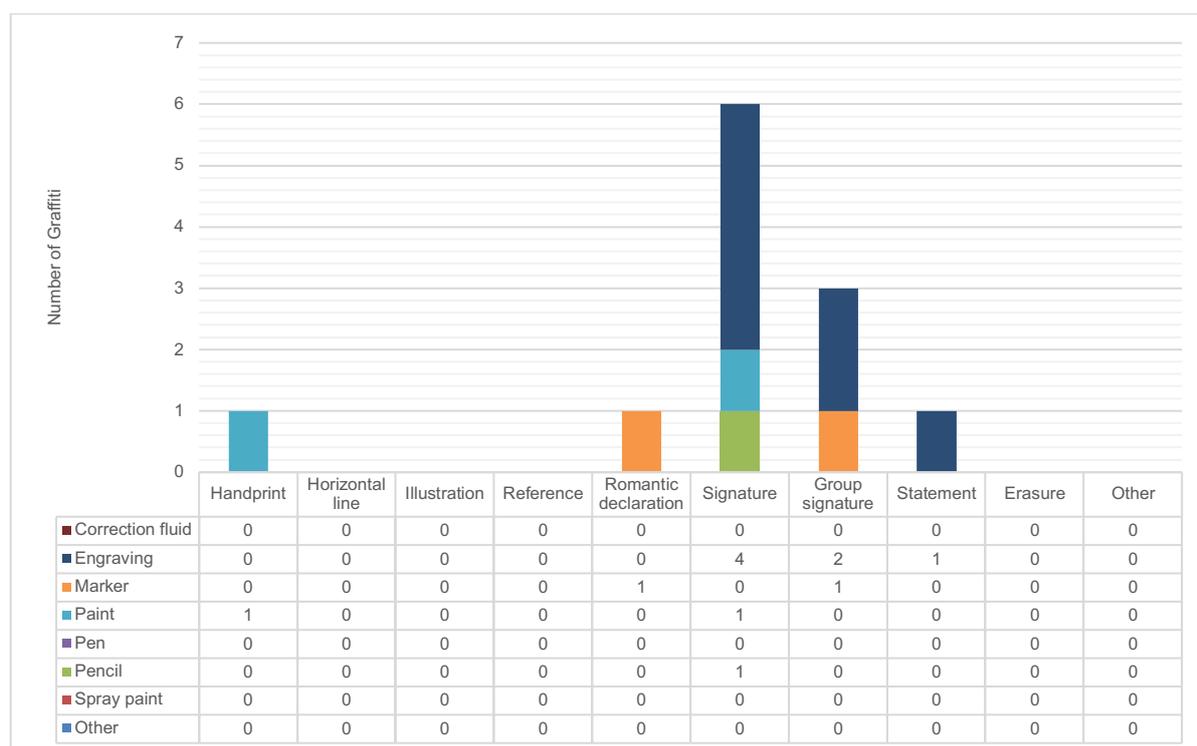


Figure 143. Graffiti at Lot 196 according to content type and media.

Signatures featuring the names or initials of individuals were the most common type of graffiti at Lot 196 (n=6), only one of these featured only the name of an individual without any further messaging, while the remaining five included additional text.

Signature types	Total (n=9)
Name (initials only)	0
Name (first name)	0
Name (surname)	0
Name (full name)	1
Name (alias)	0
Name with additional text	5

Table 67. Different forms of signature graffiti at Lot 196.

Three signatures featured affirmations of presence and a date, following this example:

**NLB
W-H
9T6**

In this instance, 'NLB' is the person's initials, 'was here' is an affirmation of presence, while '9T6' could relate to either 1996 (i.e. '96), or to the lot number (196). A further two signatures follow this example, with the only difference being that the initials are different. Another signature featured a person's full name, as well as an affirmation of presence and a date, for example:

Stewart Ranch W-H 2000

The final signature featured an illustration of a diamond next to a person's initials (i.e. 'MS').

Group signatures were also among the most common types of graffiti at Lot 196 (n=3). Only one of the group autographs featured a series of initials without a further message:

**BJ
LB
NLB**

Another group signature featured a message pertaining to place (where the first word was illegible):

**[indistinct] and BOYS
In BARUNGA 9T6**

The last group signature featured a possible pseudonym for two people (which could be a year of birth):

92&92

Furthermore, a romantic declaration was recorded at Lot 196 and this graffiti read:

JJF LVS BAB OTTL

Regarding the romantic autograph above, the letters 'LVS' is short for 'loves', while 'OTTL' is an acronym for 'only these two lovers'—which is a regular feature of romantic graffiti. In essence only the two people in the relationship exist, no one else is or can be romantically involved. The final two graffiti recorded at Lot 196 were a handprint (left hand) and a statement, which read:

OKAY

This graffiti was accompanied by arrows that pointed to four signatures, which were found on the electricity meter box. As with the word 'only' (as seen in the romantic message above), the word 'okay' features regularly in the graffiti of Jawoyn Country.

Of the twelve graffiti recorded at Lot 196, seven of them were produced by scratching into the metal of the electricity meter box on the western side of the house. Two of the graffiti were made using markers, while paint was used in a further two instances. The last graffiti produced at Lot 196 was made using a pencil.

6.8 Discussion

This chapter presented the results of four archaeological surveys conducted in Barunga between October 2016 and July 2017. Seventeen study places were surveyed for material

culture (n=6,669) and graffiti (n=998). The results have exposed a number of insights that are addressed in Chapter Seven.

In relation to material culture, these insights include, firstly, the prevalence of discarded items, which can be termed 'litter' (although it is discarded in a private space). This is perhaps the most striking element in the material assemblage of Barunga. A presence of litter (and graffiti) is often regarded as undesirable in Anglo-Australian communities, and its presence here might signal remote-living Aboriginal Australians as 'different' to other Australians as a result. It is possible that this material culture is a driver of social inequality. Secondly, the way in which material practices change according to season is another result that is discussed in the following chapter. In many ways this was an unexpected (or unanticipated) result. Given this result could have been impacted upon by archaeological visibility, it deserves greater consideration in Chapter Seven. Finally, the results show that there is a pattern in the way people use the space around their homes in Barunga. There seems to be decision-making around primary activity areas that relies on these concerns: conspicuousness/inconspicuousness; shade; ideal access to front/rear doors. This result is discussed in relation to space in Chapter Seven.

In terms of graffiti, the results presented in this chapter have offered a number of ideas to explore in Chapter Seven. Firstly, the dominance of signature graffiti relates to the idea that one of the roles of graffiti in this region is as a message board. That idea was first presented in earlier research I conducted here (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014). It deserves further exploration in Chapter Seven. Secondly, the relationship between traditional rock art and graffiti needs to be further explored, both in relation to the textual and pictorial graffiti presented throughout Chapter Six. Finally, the results above have shed light on an underexplored element of Barunga graffiti (and one which I did not consider in my earlier research), which is the way youths and adolescents use graffiti as a developmental tool, both in terms of sculpting individual identities (i.e. by associating oneself as connected to urban music groups and sports personalities), and also in terms of marking the physical world with drawings. These ideas, and others, are discussed in Chapter Seven, in relation to the theoretical model (see Chapter Four).

CHAPTER 7: FLAWED FAMILIARITY

This chapter summarises the results presented in Chapter Six to reveal the nuanced uses of material culture in Barunga. As introduced in Chapter Three, the process of archaeologies of the contemporary past is to deploy the transformative nature of archaeological methods to both retrieve and expose new knowledge about the contemporary world. The results presented in Chapter Six have revealed a number of key insights into the role of material culture in Barunga. These insights are discussed below with respect to the research question and theoretical model (see Chapter Four).

The broad objective of this study was to undertake research that would assist governments to better understand Aboriginal culture. This was undertaken within the context of the Northern Territory Intervention and was requested by Nell Brown, the senior Custodian (or *Junggayi*) of the Bagala clan region in which Barunga is situated, and Esther Bulumbara the senior Traditional Owner (or *Gidjan*). Their request for this research was in response to a question I asked about the type of research they wanted me to conduct if I was to continue working in the community following my Honours research. The response was worded as such: ‘something about how the Intervention is not working’ (Esther Bulumbara pers. comm. 2014).

The combination of the request to focus on the Intervention, as well as the potential for contemporary archaeologies to reveal new knowledge about the modern world led me to ask the primary research question for this thesis:

During a period of radical transformation, how are changing concepts of identity manifested in material culture in contemporary remote Aboriginal communities?

I addressed this research question by undertaking an archaeology of modern material culture and graffiti at Barunga. To obtain the data presented in Chapter Six, I surveyed the fenced spaces around private residential areas in Barunga, which are occupied by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Seventeen study places were surveyed for this research and the archaeological data includes all material culture and graffiti present within each yard. Each study place was surveyed four times (access permitting) over a twelve-month period and the results of those surveys are presented in Chapter Six.

For this thesis, I developed a theoretical model that consists of the interlocking themes of time and space; resistance and persistence; and memory and affect. The model draws upon the concepts of materiality, agency theory, entanglement and ‘assemblage thought’ to understand the role that material culture plays in reinforcing colonial attitudes towards remote Aboriginal communities, as well as how Aboriginal people are responding to a period of accelerated

change, largely brought about through government interventions. In doing so, this research joins a body of archaeological literature aimed at interrogating colonial legacies in the former British Empire, which have been described as disguised yet flourishing (cf. Lydon and Rizvi 2014:19). The ideas that inform the theoretical model highlight the centrality of material culture in both a functional sense (in that material culture is used by humans to achieve varying agendas), and in relation to the construction and communication—both passive and active—of social identities. The results of this study show that material culture is used in distinctly cultural ways in Barunga. It is likely that the same can be said of other Aboriginal communities, whether they are rural, urban, or remote.

The major result of this research is that the use of modern material culture by Aboriginal people in the Barunga community is informed by Aboriginal social and cultural practices, rather than reflecting some kind of assimilation with the dominant external society. Moreover, because the material culture itself is familiar, its use by Aboriginal people is interpreted by the mainstream society within a primarily European epistemology. This has led to government policy which is viewed by Aboriginal people as punitive and which is certainly ineffective, as demonstrated by the successive failure of the Federal government to ‘Close the Gap’ between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal health, education, employment and lifespans (see Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2019).

The remainder of this chapter consists of a discussion of the results with respect to the theoretical model. I then synthesise the results in relation to the concept of ‘flawed familiarity’, which is an example of cross-cultural misperception, and which, I argue, is the driving force behind negative attitudes towards Aboriginal communities and their materiality. I then consider the implications of this research for future government policy, as well as the contribution of this research to the discipline of archaeology. I conclude this chapter with some ideas for future research in this area before providing a critical summary of the results and significance of this research.

7.1 Time and space

7.1.1 ‘The tension between continuity and change’

Barunga is at the interface of the Intervention. This interface (Nakata 2007) is the product of long-term cultural entanglement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people—entanglement that has mostly been shaped through non-Aboriginal incursions and interventions into Aboriginal communities. It is also formed by the intersection of different effects and experiences of time, for example, the accelerated speed with which time (and

change) occurs in the supermodern world; the rate at which change is forced by government interventions; and the slower rate at which community agendas and social strategies dictate. The resulting material landscape of Barunga is an ephemeral, but constantly becoming assemblage consisting of mass-produced materials and objects that are used, discarded and arranged in distinctly cultural ways (i.e. time as 'the tension between continuity and change' (Lucas 2005:17)).

Considering 6,669 objects were recorded for this research, nearly half of them (2,993) were discarded food and beverage containers. We know from discussions around the characteristics of the supermodern world that this is a period of human history characterised by mass-production, consumption and disposal, as well as the emergence and prominence of new materials such as plastic and aluminium—the prevalence of which has been driven, in part, by market capitalism (see Harrison and Schofield 2010). Beyond those items that might be considered litter, nearly all of the objects present in the material assemblages recorded at Barunga are mass-produced. These objects are not part of the 'traditional' Jawoyn, nor Aboriginal toolkit, and their presence in Aboriginal communities is often held up as evidence of dysfunction, or a loss of culture.

To highlight this point, populist Australian senator Pauline Hanson was given an opportunity to tour an Aboriginal community on Palm Island, Queensland, with the late Charles Perkins, an Aboriginal man, following continued derogatory comments Hanson made about Aboriginal Australians. The subsequent visit was filmed for an episode of *60 Minutes*, which captured a comment Hanson made regarding litter in the community:

If the community did pull together and clean it up because it would be a nice place ... clean it up, pull together as a community and work together and take pride in it. If you have an infinity [sic] for the land and everything then why is there so much rubbish lying around the streets here? It's not a minor thing. If you're supposed to be so in tune with the land, then why are you living in with all that rubbish lying around the streets?

Perkins responded to Hanson's remarks to say that the prevalence of rubbish is minor and that her comments are evidence that she misunderstands both the issues at hand and Aboriginal culture. When Perkins said to Hanson that her focus on litter on Palm Island indicated a misunderstanding of Aboriginal culture, it is unlikely that he meant that littering is an immutable aspect of Aboriginal culture, and more likely that he meant that Western concepts of tidiness were not a key cultural value held by people in these communities.



Figure 144. A fire pit at Lot 230. In this image you can see that ‘rubbish’ has been raked into a pile for burning. The blackened earth is a product of previous local waste management. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, November 2016.

Instead, the presence of litter in Aboriginal communities is more likely a result of ‘supermodernity’, which, as González-Ruibal (2008, 2019:12) explained is ‘modernity gone excessive—and awry’. The forces of market capitalism and globalisation, which have spurred the popularisation and availability of mass-produced goods—snack foods and soft drinks in particular—means that many of these items are able to be purchased in Barunga. Thus, the argument, here, is that the routine discard of empty food and beverage containers (and other ‘dead’ objects) is not ‘littering’ in the Western sense of the word—because people do indeed tidy their yards. Anthropologist James O’Connell (1977:129), who conducted research with the Alywarre in central Australia, argued that the issue of forcing Aboriginal people into permanent settlements would lead to issues around waste management:

[S]etting up permanent structures in these communities will preclude traditional solutions to such problems without providing clearly effective alternatives. To illustrate, the present method of dealing with the build-up of garbage is to move away from it. After a time, refuse deteriorates or is covered with sand and soil, and the site may then be reoccupied. Where housing is permanent, the refuse rather than the people will have to be moved, which means a major readjustment in present behaviour patterns. To the degree that people are unable to

make such changes, the result may well be that physical conditions in settlements are worse, at least in the short run.

O’Connell’s prediction certainly came true—at least in the case of Barunga. Though, contemporary waste management in the community consists of modern municipal rubbish collection (i.e. through the weekly collection of bins); though the build-up of waste in people’s yards is quite similar to how O’Connell described. Moreover, the way in which waste is disposed of is also similar to the ‘covering of sand and soil’ described above. Though, in Barunga the more expedient method is to rake litter into a pile and burn it (see Figure 144). The material landscape that we see in Barunga, replete with empty and discarded plastic containers is hardly its final state—what we see are objects in a liminal zone, existing between use and disposal, or reuse. In addition, the practice of ‘littering’ serves other cultural purposes in Barunga, which are discussed below in relation to resistance and persistence.

7.1.2 Barunga time

Despite the forces of market capitalism and globalisation impacting upon the materiality of Barunga, people who live there still act with purpose in terms of the decisions they make regarding the use, arrangement and disposal of material culture. I began to gain some longitudinal insight into the ways in which material practices differ from season to season (i.e. dry season, wet season, and the build-up to the wet season). The results, as presented in Chapter Six, provided insights into the way outdoor areas are used (or not) according to climate (see Table 68).

	October 2016	January 2017	April 2017	July 2017	TOTAL	AVERAGE
Total number of places surveyed	17	12	11	14	17	-
Total number of objects recorded	<u>1,998</u>	<u>896</u>	<u>632</u>	<u>3,143</u>	<u>6,669</u>	<u>1667.25</u>
Average	<u>117.53</u>	<u>74.67</u>	<u>57.45</u>	<u>224.5</u>	<u>392.29</u>	∓

Table 68. Number and average of objects recorded in each of the four surveys.

Broadly speaking, most outdoor activity occurred during the dry season, as indicated by the higher number of objects recorded at each study place in July 2017 (i.e. mid-dry season) (see Table 68). It is likely that these results are an outcome of three interconnecting processes (i.e. climate, archaeological visibility, and community events). More material culture was recorded during seasons when the weather conditions are more favourable (i.e. during the dry season in and around July), as opposed to the height of the wet season (i.e. in and around January). The number of material culture recorded in October (during the build-up to the wet season, when it is very warm and humid outdoors), might be remnants of materials that have been deposited in

the dry season. Likewise, the lack of material culture in April, when it is starting to cool down and become less humid, might be a hallmark of the limited time spent outdoors in the months leading up to that period.

Likewise, more objects were recorded when archaeological visibility was greater. Spear grass grows rapidly throughout the community during and after the wet season, thereby limiting visibility in some areas (see Figure 145). Thus, while this result might relate to a problem with the nature of the survey strategy, it is also likely that no material culture would have been found in those overgrown areas in January and April in any case, because they are essentially inaccessible and, in some cases, dangerous (owing to the likely presence of snakes and other fauna).



Figure 145. Long grass at Lot 208 during the wet season (January 2017). The overgrown grass limits archaeological visibility and renders much of the yard unsuitable for different activities. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, January 2017

The increase in the number of objects present in July and October when compared to January and April is also likely to be a result of the increase in visitors to the community in both June and July (thus, the material footprint of those visitors lasts well into October). The Barunga Sport and Cultural Festival, which sees the population of Barunga grow from ~360 people to over 3,000 in a single weekend, is held in early June. Despite the efforts to clean the community after the event, much rubbish is left littered around the community (pers. obs.). July 1 marks

Territory Day celebrations—which observe the date Northern Territory became self-governing and gained independence from the state of South Australia. Fireworks are permitted on this day, and in the Territory, it is a very popular community event. People from other communities stay closer to Katherine in order to purchase and set off fireworks. In fact, many people remain in Barunga after attending the festival. Some stay until after the Katherine Show, in mid-July. The increase in visitors clearly has a significant material signature and this conclusion provides greater nuance in the understanding of ‘litter’ in Barunga.

7.1.3 Time experienced through the restriction of space

Another way in which time is experienced in Barunga is through the persistent and rapid restriction of space. The Australian Federal Government’s Intervention was designed to be an ‘emergency response’. Change was intended to be brought about swiftly, in order to address substance abuse and the consequent environment which was argued to make communities unsafe for children. The Intervention has almost certainly altered the landscape of Barunga by creating the policy frameworks that aided in the transformation of space from open landscapes with diffuse borders, into a heavily regimented landscape with clear, physical and imposing boundaries. In doing so, the new approach to fencing has radically altered the previous notion of ‘community’ space into the competing notion of ‘private’ versus ‘public’ space (see Figure 146). It is likely that the Intervention has also had an impact on concepts of identity of those who live in affected communities. As González-Ruibal (2019:162–163) wrote:

Our era is one of space excess ... At the same time that it expands, supermodernity impoverishes both topography and spatial experiences. By impoverishment I have referred here to the material simplification of physical space made possible by supermodern technologies, which has social, psychological and cultural consequences. An impoverished space—flattened out, stretched, regimented—prevents unexpected encounters (with other people and with different pasts).

The replacement of open areas with fenced areas is a clear example of this. Jawoyn people certainly had a land tenure system, where parcels of land were inherited from one’s father, and there were certainly boundaries, though not delineated physically (at least not in a way a European person would recognise). Instead, these boundaries were marked by features in the landscape, sacred places, and in stories. With that in mind, the distinction between different types of space was held in both the mind and in the natural landscape—at least until recent years, where nearly every house in Barunga is fenced.

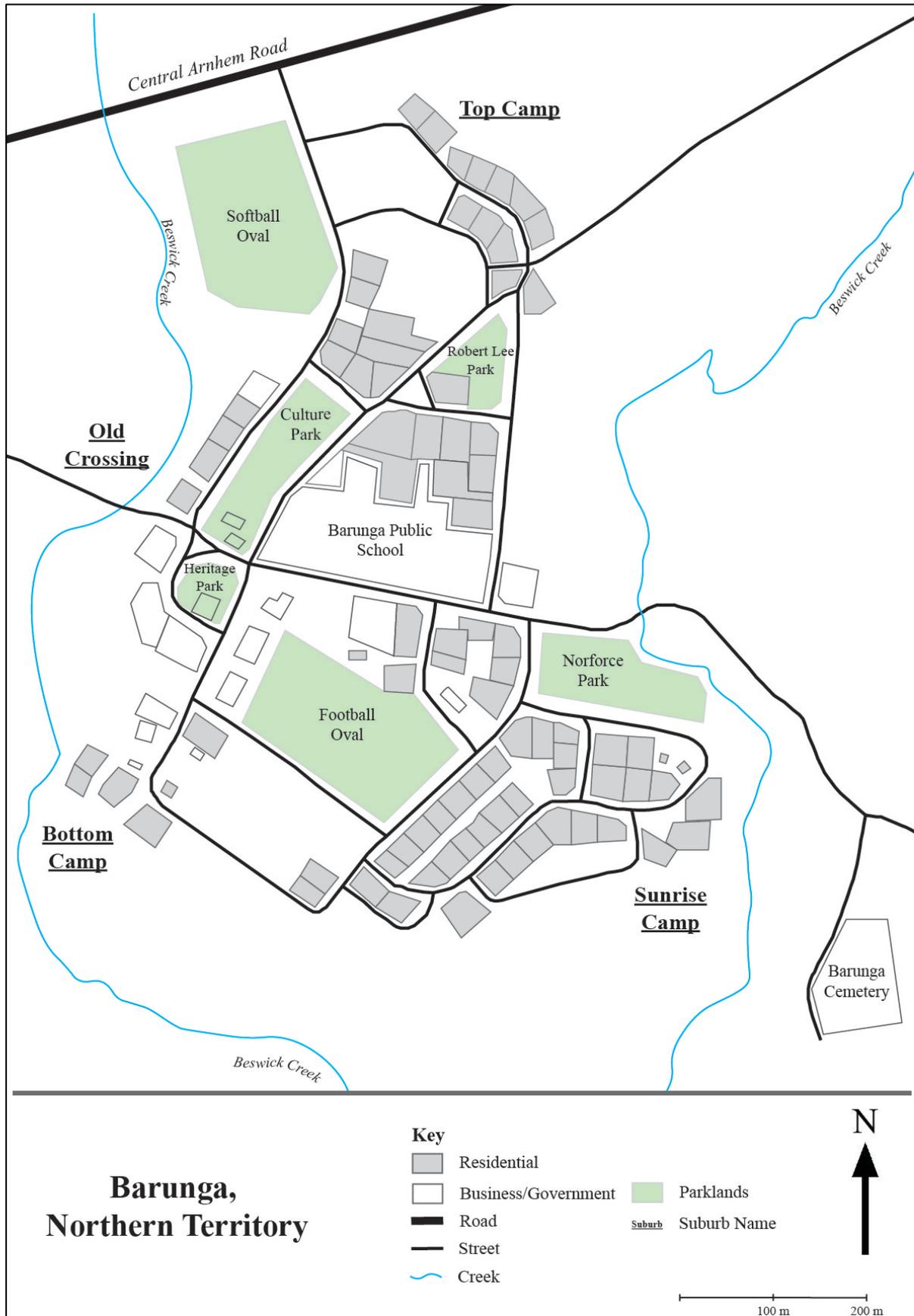


Figure 146. A plan of Barunga, showing the physical boundaries of different types of space.

Byrne (2003) argued that wire fences (similar to those being constructed in Jawoyn Country) played an active role in the colonisation of Australia, whereby the fences were for Indigenous people a material indicator of their dispossession. In this sense, people in Barunga are possibly using the same techniques—as European colonisers once did—to regain control over their immediate space. This active retrieval of agency and subtle resistance to a changing world could be an unintended consequence of government intervention, which evidently sought to assimilate Indigenous people into non-Indigenous culture. Thus, these physical boundaries which we know have been tools of colonisation (see Byrne 2003) have been adopted by members of the Barunga community. While the funding was provided by the local council, it is true that people who live in Barunga also wanted the fences. Amid the myriad responses provided to me are an attempt to keep children inside the fence, keep buffaloes and dogs out, as well as a desire to know their space.



Figure 147. A typical fence in Barunga (Lot 208). This fence is of the newer style of fence built in Barunga (c.2012-2015), as indicated by the presence of the top rail. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, January 2017.

There is a clear shift in notions of identity, here, as indicated by the transformation from a community made up of diffuse, conceptual boundaries to a clearly regimented space with physical barriers which emphasise the distinction between individual and community space (e.g. see Figure 146 and Figure 147). In the context of Barunga, and most likely other Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, the ways in which social change has come about in the

supermodern period is extremely accelerated—and is represented by the rapid restriction of space. Take the schematic from Lucas (2005:18) presented in Figure 148 (also discussed in Chapter Four) for example. It shows that social change tends to occur in periods of around 200 years, while change at an individual level occurs over a lifespan. Given arguments around the accelerated speed at which time is experienced in the present (González-Ruibal 2019; Harrison and Schofield 2010), it is likely that social change in Intervention-period Barunga occurs at a rate of an individual as shown on the diagram below.

Image removed due to copyright restriction. The original can be found in Lucas (2005:18)

Figure 148. 'Schematic representation of different rates of change for different processes', from Lucas (2005:18).

7.1.4 The purposeful use of space in Barunga

In addition to the restriction of space motivated by external forces (through the erection of fences), the results of this research show that people use the space around their homes in distinct and purposeful ways. Primary activity areas were determined by the highest accumulations of material culture—discarded food, beverage and smoking objects and recreation items in particular (see definition and justification of primary activity areas in Chapter Five). The results show that the primary activity areas at the study places tended to be in the most publicly visible areas of the yard, which also tended to be the area most shielded from the closest neighbour. Likewise, places that were in shade during the afternoon sun, and closest to house access points were also favoured as areas of intensive activity (see Table 69).

The results show that a combination of privacy, convenience, and comfort play a role in determining primary activity areas at each property. These results show that active decisions are made in the selection of activity areas, rather than being left to chance. As shown in Table 69, there is a tendency for the use of space around houses to include areas that are publicly conspicuous as well as those that are hidden from the closest neighbour (see Figure 149). Eight of sixteen houses followed this trend (as Lot 261 was surveyed only once, there is insufficient data to make any claims on the preferred activity area). Primary activity areas at four houses were the opposite (i.e. close to a neighbouring property and hidden from public view). These were Lots 219, 178, 209, and 210.

Lot #	Publicly visible	Hidden from neighbour	Afternoon shade	Close to front/rear door
219			✓	✓
227	✓	✓	✓	✓
235	✓	✓	✓	✓
158	✓		✓	✓
166	✓		✓	✓
168	✓	✓	✓	✓
316	No choice	No choice	No choice	✓
178			✓	✓
346	No choice	No choice	No choice	✓
230	✓	✓	✓	✓
261	Insufficient data			
262	✓	✓		✓
208	✓	✓	✓	✓
209			✓	✓
210			✓	✓
192	✓	✓	✓	✓
196	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 69. Variables in the desirability of primary activity areas.

These results could simply be because there is a more desirable place to socialise, as each of the activity areas at these properties are located at the rear of the houses, which all feature large verandas. The primary activity areas of two houses, Lots 158 and 166 are publicly conspicuous, but also situated near the yard of the closest neighbour. Two houses (Lots 316 and 346) had much smaller yards than other houses and had far limited choices than others—all areas of the yard at these properties are simultaneously visible from public areas and from neighbouring properties. As these are newer houses in Barunga, there are potential implications here for housing policy. These results have brought to light insights into the decisions people make around the use of space in their yards in Barunga. The choices people are making in Barunga relate to privacy, though this depends on which is more important, privacy from the public (i.e. which largely consists of passers-by), or privacy from neighbours who are more often present.

Other variables impact this decision-making, and these are whether the area is in the shade in the afternoon, and how close the area is to the front or rear door to the property. While these variables were considered, it is unlikely they were the deciding factor, given that other areas in the yard that were close to neighbouring properties were also shaded and near a door to the house. Regardless, all primary activity areas were shaded in the afternoon, either by a tree or structure such as a house, except for Lot 262. The primary activity area at that property appears in full sun in the afternoon, and the same can be said of the newer houses in Barunga, Lots 316 and 346. As, while they have a veranda over the front door, they do little to protect from the afternoon sun.



Figure 149. Residents of Lot 235 gathered in the 'primary activity area'. Note that this area is in the most publicly visible area of the yard, away from the most visible neighbour (pictured in the background) and shaded in the afternoon. Photograph by Jordan Ralph, December 2016.

7.2 Resistance and persistence

To build upon the idea of time as 'the tension between continuity and change' (Lucas 2005:17), here I consider the role of agency in terms of cultural change and continuity, with reference to the concept of resistance and persistence. While resistance relates to attempts at bringing change (e.g. the Intervention), persistence refers to both continuity *and* change with respect to cultural practices. In that sense, the material landscape of Barunga 'is a materially-grounded

form of social reproduction' (Dobres and Robb 2005:162), where residents of Barunga are making active decisions about the social reproduction of their values into the material world. One notion that has informed this study is Wobst's (2000) idea of 'artefactual interferences, or the ways in which people without power achieve the outcomes they want by using objects to obtain it. In some ways, fences are an example of this, as people in Barunga have not resisted their construction because it helps provide some control over their own space. I am also interested in how the material assemblage of Barunga can highlight other examples of resistance to external interventions, as well as persistence of cultural practices despite ongoing interference.

This study has also identified new knowledge that has been concealed through an active process of ongoing colonialism and racism towards Indigenous Australians who live in remote communities. This is an extension of what Stanner (1968) refers to as 'disremembering', or the 'Great Australian Silence' on Aboriginal history. The social amnesia of past wrongdoings towards Aboriginal populations was the subject of Stanner's Boyer lecture in 1968. Archaeology has helped in exposing some of the knowledge that has been concealed about violent and punitive colonial ventures, for example, the Archaeology of the Native Mounted Police project (Burke et al. 2018; Burke and Wallis 2019), though while violent histories of frontier conflicts have been concealed and obfuscated, pre-contact and contemporary Aboriginal cultural practices have been rendered invisible or non-existent in favour of commentary that highlights the apparent 'dirtiness' of the communities, particularly in terms of the prevalence of litter and graffiti. With regard to the idea of outright resistance to change, and persistence of culture in spite of intervention, I explore different elements of the material landscape of Barunga in the remainder of this section.

7.2.1 Litter: garbage out of place?

Parker et al. (2015:1090) wrote that 'litter is a common, but negative, element of place, which is intimately connected to the lived experience of a place'. In Barunga, and other Aboriginal communities, 'litter' is a distinctive aspect of the material landscape. I argued above that the prevalence of litter in Barunga is more an outcome of global processes and capitalism, rather than an outcome of a cultural behaviour. Likewise, remarks by O'Connell (1977) held that forcing Aboriginal people into permanent settlements would mean that traditional waste management practices were no longer appropriate, and that it would result in the rapid build-up of waste around dwellings. Thus, the presence of litter is not a product of Aboriginal laziness, as has been argued by some politicians, but instead a result of a rapidly changing world, where traditional practices persist despite European attempts at control.

Beyond the presence of litter in Barunga is the cultural element in both its arrangement and its ubiquity. In other words, we know why litter is there, and we know why it increases, but what are the distinctly cultural ways in which it is deposited? Participant observations within Barunga has revealed that local people 'litter' in ways that are unconventional and often prohibited in non-Aboriginal communities. Such uses include discarding or retaining rubbish to communicate one's status, power and/or presence. For example, with regard to the use of rubbish to communicate power, Smith and Jackson (2008:171) explain:

We'd been on a fishing trip to King River and were driving back to Wugularr. The old men were sitting in the front seat of our four-wheel drive, finishing their beer. Old Kotjok turned to Claire, who was sitting in the back with the kids. Holding an empty can in his hand, he asked, "Can I throw this out of the car, Bangirn?" Claire answered "Do what you want, old man. It's your country." Kotjok wound down the window and threw the can onto the roadside growling angrily, "I'm Junggayi for this country. I can do that."

After a relaxed day fishing, Kotjok's anger seemed out of place. When we thought about this later, we guessed that at some time a white person must have chastised him for throwing litter from a vehicle. By imposing their European values on Aboriginal actions, this person unwittingly had insulted the country's Junggayi—the senior, traditional custodian, the person who had the highest authority and responsibility to care for the land. Kotjok's anger was in remembrance of this earlier incident.

I experienced a similar situation to the one described by Smith and Jackson when I was returning two children to their family at an outstation in Jawoyn Country in 2014. I drove the children from Darwin. Once we turned off of the main road onto the dirt track for the outstation, the teenage boy who was sitting in the front seat said to me "I'm going to throw all this rubbish out of the car" and began to collect bottles and packets from the floor. My first instinct was to tell him not to, which I did. Remembering the story about Old Kotjok and the beer can, I then decided that I would leave the decision up to him. He said, "This is my home, I'm the boss now" and threw the rubbish out of the car. I was deeply conflicted in this situation, but I was curious about why he was so determined to dispose of the rubbish right at that moment—at the boundary of his home community. When I returned to the outstation a few days later with Rachael Willika (a Jawoyn woman who has been my guide for some years), I saw more rubbish near where the teenage boy had discarded his rubbish the previous day. Other people had been discarding rubbish here as well. The act of discarding rubbish at this particular spot was an embodied connection to other community members and to shared community practices.

These narratives highlight that the act of discarding rubbish in Indigenous communities might also be an act of retrieving power, reinforcing ownership, and belonging. Another theme here is

the conflict between non-Aboriginal laws about littering and Aboriginal sovereignty, which might be driving some of the discard behaviours outlined above (i.e. as overt resistance and a subversion of those European rules). Other anecdotal evidence about the novel ways rubbish is used in Indigenous communities include: discarding rubbish at a place so that others know that you were there and what you did (i.e. memory); and retaining rubbish around one's house to communicate the capacity to purchase certain items that others cannot (i.e. status).

Archaeologists have been interested in many forms, geographic areas, and time periods. Rubbish for some time, and this is of particular interest to archaeologists of the contemporary past, as well as anthropologists. While Rathje (1974; 1981; with Murphy 2001) was concerned with analysing rubbish to understand consumption and consumerism, Douny (2007) was concerned with how waste was 'recycled, reused and composted' for practical purposes by Dogon populations in Africa. In this sense, rubbish was something that the Dogon could use as a commodity, as part of 'an ongoing process of the creation of value of things in a particular context of poverty in which nothing is thrown away' (Douny 2007:313). In Jawoyn Country, the Roper Gulf Regional Council are responsible for waste disposal, and contrary to the Dogon example, many unwanted items are indeed thrown away; however, community members make decisions about which items have enough value to be kept, and which ones do not.

To conclude this point, litter, in Barunga, is not just 'garbage out of place' (Rathje and Murphy 2001:197), it persists as a cultural practice in the present and as part of an overt attempt at resistance through regaining control over space that has been impacted upon by government interventions. While other researchers have considered the role of litter in relation to consumption, disposal and reuse of material objects, the routine discard of material culture as a social strategy to retrieve power and reinforce control is a new idea that has surfaced from this research. While non-Aboriginal Australians might equate the abundance of litter as carelessness or social decay, from an Aboriginal point-of-view this might be equivalent to a person who has multiple vehicles in their yard. Douny (2007:329) argues a similar case for Dogon people in Africa, where 'the detritus that remains after the consumption or use of imported or local products constitutes a form of wealth and prosperity'. This argument highlights that the way outsiders perceive litter in the community is flawed.

7.2.2 Graffiti: persistence of a traditional art practice

In my previous research conducted in Jawoyn Country (Ralph 2012; Ralph and Smith 2014), I was interested in investigating the blatant ways in which graffiti is used as a tool of resistance to the Intervention, something which Wobst (2000) would refer to as an 'artefactual interference'. Graffiti is usually considered a form of protest (e.g. Chaffee 1993; Silva 2010) and I was looking

to find examples of protest graffiti similar to one found in Yuendumu, northwest of Alice Springs, where a person had graffitied a blue Intervention sign with the words:

WELCOME TO YUENDUMU IF YOU WANT PORN GO TO CANBERRA

While I found no examples of overt resistance to the Intervention, instead I found that graffiti is a significant part of a contemporary local art system, which has transformed from a focus on rock art and mobiliary art to include art painted on canvas, wooden sculptures, and graffiti. And as part of this local art system, graffiti 'serves the intra-group purpose of communication between community members, rather than the intergroup purpose of propagating political and social commentary' (Ralph 2014:3142). We know from other studies of Aboriginal art systems (e.g. Sanz et al. 2008) that identity is manifested in the form, material and content of visual cultures and I found much the same thing in contemporary graffiti, despite its perception as an undesirable pollutant.

I argued previously that the role of graffiti in Jawoyn communities is as a communication device between community members, following what Nicholls (2000:88) wrote, that non-Indigenous graffiti authors 'locate themselves as existing outside of the parameters of established kinship structures', whereas this was the direct opposite for graffiti recorded in Warlpiri country. Nicholls (2000:90) explained further that the 'graffiti of young Warlpiri Australians is not opinionated ... aggressive perhaps, but not characterised by personal opinion'. With that in mind, the role of graffiti in Barunga—and other Aboriginal communities is not the same as it is practiced in other non-Aboriginal communities. This idea has been a recurring theme throughout my current research, where material practices that look similar to undesirable behaviours in non-Aboriginal communities have been approached as such within Aboriginal communities.

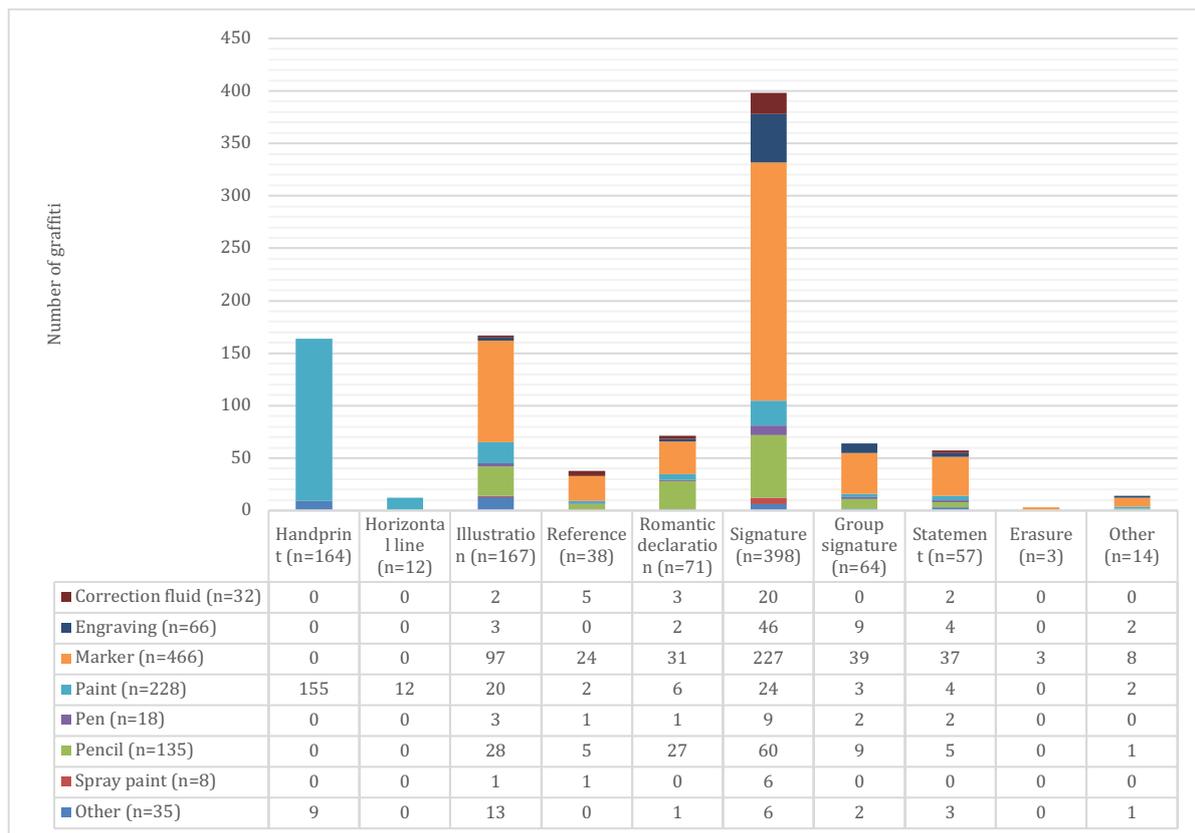


Figure 150. The number of each type of graffiti according to content and media (n=988).

Individual messages (i.e. ‘signatures’) was the most common type of graffiti in Barunga (see Figure 150). Likewise, handprints and illustrations were also popular. I argued in my study of graffiti found on road signs along the Central Arnhem Road and Manyallaluk Road (Ralph 2012) that it is possible that signatures have a relationship with hand stencils and depictions of handprints in traditional rock art. As Rosenfeld (1999:30) explained, ‘hand stencils are perceived and commented on as evidence of the former presence of individuals, sometimes known and named individuals, at other times the ‘old people’, but still as individual persons’. The similarity in terms of meaning between pre-colonial handprints in rock art and signatures in graffiti is clear, although they are visually dissimilar. The combination of the prevalence of illustrations, and handprints (see Figure 151) as well as signatures further establishes the cultural link between past and present visual cultures in this region.



Figure 151. Handprints at Lot 219. Photograph by Antoinette Hennessy, October 2016.

Beyond the 'presence of the past in the present' (Leone 1981:13), the results of the graffiti surveys conducted in Barunga have also shed light on other, previously unknown aspects of this practice. For example, as Nicholls (2000) wrote, that Warlpiri graffiti writers used the practice to establish and reinforce kin- and place-based associations with other members of Warlpiri communities. As presented in Chapter Six, and in Figure 150, there was a prevalence of graffiti which emphasised connections to family and particular places (i.e. places within Barunga, as well as elsewhere in the community), through the popularity of romantic declarations, references and group signatures.

Thus, while graffiti (and litter) is often regarded as a problem to fix by outside commentators, they miss the deep cultural significance of this practice. Rather, the idea is that the cultural practice of landscape marking has persisted despite ongoing colonial interventions. While the contemporary practices certainly look different, and they are made with different materials, the argument is that the cultural drivers and meanings remain the same.

7.3 Memory and affect: outdoor life

I have discussed the role that the concepts of time and space, and resistance and persistence have played in the social construction of the material landscape in Barunga. The final element in the theoretical model is memory and affect. In some ways, these ideas are opposites, and I will deal with each in turn. The role of memory refers to the link between present and past, particularly in respect to the social remembering of the past influences the social construction of the present material landscape (see individual chapters in Van Dyke and Alcock (2003). For example, the prevalence of 'litter' and 'graffiti' in Barunga are a material outcome of choices regarding memory. Affect, on the other hand, refers to the way in which the material culture of Barunga is perceived by outsiders. I have discussed some examples above of the negative ways in which people have viewed contemporary Aboriginal culture—and the argument, here, is that the perceptions of many non-Aboriginal Australians is a contemporary example of the early colonial attitudes which held the apparently 'primitive' material culture of Aboriginal Australians to equate to a more 'primitive' form of being (see also Lydon 2005, 2009).

The role of memory in the social construction of the material landscape in Barunga is such that outdoor life is central to the construction and performance of social identities. As O'Connell (1977:119) wrote:

The most notable examples of failure [in Aboriginal housing] are found in the more remote communities of the centre and tropical north, where the proportion of traditionally oriented people in the local population is high. Here housing provided by outside agencies at considerable expense has often been either severely misused by its occupants or rejected outright ... Official explanations for this behaviour often cite the relative primitiveness of the people involved, and argue that given time, education, community involvement (e.g., investment of local labour in the construction of housing), and the development of suitable designs, such people will eventually achieve the level of sophistication and social responsibility necessary to live in a modern house.

This view has been increasingly criticized by anthropologists, architects, and others with long experience in remote, traditional communities ... They argue that such programmes are often undertaken without sufficient regard to the relationship between housing and other aspects of customary behaviour in these communities. They point out that although the form of domestic structures may seem strange and their spatial distribution in the camp unplanned and chaotic, that these features are in fact part of an organized, coherent response to social, economic and personal problems. Under these circumstances, the imposition by outside forces of European ideas about housing may be ill-advised, and, in some cases, may create more problems than it solves.

It is clear that outdoor life is a central aspect of daily life in Barunga, and given that life indoors has only been a feature of this region for around sixty years, it follows that the ways in which space is used in terms of indoors versus outdoors will look different to the ways it is used in non-Aboriginal communities. As revealed through the analysis of material culture found in the study places in Barunga, activities tend to centre around the consumption of food and beverages, cooking, and socialising (as indicated by seated furniture and tarpaulin/calico floor mats). Moreover, there was a wealth of material related to domestic labour, the majority of which centred around cooking and cleaning, yard maintenance, and vehicle upkeep.

Image removed due to copyright restriction. The original can be found at <https://www.news.com.au/finance/work/aboriginal-people-must-get-jobs-says-opposition-leader-tony-abbott/news-story/6bc903fd43097c086eccc85a0a225971>

Figure 152. Photograph of a house at Little Sisters town camp, Alice Springs (AAP 2010). Photograph: Justin Brierty, Northern Territory News.

There are many assumptions that gain traction in the media and subsequently penetrate the Australian psyche about the irregular ways in which Aboriginal people living in remote Australia use the space around their properties. For example, in an article that appeared on news.com.au titled “Aboriginal people must get jobs, says opposition leader Tony Abbott” (AAP 2010) was accompanied by a lead photograph that depicted a series of bed frames topped with mattresses, unkempt pillows and blankets (Figure 152). The beds are outside, in the yard of a house. Surrounding the sleeping areas is an assortment of litter. The juxtaposition of the headline with the photograph projects the idea that people living in these communities are lazy—as indicated by the depiction of the beds along with the words ‘must get jobs’—as well as they are ‘uncivilised’—hence the ‘unusual’ setting outdoors and presence of litter.

Broadly speaking, scenarios similar to those captured in the above image can be explained in three ways. Firstly, there could be an issue inside the house, including broken air-conditioning, a leaking hot water system, a pest infestation, or overcrowding. Any of these issues can make sleeping outside a more attractive choice. Additionally, these issues have more to do with the failings of government policy than they do with Aboriginal culture. Secondly, this patterning in material culture could be explained as a performance of cultural protocol. For example, a recent death inside the house might render the building spiritually unsafe and 'off-limits'. Thirdly, there could be something else drawing the family to camp outside. For example, a cultural event, visiting family, or a desire to reconnect with Country. The use of this image in this article is formidable, as its coded message is that Aboriginal people do not work and spend time sleeping outdoors. In the process, this depiction of Aboriginal material practices without context erases the agency of those who live there and renders any decision-making invisible. For example,

The time of our era has been described as both excessive and unjust ... The destruction of alternative pasts has always been on the agenda of authoritarian regimes, which have promoted historicist and homogeneous narratives. It has taken a more sinister dimension during the contemporary era, however, when such regimes have engaged in the obliteration of the present, the future and the past of political opponents. Yet even under (neo)liberal regimes, the past is continuously annihilated in the celebration of the present and the future (González-Ruibal 2019:136).

There will be more on the latter point later in this chapter; however, the middle ground is that Aboriginal people certainly care for their properties and their communities and the material evidence recorded for this study is evidence for this. The crux of the issue, here, is of authenticity. Aboriginal culture is only deemed 'authentic' when it fits into Western ideas of traditional Aboriginal culture, which is largely based on the noble savage trope. On the other hand, when Aboriginal Australians behave as contemporary citizens, they are deemed to have 'lost' their culture. One of the aims of this study was to develop nuanced understandings of contemporary material practices in an Aboriginal community and one of the insights retrieved by the archaeological surveys at Barunga is about outdoor life in the community.

Outdoor life in this community is quite obvious to visitors, as a short drive around the community will reveal that people often spend their time outside their houses. The nuance provided by this study is identification of the range of activities carried out outdoors, which include socialising, cooking, the consumption of food and beverages, and yard maintenance.

The daily performance of Jawoyn culture is enacted through living life outdoors. The value of connecting to kin and country through outdoor social gatherings is a central part of Jawoyn culture. The material evidence of this is the furniture that was recorded at each of the houses—

chairs and tarpaulin floor mats in particular—as well as the presence of steel fire drums and scorched areas of earth that once served as a fireplace. Often, this materiality is overlooked in favour of the less ‘everyday’ objects and assemblages, such as litter and graffiti. Other items tend to be overlooked as well, when it comes to depictions of contemporary Aboriginal culture. One example of this is the proliferation of cleaning and yard maintenance tools in various yards in Barunga.

7.4 Flawed familiarity

The ideas outlined in this chapter can be tied together through the notion of ‘flawed familiarity’. This concept is related to the idea of cross-cultural misperceptions and highlights how different interpretations of material behaviours in Australian Aboriginal communities might impact the ways that governments and policymakers go about legislating and intervening in Aboriginal affairs. We know that material culture is deployed—both actively and passively—in the construction of social identities and that interpretations of that material culture play a role in creating divisions in terms of economic class, which in turn drives and reinforces social inequality (Smith et al. 2020). This idea builds upon the work of Morphy (2007:178), who wrote:

Aboriginal societies also have their structuring meta-metaphors, but these are predominantly metaphors of networked connectedness. Settler Australians tend to be blind to the social orders sustained and underpinned by such metaphors, seeing only apparent disorder and chaos. This in turn leads to the kind of thinking which places private ownership of bounded parcels of land, ‘home ownership’ and ‘individualism’ at the centre of ‘redemption’ for remote Aboriginal populations.

The material culture of Barunga has particular social meanings in non-Aboriginal contexts. I have provided some examples above that relate to the contempt people have with regard to the material culture of Aboriginal communities. Thus, the idea of ‘flawed familiarity’ relates to the misperception of that material culture. For example, the affective qualities of the material assemblage stir a sense of familiarity within the observer—a familiarity informed by that person’s worldview. This research shows that the familiarity is flawed, because it is based on a misperception of Aboriginal material culture.

A visualisation of the model is presented in Figure 153. Time is represented by the dark lines in the model, which distinguishes between pre-colonial and colonial Australia. Space is represented by the restriction of cultural practices and values in terms of both the limited number of areas in which culture can be practiced, as well as how that space is further restricted by physical boundaries. Resistance is represented by the idea that cultural practices

continue in the present, despite being limited by colonisation; while persistence is represented by the dashed line, which indicates that while the ‘material’ in material culture has changed, the culture has not. Likewise, memory is represented by the solid line in the material culture diagram, which shows that traditional materials continue to be used despite limited access to them (e.g. bough sheds), while cultural practices continue, albeit in a restricted manner. Affect is perhaps the most important aspect of this model, as Aboriginal Australians exist in a ‘Catch-22’ situation, where their modern material culture is viewed through a Western lens, which sees it as inauthentic and undesirable (i.e. litter and graffiti), while at the same time viewing their traditional material culture as ‘primitive’.

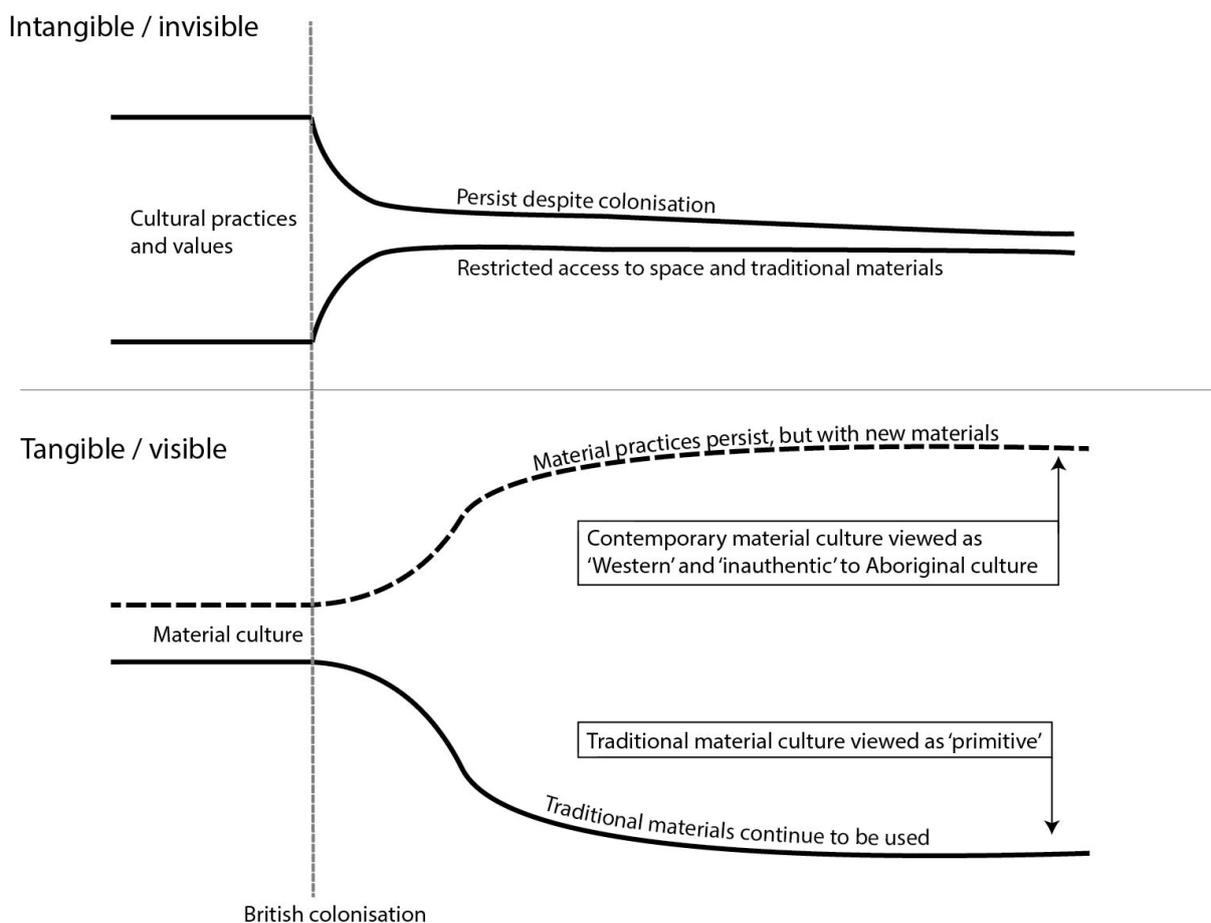


Figure 153. A visualisation of the theoretical model, ‘flawed familiarity’.

The argument, here, is that perspectives of outsiders with regard to the material culture of contemporary Aboriginal communities are based on false interpretations of that material culture. Those interpretations shape popular attitudes, which in turn aid in creating the political environment in which paternal policies regarding Aboriginal populations can be put in place. In other words, policymakers and non-Aboriginal Australians view contemporary Aboriginal material culture through their own worldviews, and judge those communities according to their

own cultural values. In turn, that flawed familiarity helps to create the political environment in which legislation such as the Northern Territory National Emergency Response (Intervention), is not only enacted, but the Aboriginal population is deemed deserving.

7.5 Implications for government policy

The central aim of this thesis was to interrogate the latest government intervention into remote Northern Territory Aboriginal communities. Archaeologies of the contemporary past have developed into an approach that can provide critical commentary on aspects of the modern world (Buchli and Lucas 2001a; Graves-Brown et al. 2013; Harrison and Schofield 2010; Shanks and Tilley 1992). In that regard, I have focused on the material culture of Barunga in order to gain insight into the complex relationship between humans and things—a relationship which might be driving some of the attitudes that inspire paternal and punitive government policies.

This research is concerned with developing critical understandings of contemporary Aboriginal materiality, the perceptions of which have fuelled colonial attitudes and government policies towards communities such as Barunga. The ways in which the material culture of contemporary Aboriginal communities have been viewed is a modern example of the same colonial attitudes that drove perceptions of inferiority/superiority during early colonisation. I am referring here to the prevalence of litter, graffiti, broken things, and the apparent lack of regimented ‘order’. This approach is informed by those same attitudes that viewed as ‘primitive’ the seemingly less complex materiality of Aboriginal people during early colonisation, which then established those populations as a target for policies which were both paternal and violent.

This research has interrogated the long-term entanglement of cultural identities in Australia, a process which has reinforced negative attitudes towards cultural groups other than the dominant Anglo-Australian group. Public discourse on Australian Aboriginal identity has largely revolved around the flawed concepts such as protectionism, assimilation, reconciliation and ‘closing the gap’ (e.g. Alford and Muir 2004; Altman 2009b; Altman and Hinkson 2007; Carter and Hollinsworth 2009; Howard-Wagner and Kelly 2011; McGregor 2009; Moran 2005; Robert 2016). While these concepts—which have been used to inform and influence government policy—have different stated aims and, at face value, each appear to be more socially progressive than the last, the inherent issue with each approach is that they all seek to make Aboriginal populations indistinguishable from other Australian populations. Therein lies the problem. These policy approaches act to erase cultural difference, rather than to accept that there *are* differences and approach social issues from a culturally appropriate position. The attitudes which drove the more overtly racist policies such as protectionism, assimilation and the White Australia Policy, remain in public discourse. The prevailing attitude tends to be that

Anglo-Australian values are what Aboriginal Australians need to work towards. The social context of the cultural entanglement that has been shaped by this legacy of government intervention is vital to this study, because while the material practices of one Aboriginal community has been under the spotlight, the results show that while those material practices do not necessarily align with the values of non-Indigenous Australians, it does not mean there is not purpose—or agency—in the actions of people living in remote Aboriginal communities.

The results of this research have clear implications for future government policy in relation to Aboriginal communities. The primary conclusion in this regard is that the material culture of remote communities should not be viewed from a perspective of primarily Western or European epistemologies. As O'Connell (1977:119) warned, forcing Aboriginal people to abide by non-Aboriginal standards might cause more harm than it solves. The implication, here, is that success in effectively and efficiently addressing Aboriginal disadvantage relies on culturally appropriate policy approaches, which both understand and respect the distinctly cultural ways of living. The realms of archaeology and anthropology have much to offer in this regard.

7.6 Contribution to archaeology

The results of this research contribute to the discipline of archaeology in two ways. Firstly, this is the first wide-ranging archaeological study of a contemporary Aboriginal community. This research contributes to archaeological studies of the contemporary past through methodological innovation as well as new data. In terms of methodological innovation, this study addresses a weakness in archaeologies of the contemporary past identified by González-Ruibal (2014), which is that the archaeological concentration on the recent past of late modern societies simply mirrors an ethno-archaeological bias on non-industrialised societies. As a study of modern material culture in Aboriginal Australia, this research contributes to redressing both of these biases within the archaeological literature. In doing so, it broadens the purview of modern material culture studies and suggests new areas of analysis.

Secondly, this research strengthens archaeological studies of materiality by broadening the scope of these studies to include Indigenous societies, and of identity, by highlighting how core aspects of identity endure even when there are radical changes in material culture. By demonstrating that identity can continue with minimal disruption in circumstances where there is a radical change in material culture, this study adds a new dimension to studies such as that of Gnecco and Ayala (2011), who conducted research into the acquirement of self-identity by Indigenous peoples living in Spanish-speaking countries in South America.

7.7 Future research

This study has established a number of associations between material culture and identity within the Barunga community. Some of these associations could be examined more broadly through further research. The key area for potential future research is to replicate this study in Barunga, and possibly elsewhere, in order to gain some long-term longitudinal insight into the changing nature of material culture in the Northern Territory. For example, what will these data look like in five years? Ten years? Twenty?

Beyond that, a dedicated study of both litter and graffiti can provide further insights into Aboriginal ontologies and epistemologies with regard to those practices. I am particularly interested in the relationship between modern material culture and intangible aspects of culture, such as the kinship system described in Chapter Two. While the kinship system has a profound impact upon the shaping of social relations in the community, it also shapes the way people view and navigate the world. While Smith and Burke (2010) wrote that identifying elements of the Dalabon kinship system is difficult using solely archaeological methods on places from the distant past, it may not be the case with modern material culture and graffiti.

Finally, this thesis examined material culture and graffiti in Barunga in broad terms—this was necessary given it was a pilot study and very little literature on the materiality of contemporary Aboriginal communities exists that can be relied upon to sustain the discussion. Future research could conduct a more fine-grained analysis of the material culture, perhaps house to house, or within particular types of objects.

7.8 Concluding remarks

This thesis has two major conclusions. The first is that the use of modern material culture by Aboriginal people in the Barunga community is shaped by uniquely Aboriginal social and cultural practices. The culture endures even when the material culture changes. This result has implications for the study of the material culture of other societies undergoing accelerated change in other times and places. The second conclusion can be encompassed by the term 'flawed familiarity'. This concept relates to the idea that material culture is used as an identity-making device by observers. At the same time that material culture reflects the identity of the user it also imbued with meaning by an observer. If something is familiar to us, then we know how to judge it. If it is unfamiliar, then it is 'other'. There is an argument to be made that Aboriginal Australians exist in a liminal space between conceptions of the more dominant 'Australian' social group and 'the other'. This is because contemporary Aboriginal material practices look similar to those of non-Aboriginal Australia, so they are familiar. The difference,

however, is that while the materials are familiar, the cultural processes in which they are used is different to those in other contexts. In that case, the sense of familiarity is flawed, because the interpretations are superficial, mirroring the interpreter's own understandings of the world around them. Both archaeologists and governments need to move past this. Wobst (2005) addressed this issue in relation to how templates of archaeological cultures limit understandings of the agency past societies:

Archaeologists (and their readers) need to do more than look at mirrors in their encounters with Indigenous pasts. The Indigenous past must be allowed as much process, contest, contradiction, and lack of resolution as any other past or present society in the archaeological field of vision, including that of the archaeologist. Moreover, Indigenous populations need to be heard about their own history so that they can expand upon the archaeological models of their culture that have become quite real and material straight-jackets and which have made it harder to link their present to their lived and remembered pasts (Wobst 2005:19).

APPENDICES

The following appendices are included as attachments.

Appendix One: Research letter, Kriol and English versions.

Appendix Two: Study place recording form.

Appendix Three: Material culture recording form (paper).

Appendix Four: Graffiti recording form (paper).

Appendix Five: Material culture recording form (digital).

Appendix Six: Graffiti recording form (digital).

Appendix Seven: Material culture data.

Appendix Eight: Graffiti data.

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