

SITTING DOWN IN THE SQUARE: INDIGENOUS PRESENCE IN AN AUSTRALIAN CITY

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I NTRODUCTION

Writers with a particular interest in post-colonial geo-politics have argued that colonisation as an imperial project was dependent upon the occupation and control of space through planning and development.¹ It is suggested that in taming the unruly ground, planning of space and the building of structures, the colonists of the new world would create places which might be known and where they could hope to feel secure. One such case was the new colony of South Australia. Adelaide is a planned city. In 1837, Surveyor-General Colonel William Light, under directions from the Colonising Commission in London, produced a city plan befitting of nineteenth century utopian ideals regarding urban civility. Key to Light's plan was the inclusion of wide boulevards intersected by five City Squares distributed equidistant to each other, and a parkland belt surrounding the city itself. The design, anticipating future use, sought to provide adequate space for ease of carriage and commerce, whilst its parkland spaces and squares were to both beautify and to provide recreational opportunities for those in and around the City. When taken as a whole, Light's plan might be understood as an emblem for how city life might be

purposefully and humanely lived in the industrial age.

The creation of the city of Adelaide upon the Kurna land of Tandanyungga (place of the Red Kangaroo Dreaming) was both an attempt to erase what was, and an act of colonial palimpsest. As Paul Carter has poetically suggested of the Surveyor's task, they were 'to flatten out the ground, to eradicate it of an uneven, even shadowy history'.² The 'shadowy history' here was the cultural belonging and memory of a living people, the Kurna of the Adelaide Plains. Through physical transformation of their environs the colonisers sought to subsume Indigenous people and their primacy of place by inscribing themselves upon the land. This process was thought to be complete with the forced removal of the Indigenous population to government reserves and missions. Such conscious determination can now be seen as the folly of the colonial actors. The theft of land, the subjugation and banishment of Kurna, neither erased their relationship to place, nor stopped their eventual homecoming.

The land to which Kurna finally returned in the post World War Two period had been transformed by colonial ownership and authority. They were henceforth to share this place with both

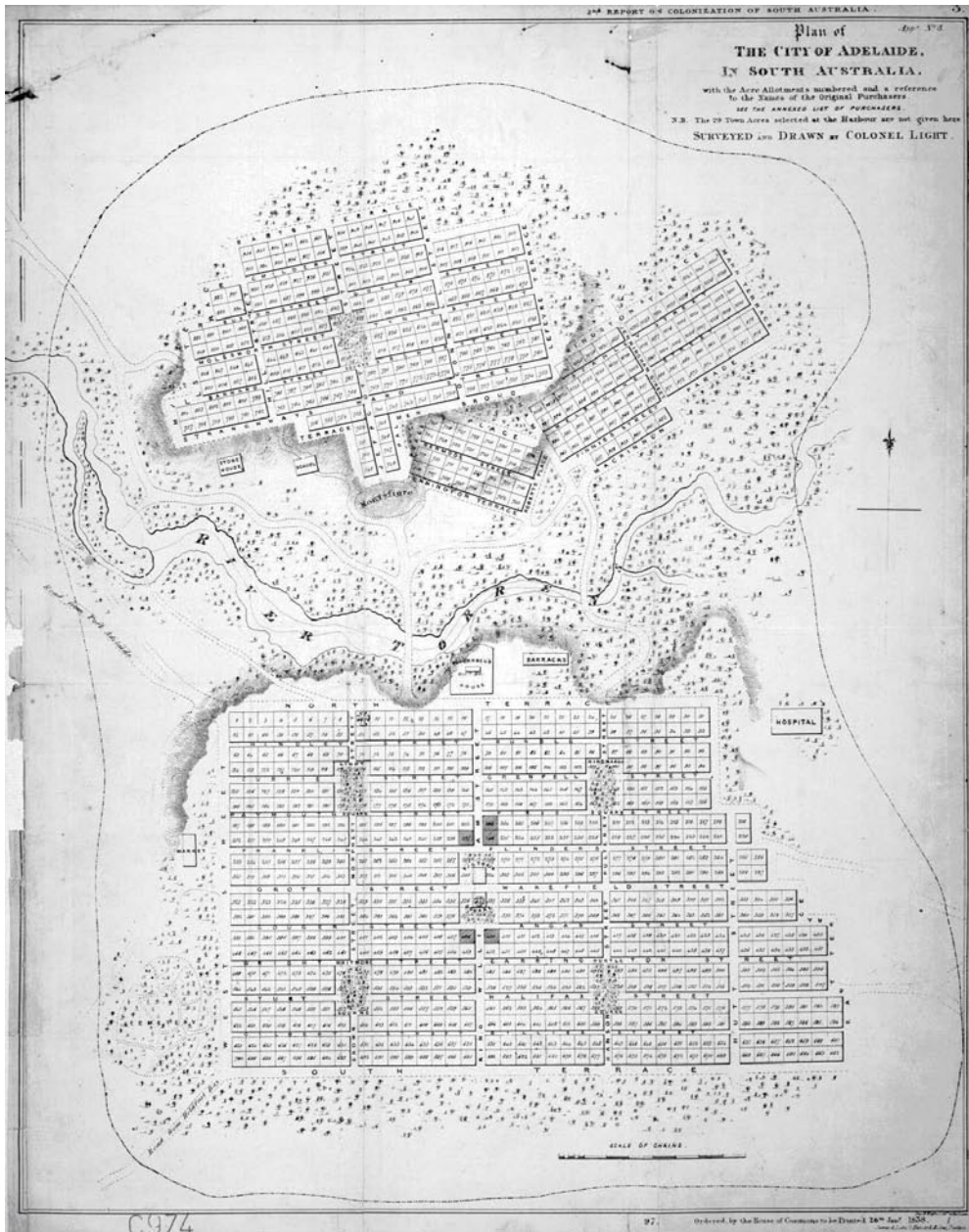


Figure 1: Surveyor General Colonel William Light's Plan of the City of Adelaide in South Australia. (Map courtesy of the State Library of South Australia #SLSA: C974)

the settler culture, and with other non-Kurna Indigenous people who had migrated into Adelaide following similar severe disruption to their own lives and lands. For decades thereafter Indigenous people of the City suffered paternal governance and economic hardship which greatly circumscribed their freedom of movement and activity. Perhaps in response to these social conditions Indigenous people found strength and support in their own congregations, be they in private homes or nearby public spaces. The City Squares of Adelaide were to become an important venue for Indigenous sociality and solidarity. In the most public of City spaces Indigenous people were able to enjoy the intimacy of family and friends and assert for themselves a place and identity within the City. Indigenous sociality played out in the City's heartland did not however enjoy the approbation of the wider community. Rather it was to become subject to intensified surveillance and official attempts at control.

This paper considers contested Indigenous sociality and use of urban space such as is apparent in Adelaide's City Squares, with particular reference to Victoria Square and the consumption of alcohol within. In a return to the intentions which informed Colonel Light's idealised City plan, it becomes apparent that the Squares of Adelaide are in part consciously determined iconographic spaces in the creation and sustaining of the City's vision of itself as 'ideal'. Indigenous people in the Square, particularly those drinking and involved in non-purposeful activity disturbs both notions of the picturesque salubrity of the Square and the Squares as iconic representations of public space. The picturesque in this regard suggests the Squares to be

contained and ordered aesthetic environments—'culturally mediated' representations of nature in the service of civility and industry.³ To draw on Carter's argument regarding the removal of the Indigenous people from the Adelaide Parklands in the mid-nineteenth century,⁴ the Squares may only be preserved as 'common ground' if they are not seen to be occupied by one particular group, particularly a 'drinking' population for whom there is little regard in the City.

In the Squares of Adelaide Indigenous people have been subject to, and subjects of, a 'gaze' which both criminalises⁵ and pathologises their presence and behaviour. In the Squares there is a presumption that Indigenous users are variously alcoholics, mendicants, and/or having a 'flaw of character', and therefore have no legitimate place in public space.⁶ The discourses which support the gaze are deeply entrenched in the institutions of the state and capital. In turn they are supported instrumentally by acts of legislation, the police, welfare, the media etc. acting in concert to regulate, control and remove Indigenous behaviour deemed problematic. Through the use of a case example – the recent introduction of 'Dry Zone' legislation (alcohol free public spaces), this paper follows a Foucauldian analysis in suggesting that the controlling gaze of the City is not in all circumstances successful. Indigenous congregations are observed to resist total regulation, and indeed make counter claims upon public space by their retreat/entering a third/heterotopic space.⁷

The relationship between the City governors and Indigenous people is one of contradiction and unease. As Adelaide moves towards regeneration and urban renewal as outlined in the City Council's 2001 plan, *New Directions – Capac-*

ity, Vivacity, Audacity, the city council wishes to promote the cosmopolitan lifestyle and social and political values and virtues of the City of Adelaide, such as cultural diversity, tolerance and democracy. Despite the rhetoric, it appears that the City still puzzles in its embrace of its Indigenous population. As it does so, the more discomfiting expressions of urban Indigeneity continue to be subject to governance. With the stated commitment of the Adelaide City Council (ACC) and South Australian Government to the formal process of Reconciliation, it remains both necessary and possible to be hopeful when considering cross-cultural relations within post-colonised City environments. The Squares of Adelaide may in the future operate as shared sacred spaces, replete with possibility for cohering populations, for as Zukin reminds:

... As both site and sight, meeting place and social staging ground, public spaces enable us to conceptualise and represent the city—to make an ideology of its receptivity to strangers, tolerance of difference, and opportunities to enter a fully socialized life, both civic and commercial.⁸

HOME COMING

The Second World War and changes to community attitudes coupled with the emerging policy of assimilation greatly increased the numbers of Indigenous people returning/migrating to the city region. Dispossessed Indigenous people from remote areas of South Australia, refugees from the Government Reserves and Church sponsored Missions, such as Point Pearce (Bukkiyana) on Yorke

Peninsula and Point McLeay (Raukkan) at the mouth of the River Murray all made their way into Adelaide. In Adelaide they joined other Aboriginal people who in receipt of 'Exemption' certificates (official exemption from the provisions and restrictions imposed upon Aborigines, under the SA. *Aborigines Act 1911: 1934-39*) had lived in the City with 'white' identities. The time spent on the missions and reserves led to dispersal, and fracturing of kin relationships and a further decimation of the population through disease⁹ and enforced Christianising and intermarriage between tribal groups. Pierson suggests (perhaps contentiously) that this period of institutionalisation 'effectively eliminated separate traditional cultural components'¹⁰, and led to the adoption of 'mission identities'.¹¹ Hence, the movement of non-Kurna Indigenous people to Adelaide was not so much trespass, but took place in the context of relatedness – individuals related through birth and/or intermarriage to Kurna, the rightful owners of the Adelaide plains. Perhaps in recognition of this complex cultural mix, the appellation 'Nunga' came to be used as an embracing self-referent by Indigenous people resident in Adelaide and the nearby settled regions (generally Kurna, Narungga and Ngarrindjeri).¹²

Conceptualisations of the drift into Adelaide by Indigenous people differ.¹³ However, in this regard there is no doubting the significance of both the South Australian Government's policy of assimilation and the *Aboriginal Affairs Act, 1962*. The Act provided formal carriage for policy change, from 'protection and isolation' to one of 'assimilation', ensuring the closure of Government Reserves.¹⁴ After a lifetime of being institutionalised on Reserves and Missions, many people

did not wish to go to the City and instead found new lives for themselves in bush and rural communities. Nevertheless, the push and pull towards the City was strong. People saw great opportunities in the City, where assimilation would lead to improved lifestyle, access to jobs and education. Not the least important was the necessity to increase the pool of potential marriage partners to avoid marrying close relatives.¹⁵

The lives of Aboriginal people in the City at this time was undoubtedly tough. In 1969, Kurna Elder Gladys Elphick, gave the following account of City life:

Our people come to the city from the country. This is an attempt on their part to solve their urgent problems regarding employment, housing, health and education. However, in the city many find these problems even greater. Employment is often hard to find; accommodation is generally available only in areas of poor housing, and high rents and overcrowding are persistent problems. The health of mother, father or children is frequently worse through poverty, poor diet and bad living conditions. As a result they are unable to benefit from the better education facilities available to them.¹⁶

In Adelaide, Indigenous people had hope but few opportunities. The new freedoms of the 1962 Aboriginal Affairs Act, and the 1966 Prohibition of Discrimination and Commonwealth Referendum of 1967, (including the right to drink alcohol, freedom of movement and association) did not assure people of a ready welcome in the institutions of white society. Without a friendly pub or club to enter, without a community centre or the resources to establish their own, Indigenous people were not an integrated part of the social life of

the City. As a result, Indigenous people established their own social networks and places within the City.¹⁷ In the late 1960s the newly established Department of Aboriginal Affairs, its offices, waiting rooms, and nearby grassed areas became places of great social contact in the City.¹⁸ There was a strong tendency to live with or close to extended family in neighbourhoods with cheap rental stock.¹⁹ Interestingly, where one chose to live in the City depended greatly upon the Mission from where one had originated. Those living and using the central City district were largely Point McLeay people. In contrast the Point Pearce people saw Port Adelaide as their 'centre of gravity'.²⁰

Social life was largely restricted to the over-crowded homes of friends and family. Funerals and school holidays with an associated influx of relatives or return to the originating regions also provided settings for larger scale gatherings.²¹ A significant exception to such private gatherings was the use of the race track, the City parks along the River Torrens corridor and City Squares for community purposes. In the Squares and City Parklands, Indigenous individuals and family groups were choosing to meet, greet and socialise.²² The use of urban open space in this respect was not unusual. Within each capital city and regional centre in Australia are public spaces, be they riverbanks, parks or pavements, where Indigenous people informally congregate.²³ Such sites have served as preferred venues for indigenous community sociality, political discussion, dispute resolution, and occasionally as rallying points.

It would soon become clear to Indigenous users of public space, that it was not available to all despite the rhetoric which surrounded the occasion of their nineteenth century design.

THE CITY SQUARES AND INDIGENOUS USE

Colonel William Light, Surveyor-General of Adelaide was under instructions from the Colonisation Commissioners in London to make Adelaide a city of human proportions with a manifest concern that public spaces reflect the needs of community life.²⁴ The inclusion of public leisure domains in the city was increasingly understood in the nineteenth century as being functional to both bourgeois desire for an aesthetic and leisurely dimension to city life, and bourgeois determination that the leisure time and activities of the working classes would be spatially and rationally ordered.²⁵ Light's design solution was to create a Parkland belt surrounding the City with the inclusion of five public Squares; Victoria, Light, Hindmarsh, Whitmore and Hurtle.²⁶

The Squares of Adelaide have provided respite from the activity and pace of city life for a number of generations. The five scrubby paddocks that Colonel Light set aside were rapidly transformed in the nineteenth century with an active tree planting program, largely sponsored by the Adelaide Botanic Gardens which saw it as its duty to provide young trees for the beautification of city squares.²⁷ Over the years the Squares have undergone various redesigns and replantings; they are now formally planted with trees and flowerbeds, arrayed with benches, litter bins, public toilets, sun dials, fountains and commemorative statuary. All this loveliness is intersected by the noise and carriage of the City's main boulevards. The Squares have their 'regulars': City residents and their children, friends catching up, office workers, shop assistants and university students taking a break, commuters, vagrants and drinkers.

For many years Indigenous people have also sat down in the City Squares. Historical evidence suggests that Indigenous congregations emerged in the City Squares because they were convenient and convivial surrounds to meet in the City; this was especially prevalent following the dissolution of Government Reserves and Missions.²⁸ However, for Kurna, their use also represents a necessary homecoming to traditional meeting and ceremonial grounds.

In the north western corner of the City is Light Square. It is surrounded by many modest homes once occupied primarily by working class families. Its Indigenous use can be dated to the early twentieth century when Indigenous people camping in the western Parklands would make regular forays to Light Square during daylight hours.²⁹ Preceding the Second World War a number of Aboriginal families lived proximate and adjoining Light Square along Weymouth, Sturt, Wright, Gouger and Logan Streets. The natural aspect of the Square and the centrality of the location to residents made it attractive to family groups (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) who, without backyards, used Light Square as a recreational space. Long before it received the first of its makeovers, Light Square resembled a bush park with tall gum trees, and dug out trenches in readiness for when and if the war came to Adelaide. Here, during summer evenings, children would play games and sleep out in the open while mothers and aunts would talk away the hours.

...we'd go down to the Square, Light Square, and most of the Aboriginal people living in that area at that time congregated there and I remember playing around with the young people, playing the guitar, it was Point McLeay, Point

Pearce and the Kurna people who were living here in Adelaide at that time'.³⁰

We'd take cold drinks and everything up there, cordials—mainly cordials and ice and we'd be set...they're sitting down there having a yarn and we're all sleeping and then about four o'clock they'd wake us up. We'd walk home with our blankets around us half asleep, going home, but that was good, in them days it was good...³¹

In the years immediately following World War Two, Light Square became a meeting and drinking place for discharged men and their families. It was also convenient to the entertainment strip Hindley Street which intersected the Square. With its cafes, pubs, cinemas and pinball halls Hindley street was a draw-card for many young people. With prohibition still firmly in place for Aborigines up until the mid 1960s Indigenous young people chose alternative places to pubs to congregate. According to Brodie, these included 'Roboteria, a jukebox place...pictures at the Majestic and the old Rex and the West and the Metro.'³² For Indigenous people staying in Hindley Street at 'The Coffee Palace' (a government approved accommodation and meals centre for Indigenous people with business in the City), Light Square was a place to also catch up. Any tendency to idealise Light Square and its near vicinity as a meeting place is tempered with the knowledge that Indigenous people suffered the close surveillance of authorities. The immediate post War period was a time of unrest, with the Square, and its Indigenous congregations attracting police attention as they sought to 'clear the streets' of those effecting undesirable behaviour.³³ Policing Prohibition led to sly drinking in the Squares and also on the banks of the

River Torrens. For 'returned' men who had fought alongside other Australians at war, the ban on alcohol use was perceived to be especially humiliating. A snapshot image from 1951 gives insight to the situation of Indigenous users of Light Square:

On fine weekends or on holidays 'aboriginal' and white residents of the West End gather in the city squares at their end of town to enjoy the sunshine; but the usual tendency is for them to stay in separate groups. Plain clothes policemen keep an eye on them, to see that no liquor is passed and that there is no soliciting. And while their elders sit on the benches and gossip, or furtively gamble at cards, the children play about on the lawns.³⁴

Whitmore Square, in the south west of the City was used in a similar way by local Indigenous residents, to gather and camp out on hot evenings.³⁵ The Square was later to become a 'drinking' Square favoured by alcoholics and the homeless from diverse ethnic backgrounds. In response to the use of the Square by drinkers, hostels and boarding houses run by sobriety groups and social welfare agencies came to fringe the Square. Gale reflects that the attitude of the welfare agencies and authorities was dutifully paternalistic. In the daytime drinking was tolerated, but in the evening the drinkers would be rounded up by the Salvation Army and given a bed.³⁶

Hurtle Square in the South-Eastern Corner of the City was used as a place for Indigenous people to gather in the years after prohibition ended. Kurna Elder Lewis O'Brien speculates that Hurtle Square's proximity to the Carrington Hotel—a known 'Aboriginal' pub, made this Square an attractive meeting place.³⁷ The Carrington pub was not a private

space however, as Pierson observed in 1972. It was 'almost continually under police surveillance' and it is likely that those meeting in Hurtle Square were subject to similar police attention.³⁸ Hindmarsh Square in the city's North-Eastern corner began to attract Indigenous people after the Department of Aboriginal Affairs moved premises in the late 1960s from Kintore Avenue off North Terrace, to what was known as the Hindmarsh Building (now AAMI Insurance) in Grenfell St, Hindmarsh Square.³⁹ This habit of using the Square to wait for appointments continued the practice of waiting at the War Memorial on North Terrace for the Departmental doors to open. Although they are largely gone from Hindmarsh Square, Aboriginal people today continue on occasion to frequent the War Memorial site and the adjacent sheltered areas along the Government House fence line.

The central City Square, Victoria Square, did not attract Indigenous families in the same numbers or for the same purpose as did Light and Whitmore Squares. However, it has long been recognised as significant to Kaurna. Oral history accounts have presented the City area and the vicinity of Victoria Square and across from it, the imposing General Post Office, as original meeting and camping grounds for Kaurna,⁴⁰ albeit some accounts suggest it to be a place where women's business was conducted. In 1927, Ivaritji⁴¹ the last known Kaurna native speaker identified Victoria Square as Tandanya 'headquarters of the Tandanya clan'.⁴² Kaurna Elder, Lewis O'Brien suggests Colonel Light may have been cognisant of the Square's significance to Kaurna and planned the city with the Square as a central motif in reference to Tandanyungga, the Red Kangaroo Dreaming.⁴³ From the 1960s

onwards it became common practice amongst Indigenous users of the city to use Victoria Square as pleasant and proximate environs to await court appearances, or attend to personal business.

For many Indigenous persons, their reasons for meeting in the Squares have fallen away in recent decades. The creation of the first Indigenous community centre nearby in Wakefield Street, self help organisations and legal and medical services in the 1970s all provided dedicated Indigenous spaces within Adelaide. In addition, changes to government policies, community attitudes and life circumstances afforded many more opportunities to meet and socialise elsewhere. Yet for some, Victoria Square remained desirable as a point of social and political encounter. The social movements of the 1970s saw Victoria Square emerge as a popular site of public assembly for Indigenous and non-Indigenous groupings. Memorably, it was Victoria Square where the Aboriginal flag was unfurled at a NADOC⁴⁴ celebration for the very first time on July 12, 1971. It was and remains Victoria Square where the annual NAIDOC march begins before continuing down King William Street. It is Victoria Square where Indigenous people of the City and the bush have campaigned with their supporters for social justice. Apposite and illuminating of the Indigenous relationship and claims to land, it was Victoria Square where Pitjantjatjara⁴⁵ Elders chose to hold tactical discussions, while awaiting their meeting with Premier Don Dunstan in their struggle for freehold title to their land.⁴⁶

During this period Victoria Square was to become a focus for more transient members of the Indigenous population.

...that's where they go to meet and have a drink and that...if anyone comes in

they go there and they ask where this person is...they reckon it's a good spot for them to sit there too because they might know that person and they just tell them where to go if it's hard for them to find their way. If they come from another state or something, you know, they just go there.⁴⁷

These were not static congregations. Rather these gatherings in the Square and Parkland fringes had a seasonal ebb and flow, whereby those from the bush or further afield would come to town following events such as the Royal Adelaide Show (in September), or perhaps escaping the heat of the bush in late summer.⁴⁸ Anecdotal evidence also suggests the Squares, along with designated parkland areas in Adelaide, Melbourne and Brisbane became points where members of the 'stolen generation' and dislocated others might go in order to locate family.⁴⁹

From the 1970s onwards Indigenous drinking circles were to become an increasing part of the sociality of Victoria Square. Just why drinking circles emerged away from the resident social services of Whitmore Square or the Carrington Pub near Hurtle Square remains unclear, although it would appear that the gatherings in Victoria Square were generally Indigenous, not 'mixed' congregations and therefore enjoyed a different tone and purpose. Ascertaining the specific cultural identity of the users of the Square is difficult. Some Kurna Elders suggest they are not locals but interlopers from the North of the State⁵⁰ another individual suggests a historical use (1970s) to be biased toward Nurungga people of the Yorke Peninsula to the immediate west of Adelaide.⁵¹ When I last visited Victoria Square, a straw poll of four grouped individuals revealed a mix of

visitors from Tasmania, Ernabella in the far north of SA, Northern NSW, and one resident of Adelaide. This group was playing cards and drinking Muscat from a cask, they had business in the City, and were using the space to while away some hours. As they did so they kept watch for the police – having observed the officers 'move on' a like congregation in the previous half hour.

During the 1980s and early 1990s the Victoria Square congregation included young and old, enjoying the environment of the Square and each other's company.⁵² The users of the Square were a loosely organised configuration, albeit one of the most prominent users, Donny Smith, was known as 'the Mayor of the Square', for his regular occupancy and willingness on occasion to represent the interests of the Victoria Square 'mob'.⁵³ According to O'Connor who had contact with this group in the early 1990s the group cohered, not only through drinking, but as kin (of Kurna and Narrindjerri origin) who shared personal suffering attributed to colonisation and goonyahs/white people. Children were observed to be periodically part of the congregations, and to be looked after by the group.⁵⁴ This viewpoint is shared by Veronica Brodie, a Kurna and Ngarrindjeri Elder who wrote in her 2002 autobiography that the 'Nungas' who inhabit and drink in Victoria Square are those who suffer greatly from the memory of being under the charge of the Aboriginal Protection Board and from 'being taken away' from families as part of the stolen generation. 'We have men here in Adelaide – some of who you will find in Victoria Square – who can sit down and tell you of traumatic experiences in their childhood. Victoria Square is where our people get together – some go for drink, but many go to sit there and gather for a yarn'.⁵⁵

It is clear from the stories told, that despite the range of opinions expressed in Adelaide's Aboriginal community about the practice of drinking in the City Square, this group was never abandoned by its fellows. In the past the Aboriginal Sobriety Group (ASG) ran a soup kitchen a few blocks away at the rear of St. Paul's Anglican Church (Cnr Pulteney and Wakefield Streets).⁵⁶ Accommodation of a type was available for those with relatives or friends, while others relied on services such as the Mobile Assistance Patrol, sponsored by ASG to find them a bed.⁵⁷ Hence, although there have been 'homeless among them' the drinkers were not generally left vulnerable on the streets.⁵⁸ The intervening years have been witness to changes in this population. A representative from the ASG now estimates the core group to number approximately forty to fifty and to be primarily males in their late twenties to early forties, those for whom alcohol is a touchstone.

PROBLEMATISING USE

Indigenous use of alcohol in the public sphere coupled with conduct deemed to be lacking in purposeful activity has been variously problematised. The discourses surrounding public order, civility, the work ethic, sobriety, and urban aesthetics have contributed towards the creation of negative community attitudes concerning Indigenous use of the City. The Indigenous drunk is a view which 'dominates the consciousness of the general non-Indigenous population'.⁵⁹ It is the pervasiveness of this view which disturbs the picturesque ideal of containment and idyll in the City itself. Such perspectives are evident in casual conversations with Adelaide residents. Discussion often brings forth images of

small Aboriginal groups sitting on the ground in loose circles, under the trees, taking up the shade. Some observe these configurations to be relatively harmless if also untidy gatherings where people talk and drink together. Yet other observations suggest the people to be both a menace and menacing – perhaps unkempt, drinking, laughing, talking, swearing, staggering drunk, calling out to passer-bys, and on occasion pressing for money or 'ciggies'. Such observations reveal the gaze of the settler community to be unsteady, variously tinged with mirth, pity, distrust and fear. As both Hamilton and Bhabha in writing respectively of the colonial quests of Australia and the Indian subcontinent suggest, the gaze of the European upon these others may be understood as ambivalent; driven by attraction and fear of difference/the slippage of the same.⁶⁰

The threat that Indigenous populations might represent, particularly when gathered in a public place and using alcohol, is perceived to require containment in order to achieve a compliant if not invisible population. When drinking took place out of view, in the city back blocks of Whitmore or Hurtle Square, Aboriginal drinking in public was 'manageable' – a problem that most in the community did not have to face. The dynamics of sitting quietly in the less frequented Squares, and being 'looked after' by the welfare agencies changed in the move to Victoria Square. In Victoria Square they were 'in everybody's face'. Here they risked giving offence that was to eventually become a political issue for the authorities.⁶¹

Commonly, urban planning measures are used to create amenity, manage community fears and/or actively discourage some populations in their use of public space.⁶² Such measures may

involve the removal of public seating, locking public toilets, installing night-time lighting, use of amplified music, fencing off shaded areas, increasing ratio of paving or garden beds to lawns etc. While these measures are not targeting any particular population, they do affect itinerants or loose assemblies eg. Indigenous drinkers who may require relative comfort in which to gather.

Criminologist Chris Cunneen argues that too often Indigenous presence in public places is conflated with criminal potential and being, whereby our system of governance relies upon 'criminal sanctions as a substitute for social policy'.⁶³ The day to day role of managing compliance falls to the police whose zeal for keeping the peace is observed in pulling the 'blackfellas' aside, asking questions, giving warnings, upturning bottles, and removing people. By their close attention, and the offences they choose to prosecute, police criminalise the behaviour of idleness and broadcast to a wider public, the undesirability of such Indigenous formations in the city. As Cunneen observes, Indigenous people suffer from 'over-policing' and '...adverse use of police discretion'.⁶⁴ Long time resident of Adelaide Bob Agius recollected the long term disparity of treatment metered out by police to Indigenous and their non-Indigenous fellows. 'You go home – sleep it off', if it's a white man, and 'Come on' to the black man, 'lock up'.⁶⁵ Veronica Brodie attributes the behaviour of police towards Indigenous people as a legacy of powers given to the police in their relationship with the Aboriginal Protection Board. 'The police were bastards. They hung onto the authority that the Protection Board had given them'.⁶⁶

The hostility suffered by Indigenous people in their use of public space begs

the question: Why do they continue to meet in these formations in such public arenas? range of political arguments could be struck here; certainly, the public drinking of alcohol has long been seen as a 'symbol' of equality.⁶⁷ However, it is also interesting to consider such congregations as patent refusals of the gaze and its controlling effects, whereby Indigenous culture, its forms and behaviours are mobilised in order to assert dominion over their subject status.

THIRD SPACE

Although the space of the City Squares and their congregations may be conceptualised in various ways, the notion of, Third Space or in Foucauldian terms heterotopia, is useful here. For Foucault heterotopias existed as actual places that stood separate and 'alternate' in society, with their own freedoms and logic of behaviour. Foucault gave institutional examples where behaviour considered deviant by society's norms might be both allowed and confined. Heterotopias have also come to be interpreted as abstracted spaces, whereby they may not exist in an actual place, but be a space where the threshold is entered imaginatively, through association, or in the company of others.⁶⁸ In his reading of heterotopias Hetherington (1997) has drawn on the work of Turner (1986) to include the transgressive power of 'liminal' spaces, and Bakhtin's 'Carnival' to suggest permissiveness, a deferral of the everyday routines and prohibitions within the scope of heterotopias.⁶⁹ Feminist sociologist Wearing suggests heterotopias as places willingly entered as points of escape and refusal of subject identities. In Wearing's conception, leisure time, and/or leisure sites 'provide(s) a space for

reconstituting the self and rewriting the script of identity'. They provide a 'venue for making marginalised people visible and in solidarity or coalition movements with others'.⁷⁰ The value of the heterotopic space for Indigenous groups would appear manifold. For the Indigenous users of the Square, space may be shaped as a *consequence* of the dominant culture's institutions, but it is not shaped *by* the coloniser culture. Heterotopic space is created, shaped and lived through Indigenous cultural discourses; knowledge, culture, values and systems of logic. Using Foucault it is possible to argue that the mobilising of culturally specific discourses considered 'discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges' is both counterpoint and refusal of the self-appointed ruling culture.⁷¹ The resulting zones enable an intimacy in a highly supervised environment such as the City Square, while also being a space where Indigenous identity and authority is affirmed. In such environments heterotopias function as 'insulating' spaces within which there is a managed deferral of that which is hostile. Their insulating capacity and purpose reminds us of the profound ways in which Indigenous culture has been disrupted. These spaces are both Indigenous creations and post-colonial artefact, for as Jacobs reminds us, space and cultures are constituted by 'their necessary positioning in the modern'.⁷²

Without wishing to conflate the distinct practices of Indigenous groups, insights to such postcolonial heterotopic formations may be found in the work of various authors. Cowlshaw uses Sennett and Cobb to forward the notion that an 'arena of dignity' may be strategically created by Aborigines as both defence and guard of the group. 'Arenas of dig-

nity' may have a prosaic form as exemplified through small Indigenous groups sitting on the ground playing Bingo.⁷³ In this setting, 'members of a group can gain their sense of honour from the group's integrity rather than from those who dominate the economic political arena'. Morris and Sansom offer readings of Indigenous gatherings as defiant and on occasion self consciously resistant to the conventions of the dominant European culture. By way of an example Sansom provides insight to a Darwin fringe camp where drinking circles are prevalent, and which plays a crucial role in managing visitors, and motivating activity and social behaviour. Particularly relevant here is Sansom's consideration of how the fringe camp functions to exclude the non-indigenous population; a place where there is freedom from 'inter-racial dealings', and where they might conduct 'Blackfella business' (and) assert their own independence and authority'.⁷⁴

Indigenous users of Victoria Square do not find themselves secreted away from 'inter-racial dealings'. Their heterotopic formation exists upon a ground which maximises the potential for surveillance and control by the City administrators and police. As objects of the authoritarian gaze it would appear that they have opened themselves to rule and subjugation. Yet, their use of space might also be read as a strategic engagement with the City. By never being lost from view Indigenous users of the Square confront their observers with those they have sought to dispossess, and who continue to refuse to go away. As to whether their heterotopic formations are knowingly iconoclastic, and therefore a deliberate attack upon the venerated settler space, is unknown. What does seem certain is their insistence that this space is

also theirs. Hence, Indigenous presence in the Square may be understood as both reterritorialisation of the City centre and a reinscription of the space as still Aboriginal ground.

PANDORA'S BOX – DECLARATION OF A 'DRY ZONE'

In early 2001 the state Liberal government initiated a parliamentary bill to curb the drinking of alcohol outside of licensed premises in the City of Adelaide, encompassing the CBD and North Adelaide. Premier John Olsen, facing an upcoming state election (which he subsequently lost) pushed the populist barrow of 'Law and Order'. His government argued that the security of Adelaide denizens was at stake; drinkers and their carousing put ordinary citizens at risk, subjecting them to intimidation, begging, soliciting and theft. The rhetoric of the Olsen government played upon the fears of ordinary people; that City space was populated by loathsome characters and their equally loathsome behaviour. As David Harvey in *Spaces of Hope* remarks of modern alienated cities, they exist as:

site(s) of anxiety and anomie. It is the place of the anonymous alien, the underclass...the site of incomprehensible otherness (immigrants, gays, the mentally disturbed, the culturally different, the racially marked, the terrain of pollution) ...and of terrible corruptions, the place of the damned that needs to be enclosed and controlled...⁷⁵

The sites generally understood to be of concern to the Government and its supporters were Victoria Square, and along North Terrace; the lawns in front of the Governor's residence, the steps of Parliament House, and in front of the Railway

station. These were coincidentally sites frequented by Indigenous people.⁷⁶ The fact that minor offences such as being drunk and disorderly were already being dealt with through provisions under the Summary Offences Act seemed to be near irrelevant as the media swung behind the Premier's campaign. Political pressure (including the interceptions of individual Liberal Party aligned Councillors) was brought to bear on the Adelaide City Council to accept and partner the legislation on a one-year trial basis.

That Indigenous drinkers and the homeless of the City Squares would be hardest hit by the proposed legislation was not lost on the critics. They argued that, for Indigenous users of the Square, it was discriminatory in effect, if not in intention. Dr. Judith Bryant was one of a few Councillors to oppose the Dry Zone. Her view was that the proposal was 'blatantly racist', and this was borne out by the correspondence Council had received which called for Council to act, 'get the blacks, the drunks out of Victoria Square'⁷⁷. Despite a period of consultation which sought the views of key stakeholders, including Aboriginal people, there was little confidence in the process, and little doubt that the legislation would be enacted. The opinion amongst Adelaide's Indigenous community was mixed. Many considered it to be vexatious and discriminatory legislation, which denied Indigenous access to traditional meeting grounds.⁷⁸ Another sector of the Indigenous community believed the legislation might serve a useful purpose in tackling the serious public health issue of alcoholism. Public drunkenness brought shame on the wider Aboriginal community, and did little to further the hopes and aspiration of Indigenous young people. Lewis O'Brien and Shirley Peisley, members of Adelaide City

Council's Reconconciliation Committee both recognised that the legislation was racially targeted. They were however mindful of the swag of complex issues involved, and thus chose to offer their qualified support for the Dry Zone legislation. For Shirley Peisley, dual chair of the ACC's Reconciliation Committee, she argued, that the Indigenous people using the Squares and now the Parklands are 'lost' individuals, who required assistance to move beyond their alcoholic state and regain self esteem. The errant behaviour of certain drinking individuals she described as 'not anything about culture - that's all about people who are lost, it's all about people who don't recognise who they are anymore'.⁷⁹ Peisley sought change in the immediate and short term by active involvement with the State Government's Social Inclusion Unit Dry Zone Committee. She is hopeful support services and resources will reach those who seek them. Aboriginal Sobriety Group support for the legislation was sought and received on a similar basis and on the understanding that support services would be established for Aboriginal drinkers. This was to include a stabilisation program, a 'sobering up' unit and the establishment of designated hostel beds for Aboriginal client use.

For Kurna Elder Lewis O'Brien, he was of the view that the City's focus on Indigenous drinkers was disproportionate to the City's wider social problems. In particular he believed the City should draw its greater attention to 'cleaning up' Hindley Street—'a blight on the city'. 'We said, "what are you going to do about Hindley Street? You're worried about 12 people sitting in the Square?"' O'Brien's eventual support of a 'Dry Zone' which would encompass Victoria Square, related to his Kurna identity and attendant beliefs, that it is a sacred

space, which drinkers risk desecrating with their behaviour.⁸⁰

In the wider community the proposed legislation was criticised on various levels. The proposed legislation attempted the impossible - to protect the populace from the dissonance of difference; the legislation was an erosion of the personal rights and responsibilities of the individual; the legislation had a narrow focus. It did not adequately address anti-social behaviour within the City limits. In targeting drinking in the City precinct it ignored that anti-social behaviour is not the province of public drinkers alone; rather, it is connected to factors such as youth boredom, illicit drug taking, criminal intent, patrons exiting pubs and clubs in high spirits, possibly inebriated and looking for further entertainment or transport home, etc. Despite significant community protestations, and hotly contested debates within Council itself *Declaration of a Dry Zone*, was regulated under the Liquor Licensing Act of 1997, (Gazetted 14th October 2001), it came into effect 29th October 2001. Once again in Australia, the image of the 'drunken Aborigine' had been successfully mobilised for political gain.⁸¹

Evaluation of the trial legislation was undertaken by a private consultancy group, Social Options Australia. Due to the time constraints of the brief, the evaluation period began and ended within six months of the legislation being bedded down. *Evaluation of the City of Adelaide Dry Zone* was made available to the South Australian Parliament in September 2002. The evaluation document outlined the problematic nature of any such legislation. It noted that programs for city drinkers, and Aborigines in particular which were to have been put in place during the period of the trial were not fully enacted (Stabilisation Facility

Services). The Review cautiously noted the benefits to the community to be inconclusive.

The legislation had not caused people to abstain; rather they had found other places to meet. For Indigenous drinkers of Victoria Square, and the North Terrace precinct, alternative sites were found close by in the Adelaide Park Lands, which were exempt from the 'Dry Zone'. Sites identified include the western perimeter near the Rotunda between Adelaide High School and the Adelaide Cemetery on West Terrace, the South-East parklands, near the sports fields, Hutt Street and South Terrace, and near the Victoria Park Raceway. Proximity to the city centre and their open aspect made the Parklands an obvious alternative for people to meet. In these areas Indigenous people are now to be found in small groups often using available shelters and seating, sometimes around makeshift campfires with the occasional clothesline pegged out. They meet together until they are disturbed or moved on by city officials, police or the mobile assistance patrol, run by the Aboriginal Sobriety Group.

The move to the Parklands may be evidence of a modest agency where drinkers continue to meet rather than disband, yet it also has increased their vulnerability. In the Parkland environs drinkers put at risk their personal security. In the evenings the Parklands are largely unlit, forbidding places, where few people choose to habituate or take a leisurely stroll. This may offer the former Square 'sitters' privacy, but it does not provide a hedge from hooligan harassment or the threat of violence. To this effect former ACC Councillor Greg Mackie and dual Chairperson of the ACC's Reconciliation committee, made the comment that the

wrong message was being sent to the community stating: 'the lid to Pandora's Box with regard to racial intolerance has been lifted'.⁸² In the Parklands, Aborigines are not only out of sight, but they are back on society's margins, where their fate is their own. Despite the Review outcomes, the doubts expressed within the ACC and significant public outcry, including noises made by Aboriginal Legal Aid Movement (ALAM) to mount a challenge in the courts (Oct 2002), the new State Labor government agreed to continue the trial for yet another year.

Light might be brought to bear upon the ACC's motives for supporting the 'Dry Zone' legislation in an examination of the Council's emergent development objectives for the City. Preceding the 'Dry Zone' legislation the ACC had begun an extensive program of urban renewal for Adelaide. This program included plans for the management, upgrade and development of the City West precinct, Parklands and City Squares. It is largely the case that such improvements to the amenity of the City were couched in terms of the intended boost to small business, tourism and residential development.

In February 1999 Victoria Square was specifically targeted for overhaul with a view to ensuring 'that the Square and its management are a source of pride for all South Australians' (ACC 2002). Following the findings of the committee of management a Victoria Square master plan was adopted and endorsed by Council in June of 2001. This was to be subsequently embraced by the wide sweeping development policy for the City *New Directions – Capacity, Vivacity, Audacity*, launched in July 2001. Within the new plan, the Squares of Adelaide and in particular Victoria Square were to

play an important role in the transformation of the city landscape into a vibrant heart, attractive to tourists, residents and business.

The Square is under-utilised as a gathering venue for entertainment, cultural and artistic expression. The Plan proposes the Square should be the cultural and artistic hub for Adelaide, attracting tourists and facilitating social and economic development opportunities in a positive, dynamic manner.⁸³

Recognised here is the larger potential of a cleaned up Victoria Square to be emblematic of the aspirational City itself. A bunch of Nungas drinking in the Square, surrounded by the Hilton and Grand Medina International Hotels would do little for the image Adelaide was trying to create for itself. In the context of achieving *New Directions – Capacity, Vivacity, Audacity*, it is observable that the 'Dry Zone' legislation has been 'helpful'. To borrow Shaw's term, the moves by the ACC might be understood to partner 'capitalism's recolonisation of (the) inner city...' despite there continuing to exist an unaccommodated marginal and marginalised population therein.⁸⁴

What is perhaps not recognised, remembered or valued in the ACC's plans for its future is the value Indigenous people and in particular Kurna, place on the open public spaces of the City. In its commissioned report of the *Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands* (1998), Adelaide City Council sought the opinion of Indigenous leaders. An interim statement was subsequently authored by the Kurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association (KACHA) and Kurna Yerlo and issued within the Report. In part it reads:

The Adelaide Park Lands and Squares are part of this place (Red Kangaroo Dreaming) and hold special cultural significance for us – the Kurna people... We as Kurna people, must walk on these places to maintain our cultural strength.⁸⁵

RECONCILIATION

The tentative steps of the Adelaide City Council towards developing a Reconciliation policy and program of engagement had been formalised in 1997 with Council's adoption of a Reconciliation Vision Statement. As an *aide memoir* to those who would govern the city, the original Reconciliation Vision Statement, signed by the serving Council of 1997, was hung at the entry point of the Lord Mayor's Office in the Adelaide Town Hall. The statement highlighted six guiding principles for Reconciliation: 1. Participation 2. Negotiation 3. Communication and Public Awareness 4. Service Provision 5. Cultural Identity and 6. Heritage and Commemoration.

The enthusiasm of those who authored the 1997 Reconciliation document was reflective of a new respect and commitment to working in partnership with Indigenous leadership in the city. Yet, in the ACC's subsequent ongoing support of the 'Dry Zone' legislation the Adelaide City Council put at risk its public commitment to Reconciliation. Dual Chair of the Reconciliation committee, Councillor Greg Mackie reckoned there was a loss of faith in Council by some Indigenous individuals who were willing to 'boycott' the ACC Reconciliation program. This was an 'embarrassment' to the Council who recognised the need to restore the faith of the local Indigenous community. This provides

a possible explanation for the hastened introduction of the ACC's Reconciliation Committees' recommended program for the city.⁸⁶ Just two months after the Dry Zone was enacted, the ACC gave approval in December 2001 for Victoria Square to be used as a performance venue for the 2002 Adelaide Festival of the Arts, and for the Square to be renamed Tandanyunga for the duration of the Festival in acknowledgement of the Festival theme and celebration of the world's Indigenous peoples.

At its May 27, 2002, meeting, the ACC deliberated over a broad ranging agenda related to the Indigenous presence in the City of Adelaide.⁸⁷ That Victoria Square featured prominently in ACC resolutions to commemorate Indigenous presence in the City was further recognition of the site as a space of historical intersection. The recommendations made to Council were that:

1. The City be recognised as a location of particular importance for the Kurna people.
2. Council issues a formal statement of that recognition.
3. Council endorses the following actions for Victoria Square as the heart of the city:
 - 3.1. Erection of a sculpture representing Ivaritji;
 - 3.2. Victoria Square dual named Tandanyunga (the place of the Red Kangaroo Dreaming);
 - 3.3. Permanent flying of the Aboriginal flag in Victoria Square;
 - 3.4 Provision of educational and interpretive signage providing information about the Aboriginal flag, the dual naming of the Square, Kurna history

and culture and other significant places in Adelaide.

As at October 2004 a number of the recommendations have been adopted. Perhaps key to these changes was the endorsement in June 2002, of a formal statement acknowledging Kurna custodianship. The commissioning of a commemorative sculpture of Ivaritji is still awaited, as is the full implementation of interpretive signage in the Square and dual named parks throughout the city. The Reconciliation committee has no budget to act on these matters, and must await Council's attention to these recommendations.

It would be easy to conclude that the machinations of Adelaide City Council have been disingenuous. Once part of the forced removal of Indigenous people from traditional grounds, the City fathers now wish to control the means and extent of an Indigenous reappearance—in so doing allowing only tokens of a 'noble' Indigenous presence. Token measures have been critiqued as having little effect on Indigenous relationships within the city or the economic advancement of Indigenous people. Yet, the token may also carry symbolic weight and hence be substantive. In taking two examples of Reconciliatory measures adopted by Council, their reverberating effects cannot be denied. First, at the beginning of every formal session of Council, formal acknowledgement of Kurna as traditional custodians of the Adelaide city area is now spoken. This acknowledgement reads:

Adelaide City Council acknowledges that we are meeting on the traditional country of the Kurna people of the Adelaide Plains. We recognise and respect their

cultural heritage, beliefs and relationship with the land. We acknowledge that they are of continuing importance to the Kurna people living today.

The fact and frequency of such acknowledgement serves to hold Councillors to account for the means and manner in which they seek to serve their constituency. Secondly, the permanent flying of the Aboriginal flag in Victoria Square (endorsed as part of the Flags and Banners Policy July 8, 2002) offers a symbol of near talismanic quality. As its giant form weaves and waves above the Square alongside the national flag, it speaks of the past and the future, a nation within the nation, an aspirational people and an aspirational city. And while it flies hope lives.

CONCLUSION

At Adelaide City Council's regular meeting on Monday 13th October 2003, Council voted to apply to the State Government to have the Dry Zone Trial extended by another year. This action followed the delivery to Council of a second report appraising the success of the 'Dry Zone'. At this point in time Council voted to have the findings of the second report remain confidential. A Council 'source' was reported in the City's only daily newspaper, *The Advertiser*, as commenting that the second report 'did not tell us anything we didn't already know'. What are we to assume from such a comment? That the Dry Zone is achieving its aim to enhance public safety? As Mayor Michael Harbison stated, or in the words of Monsignor David Cappo, Chairman of the State Government's Social Inclusion Board, the Dry Zone is 'very bad public policy'?⁸⁸ Monsignor David Cappo urged South Australians in previous months to

respond to the injustice of such policy with anger.

...We should have a sense of anger that people are sleeping rough here in Adelaide and throughout the state. Anger at a system that allows this state of affairs to develop.... Anger at public policy that is racially discriminating and allows the Dry Zone in Adelaide to produce the situation where many Aboriginal people are living in harsh circumstances along West Terrace.⁸⁹

Admonishments from Church leaders appear to mean little. At the end of October (29.10.03) Mayor Harbison released a statement to the media. The statement approved the continuation of the Dry Zone, as one means in achieving a safe city. The city would remain on guard as there is 'still much more which can and must be looked at'.

Declaration of a Dry Zone (2001) clearly and unfortunately supports Cunneen's proposition that where Indigenous people are concerned 'criminal sanctions continue to be used as a substitute for social policy'.⁹⁰ In the emphasis upon control of populations through punishment and or banishment, the social 'problem' of the inebriated Aborigine is 'exported'.⁹¹ Conversely, the 'Dry Zone' legislation may have managed to remove Indigenous people from the City Squares, but there has been no abandonment of the abstract space of the congregation itself. It would appear evident that such sites are desired social and political spaces. What they offer to individuals and communities and what they mean as acts of resistance, and for self-governance and identity maintenance deserves further attention.

Indigenous habitation and use of City spaces confronts Adelaide residents with the fact of Indigenous dispossession, and

reminds all residents of their responsibility towards Reconciliation. No matter what the content or reason of the formation, Indigenous presence is a potent metaphor of the Indigenous refusal to be invisible. To return to the City, to its heart and sit down, where all around is the movement and achievements of the colonist culture is necessarily disturbing and destabilising of the colonising culture.⁹²

Maintaining a place for Indigenous people in the centre of the City would hence appear essential as Adelaide seeks to telegraph its position as a modern and accommodating city. Indeed, Adelaide's reinvention of itself '*Capacity, Vivacity, Audacity*' is a challenge for the city of the future. To create a City where all might find a place to be, requires governing ideological and institutional willingness and openness to difference. This according to Young is a necessary feature of democracy, 'In the unoppressive city people are open to unassimilated otherness'.⁹³ If the ideal of a city based upon democratic principles is to be achieved in Adelaide, both the State Government and the Adelaide City Council need to take the lead in being committed to sharing city space and imaginatively honouring cultural difference. Dare Adelaide create a modern city where the depth and range of Indigeneity might be accommodated beyond token representations? And, dare it consider the possibility and necessity that cultural differences be spatially recognised and legitimised, and be a place where Indigenous people might without impunity 'articulate the distinctive forms of their urbanity and modernity'?⁹⁴

INTERVIEWS AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Norman Blakely, Salvation Army Officer, Historian, (telephone conversation 24/7/02).

John Harran – Adelaide City Council (ACC), (telephone conversation, 31/8/02).

Warren Guppy – Community Development Officer – Reconciliation, ACC (telephone conversation 1/8/02, and interview, 8/9/03, Adelaide).

Greg Mackie – ACC Councillor, and Dual Chairperson of the ACC Reconciliation Committee (telephone conversation 7/8/02, and interview 3/10/02, Adelaide).

Tauto Sansbury – Aboriginal Justice Liaison Officer, Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement (interview, 9/10/02, Adelaide).

Luisa O'Connor, Researcher and Indigenous Health Worker (telephone conversation, 24/10/02).

Dr. Judith Bryant, ACC Councillor, and Dual Chairperson ACC Reconciliation Committee (interview 7/7/03, Adelaide).

Lewis O'Brien, Member, Reconciliation Committee, ACC, (interview 10/9/03, Adelaide).

Shirley Peisley, Dual Chairperson, Reconciliation Committee, ACC, (interview 11/9/03, Adelaide).

ENDNOTES

- 1 See P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay* (London: Faber and Faber), 1987, *The Lie of the Land* (London: Faber and Faber), 1996, E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus), 1993, J. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (London: Routledge), 1996.
- 2 Carter, *The Lie of the Land*, 229.
- 3 S. Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye – How Explorers Saw Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press), 1996, 54.
- 4 Carter, *The Lie of the Land*, 255–56.
- 5 C. Cunneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime – Aboriginal Communities and the Police* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin), 2001.
- 6 M. Langton, 'Rum, Seduction and Death: Aboriginality and Alcohol, in *Oceania* 63, 1993, 195–206.
- 7 M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', in *Diacritics*, Spring, 1986, 22–27. D. Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley, L.A: University of California Press), 2000.
- 8 S. Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell), 1995, 259.
- 9 Education Department of South Australia (EDSA), *The Kurna People – Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains* (Adelaide: EDSA), 1989, 174.
- 10 J.C. Pierson, 'Aboriginal Power and Self determination in Adelaide', in M.C Howard, ed. *Aboriginal Power in Australian Society* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press), 1982, 184–213.
- 11 R. Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna! Reclaiming an Australian Language* (Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets and Zeitlinger), 2000, 70.
- 12 Amery. 14. Nunga is a term for Indigenous people of the settled regions of South Australia. It encompasses but does not subsume separate tribal/language identities.
- 13 T. Rowse, *White Flour, White Power – From Rations to Citizenship in Central Australia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 1998.
- 14 F. Gale, 'The History of Contact in South Australia', in *The Aborigines of South Australia – Their Background and Future Prospects* (Adelaide: Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide), 1969, 27–35.
- 15 F. Gale and J. Wundersitz, *Adelaide Aborigines – A Case Study of Urban Life 1966–1981* (Canberra: Development Studies Centre, ANU), 1982, 46. V. Brodie and A.A Gale, *My Side of the Bridge*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press), 2002, 97.
- 16 Elphick, G., 'The Council of Aboriginal Women' in *The Aborigines of South Australia – Their Background and Future Prospects*, Proceedings of a conference held at the University of Adelaide, June 13–16 1969 (Adelaide: Publication No. 19, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1969), 93.
- 17 J.C. Pierson, 'Aboriginality in Adelaide: Urban Resources and Adaptations' PhD dissertation, Washington University, 1972, 225.
- 18 Pierson, 248–9.
- 19 Gale, *Urban Aborigines* (Canberra: ANU Press), 1972, 110. L. Rankine quoted in *The Kurna People – Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains*, 1989, 238–239, Adelaide, The Education Department of South Australia)
- 20 Gale, *Urban Aborigines*, 110.
- 21 Gale and Wundersitz, *Adelaide*

- Aborigines, 83. Pierson, 'Aboriginality in Adelaide', 225, 240–41.
- 22 C.H. Berndt, and R.M. Berndt, *From Black to White in South Australia* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire), 1951. Gale, 'The History of Contact in South Australia'. Pierson, 'Aboriginality in Adelaide', 248–249. S. Hemming and R. Harris, *Tandanyungga Kaurna Yerta—A Report on the Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands* (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council), 1998.
- 23 B. Morris, *Domesticating Resistance – The Dhan Ghadi Aborigines and the Australian State*, (Oxford: Berg), 1989. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. S. Marsden, *A History of Australian Capital City Centres Since 1945* (Canberra: Urban Research Program, Working Paper, No. 61 – Urban Research Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University), 1997.
- 24 The Pamphleteer Edward Gibbon Wakefield in his writings on social and community design and organization was the intellectual force behind the development of Adelaide.
- 25 E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Middlesex, Ringwood, Vic.: Pelican), 1963. J. Clarke, and C. Critcher, *The Devil Makes Work – Leisure in Capitalist Britain* (London: Macmillan Education), 1985. A. Hutchings and R. Bunker, *With Conscious Purpose – A History of Town Planning in South Australia* (Adelaide SA: Wakefield Press), 1986, 15. In Britain, a select committee of the House of Commons on Public Walks had found in 1833 that 'little or no provision has been made for public walks or open spaces fitted to afford means of exercise or amusement to the middle and humbler classes' (Select Committee of the House of Commons, Public Walks, Parliamentary Papers 1833:1)
- 26 Hutchings and Bunker, *With Conscious Purpose*, 13.
- 27 M. Lamshed, *The Botanic Gardens Adelaide 1855–1955*, South Australia Centenary Volume (Adelaide: Board of Governors), 1957, 42. See also B. Best, George William Francis – First Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden (Adelaide: Hyde Park Press), 1986, 24.
- 28 Luisa O'Connor, Researcher and Indigenous Health Worker (telephone conversation with the author, 24 October, 2002)
- 29 State Records of South Australia, GRG 24/6A/1844/712.
- 30 Neva Wilson speaking to Karen George, K. George, *Adelaide City Council Oral History Project* (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council), 1998, 5.
- 31 Bob Agius speaking to Karen George, 18 November, 1998, ACC Oral History Project, 43.
- 32 Brodie and Gale, *My Side of the Bridge*, 86.
- 33 C.D. Rowley, *Outcasts in White Australia* (Ringwood, Victoria: Pelican), 1970 [1972], 373.
- 34 Berndt and Berndt, *From Black to White in South Australia*, 257.
- 35 Wilson in George, *ACC Oral History Project 12/12/1998*, 30, Agius in George, 18/11/98, 74)
- 36 F. Gale in personal conversation with the author, 8 September 2003.
- 37 Lewis O'Brien, Kaurna Elder, in personal conversation with the author, 19 October, 2003.
- 38 Pierson, 'Aboriginality in Adelaide', 143.
- 39 Shirley Peisley, dual chair of the ACC's Reconciliation Committee in personal conversation with the author, 20 April, 2004.

- 40 See Brodie and Gale, *My Side of the Bridge*, 11.
- 41 Ivaritji was born in Adelaide and died in 1929. Her English name is noted as Amelia Rodney, daughter of Parnadaitya (King Rodney) of Adelaide and Tankira of Clare. At the time of her death she was thought to be the last person of full Kurna descent. See C. Mattingley and K. Hampton, *Survival in Our Own Land, Aboriginal Experiences in South Australia Since 1836*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press), 1998, 139. Ivaritji was also known as Amelia Taylor. S. Hemming and R. Harris, *Tandanyungga Kurna Yerta – A Report on the Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands* (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council), 1998, 17. Through her descendant Gladys Elphick (now deceased) there is some knowledge regarding Kurna use of land within Adelaide.
- 42 S. Hemming and R. Harris, *Tandanyungga Kurna Yerta – A Report on the Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands* (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council), 1998, 20.
- 43 O'Brien, in personal conversation with the author, 10 September, 2003.
- 44 NADOC – National Aboriginal Day of Observance Committee. In later years the committee recognized the Indigenous people of the Torres Strait Islander peoples, and changed to NAIDOC (National Aboriginal and Islander Day of Observance Committee). NAIDOC involves celebratory activities over a week-long period each July. It is celebrated Australia wide.
- 45 Pitjantjatjara people are Indigenous people of North Western South Australia. As the nearest capital city Adelaide is visited by members of remote Indigenous communities as and when required.
- 46 P. Toyne and D. Vachon, *Growing Up the Country – The Pitjantjatjara Struggle for their Land* (Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee-Gribble), 1984, 56.
- 47 Maria Axelby speaking to Karen George, 9 November 1998. 'ACC Oral History Project', 1998, 37.
- 48 Norman Blakely, Salvation Army Officer, in personal conversation with the author, 24 July 2002, and Greg Mackie, Adelaide City Councillor in personal conversation with the author, 3 October 2002. The protocols of traditional societies have been observed to be still in use by Indigenous visitors to Adelaide. O'Connor in personal conversation with the author, 24 October 2002, gives the example of traditional peoples who come to town waiting on the fringes of the Square to be invited to join the core user group. Victoria Square appears to have a special regard in this instance, whereby it is recognized as the land/country of another group for which permission must be granted to enter and stay.
- 49 The 'stolen generation' refers to Indigenous children who were removed from their families into State care, often because they were of mixed race parentage. Many of these children grew up isolated from their family, language and culture, and have suffered accordingly (see Dodson and Wilson, 1997, *Bringing them Home – National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, 1997, Canberra, Commonwealth of Australia.).
- 50 Val Power and Lewis O'Brien, Kurna elders, in personal conversations with the author, 16 April 2004 and 10 September 2003.
- 51 Peisley, in personal conversation with the author, 20 April 2004.
- 52 O'Connor, in personal conversation with the author, 24 October 2002.
- 53 Warren Guppy, Community

- Development Officer, Adelaide City Council, in telephone conversation with the author, 8 September 2003.
- 54 O'Connor, in personal conversation with the author, 24 October 2002.
- 55 Brodie and Gale, *My Side of the Bridge*, 92–93, 174.
- 56 Brodie and Gale, 118.
- 57 Alban Kartinyeri, employed officer with the ASG, in conversation with the author ASG, Adelaide, 9 October 2002.
- 58 Blakely, 24 July, 2002, comment with regard to Indigenous drinkers and use of social services, such as beds.
- 59 Hemming and Harris, *Tandanyungga Kaurna Yerta – A Report on the Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Parklands*, 32; Langton, 'Rum, Seduction and Death, 1993.
- 60 A. Hamilton, 'Fear and Desire – Aborigines, Asians and the National Imaginary', in *Australian Cultural History* (Kensington NSW: University of New South Wales), 1990, 14–35. H. Bhabha, 'The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism, in R. Ferguson, et al, ed. *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press), 1990, 71–87.
- 61 Gale, in personal conversation with the author, 8 September, 2003.
- 62 Cf., N. Ellin, ed. *Architecture of Fear* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), 1997.
- 63 Cunneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime*, 188, notes that South Australia and Western Australia have the highest proportion of Indigenous people arrested. More damning of the 'style' of legislature, policing and judiciary, he states '...the jurisdiction which stands out as 'punitive' on a number of measures is South Australia'.
- 64 Cunneen, 29.
- 65 Agius to George 18 November, 1998, 33, ACC Oral History Project.
- 66 Brodie and Gale, *My Side of the Bridge*, 88.
- 67 See Rowley, *Outcasts in White Australia*, 359.
- 68 Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces'.
- 69 K. Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity – Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge), 1997. V. Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications), 1986. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (trans H. Iswolsky), (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press), 1968.
- 70 B. Wearing, *Leisure and Feminist Theory* (London: Sage Publications), 1998, 171.
- 71 Foucault in Gordon, C., 1980, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books), 81–83.
- 72 Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, 25.
- 73 G.K. Cowlshaw, 'The Materials for Identity Construction', in J. Beckett, ed. *Past and Present – The Construction of Aboriginality* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press), 1988, 87–107.
- 74 B. Morris, *Domesticating Resistance. – The Dhan Ghadi Aborigines and the Australian State*. B. Sansom, *The Camp at Wallaby Cross* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies), 1980, 8.
- 75 Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, 158.
- 76 Dr. Judith Bryant, ACC Councillor, and Dual Chairperson ACC Reconciliation Committee, interview with the author, Adelaide, 7 July, 2003.

- 77 Personal conversation with Bryant, 7 July, 2003.
- 78 Tauto Sansbury – Aboriginal Justice Liaison Officer, Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement, interview with the author, 9 October 2002, Adelaide. The Aboriginal Justice Advocacy committee with Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement were in agreement that the proposal was ‘racist and against human rights for Aboriginal people’.
- 79 Peisley, personal conversation with the author, Adelaide, 11 September, 2003.
- 80 O’Brien, personal conversation with the author, Adelaide, 10 September 2003.
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- 82 Mackie, personal telephone conversation with the author, Adelaide, 7 August 2002.
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- 84 W.S. Shaw, ‘Ways of Whiteness: Harlemising Sydney’s Aboriginal Redfern’, in *Australian Geographical Studies*, November 2000, Vol. 38, No. 3, 291–305
- 85 Hemming and Harris, *Tandanyunga Kurna Yerta*, 16.
- 86 Personal conversation with Mackie, 7 August, 2002.
- 87 ACC Council Records, [C] (2001/01178).
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- 91 cf. Merlan, *Caging the Rainbow – Places, Politics and Aborigines in a North Australian Town* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1996, 203–4.
- 92 See Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, 1, 4.
- 93 I.M. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1990, 240.
- 94 Rowse, *White Flour, White Power*, 203.