USE OF THESES

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Being Ceduna: Survival on the Far West Coast of South Australia.

Megan Frances Poore
December, 2001

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University.
I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification. The work is my own, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Megan Frances Poore.
Abstract

This thesis is about survival in the Far West Coast town of Ceduna, South Australia. In particular, the idea of 'being Ceduna' is discussed in the context of the survival ethic which permeates, and forms a prevailing condition for, sociality in the town. I have aimed at producing a substantial ethnography about white people living in rural and remote South Australia which can be used as a basis for comparison with other cultures.

The work describes various classifications of person in Ceduna (ranging from old local, new locals, new person, newcomer and blow-in) and shows how the town's survival ethic is promulgated through the various forms of Ceduna Person. Issues relating to being Ceduna are tackled, for it is essential for a person to display particular behaviours to show their Cedunaness and that they contribute to the town's survival ethic in specific ways. This can lead to acceptance which is essential to being Ceduna but comes with a flip-side: rejection. The importance of joining groups to being Ceduna is likewise described. Groups are seen to encourage survival because they force people to come together for the good of the community. The thesis also depicts and analyses Ceduna People's ambivalent feelings towards their physical environment. In a way, the entire thesis leads towards the final chapter, wherein Ceduna People's emotional responses to their country are drawn out. The relationship that Ceduna People have with their surrounds feeds into, and is fed by, the survival ethic, which then manifests itself in people's love and respect for the landscape.

On a more general level, the thesis attempts, through ethnographic descriptions and analysis, to supply a critique of occidentalised views of Western society as a whole, and of rural people in particular. It does this via discussions of, for instance, Ceduna People's responses to individualism and landscape, demonstrating that conventional anthropological understandings of western sociality are very different from Ceduna's ethnographic reality.
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ERRATA (continued)

Bibliographic additions
Mewett, Peter G.

Reid, Peter

Sackett, Lee

Watson, Pamela Lukin
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INTRODUCTION

Prologue
Ceduna is a small-to-middling-sized town on the Far West Coast of the state of South Australia (Map 1). The community lies approximately 800 kilometres west of the state’s capital city, Adelaide, and could be described as 'fairly remote' by Australian standards. For most South Australians, Ceduna occupies a special place in the imagination: a desert place with a small population (but a population with a large percentage of Aboriginal People)1 a place where riots and the burning down of houses are commonplace incidents, a place where race relations are tense, a place that is inland, the last place in the world you would think of living. And yet most South Australians have never been to Ceduna. Ceduna is 'known' by South Australians because it gets bad press - as any Ceduna Person will tell you when discussions about the media arise - as far as the treatment of Aboriginal People in the town goes. It is also 'known' because it is mentioned each night on the television weather report: it lies at the edge of what the Bureau of Meteorology in South Australia rather curiously terms 'the settled areas'.

But Ceduna is more than this. The District Council2 serves a little over 3,500 people and is the main port of call for over 700 others living to the west Out of Districts (meaning those who live on land that is not under the direct control of any council). Some 2,6003 persons dwell in Ceduna town itself, with the Aboriginal population making up 22.4% (as the District Council’s Annual Report 1999 states) of this. Cross-cultural interactions are often strained, but there is more of the implicit to this aspect of life in Ceduna - at

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1 The numbers of Aboriginal People living in Ceduna fluctuates enormously. Wirangu, Mirning, Pitjantjatjara, and even Aranda and Bungala People, all help to make up the Indigenous population of Ceduna.
2 The District Council of Ceduna is the westernmost local government area in South Australia and “one of the most remote and isolated Councils of the State” (District Council of Ceduna 1997: unnumbered). It encompasses the towns of Koonibba, Denial Bay, Ceduna, Thevenard, Nunjikompita and Smoky Bay, and shares boundaries with Streaky Bay (see Appendix I for a council profile).
3 It is nigh impossible to collate coherent statistics which relate to Ceduna's population; the District Council quotes the above figure, whilst the Australian Bureau of Statistics quotes 2, 250.
Map 1. Australia, showing South Australia and Ceduna.
least for the whitefellas⁴ - than there is of the explicit. It is not a desert town (although it might at times resemble one in appearance, given the dust storms that frequently rip through the place), but a town that abuts Murat Bay, and a town that is a part of some of the most magnificent, healthy and uncontaminated coastline on the Australian continent. Not much has been written, anthropologically-speaking, on this part of the world, although most Aboriginal groups in the area have received academic attention at one time or another and some continue to attract it.⁵ This study, however, is not about Indigenous Australians, although these people indelibly play a part in Ceduna's social scheme. Rather, this study is about a non-indigenous, Western people living at the edge of country South Australia in what is essentially an ethnographic black-hole as far as research concerning white Australians goes.

**Occidentalism**

Anthropologists have traditionally focussed on an Exotic Other in their ethnographic pursuits, although this has become, arguably, less customary in recent years as funding for more 'esoteric' research is harder to come by, issues of representation are raised, and the subjects of our inquiries get a hold of what we have written and question its accuracy. There has thus been something of a shift away from conducting ethnographic investigations that largely centre on non-Western cultures; but more than this, there has been a push towards overcoming the representative bias engendered by studies in which we neglect to look at ourselves.

Edward Said (1991 [1978]) recognises the tendency to such bias in his concept of 'Orientalism', which he describes as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (1991 [1978]: 2), and which has as its focus "the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (ibid: 1). Part of the Orientalist project, according to Said, is to bolster the West's view of itself, its practices, theories and values, and to polarise distinctions between the Orient and Occident (ibid: 45 - 6). This, in turn, increases the West's sense of power over the Orient, which is then "taken for granted as

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⁴ Non-Indigenous People.
⁵ An excellent resource detailing many early studies is *A Regional Bibliography of the Aboriginals of South Australia* compiled by Margaret Cottington (1993: 31 - 8), Maggie Brady (1988, 1986), Peggy Brock (1993, 1989) and Jocelyn Davies (1991) have carried out work in the area in more recent times.
having the status of scientific truth" (ibid: 46). However, Said argues that Orientalism is "better grasped as a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought than it is simply as a positive doctrine" (ibid: 42), which releases it from any deliberate political exploitation, but nevertheless makes its workings latent, if not insidious.

James Carrier tries to redress Said's 'one-way dialectic' (if ever there could be such a thing) of Orientalism firstly by acknowledging that such constraints upon thought exist within our academic - and in Carrier's case, particularly anthropological - musings, and secondly by showing that such constraints are not limited to our writings on the Other. Carrier (manipulating Said's concept) refers to 'occidentalism', and he contemplates the occident's special place in Western European experience. His concern is to show that essentialist typifications of Western capitalist society (Carrier 1992: 201) likewise exist, and he uses the model of impersonal Western commodity transactions versus Melanesian gift exchange to make his point (Carrier 1995b, 1992). The characterisation of Western relations as commodity-based only makes sense, Carrier argues, when compared to gift societies, the "two essentializations defining and justifying each other dialectically" (1992: 203), turning a "distinguishing characteristic" (1995b: 97) into a "defining characterization" (ibid) on both counts. Such polarisation, based on emblematic forms and models, means that elevating a "last analysis to an analytical first principle will needlessly and wrongly simplify a complex social form" (Carrier 1992: 203). In Carrier's own last analysis, he states that "[t]he West that many anthropologists seem to carry around in their heads is as partial and distorted as the critics claim is the case with anthropological renderings of the alien" (1995a: 29).

But rural Westerners suffer a further indignity in anthropological circles when it comes to descriptions of, and discussions about, how Westerners think, for often they are eliminated from depictions of the Western world (however it may be imagined) altogether, as if such people do not count as Western people proper simply because they are not seen to fit into a form of individualist model. Mark Lawrence (1997) has a

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6 Michael Herzfeld (1987) similarly draws upon Said's concept of Orientalism in his description of 'Mediterraneanism'.

7 But it is not only the West that makes occidentalisms about itself. Millie Creighton points out that images of the West used in Japanese advertising portray Western culture as egoistic and individualistic - values which oppose, she argues, Japanese convictions and concurrently reaffirm "Japanese merit and centrality" (1995: 149).
particular interest in the rural and also emphasises that the concepts entailed in Said's 'Orientalist' work do not have a prehensile monopoly on the Exotic Other. Lawrence shows that the rural is habitually seen as "peripheral to dominant social practice" (ibid: 3) and is a liminal space where modernity is filtered out (ibid: 4). Such an outlook promotes the idea that Western rural people somehow exist outside of mainstream Western cultures - long ago and far away, as Johannes Fabian (1983) might put it. It primitivises rural people and communicates visions of traditionally-governed, custom-constrained cultures in which hierarchical relations of domination and deference prevail, where people lead simplistic lives ruled by simplistic intelligences and the telephone is an astonishing talking wire.

Jane Nadel-Klein dismantles conventional academic depictions of British rural cultures (1995). She argues that "[t]he fully Western person is a cosmopolitan person" (ibid: 111), an inhabitant of a modern, technological, industrialised, progressive society. Rural people are denied these traits and the British village is thus relegated to an "orient within" (ibid: 126) where it is pre-modern and distant from the metropolis, surviving only "as an anachronism that shows us how far we have progressed" (ibid). These unsophisticated attitudes towards rural people disregard entire populations as aberrations to the leading paradigm and perpetuate cultural stereotypes that are unacceptable because the discipline has made them so as regards the Other. Nevertheless, the typecasting of Western rural people persists even as our understandings of the Other and how we have come to represent it have become more delicate, intricate and politically- and socially-attentive. If we are to properly understand the anthropological project via an understanding of Western ways of creating the world, then we need to actively carry out fieldwork amongst Western people: we have to talk to ourselves, listen to our responses, scrutinise what we do, record what we say and think and analyse it without the encumbrances of ignorance and speculation. It seems, perhaps, a little ridiculous that some anthropologists should berate their discipline (justly so) for having in the past perpetuated racial and cultural stereotypes of the Other, yet continue to disseminate normalising estimations about the West. Scrupulousness in primary research is one of anthropology's finest assets, but it should not be the preserve of depictions of an Exotic Other.
Ceduna People live in a world of internet access, reticulated water, combine harvesters, drive-through bottle shops and a once-a-day postal delivery service. People do not walk around the town with worried expressions carrying extra water and first aid supplies, nor do they continually stress the importance of having to increase the town's population lest people be lost to the technologically-advanced cities thus causing the death of the community. Rather (in the way that something which is truly important and vital to social life), survival is backgrounded - that is, it is pervasive and taken-for-granted. Ceduna People do not need to stress to one another what is plain to them; they simply go about their daily lives, doing their volunteer work, going camping, having barbeques with their mates, exchanging gossip and commenting on the weather. All of these things contribute to what people understand as their 'being Ceduna', and being Ceduna is crucial in the context of a survival ethic which infuses town sociality. This thesis is about being Ceduna, on the understanding that the need to survive forms a prevailing condition for sociality in the town.

**Ceduna**

There are many ways to describe where Ceduna 'is': it is on the Far West Coast\(^8\) of South Australia, it is on the West Coast of South Australia, it is on the edge of the Nullarbor Plain,\(^9\) it is on the edge of Eyre Peninsula, it is on Highway One, it is eight hours\(^{10}\) from Adelaide, it is the last major stop before you hit the Nullarbor and the first major stop as you come off the Nullarbor. Like many places in Australia, Ceduna seems to be a gateway to somewhere else. In contrast, however, to this focus on fringe-dwelling and through-dwelling in descriptions of location, Ceduna is a sizeable town with two supermarkets, an art gallery, a parks and wildlife office, an ATSIC\(^{11}\) regional

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8 I will refer to the region around Ceduna interchangeably - as Ceduna People themselves do - as the Far West, the West Coast, the Far West Coast, and, occasionally, Out West.
9 The Nullarbor is the famous 'treeless plain' that runs the length of the Great Australian Bight and borders the Great Victoria Desert to the north in the states of South Australia and Western Australia. The Nullarbor is a significant landmark on the Australian continent and has an enigmatic pull on the Australian imagination - it is envisaged as a barren, uninhabited, mysterious part of the country that few people will ever visit.
10 Distances in the Far West (as elsewhere in Australia) are measured in the time taken to drive from place to place.
11 The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission was established under the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act, 1989*. ATSIC's main role is to formulate, implement and monitor programmes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People. ATSIC is made up of an elected arm which sets policy and gives directions, and an administrative arm, which deals with the daily running of the Commission (this information was taken from ATSIC information leaflet number 1: *What is ATSIC?*).
office, a golf club, an emergency services complex (which houses three fire appliances, two ambulances, a rescue vehicle and a command vehicle), district football and netball leagues, a radio station, a fruit-fly inspection point, an airport, a 'suburb' (called Thevenard - although Thevenard People would challenge the 'suburb' label), a sailing club with two squash courts, and an annual, cosmopolitan celebration of the local oyster industry, the Oyster Fest, which runs over the October long weekend and has its own personality quest and quest dinner, sometimes with Miss Australia and Miss Tunarama (from Port Lincoln) in attendance.

Ceduna is the largest of the few communities in the vicinity (Map 2) and acts as a service centre to the surrounding district - people from Smoky Bay, Denial Bay, Penong, Koonibba and, to a lesser extent, Wirrulla, periodically come to Ceduna to register their motor vehicles, sort out any banking problems they may not have been able to fix over the 'phone, attend the TAFE institute, pick up equipment they have ordered in for the farm, and kill two birds with the one stone by adding a major shopping expedition to the list of things to do. It is by no means a 'pretty' town, but it is one with a euphemistic 'character' - there is no mistaking it, for example, for the chaste tastefulness of Streaky Bay, or the holiday sanctuary of Smoky. Ceduna has a number of unattractive buildings, a high turn-over of the local population, Aboriginal People, and a beach most do not swim from for fear of being eaten by a shark.

What is obvious upon arriving in Ceduna is that Ceduna People are talkers. First interactions, as tourist or newcomer alike, are usually with shop staff. Ceduna shop

12 Fire-fighting vehicles.
13 Car traffic entering South Australia is stopped at each of the state's borders and searched for fruit or vegetables which may be carrying the fruit-fly pest. Prohibited foodstuffs are confiscated and destroyed. Equally, all farm machinery must be decontaminated and inspected before entering the state.
14 The Miss Australia contest came to an end in the late 1990s.
15 Technical and Further Education - the TAFE at Ceduna is part of the Spencer Institute, "a market oriented system for vocational education and training" (www.tafe.sa.edu.au) which has a network of 17 campuses and 24 study centres across the state of South Australia. Courses available at Ceduna TAFE include Aboriginal studies, business studies, horticulture and rural studies, community health and services and vocational preparation.
16 Aboriginal People are generally considered unsightly.
17 This fear is not unfounded: in September, 2000, a surfer was attacked and killed by a white pointer shark at Cactus Beach, west of Ceduna. The following day, another surfer was taken off Blackfellas at Ellison, south-east of Ceduna. The image of Ceduna and the surrounding region as a dangerous place - both in the water and out - is fundamental to the town's central ethic of survival.
Map 2. Ceduna and vicinity.
(source: Faull 1988: 4)
staff, in the time it takes to buy your bread and milk, will ask: Where are you from? Will you be in Ceduna long or are you just passing through? Where are you staying? Who is with you - your kids, your husband, on your own? Do you like fishing and camping? Are you driving across the Nullarbor? Where are you eating tonight - at the pub or are you just getting takeaway? After asking you a dozen questions, they will then tell you things: Ceduna has a wonderful climate; summer can be a bit hot, but the sea breeze comes up about half-past three, so it's not too bad; most people don't realise what a fantastic coastline there is around here - you can walk for ten miles and not see a single soul; there is a new art gallery started up you might want to look at if you're interested in that sort of thing. And, if it appears that business is going to be a bit slow for the next half an hour, people will talk about 'The Problem', that is, Aboriginal People, property crimes and alcohol abuse on the Foreshore, which Ceduna People see as being all tied into one. People apologetically tell you that 'Ceduna is a nice place, except for The Problem'.

Another thing Ceduna People will tell you is contingent upon whether or not you intend to stick around in Ceduna (this information has been artfully extracted through the preliminary interrogation of your reasons for being in Ceduna). If you intend to stick around, people will start talking about their different involvements in the community and how much they do for it: about being treasurer of the Thevvy Footy Club (Did you hear about the trouble last year with the Abos, from Koonibba?), about the do at the Sailing Club on Friday night (We left around nine, that's when the disco started - I think Tidal Grunge is playing next week), about how local businesses are always being asked for donations for the Oyster Fest (You like to help, well, it brings money into the town, the Oyster Fest, doesn't it? but it just gets a bit much after a while). People will

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18 Settle, live.
19 Thevenard.
20 The term 'Abo.' (a contraction of 'Aborigine') is regarded by many Australians - especially those from the eastern states - as a derogatory label for Indigenous People. In Ceduna, however, the expression is widely-used by Ceduna People (who are, by definition, white) and is regarded more as slang than as anything particularly offensive (I do not know how Indigenous People feel about this particular tag). 'Nunga', like 'Abo.', is likewise often considered an aggressive, insulting term by mainstream Australians, but in Ceduna is used by Indigenous People to describe themselves. Indeed, 'Nunga' is almost the word of choice for those Ceduna whites who want to show some form of solidarity with Indigenous People, and the term shares the status of the eastern states' label 'Koori'. Deliberately abusive terms include 'coon', 'rock ape' and 'boong', and sometimes 'gin' and 'lubra' (the latter two describe Indigenous women).
21 Event.
also rattle off the names of parts of the coast that you might like to visit (Have you been to Cactus?22 Even if you don't surf it's worth a look), and, if they have time, they will mention some of the inland places they know (Go up Goog's23 - if you've got a four-wheel drive, go up Goog's - all sandhills and scrub; we just love it up there). All of this serves several purposes: firstly, it tells you that to be accepted into the community is of vast importance, and to do this you have to join a group of some description - people seem to talk incessantly, but in general terms only at this stage of your initiation, of the 4WD (four-wheel drive) Club, the Sailing Club, netball, football, Senior Cits.24 Secondly, the people you are talking to are also telling you what good community members they are through their being secretary of the Ceduna Dirt Circuit or President of the Gun Club. They ask if you've met Gracie yet, she's the president of the Multicultural League, she might be able to help you (don't forget, they've already educated from your express reasons for being there), you should talk to her. Thirdly, there is an element of both recruitment and checking out - how can we tell if you are alright if you don't join a group so that we can tell if you are alright (!); and, if you do turn out to be alright, we will try to claim you first, so that you can be a member of our group. Finally, you are being encouraged to explore the surrounding environment, and to appreciate the landscape for its naked beauty - it might not be all fluffy, green trees and rolling hills, but it has its own, very special splendour.

I moved to Ceduna in late December, 1996, and soon found that almost all white people in the town appeared to be a member of one group or another: the Thevenard Football Club, the Red Cross, the Multicultural League, the Night Owls,25 the Oyster Fest Committee. People seemed endlessly to be creating a sociality through group membership, and they evidently participated in town life as members of groups as well as individuals in their own right. Noting what was obviously the right and polite thing to do in such a place, I joined the Ceduna Country Fire Service (CFS) brigade, became affiliated with several other groups (some on a more casual basis than others), and pitched into (white) town life for the next sixteen months.26 I also detected that people

22 Cactus Beach, famous amongst surfers.
23 Goog's Track, a local four-wheel driving trail.
24 Senior Citizens' club - words are often contracted in Ceduna.
25 Evening casual bowls.
26 I also conducted two weeks' follow-up fieldwork in October, 1998.
made routine mention of the places they camped at on the weekend or visited just for the day, and further that they described these places in awestruck, yet intimate, terms. I accordingly acquired several maps of the region and investigated the area from Elliston (on the coast, 250km south-east of Ceduna) to the Great Australian Bight (400km west of Ceduna) to Goog's Lake (inland, 75km north of Ceduna). I spent time camping, four-wheel driving, swimming, and generally getting about - with both Ceduna People and with friends and family visiting from other parts of South Australia. With Ceduna People's enthusiasm for having newcomers get to know the local area, and with the willingness of many local residents to take me to their favourite spots, I soon became well-versed in what was where in the region.

Another aspect of life in Ceduna to strike me was the crucial need to be accepted into, and by, the community. All newcomers - that is, all newcomers who will probably be living in the town for at least the next two years, and hopefully much longer - appeared to be given the opportunity to be accepted by Ceduna People via (what I etically term) an 'Attitude Test', which was administered during the neophyte's first twelve months' or so residence in the community. The Attitude Test, I discovered, guides a newcomer in certain principles of town life before examining that person's approach and adherence to those principles. If you pass the Attitude Test, you can expect to lead a satisfying, community-centred life with an emphasis on the great outdoors in a clean, unpolluted environment. But not everybody is accepted in Ceduna and I realised that, for 'rejected people' (a Ceduna term), life is not always an agreeable affair of positive experiences and collective social prosperity. And although people say that you can go down to the main street in your daggies and bare feet and nobody will care, this is certainly not the case. Acceptance, and being clean, decent and respectable, are big things in Ceduna, and unless you have obviously ducked into the supermarket on your way home from a week's camping at the beach, daggies and bare feet are a good way to get people talking.

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27 Ceduna People seldom journey east for leisure, as that is the direction of Adelaide and the more populated areas of South Australia. Eastward travel is usually only undertaken as part of a business trip to the state capital or towns such as Wudinna or Wirulla. I had made the trip between Adelaide and Ceduna on numerous occasions, and was thus already well-acquainted with that part of the state.

28 'Daggy clothes', that is, old, sometimes grubby, attire.
As I went about my CFS and other business, I noticed that Ceduna People talked about themselves and their town associates in terms of 'locals' and 'blow-ins'. All people could be easily and immediately placed in one of the two categories, although deeper inquiry exposed more convoluted classificatory processes at work, for people were often making distinctions (mostly without verbalising them) between old locals, new locals and new people whilst still referring to 'Ceduna People' as a kind of shorthand. In general conversation, almost all those who lived in the town, except, largely, Aboriginal People, were referred to as 'Ceduna People'. However, there was a division of Ceduna People into two main classes: there were those who could trace their family ties to the first pioneers to settle the area, and others who had come from elsewhere to dwell in the town. Further distinctions were made when the category of locals was broadened to include 'old locals' and 'new locals', the former again referring to those with familial, pioneering bonds to the Far West Coast, the latter referring to those people who had moved to Ceduna from another place, decided to make their lives in the town and had actually done so for at least ten years. At this level, 'new people' appeared. These people had usually lived in Ceduna for two years or more, been accepted, and intended on staying in the town for several years to come. 'Blow-ins' on this understanding were those who had come to Ceduna, normally for work, and sometimes to escape the city or their own problems. They included government workers such as police officers or teachers who might live in the town for a couple of years, making few lasting ties to the place and participating little in community affairs before being transferred elsewhere. Newly-arrived people who were not blow-ins, and who were likely be living in the town for several years, were given no specific, category name at all, although they might be referred to simply as 'new' and were seen as being actively on the way to 'being Ceduna'. Because they had no easily-identifiable label within the town's argot, I refer to these people as 'newcomers' in my analysis.

This need to classify people has consequences for the different demands Ceduna People make of each other, and it plays into ideas about getting on - that is, surviving - in Ceduna. Further, I noticed that the term 'Ceduna', was used to describe a quality, just as one describes beauty or fatness or respectability, and that I had to embrace the (rather

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29 The subtleties of the categories of person in Ceduna will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Two.

30 Ten years is a crude figure only - the complexities of these categorisations are discussed later.
enigmatic) quality of 'being Ceduna' if I were to achieve anything of ethnographic value in the town. Thus, being Ceduna represents a collection of attributes which characterises 'Ceduna'; and being Ceduna is seen as vital to a person's acceptance in the town and the survival of the community.

**Being Ceduna**

Being Ceduna means being accepted, and all accepted people are Ceduna People. However, being Ceduna is distinct from being a Ceduna Person. The contrast is a simple but important one, as it clarifies to people who is and who is not accepted by and into the community.

A Ceduna Person is anyone, other than an Aboriginal Person, who lives in Ceduna, regardless of their acceptance status: so-called rejected people can be referred to as Ceduna People, for example, every bit as much as their accepted counterparts. The term 'Ceduna Person' is a label used by Ceduna People to talk to and about each other, although it is also used by people from other white communities in the region to describe those from Ceduna; for example, you might hear Streaky Bay People or Smoky Bay People refer to 'Ceduna People', as long as those people are members of the white community (being an *upright* member of the community cannot be easily judged from outside that community). Almost all Indigenous People are excluded from the definition of Ceduna Person, and are consigned to the category of Aborigine or Aboriginal.³¹

Ceduna People are proud of where they live and who they are, and they often declare that they are different from Streaky Bay People: Streaky Bay is an attractive, small, relatively-well-off farming town, which means, Ceduna People will tell you, that Streaky Bay People are sheltered because they do not have to deal with certain social problems (meaning, those understood to be caused by Aboriginal People). Ceduna People also see themselves as different from 'city people', whom they take to be people from Adelaide (probably because those from Adelaide are the city people with whom Ceduna People are most likely to interact in one way or another). City People are also sometimes represented by talking about 'Canberra', which comes to mean a 'concrete

³¹ 'Aboriginal' in this sense is used as a proper noun.
jungle' where decisions are made about Ceduna People without Ceduna People really being considered.

Nevertheless, simply living in Ceduna does not mean that you 'are' Ceduna: you must take part in community activities, subscribe to, and achieve, a certain, 'clean-living' lifestyle, join groups, appreciate the landscape in particular ways, and be respectable. Being Ceduna encompasses a qualitative cluster of attitudes and is an embodiment of a set of characteristics: it means being a good community member, joining and participating in volunteer groups, being tidy, loving the great outdoors, going camping, helping your neighbours, sticking to your word, being honest, enjoying a beer (or two or three or ...), flaunting your attachment to the Far West, watching Australian Rules Football on the tellie,32 having a meal with the family at the pub, working hard, playing hard, and being happy with what you've got. Thankfully, though, one does not have to display all characteristics at all times to be thought of as Ceduna: a lack of interest in the footy,33 for example, does not sound the death-knell of acceptance when tempered with other expressions of being Ceduna. Being Ceduna is also about exhibiting your worth as a person, as an individual, and about showing that you have the moral strength to commit to the town and to stand by your commitment. Showing such personal merit means that you are dedicated to the town and its survival.

To be Ceduna you must not only exhibit certain fortitudinous qualities, you must also be a member of the white community. This does not mean, however, that you are necessarily a 'white' person (although it does mean that you are almost never 'black'): a Ceduna Person may be of Canadian, Filipino, Polish, Irish, German or Greek background, and most Ceduna People are rightfully proud of this open mix of cultures. However, only employed, clean, literate, like-us blacks have a chance, if any, to be thought of as accepted; most are simply 'Aborigines', although the vernacular supplies supplementary appellations for the town's indigenous populace. In this sense, Aboriginal People are excluded, mostly by default, from mainstream, white town life. The degree of exclusion of Aboriginal People from white town life is high, meaning that

32 Television.
33 Football.
most Aboriginal People are neither members of community groups nor asked to attend barbeques held by accepted (white) community members.

Frequently, negative definitions are invoked to define the quality of being Ceduna: being Ceduna is not being city, it is not being black, it is not being weak, precocious or snobby, it is not doing things your own way without including others, it is not thinking Ceduna is a bleeding dump, it is not being unconcerned about harvest or seeding time, it is not being disrespectful of the landscape, it is not take, take, take from the community without giving anything back. Ceduna People stress that it is not things that are important to Ceduna People; instead, it is Ceduna People that are important to Ceduna People, and these people, they will tell you, are honest, tough, community-minded and, as a consequence of their isolation, know how the world really works because they experience its problems more acutely than most. Despite the town's size and relatively comprehensive range of services, Ceduna People will tell you that they are isolated and that they are country people. Presentations of statistical urbanness obscure people's more intricate awareness of themselves. Being Ceduna is not an uncomplicated state of affairs for most people. Rather, it is a whole way of existence, an ethos and a world view that animates people's everyday realities, influences how they interact with one another and affects the manner in which they evaluate what is and is not essential in life.

Ceduna People see themselves as a highly egalitarian people for whom money and social status are not overly important. On the whole, this seems to hold true - people seldom spend huge amounts of cash on commodities so that their house, garden or motor car stands out in the crowd. Similarly, being Ceduna means getting along with other accepted Ceduna People and there is no real sense of a social élite to which people look up. Still, there are those Non-Indigenous People in Ceduna upon whom others look

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34 For Ceduna People, egalitarianism does not have to be inclusive, and the deliberate exclusion of Indigenous People from the town's white ethic is seen not as an undemocratic act but as a rational response to a particular way of life. Ceduna People would argue that if only Aboriginal People could/would conform to the entry requirements of being Ceduna, they would be treated the same as everybody else (meaning, the same as all other accepted Ceduna People) - as Ceduna People see it, it is more a question of commensurability than racism. As it happens, the lifestyles of almost all Indigenous People in Ceduna do not conform to the regulations governing the definitions of being Ceduna, and those people are thus denied entry to the accepted, white community. The contradiction is seemingly irresolvable except, perhaps, at the level of ideology.
down\textsuperscript{35} - either because they are seen as contemptible (despite their sometimes worthy participation in volunteer groups) or because they refuse to 'take part' in the community; all these people are rejected. Because being Ceduna is mostly a positive expression of what accepted Ceduna People see as their best qualities in particular and the best qualities of humanity in general, rejected people are rarely, if ever, described as being Ceduna. Rejected people might have an obvious drug or alcohol problem (or this might just be rumoured to be the case), be unclean or untidy, associate too closely with Indigenous People or be unemployed without actively seeking work. These people 'belong' in Ceduna simply because they do not 'belong' anywhere else - they may be seen by the accepted community as a little eccentric, as a little socially- or mentally-retarded, or as 'white trash' (although such attitudes are never expressed in these terms); but they are never encouraged to join community groups - although they often do - and nor are they asked to join accepted people on camping trips. The accepted community tolerates these few people, but in no way awards them an inclusionary epithet such as 'new local' or even 'new person'; indeed, the only sub-category of Ceduna Person that these people are admitted to is that of 'rejected people', and rejected people are a part of the category Ceduna Person only inasmuch as they live in Ceduna, they cannot be ignored, and the community is 'stuck' with them.

The category of rejected people is necessary for the effective, although subconscious, management of those people who are not accepted in the town, as it allows for processes of normalisation to negatively define what being Ceduna 'is not'. Aboriginal People, for example, are not seen as Ceduna People unless they are known to be educated, employed, civilised and respectable.\textsuperscript{36} Such people can be included in the broad category of Ceduna People when references to the town are being made in a broader context, but they are seldom talked about in terms of locals/blow-ins descriptions. All

\textsuperscript{35} Again, it must be stressed that most Indigenous People are kept so far outside of mainstream, customarily white, Ceduna life that they become irrelevant to the town's emphasis on acceptance except in terms of supplying a negative definition of what it means to be Ceduna. A similar situation exists with 'blow-ins' (typically, government workers who move into and out of the town within the space of a couple of years); Ceduna People see little point in encouraging blow-ins to participate in town life, as such efforts are regarded as a waste of time spent on those who will shortly be leaving the community.

\textsuperscript{36} Indeed, it could be argued that the very exclusion of Indigenous People from the category of Ceduna Person altogether might indicate that those whites who belong to the 'rejected' category remain, at some level, acceptable; but it is probably more a question of degrees of rejection than one of degrees of acceptability.
other Aboriginal People are identified using the countless terms one group of people can usually find to refer to another.

Rejected people who make valuable contributions to Ceduna groups, or who have been in the town long enough to be well-known, are termed Ceduna People, but the quality of 'being Ceduna' is not transferred to them. However, these people are few and are only ever referred to as Ceduna People by accepted people when they must necessarily be lumped together with other, accepted Ceduna People. In other words, rejected people are given Ceduna Person status at the margins, and usually only when discussions involving accepted people unavoidably centre on Ceduna People as a whole and in relation to other people and places. On the other hand, rejected people who might participate in a local group will refer to themselves as Ceduna People; not simply because they live in Ceduna but because they want to feel a part of the community. There is an element of self-deception, here, for the accepted part of the community snubs these people, regardless of all the hard work that rejected people might put into their particular volunteer organisation. It is as if such rejected people know the value of being accepted and want to convince themselves that they possess all the qualities of being Ceduna.

Being Ceduna is all about acceptance, and acceptance determines what is deemed normal for a white person. Newcomers, therefore, can become Ceduna - indeed, they are often induced to become Ceduna. This is where the Attitude Test comes into its own. The Attitude Test supplies a framework for apprenticeships in how to be Ceduna, as novices are taken into the community, guided in how best to behave, how to take part in town activities, how to view the landscape, and finally impressed with the overwhelming importance of it all. Joining groups, conducting yourself in a particular fashion and respecting the landscape are seen as crucial to being Ceduna, and are, in turn, recognised as crucial to survival in the town. To survive is Ceduna's overarching imperative, although people rarely or explicitly identify this necessity in their everyday lives. Nevertheless, being Ceduna and all that it entails is seen as a survival manoeuvre, and recruiting newcomers into being Ceduna is important to the ways in which people understand their survival in this environment. Ceduna People's attitudes towards, and understandings of, survival lie at the core of this work.
Survival

Ceduna's survival ethic links three main aspects of being Ceduna: a collection of certain ways of acting, a proclivity for joining community groups, and an appreciation of the Far West landscape. By sub-consciously guiding people in certain directions, Ceduna People create a situation whereby this triumvirate of tactics ensures in people's minds the survival of the community. Further, there is an understanding that accepted people contribute most to Ceduna's survival, and that in creating amongst people a commitment to the town and the Far West in general, survival will ensue.

This history of the battle for survival began with Edward John Eyre's expedition across the Nullarbor and extends to people's present-day admiration for a man whose exertions against a fairly inhospitable part of the planet were to become a kind of template for their own. The first pioneers made their way to the West Coast in the 1860s (although settlers only came to the area in notable numbers some thirty years later), ignoring the advice of South Australia's Surveyor-General G. M. Goyder, who, by drawing a line on a map (which became known as 'Goyder's Line of Rainfall', or more simply 'Goyder's Line'), stated that land fit only for pastoral use could be found north of Yorke Peninsula. This, theoretically at least, ruled out the prospect of agriculture on Eyre Peninsula. The pioneers saw Goyder's Line as a challenge to raise crops outside the area of rainfall, a task at which they succeeded. Today, farming in the Far West represents to old locals the success of the ancestors against Goyder's expert advice and opinion, and inspires current generations in their survival efforts. To have survived where others believe you should not, or cannot, is testament to the physical endurance, even moral backbone, of the pioneers.

People's descriptions of the pioneers emphasise the physicality of the ancestors and the amount of work undertaken to settle the land. Indeed, settling and surviving upon land that experts said could not be or ought not to be farmed, is seen as a significant triumph on the part of old locals' ancestors and has become a part of Ceduna's 'Pioneer Legend' (Hirst 1992). This legend, however, is not peculiar to Ceduna. Pamela Lukin Watson argues, after Hirst, that the Pioneer Legend "deals in a heroic way with the central experience of European settlement in Australia: the taming of the new environment to human use" (1998: 6). The Pioneer Legend is about a number of things: contesting,
conquering and containing nature, driving oneself to physical and mental breaking points, and obtaining a moral victory over the land. There are two further defining aspects of the legend: firstly, that "hardships were overcome by the pioneer's individual effort rather than by cooperation with others" (ibid: 7) and secondly, that the struggle was solely against nature - without violence, without bloodshed. Certainly old locals, when relating the accomplishments of their pioneer ancestors, rarely, if ever, mention the presence of other old local families or Aboriginal populations. Finally, the Pioneer Legend demands "reverence towards it [the Legend], together with an unswerving acceptance of its tenets" (ibid: 7). According to Watson, pious regard for, and the "cultural investment" in, this pioneering origin make it difficult to gainsay its conservative precepts (ibid).

This is especially so in Ceduna, where underscoring the need for survival in a harsh location is a critical feature of town practice. Ceduna's Pioneer Legend, however, has a slightly different focus from that described by Watson. Ceduna's Pioneer Legend certainly entails an ongoing promotion of the individual heroics of the pioneers and the need for a person's survival: however, it also emphasises community survival, for the ancestors not only created a habitable environment out of a seemingly uninhabitable one, they also created a community from scratch, forming social groups and associations, starting schools and businesses and sporting leagues. For Ceduna People, survival is not simply a physical concern, in the sense of having enough water and shelter - it is also a collective one. The particular manifestation of the Pioneer Legend in Ceduna suggests either a shift in the way people in general view and interpret the Legend, or shows that Ceduna People act out the Legend in ways different from other Australians. The Ceduna view of the Pioneer Legend, then, is one in which admiration of the ancestors' individualism is complicated by an underlying tension which acknowledges that no-one worked in a vacuum to settle the Far West Coast.

To European eyes and sensibilities, the harsh, seemingly desolate landscape of the Far West would seem to threaten any human being's chances of physical survival: there is little shade, refuge, or water; it is often hot, the sun blinding; distances seem impossible to traverse; dozens of flies attach themselves to your back, hitching a lift to wherever you are going and making life generally unpleasant; the soil is nutrient-poor and
ancient; scorching winds whip up over the flat country, depositing dust in your eyes, ears, nose and clothes. This, at least, was the case for the first settlers to the area as they negotiated their way to the West Coast in the late nineteenth century. Today, in the age of the automobile, bottled spring water, sunglasses, air-conditioning, superphosphate, and insect repellent, the prospects of survival in this unreceptive place are probably a little higher than they were over a century ago. Nevertheless, the services and facilities that city dwellers take for granted, such as clean, drinkable, running water and emergency medical attention, cannot be depended upon; the town's reticulated water from the Tod River Scheme\textsuperscript{37} is often muddy, and many people in the town have installed backyard rainwater tanks to supply them with water for drinking, bathing, and washing clothes; those requiring urgent therapeutical services frequently have to wait for an aircraft, dispatched from Adelaide, to arrive in Ceduna before they can be airlifted to the state's capital for treatment - the time lag can be even longer if you live further west of the town and have to make your way into Ceduna first. Physical survival, however, is not quite the issue that it must have been one hundred years ago; people can travel from place to place in their air-conditioned motor cars, they have access to fresh food through supermarkets, and their homes are well-lit and well-constructed.

To survive emotionally in this place a person cannot afford to be precious, sensitive, delicate, thin-skinned or touchy: jokes are often made at your expense, and you are expected to periodically contribute tales of your own incompetence to group gatherings. Likewise, you can make fun of others, as long as there is nothing especially mean in your teasing. Any person suffering from affectations or contrivances is immediately cut down to size,\textsuperscript{38} or at least mocked in some way. Those of the 'politically-correct' persuasion\textsuperscript{39} (as Ceduna People see them) can be attacked outright, with comments such as, 'Yes, well, life out here is a little different for those of us who have to deal everyday with Abos breaking into our cars and houses, being sworn at and such like', and, 'All

\textsuperscript{37} The Tod River Scheme began to carry water to towns on the Eyre Peninsula in 1922 when work on a reservoir was completed 16 miles north of Port Lincoln (Faull 1988: 379). According to Faull, "[t]he Tod River is the only stream on Eyre Peninsula that provides a reliable flow" (ibid).

\textsuperscript{38} Decried.

\textsuperscript{39} In Ceduna, this means anyone who is thought to have left-leaning political sympathies.
these femmos, they try to put men down all the time, so it gets to a point where you can't say anything. This does not mean, however, that Ceduna People are unresponsive to new ideas and new political positions. Indeed, one of the strengths of Ceduna People is that they recognise, and are willing to work upon, their weaknesses; they understand that adaptation is one of the keys to survival, and in the broader realm, Ceduna People concede that newcomers can furnish them with new approaches to politics and opinion. However, being Ceduna means that you are more likely to doubt first and ask questions later, and people can only really be brought around to another point of view through mutual respect: if you appreciate our way of life, our ideas and our experience, and if you prove yourself to be a reasonable and rational person, disposed to take part in the community, then we will be willing to listen to your ideas, and respect your experience. If you are overly protective of your life principles, and intolerant of the Ceduna point of view, Ceduna People will have little truck with you. Further, a person's emotional state is their own business and their own problem - if you have trouble coping with life on the Far West Coast because you do not have your like-minded mates around to keep you stable, then no-one can help you but yourself.

The special problems faced by people living in an isolated area such as this require those people to be corporeally and psychologically resilient. The frail of mind and body, Ceduna People believe, have no place in this environment. Those who can survive - in the sense of those who are capable of survival - will survive. But things are not as naturally-selective as they might sound, for Ceduna People guide newcomers in how to survive and they encourage persistence whilst demonstrating to people how to attain the best skills to ensure endurance. Survival in Ceduna today is, then, primarily a social phenomenon, in the sense that the continuation of the town and its community is of uppermost importance to Ceduna People. Being Ceduna, and helping newcomers to become Ceduna, encourage commitment amongst townspeople and this commitment, in turn, is understood to make certain survival.

Those who are new to the town must have the need to survive Out West impressed upon them. Having newcomers join groups encourages a commitment from them, ensures the community's continuation, keeps the town ticking over, creates leisure activities for

40 Feminists.
people and generates the funds which keep groups going. In this sense, Ceduna People recognise the value of social interdependence to, and of everyone doing 'their bit' for, the persistence of the collective. Working together is a matter of course for being Ceduna, and has become a community habit so ingrained that it does not need to be remarked upon in daily intercourse. But social interdependence is only one part of the survival ethic that is found in Ceduna, for Ceduna People must come to terms with their surrounding environment; a hot, apparently deserted place full of deadly creatures threatening life and limb. To buck against this milieu is seen as akin to inviting it to jump up and destroy you in the physical sense.

Ceduna People therefore have a reverence for the environment of the Far West Coast which allows them to spend time travelling and camping in the landscape in relative safety, and on the condition that nothing silly is attempted, such as taking a trip into dense scrub without adequate supplies of food, water, first aid gear and spares. Newcomers to the town are taught about the landscape's good points - the outstanding beaches, the plentiful fishing spots, the stillness and tranquility of the bush - and warned of its ability to quickly dispatch the foolhardy or disrespectful. Ceduna People underscore to newcomers the importance of community groups to the survival of the place, whilst ensuring that the ground rules for living in the town are understood, encouraging newcomers to learn to love the surrounding terrain, and guiding them in how to view the landscape, how to get around in it, and how to speak about it; that is, they instinctively teach newcomers to be Ceduna. This is largely done through the Attitude Test, whereby the instruction of newcomers just happens: there is no deliberate, conscious effort on the part of townspeople to force newcomers to view the landscape in a particular way, act in a certain manner or to join groups. Rather, it is Ceduna People's infectious enthusiasm for both landscape and community life, and newcomers' own recognition for the need to be Ceduna and be accepted if they want their existences in the town to be pleasant (in terms of having friends, an appreciation of the countryside and a satisfying collective life), that encourage survival.

Survival in Ceduna is not first and foremost about the survival of the individual: it is about the survival of the community. Without community members working together, there would be no local radio, no business and tourism association, no fire brigade,
ambulance or rescue service. Survival is about keeping the community going and to do that you have to guide new people in how things work here, how to fit in, how to help, and even how to view the surroundings; you have to sort people into groups according to what is expected of them, what they need to be taught, or what they can teach you; and you have to acknowledge your flaws and fortés, seize openings as they arise and eliminate any menace to the town's continued existence.

The intense stress on survival on the Far West Coast means that being able to classify a person involves fitting them into the survival ethic context: old locals, for example, are not required to exhibit any outward signs of Cedunaness (although most do) because they 'are Ceduna' by default of their ancestry, new people are often keen campers or group members whilst newcomers, in their desire to please and become a part of the community, are on a steep learning-curve to Cedunaness. These are all different ways of being or becoming Ceduna, and thus of contributing to survival in the town. Ian Hacking might recognise in this taxonomy what he terms a 'dynamic nominalism', whereby "[p]eople spontaneously come to fit their categories" (1986: 223). Hacking argues that "numerous kinds of human beings and human acts come into being hand in hand with our invention of the categories labeling them" (ibid: 228) in a dual-vectored approach to what he calls 'making up people'. The first of these vectors comes from above, "from a community of experts who [sic] create a 'reality' that some people make their own" (ibid: 234). In the Ceduna example, the 'community of experts' is the Ceduna community itself which has shaped a situation in which newcomers must quickly understand both the importance of survival to the town, and the community's ways of going about achieving this survival. The second of Hacking's vectors is that of "the autonomous behavior of the person so labeled, which presses from below, creating a reality every expert must face" (ibid). Newcomers to Ceduna can and do help fashion the nature of survival in Ceduna - and how it is satisfied within the community - by offering up new ideas within the context of their classification. Through these means, anyone can have a part to play in Ceduna's survival ethic, and how people come to play those parts is shaped by the categories into which they fit.

In Ceduna three categories of person are especially seen to contribute most to the town's survival, viz. old local, new local and new person. They do this (and are seen to do this)
in different ways: old locals are those whose ancestral connections and indissoluble ties
to the land fuse them forever into the town's survival ethic and whose primary
importance is set out in terms of what they stand for, that is, the Pioneer Legend and the
beauty of the landscape; new locals maintain the town's community groups, and
participate in council and local business to help keep Ceduna's economy ticking over;
and new people are able to offer up new ideas because they have lived elsewhere - and
recently, too - and can give fresh advice on how things might be done better, more
effectively, more progressively. However, it is the guidance of newcomers to the town -
in terms of intuitively inducing them to 'survive' by encouraging them to act in
particular ways, join groups, inspiring them to love the landscape, and leading them
through the process of becoming Ceduna - which provides an ethnographic focus for
this thesis.

Overview of the work

This thesis incorporates various methodological strains and can be approached in
several ways. Firstly, I have aimed at producing a substantial (although by no means
exhaustive, and often specific) ethnography about white people living in rural and
remote South Australia. In this way, the piece can be situated alongside other works
which have described the lives of Western country people in eastern Australia, England,
New Zealand, Scotland, the United States of America and Wales. I have here presented
white Ceduna People both as they see themselves and as an anthropologist might see
them, the latter taking account of contradictions and ambiguities and trying to express
the multi-layered meanings which Ceduna People attach to their world. The thesis thus
seeks to provide a detailed description of life Out West which can be accessed for
comparison with other cultures.

Secondly, I have depicted and analysed Ceduna People's ambivalent feelings towards
their physical environment. In a way, the entire thesis leads towards the final chapter,
wherein Ceduna People's emotional responses to their country are drawn out. (I might
add that the focus on the affective power of landscape is not a contortion of the material,
constructed to take advantage of a fashion amongst some recent anthropological works.
Ceduna People's ethic of survival, which helps determine their attitudes towards the
land and landscape of the Far West, came well before any academic interest in people's understandings of their surrounds.)

Thirdly, through ethnographic descriptions and analysis, I have supplied a practical rejoinder to occidentalised views of Western society as a whole, and of rural people in particular. This exercise reveals itself, for example, in discussions about depictions of individualism and landscape in academic literature. Hopefully, the strong ethnographic bent of the work will support the idea that Ceduna People can be every bit as striking as the Exotic Other, and that the Exotic Other can be every bit as prosaic as Ceduna People.

The thesis is divided into two main parts of three chapters each, with each chapter informing the next to some degree. Part I provides general information about Ceduna and Ceduna People (Chapter One), how they relate to each other (Chapter Two), and how they go about deciding what 'being Ceduna' means and who should be accepted in the town (Chapter Three). This part sets the scene for Part II which is dedicated to what being Ceduna 'is' - that is, exhibiting certain behaviours (Chapter Four), being a member of community groups (Chapter Five) and showing love and respect for the landscape (Chapter Six).

Chapter One ("Ceduna: An Overview") provides a dual prospect of Ceduna and her inhabitants. The first half of the chapter is devoted mainly to 'the facts' - that is, it provides statistical data about the town and its population as well as general information about the essentials of climate, geography, history, industry, government, education and the like. The second half offers a much more impressionistic view of the town, focussing on the food trade, recreational activities, an excursion of the main street and the importance of each to Ceduna social life.

Chapter Two ("Categories of Ceduna Person") discusses the various classifications of person in Ceduna, ranging from old local, new local, new person, newcomer and blow-in. It is important to be familiar with these different categories of person because they appear throughout the thesis and help to explain how the town's survival ethic is promulgated through the various forms of Ceduna Person. Similar categories are found
in other rural settings, and they are compared to the Ceduna material. Forms of local and blow-in are most acutely described, for, as will become apparent, newcomers are the implicit, although not exclusive, focus of Part II which describes how a person can be Ceduna.

Chapter Three ("Acceptance") is a crucial lead-in to the second half of the thesis. This chapter deals with the all-important notion of acceptance in Ceduna. Acceptance is essential to being Ceduna and comes with a flip-side: rejection. The concepts of acceptance and rejection are discussed at length, and acceptance, especially, is compared to the idea of belonging as described in various other rural studies. Finally, the tension between individual and 'dividual' dimensions of personhood are discussed in both the general-anthropological and the specific-Ceduna contexts.

Chapter Four ("Acting Ceduna") is the first chapter of Part II and describes styles of sociality in Ceduna, whilst comparing those styles to similar cultural environments in other rural communities. It is essential to being Ceduna that a person display particular behaviours to show their Cedunaness, that they are accepted in the town and that they are contributing to the town's survival ethic in specific ways; in short, it is essential that a person 'act Ceduna'.

Chapter Five ("Groups in Ceduna") is a highly-ethnographic chapter which emphasises the importance of joining groups to being Ceduna. Groups are seen to encourage survival because they force people to come together for the good of the community. People give their time and commitment to serve the community through groups, and all groups - whether they be the Red Cross Auxiliary or the Ceduna Dirt Circuit Club - are seen as community groups. Several of Ceduna's groups are depicted.

Chapter Six ("Landscape") is the final chapter of the thesis and points to the significance of landscape to Ceduna People. This chapter shows that Ceduna People have a highly-ambivalent relationship with their surrounds. This relationship feeds into, and is fed by, the survival ethic, which then manifests itself in people's love and respect for the landscape. The coverage that Ceduna People have of the Far West Coast in a physical sense is elicited in a guided tour of the region. Ceduna People's attitudes
towards landscape are weighed against descriptions given of other rural people, and the ways that newcomers are settled into the Far West are also investigated.

The few first names which appear in the work have not been altered. Those people whose names I have used kindly gave me permission to be identified in the contexts given in the thesis. Mostly, I have used people's first names to emphasise points which I consider to be important to the text as a whole, and I have refrained from identifying anyone with anything that might be considered in the least bit controversial. I felt that the integrity of the work might be compromised if I were to change people's names, given that it is part of being Ceduna to proudly stand by what you say; furthermore, Ceduna People would tend to see the explicit preservation of anonymity as an insult to their Cedunaness, as an unnecessary revision and as an academic affectation. That said, however, I have not included surnames, even when people have referred to themselves in the third person in interview excerpts.

The writing is rather informal in places; this is not a deliberate artifice on my behalf but it reflects, by default, Ceduna People's 'no-nonsense' attitude to life - an attitude which is coupled with an ability to maintain a good deal of humour about people's everyday interactions. Slang terms proper have been explained in footnotes.
PART I
CEDUNA - THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE
CHAPTER ONE
CEDUNA: AN OVERVIEW

Ceduna rests on top of what is known in geological circles as the 'Gawler Craton', a section of the Earth's crust that is old, stable and even. Metamorphic rock, such as schist, gneiss, as well as igneous, most notably granite, make up the basement reef of the Craton, which sits below "a series of soft sedimentary veneers" (Faul 1988: 5). On the surface, the landscape of the Far West is flat, dry and dusty, and has the appearance of being tired and worn, especially in the places where the land has been cleared for agricultural purposes.

Climate plays an important role in people's lives in Ceduna, and much of what people do to entertain themselves depends on the weather - warm days are spent camping or surfing, calm, cloudy weather is perfect for fishing, whilst rainy periods are spent indoors (or at least undercover) with friends who have popped in for a drink or tea.¹ Winters are usually mild, with maximum temperatures averaging 18° Celsius and minimum temperatures averaging 6° Celsius; the days tend to be overcast, sometimes drizzly with sporadic, welcome, downpours.² Spring and autumn tend to be the more windy times of year, and the occasional electrical storm hits the town, providing a dramatic light show. Indeed, many people enjoy sitting out on their front verandas with friends, beer-in-hand, watching the celestial spectacle as it passes by. Summers are hot, with maximum temperatures averaging 28° Celsius and often climbing to the mid-forties, especially during heat-waves which can last up to, and sometimes longer than, a week. Average annual rainfall for the area is 310 mm and for the farmers much depends on good, soaking rains during the cooler months.

For those who travel through the Far West without deviating from Highway 1, there is very little to see. The trip from Port Augusta to the border of Western Australia (a journey of close to 900km) is characterised by vast stretches of dull, seemingly lifeless

¹ Dinner.
² See Appendix II for average seasonal temperatures and rainfall for Ceduna.
terrain, and cleared land - either under cultivation or left fallow - save for a 25km drive through Lake Gilles Conservation Park which straddles the route (Map 3). From Colona to the border, the highway clips the lowest part of the Nullarbor, the famous Treeless Plain.

**Brief History**

The Far West Coast of South Australia was first explored by Europeans when Francois Thyssen,⁴ the captain of a Dutch trading vessel named the *Gulden Seepaart*, mapped the area, making landfall on the 27th of January, 1627. He voyaged as far as the Islands of St Peter and St Francis, and called the area 'Nuyts Land' after an official from the Dutch East Indies Company, Pieter Nuyts, who was on board the ship. The next significant mention of the place was made by Jean Pierre Purry who, in 1718, published a proposal that Nuyts Land be settled by the Dutch. Included in Purry's presentation was the suggestion that a race of technologically-advanced, highly-intelligent giants might live on the mainland. Legend has it that Jonathon Swift came across Purry's submission and was inspired to write *Gulliver's Travels*, where the Islands of Blefscu and Lilliput, being at latitude 30°2' South, approximated the position of the Islands of St Peter and St Francis. And, of course, the smart giants became the tiny Lilliputians.

Captain James Cook claimed the east coast of the Great Southern Land for England in 1770, and in 1788, the First Fleet of eleven ships sailed into Sydney Cove with its mostly convict consignment. In 1802, some thirty-four years before the first settlers would make their way to Adelaide, Captain Matthew Flinders led an expedition to Nuyts Land in his ship, the *Investigator*. After weighing anchor at Fowlers Bay, Flinders sailed east towards Nuyts Archipelago, naming Point Bell and Denial Bay as he went. He then explored the Archipelago and sent parties ashore to document the indigenous plant and animal life. One element of Flinders' instructions for this voyage, was to determine whether or not there was a strait or river that led directly to the Gulf of Carpentaria. After entering Denial Bay, Flinders tasted the water and found it to be even saltier than the Southern Ocean, so he searched no further. This is apparently how the

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³ This section is small and only gives the most basic chronicle of European settlement of the West Coast. For a wide-ranging record, see Faull's excellent local history *Life on the Edge* (1988).
⁴ I have come across some variations in the spelling of names referred to in this paragraph. They are: Thijsen for Thyssen, Nuijts for Nuyts, and *Gulden Zeepard* for *Gulden Seepaart*. 
Eyre Peninsula

Map 3. Eyre Peninsula.
(source: http://www.visit.adelaide.on.net/sensade/maps/eyrepenmap.html)
appellation Denial Bay was derived - Flinders was denied both fresh water and the passage through the middle of the continent he sought. Flinders did not survey this area as thoroughly as he would have liked, and it was left to French explorer Nicolas Baudin, commander of *Le Geographe* and *Le Naturaliste*, to make more complete inspections which were carried out later that same year and upon a return trip in 1803. Baudin’s influence is obvious today in the many place names around Ceduna that bear French titles - Murat Bay, Thevenard, and Decres Bay all attest to this.

In 1837, Colonel William Light declared the site now known as Adelaide as suitable for settlement. In 1839, Edward John Eyre, namesake of the peninsula at the edge of which Ceduna is located, began the first of his two attempts at a land crossing of the Great Australian Bight. After passing through Smoky Bay, Denial Bay and after reaching Point Bell, Eyre had to turn back because of lack of water. His second attempt, the expedition of 1840-1, was successful, taking him all the way to King Georges Sound in Western Australia. Only Eyre and "an Aborigine from King Georges Sound" (Faull 1988: 28), who is simply recorded as being named 'Wylie', were able to complete the journey. Eyre’s remarkable trek across the Bight, at the height of summer, is commemorated by a sign erected on the road out to Cactus Beach, declaring that Edward John Eyre passed this point on his journey. No mention is made of Wylie.

Whalers and sealers frequented the Far West Coast, and probably had a working knowledge of the area, especially during the (late) eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it was not until the 1890s that Europeans really began to make their mark on the South Australian frontier. Denial Bay was the first point of settlement, but soon found a competitor when the small township of Murat Bay began to emerge. Murat Bay was surveyed several times - in 1892, 1900 and 1901 - and eventually the town of Ceduna was proclaimed in 1901.5 Ceduna quickly became the major town in the region,

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5Some say the name 'Ceduna' comes from an Aboriginal word 'Chedooona' which is thought to mean 'a place to sit down and rest by a fresh water soakage'. Other sources say that the term simply means 'resting place'. Still others claim it comes from a 'native waterhole' about one mile from town or that local Aboriginal people called the area 'Courimunata', meaning 'big tea tree'. The Governor of South Australia chose the name 'Ceduna', although residents continued to refer to their tiny community as Murat Bay. In 1915, a railway siding was built, and it bore the name the Governor had suggested for the town, but it was not until 1921, when, it is said, the post office changed its date stamp from 'Murat Bay' to 'Ceduna', that the new name was finally and fully accepted.
outstripping Denial Bay in size and importance. The Ceduna jetty was built in 1903, thus making the loading of ketches a far easier task at Ceduna than at Denial Bay (where bags of grain had to be conveyed to McKenzie's Landing before being transferred to waiting ships). Moreover, Thevenard became the site for a deep sea port and in 1915 the Eyre Peninsula Railway was extended from Port Lincoln to Thevenard to Ceduna and then from Thevenard to Penong. Although today Denial Bay is the lesser of the two towns when it comes to commerce, population and services, most Ceduna People are well aware of the significant part this little town played in the European settlement of the Far West, and proudly refer to the placing of McKenzie's Landing on the State Government's Heritage List.

**General social characteristics**

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics' 1996 census data, almost 25% of Ceduna People were then aged under 14 years, and a little over 10% were aged 65 years or over. Most Ceduna People were Australian-born, with around two hundred or so being born overseas (this figure is fairly evenly split between those born in the UK, Ireland and New Zealand, and those born elsewhere). In the statistical area covered by the Ceduna District Council, 56.4% of all households were owner-occupied dwellings. Families with dependent children numbered 308, there were as many couples without children in Ceduna as there were couples with dependent children (both statistics measured at 349), and one-parent families numbered 120 in 1996. The labour force participation rate for the statistical area covered by the Ceduna District Council was measured at 6.7%, and some 13.9% of people aged 15 - 24 years were in the labour force in 1996. Women were one-and-a-half-times more likely than men to be working part-time in Ceduna, and almost half as likely to be in full-time employment. Almost 65% of all people in the Ceduna District Council's were local area were employed in the private sector, and over 11.5% of all employed persons are employed in the retail trade. The occupation of employed persons was fairly evenly distributed between professionals, intermediate clerical, sales and service workers, tradespersons and related workers and associate professionals. The unemployment rate was calculated at 7%.

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6 See Appendix III for statistics supplied by the Australian Bureau of Statistics' 1996 Census - the latest available data at the time of writing.
giving the Ceduna statistical local area a ranking of 87 out of 129 such areas in South Australia. Approximately 22% of the area's inhabitants were of indigenous origin.

The town
Ceduna is a rather flat, sprawled-out affair, given its relatively small population (Map 4). As you enter the town from the east, you travel down McKenzie Street, a wide stretch of road touched on either side by industrial-type sites: mechanics' workshops, tyre fitters, auto electrical service centres, general electrical services, petrol stations, a canvas repairer and upholsterer, a vehicle sales yard, crash repairers, a hardware outlet, a freight haulage company and an earth-moving business. At the second roundabout, you make a right turn into the town's main retail centre, Poynton Street, which hosts supermarkets, a video store, clothing shops, a newsagent, a surf shop and a pharmacy amongst other things. If you head straight over the roundabout (without turning right), you soon find yourself on O'Loughlin Terrace, facing both the sea and the choice of travelling either left or right up and down the Foreshore. Some residential properties are found along Poynton and McKenzie Streets and O'Loughlin Terrace, but most are tucked away behind these 'main' streets.

The impression of the Ceduna sprawl is reinforced by the proximity of Thevenard, which is, technically, a separate town reached by Thevenard Road. Thevenard is close enough to Ceduna to be thought of as a 'suburb', and adds to the appearance of Ceduna itself being rather larger than it is. There are large spaces in Ceduna where there are no dwellings at all - just patches of dust and dirt and weeds - especially in the area known as the Aboriginal Housing Trust area, which takes in parts of Kloeden Street, Chandler Crescent, Handtke Drive and Coote Place. This area is on the other side of the tracks to Park Terrace (a railway line travels into the town from the east, along Park Terrace and down Thevenard Road/Bergmann Drive out to Thevenard Wharf), and is thought of as a fairly disreputable quarter of the town. It also marks a physical and social separation of white and black, although this separation is not absolute in either regard: poorer white people live on the 'wrong side of the tracks', just as the more respectable Aboriginal People live on the right side.
Gender roles

Women's roles in Ceduna appear at first to be fairly traditional - especially when the statistics bear out the fact that women are more likely to be in part-time employment than men. However, Ceduna women see themselves - and their men - as fairly liberated when it comes to sharing household tasks and taking part in community affairs. I was surprised to learn of the large and operational (not just auxiliary) function that women play in the Country Fire Service in Ceduna: probably the most talented communications officer in the brigade during my time in the town was a female (which is, admittedly, fairly clichéd when it comes to the services, but it remains a fact that none of the men could handle communications as well as she), and women were treated as equals of men and by men on the fireground, at road accident rescues and at hazardous material (HAZMAT) clean-ups.7 Women in the brigade are also encouraged to become CABA (Compressed Air Breathing Apparatus) operators, and are adept at using heavy hydraulic equipment such as the jaws and spreaders.8

Women have active roles in most groups, and some groups are run almost entirely by women - the Hospital Auxiliary, for example. Other organisations, such as the 4WD (four-wheel drive) Club and the Ceduna Dirt Circuit Club cater for traditionally-male preferences, but these groups, too, have a strong female influence, with senior office bearers often being women. Women Out West regard themselves as tough, hardy and capable, and are keen to acquire technical expertise that they may not have learnt during their younger days. In this way, women will express an interest in bush mechanics and survival skills and make an effort to become proficient in those areas. Women also see themselves as taking no crap9 from their husbands or male partners, but this is not always borne out in reality. The anecdotal evidence I collected showed that incidences of domestic violence were high in the town, especially amongst the indigenous population, although this was infrequently talked about openly.

7 The nature of the HAZMAT dynamic changed when male volunteer fire-fighters and paid fire-fighters were flown to Ceduna from Adelaide and Port Lincoln respectively to help with a large clean-up at Mozies truck-stop on the outskirts of town. Because the incomers had specialist training in HAZMAT clean-up which the female volunteers lacked, the women of the Ceduna brigade felt unusually side-lined and treated as second-rate. See the story about the 'tally and the boogidie' in Chapter Four for a fuller description of how the Ceduna women handled the situation using local language to exclude the 'intruders' from local discourse.
8 Road accident rescue equipment.
9 Not being demeaned or put-down.
Sexuality
There is no judgement made about heterosexual couples living together without being married, although homosexual couples are rare, and are thought, in general, to be strange and abnormal. Homosexual activity is only just tolerated, and only as long as people are not overtly gay, do not try it on with\textsuperscript{10} obviously straight people, and keep to themselves. The emphasis on the traditional family is strong.

Authority and status
An individual's status as an old local or new person tends not to interfere with the roles they take up as regards authority within the town. For example, a new person might enjoy a senior administrative position within a community group, whilst an old local will sit back and be happy as a 'baggy-bum' (as they are called in the Ceduna Country Fire Service - that is, a person of technically-lower rank). A degree of leadership might be said to be provided by the new locals. These people generally have a large interest in town affairs and are keen community members with high-up positions in the town's groups. This is not to say that each group's baggy-bums are under-appreciated or ignored, for Ceduna People understand the value of everyone's contribution to group strength.

Religion
There is a half a dozen religious institutions in Ceduna, each attracting small and differing portions of the population. The Lutheran Parish is perhaps the strongest of the traditional churches in the area, due in no small part to the influence of the early settlers who brought with them their Germanic traditions and ancestry. Old locals and older people tend to make up the Lutheran Parish. Other churches include the Anglican Church, the Catholic Parish, and the Uniting Church. New people and new locals have brought these churches to the town over the years as the town has expanded in population. Jehovah's Witnesses have a congregation at Thevenard, and the Assembly of God meets in Ceduna and seems to attract younger white people and Aboriginal People.

\textsuperscript{10} Make sexual advances towards.
Industry

Ceduna itself has little, physically, to do with local industry - nothing is shipped from, mined, or grown there, although fish processors operate from Thevenard, the small town which lies on a peninsula of the same name, hosts a deep sea port (Fig. 1.1), and is more-or-less ('less', according to Thevenard People) a part of Ceduna. However, Ceduna town itself is the principal commercial and retail centre for the region, and those who work in primary production rely on Ceduna for their supplies and services. Likewise, Ceduna relies on local industry to keep the town's economy ticking over - a mining exploration proposal for Yumbarra National Park is seen by most Ceduna People as a positive development for the town's financial future. Gypsum and salt are mined at Lake McDonnell (not far from Penong, on the way to Cactus Beach) and transported by rail to the Port of Thevenard, where it is stockpiled before being loaded onto the huge merchant vessels that make their way through the channels to the Thevenard Wharf. The bulk handling of grain is also carried out at Thevenard, at the SACBH (South Australian Co-operative Bulk Handling) silo (Fig. 1.2), and, after a good harvest, it is said that semi-trailers and road trains line up, one behind the other, all the way down Bergmann Drive and into Ceduna waiting to off-load their cargo into the silo. In recent years, the local oyster industry, located in the shallow waters of Denial Bay, has also added to the district's economic growth.

Wheat, barley and oats are the main crops raised on the Far West Coast. Each year, members of the farming community have to assess the right moment to begin seeding, and often this decision depends on the weather. Some will begin seeding after the first good rain, which usually occurs in the mid-autumn. Others will wait a little longer. Each year the harvest is eagerly awaited, and as the first trucks pull into the Thevenard Silo in October/November, the word darts around town as to who has been the first to have reaped. Much depends on the season in these marginal lands - a good year, with plenty of rain and sunshine at just the right moments, will return a sizeable harvest, perhaps helping to clear some debts; a poor year, usually characterised by drought, can bring a farming family close to ruin. The local agricultural industry supports various other businesses in the town itself, which supply farmers with machinery, seed and spare parts.
Tourism, too, is becoming an important money-spinner for the local economy, although it is not regarded as a 'primary' industry as such.\textsuperscript{11} The Ceduna Gateway Visitor Information Centre provides tourists with maps and promotional material, as well as suggestions for sight-seeing and camping. Ceduna is a natural resting place for travellers who are crossing the Eyre Highway, as it is both the last major stop before you cross the Nullarbor, heading west, and the first major stop as you come off the Nullarbor, heading east. Those who are travelling from Perth to Adelaide (or the other way around) with a specific goal in mind - perhaps to visit family or friends, perhaps to relocate from one city to the other - tend only to stay overnight to break their journey. However, it is largely the 'Grey Nomads' (retired couples who tour Australia with caravans), and people coming to Ceduna for the good fishing, who really make an impact on the local economy in the tourism stakes. Tourists in Ceduna-Thevenard are catered for by four caravan parks, a backpacker's hostel and four motels. There is a laundromat, three small supermarkets, about a dozen takeaway outlets (some with 'eat-in' dining rooms), a bistro, five fully-fledged restaurants, and numerous fuel depots and service stations. On the whole, tourists arrive at Ceduna by motor car. Coach (seven days a week) and air operations (six days a week) are available, each attracting enough passengers to be a going concern, but it is almost exclusively local people, travelling to Adelaide, who make use of these services.

\textit{General Government}\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{District Council of Ceduna}

The District Council of Murat Bay held its first meeting at the Memorial Hall in 1925. In 1987, with the abolition of a ward system, the body became known as the District Council of Ceduna (DCC), and members are now elected to office every three years. There is provision for a Mayor, a Deputy Mayor, and seven Councillors and meetings are held on the second Wednesday of every month at 9 a.m. at the Council Chambers

\textsuperscript{11} The District Council of Ceduna's 1999 \textit{Annual Report} noted that "[p]er 400,000 tourists pass through the Ceduna [sic] each year with the majority only making a brief stop in the town" (ibid: 3).

\textsuperscript{12} I only describe the major government departments in Ceduna, here. Others include: Agriculture and Fisheries, Centrelink (the federal government's employment service), Correctional Services, ETSA (Electricity Trust of South Australia), Family and Community Services, SACON (Housing and Construction), Marine and Harbours, Bureau of Meteorology, Road Transport, the S. A. Country Arts Trust, the S. A. Housing Trust, Telstra, the Department for the Environment and Heritage (National Parks and Wildlife S. A.) - previously known as DEHAA (Department for the Environment, Heritage and Aboriginal Affairs) and before that as DENR, Department for the Environment and Natural Resources).
(Fig 1.3), which have stood on O'Loughlin Terrace since 1929. In 1997, Council was divided into four main staffing departments: principal officers (for example, the chief executive officer and the chief inspector), administration staff, works department staff, and contractors. According to the District Council's Annual Report 1997, seventeen people were in the direct employ of the Council (that is, in the first three above-mentioned departments), and a similar number served as contractors to the Council. There were several major development projects undertaken by Council in 1997. Perhaps the largest of these was the extension of the Tod Water Pipeline (which supplies water from the Tod River Scheme) west of Ceduna to Denial Bay, Koonibba, and beyond. ATSIC provided the Koonibba community with a 2.7 million dollar grant to build a pipeline out to Koonibba, and the State Government, thanks to an election promise it kept, had given the DCC two million dollars to put towards the construction of a pipeline west of Ceduna. The Koonibba community approached the DCC and suggested a pooling of financial resources to provide water to as many people living west of Ceduna as possible. An agreement was struck, and the combined 4.7 million dollars bought enough pipeline to come within eight kilometres\(^\text{13}\) of Penong. Other planning and development projects included the sealing of the main runway at Ceduna Airport, the upgrading of the Ceduna and District Hospital, and, at Smoky Bay, the bitumenising of streets, the subdivision and selling of blocks of land, and the supply of three-phase power to the community.

*Health and the Ceduna Hospital Inc.*

The health needs of the Ceduna community are met by Ceduna Hospital Inc, as well as a medical practice (which engages two, sometimes three doctors), the Ceduna-Koonibba Health Service (both the practice and the health service are situated on the hospital grounds), an aged day care centre, Ceduna and Districts Health and Aged Care, a senior citizens village, a dentist, a physiotherapist,\(^\text{14}\) a visiting chiropractor and visiting optometrists. Indeed, approximately 17% of all people employed in the Ceduna District Council area work in the field of health and community services. The hospital is run by the Hospital Board of Management, which is sometimes seen by people in the

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\(^{13}\) I have not been able to independently verify this figure, although, in my travels as a Country Fire Service volunteer, I can state that fire appliances were able to tap into mains water very close to Penong, but not in Penong itself, thus providing some evidence for the claim.

\(^{14}\) The physiotherapist who lived in Ceduna during my time in the town has since left.
community as having a little too much power, especially when it comes to deciding the conditions under which certain doctors have to work. Indeed, Ceduna, like many country towns in Australia, has great trouble attracting doctors to the community; retaining them seems an even more difficult task. There is a great deal of politicking around this issue, not only at the state and federal levels - where Ceduna People complain that once again they have been forgotten and ignored by those governing from their offices in the city - but also at the local level. Good doctors come into the community, people say, only to leave eighteen months later. Arrangements made between the board and the more established medical personalities are sometimes viewed by the general community as not being entirely fair on new doctors. Between whatever people choose to believe, and whatever might really be 'going on at the hospital', the fact remains that doctors in Ceduna are overworked and almost always on call, forcing those who cannot negotiate a reasonable amount of time off to quit the town in search of better conditions elsewhere.

*SAPOL (South Australian Police)*

The number of police officers stationed in Ceduna hovers just above the two dozen mark, including two highway patrol officers, two CIB (Criminal Investigation Branch) Officers, a prosecutor and the Officer in Charge of the station. Ceduna Police Station (Fig. 1.4) comes under the jurisdiction of the divisional headquarters at Port Lincoln, but, because of the distance from Port Lincoln to Ceduna, and then from Ceduna to the border, certain 'specialist' officers who would not normally be posted away from the divisional headquarters are posted to Ceduna. An assignment to Ceduna is classified as 'remote posting', meaning that the minimum tenure for police officers in the town is two years, compared to five or sometimes seven years at the larger stations closer to Adelaide. Most officers, though, tend to stay between three and five years before moving on. Very, very few police officers remain in Ceduna for more than ten years. Shifts mostly work on a four-week rotating roster, meaning that an officer works seven night shifts with two days off, seven afternoon shifts with two days off, and seven day shifts with four days off, before the whole cycle repeats itself. In all, police officers find country policing more relaxed than city policing. Some comment that they enjoy being able to follow a case from start to finish, without having to hand over responsibility for
tasks such as data-entry onto the computer system, or follow-up inquiries, to another person or unit.

Occasionally, police officers from Adelaide carry out blitzes in the town by conducting random breath tests or setting up cameras to catch speeding motorists, especially during events such as the Oyster Fest or the Far West Football League grand final. Until recently, Ceduna People would catch wind of an upcoming blitz when, perhaps after a few tongue-loosening beers at a social gathering, a local police officer would let slip.15 Having learnt their lesson, city police now simply arrive without telling local police that they are on their way. This causes problems for local police, not necessarily because they feel a such operations to be territorial violations but because local police find themselves on the receiving end of indignant remarks by Ceduna People as to why they were not informed when and where the blitzes would be carried out! But the main challenge police officers face in a town like Ceduna is being able to maintain good relations with both the Aboriginal and white communities. The police see themselves as policing fairly; Aboriginal People see the police as there on behalf of the whites who want to keep Aboriginal People off the foreshore; and white people see the police as there to police Aboriginal People whilst letting a few small offences committed by white people slide by. Indeed, there is one story of a group of young white people - including the sons of local farmers and business families - being Cease Loitered16 at the Community Hotel one evening. When the crowd refused to move on, the offenders were reported. The next morning there were half a dozen irate fathers in the police station demanding to know why their boys were there and why they had been reported in the first place - it seems that the group of fathers believed only Aboriginal People would be booked for such a minor offence. This reinforces the belief that most crime in the town is committed by Aboriginal People, and, indeed, anecdotal evidence stated that Ceduna had the second-highest rate of property offences per capita in South Australia. The highest was said to be Port Augusta, a town with a high percentage of Aboriginal People amongst its population. Ceduna People made the link between the 'statistics' and concluded that Ceduna's high rate of property crime was due to the high proportion of Aboriginal People in the town.

15 'Accidentally' tell people about.
16 Asked to move on.
ATSIC

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) is responsible for the administration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs in Australia. It carries out its tasks through an administrative arm - which is responsible for the implementation of policy and the general management of ATSIC business - and a representative arm, under which regional councils are formed. Regional councils are responsible for setting policy as well as improving the economic, social and cultural status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in the region. There are thirty-five ATSIC regional councils in Australia, and every three years Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People elect a number of representatives to their local council. The Wangka Wilurrara Regional Council operates out of the ATSIC Regional Office in Ceduna and encompasses Port Lincoln, Ceduna, Koonibba, Oak Valley and Yalata - an area of 355,000 square kilometres. Regional council meetings are held, on average, every two months (although this is flexible) and last for four or five days. Members of the general public are invited to attend these meetings, although some agenda items are excludable.\(^\text{17}\) There are around a dozen regional councillors at any one time, and in 1997 the Chairperson of Wangka Wilurrara was elected an ATSIC state commissioner, an event which made the front page of the local newspaper. In 1997 the regional office moved from Poynton Street to the corner of Merghiny Drive and East Terrace. The new regional office has been purpose-built, and contains a conference/meeting room, administrative offices, a reception area, a kitchen and a library. Some Ceduna People comment that this building is a waste of money, that ATSIC is riddled with fraudsters, and that the organisation receives far too much government funding.\(^\text{18}\) - "What about the farmers?" is a popular catch cry. However, as far as direct attacks are concerned (letters to the editor and the like), ATSIC goes about its business in the town more or less unmolested, probably because black and white have very little to do with each other in Ceduna, and most people seem to be fairly happy with this situation. Ceduna People prefer to air their

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\(^{17}\) I was the first member of the public ever to attend a Wangka Wilurrara Regional Council meeting, and from it I learnt a great deal about the running of ATSIC. Many white Ceduna People make statements concerning the incompetent running of ATSIC without ever having set foot inside the ATSIC Regional Office, let alone having attended a Council meeting.

\(^{18}\) One thing that does seem to slip people's minds in Ceduna, though, is the fact that ATSIC provides major funding for the Ceduna Oyster Fest. In fact, ATSIC is one of the most generous sponsors of all when it comes to this event.
views on ATSIC at private social gatherings where they are safe from challenge, and generally assured of consensus.

Education

Ceduna Area School

In the early days of white settlement, and up to the Great Depression, the Ceduna region supported in excess of forty little schools (Faull 1988: 283). Now, there are five government-run schools in the Far West (the Ceduna and Miltaburra Area Schools, Koonibba Aboriginal School, and the Penong and Coorabie Rural Schools), and one private school, Crossways Lutheran School which is in Ceduna itself. In 1996, approximately 52% of the local area's sixteen year-olds were still at school.

Ceduna Area School (which was opened at its present site in May, 1927) is today large enough to accommodate around 500 students (reception year to year 12), 45 teachers, and 20 support staff. The campus is situated between Ceduna and Thevenard and includes tennis courts, the local swimming pool, the community library and a multipurpose hall (indoor gym, netball courts, volleyball courts and the like) which is also used for school assemblies. Teachers in South Australia prefer to live and work in the city, meaning that many are reluctant to travel to the country to pursue their vocation. However, the Education Department demands that all graduating teachers who wish to be employed by the Department commit to a one year stint in the bush before they are able to apply for a metropolitan position. Some teachers enjoy Ceduna life and choose to stay on in the town permanently. Others, though, do not take well to country life (the burden placed on them to 'fit in', or - the opposite - the stress of being ignored entirely because they are blow-ins) and they leave as soon as their contracts expire. In some ways, the job of teacher in Ceduna is similar to that of police officer: both must weigh up the possibility of being 'accepted' into the community with the consequences of making potentially-unpopular decisions concerning certain community members, or at least the children of those community members.19 In this way, the traditional 'insularity' of both occupations on a broader scale - whereby they are seen mainly to associate and socialise with members of their own profession - is threatened.

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19 As will become clear in later chapters, both police officers and teachers occupy a somewhat liminal status in the community, which can affect the ways in which they are accepted.
The Ceduna Area School provides an extensive curriculum, especially for senior school students. Subjects offered include the basics of English, maths and the physical sciences, as well as Aboriginal studies, art, music, physical education, home economics, metalwork, computer studies and society and the environment. A few students go on to complete their Higher School Certificate (HSC) before moving to Adelaide, usually to take up a TAFE (Technical and Further Education) course, and, in a few instances, to attend university. Some students are sent to boarding schools in Adelaide, a move which is seen to increase a pupil's chances at obtaining a tertiary education. On the whole, though, young people, regardless of whether or not they have their HSC, leave Ceduna for either the city or the larger towns on Eyre Peninsula, such as Port Augusta and Whyalla.

Crossways Lutheran School
There is a history of Lutheran education in the Far West - both Denial Bay and Koonibba have supported Lutheran Schools in the past - and when the Crossways Lutheran School was first dedicated in 1983, it was well-supported by the local Lutheran parish. In November, 1986, the second stage of the school was completed, and in 1995 the school's Cultural Centre was opened. The student population of Crossways numbers around 150, with a dozen or so teachers, a special education teacher, an Aboriginal education teacher, school assistants, and an Aboriginal education worker. Approximately 40% of students at Crossways are non-Aboriginal students, thus making the school unique in South Australia (if not Australia) in terms of its ethnic mix (at most, a school might support an Aboriginal student population of 20 - 30%; alternatively, the entire school would be entirely devoted to Aboriginal children). Crossways is sometimes referred to by Ceduna People as 'the Boong School'.

Originally intended only as a primary school (that is, reception to year 7 in South Australia - ages five to twelve), Crossways has embraced the concept of a 'middle school', whereby children are taught up to the end of year 9. The impetus for this resonates with the Crossways' philosophy of reconciliation between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People in Australia - those at Crossways believe that the cross-cultural relationships developed in the early years of schooling should have a chance of surviving the early teenage years where students are often pressured by their peers into
excluding either their white or black friends from their social circle. This is reportedly an issue faced by many Crossways students when, in the past, they have had to transfer to the area school for their high schooling at the beginning of year 8. The theory goes that by the time Crossways students complete year 9, they will have matured enough to make their own decisions as to whom they regard as suitable friends.

Further education
Ceduna also accommodates the Spencer Institute of Technical and Further Information (TAFE), where courses in Aboriginal studies, business studies, horticultural and rural studies, community health and services, among others, are held. The Ceduna Aboriginal and Islander Support Centre (AISC) provides assistance to isolated Aboriginal students in the Far West region, and is a part of the University of South Australia's Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies. 4.5% of people living in the Ceduna region hold a degree or higher qualification.

Financial institutions
Two main banks provide financial services to the people of Ceduna and they employ around fifteen people between them. The ANZ (Australia New Zealand) Bank and Bank SA diametrically view each other across the silent cop at the intersection of Poynton and McKenzie Streets. Until the ANZ recently installed an Automatic Teller Machine (ATM), Bank SA had the distinction of operating the "Last ATM for 1300km", or so the sign on the eastern outskirts of town proudly announced. Technically, this claim would no longer hold true ... by about twenty metres. Whitmarsh's, a local haberdasher that also sells shoes, clothes and school bags, runs the town's credit union outlet, and the Ceduna Post Office offers a banking service for customers of the Commonwealth Bank. EFTPOS (Electronic Funds Transfer Point of Sale) is also a popular way of accessing bank accounts. Many businesses in Ceduna offer EFTPOS facilities, the exceptions being most of the eating establishments. Some Aboriginal People, particularly older Aboriginal People or people from out of town, seem to prefer using EFTPOS facilities, especially at the supermarkets, to having to enter a bank or use an ATM. Perhaps the

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20 At the Area School there is mostly a mutual social segregation between indigenous and non-indigenous students which comes from the students themselves rather than from the teachers.
21 Roundabout.
reason for this is that these people favour the dealings they have with regular shop staff over the dealings they have with bank staff. Bank staff tend to be a little more detached from their client base than do retail staff, the latter of whom tend to be more talkative and open with their customers. This does not mean that retail staff are not disdainful of Aboriginal People - many are. However, as they will tell you, they know how to 'treat' Aboriginal People and how to communicate with them when it comes to such commercial transactions. The most likely explanation for Aboriginal People choosing the EFTPOS option is that it causes them less social angst. Retail staff also win out against the ATMs because retail staff can perform the transaction on behalf of the customer, thus making it easier for Aboriginal People who do not know how to use an ATM to obtain money from their accounts. There are, however, many other Aboriginal People who use the ATMs, especially amongst the young and those who live in town. Again, they avoid having to enter the banks, and they avoid having to interact with a sometimes well-meaning, but more frequently condescending or mistrustful, white person.

**General Social Life**

Leaving behind the more statistically-minded descriptions of the town, it is valuable to have a more intuitive understanding of Ceduna life. Consideration of the town's main retail centre, Poynton Street, illuminates several aspects of Ceduna sociality: how people meet and greet each other, what they talk about, where they stand in the social order, how they spend their money and how white and black interact (or do not, as the case may be). An examination of Ceduna's food trade reveals something of people's appreciation of etiquette - it is poor manners, for example, to gossip about others whilst waiting for your fish and chips to be served up. How people spend their leisure time is also noteworthy, and in Ceduna the significance of the coast as a playground bespeaks people's visions of themselves as outdoor-types who love to relax on fishing excursions or surfing trips. Other, more specialised, features of Ceduna sociality are described in the remainder of the thesis.
Figure 1.1. Thevenard Wharf.

Figure 1.2. Thevenard Silo.
Figure 1.3. District Council of Ceduna Chambers.

Figure 1.4. Ceduna Police Station.
Figure 1.5. Poynton Street - Ceduna's main street.

Figure 1.6. Ceduna Foodland - Poynton Street.
Figure 1.7. Spry’s Homecare Centre - Poynton Street.

Figure 1.8. Ceduna Community Hotel.
Figure 1.9. Shell Roadhouse

Figure 1.10. Ceduna Sailing Club.
Most retail businesses in Ceduna are located on Poynton Street (Fig. 1.5), the town's 'main street' when it comes to shopping. Poynton Street is central to social life in Ceduna because it acts an informal meeting place for local people. Often a five-minute dash to the shops will turn into a fifteen-minute conference with someone you needed to talk to anyhow. People regularly seize such opportunities to sort out problems of one kind or another - Who would be the best person to talk to about putting up a sign on one of the local notice boards? When did you say you needed that stuff by? How can we get around this or that person's being a nuisance at the club's next meeting? Alternatively, people might use these main street encounters to invite you to drinks or tea at their place, or as an arena for gossip (a fairly common pastime in Ceduna, mostly harmless, but occasionally very hurtful to those on the receiving end of calumnious pronouncements). Most employers take the inevitability of such engagements into account when they send an office worker or shop assistant on an errand, say, to the post office or the council office. By the same token, employees seem to know instinctively when a mid-street meeting needs to be terminated and it is time to get back to work (usually ten, at the most, fifteen, minutes).

There are certain businesses on Poynton Street that are more important than others when it comes to observing social life in Ceduna. The supermarkets are probably the most illuminating. Where you do your supermarket shopping in Ceduna says a lot about your social situation in the town. There are two small supermarkets on Poynton Street, both on the same side of the road, and easily within fifty metres of each other. Foodland (Fig 1.6), on the corner, caters for the younger and more accepted people in the town, offering a good range of fresh fruit and vegetables, fresh meat, the usual groceries (breakfast cereal, packet pasta, tinned food, dairy products, kitchen paper, shampoo), as well as a few more 'exotic' items, such as sun-dried tomatoes and capsicums, Thai curry pastes, flavoured cooking oils, fresh coriander and basil, and gourmet cheeses. Foodland even has an on-site bakery where herb breads, foccacia, and Lebanese rolls can be obtained. Foodland is busy, often noisy, and, by Ceduna standards, quite frantic. There

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22 McKenzie Street intersects Poynton Street, the former of which could also be said to be a 'main street', but it is more or less the 'second main street'.

23 The bread is not actually prepared on the premises - it is sent up, ready-made and nearly cooked, from city suppliers. All the baker at Foodland has to do is to put the nearly-ready-to-go rolls and breads into the oven and finish them off.
is also an awful lot of gossiping done at Foodland - by both staff and customers - which is probably why the socially-marginalised in Ceduna tend to steer clear of the place. Foodtown, on the other hand (commonly known as 'Phil and Judy's'), attracts older persons and those in Ceduna who, for one reason or another, are not entirely 'accepted' into the town.\textsuperscript{24} Fruit and vegetables at Phil and Judy's never seem to be as fresh as they are at Foodland, mostly only the basic groceries are offered, and there is certainly no on-site bakery. However, there is a more tolerant atmosphere in this supermarket, and Foodtown customers are willing to forgo the poorer selection of products in favour of less-pressured shopping and, in some cases, a little more respect from shop staff (there may not be any explicit discrimination against the socially-marginalised in Ceduna, but these people certainly know that, when their backs are turned, they are the objects of gossip and derision). Those who wish neither to become part of the Foodland culture, nor be seen in Foodtown with all its social implications, have the option of shopping at the Thevenard Foodtown. The staff is pleasant, \textit{sans} forced politeness, and, although the fruit and vegetable selection is limited and sometimes of poor quality, many gourmet items (in white Australian eyes) are available, thanks to the demand created by the Greek population of the town (indeed, Thevenard Foodtown is run by a Greek family, and, although the supermarket is technically called Jim's Foodtown, it is quite often simply referred to as 'Agrios's'). The Thevenard Foodtown boasts excellent kalamata olives, halva and a good selection of delicatessen meats and cheeses.

The Ceduna Bakery is also important to the social nexus of Poynton Street. The bakery does most of its business between the late morning and the early afternoon. Those wanting a take-away lunch usually order meat pies (with tomato sauce, of course), Cornish pasties, flavoured pies (steak and mushroom, tomato and onion, curry, beef stroganoff and more), sausage rolls, hot dogs, yiros or sandwiches. If you prefer to eat-in (there is a large dining area inside the bakery and tables and chairs outside), you might want to order lasagne, fried rice, beef stew or pasta. The bakery also sells all manner of beverages from soft drinks to tea and coffee (cappuccino, now, as well), hot

\textsuperscript{24}Phil and Judy's Foodtown offers an interesting paradox in this regard. Older persons in Ceduna are usually well-respected, and the general populace does not equate their shopping at Foodtown with being either socially-marginalised, or having to shop there because they are less accepted than others. Rather, the older residents of the town prefer Phil and Judy's over Foodland probably because it offers a more relaxed atmosphere in which to do one's shopping.
chocolate to orange juice. And for sweets, or just a sugary snack, there are custard tarts, Berliner buns, berry Danishes, éclairs, and, naturally, the Great Australian Lamington.

In 1997, the bakery moved from its premises on one side of Poynton Street to a new mall that was built on the other side of the street. The new bakery is larger and brighter and has prime position in the mall, fronting, as it has always done, directly onto Poynton Street. Young people, especially, enjoy eating at the tables and chairs outside the bakery. From this situation you are able to survey the main street, which has a number of advantages: firstly, it means you can call out to your friends who invariably sidle up for a chat; secondly, you can scan for people you don't want to encounter - your parents, your teachers, a member of your club or organisation trying to pressure you into doing something you'd rather not; and finally, you might catch sight of someone about whom you know some gossip which you had temporarily forgotten - seeing them has prompted your memory and you now have the next fifteen minutes of conversation nicely mapped out for you.

Adjacent the bakery, in the new mall complex, is Ceduna Business Equipment, the town's main office supplies' merchant. This shop not only sells stationery, but provides printing services and technical computer advice. Ceduna Business Equipment orders in many types of products for its customers - from printer cartridges to photocopiers to clutch pencil refills. Other businesses to have moved into the new mall included a health shop, a hairdresser, a fashion boutique and an electronics shop. On the opposite side of the street is an older mall that harbours the Country Kitchen (which has a loyal lunchtime clientele, albeit rather smaller than that of the bakery), a florist and a Christian charity shop.

The businesses on Poynton Street include (this list is not exhaustive, only illustrative): a garden centre, a video shop that doubles as a music Compact Disc (CD) outlet; the offices of the West Coast Sentinel, the local newspaper; a surf shop - with a great name:

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25 Dessert.
26 There are some who claim the lamington is a New Zealand creation, but, that like many things apparently originating from that country, it has been appropriated by Australians and its provenance embezzled.
'Totally Board' - that supplies clothes, wetsuits, surf boards, board wax, and any sundry items needed to look good at the beach (beanies, sandals, swim suits - even wallets!); an electrical store that, along with microwaves, stereo systems and electric shavers, also sells guitar strings, travel bags, clothes and some giftware; a shoe-shop-come-fashion-bazaar; a lingerie shop (the 'Under Bar'); a pharmacy that sells gifts and jewellery and provides for a Kodak photographic outlet; a second-hand sales yard; and the Ceduna Variety shop which sells toys, food processors, CDs, clothes, 'frig. magnets, batteries, manchester, cutlery, gifts, soap, baby accessories, blank cassette tapes, preserves and candles.

Then, of course, there are those bastions of Ceduna business that are referred to simply by local family names: Spry's, Betts', and Whitmarsh's (the last of which has already been described in the discussion of banking in Ceduna). Betts' shop specialises in menswear - everything from casual men's clothing to boots, work shirts, dress shoes and broad-brimmed hats can be found in Betts' shop. There is even a photograph from 1934 showing a local cricket team - all the players in the team are from the Betts family. Spry's Homecare Centre (Fig. 1.7) is the largest of the three. Situated opposite Foodland, and with entrances from both Poynton and McKenzie Streets, Spry's is a major shopping destination for almost all Ceduna People. Many shops in Ceduna have to diversify their product range in order to maintain their commercial viability, but Spry's has gone one step further and made itself both a one-stop-shop for almost everything, and the first place consumers think to go to meet their purchasing requirements. Spry's is a hardware store, a newsagent, a CD shop, a gift shop, a book shop, a toy shop, a kitchenware vendor, a stationer, a fishing equipment supplier, a lottery ticket seller and souvenir stand. This veritable emporium has little to say about the way people create and perpetuate their sociality in Ceduna (as might the supermarkets and the Bakery) because of its sheer size and scope, but it is nonetheless an imposing and important object on the Ceduna retail landscape.

For retail outlets to flourish in Ceduna, they must cater for the immediate needs of local people. Thus, businesses like Spry's and Ceduna Variety, which supply an assortment of merchandise, low in price and relevant to the everyday needs of people, are the most successful. Ceduna People try to support their local shops, but, occasionally, other
considerations must come first, such as value-for-money and choice. Those businesses which deal in higher cost, 'less-immediate' items - such as clothes or white goods - must work a little harder to maintain a client base. Many Ceduna People wait until they have to travel to either Adelaide or one of the larger regional centres such as Whyalla, Port Augusta, or Port Lincoln (say, for a medical check or to visit relatives) to purchase these articles. The reasons are twofold: firstly, the items you require are likely to be cheaper in these towns, and, secondly, there will be a wider selection of goods (this is especially important in the case of clothes' shopping - not everybody in town wants to be wearing the same style of jumper in the middle of winter).

Poynton Street is run by the Non-Indigenous, mostly white, community, and it is white women who dominate the service areas of the retail industry in Ceduna. Any men who serve over the counter in the chief shopping precinct tend to be those who own the business themselves. Few Aboriginal People, if any, work in local shops, and I cannot name one instance in which I was served by an Aboriginal Person at any of the main street's shop counters.

Away from the main street are the service stations and mechanical repairs workshops. There are well over a dozen vehicle-related operations in Ceduna, dealing in everything from spare parts, crash repairs, tyre and battery service, auto electrical repairs, heavy machinery, car rental and car selling. Many such places also supply fuel, but it is the major petrol stations (the Shell Roadhouse and BP Highway 1) that deal with the most through-traffic - that is, truck drivers and tourists. At some of the fuel outlets, the price of petrol depends on whether or not you are a local - for most Ceduna People (particularly the known and the accepted), fuel can cost up to one-and-a-half cents a litre less than it might for tourists. Hardware stores are also found away from the main street (the exception being Spry's, but that is a special case), as are the farm suppliers. Sportspower, on McKenzie Street, is one of the few retail outlets not on Poynton Street that does very well for itself. The demand for footballs, cricket bats, tennis balls, racquet grips and bathers (swim suits) is ceaseless. Sportspower also supplies fishing tackle, sports' and carry bags, camping gear, sports shoes, wetsuits, and the latest in brand-name shorts, shirts, trakkies (track-suits) and socks. Due to the popularity of the game of squash in the town, Sportspower also offers a racquet-restringing service. As a
sideline, Eyre Peninsula Overnight Freight - a local shipping company - also operates out of Sportspower. Professional services are supplied by a lawyer, insurance agents, an accountant and real estate agents. Seven hairdressing businesses, including a mobile hairdresser, also manage to earn a living in Ceduna, as does the proprietor of The Sea Dragon Art Gallery.

The food trade

The food trade also ought to be properly mentioned, given its importance to life in Ceduna. Tourist traffic is important to Ceduna's food trade as far as cash flow goes, but for local people restaurants and take-away outlets, like the supermarkets and the bakery, are an indelible part of sociality in Ceduna. People meet up at these establishments by chance and thus they provide an insight into the more spontaneous features of ordinary Ceduna life. Most people get their take-away from Bill's Chicken Shop (which is also a fish-and-chip shop), or Bill's Pizza and Pasta (Bill does pretty well in Ceduna - he also lends his name to 'Bill's Ceduna Yard' a second-hand car and furniture concern). Both have dine-in areas, with the pizza shop also being licensed. The advantage of take-away meals over sit-down meals is that, if you bump into a friend who is likewise ordering take-away, you can always have a decent chat as you both wait for your meals to be prepared. On the whole, though, political or gossipy subjects, such as the ones that might be covered on Poynton Street or in Foodland, are avoided - either because there is not enough time to resolve problems, or because the chances are higher, in this intimate space, that you might be overheard telling stories about your neighbours. Conversations at Bill's chicken and pizza shops are more likely to centre upon what you are doing for the weekend than upon the idiosyncrasies of various mutual acquaintances. Accepted people tend to get their take-away from these two places, and Aboriginal People tend to enter only outside of rush hour.

Bill's chicken and pizza shops secure the majority of the 'respectable' tea-time take-away trade, but they are not without competition. Other take-away outlets can be found mainly at the roadhouses (such as the Pine Grove), and there are several restaurants

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27 Murat Munchies was another take-away-or-eat-in shop that was doing nicely in Ceduna, but it was established after my period of fieldwork and burnt down not long after it opened.

28 Happen to meet.
attached to the motels, although Ceduna People are inclined to eat at these more formal venues only on special occasions. However, the Ceduna Community Hotel (Fig. 1.8), 'the pub',\textsuperscript{29} is popular with people wanting a sit-down meal. The pub provides bistro-style fare: steak diane, chicken parmigiana, seafood baskets, deep-fried whiting - all served with vegetables or salad and chips (people help themselves to salad from the salad bar). The pub also has a huge satellite television screen (that mainly displays sport), two pool (8-ball) tables, various bars, a gaming lounge with poker machines, a dance floor, a juke box, and seating for 445 patrons. The pub is also a motel and houses an à-la-carte restaurant with a baby grand piano, although few Ceduna People ever frequent this section of the building as meals are more expensive and its catering-focus is on motel guests. On the whole, Ceduna People do not interrupt each others' meals at the pub. Unlike chance meetings on Poynton Street, or at one of Bill's take-away shops, encounters at the Community Hotel's bistro are restrained - a wave or a quick "G'day, Chris, how are you?" is sufficient. People also tend to eat at the pub in family groups - meals with friends are most often had in people's homes, around the barbeque.\textsuperscript{30}

The Ceduna Community Hotel underwent a name change in 1999, and began trading as the Ceduna Foreshore Hotel. The old drive-through bottle shop was replaced by a new, and far larger, outlet. The new bottle-o\textsuperscript{31} is called The Clock Tower Bottle Shop (a rather grand name which Ceduna People would be unlikely to use in their everyday conversation) and is now \textit{literally} a drive-through: the entire liquor mart is fully enclosed, and vehicles enter the building, travel down either the express or browsing lane, allowing people to buy their grog\textsuperscript{32} without ever having to leave their motor cars.

Another major mark on the Ceduna food scene is the Shell Roadhouse (simply called 'Shell' or, less commonly, 'The Shell' by Ceduna People - Fig. 1.9). This petrol station

\textsuperscript{29} Profits from the sale of alcohol at the Community Hotel are donated to various community groups and undertakings. In 1996, $A94,728 was donated to the community, $A127,112 in 1997, and $A43,161 in 1998. The pub's charter reads: "Whilst we aim to make the hotel as profitable as possible, it is for the purpose of returning those profits to the local community in the form of financial support and the development of the facilities" (quoted in Trewartha 1999: unnumbered). The pub is "a community asset, administered and managed by the Ceduna community" (ibid) and is "run by a Board elected by the local community. It employs local people and buys locally where and whenever possible" (ibid).

\textsuperscript{30} Metaphorically-speaking, that is: many people take the time to cook their friends proper dinners when they are entertaining.

\textsuperscript{31} Liquor outlet.

\textsuperscript{32} Liquor, alcohol.
has an advantage over many eateries in town because it is open twenty-four hours a day and sells not only hamburgers and fish and chips but chocolate bars, chips (potato crisps), lollies, soft drinks and cigarettes (as well as magazines, tinned food, fishing tackle, souvenirs and many other items - you might even find a spark plug if you are lucky). Shell is also a truckstop, with specially-built bays that cater for the refuelling of semi-trailers and road trains, and a dining area that serves restaurant-style meals, mainly to truckies and the odd tourist who is passing through town without stopping over. Shell is by far the most sophisticated of all the service stations in Ceduna - there are surveillance cameras with audio facilities, petrol pumps that send information to the computer console behind the counter, bright lights, and automatic sliding doors. But perhaps the most interesting thing about Shell is that it has a culture all of its own. Shell is a meeting place, particularly for younger white people and Aboriginal People, although the two groups do not mix. Late at night, especially after the pub shuts, representatives of these two groups congregate at Shell, mostly doing nothing in particular - just eating and talking and hanging out. Now and then, however, someone with a gutful of grog picks a fight, either with another person within their group, or with a person from another group. Police officers and SA Ambulance volunteers are called to Shell at two o'clock in the morning often enough to know what to expect - a bunch of intoxicated people shouting abuse at each other, with one or two of their number sporting assorted injuries.

The restaurant and fast-food trades are almost indispensable to sociality in Ceduna: getting take-away gives the cook in the household the night off, thus giving more time over to relaxing and watching a video, or to attending club meetings; eating at the pub usually means being able to have the family all together before each member rushes off to their various community and/or social appointments; and being able to get food from Shell at any time of day or night means that people need never worry about feeding themselves after getting back too late from the beach or - in the case of young people, especially - not being able to satisfy a bad attack of the munchies caused by smoking cannabis.

33 Truck-drivers.
34 Loitering, hanging around.
35 Someone who is inebriated.
36 Extreme desire to eat.
Recreation

Chance meetings in the main street or at the takeaway shop are innate to life in Ceduna. A person cannot expect to make a short trip to the centre of town without happening upon someone they know and will want to talk to. In many ways, these meetings are so much a part of the Ceduna lifestyle that they qualify as a leisure pursuit for some people. But there are other, more co-ordinated, recreational activities in which Ceduna People participate.

Most Ceduna People, particularly new locals, new people\textsuperscript{37} and younger people, have a close affinity with the sea, and can often be found spending their leisure time on it, beside it and occasionally in it. Fishing is a popular pastime, with King George whiting both the most popular and abundant catch, although some will also go after\textsuperscript{38} snapper, salmon, flathead and the small silver whiting. People will fish anywhere - off the jetties, off rocks, off cliffs, in their tinnies,\textsuperscript{39} and some will go surf fishing (from the beach itself). Ceduna People are also fond of razorfish, a shellfish whose casement is shaped rather like a flattened cone, the pointed end of which is buried in the sea bed, leaving only a curved blade projecting above the ocean floor.\textsuperscript{40}

Most homes harbour an assortment of ocean-related equipment: anything from fishing gear, crabbing pots and tinnies to surfboards, shark biscuits (boogie-boards, a shortened version of the surfboard, also used to toboggan down sandhills), wetsuits, goggles, fins and snorkels. The Ceduna Sailing Club (Fig. 1.10) is one of the town’s larger associations, although there is not necessarily a strong boating tradition in Ceduna. Some people own yachts (usually quite small) but it is the tinnie that is most popular, largely because it is small and practical, which makes it suitable for fishing as well as towing to a boat ramp. A few people skin dive, and even fewer SCUBA dive - the dread of sharks being the prohibitive factor, here. Fear of shark attack, however, does not

\textsuperscript{37} The categorisation of people into old and new locals, blow-ins and new people will be fully discussed in chapter Two.
\textsuperscript{38} Try to catch.
\textsuperscript{39} Tin boats, usually only large enough to support a small, outboard motor.
\textsuperscript{40} Razor fish average around about a foot in length, and are most efficiently harvested with the use of a set of long-handled tongs. The best way to open a razorfish is with a hammer or knife, after which the white ‘heart’ (a muscle, often around five centimetres in diameter) is cut from the inside of the shell (the innards are discarded) to be either eaten raw or taken home and pickled. Razorfish heart might best thought of as an over-achieving scallop, with which it can be compared in taste and appearance.
prevent many younger people from straddling a surfboard for the best part of the daylight hours in the hope of catching a wave. That a boogie board is seen as a shark biscuit whilst a surf board is not, appears to be wholly a matter of the mind.

Young people, when they are not surfing, fishing, or camping, might catch a Tidal Grunge show - a local band which has been quite successful in the region. Otherwise they will hang out at Shell or at the beach or pub. Pool or 8-ball is also popular amongst younger people, some opting for two dollar games on the brand-new, and very showy, maroon-clothed pool tables at the Community Hotel, whilst others face the true challenge of pocketing balls at the lumpy, bumpy, torn, cigarette-scarred and battle-weary twenty-cent tables at Foster's, an establishment on the outskirts of town. Young people are also Ceduna's largest users of cannabis, with some concealing their own plants in the scrub or sandhills around the town, or even hiding them in plain sight along the verge of the highway. Alcohol is probably the most highly-consumed drug in the town, and the one that causes the most problems, with its depressant qualities inducing many an act of violence, both domestic and other. Narcotics and other hard drugs, whilst rare, are not unheard of in Ceduna, and are used mainly by those people whose social capital in the town is negligible - namely, 'drop-outs', 'losers', some Aboriginal People, and passers-through.

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Although anyone who lives in Ceduna and takes part in general Ceduna life generally can be thought of as a Ceduna Person, and will tend to display certain attitudes to life in the town, the classification 'Ceduna Person' can be broken down into various other categories. These categories indicate a person's history, ancestry, and the mode of their Cedunanness, that is, their being Ceduna. Being Ceduna, in whatever mode it manifests itself, is thought to be invaluable to the town's survival ethic. The various classifications of Ceduna Person are discussed in the next chapter, providing an introduction to the importance of acceptance to both being Ceduna and the town's survival ethic.
CHAPTER TWO
CATEGORIES OF CEDUNA PERSON

To the new arrival in Ceduna, it appears that everyone in the town gets along famously. People are relaxed, they all seem to know each other and they extend an enthusiastic hospitality to newcomers.¹ As a newcomer, you are urged to accept invitations to social gatherings (usually barbecues) through which you are acquainted with, and encouraged to join, several of the town's groups, clubs and other voluntary organisations. At this early stage, newcomers are introduced to the idea that all those who live in Ceduna (at least, all the whitefellas) describe themselves using the toponym 'Ceduna People', regardless of how long they or their family might have lived in the town. After a while (maybe a month or so), and as you begin to make sense of, and settle into, Ceduna life you notice that Ceduna People begin to make references to 'locals' and 'blow-ins'. Going by what people say, you ascertain that the term 'local' is used to describe people who can trace their families to the first settlers on the Far West Coast - or at least to the early 1900s when Ceduna began to surpass Denial Bay in size and importance. Further, the idea of a category of 'locals' within the broader description of Ceduna People, now appears to include certain people who live largely on farms. Blow-ins, on the other hand, are those who live mostly in Ceduna town itself and whose ancestry lies elsewhere. On this understanding, the term 'blow-in' is rarely used disparagingly and it describes anyone who is living in Ceduna and who is not a local as defined by familial connections.

However, things become more complicated (even if they are not always plainly articulated by Ceduna People) the further one descends into the workings of the community. To those who want to press the issue, it is evident that some blow-ins are considered by the community at large - and indeed consider themselves - to be a form of local. At this point, people begin to distinguish between 'old' and 'new' locals, whereby an old local can claim ancestral connections with farms on the Far West Coast, and a

¹ My term, not that of Ceduna People in general conversation. Ceduna People do not have a particular label for newcomers, and will refer to them simply as 'new'.

new local can claim a certain acceptance within, and belonging to, Ceduna town and the Ceduna community after a period of time. A similar situation occurs in Cowra, country New South Wales, where Ian Gray reveals how the ‘ideology of localism’ is used to demarcate ‘local locals’ - the equivalent of Ceduna old locals - from others (1991: 170). In the Cowra instance, the local locals were "people who really belonged" (ibid) to the district, meaning that the district became "more than a geographical expression; it was an identity that people could belong to" (ibid).

Categories of local and blow-in similar to those described above exist in other small Australian towns. In the anonymous town of Brindleton, Gillian Cowlishaw describes a "loose division" (1988: 107) between locals and blow-ins, with blow-ins being depicted as those with government-type jobs (bank clerks and the like). Cowlishaw further reports that the term 'blow-in' is widely-used and no longer carries derogatory connotations. R. A. Wild (1975 [1974]) also describes a distinction between two groups of people in Bradstow, New South Wales, but identifies non-locals as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders' rather than 'blow-ins'. Gretchen Poiner (1990) points to a 'we-they' division in Marulan, a small town some 170 kilometres south-west of Sydney, New South Wales, where a newcomer is anyone not born and bred in the district (ibid: 10).

There is a further fragmentation in Ceduna, however, in that newcomers who are deemed acceptable (for whatever reason - see Chapter Three) are thought of as 'new people', rather than blow-ins. At this point, the term blow-in becomes one with negative implications and is used to describe those such as government workers and itinerants who come to the town and earn money without discernibly giving anything back to the community. Anthony Cohen has written on this phenomenon of differentiating between various levels of culture, arguing that anthropologists must learn to "distinguish between [a] locality's voice to the outside world, and its much more complicated

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2 Descriptions of categories comparable to those of local and blow-in in Ceduna are not restricted to the Australian material: such divisions can be found in work on rural cultures in other parts of the world, most conspicuously in rural Britain. 'Insiders' and 'outsiders' are found in Peter Mewett's (1986) work in Clachan, a crofting community on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. In Alltown (an industrial municipality in northwestern England), Jeanette Edwards (1998) does not describe the distinctions - if any - between locals and incomers but she does make mention of 'proper' or 'real' Alltown, and points to both the positive and negative aspects of association with this category of persons: "'real' Alltown conveys stability, strength and authenticity, but also fixity, stubbornness and parochialism" (ibid: 155).

3 It is unclear whether or not the term 'newcomer' is Poiner's own, or that of Marulanites.
messages to its own members" (Cohen 1982a: 8). He goes on: "...with each 'ascending' level I increasingly simplify (and thereby misrepresent) the message about myself. At each descending level I present myself through increasingly informed and complex pictures" (ibid: 10). Perhaps the most important point that Cohen makes in this regard is this:

When the community presents itself to the outside world (as when any level of society engages with another) it simplifies its message and its character down to the barest essentials. The message, therefore, is frequently experienced by the members of the community as a misrepresentation, for they find the composition of their collectivity inexpressibly complex (ibid: 8).

This is precisely what happens in Ceduna. To the newcomer, it firstly seems as though there are simply 'Ceduna People'; after a while, locals and blow-ins are uncovered, and delimited by the most essential terms; then, at a more acute level, there are new and old locals, new people and blow-ins (this last of a very different kind to the more 'ascendant' understandings a newcomer may have of the category). It is this level that Ceduna People find almost 'inexpressibly complex', with the emphasis being on 'inexpressible': most Ceduna People find it impossible to positively proclaim the specific workings of their community, yet all engage in these workings with an understanding that transcends any structured pronouncements. Ceduna People do not need to talk to each other about old locals, new locals or new people - their shared system of meaning anticipates any overt enunciation regarding the intricacies of each category.

The distinction between locals and blow-ins appears periodically in conversation when a person first arrives in Ceduna, although it is seemingly not important during the immediately observable interactions of everyday life. Old locals do not, for example, have more authority when it comes to having input into town affairs. However, the difference between locals and blow-ins in Ceduna is important in some sense because it informs interaction at a fundamental and tacit level and points to an implicit agreement between people that certain requirements must be filled if one is to get along in the town, if one is to be accepted. The categories assigned to people in Ceduna help determine how people participate in town life. Old locals, through their ancestors, have helped to establish the town, are intrinsically a part of the West Coast and thus are not
required to have a high group-participation profile in the community. Further, they are usually from the land and have a strong affinity with it - they do not need to be 'taught' to love it for they are linked to it. New locals have decided to make Ceduna their home and they know all there is to know about the running of the town's groups and what is where in the Far West. New people are enthusiastic community members who enjoy camping and getting the most out of their time in the town, whilst newcomers are undertaking a crash course in being Ceduna and all that is entailed.

**Old locals**

When Ceduna People describe an old local,\(^4\) they will normally begin by reciting family names - the Hoffrichters, the Bergmanns, the Trewarthas, the Bubners. Roads out to farms, as well as streets in the town, are named after old local families - Betts Street, Tonkin Street, Schwarz's Hill Road - and old locals enjoy a certain celebrity in the community by virtue of their family name. These families have lived in Ceduna, or the Ceduna area, for several generations, and can usually trace their lineage to the first settlers in the district. Women in particular, who have married and taken their husband's name, will often make reference to their birth name: "You see, I'm a Kloeden" or "I'm a Handtke". As one old local explained clearly, "Names are a born thing".

The importance of kinship in determining old local status in Ceduna is also found in the English village of Elmdon, Essex. Marilyn Strathern's (1984, 1982a, 1982b, 1981) work in Elmdon deals specifically with villagers and outsiders and the role that kinship plays in village life. In Elmdon, there is "broad agreement" (Strathern 1982b: 253) as to who is a villager, and who is an outsider or newcomer. 'Real villagers' (also known as 'villagers', 'real Elmdon', or 'old Elmdon') exhibit more than an uncomplicated attachment to place or way of life: the idea of being a real villager draws on a "host of assumptions and evaluations which are considerably more than simple reflections on village life" (1981: 147). According to Strathern, ideas of 'real' and 'non-real' villagers are based upon "demonstrable ties of kinship" (1982b: 254) and "... a definition of villager cannot proceed without kin connections being taken into account" (ibid: 74). Marrying into an old Elmdon family, the time spent living in the village, even birth,

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\(^4\) I also heard the terms 'local local' and 'real local' used, but 'old local' was the one with the widest currency, perhaps because it could so easily be contrasted with 'new local'.
count for little when it comes to determining who is, and who is not, real Elmdon (1982b: 265). Indeed, Strathern deduces three related, endemic concepts that help make up Elmdon's own model of the village (1981: 14): firstly, there is the idea of 'real Elmdon' or 'old Elmdon' people, as opposed to 'other' people; secondly, there is the correlation of particular family names with these people; and finally there is the "assertion that Elmdoners are 'all related to one another' (ibid). These people, then, are real villagers through virtue of long-established kinship ties in Elmdon and thus make up the 'core' of the village. However, there is another complicating factor as regards the achievement of core status, and that is residence. It is not enough to have been born into a core Elmdon family, to be able to say that one's parents are 'old Elmdon'; for a person to lay claim to being a real villager, they must also live in the village (1982b: 260). All of this serves to emphasise the fact that 'real villagers' come from the established, core families (1981: 3). Ceduna old locals differ a little from Elmdon's real villagers in that residence in the town (or in the Ceduna case, on the farm) is not a prerequisite for old local status; a person might move away from Ceduna to Adelaide, for example, but will still retain a large degree of their 'core status' in Ceduna by virtue of their birth name.

Old locals are usually (although not exclusively) from farms; farms which have been in the family since their ancestors either sailed across the Spencer Gulf or journeyed across Eyre Peninsula with their horses and wagons a hundred years ago - an extensive period of time on the Far West scale. Those old locals who do not live on farms were almost-certainly raised on them, although many smaller farms are now being bought out by larger interests, usually from outside the district. Those who have lived in rural New York state, USA, either for decades or generations are referred to as 'farm people' or 'locals' and make up the "long-term core of residents" (Fitchen 1991: 99). These people "are more well known in the townships, have other relatives by the same family name who also reside in the area, operate the farms, occupy township offices, live along roads that bear the family name, and are generally more noticed". Similarly, farms and farming are important to Ceduna old locals, and almost all farms are run by old locals. Older, retired farmers can tell you who had the first such-and-such-a-type of tractor in the district, and who was the last to use horses; younger farmers will tell you who has

5 Old locals who are from the farm will often spend their retirement in Ceduna town, where they have usually bought a house.
just bought a new ute. Old locals also know who is and who is not a 'good' farmer (most 'bad' farmers - meaning 'incompetent' - are those few who are not old locals and yet run farms). There are great debates over when to start seeding (the main crops being wheat and barley), and farmers will often criticise each other - though not to each other's faces - for starting seeding too early or too late. Nonetheless, old locals express a large amount of respect for one another's families (often they will set themselves against the people from the South-East of South Australia, not far from the Victorian border, whom they see as being bits of snobs\(^6\)), and will emphasise the comradeship of the old local farmers: they all stick together in times of crisis, they help each other out, they all understand the vagaries of the weather and the pernicious effects it can have on one's survival in the Far West.

When old locals talk of 'the farm' they reveal a close connection with the land, and often reminisce about the places on their farms that they visited as children. They explain how they know every inch of the land and the coast: they know where the fishing spots are, where the cockles and crabs are, where there is a good place to light a fire to boil your periwinkles in your billy,\(^7\) where to go bird-nesting. They talk about grubbing through the dirt, picking stumps and even creating little farms of their own:

\[\text{... when we was kids everybody, not [just] me, not just our family, there was nine of us, we had a little farm down in the scrub, we had little paddocks fenced off with bindatwine, we had a little thing we'd drag around, we used to make out we was reaping, put dirt through an old box and a sieve, things like that, I think that you just grow into the land, and it grows on you, and I don't think you'll ever knock it out of me.}\]

Old locals also appreciate the slight undulation of the country, where you can go up on a rise and see the dust from your neighbour's property, and they celebrate the fact that the bush is harsh- and austere-looking. This, however, is not a denial of the magnificence of the landscape, for as they get older - and, perhaps, a little more philosophical - old locals will speak in more reflective way about the beauty of their country, despite the fact that many (that is, those from the city) regard the land as dusty, flat, unvarying and lifeless. They see the changing of the country and ask themselves, Why does it change?

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\(^6\) Patronising elitists.

\(^7\) A metal container used to boil water over a camp fire.
They spot the shift from saltbush to bluebush growing along the side of the road, and make comments not just about their perceptions of the land, but how and why they perceive it that way: "... my eyes are just on it all the time and that takes the sameness away".

There is also a sense of the inevitable when old locals talk about their attachment to the land, as if they are an inherent part of it and cannot be removed; they say that they don't know any different, that it's more habit than anything, that if they moved away, they'd like to say they'd go for one or two years, but they know they'll always come back. They even talk in grounding metaphor about "very deeply implanted roots" that fix them in place - this place, not Streaky Bay or Elliston or Wudinna, but here, where they have grown into the land that no-one else had farmed before. Even new people can appreciate this:

The people that grow up here I see that they've just grown up, this is their land, this is their place, and you know, like, some people I know will not move, won't even go on a holiday because this is their home, this is their land, and they're more than happy with that, they go out, they fish it, they get [a] feed off the land and they just don't want to know. And I mean, I can fully understand that because it's where they were born, where they were meant to be, I guess.

Old locals will also communicate their feelings of homesickness when they are (or if they imagine they might ever be) removed from their land, so much do they understand themselves to be a physical part of it. And when one is forced to sell a farm because of financial pressures, the associated trauma can have long-term effects:

Me grandfather was pretty ... he put a bit of pressure on Dad. I think that went a fair way towards Dad having a nervous breakdown. He kept instilling in him that he was the one that let the side down, he sold it, couldn't let the fifth generation take over.

But old locals' associations with the Far West Coast are not just a matter of hinterlands and topsoil; their intensely physical awareness of the land comes out of a history of struggling against it, and it is partly from this struggle that the need to ensure the town's survival has grown. This understanding has grown largely from the actual, bodily movement of the pioneers across the land to the Far West, which is almost as important
in the minds of old locals as is the settling of the land. People often suppose what it must have been like to make the journey to an unknown land (many were Lutherans from either Germany, or the Barossa Valley, a German settlement a little north of Adelaide), fighting the heat and dust, the flies and mosquitoes. Women wonder at how their mothers and grandmothers coped in those long, hot dresses with sometimes seven or eight children to attend, and men can hardly imagine what it would have been like to travel all that way with a horse and wagon. And look at what they came to ... ! All mallee scrub and snakes and searing winds! Old locals' ancestors were the pioneers who settled and established the West Coast:

I'm a Handtke, and my family didn't come over by boat, they came over from Yorke Peninsula by wagon. They took up land, there was nothing on it when Grandfather took it up and they travelled over, I think Grandma had eight children, at that stage, I must've been terrible, there was just nothing there when they got there and they had to do all the washing and ... yeah, so they were real, it would have been really hard times.

But the crossing to the West was just the beginning of the crusade. Once there, these ancestors had to make something out of nothing, and the first step was usually to clear the land of mallee scrub to make the land fit for European habitation:

I mean things were pretty rough when they first came, I mean my dad was a pioneer farmer here on the West Coast, and boy oh boy, axe over his shoulder cutting scrub and things like that and just lived in the back of a stripper box until eventually, after quite a few years of solid, hard, physical labour, he got a few walls put up out of the local limestone.

When old locals get into discussions about the early settlers, images of pioneers doing battle with the heat, the sandflies, the poor soil, the isolation (even mallee roots!) are invariably evoked. There is a straightforward veneration of the pioneers in which old locals sometimes seem to regard their ancestors as nothing short of super-human:

I can just see Grandpa trying to make a living on the land and everything and how strong he was, how strong they were back then. [...] He died probably about a year ago and his ticker just kept going and going, it was just amazing, and all of them now that are dying off have just got these strong, strong hearts that just keep going ... .
The Pioneer Legend is being evoked here. Pamela Lukin Watson maintains that the idea of the pioneer is equated with stability and toil (op. cit.: 24) and this idea undeniably plays into how old locals see themselves and their pioneering predecessors - as persisting in the austere surroundings of the Far West long after many of lesser constitution have fallen by the wayside. Whilst old locals indicate great admiration for the achievements of their ancestors, they nonetheless see some of these achievements in themselves. Always taking care to be unassuming and modest regarding their own accomplishments, and never insinuating that they might be better than their predecessors, older old locals will occasionally reflect on their own well-met challenges when it came to the difficulty of farming on marginal lands some years after initial settlement:

But our parents and grandparents, they were the real pioneers, but I feel that we did our amount of pioneering, because, I mean, we had a lot of scrub when we went there, and I mean, we had to milk cows, we had a horse and cart to get around in and everything. Kerosene lights and that was hard enough to be almost called a pioneer.

The pioneers and the pioneering spirit are also invoked by old locals to account for people's attitudes to current issues. For example, old locals see the takeover of smaller, family farms by larger, often non-local enterprises as a pressing concern:

But then one farmer buys up all this land, well, he's not attached to that land like if those original farmers were to stay on because it's just land to him, but it hasn't got the, the, you know, the pioneering sort of in them because they built it up and then they sold it, so, it's just land to him.

The very real sense of attachment to, and the enduring battle with, the land is also implicit in people's censure of those from the South-East of South Australia as being a little 'soft' or sheltered from the difficulties of farming on marginal land. People from the South-East are said to have it pretty good - they get plenty of rain, the soil is rich and so are they, so really, a lot of them are bits of snobs and the women compete with each other at weddings over who has the most expensive pearl necklace. This whole issue of old locals (and some new locals) setting themselves against the farmers of the South-East turns up again and again in conversation with Ceduna People. Being, on the whole, fairly modest people who prefer to talk about others' achievements over their
own, old locals use these comparisons to demonstrate that they, through their ancestors, are not the types to choose the easy way out when it comes to where to farm: they have a closer relationship with the land, somehow, because they accept low yields over the high yields which make lots of money for farmers in the South-East; they have worked hard to get where they are today; they help each other in difficult times - because there will be difficult times; and they look out for one another and not just themselves. Such comparisons often have a moral base to them. Similar local conditions can be found in the Cumbrian village of Wanet, northwest England. Nigel Rapport (1997) demonstrates that being a Wanet local is principally a moral issue in the sense that distinctions are made between 'locals' and 'outsiders' which confer the privilege upon local people to "defend their landownership against outsiders" (ibid: 74). It is "an exclusionary model of land access" (ibid: 75) which serves to renounce outsiders' rights in favour of singular title - that is, local title - over "local sentimental space" (ibid: 93). Although people from the South-East of South Australia pose no threat to those on the West Coast as far as land acquisition goes, the former nevertheless provide Ceduna People with a moral inverse in the context of survival. This allows Ceduna People, and especially old locals, to defend and promote their way of life to anyone who might otherwise wonder why on earth a person would have chosen to settle in such a dusty, dry, insect-riddled location in the first place: "People will say, 'How can you live in that place?', but there's beauty, I guess that's why ... even go just outback in the scrub, there's always something to see out there, we feel".

The idea of survival is never far from people's minds when the landscape of the West Coast is under consideration. The mortal conflict with the land is a source of pride for many old locals because they feel that they and their ancestors have triumphed in subduing the soil, in making it provide for them when many said they would fail - but they know they can only push it so far before it will rise against them. Old locals relish the fact that they have, in a way, proved the experts wrong - Goyder and his wretched Line of Rainfall may be long gone, but he still represents the face of authority and constraint, and all it takes is a bit of hard yakka the determination not to give up, and a good dose of respect for the land and you can show the experts that they're not as clever

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8 Away from the town and other general habitations.
9 Hard work.
as they thought they were, setting themselves up to be better than other people like they do. Others see farming on marginal lands as a "proper gamble, and I've always loved a gamble" (perhaps a further castigation of those who think they can predict, through their fancy charts and reports - but not through the seat of their pants\textsuperscript{10} - the best time to start seeding?). The image of frontier survival is never far from old locals' hearts and minds, despite the acknowledgement that life is not as arduous as it was in the old days.

The days of the pioneers are not part of a distant, unreachable past - they are still within living memory, at least for some of the more senior old locals; and even the younger ones become rather emotional when they think of all that they 'owe' to their great-grandparents, and how, as inheritors of a very special history, they have become part of something to which no-one else can lay legitimate claim. Old locals are frontier people and have invested, and \textit{are invested themselves} - in a bodily sense - in the West Coast through their personal heritages. They speak of the line of ancestors that has preceded them and the line of descendents that will continue to live there.

Most old locals' farms are within a certain distance of Ceduna, but the principles that determine which is, and which is not, an old local farm are not necessarily fixed in people's minds. Often the demarcation as to where old locals come from shifts according to context - at the innermost levels, Ceduna old locals can (and do) come from around Koonibba, Mudamuckla and Smoky Bay. Anything within twenty or thirty kilometres east of Penong, and you would probably call yourself a Penong local; east of Nunjikompita and you are a Wirrulla local; and south of Haslam, you would associate yourself with Streaky Bay. But depending on to whom you are talking (perhaps to a new face in the town, or even a stranger at the pub), or in what situation you find yourself (for example, being asked to describe what makes an old local in Ceduna) old locals can even cover areas normally outside the accepted zone for old local Ceduna status: "You know, you could probably get away with coming from Penong, or Wirrulla or Streaky and sort of half call yourself a local".\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10} By instinct or intuition.
\textsuperscript{11} Old locals, generally, have more associations with the Far West Coast region as a whole than do new locals or new people, who cannot claim to belong the land in the same way that old locals can. New locals and new people are more or less restricted to Ceduna town in their claims to belonging.
Some claim that marrying into an old local family can bring about a change in classification from new person or new local to old local. However, others (most notably those old locals who can trace their ancestry to the pioneers) do not necessarily see things the same way - for them, it is more of a matter of perception:

I don’t know, maybe when it’s your parents you think differently. Mum, she was a local, they were here, [but] she wasn’t born here ... she was actually born in [...] Victoria, because her dad was with the railways and they travelled around a lot, then he came to Thevenard, I don’t know, at some point in their life, anyway, and I perceive her as a local, probably because she’s my mum! I don’t know what other people think, probably because she married a[n old local] and whatever. She’s a local. But I guess that’s where that whole family thing comes in. I think if someone new came to the town and married ‘a local’, inverted commas, it wouldn’t be that long before they were perceived as a local, too. If you get the drift, if you get the difference.

The fact that a lot of new people are moving into and out of the town all the time also plays its part in having in-marriees being seen as old locals in Ceduna. Newcomers arrive in the town, become acquainted with old family names and automatically assume that so-and-so Chandler has lived in the area all her life, despite the fact that she might have moved here from Melbourne six months ago, never before having heard of the place. Although you might have married an old local, carry an old local name, and be largely perceived as an old local, it is still probably a good idea for those in-marriees who have come from out of the district to be seen doing things for the community, as is expected of any new person who enters the town.

Old locals do not carry more authority than other types of Ceduna Person, although they could be said to have a little more status, in that their ancestors were the all-important pioneers to whom we must be thankful for all their hard work in opening up the Far West to European habitation. Nor do old locals take over, as a matter of course, significant leadership roles in the community - new locals are most likely to be those who assume the lead in community groups and affairs. Being an old local in Ceduna is, on the surface, of relatively little consequence; that is, at the level of daily interactions between people, the tag ‘old local’ is rarely used in conversation, and almost never called upon to describe a person’s place in the community.

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12 In talking about ‘locals’, this person is referring to ‘old locals'.

Such is not the case in several British rural communities, where the differences between locals and newcomers are often accentuated and used to appreciably inform day-to-day relations amongst townspeople. Scott K. Phillips points out that Muker people in North Yorkshire make a distinction between locals and incomers: "... one either belongs as a born-and-bred local of the parish, or one is an immigrant who has settled in the locality but whose roots lie elsewhere" (1986: 141, emphasis in original). Muker locals differentiate themselves from incomers through claims to a "sense of belonging" (ibid: 143) to a particular community with a history, ancestry and dialect distinct from that of incomers and other Dalespeople, and from that of people who inhabit the towns and cities even more distant (ibid). Janet Fitchen (1991) shows in her study of rural America that distinctions between locals and incomers in New York state cover a spectrum whereby non-locals are allocated the epithet 'city people', those who have spent a decade or longer in the district are promoted to 'newcomers', and those whose families have ancestral attachments to the area are known as 'locals' or 'farm people'. The most significant aspect of the local/non-local divide in rural New York, however, seems to be the way in which such categories are used to provide a "collective image" (ibid: 98) of a stable past. References to city people are made pessimistically to describe not individual people but the phenomena of perceived population changes and the "influx of new people" (ibid: 99) to the area. In this way, the all-important notion of an enduring past, with little or no change, where everyone knew everyone, can persist. An analogous form of symbolic morality is even more tangibly manifested in northwest England in Wanet locals' attitudes to 'offcomers' - a particularly disparaging indigenous idiom (Rapport op. cit.): offcomers are invading Wanet, they are of weak breeding stock, lazy, ignorant, disrespectful and they embezzle local people of their best farming land (ibid: 86).

Whilst all of these aspects of categorisation come into play in the Ceduna context, none is used - as in these other communities - to notably exclude others or significantly shape everyday interaction. The sense of moral hierarchy in which locals have the upper hand (at least in their own minds), does not properly exist in Ceduna. Ceduna People prefer to call themselves just that - Ceduna People - as it erases any pretensions you might have in making out you are better than, or different from, anyone else, and it gives newcomers a chance to become accepted. H. G. Oxley encountered a similar situation in Rylestone Shire, inland New South Wales, where "there is no top ruling elite such as the
elitist school postulates" (1974: 142). Oxley also found that most locals in Rylestone Shire were "essentially autonomous", "not involved in any all-embracing hierarchy of command [and that] [t]he united clique in ultimate control of all local affairs simply does not exist" (ibid). In practical, everyday terms, being an old local in Ceduna is largely a personal matter - you may feel an inherent sense of belonging to the Far West which might be nice for your soul, but it really does not make others behave any differently towards you; being an old local does not ensure better service at the shops, it does not prevent newcomers from trying to make a life in the town, and neither does it make you less afraid of sharks. However, being an old local does have some significance at a certain level of people's existences in Ceduna, for it means that, unlike new people, you do not have to become accepted into the community through a test of your attitude towards the town. Acceptance is a birthright for old locals because their families have lived here for a hundred years or so making them virtually a part of the landscape; they are accepted because they (through their ancestors) have made what is habitually seen as the ultimate contribution to the community, and that is the opening up of the land for settlement, setting a template for survival.

Old local status means that you do not have to participate in community affairs in the same fashion as those who do not have that status. Participation in community life (largely through group affairs) in Ceduna is a focus of people's social lives, and, customarily, all newcomers must at some stage be seen to make an effort to 'do their bit' before they can claim any degree of acceptance in the town. For old locals, however, participation in clubs and volunteer organisations is more a matter of choice than compulsion; and further, the types of societies and associations in which old locals participate generally differ from those embraced by newcomers. Elderly old locals tend to belong to the more established, more traditional organisations in the town: the Country Women's Association (CWA), the National Trust, Meals on Wheels, the Agricultural and Horticultural Show Committee. Most of these groups are today run by the senior women of the town, who rush around drumming up support for their causes with such stamina that you begin to wonder if these people really do have inherently

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13 Those new people who are not seen as contributing in any way to the good of the community may still become accepted, but it takes rather longer than if they had chosen to join clubs and committees - this is the slow track to a grudging acceptance, and will be examined later.
stronger hearts that the rest of us. Their farming husbands have never been great formal
group-joiners, applying themselves instead to the tiring tasks of clearing and working
the land. Sport, however, has always been the main collective activity in which old local
men have chosen to take part. Australian Rules Football is the most popular men's sport
in the Far West, although in the last few years the West Coast game has suffered a loss
of players, largely through financial problems for some of the clubs. Younger old local
women, like their male counterparts, prefer participating in sport to other forms of
community activity. Where their mothers and grandmothers might be life-members of
the Hospital Auxiliary, younger women favour a good game of netball to sitting on the
Red Cross Committee, and they may take up office for their particular sporting club.
Older women likewise played a lot of netball in their younger days, helping to build the
Far West's netball league into the strong competition it is today.14

Whereas newcomers are expected to join groups, to learn about the countryside, and
generally launch themselves fully into being Ceduna, all the while contributing to the
town's survival, old locals find themselves an inherent part of the town and the
surrounding district and as such are accepted regardless; indeed, some old locals do not
join groups at all, preferring instead to remain most closely associated with their farms.
That said, however, old locals rarely exhibit the questionable behaviours that might lead
to a newcomer's rejection from Ceduna social life: they are never 'strange', they dress
'properly', they are clean-living, they are 'naturally' Ceduna and they openly show their
love and respect for the landscape. Old locals encourage the participation of newcomers
in community organisations, even in those groups which are typically dominated by old
locals themselves. Although the CWA might be a society whose members are generally
old locals, any newcomers expressing an interest in joining are quickly invited to the
next meeting where they are given copious cups of tea and nut loaf.15 This tactic of
purlaing newcomers is at the disposal of Ceduna's survival ethic, as it aims at ensuring
the social continuation of groups - and in the broader sense, the community - through

14 Indeed, many state- and national-level players began their netball careers in country South Australia. The National Netball League team the Adelaide Ravens has traditionally recruited from country South Australia, and the team regularly sets up coaching clinics in Ceduna and other country towns.
15 These more 'traditional' organisations are slowly dying out, as too few new recruits are added to their dwindling ranks.
encouragement of non-locals in, rather than dissuasion or exclusion from, involvement in town life. It sets newcomers on the course to being Ceduna by giving them guidance in how best to get along in the town. Additionally, old locals acknowledge that fresh ideas come from newcomers, and, in conceding that many such people have both the get-up-and-go and the experience of living elsewhere that old locals lack, the latter have learnt to give newcomers the chance to present their ideas to the community for consideration. Again, the ethic of survival dictates that newcomers are given a 'fair go', as they might just have some pretty good ideas as to how we can make sure the community can maintain its momentum and avoid becoming another rural casualty in the population push towards the cities. Ceduna People are thus remarkably flexible and accommodating in terms of accepting newcomers' plans, schemes, suggestions and initiatives for the town, although the definitive test of a good idea is whether or not it can contribute to the ultimate survival of the town and its community.

Anthony Cohen describes a comparable state of affairs in the Shetland Islands. Cohen argues that people do not hold onto the customary way of doing things "simply because it is traditional, but because it suits them" (1982a: 5). Until a better idea comes along, he argues, people will tend to hold onto what they know, especially as "[i]t developed, after all, to meet their own requirements and conditions" (ibid). In Ceduna, old locals actively seek input from newcomers and will both give and receive guidance on how best to do things. Newcomers are also appreciated for their often quick and thorough learning of what is where on the coast: old locals have commonly been 'inland specialists', if you will, in that their lives have been devoted to their farms and their very utilitarian, but undeniably deep, appreciation of the land. Such an attitude has secured the survival of farming families in the past and is seen to ensure it for the future. Those who are not old locals, on the other hand, tend to be more coast-oriented, and they exploit the landscape more for its recreational value than anything else, although this is changing somewhat as the younger old locals also take their farm vehicles (usually four-wheel drive utilities) and their swags to the beach for a couple of days' fishing, camping or surfing. Old locals recognise the exploring spirit of newcomers (which they undoubtedly link with the pioneering spirit of their own ancestors), often making remarks such as "... it's

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16 A reasonable opportunity or hearing.
amazing how people who come into this place will show you things that you didn't realise were on your back door".

_New locals_

Old locals also recognise that the demographics of the town have changed in the last thirty years or so and that newcomers are now a fact of life in the Ceduna. In the old days the population was made up almost exclusively of old local families. Today, an increasing number of people is moving into Ceduna as a result of work commitments:

It used to be that you had to be born here to be a local, probably the real local local is the one that's been born here, yeah, but then there's those others that have married in to families, and then there's those that have decided to stay, come in positions and then decided to stay, I suppose like one of the new locals.

Those who have lived in the town and made measurable contributions to the community's survival can move into the category of new local, just as Brindleton blow-ins (Cowlishaw op. cit.) can achieve local status (and even be referred to as 'locals') through long-term residence in the town. In Bradstow, (Wild 1975 [1974]) an established, family background allows a person to refer to themselves as a local, but length of residence can also play a part in the designation: Wild quotes one person as saying, "'It takes at least fifteen years before you are even thought of as a local in this town'" (ibid: 60), but quickly adds that others in Bradstow consider this assessment too low.

In Ceduna, it is largely attitude (from a Ceduna perspective), and not always length of residence in the town, that determines when a person is ready to be thought of as a new local. Granted, it is unlikely that a new person might move into the category of new local in under ten years, but by the same token others might have lived in the town for twenty-five years without ever having moved into the new local category proper. Those new people who show a high degree of interest in the town's affairs, who participate in community groups, and who have an appreciation of and respect for the landscape of the Far West Coast are likely to be well-accepted by Ceduna People. Further, if, after a decade or so, there is solid evidence (usually of the unequivocal kind: 'We like it here and we're never going to move') that these people have decided to spend the rest of their
lives in the town, the chances of them being regarded, and regarding themselves, as new locals is very high indeed. However, Ceduna People will affect a posture in which concern for the community appears to outweigh any claims you might have to being an old or new local:

What makes, what qualifies you as a local? I suppose if you live here and if you've got an interest in the place, I guess, yeah. What qualifies you as a local? I'm not really sure. The fact that you live here; doesn't matter if you're a new local or an old local, the fact that you live here and that you care about the place, I suppose, and that you are interested in what happens in the place.\(^{17}\)

At this level, Ceduna People have little trouble explaining how things work in their town (despite the qualifications they make as an habitual part of their conversation) and it is true - as this person says - that it does not matter in everyday interactions with your neighbours whether you are an old or a new local. However, such statements tend to mask exactly what might be happening at the more abstruse levels of social life in Ceduna, meaning that, as a new local, you have already shown that you wish to make your life in the town:

I think what makes a [new] local is where they have that feeling where they want to stay. This is it, they've made this their place. And I think that's when you become a local, when you're satisfied with everything that this place has to offer, and willing to put up with the downs, it's a bit like getting married, you've got to take the good with the bad, type of thing.

This person is evoking the idea of loyalty, devotion and allegiance to the town, all of which are essential to being Ceduna. Someone who 'acts like a local', displays a long-term commitment to living in the town, participates in community groups, and can appreciate the surrounding landscape, will likely be considered a new local. But such a person should also see themselves a new local and be considered by the wider community to be a new local; being a new local in this sense is the same as being

\(^{17}\) Qualifiers such as "I suppose", "I guess" and "I'm not really sure" are used in Ceduna to defray any suggestions that a person might somehow think they are better than everyone else, or that their opinion is the only one that matters. Ceduna People have strong beliefs about most things, and are not above letting you know that they are, but what is most important is that you do not set yourself up to be above others.
Ceduna. Here, the issue is one of behaviour and practice as much as categorisation. Something analogous occurs in the Cypriot village of Kalo (Lozios 1975), where deciding who is a 'real local' is both a social and a jural matter. In Kalo, the term co-villager (*chorianós*) is applied to a number of people: those born in the village; those who marry into, and subsequently reside in, the village; and those to whom the term is ascribed out of politeness - for example, those who live elsewhere, but whose parents were villagers (ibid: 94). This social recognition (ibid) entitles co-villagers to participate in village meetings and associations. Jural recognition of community membership is applied to anyone who owns property in the village and pays taxes on it - these people are similarly entitled to engage in village affairs. However, neither social nor jural credentials count for much in Kalo without a certain type of endorsement by villagers themselves; as Lozios puts it: "[i]n the final analysis, people are socially members of the village if villagers so behave towards them" (ibid). One person, who came from overseas and settled in Ceduna some fifteen years previously, described the situation thus:

Yeah, but then, there are many people here who have been here for how many years and they still don't consider themselves local, but sometimes I think it depends on the attitude of the person. Because with me I consider myself a local. I, I belong to the place! That's what I think. Yeah, I don't think, even if people wouldn't accept me as a local, but my feeling is I'm a local, because this is my second home. [...] Ceduna is more or less a home for me, and I consider myself a local ...

There is never any sense of old locals trying to exclude new locals from the town's discourse as there is, for example, in Blaenau Ffestiniog, in Welsh-speaking North Wales, where 'local specialities' are used to exclude non-locals from the community's discourse (Emmett 1982). In Blaenau the use of language separates the town's residents to some degree (ibid: 202). Emmett argues that all who dwell in Blaenau can experience and share in a sense of place, but it is only the native Welsh speakers in the town who can experience the Welshness of that place through a common language and history. This distinction, based on "the linguistic virtuosity of the locals" (ibid: 218), gives locals "a social weapon which enables them to manage the non-Welsh-speaking incomers" (ibid). This is not the case in Ceduna where the need for community survival outweighs a potential distrust or dislike of outsiders, and allows those who have become
accepted in the town to move into the category of new local after several years' dedicated (and obvious, high-quality) service to the community.

New locals are great ambassadors for the Ceduna way of life: they are excellent group members and they love the country of the Far West Coast. They have an impressive capacity for being able to spend hours on the end of the Thevenard wharf, chasing the tide. They love fishing, crabbing and squidding and, some claim, skin diving, although I rarely saw anyone actually indulging this last pastime, as people's fear of sharks is generally too great to risk splashing around in the ocean like so much live bait. New locals also love 'going bush' where you can "hear the silence behind the bush noises, behind the people noises", and they love the isolation of the area as a whole, where they can jump in their motor cars and disappear for a couple of days without coming across another soul. Further, new locals, unlike their old local counterparts, are almost invariably members of community groups - often two and sometimes more. Whereas old locals might participate in the more traditional, state- or country-wide organisations, such as the Red Cross or Country Women's Association, new locals (and new people) are more likely to be found running the Oyster Fest Committee or Ceduna Community Radio.

Although new locals have passed the Attitude Test, and are obviously dedicated to both the community and to spending a large part of their lives in Ceduna, this does not prevent them from moving on from the town, especially in their retirement:

I don't want to retire here. I'd like to retire at Wickham, or somewhere like that, up in the North-West of Western Australia. Where it's warm all the time. The water's warm, and I could take my knobbly knees and bent legs out into the water and go and do a bit of fishing, and just not be bothered by the human race.

Ceduna People recognise that there is more to life than Ceduna (although it sometimes might not feel like it, so strongly is a person expected to commit to the town). And somewhere deep down, Ceduna People accept that a few new locals will eventually want to leave the town, even though they may have spent the last forty years of their life
there and made invaluable contributions to the community. In a way, being 'allowed' to leave Ceduna and still be thought of as a new local, is acknowledgement of, and thanks for, all the hard work a person might have put into the town.

For old locals, there is never any question of where they want to be buried; nor is there any question that they will be buried - the return to the earth could be seen as highly symbolic for old locals who have come to be a part of the land whilst they lived. Alternatively, the preference for burial over cremation may be simply due to the fact that no facilities for cremation exist in Ceduna, and that burial is 'just what you do' in Ceduna. New locals, however, are much more ambivalent about the whole issue of where they would like to die and how they want their remains to be treated:

But, no, I feel Ceduna, and as you get older you contemplate where you want your remains to be, and I just feel that my remains should be in Ceduna. Well, bloody hell, we need some customers in the niche wall, I built the thing so many years ago and there's no bastard taken the bloody niche wall! But I don't know, I mean, I could be driving somewhere between there and there and that's where I get buried.

And another point of view from a new local:

... I really don't want to die, you know, I don't know where I want to die yet ... wherever you die, you die, don't you? Yeah, I just don't want to finish my life here, I think, my last active years in Ceduna.

**Blow-ins**

Although Ceduna People - old locals, new locals and new people - readily welcome most newcomers into their community and put them to the work of contributing to the survival of the community, being new to the town does not always mean being able to slot into town life with comparative ease. Certain newcomers are avoided altogether and

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18 Some, as they get older, retire closer to Adelaide where medical facilities are better. Indeed, a few old locals, if their health is particularly poor, make the move for this same reason, although I never knew or heard of an old local leaving the Far West Coast just for the sake of it.

19 To be cremated, a person's remains would have to be dispatched to Whyalla - the closest town to support cremation facilities - and the ashes sent back to Ceduna.

20 This person was the local council's chief inspector, and was responsible for erecting a depository and memorial wall in the Ceduna cemetery for the ashes of those who might want to be cremated.
are afforded the Cohenic deep-level status of 'blow-ins'. These people are normally shut out of the guidance activities and exertions of townsfolk.

On occasion, the term 'blow-in' is used at the ascending levels of Ceduna's social discourse to describe all manner of people: from those who have just transferred to Ceduna as part of their work, to itinerant labourers, to new people to new locals - in other words, everyone who is not an old local is a blow-in at some level. But people change their definitions of what makes a blow-in depending on to whom they are talking, and, as one descends into the more involved elements of life in Ceduna, the term 'blow-in' is used to describe a very particular type of person indeed: that is, anyone who has moved into the town for a period of two or three years (often less) and is unlikely to make a contribution to the community. But making a contribution to the community is, itself, a highly specific - and ultimately pragmatic - concept. Police officers and teachers (both typical blow-in categories in the town) could be seen to be making a contribution to the community in the very real senses of 'keeping the peace' and educating the children of the town. However, these people are paid to do these things, just as a council worker is paid to empty the rubbish bins in the main street or cut the grass on the median strip. To make a contribution in Ceduna means doing something positive for the community outside your working life. In this way, a person's community spirit is a marker of their attitude towards the town and its people.

Typically, blow-ins are police officers, bank staff, young teachers and other such people (for example, workers in government departments - people with training of one sort or another) who may have been transferred to Ceduna for work. Alternatively, blow-ins can be itinerant workers, who have somehow found themselves stuck in Ceduna, needing to make some money before they can move on to the next place. Neither of these groups of people typically joins - and remains a part of - community organisations. Two inverse, but simultaneous, things are happening here: many blow-ins will not make much of an attempt to become a new person in Ceduna by joining a group because they know there will shortly be an end to their posting, whilst Ceduna People correspondingly see little point in investing time in people who will simply take off.²¹

²¹ Leave the town.
within the next two or so years. Blow-ins are seen as a waste of effort because they are thought to contribute little to Ceduna's survival. This does not preclude blow-ins from receiving 'good treatment' from Ceduna People, but neither does it mean that blow-ins are ever really taken into the community, inhabiting this betwixt and between situation as they do. Further, the very nature of blow-ins' work, whether it be government or itinerant, almost precludes the possibility of their ever being seen as new people. Where a new person may have only lived in the town for eighteen months, they may still be known as a new person because they will continue to live in the town and make their contributions to it for some years to come. Government or itinerant workers, almost by definition of the type of work they do, will not be living in Ceduna for any reasonable length of time. There are, however, the odd blow-ins who, in the short time available to them, might see something special in Ceduna People and their town, and take part in community life with all the verve and gusto of those who could be thinking of living there forever. These people, though few, are given an honorary new person status, and are pretty much accepted by the community as a whole.

To the newcomer, the term 'blow-in' does not appear to bear any overtly-negative connotations, as it is used to describe anyone who is not an old local. However, as one becomes more and more a part of the community, it becomes apparent that 'blow-in' is, indeed, a term, if not of derision, then of mildly disinterested contempt for those who are unlikely to stay in the community and make a solid contribution to it. Because of this pre-emptive, presumptive attitude amongst Ceduna People, traditional blow-in types find it difficult to 'get into' the community. Despite this, blow-ins are always given the chance by Ceduna People to participate in community groups. If a blow-in takes an interest in joining an association, they will be welcomed and encouraged to take part in the group's activities. However, Ceduna People do not go out of their way to recruit those who are only in Ceduna because they were transferred there, or did not have enough money to move on to the next town without first having to pick up work as a service station attendant.

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22 In a seemingly perverse twist - on a Ceduna scale at least - new locals will sometimes refer to themselves as 'blow-ins', but this is done in a roundabout and deliberately self-deprecating way only to show others how well they have been accepted into the Ceduna community.
Being connected with the school, especially, places you in a traditional blow-in category in Ceduna. New teachers are quite often young people, who, if they wish to be employed by the education department, must complete a one year posting in country South Australia as soon as they leave teachers' college. Many of these young teachers are therefore in Ceduna not because they want to be, but because they have to be. Some become enamoured of the place and choose to stay, but mostly they see out their posting and take off back to the city from whence they came. Teachers (especially young, new teachers) often feel excluded from 'normal' Ceduna society, because they are members of a traditional 'blow-in' category and are not expected to stay on in the town, and are not invited to join groups, the argument being that they will leave soon enough and it is a waste of time and energy to encourage their participation:

And then, the people side of things has come more slowly, compared to say where we lived in Queensland, that was more, that was a really full-on thing there, whereas here, people tend to split, I don't know, more into their groups, and it's really hard getting to know people, really. And, yeah, the groups. We've basically met most of the people we know through the school.

Further, the school tends to form its own little community - school staff gain support from each other, gossip about each other and hold their own get-togethers. In Elmdon, newcomers neither regard themselves as villagers (Strathern1981: 3), nor try to pass themselves off as villagers (1984: 186; 1982b: 257 - 8). In fact, newcomers distinguish themselves from villagers, just as villagers distinguish themselves from newcomers (1982b: 257 - 8). Elmdon's newcomers can be equated with Ceduna's blow-ins on this understanding of government-type, transferable workers. It is easy for teachers to not become involved in town life, and they often find themselves in a liminal position: where any other newcomer might be placed in the 'holding category' of newcomer awaiting and then undergoing assessment, young teachers may not even get this far:

A lot of teachers, I found that, especially a lot of single teachers, they're never really accepted unless they acquire a boyfriend here, or a girlfriend, or partner, or whatever, here, then they kind of become more local because they see them as settling down. Whereas if they're just here people will still look at it as, 'Well, how long you going to stay here?', that type of thing.
That said, however, there are some teachers who have metaphorically moved out of the school yard and into the general community to become new locals - they organise community events, hold office in volunteer groups, or play bass guitar in a local band. Indeed, some of these people are the most well-known personalities in the town.

There is one category of person, however, which does not have any designated status of old or new local, new person, newcomer or blow-in in Ceduna: the doctor. Whilst hospital staff and other health workers might be locals of one description or another, doctors certainly are not, often coming and going within the space of a couple of years.23 Ceduna People's attitudes towards doctors are of a different nature from their attitudes towards young teachers. Young teachers are compelled to take up a country posting whether they want to or not. Doctors, on the other hand, can find work just about anywhere, and many are loathe to leave their comfortable existences in the cities. Any doctor who decides to work in a town like Ceduna, then, firstly cannot be all that bad a person, but secondly, and more importantly, must be held on to for as long as possible, for the task of finding a permanent replacement is never an easy one. Doctors, then, are rarely referred to as blow-ins, but are given a status all of their own, covered simply by the very term, 'doctor'. Ceduna People are forthright in their appraisals of a particular doctor's bedside manner or general medical competency, and they will openly criticise a doctor whom they believe to be an unfit or inept general practitioner; those physicians whom Ceduna People like are praised as being a 'top doctor'; those they dislike are likely to be called a 'dickhead'. Regardless of people's estimations, however, doctors in Ceduna are minor celebrities - if you know one socially, it is best to let everyone else know so - and, although it may not be regarded by the recipient as especially flattering, being called 'the doctor's wife' is meant as a compliment. Neither do doctors have to undergo the rigorous assessments, nor suffer the pressures to join and fit in, to which most newcomers are subject. New doctors often work long hours, being on-call all weekend and most weeknights. The demands of their jobs exclude them from having to join groups outside of their work, simply because they do not have the time to commit to a community organisation or two, a fact which Ceduna People understand

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23 When I lived in Ceduna, one doctor and his family had chosen to stay on in Ceduna, but this is certainly an exception to the general rule in country Australia, where getting, and then keeping, doctors in a community has become quite a mission for these towns.
and acknowledge.

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Newcomers have a special status in Ceduna, for they are not blow-ins in the sense of being likely to move on from the town in the near future, and nor are they 'new people', meaning that they have not yet learnt the basics of life in Ceduna and been accepted into the community proper. Newcomers are the subjects of the Attitude Test, an examination of a person's thoughts on, and feelings about, the community and the landscape of the Far West Coast. Once newcomers are accepted, they become new people, and as such, they take part in community groups and activities, and generally get on with the business of being Ceduna. No one group of accepted people is 'more Ceduna' than the other: old locals are not 'more accepted' than new locals, for example, and neither are new locals more accepted, more Ceduna (for there is a correlation) than new people. Indeed, the idea of acceptance, and not the sub-category of Ceduna person into which one fits as a matter of course, is the decisive factor in being Ceduna.

Being Ceduna proper is a complex issue that takes into account not only the ways in which you act and the beliefs you espouse, but also the place you occupy in this special classificatory system within the town: old and new locals and new people 'are' Ceduna whilst blow-ins are usually kept apart from the survival ethic and all that it entails. Newcomers are given a special dispensation during the time they are taught the importance of being Ceduna to the survival of the community. Further, they are being guided in how to join groups and how to view the landscape as part of a test of their attitude towards the town and its people. And although the distinctions between people might not seem important to most who dwell in Ceduna, the idea of separating people into various types is a means to the practical end of ensuring the community's overall survival.
CHAPTER THREE
ACCEPTANCE

Being Ceduna means being accepted. Acceptance in Ceduna is a complex emic matter which takes into account the details of a person's lifestyle and ancestry as well as broader considerations such as commitment to the community and an appreciation of the landscape of the Far West. Old locals are accepted because of their incontestable ancestry; however, all those who do not have such familial links are required to undergo a test for their acceptability which I have termed the 'Attitude Test'. Newcomers to the town are put through this loosely-structured but enormously important examination within a month or two of their arrival in the town. The Attitude Test guides people in how to be Ceduna and takes account of people's willingness to contribute to the survival of the community, their way of life (i.e. being clean and decent amongst other things), and their ability to be guided on what is and is not important in the local context. However, not all people are accepted after undergoing the Attitude Test. In Ceduna's own terminology, these people are rejected; they can be a member of the class of Ceduna People, but they cannot 'be Ceduna' for they are not accepted.

Belonging
Acceptance in Ceduna might be thought to have a deal in common with the idea of belonging described in much of the ethnographic literature which tries to make sense of how people understand their attachments or otherwise to a given community. The idea of belonging has been scrutinised in various rural settings as a principally positive sense of affinity with a certain place, its customs and/or its people. Such is the case in the Upper Ithon valley in the Welsh county of Powys, where Graham Day and Jonathan Murdoch (1993) report that people's sense of belonging is very much tied to particular places. One example they give is that of a man living in Llandewi, only six miles from his birthplace of Llandabadarn, commenting that he did not 'know' Llandewi, and that he wished he could return home to where he "really belonged" (ibid: 100).
In non-metropolitan Australia, Margaret Bowman recognises the importance of a sense of belonging both for those people who have lived and worked on the land or in a certain town all their lives and therefore have entrenched, emotional ties in those places, and for those communities where such ties may not be so noticeable (1981: xv). In the latter case, Bowman argues that a sense of belonging may be achieved principally by "working together for a common purpose" (ibid), such as joining a voluntary organisation or club. The inhabitants of remote and small towns also tend to fortify their sense of belonging to a particular community via a suspicion of the city (ibid), but what is most important, writes Bowman, is that "people seem to be held together by interlocking and interdependent interests" (ibid) and by seeing themselves as 'all in the same boat'.

Often a person's own awareness of difference from the people of other towns or villages guides and nourishes specific convictions which reinforce the sense of belonging that people exhibit towards their local community. Anthony Cohen describes the phenomenon of belonging in Whalsay, Shetland, as being a case of people merging kinship with community to create something more than a connate sense of place:

'Belonging' implies very much more than merely having been born in the place. It suggests that one is an integral piece of the marvellously complicated fabric which constitutes the community; that one is a recipient of its proudly distinctive and consciously preserved culture - a repository of its traditions and values, a performer of its hallowed skills, an expert in its idioms and idiosyncrasies. The depth of such belonging is revealed in the forms of social organisation and association in the community so that when a person is identified as belonging to a particular kinship group or neighbourhood he becomes, at the same time, a recognisable member of the community as a whole and of its cultural panoply. (1982b: 21).

In other places, these differences are used to deliberately exclude newcomers from the innermost circles of village belonging. In the Welsh village of Blaenau Ffestiniog, Isabel Emmett (1982) shows how bilingualism is used by locals to express their sense of belonging to the town in which they live. In Blaenau, local Welsh speakers use their bilingualism as a "social weapon [to help] them manage the non-Welsh-speaking incomers" (ibid: 218) and to fortify their sense of belonging that has come through
innate community membership, familiarity with the countryside, and being an innate, inevitable part of Blaenau history and culture.

Muker people from North Yorkshire distinguish between locals (born-and-bred in Muker parish) and incomers (who have settled in the parish) largely on the basis of how a person belongs to their locality (Phillips 1986: 141). Locals' sense of belonging comes from their feelings of personal commitment to Muker (ibid: 143) and the fact that they share "a distinctive parish community whose families, dialect and history are different from those of the resident incomers, different from those of other Dalespeople in neighbouring Dales, and different from those of towns and cities further afield" (ibid, emphasis in original).

Sometimes, people must be able to demonstrate indisputable old local family ties in order to claim belonging status. Marilyn Strathern argues that in Elmdon it is clearly only the old locals who can be said to 'really' belong, and there is a prevailing town consciousness in which the idea of belonging carries a metaphorical authority that determines who might justly count themselves a 'true' member of a given community. Belonging in Elmdon entails being a birth member of one of the 'real' or 'old' Elmdon families (Strathern 1981: 5; 1982b). 'Real' Elmdon people are conscious of their own distinctiveness (Strathern 1982b: 248 - 9), and use this consciousness to stress the fact that some belong more than others to the village; to show that, even though incomers might identify with the village and its concerns (Strathern 1981: 5), they are nonetheless strangers within (Strathern 1982b: 255), "for not marriage nor length of residence nor even birth in the village can supersede the criterion of membership by family connection" (ibid: 265). Belonging, then, has a "symbolic force" (ibid: 260) in Elmdon, where an "imagery of closure" (ibid: 265) isolates those who 'really' belong from those who do not, so that "the village as a material entity" (ibid: 260) can be said to belong to the 'real' Elmdoners, just as much as the 'real' Elmdoners belong to the village.

There appear to be two aspects of belonging described in this body of literature: firstly, there is a community- (often pre-) determined sense of belonging, wherein certain local distinctions - determined by family, dialect, custom, knowledge and the like - discriminate between those who belong and those who do not, as in Blaenau; and,
secondly, there is the personal, innate sense of belonging, wherein an individual experiences feelings of private consonance with the place in which they live, as in Whalsay. For Ceduna People, the first sense of belonging is understood in terms of 'acceptance' - a public belonging - whereby the town's accepted collectivity ordains through sets of rules who ought or ought not to be received into regular Ceduna society. Acceptance for Ceduna People is tangible and publicly-recognised, and is never confused with a sense of belonging in the sense of having achieved some kind of personal, inner harmony induced simply by living in Ceduna. This second awareness is a private belonging; it is virtually indescribable for most Ceduna People and is seen as airy-fairy balderdash\(^1\) when described by others, even though many Ceduna People admit to having deeply emotional experiences of the place. Indeed, people's private and emotional responses to landscape are, by necessity, intense and highly significant in the context of the survival ethic (this will be discussed at length in the final chapter).

But there is a third sense in which people can be said to belong in Ceduna, and that is thanks to something of a default mechanism, meaning that it is not enough simply to state that those people who are not accepted in Ceduna society, or who do not actively engage in it, exist apart from it, for in Ceduna, there are people who can be said to \textit{belong} in the town, even though they are not \textit{accepted}. Perhaps Ken Dempsey's work on Smalltown (1990) comes closest to describing what is happening in Ceduna in this delineation between belonging and acceptance. Dempsey argues that socially-marginalised people within Smalltown can still experience a sense of belonging, despite its being "mixed with feelings of isolation, rejection, and resentment" (ibid: 94). Often these people have kinship ties to Smalltown, and they feel a part of the town, regardless of their peripheral status. For these Smalltownites, a sense of belonging accords principally with the personal and private consciousness felt by individuals, and where group sanction counts for little, as in the sense of a private belonging described above. However, there is also a feeling that these people belong in Smalltown because they do not belong anywhere else. Such is the case in Ceduna, where a person might be said to belong, but not be accepted. This means that rejected people cannot claim to be Ceduna, for being Ceduna is not a matter of belonging, but of acceptance. There can be belonging without acceptance, but not acceptance without belonging.

\(^1\) Naive nonsense.
In a very real sense, such outsiders are elemental to social life in Ceduna; they are an integral part of the townscape, and, in a sense (without meaning to personify the town), Ceduna almost has some kind of ownership of them, just as they have some kind of ownership over Ceduna - they are intrinsic to Ceduna and ought to be there. These are people who belong in Ceduna, even though they might not be accepted, for they, also, are an indivisible part of what makes up Ceduna. To belong by default in Ceduna does not necessarily mean that a person is seen as a 'good' community member or someone who participates in group business or that they feel within themselves a special affection for the town and its surrounds; even Aboriginal People and long-term outcasts and outsiders, whilst not accepted, can be said to belong in Ceduna - after all, Ceduna would not be Ceduna without them: "You know, and we've got used to our own odd people, we've got odd people, but we're used to them ... ".

Without such people, accepted people - those who 'are Ceduna' - could not claim that they tolerate outcasts in their community where others (namely, city people) would not. This leads to the situation where, without outsiders, accepted people would have no-one to spread malicious gossip about,\(^2\) complain about or despise. In fact, whilst you are gossiping about someone else, such as these outcasts, attention is being deflected from your own idiosyncrasies and community indolence.\(^3\) Perhaps the most important aspect of having such people around is that they represent a way of being which should be avoided; they are what we must not become if we are to survive out here.

In Ceduna, people's understandings of a private belonging have little consequence for being Ceduna because those understandings focus on a personal, individual consciousness. Similarly, belonging by default and public belonging are treated as something of side-issues as far as being Ceduna is concerned. Acceptance, however, is an altogether different matter. Ceduna People's consciousness of acceptance governs most of the population's behaviour chiefly because of the concept's incontestable usefulness to the town's major ethic of survival. Acceptance demands that people conduct themselves in particular, prescribed ways and do particular, prescribed things.

\(^2\) Much of the gossip accepted people spread about other accepted people is either fairly petty or benign.

\(^3\) Interestingly, it is those who participate least in community life, but are accepted because they are clean, conservative, 'in with the right crowd' and know how to manipulate the acceptance system, who are the most vocal in their derision of those rejected people who play large parts in group activities.
And perhaps the two most important things - although by far not the only things - a person can do in Ceduna if they wish to be promptly accepted, are to join a group, and learn to respect the landscape. However, joining groups and respecting the landscape are not the be-all-and-end-all to acceptance in Ceduna. Aside from all this talk of community and joining in, there is an undercurrent of persuasion in which new people must pick up on social cues and then promptly act on them. This is where the idea of acceptance particularly comes into play.

Acceptance

'Acceptance' is a term that frequently arises in conversation with Ceduna People. It is an expression that appeals to Ceduna People because it so precisely encapsulates for them how their community works, for there are, above all, accepted people, and a process which is called 'being accepted into the community'. Acceptance as both word and concept is used with confidence by almost all Ceduna People - most people are very sure of what it means to be accepted in Ceduna. Further, the term has wide currency and is applied with a degree of accuracy that discloses its importance to the mindset and lifestyle of Ceduna People.

Acceptance is largely a practical statement of one's position in the community, and is used to describe whether or not a newcomer is deemed to be a good community member. As such, it means that accepted people - who include both old locals (accepted by virtue of their birth right), new locals (accepted because of long-term residence and involvement in the town), and the more established new people - have assessed your contributions to the community, observed your interactions with other Ceduna People, found out who your friends are, and then had all of this ratified by the population in general through its gossip channels. Acceptance requires the sanction of the prevailing, already accepted, Ceduna community, which determines your worth and commitment to it; the higher the perceived levels of worth and commitment of newcomers, the more quickly they are accepted. Acceptance is a pragmatic issue, just as Ceduna People are a pragmatic people, and being accepted and being Ceduna, mean having to become part of something that must exist if we are all to survive in this isolated place. The pressure on new people to be accepted is considerable, but once the general community gives its endorsement, the feeling of being a part of something 'good' far outweighs any sense a
person might have that their personal sense of self is being compromised. Clachanites will likewise accept newcomers on a number of provisos, the most important being that those people exhibit an interest in community affairs and behave in a 'proper' manner (Mewett 1986: 75 - 6). Adherence to these rules ensures an incomer's inclusion in Clachan's discourse (native-born Clachanites presumably form part of the discourse as a birthright). The whole issue of acceptance in Ceduna is important for the ethic of survival that permeates the town; acting in a fashion suited to, and determined by, Ceduna People is essential to a newcomer's getting along in the town.

At base, anyone who 'makes an effort', 'joins in' or 'becomes involved' has a pretty good chance of being accepted in Ceduna. Blow-ins, because of their 'non-entity' status and the seeming inevitability of their moving on after a year or two, are never really a part of the acceptance process that 'proper' new people (those who look like staying for several years at least) must undergo. Further, blow-ins usually make little effort to be accepted, as the hints given to them by Ceduna People tell them not to bother - they will be gone soon enough, and they are therefore not worth people's trouble. In places such as Elmdon, Whalsay or Muker, it takes time for new people to reach acceptance status - if, indeed, they ever achieve such standing. In Ceduna, mechanisms of inclusion, rather than exclusion, give newcomers every opportunity to be accepted into the community, for immediately upon their arrival newcomers are encouraged to participate in town life by joining groups, attending barbecues or going camping.

Such welcoming attitudes towards newcomers suggest that acceptance into the community is relatively easy, and it is true that people new to Ceduna can be very quickly received by the town's inhabitants. However, the opposite also applies, and anyone who exhibits behaviour that is regarded as disagreeable to community life is smartly 'rejected'. Once rejected, it is almost impossible for any kind of redemption to occur. This is accounted for by the common sense, resolute attitude most Ceduna People hold in regard to identifying the acceptability or otherwise of all new people; even the apparent contradiction of designating specific people 'blow-ins', and holding them in limbo (where the least possible certainty might be said to exist), is a practical, "no-bullshit way" of learning to live with the ambivalence of such a category of persons. Ceduna People value certainty in their lives: rarely do people vacillate in their opinions,
and they like to get things over with swiftly. By promptly evaluating newcomers - say, within six months to a year - the entire matter of acceptance (and in fewer cases, rejection) is out of the way, allowing those new to the town to move into the class of Ceduna People as a whole - regardless of whether they are accepted or rejected - and thus get on with the business of surviving in Ceduna.

New locals were once, by definition, newcomers, and as such have already undergone all the tests that are required of new people before they are accepted into the community and before they can be Ceduna. New locals are usually solid members of at least two organisations: they never fail to support local events through virtue of simply turning up, they generally know, are known by, or know the business of, most of the Ceduna population, and they feel as if they belong there. In a way, new locals are perfect community members, even more so than old locals who are accepted through an accident of birth and a retrospective appreciation of the contributions their pioneering ancestors made to the settlement of the West Coast. New locals embody all that a person should do and be to become Ceduna; new locals sometimes 'know' the landscape of the Far West rather better than their old local equivalents, as they have not been restricted to family farms - instead, they have travelled extensively and camped all over the region, becoming familiar with the coast and inland alike. And, of course, they work for the community, they are committed to living in the community, and, above all, they care for the community.

Old locals are accepted regardless of their degree of participation in community life. Their contributions to the community have already been made by way of their pioneering ancestors and these can neither be erased nor countered. They have done their bit and continue to do it simply by reason of remaining in, and belonging to, the Far West: "I suppose you don't have to do much for the community and still be called a local", said one old local. And as a new local put it, when explaining why old locals tend to do less involved in community activities than most: "they don't have to prove to anyone that they belong because they already have established that ownership that they belong to this place". Old locals and their ancestors are the original survivors, and

4 Attending.
they do not have to prove their Cedunaness to anyone for they quite simply 'are' Ceduna without question.

Other people are accepted in Ceduna not through any significant contributions they make to the community but simply because they have lived in the town for twenty years or so, have managed to keep out of trouble, do not socialise with rejected people (a sure way to invite a degree of contempt), and have become involved in a drinking and barbeque scene. These people never become 'new locals' in the true sense - that is, the aforementioned 'perfect community members' known for their charitable public actions - but they are people who have made a commitment to themselves (rather than the community) in deciding to live the rest of their lives in Ceduna. They are certainly regarded as Ceduna People, but they are also considered a little lazy by the community in general because they have taken an easy track - although not a fast one - to acceptance. They are therefore given a kind of passive local status by which they are thought more of as 'not rejected' than as 'new locals' proper. They are not understood to contribute in any definite, constructive way to the town's survival, nor do they positively seek approval from other Ceduna People, relying instead on lesser Ceduna stipulations for acceptance: not making any notable nuisances of themselves, being clean and tidy, and establishing friendships with others who likewise donate little of themselves and their time to community matters.\(^5\) It takes longer for these people to be accepted in Ceduna, but through their very being there (\textit{and} under the strict proviso of not offending ordinary Ceduna sensibilities), they are eventually accepted by default, although they are not always wholly respected by the more active members of the community. These people share a similar predicament to newcomers to Marulan, where being accepted is more a matter of length of residence in the district than anything else - even those who choose not to participate in district affairs acquire, over time, "minimal acceptance" (Poiner 1990: 10) as Marulanites.\(^6\) Significantly, such people might be thought of as

\(^5\) In Ceduna, those who do little community work and are thus not members of groups and associations, seem to stick together when it comes to socialising. Those whose participation levels in community activities and the like is high, similarly tend to socialise together. There is such pressure upon people in Ceduna to join in, that people in the former group feel uncomfortable around those who might show them up as far as co-operative society goes; thus they surround themselves with similarly 'disinclined' allies.

\(^6\) This does, however, seem to contradict Poiner's earlier statement, that "there is more to being an accepted resident of Marulan than simply owning land or living in the area" (ibid: 10) - exactly what this "more" is, is unclear.
Ceduna People, but they are never considered to be 'really Ceduna' at the deeper levels of people's understandings of what is and is not Ceduna, meaning that actively taking part in community groups and being seen as "in the community" help make up the core of what it means to truly be Ceduna.

The Attitude Test
Acceptance for most newcomers to the town is overall a matter of attitude. As one who has recently moved to Ceduna, you are expected to heed, and act upon, the rules of sociality which are being inadvertently demonstrated to you as you settle into life in the Far West. As a fully-fledged Ceduna Person, you are continuously on the look-out for how well a newcomer might or might not fit into Ceduna. This is the Attitude Test. It takes six to twelve months to be completed, and it sets newcomers on the course to being Ceduna by suggesting to them what is and is not accepted in the town, and guiding them in the basics of Ceduna life.

When a person first comes into the town, Ceduna People are a little wary; of the person, of their reasons for being there, and of their potential to become a part of the community. After one or two months, people start to learn more about you, and, using their highly-attuned senses of both personality- and practical skills-assessment they begin to determine just where, exactly, you might best fit in and what contributions you might best be able to make to the community. For example, a new nurse at the hospital might be encouraged to join the Ambulance Service, a new music teacher might be asked to help out at the radio station, or a mechanically-minded person might be approached to marshal at the dirt circuit. Significantly, though, it is the already-established members of such groups who seek out these newcomers and make these suggestions, and not co-workers (unless, of course, the co-worker also happens to be member of the particular group that seeks the newcomer's participation). It is now up to you, as a newcomer, to show that you want to join in - it doesn't matter what: "... lawn bowls, you know, for God's sake, anything!". But it is important that you undergo the joining process within a few months of arriving in the town. Newcomers must demonstrate to Ceduna People that they want to be accepted, and that they are acceptable: "... people accept people because of their attitude"; "... if you are a [newcomer] you have to prove something to them [Ceduna People] to be accepted".
This invariably means having to join a group (just to show that you want to take part in community activities) and getting to know and love the surrounding landscape.

The ways of adding to your score on the Attitude Test can be divided into positive and passive practices. Positive practices include, most importantly, becoming a member of a group or association, and also enjoying the great outdoors with your (usually) young family or friends (camping, fishing, four-wheel driving), being fiercely loyal to the town, taking part in some form of sport, displaying a strong work ethic and socialising with accepted people (i.e. those who have a firm reputation amongst Ceduna People as being good community members). Passive practices are those which require no deliberate or extensive effort on the part of a person to gain acceptance. These practices include displaying no leftist tendencies, not having tickets on yourself,\(^7\) not knocking\(^8\) the town and its people, being laid back, not being a Boong Lover,\(^9\) and not being too smart for your own good.\(^{10}\) Newcomers who use positive practices in the quest for acceptance in Ceduna almost invariably pass the Attitude Test well within a year of arriving in the town - unless, of course, one or other aspects of behaviour, such as deriding the community, living in squalor or openly advocating Aboriginal social justice issues, militates against this. In the odd case, a person might fail the Attitude Test simply because people do not like them - but such instances are extraordinary, as Ceduna People would rather tolerate someone they did not like than upset the town's chances of survival by kicking them out of\(^{11}\) a group. For those who prefer the passive course, acceptance may take much longer, chiefly because Ceduna People are 'doers' with a strong work ethic who hate to see anyone taking what is seen as an easy option over a hard slog.\(^{12}\) Naturally, anyone who can combine both positive and passive practices in their quest for acceptance in Ceduna is on a winner.\(^{13}\)

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\(^7\) Expounding your own talents.
\(^8\) Complaining about.
\(^9\) Someone who supports the causes of Aboriginal People.
\(^10\) To some, these 'passive' practices might sound like hard work - that is, suppressing a naturally cerebral disposition, or not being able to speak out on issues of social justice might be hard for some people to do. But to Ceduna People such things are not difficult to come to grips with, and they should require no effort on behalf of any right-minded person.
\(^11\) Removing them from.
\(^12\) Hard work/effort.
\(^13\) On the right track and assured of success.
The Attitude Test also takes into account how much one 'cares' for the community, as this is seen as intrinsic to survival - after all, if you are emotionally attached or committed to a place, and if you have a positive sense of private belonging, Ceduna People figure it will be harder for you to up and leave. People stress the importance of being Ceduna because it is seen to create commitment amongst newcomers. Indeed, the whole idea of commitment to the community is intrinsic to survival, and thus an integral part of a person's acceptance. The notion of caring for the community is a prevalent one in Ceduna, and centres more upon being loyal to the community as a whole and as a concept than it does upon the individuals who make up that community. Caring for the community in Ceduna means making positive statements about the town and its people and participating in community activities. The stress placed on getting involved in Ceduna, and avoiding statements and behaviours that might bring opprobrium upon yourself or the town, does not stop you from making judgements about rejected people (or, indeed, about accepted people, assuming you choose your statements and company wisely). Ceduna People will think little of making defamatory proclamations about a rejected individual ('So-and-so drinks and smokes too much' or 'So-and-so is dirty'), but will not tolerate another who asserts that Ceduna is the rottenest pestilential stink-hole they have ever had the misfortune to live in.

It makes little difference to the Attitude Test whether a newcomer to the town is a country person or a city person. In this regard, Ceduna People are a little more accommodating than their Elmdon counterparts. Ceduna People recognise that if the place and its people are to survive, then any newcomer must both be encouraged to participate in community activities and promptly have the ground rules of existence in the town brought to their attention in the hope that the new arrival might prove themselves acceptable. New arrivals from the country have, perhaps, a slight advantage over city people in that they already know some of the rules of country life. Nonetheless, these rules are as likely as not to be different from those they might have learnt elsewhere, thus necessitating a revision of what it means to participate in small town life. City people are acknowledged for making the bold move Out West in the first place, and this is taken into consideration as far as the Attitude Test goes, even though they are swiftly upbraided for any inadvertently unacceptable performance (usually through gossip which makes its way back to them). What is important, however, is that
people quickly adapt to the Ceduna way of acting and thinking, that they leave their past existences behind them, and that get on with a here-and-now attitude to life and being Ceduna.

Wanting to survive in the community - and recognising the reasons behind the whole point of survival - gains you another tick on the Attitude Test for acceptability. Not wanting to be accepted and not wanting to be Ceduna mean that you are, by implication, rejecting the town and its people, which in turn means that you are not interested in making a contribution to the survival of Ceduna incarnate. Surviving in Ceduna is as much a matter of getting involved in community life as it is anything else: "Take advantage of the interests that you can get from a small country town. I think you would survive a lot better if you take an interest in things that you're interested in here, and use that".

Couples with children of school age, rate highly in the Attitude Test, and are usually to be found amongst the accepted crowd. Children are a good medium through which to get to know people, predominantly through school functions and sport:

As the children get older, you get involved in their lives, you know, with our boys, when they were five I used to get involved in school life, get involved in school. Before school I got involved in Mothers and Babies. That's sort of how I got to know people.

Being involved in the schools is akin to being involved in the community at large. Young couples who do not have, or want to have, children are seen as a little strange, partly because an avenue for association is cut off, and those who do have children will sometimes flaunt their progeny as a means of further isolating those who, for whatever reason, have not ('yet') been blessed. Moreover, couples with children are less likely to up and move out of the town because most parents are reluctant to shift their brood from school to school, place to place. Having children equates with a desire to settle down - for a few years at least.
Buying a house (or, indeed, a four-wheel drive and sometimes even a boat) after settling in the town is another strong indicator that you might be considering spending at least the next ten or more years of your life in Ceduna:

I think that's because people can see we're ... visually, we've bought a house, so people are thinking, 'Oh, well, they've got a mortgage, they're obviously planning to stay', and we've done it up\textsuperscript{14} and people really like the way we've done it up, so they see that as being positive and that it's a positive thing.

These physical displays of loyalty to the town - that is, settling the children into school, buying a house - count for a lot in the Attitude Test. They mean that newcomers have little choice in giving their allegiance to Ceduna; after all, they have chosen to live there for a reasonable period of time, and if they are to get along in the place, they must learn, and stick to, the town's rules of acceptance.

Although a newcomer may be accepted into Ceduna within a fairly short space of time (say, eight or nine months, depending on how they do in the Attitude Test), the longer you remain in Ceduna, and the more you give to the town in terms of community commitment, the more respect you gain. This is the case for new locals, who, after ten or fifteen years, can say that they feel they have become "really accepted". Being really accepted means, in a way, that Ceduna claims you for its own, no matter where your roots lie:

See, I've been nominated as Citizen of the Year because they saw me as being involved in the community, that's why, and even, even some people when I had my fiftieth birthday, I sent it [a clipping from the newspaper] to my sister, I did not notice it, but when my sister wrote back, she said, "Oh, you must be well-liked there, because it says 'Ceduna's Grace [...]!' [...] If I had've just stayed home and devoted myself to my family, then in my home, and blah, blah, blah, I don't think I would feel accepted. I really wouldn't feel I am accepted.

Grace originally came from the Philippines, but in her fifteen or so years in Ceduna, she had achieved new local status, not through her marriage to an old local, but through her commitment to community organisations such as the Multicultural League and Girl Guides.

\textsuperscript{14} Renovated it.
For some new locals, such acknowledgement is meaningful because it is given by old locals:

And because I've been here so long now, that really I've been acknowledged. Where some years ago I was just 'Laurie [...] from the Council', but now it's 'Laurie [...] from the community'. And I've noticed that over the last, probably the last five years, but there's people that before it was 'G'day', now it's 'G'day, Laurie'. And that's the senior people around the place, and I feel, yeah, I mightn't have married a local, but I feel that I've achieved ...

What Laurie does not mention, here, is the large amount of volunteer work he does for the community through his involvement in the Country Fire Service. Nor does he talk about his role as Chief Inspector for the District Council, a position which, on occasion, can cause conflicts with townspeople, but more often than not gains the respect of those with whom he has interactions.

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If you pass the Attitude Test and become accepted, you can now consider yourself Ceduna. Those few who fail the Attitude Test join the ranks of the rejected, and although these people might participate in a community group, they are never invited to barbeques, asked to go camping or accorded any real intelligence within the group framework. Indeed, their group efforts are often belittled, mocked, or sneered at. These people nonetheless go about their lives much as would any other, for being rejected does not mean that you stop going to the pub, watching the tellie or going to work.

Rejection
Whilst the majority of people in the town can lay claim to being accepted by the community, there are those few amongst the white population who live their lives marginal to the Ceduna populace as a whole. These people are 'rejected'. Rejected people are essential to the idea of acceptance because they set up a case for 'what we are not': in the normalising of newcomers, rejected people are examples of poor community members, and thus of people who are not interested in the survival of the community as a whole.
The most serious judgements about a newcomer's merit in community terms are made in the early days of their residence:

...and you make as a newcomer, you make a bed and you lie in it. And other people, without you knowing it, will make their own judgements, and they'll do nothing about it as long as you keep to your bed and be as you are, and as soon as you overstep the mark in some way, sooner or later, the whole town will know about it.

'The mark' that this person talks about here can mean a number of things: not getting out and meeting people, being 'dishonest', being 'weird', pretending to be something you are not, being a 'toff', being unemployed, being lazy, not joining in, being dirty, being an Aboriginal Person, complaining about the town, speaking your mind when most Ceduna People are of a different one, sitting at home, not mixing. None of these things is seen to contribute to community life for they conflict with the town's prime directive of survival - and to survive, we must all get along by all being more or less the same, by all being Ceduna.

Another thing that can lead to not being accepted in Ceduna is, ironically, drinking too much. Although drinking is a favourite pastime in Ceduna, and people who do not drink are seen as a little bit odd, those who do not drink in company are ostracised for having a 'drinking problem'. Although a person might, indeed, have difficulties with alcohol, the quandary is not one of drinking as such, but rather the manner in which these people go about their drinking - that is, without 'their' group of friends. The further implication is that they have no friends and that they therefore do not get involved in group activities where they can meet people. And if a person is not a member of a group, it means that they are probably not doing anything constructive for the community (unless, of course, they are an old local and have made their contributions through their pioneering lineage). The circle closes itself when the logical Ceduna conclusion to be drawn is that this person is not really Ceduna:

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15 Those who are accepted are quite assured in their explanations of what makes a person 'on the outer' (rejected), even if they do not always like admitting that such people exist within the town.
16 Aboriginal People who drink too much are despised firstly for their Aboriginality - which many Ceduna People see as inherent to their drinking - and secondly because their drinking takes place in public, especially on the Foreshore. It is socially permissible for white Ceduna People to drink, as long as it occurs in the pub, club or home. These attitudes tend to mask - from themselves as well as others - the fact that many white Ceduna People could be classified as alcoholics.
A: One of my friends [...] always complained that she didn't feel accepted in the place. But we decided then that it was the person, the people and not the town because if others could do it ... .

[...]

B: She wasn't prepared to mix in a lot.

A: I think she was a nervy person, and she wouldn't do things without her husband beside her. We tried to talk her into joining in with things so she'd meet me outside and we'd walk in together. And I think that there was probably a problem that way and I think that in the city you could probably get away with it.

It is not for want of trying on the part of Ceduna People, say the accepted, that some newcomers are eventually rejected. The number of rejected people in the town is few, and some, like the person mentioned in the above conversation, decide to move out of the town. Others, however, simply get on with the business of living, sometimes building up a small circle of acquaintances with other (almost always) rejected people.

For some, though, it is not their lack of affection for group life that makes them outsiders to the accepted and acceptable. In fact, some people who occupy peripheral positions within the community are marginalised partly for their participation in groups. In the first instance, these people have been categorised as outcasts for one reason or another - they might live in the wrong part of town (where other rejected people live) or be believed to have spent time in gaol for some immoral act or such. When these people join a group, others in the community will scorn their involvement, often ignoring them when it comes to their having a say in group affairs. Sometimes, the marginalised prove themselves to be totally dedicated to the group's operation (indeed, some groups could not function effectively without them) and they are then criticised for being too devoted, even rabid, in their participation. Typically, such people are members of only one group: they do not express any noteworthy interest in other community groups or activities, and they do not socialise with other accepted Ceduna People - all of which are required of a well-rounded, well-adapted Ceduna Person. To contribute to the town's survival, it is necessary to be involved in a variety of community activities and organisations, not just one. Thus, acceptance is not simply a matter of joining a group and loving the landscape but an intricate blend of factors: being decent, reliable, clean,
reasonable, level-headed, fair and respectable (all defined in the Ceduna context) are further factors in determining a person's acceptability or otherwise.

Rejected people find it difficult to make and keep friends. Newcomers quickly discover who is accepted and who is rejected in the town, and - assuming that the newcomers themselves wish to be accepted - rapidly 'drop' any rejected people with whom they have unwittingly begun to associate. Accepted people will not associate with rejected people unless they positively have to - through work or a volunteer group, for example, where it is hard to avoid rejected persons. Accepted people do not visit rejected people in their homes, meet with them for tea at the pub, invite them over for a barbie\textsuperscript{17} or call out to them in the street and spend the next fifteen minutes gossiping with them in full view of the rest of the town; and, if an accepted person does happen to know rejected people socially, convoluted attempts are made on behalf of the accepted person to hide the nature of the friendship. Thus, not consorting with rejected people is yet another criterion for acceptance.

Being rejected in Ceduna can lead to feelings of intense loneliness, unhappiness and isolation. People who are rejected will protest about the gossip in the town and are hurt by what accepted people might say about them when they do not even know them. People who know that they are outside the mainstream of the local community recognise that to be accepted in Ceduna relies on being seen with the right people in the right places:

If you're a drinker, and you go down to the pub all the time, if you're a sailor, you go down to the sailing club, if you're a football player, you go down to the football club, it seems to me that you've got to be in that sort of thing before you can, you know, really get accepted you can't ... people will sit talking, and maybe it's me being over-sensitive, I don't know, but I always get the feeling that ... that's why I don't go. And I've found that if you go with people that are accepted in those areas, then you are more accepted. [...] It can be a very good town, but then again, it can be a very lonely town.

For this person, not being accepted in the local community is something that he has learned to live with. He knows that people gossip about him, that they talk of his (past)

\textsuperscript{17} Barbeque.
drug and alcohol problems and that he has developed a reputation that is hard to get rid of. But still he asks, "How can they know that? They don't see me drinking, I don't drink with them". And that is exactly the point.

**Individual and individual aspects of being Ceduna**

Being Ceduna - being accepted - means being able to successfully negotiate a tension between the group and the individual. There is, certainly, an emphasis in Ceduna on fitting in, joining groups and being 'in the community'; but there is an equally firm accent on the self-dependent person, on being able to stand on your own two feet and take responsibility for your own actions. This is part of a notion of achieving Cedunahood wherein you simultaneously achieve yourself - make yourself - through group participation and your individual integrity. These two things occur concurrently and cannot be separated in the course of everyday Ceduna life. In Ceduna, doing work for the community is understood as part of creating your own identity, being and belonging in the town. This conflicts, however, with depictions of the West found in the work of many social scientists, including anthropologists. For example, Westerners are frequently characterised as highly-individualistic and -differentiated. This kind of society is habitually contrasted against the Other type of society which is understood to be holistic, collectivist and group-oriented.

The idea of the individualistic West is not new. Alexis de Tocqueville (1881 [1835 and 1840]) declared early on (when he journeyed to America to investigate that nation's institutions) that individualism flourishes in democratic societies. Tocqueville compared democracy in America with democracy in France, concluding that, in aristocratic countries, people become equal through revolution, whilst in America, people are born equal through virtue of an existing state of democracy (ibid: 398). People living under an aristocratic régime are assigned a place in the order of things which links one person to the next, thus promoting relations between people as known entities (ibid: 396). In a democracy, however, "when the duties of each individual to the race are much more clear, devoted service to any one man becomes more rare; the bond of human affection is extended, but it is relaxed" (ibid). Democracy, then, enhances the social conditions under which individualism prospers but diminishes interest in one's ancestors and
descendents - it gives people over to themselves, threatening, ultimately, to isolate them from their contemporaries.

Often, too, the idea occurs that in the West democracy, capitalism and individualism are intertwined. This can be found in the work of Karl Marx, who, in *Capital* 1970 [1867, 1885, 1894], was critical of the turn society was taking towards the individual. He charged the growth of capitalism with the division of labour and its concomitant specialisation and fragmentation of society and the material conditions of modern society - leading to the spawning of individualism and the insulation of one person from the next (much as Tocqueville believed).

For Emile Durkheim (1984 [1883]), individualism in the West is set against the collective type of society of "lower peoples" (ibid: 329) where "the first duty is to resemble everyone else" (ibid). In "advanced societies, the similarities that are required are fewer in number" (ibid), leading to individualism and a higher differentiation between people. Like Durkheim, Marcel Mauss (1997 [1895]) presents a social-evolutionist time-line, ranging from primitive people (*personnages*) who are "'clad in a condition'' (ibid: 19) and whose behaviour is determined by the collective, as opposed to the "*personne morale*" (ibid, emphasis in original) the Western individual which is the arbiter of its own destiny.

Louis Dumont continues in the European sociological tradition by identifying the West as individualistic and characterised by sovereignty and free choice. In *Homo Hierarchicus* (1980 [1966]) Dumont describes the Western person as a monad, whose inviolable rights are equivalent to those of all others, and who bears a mark of humanity which transcends an individual's singular existence and yet remains "quasi-sacred, absolute" (ibid). 'Society' is seen at this level as a collection of monads who, above all things, share the "two cardinal ideals" (ibid) of equality and liberty. But Dumont points out that these beliefs are a product of egalitarian theory which promotes liberal ideals of freedom and rationality, and which is itself a product of society - Dumont insists that "our own society obliges us to be free" (ibid: 8). Dumont contrasts this type of society, where the individual apparently reigns supreme, with India, an 'holistic' civilization where hierarchy is at the core of social life. Part of his project is to argue that
individualism exists in holistic societies and holism can likewise be found in individualistic societies. Dumont's justification for the latter declaration is found in his statements regarding the prominence of the social: he insists that a "society conceived by individualism has never existed anywhere [because] the individual lives on in social ideas" (ibid: 10). Individuals exist in holistic societies "outside-the-world" (ibid: 233), that is, on the margins of, and beyond, hierarchy. Such people are renouncers, Sadhus and holy men, who have abandoned society and withdrawn from collective life altogether. In a later publication, *Essays on Individualism* (1986), Dumont equates the abolition of hierarchy and holism with the rise of Calvinism. The previously 'outworldly individual' who sought salvation through a denial of society is replaced by Calvin with a unified field in which personal salvation is achieved through subjection to God's will - a theocratic view of the social world which places the individual fairly and squarely within it (ibid: 52 - 59). Dumont explores the 'modern ideology of individualism', from its Christian beginnings to its potentially totalitarian repercussions, and discusses its consequences for anthropology in general. Although the book is a collection of mostly previously-published essays spanning some thirty years, it is possible to extrapolate Dumont's main thoughts on individualism. Dumont states at the outset that "modern ideology is individualistic" (ibid: 9). He explains that the Western world is replete with nominalism "which grants real existence only to individuals and not to relations, to elements and not to sets of elements" (ibid: 11) - nominalism being "just another name for individualism, or rather one of its facets" (ibid). Further, in 'traditional' societies, it is relations between people that gain greatest currency, as opposed to the precedence given to relations between persons and things in modern society (ibid: 106).

The emphasis on the West as being inherently individualistic and as inherently promoting freedom and liberty is critiqued by Alexandra Oroussoff. In her 1993 article "Illusions of Rationality", Oroussoff critiques what she calls the 'false premises of the liberal tradition'. Her study of a multinational company in Britain is one of the few that does not deal with an obvious (usually 'black') minority in Western society, preferring, rather, to concentrate on 'ordinary' people - your average, Western Jo or Joe Blow. Using data collected during fieldwork carried out in Britain amongst managers and manual labourers employed by a firm which she names 'Bion International', Oroussoff argues that liberal philosophy is responsible for encouraging a view of Western society
that favours the doctrine of absolute freedom (ibid: 281) and she criticises philosophical liberalism for its assumption of a homogeneous, rational, insulated consciousness amongst Western people. Further, Ouroossoff reproves the liberal tradition for promoting the idea that "rational thought has given us the unique ability consciously to separate ourselves from the socio-historical conditions of our own existence" (ibid), whilst maintaining that 'non-Cartesian peoples' exist in a world where choices and actions are conditioned by tradition. For Ouroossoff, the 'myth of liberalism' (ibid: 282) has been advanced by liberal philosophers who see the individual as a symbol of free-will and humanity. She likens Mauss's (1985) view of the Western individual as autonomous, conscious and independent (as opposed to the primitive's rule-and-behaviour pre-determined existence) to Dumont's similarly ideological offering that Western individualism and freedom can be contrasted with Indian holism and hierarchy (Ouroossoff: 285 - 6). Ouroossoff also rebukes Marx's social-evolutionist convictions for resting as they do on the dualism of freedom/constraint; that is, his view that an unfettered human being can be realised through the refining and progress of consciousness, from vassal-lord relations to capitalist-worker relations to the rise of the individual (ibid: 283 - 4) - indeed, she is critical of the suggestion that an unfettered human being can be realised at all.

Ouroossoff appears most disparaging of the fact that all these ideas came into being with little or no empirical inquiry. She is particularly critical of Dumont and Mauss who both rely upon debates and texts generated by other academics to lay the ground for their philosophical ponderings. Whilst anthropologists are set upon conducting ethnographic research amongst the Other, their conceptions of the exotic are corrupted and confining because they take their philosophical cues from a liberal tradition which identifies the individual at the heart of Western sociality (ibid: 282). Ouroossoff makes the point that "[whilst] anthropological assumptions about primitive society have, over the decades, become more subtle and complex, conceptions of the west have remained remarkably static" (ibid). The idea that Western people are driven by values and beliefs that are predicated upon a mindset of individualism is one such typification. The idea of the individualistic West, and the emphasis on an individual Western consciousness is over-done, and the depictions of Western peoples that arise from such an exaggeration obscure more precise understandings of how We in the West might work.
Indeed, anthropologists often make known their ideas about the state of Western thought by inference - that is, through their ethnographic studies of non-Western people. Clifford Geertz's influential 1984 paper, "From the native's point of view'. On the nature of anthropological understanding" provides perhaps the most accessible example of this proclivity and is devoted to three ethnographic exposés in which the concept of the person is analysed through the symbolic forms that people use to represent "themselves to themselves and to one another" (ibid). The first of these comes from Geertz's fieldwork in Java, where the distinction is made between 'inside' (lair) and 'outside' (batin) selves (ibid: 127). The 'inside' self refers to the "felt" (ibid) aspects of people's phenomenological existences and is seen, at base, as "identical across all individuals, whose individuality it thus effaces" (ibid). The outside self deals with the demeanour side of things - conduct, actions and utterances, and, again, is considered alike in all individuals (ibid). This divaricate understanding of the self, then, is one of an inner domain of "stilled emotion" (ibid: 128) and an outer domain of "shaped behaviour" (ibid) in which Western-style individualism, as Geertz sees it, is silenced. In Bali, site of the second ethnography presented by Geertz, there is "a persistent and systematic attempt to stylize all aspects of personal expression" (ibid) so that anything that might represent individuality or the 'personality' (in Geertz's terms) is stifled (ibid).

In fact, explains Geertz, "[i]t is dramatis personae, not actors that in the proper sense really exist" (ibid). It is an "absolutizing" (ibid: 132) system in which the fear of experience-near lek, or stage-fright, looms large (ibid: 130). Lek threatens to expose a person's lack of self-control, or inability to regulate their public performance - and it is a fear of lek that maintains the theatrical sense of self against manifestations of spontaneity (ibid). Finally, Geertz calls upon his fieldwork in the Middle East to show how a Moroccan sense of self is mosaic and contextual and borrowed from its setting (ibid: 132). The concept of nisba is used to classify people and their selves and gives them their "definition from associative relations they are imputed to have with the society that surrounds them" (ibid). Moroccans, then, are 'hyperindividualistic' (ibid: 133), "outlines waiting to be filled in" (ibid: 132): skeleton sketches provided by a person's nisba require that the rest be furnished "by the process of interaction itself" (ibid).
The objective of Geertz's paper is to find a happy medium in our ethnographies between Heinz Kohut's (1971) concepts of experience-near (which are 'indigenous') and experience-far (which are 'imposed', often by specialists and academics). Geertz argues that "[c]onfinement to experience-near concepts leaves an ethnographer awash in immediacies, as well as entangled in vernacular. Confinement to experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon" (Geertz 1984: 124). The analysis of persons, Geertz continues, is "an excellent vehicle by means of which to examine this whole question of how to go about poking into another people's turn of mind" (ibid: 126). Geertz then rattles off different possibilities for what cross-cultural notions of persons might be: persons might shape-shift at night into fireflies, or they might store hate as black matter in their livers, but one thing they all share, Geertz writes, is some conception or other of the person as opposed to an animal, a rock or a god (ibid: 126). Geertz also puts forward his thoughts on the Western conception of the person:

The Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgement, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against its social and natural background, is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures. Rather than attempting to place the experience of others within the framework of such a conception, which is what the extolled "empathy" in fact usually comes down to, understanding them demands setting that conception aside and seeing their experiences within the framework of their own idea of what selfhood is. (ibid)

Within the context of the essay Geertz was writing at the time, this quote is almost a throw-away, yet a large proportion of writers on the subject of Western individualism has grabbed a hold of it and analysed it ad nauseum, and many have used the quote to 'show' that Westerners do, indeed, see themselves as bounded, unique, integrated centres of awareness. This plea to put aside 'our' conception of the person so that we might understand the experiences of the Other within the framework of their own idea of what selfhood 'is' is perhaps the most notable - and noted - example of essentialist conjecture; that is, Geertz presents detailed, informative and presumably verifiable ethnographic

18 See, for example, Murray 1993; Spiro 1993; Ewing 1990.
evidence for his reflections on the Other's conception of self, but fails to apply the same standards of evidence to his statements on the Western conception of the person. Here, Geertz appears to use his ethnography of the Other to make a contrary statement about Us without putting forward any similarly detailed ethnographic descriptions of Western cultures.

Both David Murray (1993) and Katherine Ewing (1990) recognise that anthropologists have a penchant for comparing 'the' Western conception of self with a polarised version of the Others' conception of self. Murray calls his approach "a metatheoretical commentary" (1993: 11) about the Western tradition of thought, with a particular interest in the "Western accounting for the Western self" (ibid). Murray identifies two main conceptions of self in the anthropological - and a deal of other - literature: the first is what he calls the 'contingent self' - a relational, culturally-determined self, distinctive of the Other; the second is the 'transcendent self' which is distinctive of the West. Murray enlists the work of David Hume to show that a Western philosophy of self-experience does not have to conform to the paradigm of the transcendent self; that such a philosophy might begin to account for the more conditional aspects of our thoughts on self (ibid: 18). Ewing makes use of her fieldwork in Pakistan to argue that in all cultures the concept of self is relational, contextually-defined and can shift according to the situation. Assumptions to the contrary are indicative of anthropology's ongoing project (until recent times, at least) of scrutinising cultures as if they were "coherent systems" (1990: 257). The Western concept of self as delimited, cohesive and tied explicitly to "Western spatial categories and individualism" (ibid: 256), is set up by anthropologists as "a foil to their studies of the self in other cultures" (ibid: 256), and as such allows no movement at either pole - at that of the Other or at that of the West - for contextual, multiple, inconsistent projections of self.

Melford Spiro (1993) similarly chastises anthropologists who endorse reduced views on the West which inevitably set them in contradistinction to non-Western cultures. He takes a stick to Clifford Geertz's (and others') idea that the Western conception of the self is peculiar amongst the world's cultures. Spiro's main concern is with the ways in which anthropologists have investigated the problem of the 'self' in both Western and non-Western contexts. He demonstrates that the idea of the self is seldom delimited and
is often used in multiple, unclear contexts that either "confuse or conflate the concept of the self with other concepts such as person, individual, personality, self-representation" (ibid: 113). Spiro reprimands scholars who bilaterally oppose their conceptions of the Western self to a non-Western self - whether the opposition be implied or deliberately invoked. Geertz's (op. cit.) version of the peculiar Western person as a circumscribed, integrated, centre of awareness, emotion, judgement and action set against other such wholes, comes under fire because it ipso facto creates an image of a non-Western conception of the person that is not bounded, not integrated and not the centre of its own awareness (ibid: 108). Using Geertz's own ethnography from Java, Bali and Morocco, and Shweder and Bourne's (1982) findings from India, Spiro argues against creating Weberian ideal types that essentialise how people think about the self (ibid: 117). In his view, Spiro states, "there is much more differentiation, individuation, and autonomy in the putative non-Western self, and much more dependence and interdependence in the putative Western self, than these binary opposite types allow" (ibid).

However, none of these arguments - Murray, Ewing, Spiro - goes far beyond stating that things are more complicated and contingent than many representations of personhood would have us believe. Further, pointing out that it is unhelpful to posit a relational Other only to make comment on its seeming opposite might be valid but it is hardly original, and it does little but encourage deeply problematic depictions of the West as individual- and liberty-obsessed.

Marilyn Strathern takes a step beyond these relatively straightforward arguments about the universality of contextual but coincidentally transcendent selves and puts forward some propositions about the character of anthropological exploration itself. Strathern argues that anthropological analysis "achieves its proximity to and replication of its subjects' comprehensions through a form of comprehension, of knowledge, that belongs distinctively to itself" (1988: xi). She critiques the intricacy of analytical language, arguing that it "appears to create itself as increasingly more complex and increasingly removed from the 'realities' of the worlds it attempts to delineate" (ibid: 4). She also deduces that presentations of the complexity and diversity of those worlds are "an invention of the analysis, the creation of more data to give it more work" (ibid: 6 - 7), and that we should "acknowledge the interests from which they come. They endorse a
view of society that is bound up with the very impetus of anthropological study. But the impetus itself derives from Western ways of creating the world" (ibid: 4). Strathern shows that one such way of creating the world is to separate - as a matter of cultural course - society and individual, which makes Westerners imagine that social life is necessarily collective life. Moreover, Westerners have preoccupations with totalising, irrefutative relationships between nature and culture, the individual and society (ibid: 29). She argues further that "Western views of knowledge rest on ideas of organization and accumulation [...] ; we 'know' things by bringing them into relation with more things" (ibid: 319). In anthropology, much of this is based on the "initial analytical premise: that society is collective life" (Strathern 1993: 41), which furnishes the discipline with an elemental, private individual against which to posit a more decentralised sociality. Society, then, is understood to connect, order and classify individuals and the relationships between them - it is "a unifying force that gathers persons who present themselves as otherwise irreducibly unique" (1988: 12). Further, Strathern identifies Western culture's intrinsically and perpetually "incomplete" (ibid: 20) project as playing a role in the "totalizing 'relationship' between individual and society" (ibid). Social science makes this incomplete project "an object of knowledge" (ibid), compartmentalising social life as if it were able to be dissected into distinct components of sociality - individual and society, nature and culture amongst them.

But Strathern does not sermonise with righteous indignation at the mistakenness of our anthropological explorations of the Other. She argues that we should not repeal our "frameworks for understanding" (ibid: 4) just because they are based on exogenous renderings of the Other in our ethnographic accounts. She asserts, rather, that we ought to "show the contextualized nature of indigenous constructs by exposing the contextualized nature of analytical ones" (ibid: 8). Strathern makes some strong points in this direction and the idea that we should examine the sources of our analytical constructs in order to make sense of our making sense of the Other is perhaps the most effective.

Having conducted fieldwork in the English village of Elmdon (1984, 1982a, 1982b, 1981), Strathern is in a better position than most to make statements about Western ways of viewing the world, but the rather austere overview she presents in terms of the
dichotomous nature of Western thinking - individual and society, nature and culture - is, perhaps, a little too restrictive in its application. This presages a further criticism I wish to make in regards to the descriptions of Western ways of thinking: that is, it conflates all manner of Western people into the one class. Ewing (*op. cit.*) compares a small group of Pakistanis to the entire Western world. Edward LiPuma (1998 - see discussion below) does the same - although with a little more care - with Melanesians. Geertz (*op. cit.*) rightly draws attention to the differences between Javanese and Balinese culture yet, bearing in mind that both Java and Bali are a part of the broader geographical designation 'Indonesia', he writes about Westerners as if they might all think about the same things in the same ways no matter where they live. To state that people from Derby, Western Australia, think about the same things in the same ways as people from Nhulunbuy, Northern Territory, is akin to stating that all Australian Aboriginal People share identical beliefs, no matter what their cultural heritage. Such a suggestion is manifestly preposterous.

Edward LiPuma is critical of notional polarisations that present the Western person as highly individualistic in order to make precisely the opposite point about non-Western people, but he goes one step further and draws some deeper conclusions about the problems caused by such views. LiPuma criticises assumptions that Western conceptions of personhood are based on substance, whilst Melanesian conceptions are relational. LiPuma proposes that all cultures display individual and dividual aspects of personhood (ibid: 56), that "persons are inherently dual" (ibid: 60) and that they "emerge precisely from that tension between dividual and individual aspects/relations" (ibid: 57, emphasis in original). LiPuma's main concern, here, is that we are contrasting Melanesian thoughts and practices "not with equivalent accounts of Western notions of personhood, but with Western ideology" (ibid: 57). He debates the view that Western and Melanesian notions of personhood are "incommensurable because the West constructs individuals whilst the societies of Melanesia construct dividuals or relational persons" (ibid: 56) and he chides those who present one image of personhood in order to construct its opposite. Individual dimensions of personhood have always existed in Melanesian societies, LiPuma argues, but with modernity, those dimensions have been foregrounded, inducing "a transformation in the social epistemology of the indigenous
world" (ibid: 73) and thus creating conditions germane to the emergence of the individual in Melanesia.19

LiPuma's observations can be applied to the Ceduna data, because being Ceduna means being able to balance the substantial (individual) with the relational (dividual) whilst doing both things well, for each is seen to contribute to survival: through community work a person is seen to create themselves substantially, which in turn shows their relational value as a community member - that is, their value as an individual working within the community. Through being like other Ceduna People - and, of course, wanting to be like other Ceduna People - community members are showing off their abilities to create themselves as worthy, reliable characters; and they are walking the line between the substantial and relational selves and doing all of these things well. These things happen together and cannot be separated in the Ceduna consciousness. For Ceduna People, benefits to oneself are seen as benefits to the community and vice versa and the two cannot be divided in any straightforward way. Individual aspects of Ceduna life are apparent when people work interdependently to ensure the social and economic well-being of the town and its people. This is largely accomplished through participation in the community groups which pervade the town. People spend large amounts of time in the service of their community: whether it be providing meals on wheels or supplying entertainment for the young ones through the organisation of discos or theme nights at the Sailing Club, all are seen to benefit the town and its population. However, whilst Ceduna People can be highly community-minded, they remain 'individuals'; individuals in Ceduna initially become apparent during the acceptance process, and subsequently within the confines of groups and group life. In the first instance, newcomers are identified as such and the all-important advice in how to survive is given. During this time, newcomers are treated as somewhat separate entities in need of guidance and normalisation: they need to be taught how the town works, the importance of being accepted and all that you need to do to be accepted - that is, join groups, conduct yourself in a particular fashion, go camping, learn the names of

19 LiPuma also aims his critique at relativist approaches to personhood, arguing that any claim of incommensurability across cultures and contexts "rules out the possibility of ethnography which presumes that there are points of commensurability" (ibid: 75), and, further, that cultural relativity and relational theories of personhood are politically disempowering, that they withhold critique, and "cannot grasp the conditions of [their] own construction or possibility" (ibid).
landmarks. To provide people with a Ceduna education those people must be distinguished from the regular Ceduna community yet included in it; this is essential to their schooling. Whilst those who are already accepted in the community work together to coach you in the ways of Ceduna, you are worked upon - and so created as an individual.

On this view, substantial individuals are created in the Ceduna context every bit as much as relational community members. There is no simple case, for example, of the domination of old locals over newcomers and individuals are foregrounded in Ceduna in the group milieu, usually as leaders or as people who can be relied upon. These people are recognised as the best people for the job, as personalities who will take charge of a situation or provide support and impetus to a group project. Indeed, Ceduna People (especially old and new locals who feel they might have lost the faculty to come up with new and innovative ideas) encourage newcomers and the 'newer' new people to exercise their autonomy and get to thinking about how we might better go about ensuring the community's survival. Through your community exertions, you create yourself as an individual. Thus, Ceduna People understand that they are working for themselves in the very act of working for the town; they balance dependence with interdependence, and the two go hand-in-hand as people recognise the significance of this dialectic to the survival ethic.

This tension between the individual and the individual aspects of personhood in Ceduna does not appear only in the local and newcomer context, however. Ancestors play an essential role in Ceduna thinking, and stories are told of how the early pioneers fought against the harsh landscape of the Far West to build the strong communities that exist there today. In this way, an image of the rugged individual, battling the country is contrasted with the more relational aspects that Ceduna People view in themselves - that is, as a collective working together for mutual survival. When old locals talk of their own ancestors they tend to eliminate other old locals' ancestors from the stories they tell

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20 Perhaps the best example of this thinking being put into practice is found in the Oyster Fest, Ceduna's annual equivalent of a harvest festival. The Oyster Fest draws thousands of people to the town on the October long weekend of every year, and it attracts sponsorship and consumer dollars from all over the state of South Australia. Old and new locals have encouraged the bright ideas of (mainly) newcomers and new people which continue to develop the event into a sophisticated celebration of local ways and cultures - white and black.
of the early days; for example, a Tonkin is unlikely to consider the fact that granddad might have received some help from the Kloedens all those years ago (and *vice versa*), and will concentrate, rather, on how strong granddad was and how he cleared all that scrub by himself with little more than a hatchet. This is not a deliberate effacement of what would have been the obvious interdependence of families in the early days, but a reification of the ancestors to the exclusion of other families, and it endorses a seeming contradiction between the icon of the individualist pioneer and the ideal community member. There is thus a tension between the Pioneer Legend (which states that survival is due to substantial, individual effort) and the necessity to work together as a relational community.

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Being accepted and being Ceduna are coterminous and each is seen as crucial to Ceduna's survival. Acceptance in Ceduna is an intricate affair in which you must mediate between the relational and substantial aspects of self, showing that you can participate interdependently in community groups as part of a team, whilst demonstrating your independence as an individual. Further, in working for the community, a person is seen to create themselves as an individual, meaning that Ceduna People participate in community affairs as both independent and interdependent persons. Being able to reconcile these two facets of personhood is part of being Ceduna.

Thus, there is a general understanding that, to achieve Cedunahood, people must be able to navigate the path between a person's relational and substantial selves - and that this must be achieved with a high degree of success. There is also an assumption in Ceduna that 'worthy' people (as Ceduna People see them), reveal certain behaviours which in turn help to show that they are accepted within and committed to the town. These behaviours are often about creating and showing commitment, and commitment to the town is also understood to lead to survival. Those who are believed to be on public welfare payments for no good reason (and many Aboriginal People fit this category) are not thought of as self-dependent and are thus seen as a drain on the community: they are
bludgers\textsuperscript{21} who are physically capable of work and taking part in community activities, but 'choose' not to do so. They are not good community members because they have no self-discipline, they are reliant upon others for their living and they do not join groups - all of which means that they are not Ceduna for they cannot balance the town's relational requirements of interdependence with the requirements for substantial independence. Thus, being Ceduna is also about acting Ceduna - displaying personal conduct which is seen to identify your trustworthiness and reliability as an individual and as a worthy community member within the context of the survival ethic.

Each of the next three chapters describes the most important avenues to, and measures of, being Ceduna - from exhibiting certain behaviours ('acting Ceduna'), to joining groups, to loving the landscape. All of these things are seen to contribute to being Ceduna, being accepted, in very important ways.

\textsuperscript{21} Idle persons, prone to living off welfare.
PART II
BEING CEDUNA
CHAPTER FOUR
ACTING CEDUNA

Exhibiting certain, often prosaic, behaviours and beliefs which are incorporated under a general set of rules for getting along in the town - 'acting Ceduna', it might be called, even though Ceduna People do not use this term - contributes to a person's being Ceduna. Being Ceduna, therefore, incorporates acting Ceduna. Actions and lifestyle play a large part in being Ceduna, and, accordingly, a person's ordinary, everyday existence in the town (what you say, how you behave, how you live) is examined by the community. Indeed, your whole way of life can be up for scrutiny and open to community discussion. People enunciate specific sentiments and exhibit particular characteristics and behaviours (anything from using certain words in conversation to deciding what to eat and how and when to eat it) to mark themselves off as Ceduna and to show their acceptance within the town. Acting Ceduna, therefore, makes up an important part of the inclusive distillation that is being Ceduna.

Acting expressions of Cedunanness

Acting Ceduna involves expressing a belief that Ceduna is perhaps one of the best places to live on Earth. This is belief is expressed in a number of ways: for example by declaring that Ceduna is country and that country is better than city, by showing a knowledge of rural ways of life and living, and by using certain idiomatic expressions in everyday conversation.

Setting up oppositions with the city and its inhabitants is part of acting Ceduna and expressing your attachment to the community. The more you are able to extol the virtues of country over city life, the more marks you get on your Attitude Test, especially if you came from the city to begin with. However, Ceduna People recognise that city habits have made their mark on country life in general. The residents of Childerley, in Hampshire, England, have noticed a similar phenomenon, acknowledging that village life no longer conforms to the "rural idyll' of nature and community" (Bell 1994: 96), and even though "these villagers agreed that there is something special and
compelling about Childerley that is worth protecting" (ibid) they also argued that urban influences had to be taken into account when discussing the town and its current condition. Ceduna People express a similar ambiguity:

But there's times like, it doesn't matter where you live, you can get sick of it, sick of being here, but then something good happens and you stay a bit longer. We originally come for five years, but we're still here after thirty years, so there must be something good here.

Ceduna People do not, however, recite the qualities of bucolic existence as if they were being tested on the subject. Many people actively think about what it means to be country as they go about their routine lives, not least because to be country is thought to encourage survival. Indeed, many see the question of what it is to be rural as open to interpretation - and a degree of invention:

I guess a lot of our opinions of what country life is, comes back, a lot of it, to what we would like it to be. And so, I guess, what we'd like it to be, we tend to try and manipulate, we still manipulate, we try and manipulate things to be our ideal, whereas in the city you can't manipulate so much, because it's such hard and fast ideals that have been there, city ideals, you can't change them. Whereas in the country, you've got a chance of your opinion, of being listened to, and maybe you can change things.

This person not only displays the extent of analysis undertaken by Ceduna People when they consider their own constructions of the world; he also underscores the attitudes towards, and pictures of, the city that many Ceduna People carry around in their heads and it is these perceptions which help mark a person out as acting and being Ceduna to other Ceduna People. Ceduna People imagine the city as an antagonistic place where everybody has to be the same and yet no-one knows anyone else, and where people spend one half of their lives at work and the other half in traffic. The country is different, better, peaceful, more about people than things, more about pulling together than maintaining deliberate distance from your fellow human beings. After all, the ability to work in a team and commit to the community are seen as crucial survival

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1 Most Ceduna People cannot see the apparent contradiction which comes from the compulsion that is placed on people to be accepted in and by the Ceduna community.
traits:

Closer community knit. People know each other, people talk to their next-door neighbour, whereas I've been to some city places and they don't even know who their next-door neighbour is, let alone talk to them. And I think in the country people pull together better in a crisis because they know each other and they know who's in trouble and who's not.

I think the friendliness, because, sometimes, in the city, people don't even know who their neighbour is over the fence, but here, you sort of almost know everybody. I mean, I think, you talk to everybody, say hello to everybody ...

A lot of them [city people] have got their head down and their arse up and they're going, and they don't stop to see what else is going on in the world.

These opinions, however, are probably not restricted to Ceduna People. Such views on city life are likely to be endemic throughout rural Australia, and arguably can be found in the cities themselves as urban people romanticise country life and its purported sense of togetherness. But for Ceduna People any discourse about city people and their varying degrees of iniquity includes a dissertation on the advantages of country living. The polluted reality of alienating city life is contrasted to the intimacy of the country:

I absolutely hated Adelaide. Too stifling, used to having open space, couldn't breathe, the air was not fresh, and the biggest thing, though, was just, like, there's no sense of community, you don't have family and friends up the road, next door, I mean, here you have, if you're scared at night, you can go and knock on your neighbour's door and ring your mum up and they're five minutes away, and, I mean, you can go to the hospital here and you know the nurses, and you know that they'll look after you and you know the police, you see them socially and everything and it all means a lot and you can feel very alone in the city.

Rural people in New York state equally express a great deal of antipathy towards the city (Fitchen op. cit.). Collective community notions about a stable past are accentuated in the face of the immigration of city people (ibid: 99), and distinctions are made between 'locals' (who are country people) and 'city people' (ibid: 101). Both reactions help rural residents make sense of the "suddenness and magnitude of the present 'influx of new people'" (ibid: 99). This results in moral judgements being made about each, with rural being equated with good, and city with evil (ibid). In Ceduna, however, city
people are those who remain in the city: you cannot really be a city person if you are no longer in the city - that is common sense. It is also common sense not to immediately alienate potential survival assets. City people who come to the town to live are taken out of the category of city people and given the status of 'newcomer'. Acting Ceduna means giving people a fair go, and whilst the calculation 'city equals bad, country equals good' still holds, it holds only for people in their proper place:

Like if you live in the city, you can be as big a dick-head or as big a weirdo as you like, because nobody's really going to find out unless they're very close to you. And you can, you could quite easily hide that, because you tend to be more, you probably only have a very close circle of friends and the rest are just people you're going past and around and through [...].

Acting Ceduna means attacking the city for its political ignorance of country needs and the culturally-insensitive regulation of funding for country areas. Margaret Bowman points out that rural Australian communities persist in the shadow of the city, "in the main under the control of city-based social, political and economic forces" (1981: xxxvi) and that country towns often "take their social cues from the city" (ibid). She goes on to state that "isolation begets fear of the city, and there is a constant awareness that the city acts as a magnet to some of the most talented and ambitious young people" (ibid). In Ceduna's case, there is a similar fear of the city because so many of the town's young people relocate there to work or to study, and a constant awareness of the community's isolation in relation to the city (which does not in itself cause Ceduna People any great anxiety, about either their 'remoteness' or the city itself). Cohen explains that many rural communities depend upon "centralised patronage" (1982a: 6 - 7) and that there is "a consequent resentment which stresses the locality's view of itself as misunderstood, powerless, misrepresented, exploited, ignored or patronised" (ibid: 7). Ceduna People likewise begrudge what they see as federal and state interference in, and a misunderstanding of, local affairs which could jeopardise the community's chances of socio-economic survival: city officials do not understand the special needs of

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2 The perceived threat of globalisation processes might also have something to do with such attitudes. In Australia, rural people are generally disenchanted with politics and feel as though they are being 'sold out' to broader economic and market forces.

3 Ceduna People are so resigned to the fact that most of the town's school leavers will move to the city (usually Adelaide) that the Ceduna Area School conducts an annual 'orientation' in the city for its older pupils. Students and their teachers are bussed to the state's capital for a week or so and the young adults are given instructions on how and where to take public transport, look for work, begin a course of study, rent a house and the like.
country people, few funds ever make their way this far out, all the money is spent on city infrastructure and none on getting basic services such as communications and good roads to the bush, they treat country people like idiots, like a bunch of rednecks, they look upon country people as slow, stupid, simple and unsophisticated, and they never ask us what we think is best for our community. Canberra, being the nation's capital, is a natural target for people's complaints, and Ceduna People will often use the idea of Canberra to give vent to their frustrations with city-based red tape. The following quotes all come from one Ceduna Person who displayed a particularly acute aversion to Canberra and all it symbolises. He became quite agitated at the thought of all the injustices perpetrated against country people by Canberra:

And as everybody also knows, what they work out in Canberra, and what is out in the field and what is actual reality, never the twain shall meet.

And it's just so unbelievably [sic], but you know, Canberra ... they have all these grandiose ideas before they get into office. And things are different. And reluctantly, I wouldn't say 'reluctantly', but very seldom do they ever ask your senior elders in towns when they're going to make these huge changes that are going to uproot communities or change social habits, or whatever, do they, you know, ever say, come on, we'll get a bunch of the wisdom guys in this town, that town, no, no, hey, no, no, they know it all, in Canberra, they don't need the so-called people of wisdom in towns and I'm not speaking here for this town, but for a lot of towns that come under all sorts of stresses and strains because the government has decided to withdraw this or whack this in and they know that they're going to do this, but they never discuss it with the local people, and to me that's a very important part of life.

But no. The thousand bloody wise men that we've got in Canberra, I mean to say that they continually and still seem to think that they know it all, which is another story.

Such sentiments are not rare in Ceduna, and nor are the passions incited by perceived bureaucratic neglect. City people's lack of understanding of The Problem also comes under fire: it is all very well and good for city people to preach about Aboriginal rights and such like, but they should come and live here and put up with the drunkenness, the

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4 Ignorant louts.
5 Such attitudes towards Canberra are not unique to Ceduna. Indeed, it seems that many Australians - including those in urban areas - feel a large amount of odium towards the nation's capital.
6 Supply.
property crime, the theft, the swearing ("You know, we can't go around and call them 'black bastards', but they can go around and call us 'white Cs'"); they should see where and how tax-payer's money is being wasted ("You see, why does ATSIC have to have a big flash? building? Now that would have cost a lot of money. Wouldn't that have been better going to the people? Why do they have all these flash cars they drive around in? I myself can't afford a flash car like that"). Here, there is a perceived divide between the rural and urban, whereby city people are believed to be unable to understand the problems that Ceduna People (or rural people, for that matter) encounter every day. A similar situation exists in the Northern Territory where Francesca Merlan identifies "an already established, frequently hostile (and still-continuing) dialogue" (1998: 188) between 'northerners' (meaning those particularly from the Northern Territory) and 'southerners' (those from the 'southern', urban states of Australia), especially as regards Aboriginal matters, the idea being "that southerners know nothing of the realities of everyday northern life" (ibid).

Expressing attachment for the community in Ceduna is not simply a matter of saying and believing certain, acceptable things. Margaret Bowman's Australian work (1981) shows that community attachment is often a multi-lateral concern, with people being "held together by interlocking and interdependent interests" (ibid: xv). People might continue to live in a place for various reasons: for economic gain, to promote certain business concerns, because "they are in the same boat, powerless in the face of external policies" (ibid), or simply because they have grown fond of a specific community, its surrounds and its people. In Ceduna a sense of security is gathered through a knowledge that we are working jointly to survive. In some places, however, the ties that bind a community are dissipating. Peter Mewett (1982b) contends that the unique, social knowledges of "esoteric culture" (ibid: 222, emphasis removed)8 are being re-evaluated by rural populations in the face of "terms set by mainstream culture, which projects a derogatory image of rural life" (ibid, emphasis removed). Hence, shared symbolic meanings within esoteric cultures are gradually being eroded by "social knowledge common to large areas of society" (ibid) which causes rural people to disavow much of

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7 Ostentatious, showy.
8 By this, Mewett means that a "local population can possess a largely unique culture that remains distinctive in that its symbolic manifestations convey meanings that are commonly understood only among those people" (1982b: 222).
their esoteric way of life. In Elmdon, there is similarly little emphasis placed on local
custom or dialect (Strathern 1982b) - on esoteric culture - but this is not the case for
many rural people where local language and ways of doing things are important factors
in expressing community attachment. Jeanette Edwards' work in Alltown, northwestern
England, shows that public displays of "insider knowledge based on experience" (1998:
151) - of anecdotes, legends, poetry and local dialect - are vital to being 'Alltown born-
and-bred'. In Ceduna, displays of attachment or Cedunaness are revealed in a number of
ways - people will use idiom, say negative things about neighbouring towns, display
their substantial knowledge of the coast, and express an unfeigned love for their
community. A person does not have to be Ceduna born-and-bred to be either fluent in
the community argot, or a repository of local Ceduna practices.

Acting Ceduna requires you to show your ruralness in one form or another, meaning
that a person must display rural sympathies to at least some degree. Michael Mayerfeld
Bell found that Childerleyans use "four general rules to determine acceptance into the
group of real country people" (1992: 74), and Ceduna People use similar, although not
as strictly enforced, criteria as an aid to verifying a person's recognition within the town.
The first of Bell's rules is localism, which denotes long-standing, usually pre-World
War II family roots in Childerley. In Ceduna, those with pioneering ancestors are
granted immediate access to the category of accepted people in the town, because being
a member of one of the founding families means that your contribution to the
community is indisputable. The fact that your family remains in the district is proof of a
willingness to ensure survival in the Far West. The second rule for consideration is that
of ruralism; that is, the amount of time a person has spent living in country regions.
Many Ceduna People have lived in other country areas, usually in South Australia
(often as a part of their work), and are thus regarded as country people, which can go
some way towards being accepted in the town. The third rule of acceptance is
countryism - knowledge of, and participation in, country ways of doing things.
Understanding country life is essential in Ceduna if a person wishes to get along in the
town, but there is also a need to understand the Ceduna way of doing things. Ceduna
People recognise that those new to the town cannot be expected to know the intricacies
of how the town works, which means that newcomers are guided in how to be Ceduna.
Lastly, "there is communalism, which includes participation in informal inter-household
exchanges and in community activities" (ibid, emphasis in original). This is especially important in the Ceduna context, where participation in community groups is essential to a newcomer's acceptance in the town. Less vital, however, is involvement in private, social gatherings, although a person without a recognisable network of friends is thought of as a little isolationist and therefore a questionable supporter of the town's survival imperative. A minimum of communalism can be attained in Ceduna, and so long as people are willing to involve themselves in community events and activities, they gain a measure of acceptance in the town.

Janet Fitchen found that 'ruralness' (as a general category) in New York state, U.S.A., is "an identity, a way of life, and a state of mind" (1991: 6). People adhere to their agricultural attributes in order to articulate their sense of ruralness, but they are nevertheless finding it more and more difficult to enunciate exactly what it means to be rural, perhaps because farming as a way of life in New York is on the wane. Being rural and having a rural identity are also strongly linked to collective representations of egalitarianism, an appreciation of community, the feeling that 'this is a family place', and a sense of security - both physical and psychological (ibid: 249 - 55). Further, people's 'folk conceptualisations' of what it means to be rural are most transparent when contrasted with their views on the city (ibid: 249). But Fitchen also found that this "traditional dichotomous scheme" (ibid) is being eroded, as ideas, people and goods move between the city and the country, thus causing the idea of rural to lose "some of its clarity and effectiveness" (ibid). Ceduna People do not find it a testing task to articulate precisely what it means to be a country person, and they will often present long lists of rural traits to illustrate their convictions; a country person is honest, tough, practical, friendly, no-nonsense, community-minded, relaxed, hard-working, down to earth, trusting, trustworthy; country people love camping, fishing, the outdoors, drinking with friends, spotlighting,9 barbeques, the community, sport, four-wheel

9 'Spotlighting' is essentially a hunt in which three or four people, usually young males, tumble into a utility vehicle at night, take off into the scrub, and use spotlights - often hand-held, sometimes mounted behind the cabin of the ute - to startle kangaroos or rabbits before shooting the creatures dead. Once a largely practical activity to secure food for the farming family, rid the property of vermin, or to earn a little extra cash from the sale of meat and hides, spotlighting is now mainly a leisure pursuit, wherein the spotlights get drunk or stoned before heading into the bush to kill for recreation (the 1971 Australian movie Wake in Fright is perhaps most famous for a scene in which a group of young men go spotlighting for sport). Although seen by many Ceduna People as a particularly country enterprise, spotlighting is not as popular on the Far West Coast as in other parts of Australia.
driving (and perhaps just four-wheel drives). These are some of the traits that Ceduna People tangibly see in themselves, which are thought to actively create conditions advantageous to the town's survival prospects, and which help a person to act Ceduna and to make up the more general quality of being Ceduna.

For any Ceduna Person, a knowledge of farming and the seasons is an explicit expression of regard for the community, as it is believed to show your concern for the town's survival and is therefore essential to acting Ceduna. Those who are not farmers (and that is most of the population), keep a close eye on the weather, comparing the amount of rainfall this year with the same time last year. Also of great interest to Ceduna People is who has or has not started seeding, and people comment on which farmers have taken their chances and gone and put everything in after the first good rain and those who might put a little bit in now and just wait and see what the weather brings. Harvest time also creates a deal of discussion - one farmer might have been the first this year to have reaped, but it looks like another has the best yield. Knowing about farming in the area implies knowing about people as well as landscape and climate. The ability to reel off the names of local farmers earns extra marks for the Attitude Test, but a knowledge of townspeople themselves - who they are and what they do, where they come from - is also useful. The more accepted people you know, the quicker you, yourself, will become accepted. In these instances, it is beneficial to know about or, better still, to know, shopkeepers, private business owners, anyone associated with healthcare in the town and those who fill public service positions - from managers to office workers. Respected, accepted people in Ceduna generally have jobs.

Attachment to the town is further demonstrated by an appreciation - although not necessarily a detailed knowledge - of the colonisation of the West Coast. It is enough for a person to openly marvel at the moral fibre, the mettle and the gumption of the pioneers; the mindless, monotonous, cataloguing of dates and events, is meaningless without a display of real sympathy for their achievements. It is equally nice to know the family names of some of the early settlers - the Kloedens, the Betts, the Bergmanns - but most of these are also found in street names, which serve as a valuable aide-mémoire for the novice. Things are a little different, however, when recounting the early white exploration of the coast. In this circumstance, it is necessary to name at least a
date, an explorer and a ship (it is not compulsory that all three relate to the same historical episode); most Ceduna People nominate the 1600s as the century in which the first seafarers made their journeys of discovery along the West Coast of South Australia; Matthew Flinders is sure to make an appearance as the named explorer, as all South Australian school children learn of his voyages during school; and the *Gulden Seepaart*, Francois Thyssen's vessel, customarily receives an honorable mention, perhaps because the gaming lounge at the Ceduna Community Hotel is named after the oceangoing craft.

Acting Ceduna and expressing your attachment to the community means that it is necessary to sporadically make negative comments about other places, usually when you have recently returned from such locations: Streaky Bay and Canberra seem to come under the heaviest fire (although Smoky Bay and the South-East of South Australia are not immune to the odd jibe). Streaky Bay is close enough to Ceduna for many Ceduna People to make their way there every now and then - some people travel to Streaky for work trips, to attend volunteer gatherings, or simply to take visiting relatives for a tour of that part of the coast. Streaky Bay is a clean, orderly town, with farming and tuna fishing industries sustaining the local economy. Furthermore, Streaky Bay does not host an Aboriginal population. Ceduna People make what they will of this fact: secretly, they envy Streaky Bay People for not having to deal with The Problem, but they concomitantly bolster their self-estimations *because* of The Problem, believing that it makes them tougher, more able to survive and cope with life in the Far West. Streaky Bay People are seen as soft, snobbish and insular, and are semantically relegated to living on the Eyre Peninsula, and not the Far West Coast. This is a further aspect of Ceduna People's isolationism and their expression of their being Ceduna - they prefer heading north and west on their camping trips to journeying south and east, for in that direction lies the city, government and state restriction, whilst to the west is the bush and freedom. They connect with the remote, inaccessible domains of the Far West and beyond, where survival is not a given but something that must be consciously considered, often describing Ceduna as 'on the edge of the Nullarbor' rather than 'on the edge of Eyre Peninsula'. But, as when Ceduna People say anything negative or untested, they are quick to point out that it is only their own opinion, that they might be wrong about it, or that others might think differently - this is also a tactical manoeuvre, useful
in ascertaining what others suppose before committing to a view that might prove unpopular:

Yeah, Streaky Bay, for some reason, seems really cliquey, but ... I don't really know that for a fact, but everyone sort of says, and like, you do drive into Streaky and people look at you as if to say, 'What are you doing here?' Wo! Sorry!

I just wouldn't like to tell Streaky Bay People that, though. I honestly do think that we are more homely or more friendly or more everybody than what Streaky Bay is. Streaky Bay in my books is a little bit uppish at times in certain things, but that might be just my idea. There's some nice people at Streaky Bay, too. I don't know.

Some people see Ceduna's fixation with maligning Streaky Bay as caused by plain jealously:

I think a lot of people in Ceduna are envious of Streaky Bay's tourism awards. Look at the town and the way it's made a go of things like the hotel, and the community spirit there. But that doesn't mean that none of that is here.

Others, however, are convinced that it is the other way around, and that Streaky Bay People are jealous of Ceduna because of the growth of the town after the construction of Highway 1 to Western Australia:

And even with inter-town jealousies, sort of thing ... Streaky Bay up until thirty years ago was the capital of Western Eyre Peninsula and suddenly they put a sealed highway through to the West and Streaky Bay has become virtually a little by-town. And Ceduna, because of its geographics, became the important town. Everything went away from Streaky Bay, farmers stopped retiring to Streaky Bay and retired to Ceduna. So you get this little inter-town jealousies, with this mob and that mob, and we do it better than they do it, all that sort of thing [...]

Expressing cynical opinions of other places promotes positive observations about Ceduna and reinforces your Cedunaness. Other places might be acknowledged for being both more verdant in setting and mild in climate, but Ceduna People always return to their love for their own environment, leading a new local to declare that "it's an infectious disease and the only way to cure it is to live here". Others compare the experience of living in the Far West with their experiences of travelling overseas:
We had it better than a lot of them have it today, outback, because we could light a fire anywhere, those times, but you can't do those things out there now,\(^{10}\) apparently, I don't know for sure, but we, I used to just love it, just loved it out there. Camp in the back of our wagon, and always three or four vehicles with us, but when I think of it now, I think it was better than going overseas to Europe, myself.

A similar thing happens in rural New York State (Fitchen \textit{op. cit.}), where the emphasis placed on the supposed negative traits of another community is used to accentuate the positive values of one's own (ibid: 253 - 4) In Whalsay, unenthusiastic constructions of other communities do not seem as prevalent as they are in either rural New York or Ceduna, but the expression of difference nonetheless has a similar objective: Whalsay people express their difference from others mainly to highlight their own "sense of similarity to each other, or their mutual belonging" (Cohen 1987: 60). Ceduna People employ a similar tactic:

I couldn't say on that because I haven't been to any other town, but I mean if all other towns were like we are in Ceduna accepting people, then, well, it might be a better world.

Being Ceduna is, in some ways, about being 'typically' or 'supremely' Australian and Ceduna People sometimes see themselves as the essence of Australianness. In this way, being Ceduna, acting Ceduna, and being able to survive also mean revering and revealing practicality and common sense, for Ceduna People see these as qualities as distinctively Australian. Ceduna People see no point in piss-farting around\(^{11}\) just for appearances' sake. Examples of this quality are often to be found amongst Country Fire Service volunteers. On one occasion, the CFS was called-out to attend a gas-bottle fire (a family was enjoying a barbeque when gas began venting from the bottle causing it to catch alight). It was a small job, but the rule-book requires a small group of firefighters in full turn-out gear (heavy woollen coat, helmet, gloves) to advance towards the fire behind a wide spray (fog) of water gushing from a heavy hose. Upon arrival at the scene, Mark, the Ceduna CFS captain, assessed the situation and decided that the fire could be quickly, easily and safely contained by simply extinguishing the flame with a

\(^{10}\) Restrictions apply to the lighting of fires during the summer fire-ban season. On days when the weather bureau predicts particularly hot temperatures and dry, high winds, a total fire ban may be announced, prohibiting the lighting of any fires at all.

\(^{11}\) Wasting time.
smaller, side-hose (an easily-accessible, already-connected bushfire-fighting hose), thus saving time and water and effort. Mark did this himself. A fellow volunteer later described the incident this way:

What Mark did last night, would not be acceptable in Mount Barker [Adelaide]. No bloody way in the world. There would have been a four-man approach team, and it would have been all copy-book. But what would it have achieved more than what Mark did? But Ceduna's different. We respond as quick as we can, and we get the job done as quickly and as effectively and efficiently as we can for the circumstances.

Ceduna People's appreciation of common sense, as they see it, is one aspect of the archetypal understanding of what it means to be Australian, but there are other markers, such as the use of idiom. The use of certain colloquialisms signifies a person's ruralness (and Australianness), and is a convenient way of marking an appreciation of country living and words such as 'flash' (showy, ostentatious), 'beaut' (fine, good), 'joker' (idiot), 'bloke' (man), 'shela' (woman), and 'ripper' (excellent) all find their way into Ceduna conversations. Such expressions are understood by Australians at large to be quintessentially Australian, even though such parlance is rarely used or heard outside rural areas (and, perhaps, outside of the urban working class). Young people almost exhaustively use the term 'guys' to include both males and females in groups, and even the town's more elderly citizens have picked up this American habit (although they are just as likely to use 'fellas', 12 'chaps' or 'blokes' when talking about groups of men). These words are used by the Australian population as a whole, but Ceduna People also draw upon a sketchy dialect to both include and exclude groups of people, and newcomers are encouraged to quickly click onto the vernacular if they wish to become accepted. In this sense, acting Ceduna also means using specialised language to emphasise your difference from others. People from outside Ceduna can be kept out of discussions and cultural exchanges by the use of certain words borrowed from local Aboriginal languages. Cohen argues that "people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries" (1982a: 3), which is certainly true of Ceduna People, for they seem to become even more 'Ceduna' when they are interacting with those from outside the town, often bastardising words from local Aboriginal languages to exclude

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12 Fellows.
non-Ceduna People from dialogue. *Minya*, meaning 'small', and *kalta* ('sleepy lizard', pronounced by Ceduna People as 'gulda') are probably the two Aboriginal words used most frequently by white people. Other words used with less regularity are *palya* ('good', pronounced 'bulya'), *kuna* ('sh*t', pronounced 'goonna') and a few nouns which are remodelled into plural form by adding the English s-ending: *jinnas* ('feet'), *pukitis*\textsuperscript{13} ('shoes', pronounced 'boogidees'), *murras* ('hands'). The need to exclude outsiders from Ceduna discourse is particularly strong when Ceduna People feel themselves and their chances of survival under threat in some way - they might be intimidated by the assumed sophistication (but concurrent survival-naïvety) of city people, and this, in turn, manifests itself in a measure of scorn being expressed for those people.

Such express contempt for outsiders was displayed during the Ceduna Country Fire Service's attendance at a chemical spill on the outskirts of the town.\textsuperscript{14} On this occasion, as detailed below, Ceduna CFS volunteers defused the threat of being seen as a bunch of country yobbos\textsuperscript{15} which didn't know what it was doing, through the use of language as a device to control and exclude outsiders who had come to help clean up the spill.

*The tally and the boogidee*

The decontamination task was a particularly nasty one which involved highly-corrosive chromic acid leaking from drums being transported on a semi-trailer. The Ceduna CFS brigade could not provide enough firefighters to carry out the clean-up, so additional CFS volunteers flew in from Adelaide, and drove up from Wudinna, Smoky Bay and Streaky Bay, and four paid firefighters from the Metropolitan Fire Service ('Mets' for short) in Port Lincoln also provided assistance. The operation lasted thirty-six hours and necessitated the use of fully-encapsulated gas-tight suits, Compressed Air Breathing Apparatus (CABA), and almost industrial quantities of neutralising soda ash and builders' lime. The Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) for this exercise ran more or less like this: the nature of the Hazardous Material (HAZMAT) was ascertained, the contaminated area was cordoned off and an Incident Control point was established; the Police, Ceduna Hospital, SA Ambulance and the State Emergency Service were all

\textsuperscript{13} I have not been able to confirm this spelling.

\textsuperscript{14} Chemical spills from road trains and semi-trailers are a relatively common occurrence in the Far West because of the high volume of haulage traffic using Highway 1.

\textsuperscript{15} Louts.
notified of the nature of the incident; the assistance of CFS volunteers from Adelaide, and MFS officers from Port Lincoln was requested; a Decontamination Zone (DZ) was created and an Entry Control Officer (ECO\textsuperscript{16}) appointed to supervise entry into the contaminated zone (in this case, the chief ECO was a senior female volunteer from the Ceduna brigade - the role of the ECO, in general and in this particular event, will be explained shortly); materials and equipment for the clean-up were gathered, and the operation got underway.

Firefighters donned their CABA sets with the aid of their colleagues before likewise being helped into the gas-tight suits. To each CABA set is attached a ‘tally’, a yellow, usually plastic, tag, somewhat larger than a credit card, and approximately half a centimetre thick. Before CABA operators were permitted to enter the contaminated area, they had to give their respective tallies to the Entry Control Officer, who recorded on the tally, using chinagraph pencil, the amount of air in the CABA set, and the operator's name. The CABA operator was then allowed to enter the contamination zone to begin work.

The Ceduna CFS volunteers approached their collaboration with their fellow CFS volunteers from other areas with professionalism, although not with overbearing camaraderie towards them. The Mets, on the other hand, were given a very cool reception, as the volunteers generally believed that the Mets assumed that they were better than volunteers because they got paid for the work they did. In this atmosphere of qualified distrust, the volunteers of Ceduna CFS were waiting for any opportunity whatsoever to question the competence of the ‘city boys’\textsuperscript{17} and to prove that volunteers can do just as good a job as paid fireys.\textsuperscript{18} Relations were not improved when one of the Mets accused the female Ceduna volunteers at Entry Control of losing his tally from his Breathing Apparatus after having handed it to her before entering the contaminated area. The ECO protested that she was never given his tally in the first place, remarking, \textit{sotto voce}, that if only the Mets bloody-well followed and respected Standard Operating

\textsuperscript{16} Almost everything is capitalised then abbreviated in the CFS, thus providing another specialised language that only the initiated can understand.

\textsuperscript{17} In the scheme of things, the Mets from Port Lincoln are hardly 'city boys' - Port Lincoln's population numbers only 12,000.

\textsuperscript{18} Firefighters.
Procedures by handing in their tallies as they should have done, and if only they weren't so bloody gung-ho, these situations wouldn't arise in the first place. The Met remonstrated about his lost tally, giving the unmistakable impression that volunteers did not know anything, and that the CFS suffered particularly from its easy acceptance of women into the fire-fighting domain. However, it was not long before the irate Met was forced to admit he was wrong. As he took off his suit, and pulled his feet out of his encapsulated suit, he found the tally in his boot. This caused great delight amongst the Entry Control team, with the information being quickly passed from one Ceduna volunteer to the next that "He found it in his boogidee!", "Where did he find it?", "In his boogidee!", "Ha! it was in his boogidee!", "Yep, in his boogidee!". 'Boogidee', in white Ceduna dialect, is an Anglicised corruption of a local Aboriginal word, *pukiti*, meaning 'shoe', and a word that a person from outside of Ceduna (and perhaps the immediate region) could not possibly be expected to understand. The Met slunk back to his friends, manifestly chastened, and doubtlessly a little befuddled by this word 'boogidee'. The tale of the tally and the boogidee was told over and over again, mostly within earshot of the Mets, with male Ceduna volunteers giving conspicuous chuckles upon hearing the story, although, not having 'been there', they could not savour the moral victory as wholeheartedly as the women at Entry Control.

This incident provides a nice abstract for the use of specialised language to disqualify outsiders from town discourse. Most of the Met's embarrassment derived from the simple fact that he had been proven wrong, publicly. This, however, is to miss the point from the Ceduna perspective. By wielding the word 'boogidee' so adroitly, the Ceduna CFS volunteers managed to exclude, ridicule, insult, deride, and slight the MFS officer - and the officer was fully aware of his humiliation, even though some of the shrewd mechanisms employed to achieve, so quickly and so completely, this uncomfortable state of affairs remained confusingly outside his reckoning. Dialect is used by Ceduna People\(^\text{19}\) to *include* as well as *exclude* - indeed, the use of dialect as a mechanism of exclusion proved somewhat unreliable in the case of the tally and the boogidee, as it was the Met's public humiliation, rather than his ignorance of local idiom that caused him the most discomfort. Nevertheless, it remains significant that certain words are used

\(^{19}\) Except, largely, by the elderly, who are mostly old locals, familiar with the words but who see no need to reinforce their status within the town by indulging certain behaviours.
by Ceduna People within the town's internal discourse to make statements about Ceduna and Cedunaness to other Ceduna People. In the case of the tally and the boogidee, the use of an Aboriginal word was also part of a larger desire to own, and express ownership of, 'The Problem' in the town: it was code for 'We understand Aboriginal People better than the do-gooders from outside; We deal with the Aboriginal Problem each and everyday; We Ceduna People understand this and understand each other'. In this way, certain Aboriginal words are adopted by Ceduna People as a way of further emphasising (mostly to themselves) their isolation and marginality from main-stream South Australia. Undoubtedly, Ceduna People are simultaneously attempting to make these same statements to outsiders - the only problem is that, as demonstrated by the Met's mystified reaction to the entire episode, outsiders have little or no idea 'what it all means': outsiders know that some of their sense of awkwardness comes about through not understanding what is being talked about, but they have no idea that the language used is particularly Aboriginal. The use of dialect thus sets up boundaries of both exclusion and inclusion.

_Acting the Ceduna Lifestyle_

There are also physical or material manifestations of acting Ceduna; the most obvious of these are found in the types of home which signify Cedunaness, the ways in which people participate in pub life, and the style of camping that is favoured on the West Coast. The ways in which Ceduna People do these things seem to vary appreciably from the ways in which other Australians are described as doing the same things (as illustrated below), and it is a particular style of sociality which is seen as being Ceduna.

Acting the Ceduna lifestyle means having a certain type of home. Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987) examine the differences between modern, suburban Australian front gardens and backyards in terms of public/private, culture/nature dichotomies. Front gardens represent a contract between the home owner and the public at large. Front gardens are bearers of "meanings for the public, for society, though one of these meanings is that the house itself is private property" (ibid: 30, emphasis in original). Further, "[t]he public's right to look, to share possession by looking, is the corollary of the owner's responsibility to display a public front" (ibid: 31). Backyards, on the other hand, are 'outdoor living areas', with pergolas and well-shaded, often paved, eating areas
"the natural location for social interaction" (ibid: 43). Another feature of the modern, suburban backyard is the barbeque, which symbolises nature: "[t]he barbeque is the most 'natural' way of cooking: culture is closest to nature here. There are no utensils intervening in the process, a minimum of fats and oils, just the natural elements of fire and meat" (ibid: 42). This is part of an ideology of egalitarianism, where individuals are subordinated to society (ibid: 31, 32), where "[o]ne can see the very conformity and predictability of houses in our suburbs as actively and explicitly repressing hierarchical class distinctions" (ibid: 31).

The Ceduna attitude to gardens is a little less structured than that described in the suburban context by Fiske et al. To have a style of house which mostly adheres to the above suburban model is thought of as 'less Ceduna' than a house that adheres to a model which is thought of as 'Ceduna'. For a start, Ceduna People seldom use (what they see as) the supercilious expression 'front garden' to describe their frontyards. Most people, whilst no doubt wanting to present a respectable face to the rest of the community, tend to invest very little time in gardening per se. People plant hardy shrubs - if they plant anything at all - which require little care (the soil is poor and the water from the Tod River Scheme almost lethal), and any form of groundcover is mostly there to keep the dust down. Native trees and plants are popular as they are suited to the tough climate, can still provide decent frontage, and use few resources. Some of the town's elderly, mostly-old-local residents have undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing 'English-style' gardens with colourful, exotic flowers, and perhaps a little lawn, but younger and middle-aged people appreciate the low-maintenance qualities of indigenous flora. In Ceduna the frontyard is not so much a public space, as a liminal one - in fact, a person's visitors will usually by-pass it altogether and head straight for the back door, rather than stand around waiting to be granted formal entry via the front.20 This is in contrast with the urban model tendered by Fiske et al.: in Ceduna the idea of the house as private property indisputably prevails, but the degree of privacy is less profound. The relaxed flow of people into and between your kitchen and backyard makes these spaces more open than their urban counterparts' appear to be. The appreciation of friends and community and the ideologies of sharing and everyone being

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20 Michael Mayerfeld Bell describes a similar phenomenon in Childerley (1994).
equal in their being Ceduna, surely all come into it, as does the role of these qualities in the context of the survival ethic. Furthermore, the extraordinary rate of participation in community groups means that a great deal of Ceduna business is conducted between group members and it is often expedient to drop into someone's house on your way home from work to tie up any loose ends before next week's meeting. However, this high amount of traffic through your home might also be explained by the fact that in Ceduna your friends never live much more than five minutes' drive away: in the city, friends are often made through work and thus more likely to live 'further out', making a thirty-minute drive just to 'pop in on the off-chance' an unviable proposition.

Many Ceduna backyards contain aspects of the model of the 1950s' backyard outlined by Fiske et al. Backyards of the 1950s, they argue, exhibited an acceptance of an "exploitative attitude to the natural, defoliating and domesticating it to form the vegie patch, the chook [chicken] run" (ibid: 49). However, Ceduna People combine this with the more modern, urbane aspects of backyard living described by Fiske et al., additionally using the space for outdoor entertaining. The farthest reaches of the backyard might contain the chook shed and occasionally a compost bin; a little nearer might be a vegetable plot with tomatoes, zucchini, capsicum, chilli, pumpkin; then comes the clothes' hoist and the rain water tank or tanks;21 closest to the backdoor is a pergola, or at least a shaded/verandahed area with outdoor setting (tables and chairs) and barbeque:

A house is a home with an open area, a barbie, a lot of cement with flowerpots [so] that you can close the house up and go when you want to. I like to come and go, I like the space .... To be open for people to come and go as they like.

People spend a lot of time outside the house, and though the barbeque area might be quite pleasant, this is hardly important as guests are not there to comment on the permapine; they are there to drink and gossip and have a chuckle. The insides of people's houses are comfortable, but there is certainly no emphasis on flash furniture or on buying a heritage-style mangle just for decoration. In fact, to have too nice a house

21 Some Ceduna People have large underground storage tanks from which they siphon water via an electric pump into the house for showering, doing the dishes, the washing etc. The general consensus is that water from the Tod River Scheme is unfit for human cleanliness, let alone human consumption.
might imply that you think you are better than everybody else - a trait which is
definitely not Ceduna. As a rule, houses are kept clean, but not obsessively tidy:

You know, you go to some people's homes and you're welcome there all the time, and you go to
someone else's and you feel, oh, I'd better just stay at the door. It feels lived in when everything
isn't put away. You've got papers here, and somebody's sitting around here reading, they're not ... ever-
thing's not spotless.

The most public space inside the house is the kitchen, where neighbours plonk\textsuperscript{22} themselves down to share a cup of tea and a biscuit in the morning or afternoon if they
are not too busy. Of an evening, the living room takes over as the main entertainment
area, especially if a close friend stops by to watch a cricket or football match on the
tellie. Sit-down meals with a friend or two are rarely had in a dining room, although
some houses do sport such a formal space. Rather, people will eat a properly-prepared
meal at the kitchen table, including sweets\textsuperscript{23} and tea or coffee. A glass of wine or beer
might be had, but the practice of over-imbibing is usually left to barbeque gatherings,
where people prefer to entertain groups of half a dozen or more. All of these behaviours
and attitudes are seen to be markers of Cedunaness.

Hosting and attending barbeques is seen as a particularly Australian pursuit by most
Ceduna People, and, seeing themselves as fine examples of Australianness, Ceduna
People hold such entertainments regularly. Barbeques are not the reserve of the
accepted, but they are an indicator of your being Ceduna, and normally the only people
to attend an accepted person's barbeque are other, accepted people. Friday and Saturday
nights are the most popular times to have a few people over to your house: Friday hosts
the end-of-the-week barbeque, whereas Saturday hosts the post-fishing/post-day-at-the-
beach barbeque. Barbeques require little preparation, which means that friends can get
together without having to make great plans. And because there is always at least one
supermarket open during the day, you can always swing by and grab some meat. Guests
supply their own alcohol, usually bringing a suitably-sized esky,\textsuperscript{24} and will often bring a

\textsuperscript{22} Sit.
\textsuperscript{23} Dessert.
\textsuperscript{24} An insulated, portable icebox used for carrying or storing perishables for short periods of time - the
name doubtlessly derives from the word, 'Eskimo'.
tray of sausages or lamb chops or steaks or kebabs, as well as a fold-up chair or two. Salads are provided by the hosts, as is white, sliced bread and margarine, onions (which are sliced, then cooked on the barbie), and any condiments, such as tomato or barbeque sauce, salt and pepper. It is usually the men who hang around the barbie, leaning against a shed or a pergola pole, chatting away with beer-in-stubbie-holder-in-hand, watching one of their number slap large quantities of meat on the hotplate. This little gang of grillers works in shifts: if the barbeque chef has to abandon his charge (perhaps to relieve himself or to re-stock the beer 'frig.), the next in line takes over until he, too, is called away. Meanwhile, the women get to relax - the salad has already been prepared, and people can help themselves to bread and margarine - after all, they've got two arms, two legs and a heartbeat, haven't they? People scatter themselves around the general eating area, arranging their plastic and fold-up chairs in such a fashion as not to deliberately exclude anyone from the goings-on. When it is time to eat, you collect a plate and head for the barbeque, where you tell the cook what you would like from the grill ('Give us a kebab, a snag, a chop and some onion - lovely') before seizing a bit of salad, bread, sauce and a serviette. Then you go back to your chair, balance your plate on your knees (making sure not to knock over your wine glass or stubbie of beer by your foot) and tuck in.

It is a great leveller, this type of social gathering - guests feel at ease in such an informal setting, they help themselves to drinks without having to ask or wait to be asked, and they come and go as they please. It is this very style of sociability which is understood to be Ceduna. Barbeques afford people the perfect opportunity to display their Cedunaness through their language, attitudes and beliefs, not least because these events occur in a particularly Ceduna environment in a particularly Ceduna fashion. Politics is rarely discussed, not because Ceduna People have no interest in governmental affairs, but because there is another time and place for such discussions. Work-related topics are also off-limits. The barbeque is the place to talk about fishing, camping, Blue Heelers (a popular police television drama set in country Australia), cricket, football and the stupid thing you did this week without realising it (Ceduna People are expert at not taking

25 A stubbie is a 375mL bottle of beer; a stubbie-holder is an insulated container, designed to fit around a stubbie to keep your beer cool.
26 Sausage.
27 Begin eating.
themselves too seriously, and are as quick as anyone to make fun of their own, occasional, perhaps a little dim-witted, exploits).

The verandah also gets something of a work-out in Ceduna. Philip Drew (1994) argues that the Australian verandah is a transitional, connecting space which mediates between the openness of the surrounding countryside and the safety of the house. Verandahs also fulfil the "need to reach out and make visual contact with the landscape" (ibid: xii), to make the great expanse of the outback more intelligible, more knowable - to bring it back to human-size, to "put people in touch with the infinite" (ibid: 9). Drew makes the point that the verandah as connecting space is empty, and that "[b]y its very emptiness, a space sucks in meaning from outside" (ibid: 50). Drew appears to be referring chiefly to the front verandah, linking the public with the private: the back verandah faces the backyard, a space that has been domesticated and moulded to suit the occupants of the house. This back verandah space as mediator of alien, external meaning is redundant in Ceduna. Ceduna back verandahs are a part of the outdoor living area, and reasonably private places where friends gather for social occasions. In a town where your own business is often everybody else's business too, people appreciate the privacy of the back verandah, although who you choose to entertain seldom goes unnoticed by the neighbours peering over your back fence.

Front verandahs, on the other hand, are less regularly inhabited by Ceduna People. Indeed, front verandahs only become meaningful when there is someone sitting under them. Intermittently, however, a friend will pop over for a quiet drink28 a bit later in the evening and you will end up under the front verandah (if you have one), commenting on who is driving up and down your street, where they might be going to or coming back from, or you might be stopping people on their evening walk for a quick (or otherwise) chat. All of these aspects of behaviour are used to identify a person as being Ceduna, as being accepted. Such occasions account for never more than two couples, and often solely for a couple of mates, and people mostly need to be in a listless, shiftless mood before making the move to the front verandah. The front verandah does, however, come into its own during electrical storms. During these atmospheric extravaganzas, Ceduna

28 Meals are rarely, if ever, taken on the front verandah.
People drag out a chair or two, and perhaps a glass of wine or a stubbie of beer, and sit under the front verandah spellbound by the thunder and lightning as it tears over the ocean. Some people will even do this in the middle of the night after having been woken by the din of the tempest.

Whilst houses provide a space for friendly get-togethers and drinking parties, the pub in Ceduna plays a rather different role to that which might be traditionally expected. Fiske, Hodge and Turner (op. cit.) contend that the urban Australian hotel is an interstitial space, stationed between work and the home whose "function is to mediate their opposition by a complex set of repudiations and incorporations of both" (ibid: 5) - it is a 'home away from home' which offers an alternative to traditional family relations (ibid: 9). They argue that pubs are primarily male social zones, controlled by sets of rules and meanings which determine how patrons will conduct themselves. The consumption of beer, moreover, is an important cultural undertaking: beer is "cheap, egalitarian, masculine, social and, when drunk in pubs, significantly differentiated from home (family/wife) and work (boss)" (ibid: 16). Fiske et al. acknowledge that this vision of the great Aussie pub is a strictly metropolitan one, and that drinking in traditional country pubs is markedly different from drinking in an urban or suburban setting.

Indeed, part of acting Ceduna and being social is meeting with the family at the pub for a meal at the bistro. The Ceduna Community Hotel (CCH - now trading as the Ceduna Foreshore Hotel), is by no means a 'home away from home' for a mostly male clientele in Ceduna. In fact, the CCH is largely a family place, and this is reflected in the spatial lay-out of the pub, with its huge bistro-dining area. The dining lounge accommodates groups of any number - there are a few places for two, catering mainly for the passing Grey Nomads on their Australia-wide, post-retirement caravan tour, settings for four and five, and several longer arrangements that can cater for eight, ten or twelve or more people. Acting Ceduna is inclusive of age, and different generations exhibit slightly different, but related, ways of showing their Cedunanness. For example, it is not a rare thing to see a whole clan meeting and eating at the bistro, with mum and dad, their siblings' families, the grandparents, and the children all occupying a bank of joined-

29 Back verandahs generally do not provide a good enough vantage point from which to view passing storms, due to the clutter of shade cloth, clothes' hoists and rainwater tanks.
30 Retired tourists.
together tables. This family ambience discourages heavy drinking, which is usually left to get-togethers at home with friends, such as barbecues. Once the bistro closes at around 8:30 p.m., however, the pub changes tone: the front bar suddenly becomes inhabited, the juke box starts up, and cigarette smoke pervades the air. Families withdraw and young people gather to begin an often-rowdy session with their mates, getting drunker and louder and more crass as the evening wears on. Occasionally there will be a fight, or someone will be kicked out. This kind of pub behaviour is also seen as acting Ceduna - but as acting Ceduna for younger people who are expected to cut loose every now and then, and thus can be forgiven the odd rough night out.

Just as the traditional idea of the Aussie pub is not entirely played out in Ceduna, the traditional idea of the family camping trip similarly undergoes a slight transformation, not least because such trips are vital to acting Ceduna. The camping trip for the suburban family is a move away from home and work, a disruption of the secular and the routine (ibid: 117). Campsites are temporary, and, although the camping family might have many of the comforts of home at hand, what is nonetheless important is that it has "freed itself from the permanence of the home" (ibid: 119). Ceduna People go camping for comparable reasons, although the fact that camping is the 'done thing' for accepted people performs a large role in people's desire to go camping. On top of this, camping is one of the most important leisure activities through which you can assert your Cedunarness and show off your physical toughness (which is imperative if one is to survive); it shows that you like to get out of the town because you feel stifled by the pressure of people there, whilst doing something with other people (usually another family or a small group of friends) in the great outdoors, thus taking advantage of this magnificent piece of Australia which you have come to love and respect and know. Camping trips also connect Ceduna People - both locals and new people - with the region's pioneering past. As Fiske et al. point out, "travelling the wide open spaces is a comfortable re-enactment of the pioneer experience" (ibid: 120), and Ceduna People, on their camping trips away, wonder what it was like for the early settlers to vanquish this

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31 Aboriginal People are discouraged from entering the front bar proper, and are more or less socially-confined to the outermost bar at the far end of the pub. There is, however, a middle section between the Rooster Bar and the Front Bar, where blacks and whites mix, but don't necessarily mingle. This is also where the TAB - the betting shop - is stationed.

32 Asked by management to leave the premises.
often hostile and forbidding environment. Being Ceduna is to see yourself as bit of a pioneer and to act this image out; whereas the suburban family might camp at a caravan park, or in a designated camping site in a national park, the Ceduna family camps wherever it thinks is a good spot, just as the pioneers would have done.\textsuperscript{33} Further, Ceduna People do not need the comfort and facilities that their city fellows demand, and they almost never go to the city for their holidays:

The city is not a holiday for a country person. The country is a holiday, with the right frame of mind, for a city slicker the country is a holiday. But on the other foot, the city is not a holiday for a country person. You go and find more country for a holiday.

Camping, to be done properly in Ceduna, must be done out of the rear of a four-wheel drive. Ceduna People will hop into their four-wheel drives and take off along the coast, or head into the scrub - packing a back-pack and hiking your way along the coast is what spoilt city kids and people from overseas do (Ceduna People's astonishing aversion to walking any distance, anywhere whatsoever, further decrees that four-wheel drive as bivouac is the only acceptable way to camp). The parking places in Ceduna's main street accommodate relatively high numbers of four-wheel drive vehicles, but these vehicles are not just glorified shopping trolleys. Ceduna's four-wheel drives typically carry all the essentials for bush-bashing (that is, four-wheel driving): extra jerry cans of fuel and water, an HF radio for long-distance communications (or at least a UHF, depending on how serious you are about four-wheel driving), and anywhere up to four spare tyres; there are snatch ropes, tow ropes, bog mats, winches, shovels, toilet paper. The lighter and less bulky of these items are standard issue, and can be found on and in many vehicles at all times. When preparing to go camping, other articles will be thrown into the vehicle: swags, annexes or tents, spare hats, fishing gear, the kids, camp ovens, sunblock, barbeques, food, and, for longer trips, not just an esky, but a complete camping bar 'frig.\textsuperscript{34} Four-wheel drives are an integral part of acting Ceduna, and you

\textsuperscript{33} Ceduna People are fortunate in that few restrictions apply to where they can and cannot camp. The national parks of the Far West do not host the large numbers of tourists that those on the east coast of Australia must contend with, and thus Far West camping is able to be a more random, unstructured affair.

\textsuperscript{34} People favour tinnies (in this case, 'tin cans', not 'tin boats') over stubbies - that is, 375ml bottles - for camping trips as tinnies weigh less and can be crumpled after use, thus reducing the volume of gear you have to carry if you are bringing your rubbish home with you - as is advised - rather than dumping it in the scrub.
should at least know how to drive one even if you do not own one.

Camping presents you with a chance to display your knowledge of the Far West. Every weekend, people can be seen hurtling over to Davenport Creek or making their way to Clare Bay, Goog's Lake, Acraman Creek or any of the other dozens of favourite camping spots. Shortening place-names ('Dav.', 'Goog's', 'Cactus') is one tactic employed by Ceduna People to show their love for, and familiarity with, the local landscape, as well as their Cedunanness as a whole. It is also important to let as many people know as possible where and when you are going camping, as this gains points on the Attitude Test. Not to be outdone, however, your interlocutor can usually name someone else who is going camping in the same area at the same time: 'Oh, yes, Kath and Bronte are going up Goog's about then, too - you might pass them on the way'.

Ceduna People have camping preparation down to such a fine art that they can take off at a moment's notice, instantly leaving the town and any pressures they might be feeling behind them. Some people go camping at every opportunity - every second weekend, or so. Others will plan a trip for a long weekend or a week's leave from work, and thus camp only a few times a year. Whatever the frequency, it can safely be stated that Ceduna People go camping more often than city people, not least because of the belief that having such handy access to some of the best coastal and inland areas in the state, if not Australia, means that it should be unreservedly exploited. People will camp with either family or friends or both, and couples will sometimes camp on their own. The more well-known camping spots, such as Davenport Creek and Goog's Lake are frequented by these groups - few tourists proper manage to find their way to these places, and a decent site can always be found to make a fire and pitch the tent or roll out the swags. Further, to get to both of these locations, a four-wheel drive and a good idea of where you are going are essential. Young people without families will camp at less popular spots, mostly along the coast. They will often drive over sandhills, poorly-formed tracks, and through the spindly scrub in search of an agreeable place to set down for the night. Camping trips with friends have much of the barbeque's ambiance to them, not only because most of the cooking is done over the open flame, but because there is usually a lot of alcohol on hand, people tend to retire late, and there is a generally relaxed atmosphere.
In the context of the survival ethic, acting Ceduna is crucial because it helps to delineate Cedunaness at the same time as encouraging people to develop both their independent and interdependent selves; camping, for example, simultaneously emphasises the merit in working together and the importance of knowing how to look after yourself. Acting Ceduna takes account of many things in your attitude towards the town, but there are two further factors of Cedunaness which stand out more than any others when it comes to determining a newcomer's acceptance in the community and their ability to be Ceduna: a readiness to join groups (described in the ethnographically-focussed next chapter) and a capacity for valuing the beauty of the landscape of the Far West. Both are seen as vital to the survival of the town, and the Attitude Test concentrates most heavily on guiding newcomers into group participation and landscape appreciation.
PHOTO ESSAY: THE SHEEP CUP

Each year, over the October long weekend, Ceduna hosts the Oyster Fest, a celebration of the local oyster industry. In the months leading up to the event, a personality quest is held, and the half-a-dozen-or-so entrants raise money for a local charity of their choosing. Each entrant is supported by a committee of volunteers which co-ordinates movie screenings, raffles, cake stalls, talent quests and other such fund-raisers. The Personality Quest is just one of the means through which people come together to work for the community. Kerry, an entrant in the 1997 Ceduna Oyster Fest Personality Quest, chose to raise money for the Penong Progress Association. One of the many successful events she and her committee organised was the Penong Sheep Cup.

1. The Sheep Cup was a serious business. To race a sheep, you first had to ‘buy’ a sheep. This meant paying a nominal fee to have a creature supplied to you for racing. Much discussion went into buying sheep for the race. Kerry, Oyster Fest Personality Quest Entrant, is in cup and sunglasses. Her best mate and fundraising committee stalwart, Mel, is seated.
2. Sheep jockey.

3. The start of one of the heats for the Sheep Cup. Sheep were identified by coloured ribbons worn around their necks. During one of the heats, the sheep overshot the finish line - which was a rather ramshackle arrangement of trailers and utes - and headed towards Highway 1. Twenty indefatigable and very excited country children managed to round the competitors up.
6. Other events for the day included egg-and-spoon races for the children and sleepy-lizard races with divisions for the under-12s and adults (divisions, that is, for humans, not sleepy-lizards).
8. Zane's Sleepy-Lizard Stable. Sleepy-lizards (called 'stumpies' elsewhere in South Australia on account of their stumpy tails) occupy a special place in the Ceduna vocabulary. Rarely, in fact, are they called 'sleepy-lizards' by Ceduna People; most call them by their local Aboriginal name, *kalta*, which is pronounced by white Ceduna People as 'gulda'.

9. Zane attempts to convince a potential buyer that this is a particularly speedy *kalta*. 
10. Zane, Keeper of the Sleepy-Lizard Stable, shows off his entry in the sleepy-lizard race. Advertisements for the Sheep Cup stipulated "BYO sleepy-lizards". Although *kaltas* are easy enough to come by, most people (that is, the adults) chose to buy their *kaltas* through Zane, who had been out early in the morning to collect as many sleepy sleepies as he could find by the side of the road.
11. Getting ready for the start of a *kalta* race.

12. Going for your *kalta*.
CHAPTER FIVE
GROUPS IN CEDUNA

Joining groups, say Ceduna People, is a community thing; group membership brings people together, makes them "community-minded" and gives them a "community feeling". Getting involved in local associations and issues proves that you have an emotional attachment to the community. Ceduna People see group membership as an important mechanism through which they can express their commitment to the local community. And what is more, people are expected, in a roundabout way, to be unambiguous when it comes to making this commitment:

I think if you're willing to join in, people are happy to have you. Join in in [sic] anything - sports, community things. If you're happy to be here, we're happy to have you, that's basically it, yeah. If you're not happy to be here, we probably don't want you.¹

This comment embodies the Ceduna posture on groups, acceptance and newcomers who arrive in the town. It shows that joining a group is not simply a matter of doing something to alleviate boredom in a small community. Rather, it is a yardstick against which people's entire attitudes to the town are calibrated, their worth as good community members assessed, and their contributions to the town's survival rated. Further, a commitment to a group is regarded as a commitment to the community as a whole. Groups are investments in the town's social survival, and are believed to create community, and community is seen as something that comes about thanks to groups and group activities; and whilst they certainly facilitate people's coming together to socialise and to do things for the community, groups are also seen as instruments through which any conflict amongst community members (which is mostly regarded as a threat to the town's survival) can be dissipated - or at least regulated. Indeed, conflict management is

¹ The person who made this comment admitted, "... that's probably putting it a bit bluntly", but felt strongly enough about the issue to continue: "If you're whingeing, if you're constantly whingeing about anything like it's too far away, it's too hot or it's too cold, or there's too many flies, there's too many whatever, then people probably think, God, go back home, you bloody go back home".
an important function of groups, for members are mindful of the potential effects that any large variance in opinion may have on the community's chances for survival. Naturally, disputes do occur - and with some regularity - but groups' encouragement of people to collaborate for a greater good promotes a degree of concord amongst most Ceduna People that might not otherwise exist. Ceduna's groups also play an intrinsic role in establishing a person's place in the community, they provide entertainment and a source of gossip, and they start you on the journey of being Ceduna - a process of ebb and flow, of ambiguity and acceptance.

Almost all Ceduna People express a strong attachment to their community. This means that many are members of community groups, which are understood to be formal associations of people, based not on private collections of friends but on the notion of community service. Such community groups can include sports clubs, social clubs and charity organisations. There is an emphasis on community involvement and commitment through groups, and people often talk about upcoming community events and how they might better 'serve the community'. Joining a group gives newcomers the chance to 'fit in', for people to get to know you and for you to get to know them. The idea of joining a community group or groups is everywhere, just as groups themselves are everywhere: where you eat is likely to be run by a group - the Sailing Club, the Golf Club or the Football Club, and even the profits of the Ceduna Community Hotel go back into the community; the community events you attend are run by groups and committees - the Oyster Fest, the Agricultural Show, the musical soirée, the fashion parade; the emergency services you might call upon are supplied by community members - ambulance, fire and rescue. Apart from these, there are the sporting clubs: netball, cricket, tennis and so on. It seems that you cannot get away from groups in Ceduna and if you go camping the chances are that you might be doing it with the 4WD (four-wheel drive) Club. Life without groups in Ceduna is almost unimaginable and individuals become synonymous with them: people could hardly think of the Multicultural League without thinking of Gracie (and vice versa), Val without the Sailing Club, the Ambulance without Ern, or Bronte without the 4WD Club. Participation in group life is a fast-track to acceptance in Ceduna, an essential part of being Ceduna, and vital to the community's survival.
Being a member of a group goes a long way towards your being Ceduna, and group membership is thought of as work-in-progress by Ceduna People, meaning that the ways in which a person participates in groups changes over time and often in accordance with other community or family obligations, health concerns, job requirements or opportunities, school work and the like. Joining a group is therefore not a case of 'be done with it', but an ongoing commitment to the town, its people and even the ethic of survival. Ceduna's groups are not, in actuality, as structured as they might at first appear to be; the notions of community service and group participation in Ceduna go hand-in-hand, and although Ceduna People might identify boundaries around their groups by applying names to them (e.g. the Sailing Club, the Red Cross, S. A. Ambulance), they nonetheless do not differentiate between doing work for the group and doing work for the community - the two act together to help define a person's being Ceduna and to bolster the ethic of survival. Also, the Ceduna definition of community service is wider than that which might normally be imagined for a Western people; as long as you are a member of a group - whether it be the 4WD Club, the Bowls Club, or the State Emergency Service - you are seen as doing something for the community - there is no ranking of groups according to a perception of importance or worth. This idea of community service afforded by being a member of even such a group as the Camera Club is largely predicated upon the survival ethic. For Ceduna People, survival is as much a matter of fulfilling certain social needs as it is a matter of fulfilling physical ones. In a fairly remote part of South Australia, Ceduna People believe they have to stave off the effects of their isolation by providing themselves with entertainment and various forms of leisure activity. Hence, a person involved in the Sailing Club might run a raffle or see that the squash courts are kept in good condition, or a member of Little Athletics might encourage newcomer parents to involve their youngsters in, and to help with the running of, the organisation; both are understood to be fulfilling a social and survival need in the town, and both are understood as a form of community service. Similarly, the 4WD Club is not seen primarily as an organisation that exists for the sole amusement of those individuals who own a Toyota Landcruiser, but as one that provides assistance to the community by supporting a hobby, helping

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2 However, as with most things Ceduna, a qualification must be made with regard to the town's Aboriginal population. Unpaid work done on behalf of Aboriginal People is not necessarily regarded by the town's accepted white majority as community service work.

3 You do not have to own a four-wheel drive to be a member of the club.
socialise newcomers into the Ceduna way of life, and teaching people to handle their vehicles correctly in case of emergency. Notions of service and survival are inseparable in Ceduna, just as notions of group membership and community membership are inseparable, and to understand the need for one connotes an understanding of the need for the other. Groups enable, even compel, people to come together for the good of the community; they encourage people to get along together - to not only create bonds between like-minded people but also to build links between those who might not otherwise communicate. In short, they encourage people to be Ceduna. In Ceduna People's eyes the town's chances of survival are thus assured, or at least enhanced, because groups give people the opportunity to work together towards a joint goal.

In Ceduna, there is virtually no distinction made between the 'community worthiness' of different community groups, and membership of any group is seen as being Ceduna and thus a form of community service, provided that your involvement in that group is relatively robust. For Ceduna People, community service is realised via group membership regardless of what type of group or groups you join. This means that fire service volunteers are potentially accorded no more or less credence as good community members than someone who puts together and presents a weekly local radio programme for CCR-FM. That said, however, the best community members are those who participate in at least three groups, and are seen to contribute significantly to the running of at least one of those groups. This means that heavy involvement with the Camera Club mixed with side-interests in the Country Women's Association and the Golf Club is more highly-regarded in the town than is non-office-bearing membership of the Multicultural League or Thevenard Football Club alone.

Some of Ceduna's Community Groups
Ceduna is replete with groups. Generally speaking, though, there are two types of group. The first is the community group. This is usually a formal organisation in which a group of people comes together with a particular purpose in mind, either for the short- or long-term. 'Formal', here, is used in a vague sense as Ceduna People are, on the whole, a relaxed people for whom rigorous adherence to rules and constitutions is an

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4 Ceduna Community Radio.
indication of stodginess and inflexibility - neither of which are seen as survival characteristics on the Far West Coast. (This is not to say, however, that tasks such as minute-taking or account-keeping are not regarded seriously. Indeed, even high school students are encouraged to run Student Representative Council (SRC) meetings in an official manner - the minutes and agenda for the years' 10 - 12 SRC meetings in 1997 were amongst the most professional I read in Ceduna. Community groups are seen to provide a community service of one kind or another, whether it be giving support to the town's elderly population, coaching the under-12s netball team, acting as public announcer at dirt circuit race meetings or organising a talent quest to raise money for the Oyster Fest.

Secondly, there are the informal, 'social' groups, wherein people get together in private gatherings of mates. Some of these groups are made up of people who have little or no involvement in community groups or activities; others are made up of people whose involvement in community groups is wide-ranging, thus providing them with an extensive pool from which to choose their friends. Membership of informal groups without membership of community groups leads to acceptance only when other criteria for Cedunaness are met, such as having lived in the town for, say, ten years (usually more), being clean-living, hard-working, and self-made. Rejected people similarly construct informal groups, but because these groups are made up of rejected people in the first place, these groups are never a path to acceptance, regardless of a mitigating factor such as length of residence. This kind of circular reasoning effectively keeps rejected people outside of the acceptance channels. Social groups are restricted to collections of friends. But it is the former kind of group, the community group, that carries the greater sway when it comes to a person being accepted into the community. Several of Ceduna's highest-profile groups, and their place in the survival context, are described below.

The Oyster Fest Committee
The Oyster Fest is Ceduna's annual two-day celebration of the local oyster industry, held over the October long weekend. The first Oyster Fest was held in 1991 and it has since become Ceduna's biggest community production. It requires the support of the local oyster industry, the co-operation of local business and the endorsement of the local
population. To co-ordinate this elaborate affair, a committee of a dozen or so meets at the Mayor's Parlour at the Council Chambers every fortnight from the New Year until the lead-up to the Oyster Fest when the committee begins to convene weekly (usually around August). All manner of business needs to be discussed: Which band will play at the Sailing Club? Who will organise security for the site? How should sponsors' names be organised on the programme so that everyone is happy? Can we get a liquor licence for the Foreshore? Carrying out each of these little tasks contributes to the entire running of the Oyster Fest and members of the committee volunteer to take on those assignments which they feel might be best aligned with their own abilities (for example, a member of the committee who also happens to be an electrician might organise power for the site). Ceduna People recognise that such cross-overs in the talent department are invaluable to the effective running of their community groups.

The Oyster Fest Committee is made up of oyster growers, local business people and people who wish to promote tourism in Ceduna. Most, with some exceptions, are new locals who are well-known and accepted in the community and who dash around town making their Oyster Fest arrangements. Often, Oyster Fest business will be conducted as people come upon each other in the main street or after they have met for some other commercial dealing such as picking up one's car from the mechanic. Much of Ceduna's group business is conducted in this way - it means being able to execute two or more assignments at once and not having to confine group business to group meeting times. A huge amount of community work is done during business hours in Ceduna, without people's paid work being noticeably affected.

Committee members protest that most in the community do not know how much work goes into organising the Oyster Fest - and they are probably right - but that does not stop most people in Ceduna having an opinion on the Oyster Fest. Some say that the event should be run every two years, rather than annually. Others, particularly older residents, are disappointed with what they see as the decline of the annual Agricultural and Horticultural Show at the hands of the less-traditional Oyster Fest, and local business people get sick of being asked for donations every year, pointing out that there

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5 I understand that the Oyster Fest Committee approached the Show Committee at one stage to see if the Show wanted to link with the Oyster Fest, but the Show Committee declined the offer.
is only so much money to go around in a small community. Nevertheless, the Oyster Fest generates money by attracting tourists to the town and provides a weekend of amusement for the community whilst shoring up the image that Ceduna wants to project of itself as being cosmopolitan and sophisticated. In a way, the Oyster Fest is an embodiment of the community's perception of its own adaptability. This, in turn is thought to reflect its survival capabilities, proving not just to itself but to the outside world - meaning the doubters from the city - that Ceduna is a sophisticated and complex place, not just a town full of rednecks which refuses to enter the twenty-first century.

_The Sailing Club_

As with many of Ceduna's formal organisations, the Sailing Club came together when a particular need or interest - in this case, sailing - in a section of the community was recognised by a couple of people and those couple of people decided to do something about it. The Sailing Club building is perched on the beach, at the extremity of the grassed area of what is known as 'the Foreshore', and at the beginning - or end, depending on your point of view - of the stretch of road that shoots out to Thevenard. The building started out as a shelter shed, then became a little tin shed, then a bigger tin shed, then a tin shed with additions on it, before taking its final shape as a two-storey concrete structure built over the various stages of shed (which were progressively removed from the inside of the construction). The clubrooms now accommodate a bar, a kitchen, a sizeable dining room with a dance floor, pinball machines and pool tables, squash courts, toilet and changeroom facilities, a sailing equipment storage area, and a rarely-used, more-or-less redundant upstairs section, also used for storage. Sailing Club members are proud of their club, although the building had been allowed to run down a little, and at a group working bee the carpet was replaced and the whole club given a general clean-up. Other groups and organisations in Ceduna also use the clubrooms to hold their own events. It was where the Multicultural League chose to convene its Multicultural Awareness Forum in 1998, where the South Australia Police (SAPOL) gave a community welcome for its new police officers in Ceduna, and where occasional movie-screenings are held as fund-raisers.

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6 As one police officer who had served in Ceduna for several years remarked to me, the Sailing Club seemed a curious venue to hold a 'community welcome' for new police officers, as it is a white person's domain, a fact which no-one at SAPOL seemed to recognise or take into consideration when organising
The Sailing Club is generally viewed as an active club whose members are eager to promote Ceduna through support of the Ceduna Oyster Fest, or through hosting of such events as the National Skate Titles, and work done at the Sailing Club is seen as being a contribution towards the community's growth and prosperity. Such enthusiasm elicits a large measure of respect from the community. Some, but very few, in the community might occasionally complain that the Sailing Club is for snobs, but this complaint is commonly used to disguise a particular gripe directed at a particular person who just also happens to be a member of the club. These kinds of grievances suggest that some Ceduna People, at least, see the community as less egalitarian than the rhetoric suggests. However, many believe that without the goodwill of the club and those who built it, Ceduna would lack a venue to hold many of its gatherings.

The Sailing Club is one of the stronger clubs in Ceduna, although, as with many organisations and associations, members complain that numbers are not what they used to be. Sailing Club members tend to be the better-off in the community (local business people and people with secure, government jobs) and those who are willing to pay the membership fees - during my time in Ceduna the fees were $A50.00 a couple, $A30.00 a single, per annum. Some of the more dedicated members are also those with a high community profile, that is, they are often pictured in the local newspaper, the West Coast Sentinel, for having performed one act of community kindness or other. Sailing Club members are usually seen as solid community advocates who show concern for, and work towards securing, the survival of the town. And whilst it could be argued that the Sailing Club has a larger percentage of locals amongst its members than some other clubs, many of these are likely to be new locals who have lived in Ceduna for ten years or more and been solidly accepted into the community for the contributions they have made to it. In fact, the Sailing Club has such a reputation as an 'influential citizen' in its own right that some Ceduna People wryly and dryly call it The Senate - the House of Review for proposals to Council.

the event. Consequently, few Aboriginal People attended the welcome, which, according to the officer, might more appropriately have been held outdoors, or somewhere "a bit more mutual".
7 A small type of sailing boat.
8 It is not necessary to own your own sailing boat to become a member - such a restriction would be too great and would disqualify most members of the community from joining the Club.
9 Most organisations in Ceduna do not require membership fees be paid.
4WD (Four-Wheel Drive) Club

Many members of the Sailing Club are also members of the 4WD (Four-Wheel Drive) Club, and, indeed, the 4WD Club holds its meetings at the Sailing Club. The 4WD Club organises camping trips and excursions around the West Coast and inland South Australia, as well as providing driver training - Ceduna-style - to inexperienced four-wheel drivers. Most 4WD Club members are new people and new locals, commonly aged over thirty, with secure jobs and some excess cash, who appreciate the great outdoors in an off-road fashion. This means that 4WD club camping trips are usually five-star occasions, with all the equipment and luxury of a home away from home. For sleeping: swags, occasionally tents, pillows, continental quilts, sleeping bags. For victuals: sausages, bread and tomato sauce (of course), freeze-dried vegetables, fresh fish (if caught on tour), potatoes, salad, barbeque chicken, long-life milk, tea, coffee, beer, wine, port. For comfort: fold-out chairs, lamps, Wet-Ones.\textsuperscript{10} For entertainment: fishing gear, snorkeling equipment, a good book. The most important thing about getting out into the bush like this is the fact that, as a Ceduna Person, you \textit{know how to do it}: you are able to parade your survival sensibilities whilst displaying a relaxed 'at oneness' with the surrounding scrub, mixed with a touch of civilisation - in other words, you showing how well you can be Ceduna.

Whilst not exactly environmentalists (most Ceduna People detest 'greenies and do-gooders' and will waste no time in telling you so), members of the 4WD Club are responsible park- and land-users, who take care to stick to formed tracks (where available) and carry their rubbish home with them after a trip away. They try to avoid running over the sleepy-lizards which sun themselves on the road and they pass on weather and track information to each other over their UHF, VHF, or HF radios. A few younger people with either their own four-wheel drive, or the loan of one, are more likely to be those responsible for the destruction of scrubland and wildlife. In 1997 the 4WD Club spawned another group, Friends of the Parks, as a way of helping to maintain the 8 million hectares' worth of nature reserve in the Far West region.\textsuperscript{11} Many 4WD Club members also tend to meet socially outside of the club environment for

\textsuperscript{10} So-called 'moist towelettes', never forgotten.
\textsuperscript{11} In 1998, 'Friends' obtained its own identity.
barbeques and the like, meaning that 4WD Club business and significant aspects of sociality and acceptance in Ceduna can be dissolved into one.

The 4WD Club is something of a money-spinner in the town, as its members provide local mechanics and camping goods' suppliers with sure and steady trade. A good deal of Ceduna's commerce is town-based, and there is a real sense amongst Ceduna People that support for local businesses bolsters the economic health of the community. The 4WD Club provides people both with a way to volunteer in a community group and the chance to indulge a leisure pursuit, and, in the way of Ceduna, the two are not necessarily separated - indeed, they are not thought to be necessarily separable.

The stress on physical survival Out West is exemplified by the existence, and activities, of the 4WD Club, with members being taught camping and handling skills that will help them to get out of trouble if ever they are stuck in the bush. Getting out of a bog situation, for example, is a patent undertaking in survival, and often 4DW Club members will deliberately bog vehicles and extricate them as part of informal training exercises. Being boggd is also part of the recreation of the pioneer experience and mythology, and harkens back to the ancestors having to do running repairs on their wagons - unloading supplies, fixing axles, then reloading supplies before continuing the journey.

*The Emergency Services*

As is the case outside of any metropolitan area in South Australia, the emergency services available to Ceduna People are provided by volunteers. The Ceduna Emergency Services Complex was opened in 1992 to provide a joint facility for the Ceduna branches of the S.A. Ambulance Service, the S.A. Country Fire Service (CFS) and the S.A. State Emergency Service (SES). The complex is a huge structure fronting the southern end of Poynton Street. Shared areas inside include the lecture room, (which can be hired by the general public through council) and the toilets and showers. There are various storage areas, an allotment for two ambulances and an engine bay with three fire appliances, a CFS four-wheel drive command vehicle and an SES rescue vehicle. There is also an office for ambulance administration, a high-tech. communications room
for the CFS, and a further administration room for fire and rescue. By country standards, the complex is a large and sophisticated one.\textsuperscript{12}

Further tension between the services comes from a simple lack of appreciation of each other's job.\textsuperscript{13} For example, at a hazardous material spill, ambulance volunteers might feel sidelined because they see themselves simply as being backup, sitting around just in case one of the 'dickhead fireys' inhales some toxic chemical or other and requires treatment in the course of cleaning up the spill. Similarly, firefighters might complain that being relegated to traffic control at a road accident is a waste of resources as they could be helping the 'Rambo ambos' move someone onto a stretcher. Members of the non-combatant service (i.e. the service which does not have prime responsibility for the control of the job) at a joint incident are used to dealing with (and being in charge of) call-outs on their own and they tend to feel powerless and frustrated when they cannot help out. However, members of each service usually have a good idea of how the others operates and can be of assistance as required - firefighters generally know how to help ambulance officers with the most basic medical treatment, and ambulance officers often have a fair understanding of how a road crash rescue victim is extracted from a motor

\textsuperscript{12} Although all housed under the one roof, and being sometimes referred to as the 'joint emergency services' in council documents and the like, each organisation maintains its singularity of purpose. There are occasionally-strained relations between the services, as some see the term 'Ceduna Emergency Services' as a precursor to an amalgamated emergency services in which, it is claimed, each service will lose its identity: "I joined up as a firey" is a frequently-heard expression, especially from those whose own identity is intractably interwoven with fighting fires. Others view amalgamation as either inevitable or as the best way to ensure funding from both local and state governments. This provides an unusual instance in the Ceduna group membership context, for Ceduna People would not normally expect two very different groups to fuse; for example, although the memberships of the CWA and the Red Cross, or the 4WD Club and the Sailing Club, might overlap, each organisation is regarded as a distinct body, each with its own constitution and each providing a particular service to the community. The types of service supplied by different Ceduna groups is never questioned, and each association is understood to contribute to the community's survival in its own, special way. All three emergency services deem their concerns to be easily divisible from the concerns of the others, and they consider the services they provide to be distinct, noting that walking into a burning building is markedly different from dangling off a cliff on a piece of rope or transporting a person's remains to hospital. Emergency service officers feel a little put out (annoyed), then, if they feel that non-group members are trying to tell them how to best run their troop, or that the work of their group is being questioned.

\textsuperscript{13} And perhaps a little jealousy. Being a part of an emergency service gives members a tremendous sense of importance - firstly, they are doing their bit for the community; secondly, they sometimes have to put their lives on the line by tackling dangerous and high-risk situations; thirdly, emergency services' volunteers are privy to things that others members of the community are not, such as the grisly details of a road accident or the distress of a person whose house has just been burnt to the ground; and fourthly, they have specialised knowledge that others in the community do not have access to - how to don a Compressed Air Breathing Apparatus (CABA), how to use a 'heartstart', how the jaws of life are operated. There is always a degree of competition over whose service 'does' the most and requires the highest and most diverse levels of training.
car wreckage. Much drama surrounds any emergency incident, but tensions are highest when everybody wants to be on the frontline.

The emergency services are a little different to other groups in the town, because, although training nights and meetings are held on a regular basis, often the groups' members come together at short notice to attend an emergency. Most other groups meet by prior arrangement to deal with specific undertakings, but emergency workers must expect to be called upon to work in the group environment and provide a community service at any time of day or night.

S. A. Ambulance

The Ceduna S.A. Ambulance Service is largely comprised of both new locals and new people. As with the CFS, new people are pounced upon as soon as they show any interest in signing up - usually when they have just arrived in town and are looking for something to join. The Ambulance Service works on a 12-hour rotating roster, with shifts beginning and ending at 6 a.m./p.m. Call-outs are made by means of personal pagers, which are handed over at the end of each shift to the next duty crew. Two volunteers are available for each half-day spell, during which two, sometimes three, call-outs can be expected. Whilst ambulance officers may occasionally have to drive long distances to attend incidents, time spent on the job is, by necessity, relatively short, involving the expeditious stabilisation of patients followed by prompt removal to hospital - a process which some officers refer to as 'load and go'.

The Country Fire Service

'Fireys' are seen as a mixed bunch, with members ranging from the very-well to the very-little respected. There is a dedicated core made up of volunteers who immediately drop whatever they are doing to attend every call-out, and there are a few floaters who will be there depending on work commitments and the scale of the incident (for larger jobs, floaters may be telephoned and asked if they can help out). All firefighters are on-call twenty-four hours a day and can expect one or two call-outs a week - some incidents such as chemical spills, fatal road accidents which have occurred some distance away, and larger bushfires, can last up to two days. Call-outs are made via personal pagers and the simultaneous, thirty-second wail of the town's fire siren. Fire
appliances cannot attend an incident without a minimum crew of four, and with a shortage of volunteers in the community, it is sometimes difficult to find enough people to roll an appliance.\textsuperscript{14} In fact, during my time in the community, it sometimes would have been impossible for an appliance to leave the station without all three members of one dedicated family on board!

\textit{The State Emergency Service}

The SES in Ceduna is not as strong as either the ambulance or fire service, with most people seeing a lack of committed volunteers as being the source of the problem.\textsuperscript{15} The SES performs searches and cliff rescue - for neither of which there is much call in Ceduna. However, in a role which crosses also into the jurisdiction of the CFS, the State Emergency Service carries out road crash rescue. There have been fierce arguments between both services over which, exactly, should perform this task.\textsuperscript{16}

Despite being essential services, in that ambulance, fire and rescue are potentially life-saving outfits, there is no greater or lesser importance placed on membership of one or other of these emergency organisations. Group membership in Ceduna is seen to satisfy an individual's personal preferences, as well as the community's needs. Granted, there is the requirement for survival in the town, but people join certain groups because it suits them, and people's decisions about what, exactly, they want to do to fulfil their social obligations are their own. Individual and group interests often merge, and Ceduna People recognise that this in itself is a survival characteristic.

\textit{The Ceduna Multicultural League}

Initially, the Multicultural League came together as a ladies' organisation in April, 1995 when a group of women in the town were out to dinner on International Women's Day,

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\textsuperscript{14} Mobilise a fire truck.

\textsuperscript{15} Indeed, SES volunteers, even though they are on the self-same pager and call-out system as the CFS, usually have to be called up on the telephone by the CFS communications officer and be asked to attend the incident once its nature has been determined. Sometimes, a road crash rescue extraction had been performed and the casualties whisked away to hospital before the SES had arrived on the scene.

\textsuperscript{16} The CFS argues that it is always on the scene of any accident well before the SES volunteers, if any, arrive, and that the CFS road accident rescue equipment is more up-to-date and kept in better working order than that of the SES. SES members, on the other hand, state that they are better trained at road accident rescue because they do not need any rescue equipment to cut open a car: they can do it with a jemmy bar if needs be. Both points of view will never be reconciled.
although the idea for the League had apparently been drifting around for some time. Most members are middle-aged women, well-respected and eager to push for recognition of their organisation. Their aim is to "promote a greater understanding among people from different cultural background[s] and to live in harmony with the mainstream community" (Ceduna's Multicultural League Inc. 1998: 1), and to this end they hold events such as fashion parades, and the well-attended 1998 Multicultural Awareness Forum (at which men were invited to not be shy and to think of joining the League).\textsuperscript{17} There is a degree of political infighting within the League, but its members work hard to present a united front to the community and to resolve differences, recognising, perhaps, the potential for conflict between practicing and preaching.

The Multicultural League boasts members with Filipino, Greek, Irish and Aboriginal backgrounds, amongst others - indeed, it is one of the few clubs or associations in Ceduna in which Aboriginal people make part of the membership.\textsuperscript{18} The League also places an entrant in the Oyster Fest's personality quest each year, and its 1997 - 1998 project was to raise money to have the SBS\textsuperscript{19} transmit in Ceduna. This is an excellent example of how work for the group is recognised in the town as being work for the community, for without the Multicultural League's intensive fund-raising efforts, Ceduna People would not have access to the ethnic broadcaster. By the same token, Ceduna People recognise that if they buy the group's raffle tickets, or support the Multicultural League's Oyster Fest personality quest entrant, then the benefits will ultimately be reaped by the community at large, and not just the select members of a single, community organisation.

Sport
Many younger people in Ceduna, aged under thirty or so, supply their community service by getting involved in the town's sporting clubs. The idea of community service coming through participation in a sporting club makes sense in the Ceduna context

\textsuperscript{17} To the latest of my knowledge, no male had taken up the offer.
\textsuperscript{18} This does not make members of the Multicultural League 'Boong lovers', however, for the Indigenous People who are members of this group are seen as clean-living and dedicated to community service; real Boong lovers are those who express a degree of empathy with Aboriginal rights and issues, regardless of whether or not certain Aboriginal People are thought of as 'respectable'.
\textsuperscript{19} Special Broadcasting Service - a largely government-funded, multicultural television broadcaster in Australia.
because such clubs encourage the gathering of people for amusement. In fact, playing sport is a perfect example of meeting the town's survival needs, as it ensures a person is physically-fit (and mentally-sound, as playing sport is regarded as normal) and community-minded, because playing sport is normally seen as a team thing which provides entertainment for the whole community, not an individual recreation. Thus, squash and tennis are seen as group activities (because they can be played either at club level or just between a couple of mates who go down to the local courts for a hit).

However, cycling is thought of as anti-social (despite the fact that when done competitively it is very much a team sport) because it cannot be carried out at a specific venue in Ceduna, but only on the road which excludes the possibility of people spending an afternoon watching the development of a competition. Netball for the women, and Australian Rules Football for the men, are the two most popular team competitions and there are local leagues for both games. Football, in particular, is well-supported by the people of Ceduna and Districts, although it does incite perhaps a little too much passion amongst supporters; even those who are deeply involved with sport in the district, through either participation or commerce, see the obsession with sport in the Far West as "probably quite silly". But, as the same people will argue, sport is a social thing, it gives people something to do other than just "sitting around doing drugs and being totally bored". Sport is one way people interact, but participation in sport doesn't mean having to play a straight-out team game. It can mean taking part in golf, squash, shooting - even fishing and camping seem to somehow come under the rubric of sport in Ceduna. With all of these sports, however, there remains a strong element of the social: great conversations can be had whilst trying to find a tiny white ball in the scrubby rough; by custom the winner of a squash game has to buy the loser a beer; and problems with wild oat or ryegrass in your crops can be solved at the rifle range.

Cricket and tennis, though, are less popular than most other sports in Ceduna. Whilst there are local competitions for both, neither incites the kinds of emotions amongst Ceduna People as do the winter sports of netball and football. Arguably, cricket and

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20 During my time in the district the Far West Netball Association consisted of six clubs - Koonibba, Ceduna, Thevenard, Blues, Westies, Lynx - and the Far West Football Association of four - Blues, Thevenard, Koonibba and Western United.
tennis are regarded as a little élitist - unique and expensive equipment is needed for cricket, and tennis, to be played well, requires specialist, one-on-one coaching - whilst netball and football are seen as open and available to all, even Aboriginal People. Nevertheless, helping with the administration of cricket or tennis associations is seen as providing the community with certain benefits as the range of leisure activities is expanded.

**Other Groups**

Some groups, though, are undoubtedly dying out. These are the clubs that seem no longer to hold any serious attraction to those under fifty or sixty years of age. The Country Women's Association (CWA), for example, is finding it hard to draw new members, presumably because younger women are these days more likely to be interested in going four-wheel driving or camping than learning a new craft such as découpage or devoting their spare time to service in rural areas. The CWA also adheres to more 'old-fashioned' values, such as honouring God, the Throne and the Country. The Show Society is another of Ceduna's dwindling organisations, losing out to the Oyster Fest and its attendant popularity amongst those of a less-traditional bent. Likewise the National Trust and the Ceduna Museum (more or less one organisation) are failing to lure younger people into the fold as the cultural focus in the town swings from the land, the domain of the old locals whose history is represented in the artefacts that litter the museum, to the sea, the realm of the new people. This is mirrored in Ceduna People's recognition of the need for fresh ideas and the skills of people who can deal with government departments and infrastructure in a changing, more technologically- and bureaucratically-oriented world. Although some old locals complain about this change of focus, most recognise that all types of abilities must be required and accommodated if the community is to survive.

Almost every club, organisation or association in Ceduna complains of a dearth of volunteers and/or members. CFS members, for example, are often preoccupied with trying to enlist others in the community into the fire brigade but, according to the longest-serving member of the brigade (an old local), there has never been - in his forty-odd years as a volunteer firefighter in Ceduna - notable support in the form of people signing up to help out. People believe the problem stems from a scarcity of money, an
attitude-change in the community and a growing lack of commitment from people in
general. I found no evidence for the latter two assessments, as nearly everyone in
Ceduna is involved in something or other, and the mere abundance of groups to join
means that not everybody can be involved in everything.

**Joining a Group**

Ceduna People are quick to investigate new faces in the town. Those who have moved
to Ceduna for occupational reasons become acquainted with their fellow employees,
begin to settle in after a few weeks, and are invited to spend the day fishing with new
workmates or to come round for a barbie and a couple of drinks. Others might go for a
drink at the pub, and thus get to know a few people through bar talk. Most newcomers
will comment on the friendliness of Ceduna People and how welcome they have been
made to feel, and this is, by and large, true; Ceduna People are amiable and convivial
when it comes to receiving newcomers, keen to share their hospitality and their
homebrew. But after a while, newcomers are expected to show some sign of wanting to
participate in community life. This becomes evident when somebody asks whether or
not you would be interested in joining such-and-such a group of which they themselves
are usually a member. Bringing new members into a group gains you a lot of **kudos,**
mostly because it demonstrates your willingness to promote the town's survival by
increasing group numbers and the level of community service; however, asking
someone to join your organisation is not a matter for complacency - if the person you
have signed up reveals themselves to be a no-hoper, your reputation may become a
little blemished. When questioned about why people might join groups, old and new
locals alike declare that getting involved in community business gives you something to
do. Newcomers, on the other hand, seem to be in general agreement that there is a deal
of pressure placed upon them by Ceduna People to become involved. This is the first
step in the joining process.

The next step entails encouraging a person to attend a group meeting. Most meetings are
held on weeknights in the late afternoon or the early evening; for example, the Oyster
Fest Committee meets at 5:30 p.m. every second Wednesday\(^{22}\) and the Ceduna

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\(^{21}\) One who is doomed to failure.

\(^{22}\) Every Wednesday in the last weeks leading up to the event itself.
Community Radio meets monthly at around 8 p.m. on Mondays (although this often changes). Meetings are a big deal in Ceduna, with minutes being kept and elected officers carrying out their respective duties during the course of the assembly. Before the meeting, new (or, perhaps more accurately, 'potential') members are introduced to the president of the club and to other members who are milling around talking to one another. These associates, out of interest and habit rather than anything more sinister, quiz the latest hopeful on where they are from, what brings them to Ceduna, where they are living and for how long they will be there. The meeting begins and the newcomer is officially introduced and welcomed. Business is conducted and the meeting closed. After the meeting, there is further opportunity for people to talk to the fresh applicant. Those who want to give the impression of a busy life quickly restate - to anyone who is listening - the issues they raised during the meeting (particularly those to which there may have been some objections). They confirm what it is that they have to get done before the next meeting, then rush off either to have dinner or to begin their delegated tasks for the coming weeks. The stayers are those who have most to do with the running of the organisation, those whose lives sometimes revolve around the organisation, and the person who is sticking close to\textsuperscript{23} the newcomer they have brought to the club.

The third phase in the joining process comes when you begin to take part in the group's activities. You might be asked to marshal at the dirt circuit on a race day Sunday, or help set up the Memorial Hall for a group fundraiser - a fashion show, a talent quest, a musical evening. At this point it is important not only 'just to be there', but also to show that you are eager to participate, and it is participation of the ardent kind that sends you on your way to being accepted and being Ceduna. This means asking people exactly what you can do to help, and then executing any assignments with enthusiasm. During these early stages of group membership, any type of social or technical blunder, such as failing to recognise who is in charge of group administration, or not being able to roll up a fire hose properly, is well tolerated by Ceduna People. However, after several weeks you are expected to have been around long enough to know how things work. To bungle things, and to continue to bungle things, means that you have probably not been paying any notice to group business and procedures, which, in turn, means that your attention to the group's operation is not all it might be, and your prospects as a valuable group

\textsuperscript{23} Staying near.
member are doubtful. In other words, if your mind is not on the job, how can you be interested in securing the town's physical and social survival? Nevertheless, if you find that this particular group suits you, and you can envisage devoting several hours a week to group affairs and events without getting bored by or too annoyed with fellow group members, then you will probably find that this group is for you. If, for some reason, you choose not to become a member of the group, Ceduna People will not hold it against you if you drop out after the informal test period of five or six weeks; at least you have tried, and you will almost certainly find another way in which to make your contribution to the community by joining a different group - one that is more suited to your interests and skills. In fact, there is almost a sense of the inevitable about this entire process in Ceduna, but that does not mean to say that people will not be watching to see exactly which way you fall, how quickly you become Ceduna, and how you choose to make your contribution to the town.

After a while, you become a part of the group's regular membership and you feel relaxed enough perhaps to express an opinion on the issues that face the group or to make a suggestion as to what the group might do next in terms of a get-together. Ceduna People are quick to recognise the individual talents and innovative ideas of newcomers and then decipher how those talents might fit into the survival ethic. When it is time for the group's elections to be held, and if you have demonstrated a strong commitment to the running of the group, your contributions may be recognised through your nomination as treasurer or secretary for the organisation. If the group feels that you can adequately perform the tasks required, you will be voted into office. Further, you are demonstrating your Cedunaness at another level of service by being voted into group office because it proves that you are dedicated to keeping the community alive.

Perhaps the final stage in the passage from novice to old hand comes when you begin to organise events in your own right. Your dedication and loyalty to the group (and by implication to the town's survival) is now beyond question, and the very fact that the group as a whole allows you to co-ordinate functions of one kind or another is evidence of the group's broad approval. This step is also the most public of all the steps involved in becoming a member of a group; it is an open recognition by the group of all that you have done for it and for all the town to see. It further, and perhaps more importantly,
indicates that you have become Ceduna and that you appreciate the value of groups to the survival of the town.

There are other ways of soliciting new members, but these are somewhat less effective. They include locating messages and posters in shop windows (most shopkeepers are quite generous when it comes to such things), broadcasting public relations material and contact numbers over the community radio's free-of-charge community diary, and placing announcements on one of the various community notice boards around the town. The *Ceduna and Districts Database*, published annually-ish in paper format by the District Council, also provides relevant contact information for anyone interested in joining a group. However, these methods of recruitment are less reliable than those accompanied by a recommendation from an established member.

Although word-of-mouth is the most influential way of disseminating information about different organisations, the *West Coast Sentinel* (the local newspaper, published in Ceduna) also plays an important role, especially in providing publicity for groups. Although during my time in the town most Ceduna People complained of the general lack of 'content' - that is, firm issues-based articles - in the paper, the editor of the *Sentinel* did make an effort to include information about upcoming meetings and activities. And if a person could be bothered to write something about their group's recent activities, she would usually incorporate the report in a future edition.

**Groups and survival**

People do not join groups as an overtly political act in which they seek principally to serve personal interests. They do, however, join groups to help make their personal lives more comfortable. Newcomers join groups firstly because it is obviously the done thing, and secondly to prove to the general Ceduna populace that they want to be accepted into the community, having realised that acceptance is essential to being Ceduna and having a satisfying life in the town. Groups are a major conduit through which newcomers are welcomed into and located in the community, and as such they serve the purpose of helping newcomers to be Ceduna. But groups also play a vital role in the survival ethic

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24 The notice board outside Foodland on Poynton Street attracts the most attention, so this is normally the first port of call for groups wanting to advertise an event.
by obliging people to work together to buttress against the impact of living in an isolated place. In this way, the distinctions between group and community become blurred. Joining groups in Ceduna helps the community to survive in both a physical and social sense; groups are there to provide services for the community that otherwise would not exist, and they are seen as being for the community - to help it develop in its totality, to encourage interaction between people by persuading them to get along if they are to survive, and to promote recreational activities for them to take part in.

There is no real sense that groups provide the most important vehicle via which sociality is engendered, because structure and process work together in Ceduna to promote the community's survival; groups and the idea of the community as a whole go hand-in-hand, and community is seen as something that is formed through the creation of groups, just as groups augment community participation. Further, Ceduna People do not differentiate between the ideas of doing work for the community and doing work for the group - work for one is seen as work for the other. There is no firm dividing line between the two which is used to demarcate one form of service from the other. Although groups might be named in terms of what they do in Ceduna, they are not defined by how they do it - that is, each group is seen to contribute to the survival of the town, no matter the form of the contribution.

The ranking of groups according to perceived community worth or 'more valuable' contribution to survival occurs is not an issue for Ceduna People - all groups are viewed as equally important to the survival of the town and its community, whether they provide an emergency service (through cliff rescue, for example) or satisfy a recreational need (through organising the annual Agricultural and Horticultural Show). People are concerned primarily with the promotion of the community over any personal betterment or self-interest, and they do not set themselves up as being superior to others simply because they are a member of Meals on Wheels rather than the Far West Gun Club. However, those people who do not join community groups, but are otherwise accepted (because they do not obviously flout the town's other regulations on what is sanctioned, expected, and acceptable behaviour, and have lived in the town for a lengthy period of time) are positioned below those who wholeheartedly occupy themselves with group undertakings and are also clean and decent. In practical terms, such people do not
hold as much status in the town as those who participate heavily in groups, and thus their pool of acquaintances is often limited to persons who similarly do not have deep involvements in group activities.

The quality of group participation is a little more ambiguous, however, and in extreme cases it can sometimes depend on other aspects of acceptability. Some people might have their names in the books of a certain group but rarely turn up to meetings or group-directed events such as fundraisers or open days. These people are received into the group, regardless of their negligible commitment because they follow the town's general rules on acceptable behaviour (they do not cause trouble, they are clean and tidy and have other, accepted people for friends). Usually, though, if these non-attendees are well-accepted in the community at large it is because they are members of other groups to which they are decidedly more devoted - they are not like those who rely entirely on their barbeque set to provide their social succour.

There are also those who are not respected by the Ceduna community as a whole (usually because they do not conform to the town's other rules on acceptable behaviour), but whose interest in a group's activities might be almost fanatical, and often exclusive. These people are tolerated in the context of the group on the condition that they do not make too large a nuisance of themselves and often because their support for the group is unequivocal and indispensable. However, the best contributions to the community and its survival are made if you commit to more than a single organisation. There are also the very, very few in Ceduna who are said to join groups to improve their self-image (perhaps because they wish to be voted into council). These rare creatures are adept at feigning furious involvement but, in fact, do little for the group with which they associate themselves. They are seen as bits of wankers, and are abided only through a specific non-inclusion in the more intricate, intimate, and sometimes secret, aspects of the group's activities, meaning that they are deliberately held outside the more classified domains of group operations without their even knowing it. Such alleged-personal-glory-seekers are forever coming up with excuses for not showing up

25 Being a member of at least two groups is seen as rather healthier than a rabid fascination with one group alone.
26 Pretentious fools, idiots; self-deluded, self-indulgent egoists.
at working bees, or they might attend events only to 'supervise' their smooth running without ever getting their hands dirty. Most Ceduna People deplore this kind of behaviour for it does nothing specific for the town's survival and such people are regularly derided (though not to their faces) by the more dedicated group members who grizzle and groan under their breath about the remarkable aptitude some have for looking busy when really they are not. Further, it shows that this person is not an all-rounder, that they cannot adroitly manage the tension between their own individual needs and the demands of community participation. But the more resolute group members resign themselves to the fact that these uncommon personalities will not be compelled to help tidy up the clubrooms, and so they get on with the job at hand, periodically intoning that if you don't do it yourself, then no-one else will; implying that sometimes the existence of the group depends on you doing your bit and someone else's bit, too.

People who do not join groups (that is, those who are not old locals and who have thus no claim to Cedunanness through their ancestry), and those who similarly are not even a part of a barbeque set, are thought of as weird, strange and unsociable. Indifference towards community life is selfish, as you are seen to unveil what can only be interpreted as a complete disregard for Ceduna's survival. It is considered almost unnatural for a person not to want to take part in community activities and to be Ceduna, and people normally feel quite threatened by anybody who (by Ceduna implication) thinks they are better than everyone else. Furthermore, Ceduna People have trouble grasping the notion that a person could be happy in themselves without being an active participant in the town, for they believe that happiness is gained through group life and community service, not through cloistering. Solitary figures are intentionally isolated in return: they are ignored and excluded from ordinary town life, they are not invited to social outings (for instance, trips to the beach), and no-one ever calls out to them in the street, stopping for a friendly chat. For Ceduna People, there is a belief that community is only created if everyone pulls together to create it; if you do not lend a hand, it becomes very difficult to be seen and treated as a part of the community as such. In such an isolated place, the desire to be isolated from the rest of the community is not well understood, so, to cope with such eccentric behaviour, Ceduna People simply place those who prefer a secluded existence well outside of the accepted community.
Any new person is required to display exactly how they are similar to all other Ceduna People, or at least how they want to be similar to other Ceduna People. This is almost the first priority given to anyone who enters the town with the intention of residing there for the next few years. Newcomers are often solicited as fresh group members for the very reason that they can think and act independently of Ceduna's social demands. It is almost as if Ceduna People - particularly old and new locals - believe that over time people lose the capacity to offer novel ideas that might lead to the advancement of their beloved group. Ceduna People admit as much:

I found when people did first come into Ceduna that it was like the itinerants and if they came in with new ideas they were [r]ejected, like the itinerants bring a great idea into town and who's going to run it when they leave instead of learning from what they've brought. But now, I think we're accepting that a lot more and they're bringing a lot more culture and learning into the town. And if somebody wants to do something, I think we should back them all the way, not knock them down like the poppy syndrome.

Ceduna People do not believe that humanity should be motivated to push forward at the expense of one's fellows, and anyone driven to harangue others with their ideas on self-help and self-improvement techniques is soon cut down to size, laughed at, or impugned either as a wanker or as a bit of a fool (depending on your proclivity for profanity). People should work for the community and its survival, and not just for themselves. There are occasions, however, when people are allowed to put their own interests above those of the community, group or club. If it is obvious that a person must be away from the community for several weeks as a legitimate part of her or his paid work, Ceduna People will strive to keep that person informed of all major group business, as well as local goings-on. Similarly, if people are ill, they might also be excused from group affairs, and if a family suffers an emergency and it is time to seed or harvest, farmers from all over the district will descend at once upon the unfortunates' property and get the crop planted or taken up.²⁷

²⁷ These are no idle stories or imaginative creations of 'what it would be nice to be like'. Such a situation occurred during my time in Ceduna when the teenage son of a farming family was involved in a serious road accident and had to be airlifted to Adelaide. The parents of the boy travelled to Adelaide whilst the district's farmers saw to the seeding of their friends' farm for that year.
Joining a group tells people about yourself - it tells them that you have a commitment to the Ceduna community, that you want to fit in, that you want to be Ceduna - and furthermore, that you want to be accepted into the Ceduna community and help it to survive. Importantly, groups provide the most efficient means by which people can come together and serve the community - regular meetings and designated duties ensure the steady management of town business and the town's survival. Groups are likewise used to socialise newcomers into being Ceduna, for these people are regarded as potential group members, and are thus introduced to the community in terms of their capacity to serve it and contribute towards its survival. Furthermore, it is considered natural that people will want to join groups, and group membership is seen as normal and civilised (although there is the implicit and practical assumption made by Ceduna People that some newcomers - especially those from the city - might need some instruction in how to go about joining a group). Ceduna's groups are not just outlets for getting together, serving one's own interests and having a good time every now and then - they are an indicator of community and are innate to life in the town; and they require dedication and hard work. Groups are apertures of appraisal; useful instruments in the assessment of newcomers, and they are mechanisms through which people serve their community, adding to its chances of survival in an isolated setting.

However, survival in Ceduna is not seen as a solely social necessity in which people are encouraged to get along to ensure population growth or provide entertainment to stave off ennui. Survival is also seen as a physical imperative for Ceduna People, for, despite the seemingly modern living conditions within the town, there is a real sense of threat from the surrounding environment. Nevertheless, Ceduna People display a deep love of and respect for the landscape of the Far West Coast, which is mitigated by no small fear of its deadly potential to compromise human survival.
CHAPTER SIX
LANDSCAPE

Ceduna People's relationship with their landscape is an intricate one, characterised by a reasonable degree of ambivalence. The landscape of the Far West Coast is parched, flat, hostile, dangerous, inhospitable, lifeless, forbidding. But there is more to it than this: the landscape represents the power and vicissitudes of nature as well as its serenity; it can be a place in which to relax and spend your leisure time, or it can be a place of work; it is something to be exploited but at all times respected; and it is something that we have grown to love for its purity and beauty.

Ceduna People have a very special connection with their surrounds, and it is this connection that helps drive the survival ethic. Ceduna People love their physical environment and they are familiar with its landmarks, its conditions, its idiosyncrasies. It is this genuine affection for the land that helps to ensure survival Out West, for Ceduna People believe that to be contemptuous of the landscape is akin to inviting it to attack you, drive you out, or at the very least make you extremely unhappy. For Ceduna People, the landscape is understood to have a huge emotive effect on a person's state of mind, and the ways in which one regards the landscape are reflected in that state of mind. To view the landscape as ugly and barren is counted by Ceduna People as a decision, a deliberate refusal to be won over by the sheer splendour of the terrain. This, in turn, means that you will have trouble getting along out here because you are rejecting the town, its people and the very sensible, dominant survival ethic; further, you are making life difficult for yourself and, by implication, others.

The affective ties that Ceduna People have created with their landscape have implications for the idea of being Ceduna. Being Ceduna means that you have a sound knowledge of the landscape, you enjoy doing things in it (camping, fishing, farming)
and, moreover, you understand its potential for knocking you off\(^1\) should you attempt anything stupid, such as a three-day four-wheel drive tour with only one litre of water and no spare tyres. A person can also exhibit their acceptance in Ceduna by naming not only the places where they have recently been camping, but also those (other) accepted people with whom they went. Outward expressions of fondness for the terrain of the Far West show your Cedunaness and are a way of indicating to others your acceptance in the town. This is especially important if you are fairly new to the town, as learning to have an authentic regard for the landscape is taken into account during the Attitude Test. Indeed, teaching newcomers to love and respect the landscape is part of the guidance process whereby people are introduced to the survival ethic of the town and are made aware of the land's potential hostility to those who do not respect it.

*The Far West Coast - a guided tour*

To comprehend the impact that the landscape has on the Ceduna imagination, it is necessary to understand the extent to which Ceduna People roam around this country. For Ceduna People, an extensive knowledge of the region is important as it helps to delineate what type of Ceduna Person you are: old locals tend to have a deep-rooted awareness of all that affects the land, most significantly their farms - both the cultivated areas and secret pockets of untouched scrub where they might have built cubby houses as children; new locals have a sound appreciation of the coast, farms and various communities in the area as well as the more northerly, and thus inland, settlements - indeed, new locals have probably the best working knowledge of the whole region compared to all other Ceduna People; and new people, largely because it is expected of them, quickly come to have a good sense of the coast and all that it encompasses. Overall, familiarity with regional landmarks is indicative of your acceptance within the town. Further, it is important in the context of the community's survival ethic that you show an appreciation of the West Coast, as such an appreciation shows your willingness to get along in the town and to promote Ceduna's long-term continuation as the major township in the Far West.

Ceduna People tend to divide the region into three main sectors: further west (Map 5), inland and the coast, with the coast being the most significant, well-known, talked about

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\(^1\) Killing you.
Map 5. 'Mud Map' of the Nullarbor area, 'further west'.
and visited of these three. The following is a 'guided tour' of some of the places people
like to visit, moving east to west, for there is a difference between the two in the Ceduna
imagination. Ceduna People tend to have a westward outlook on life, meaning that the
goings-on in the east (in Adelaide and the eastern states of Victoria and New South
Wales) are actively defamed. Crudely speaking the east symbolises to Ceduna People
the city, government, regulation, bureaucracy, selfishness, society. The west, on the
other hand, represents the bush, community, recreation, selflessness and nature. A
person usually heads east only for work or business reasons, to visit family or to seek
medical services;² people who head east for their holidays, to the cities, are generally
thought to have a screw loose³ for the strain of life in Ceduna is bad enough: "Even the
pace of the town gets at me after a while, that's why I like going bush".

The coast
Ceduna People display their most detailed knowledge when describing the one-hundred-
and-sixty kilometre stretch between Acraman Creek and Clare Bay (Map 6).⁴ On the
whole, Ceduna People love exploring the coast, and most are on more-than-familiar
terms with the seaboard as it runs from Elliston to the Head of Bight, a distance of over
seven hundred kilometres.

Elliston is one of the oldest towns in the area, having been first settled in the 1840s.
West Coast legend has it (and I heard this on a number of occasions from Ceduna
People) that the early settlers in Elliston, in an act of retribution, retaliation or reprisal -
it is unclear precisely which - rounded up a sizeable number of local Aboriginal People,
put them in a wagon, drove the wagon to a cliff and pushed the vehicle over it. There is
no specific recollection of the events that led up to this atrocity; only the terrible act
itself is recounted.

² I have not included, here, the draw of the east for young people who leave Ceduna after their schooling,
either in search of work or to further their studies. I am referring only to those people who make quick
trips from Ceduna, not those who move out of the town entirely.
³ Be mentally unhinged.
⁴ Naturally, everybody is different, and some Ceduna People might disagree with this appraisal arguing
that they, personally, know the coast best between Streaky Bay and Penong, Elliston and Koonibba, or
Smoky Bay and Head of Bight. However, after listening to people talk about their associations with, and
knowledge of, the coastline, I found that this particular stretch of seaboard was the most frequently
referred to, discussed, visited and described.
Map 6. 'Mud map' of the Ceduna area, showing the region between Acraman Creek and Clare Bay.
(source: http://www.nullarbor.net/maps/cedunaM.html)
This place\(^5\) is now named 'Blackfellas'\(^6\) and is a well-known surfing spot. Ceduna People also like to tell a similar tale about Streaky Bay. There, so the story goes, an Aboriginal woman was raped and/or murdered by a white settler. The woman's husband avenged the crime by murdering the settler. This brought down the wrath of the whites upon the entire local Aboriginal population, much of which was massacred. No Aboriginal Person would ever live at Streaky Bay again (so the story goes) because of the negative associations they had with the place.

Between Elliston and Streaky Bay are several places that Ceduna People visit every now and then. The first (as you head towards Ceduna from Elliston on the Flinders Highway) is Venus Bay, a picturesque town popular with tourists, photographers and those who just want to go fishing. Next is Port Kenny, a tiny town only eighteen kilometres from Venus, which acts as a refuelling and re-victualling point for those who are holidaying in the region. After leaving Port Kenny you can take a sixty-five-kilometre dirt-road excursion to Point Labatt Conservation Park. This is one of the few locations where an Australian Sea-Lion colony can be observed on the mainland, and, to attract tourists and concomitantly keep them from plunging down the fifty-metre-high cliff-face, a viewing platform has been erected, overlooking the colony. Scéele Bay is another small, attractive, sea-side town reached by dirt roads leading off the highway on the way to Streaky Bay from Point Labatt. Thirty-five kilometres from Streaky is Haslam, a charming town\(^7\) sitting just off the highway and right on the coast, that more or less keeps to itself.

Fifty-seven kilometres south-east of Ceduna, and a little over ten kilometres from Haslam, is Acraman Creek (Fig. 6.1), a stunning example of West Coast wetlands. It is

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\(^5\) Recently I visited an internet site (http://walkabout.fairfax.com.au) that claimed that Waterloo Bay (also at Elliston) was the location of the massacre. This version of the story is recounted thus: The Aboriginal People were driven "to a cliff where they were confronted with either jumping to their death or being shot. Some macabre European wit decided that the Aborigines had met their Waterloo" (ibid: 2). However, I am inclined towards the local version of events because there is no cliff face at Waterloo Bay.

\(^6\) Sadly, in the spring of 2000, a young man was taken by a white pointer shark whilst surfing at Blackfella. The news media invariably reported the incident as having occurred at 'Black Point', presumably because the term 'Blackfella' might be considered offensive by some when used out of context.

\(^7\) With apparently charming people: once, on a drive though the place, just to see what it was like, a friend and I waved at a lady who was carrying a bundle of wood in her backyard - the lady waved back generously and without thinking and dropped the bundle of wood!
here that Ceduna People's most intimate knowledge of the Far West really begins. Acraman Creek is situated 60 kilometres south-east of Ceduna, and is part of a conservation park run by the Parks and Wildlife office in Ceduna. It is characterised by unsullied tidal creeks and mangroves, and is good fishing territory for those equipped with a four-wheel drive vehicle and a tinnie and who can therefore skirt the sapphire marsh by venturing over a rough track to the boat-launching area in the estuary. The sand hills at Acraman Creek - the largest of which may be 4 or 5 metres high and thus are relatively small by West Coast standards - are covered with mallee and provide important habitats for wetland birds and lizards. A shelter shed was erected behind the beach at the estuary by the Friends of the Parks and makes for a perfect picnic, barbeque or camping spot.

Moving west, you come across the turn-off to Smoky Bay,8 a small town that comes within the bounds of the District Council of Ceduna. Smoky has a caravan park, a licensed general store, oyster farms, tennis courts, a community club, an oval and a 9-hole golf course.9 The shelly beach plays host to pelicans waiting patiently, and seagulls waiting demandingly, for a meal of fish guts, thrown to them by people cleaning their catch after a successful day on the jetty. The Smoky Bay jetty is one of the many on the West Coast to accommodate a 'shark cage' to its side, and although the name may suggest otherwise, these structures, maybe thirty by-twenty-metres, are designed to keep sharks out - not in - and as such provide a safe environment for swimming.

After Smoky comes Laura Bay, which also sits inside a conservation park. The park, although small (only 251 hectares) showcases a number of Far West coastal forms. There is a rocky headland that juts out to protect a bay, a sandy cove (called, naturally, 'Sandy Cove' - see Fig 6.2), mallee scrub, mangroves, sapphire tidal flats and sand hills. Western Grey Kangaroos, lizards and numerous species of bird can be found in the

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8 Some people visit Point Brown on their way to Smoky Bay. It is a good place for surf fishing and general sight-seeing.
9 West Coast golf courses are not what a city-dweller might expect. They are dry, dusty, and in winter, after a bit of rain, largely sport mown weeds which provide a semblance of verdure. 'Scraps' take the place of the putting area, and consist of a soft, gravelly matter - dried grape seeds are suitable - which is smoothed over by players at the end of each hole as a matter of courtesy. To accomplish this, a piece of steel tubing is used, a little over a foot in length, affixed to a long handle (much in the manner of a rake or broom), and players walk in ever-increasing circles around the hole, using the 'rake', until a distance of some one-and-a-half to two meters has been evened-out. Then it is on to the next hole.
park. Laura Bay also has some 'historical' significance. In the early days of settlement, at the beginning of the last century, grain was bagged after harvest and transported from the surrounding farms to a landing at the bay where it was conveyed to waiting ketches.

Ceduna can be reached from Laura Bay by the main road (you follow the Flinders Highway north-west until you hit the Eyre Highway, whence you travel west) or it can be reached the 'back way', where a dirt road follows the coast all the way into town, past the race track and the TAFE College. This back road skirts Wittelbee Conservation Park, where you might want to go swimming in the sheltered waters, or skin diving off Wittelbee Point. Sandhills front a white, sandy beach, and support an impressive array of native vegetation such as coast daisy, coastal wattle and spinifex. Behind the sandhills the larger red mallee, yorrell and dryland tea tree typify the plant-life found in this park. Birds such as Port Lincoln parrots, honeyeaters and grey currawongs are also residents of Wittelbee.

On the way out of Ceduna, and to the left as you head west on the outer, Perth-side of the town, is the turn-off to Denial Bay - just after the fruit-fly inspection point (Fig. 6.3) and the Big Oyster (Fig. 6.4). Denial Bay is the site of the original settlement in the area, and a bitumen road takes you fourteen kilometres to the edge of Denial Bay, although the streets in the town itself are unsealed. Further, it was only in 1997 that the District Council of Ceduna - under whose jurisdiction Denial Bay lies - supplied the township with reticulated water. Denial Bay is a small town, with a general store which also supplies fuel, but the town itself is important to Ceduna because it is a base for the local oyster industry. The first commercial oyster farm at Denial Bay was established in 1989; now, there are several leases in the area, and in 1998 fresh Denial Bay oysters were exported to Japan for the first time.

Denial Bay was first surveyed by Mr. A. Poyntz in 1909, and the town was gazetted in 1910, although William McKenzie, one of the first settlers who arrived in the area in

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10 A large sculpture depicting an open oyster. Many Australian towns have a 'big something' which is representative of that place - there is the Big Pineapple, the Big Orange, the Big Lobster. Kimba sports the Big Galah, which is a little unfortunate as far as the name goes, because a galah is a very stupid native Australian bird, and in the Australian vernacular, to be called a 'big galah' or a 'bloody galah' is to be called brainless.
1889, had already built a homestead (which now lies in ruins) just inland from Denial Bay. McKenzie had built a landing at Denial Bay in 1892 (called 'McKenzie's Landing') to facilitate the transportation of grain to ketches, and a jetty was completed in 1909. Today, the Denial Bay jetty, although truncated from its original 1750 feet to one third that length, is a popular crabbing spot.\footnote{Indeed, as you enter the town, you pass a sign proudly stating that Denial Bay is the Home of the Blue Swimmer Crab.} Crabbing on the West Coast is a rather social event. Close to Adelaide, around Middle and Web Beaches, people catch crabs by wading in the shallows, sometimes walking half a mile out to sea at low tide, with either an esky or a wheel barrow floating on an old inner-tube tied to a rope and anchored at the waist, whilst using metal leaf rakes - or, for the more serious, special, home-made crabbing rakes - to scoop up unaware crabs from the alternately sandy, weedy, sea bed, before tossing them into the bobbing receptacle being towed behind. On the West Coast, to go to such lengths to catch a crab would be scoffed at, partly for being too hard work and partly for being a rather single-minded pursuit. Crabbing on the West Cost involves getting a hold of some crabbing pots (small, basin-like nets), baiting them - usually with fish - and slinging them over the side of the jetty into the water below. Then, depending on whether you are really there to go crabbing or to sit in the sun with a few friends whilst drinking beer, you either watch your pot intently, deftly hoisting it out of the water as soon as a crab takes the bait, or you slap on your sunhat and sunglasses, pull up a pew\footnote{To sit down - on a chair or otherwise is of no consequence.} and open the esky.\footnote{The good thing about taking an esky when you go crabbing, is that it serves both as a container into which you can place your feed of crabs, and it keeps your beer cold. By the time you have extracted the last beer from the esky, taking care not to be nipped by a dying crab, it is (curiously) time to go home.}

By-passing Denial Bay takes you onto a dirt road which, when you turn left at the appropriate junction, ends at Davenport Creek (Fig. 6.5), around 40 kilometres west of Ceduna. Conventional vehicles can traverse this corrugated route only as far as Ocean Beach, although the ride is rough. To get to the creek proper, however, a four-wheel drive is needed to negotiate firstly, the drive along the beach, and secondly, the soft, slippery track over the seemingly mountainous 30-metre-high dunes. Sheltered on one side by the sandhills and on the other by mangroves, 'Day' - as it is colloquially known -
is perfectly situated for camping. It is secluded, close to town, and safe - sharks are unlikely to make their way into a constrictive saltwater creek, and other ocean nasties such as stingrays keep away for the same reason. Snakes are probably the major worry, but the amount of noise generated by groups of active, excited children tends to scare them off into the more humanly-inaccessible parts of their habitat. Dav is a family spot, and, over long weekends, in particular there can sometimes be more than a dozen different families or groups of people putting up their tents, each alongside the other. To the Ceduna frame of mind, this is still seen as getting away from it all, as it means travelling out of the town to a place where town business and other worries cannot penetrate. People catch a feed of fish, go off in their tinnies, canoes, or small fishing boats, the children play beach cricket and young teenagers tear around on their four-wheeled motorbikes. Davenport Creek is mentioned in tourist brochures and the like, and there are maps showing you how to get to Ocean Beach, but unless you know where you are going, it is unlikely that you would find this popular local get-away on your own. Indeed, many tourists mistake Ocean Beach and one, readily-reached, section of mangrove for the creek itself and turn around happily believing that they have been to the stunning Davenport Creek. Local people do not go out of their way to disabuse visitors of this idea.

Penong ('the Nong', as it is sometimes called by younger people) is the next more-or-less coastal stop on a tour of the Far West and around 70 kilometres west of Ceduna. It is jokingly said that there are more windmills than trees in Penong, and as you approach the town, especially from the eastern side, this might almost seem true: over two dozen windmills pump bore water to domestic households. In 1997 the Ceduna/Koonibba Water Authority agreed to the construction of a pipeline as far west as possible - meaning, until the money ran out. And run out, it did ... just eight kilometres short of Penong. Many Penong People were (understandably) upset at this state of affairs, complaining that for just a little extra money, they would have been supplied with reticulated water in the town. As it was, windmills remained a conspicuous feature of the Penong landscape.
Of course, there is more to Penong than windmills. This small community (with a population of approximately 260) is serviced by a pub, a police station, a roadhouse, an SACBH (South Australian Co-operative Bulk Handling) silo, a general store, an oval, a football club, and a rural school. The Penong Woolshed on the western outskirts of town doubles as an arts and crafts shop and a museum, and in the town itself (in the old town hall, in fact) is a surfboard factory. Paul Gravelle, owner of the factory, is known throughout the Australian surfing community for the quality of the boards he produces, many of which are custom-made to suit an individual surfer's style and preference. Regardless of the fact that this small settlement lies 20 kilometres inland, many Ceduna People have come to associate Penong with the coast, probably because of the town's proximity to Point Sinclair and Cactus Beach (and many surfers live at Penong because of this proximity).

The drive from Penong to Point Sinclair takes you along a dirt road that cuts firstly through some farming terrain, then through a swampy tract of land where the road turns to gypsum for a short while before reverting to dirt. This part of the journey intersects a portion of Lake McDonnell (Fig. 6.6) and is flanked on either side by white sandhills which stand some 20 - 30 meters high. Here, the lake, due to high concentrations of sodium chloride, appears pink and, if it were not for all the colour provided by the sand, samphire and scrub, it could almost be described as a lunar landscape, especially in those places where a hard coating of salt is revealed. Lake McDonnell is the centre of the local salt industry, as well as being home to the largest lode of gypsum in the southern hemisphere. Both deposits are mined at Lake McDonnell and are transported to Thevenard where they are eventually loaded onto the ships that dock at the port. Some of these ships export the gypsum to New Zealand, Japan, Noumea and other Asia-Pacific nations.

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14 Roadhouses are mostly run as franchises for the big oil and fuel companies, and are stopping-off points for highway travellers. At these places, you can obtain fuel, magazines, maps, tourist information, takeaway food and other sundries. Most roadhouses have a dining-room where 'sit-down' meals are served, and some have basic accommodation. Many people take advantage of such facilities to break up their long road journeys and thus reduce the risk of road accidents resulting from driver fatigue. The Penong Roadhouse also supplies sunscreen, condoms, insect repellent, headache tablets, playing cards, post cards, stubbie-holders and souvenir stickers - there is even a small video library.
After passing Lake McDonnell, the final turn-off to Cactus Beach is reached. 'Cactus' is a surfing beach famous for its quality left-hand break\(^{15}\) (some say one of the best in the southern hemisphere). There are actually three surfing breaks here, known - as you scan the ocean left to right from the beach - as Cactus, Castles and Caves (Caves is the only right-hand break of the three). Surfing is a sport which occupies a dubious status in Ceduna. Surfing is mainly for young people who spend their weekends and holidays at Cactus riding the waves. Some surfers live very near Cactus, or at least at Penong. These are normally the 'soul surfers' whose salad days were the 1970s and who have never really wanted to relinquish their free and easy lifestyle. Younger surfers from Ceduna exhibit either a great awareness of the fragility of the beach environment and adopt a 'tread lightly' approach to camping at Cactus, or they go the other way and appreciate the coastal vegetation by driving through it and over it and deliberately running over local wildlife such as sleepy-lizards and snakes. Some in the Ceduna community view the 'Cactus Crew' as wild young things\(^{16}\) who smoke marijuana and drink too much beer whilst doing nothing in particular - that 'particular' being nothing for the community. Local surfers are excessively intolerant of surfers from other parts of Australia (and the world) who have learnt of Cactus's reputation and have made a pilgrimage there. These tourists are often intimidated out of the water by locals. So fanatical are locals about keeping others away, that a sign erected on the Highway in 1997 indicating the turn-off to Cactus Beach was immediately painted over, allegedly by the Cactus Crew.

The owner of Cactus - for it is privately owned - has established a camping area (Fig. 6.7) for the surfies who visit the beach all year round, and he charges people per night to camp there (six dollars per adult if he does not know you, but if you are a regular and a local and he likes you, he may feel inclined to charge a dollar or two less).\(^{17}\) For your fee, certain basic services are provided such as lime-toilets, A-frame bore-water

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\(^{15}\) Most waves break to the right in the southern hemisphere, meaning that, looking from the shore, surfers travels from right to left, with their right-hand sides facing the wave. At Cactus, the surf breaks from left to right so that a surfer's left-hand side is nearest the wave-face.

\(^{16}\) This popular image ignores the fact that many of the surfers who actually live at Penong or around the Cactus area itself are ageing 'seventies surfers'.

\(^{17}\) A Goods and Services tax was introduced by the Federal Government in 2000. I do not know if the owner has updated his fee structure to account for this.
showers, rubbish collection\textsuperscript{18} and the nightly delivery of firewood. Because of the fragile nature of the environment, the whole property has been zoned a Coastal Protection Reserve under the South Australian Government Heritage Agreement, and beach access is (theoretically) limited to walkways only.

Following the road to its termination, and not far from the Cactus Beach turn-off, you arrive at Point Sinclair (Fig. 6.8). This splendid section of coast comes into view as you round a bend and descend towards a shelter shed and car-parking area. Surfing-types might spend a few hours now and then at Sinclair, especially if they have children or dogs (so that either might paddle in the shallows). It is a little quieter, here, than at the popular surfing beach with its strong undertow, and Sinclair offers a sheltered bay that is fairly safe for swimming. There is also a jetty, from which people fish, and, when I lived in the district, at least, there was even an experimental mussel farm a little offshore. Sadly, though, Point Sinclair is best-remembered as the place where, in 1975, an 11 year-old boy lost his life in an attack by a white pointer shark. The construction of a shark-proof net to the side of the jetty was the result of the tragedy, although, today, one might wonder if much was learned by this dreadful experience - there are large holes in the net, and in certain places it is obvious that some people have lifted the net from the sea bed and attached it back on itself above the waterline, thus allowing them to dive under the barrier and swim outside it. This means that a shark could potentially swim into the net, which is probably not as far-fetched an idea as it might sound; after all, sharks in this area have proved that they are not deterred by a human presence in the sea.\textsuperscript{19}

The final stop on a Ceduna Person's tour of intimately-known coast is at Clare Bay. Like Cactus Beach, Clare Bay lies on private property, and the owners of the property allow people to camp at the bay by prior arrangement (although this does not stop people from simply turning up without requesting permission). To get to Clare Bay, you more or less have to know where you are going - it is one of those places that, like

\textsuperscript{18} The owner simply removes the rubbish and dumps it at another, not-too-distant site on his estate, thus making for an unexpected, unsightly, non-biodegradable mess if you accidentally happen across it whilst trying to get to Shelly Beach, another part of the property to which the public is allowed access.

\textsuperscript{19} In addition to the shark attack at Blackfellas in spring, 2000, a New Zealand tourist on his honeymoon was taken at Cactus, the very day before the Blackfellas incident.
Davenport Creek proper, is a particularly local haunt, although the odd tourist does manage to slip through the net.\textsuperscript{20} The Clare-Bay turn-off is about thirty-five kilometres west of Penong, on Highway 1 (on the left as you travel towards Perth) at Bookabie, a former minor outstation of Yalata Head Station, itself once a part of the immense Fowlers Bay Run.\textsuperscript{21} The dirt road from Bookabie to the coast takes you past the proprietors' homestead on the right, and finally to a small, sheltered bay, which is overseen by several holiday shacks that owners have allowed to be built there. Clare Bay is particularly good for snorkelling, with a superb variety of reef fish to be espied in the clear waters. Many people take their four-wheel drive vehicles to Clare Bay and go exploring along this part of the coast. Just east of Clare Bay is the magnificent Tuckermore - a huge expanse of white beach backed by enormous sandhills that offers good surf fishing, although access by conventional vehicle is virtually impossible.

\subsubsection*{Inland}

Inland places, like the places further west, are few and far between. Although many farming people might be familiar with special, 'family' sites on their own properties, the number of inland locations that Ceduna People can visit is limited - firstly by the distance over rough tracks that you have to cover to get to these areas, and secondly by the planning and equipment that goes into reaching them. In other words, both a four-wheel drive vehicle and a sound understanding of how, exactly, to reach your destination are essential. When travelling inland, Ceduna People 'go up Goog's', that is, they journey from the Lone Oak Farmhouse to Goog's Lake, or farther on to Mount Finke. In 1973, John ('Goog') and Jenny Denton, their three children, Martin ('Dinger'), Debbie and Jeffery and Jenny's brother Denis Beattie, began clearing a road through sandhills and the mallee and spinifex scrub north of their farmhouse using only a conventional, two-wheel drive utility and a tractor equipped with a front-end loader blade (Anon. n.d.). When the sandhills became too steep to be tackled by these vehicles

\textsuperscript{20} Much more is made of Davenport Creek in tourist brochures than is made of Clare Bay, in the safe knowledge that most tourists would not be able to find their way to Dav. in a month of Sundays. Further protection is built in, in that when tourists do arrive at the apparent end of the road to Davenport, they think they are at Davenport. Clare Bay, however, is a little more accessible, especially to anyone with a decent map and the intelligence to use it properly. Thus, Clare Bay is rarely touted as a major destination for visitors to the West Coast, and specific information as to its whereabouts is almost never deliberately advanced.

\textsuperscript{21} As you whiz past it on the highway, Bookabie consists of what looks like a couple of sheds and maybe a farmhouse in the distance, and in reality, this is just about all that it is.
alone, a bulldozer was brought in on the job. After three years, and with the support of locals in the form of fuel and supplies, the road was finished (ibid).

Before embarking on a trip up Goog's Track (Fig. 6.9), it is customary for track users to call in at the Lone Oak Farmhouse and to sign the visitor's book. This is mostly a safety precaution. There are no facilities up Goog's, and campers must take everything they need for their sojourn - spares, water, fuel, first aid kit etc. By signing the visitor's book, and letting Lone Oak's know the date of your expected return, you are part-way to ensuring that a search party comes after you if you get lost or have an accident. There is even a small souvenir shop at Lone Oak, selling Goog's Track stickers, stubbie holders, books, hats and other such touristy items. After leaving Lone Oak Farmhouse, and tuning your UHF radio to Channel 18,\(^{22}\) you soon hit the Dog Fence. The Dog Fence begins in Queensland, ends at the Great Australian Bight,\(^{23}\) and was built to restrict dingoes to living in the north, thus preventing them from attacking livestock in the grazing districts to the south. Gates in the fence are always kept shut, providing an exception to the rule, 'always leave a gate as you find it' - if you find a gate in the Dog Fence open, you are required to close it. From the Dog Fence, you travel through Yumbarra Conservation Park, beyond memorials to Goog and Dinger Denton, who have both passed away, before arriving at Goog's Lake (fig. 6.10),\(^{24}\) around 50 kilometres north of the Fence. Goog's Lake is a dry salt lake, which, in most places, is characterised by a fragile mineral crust covering a boggy clay. Many people camp at Goog's Lake, and it is a good place from which to explore the surrounding region. Lucky visitors might spot the rare Malleefowl, or the Sandhill Dunnart, an endangered marsupial. Rockholes - exposures of rock, in this case basement granite - can also be found in this part of the world, and, after rain, they fill with water and provide significant watering stations for local wildlife. Approximately 80 kilometres north of Goog's Lake, is Mt Finke, a huge rocky protrusion, and the destination of many track users. Some, though, continue all the way to Malbooma on the East-West Railway Line and then on to Taraool.

\(^{22}\) Lone Oak operates on Channel 18, and, if all track users switch to the same channel, people can pinpoint who is exactly where along the track, thus avoiding head-on collisions as they propel their four-wheel drives over the blind rises of the sandhills, some of which are 25 metres in height.

\(^{23}\) At 5,614 kilometres long, it is one of the longest stretches of continuous fenceline in the world.

\(^{24}\) This is the farthest I ever managed to travel up Goog's.
To the east

Whether or not a town or place is considered coastal by Ceduna People depends less on its physical proximity to the ocean than it does on its lifestyle associations. For example, Penong may be over twenty kilometres inland, but it has strong associations with Cactus Beach and the surfing community. It may not be 'coastal' in the strict sense, but to think of Penong evokes, for many, thoughts of the ocean, despite surrounding farmlands. Other towns, however, especially the several small farming towns immediately east of Ceduna, are considered to be more exclusively 'rural'. The town nearest to Ceduna in this direction is the small settlement of Wirrulla, and although only about 35 kilometres from the seafront (via a dirt road that goes to Haslam), it is not really considered a coastal town by Ceduna People. As you head further and further away from the coast, you pass through Poochera, Minippa and Wudinna - small towns which, like Wirrulla, provide basic services to the local farming communities of the Eyre Peninsula's central wheat belt. Each town has a general store, a petrol station, a hotel, sporting facilities and an SACBH silo.

Although land-locked, none of these towns is regarded by Ceduna People as particularly 'inland' - that is, when Ceduna People divide the region into coastal, inland and further west, these towns become sort of non-places, metaphorically here nor there. Ceduna People do not speak about them with the same confidence as they do of other places. Furthermore, Ceduna People, as a rule, do not speak about that of which they have limited knowledge as if they were experts. Rather, they will tell you what they do know, or think to be true, and conclude with something along the lines of, 'Well, that's what I heard, anyway'. Thus, the small farming towns to the east are a part of the Ceduna perception of the region, but not necessarily of regular, everyday consciousness.

Westerners and landscape

For Ceduna People, a love of and respect for the landscape in which they live is a prerequisite for surviving in the Far West. Ceduna People have strong feelings for their landscape and they clearly articulate those feelings in discussions about the town, its people and the surrounding environment. However, the affective ties that Non-Indigenous People might have with their physical locale are often overlooked in discussions of land and landscape. James Carrier's work on occidentalism (1992, 1995a,
Figure 6.1. Aracama Creek.

Figure 6.2. Sandy Cove.
Figure 6.3. Ceduna Fruit Fly Inspection Point.

Figure 6.4. The Big Oyster.
Figure 6.5. Davenport Creek.

Figure 6.6. Lake McDonnell.
Figure 6.7. Cactus Beach.

Figure 6.8. Point Sinclair.
Figure 6.9. Goog's Track.

Figure 6.10. Goog's Lake.
1995b) has implications for the ways in which representations are made of Westerners' relationships to their surrounds. In many depictions of Westerners' understandings of their lives, there is a denigration - sometimes implicit, but more frequently explicit - of Western experience of landscape. Indeed, there is often a strict dichotomy set up whereby Westerners are portrayed as having superficial, material, unemotional relationships with their surroundings, and those from the Rest of the world have deep, inherently meaningful and spiritual interactions with their environment.

These essentialisms do nothing to enhance understandings of either way of life. Firstly, they set up one view of the world as being 'better' (by which is often meant 'more spiritual') than the other. Somewhere along the ethnographic way, the Exotic Other has been imbued with a vision of landscape that is supposed to be more profound, reflective, transcendent, even honourable, than visions held by a Western counterpart. Portrayals of Indigenous Australians, for example, repeatedly emphasise spiritual connections with the land as if some expressions of spirituality are more 'real' than others: ceremonies and rituals are deconstructed, the importance of songlines is revealed, and people's sacred obligations to their dreaming countries are elicited. Non-Indigenous Australians, on the other hand, are often exposed as contemptuous of the land, as only having an interest - and by that, it is meant a mostly-economic interest - in the crops it can produce or the livestock it can support. There is little or no mention of the emotional succour (let alone any type of spiritual feeling) that whites might get from the natural world; yet the fact that there are no apparent or overt sacred ties with country does not mean that Ceduna People are detached from country.

Secondly, it appears that an expressive or spiritual connection with the land can only ever be defined in 'positive' terms; that is, a contemplative, meditative or affirming awareness of landscape is thought to be a purely sanguine experience and is apparently the only way to have an emotional tie with country. However, it could be argued that seeing the land as hostile, dangerous or treacherous is an equally emotional response, only of a different brand. Indeed, to feel fear might be considered a crucial emotional state for any human being, but it rarely seems to be adjudged an emotional reaction when it comes to people's views on landscape - and especially not when placed in a scheme that exults 'positive' reactions and feelings as the only way to have a
relationship with the land. Finally, dichotomous structures that pit the West against the Rest when it comes to people's experiences of landscape allow neither for a spectrum of sentiments, nor for conflicting sentiments. Love for the landscape and fear of it do not necessarily cancel each other out; in fact, Ceduna People live with this paradox every day, and much of the survival ethic as disseminated in the town depends on it - we must survive in a hostile environment which we fear, but we also love this hostile environment because we understand ourselves and our being Ceduna so much better when we place ourselves within that environment. Indeed, being Ceduna goes hand-in-hand with loving the landscape which, in turn, goes a long way to proving your acceptance within the town.

Barbara Bender (1993) has some very firm views on what landscape means to Westerners. Landscapes, she argues, should be grasped as being "created by people - through their experience and engagement with the world around them" (ibid: 1). Landscape must always be considered in context, for it is never static, and people will persistently "re-work it, appropriate and contest it" (ibid: 3); landscapes, in being generated by people, are invested with meanings specific to time and place and history (ibid: 2). Although Bender empowers landscape with divers values, she gives little flexibility to the ways in which it is styled in Western societies. She asserts that in the West we engage only the surface of the land, and that we 'perceive' landscapes with an ego-centred, perspectival individual awareness which is "the point from which the 'seeing' occurs" (ibid: 1). In other cultures and societies ('times and places' in Bender's terminology), "the visual may not be the most significant aspect, and the conception of the land may not be ego-centred" (ibid). In Ceduna the surface of the land does, indeed, play an important part in people's perception of the landscape - after all, it is sandhills, scrub and coast that often make their way into people's descriptions of the region. However, visual componentry is not all that makes up a Ceduna Person's impression of the land: people will talk about the feelings and emotions that the landscape inspires in them when they are camping or fishing and about how they can find the time and space in which to contemplate their lives - or at least aspects of them. People have impassioned relationships with the landscape; they gain great relief from the very knowledge that they can immerse themselves in it whenever they want, and they will often take off out of town - especially younger people who might be experiencing
problems at work or school or with family, friends or relationships - for several hours of quiet reflection at the beach. Neither do Ceduna People comprehend the landscape from a predominantly ego-centred viewpoint, as Bender argues is the case for Western society. For many Ceduna People, the landscape is an embodiment of community in that it represents the community’s struggle for survival and is a physical reminder that people will continue to exist in this environment only if they can support, help and get along with each other. Going into the landscape reminds people that they must pool their collective physical and intellectual resources if they are to stay alive out here - thus, the community’s emphasis on group participation, no matter of what kind. The landscape is a prompt for people’s community-mindedness, hidden in plain sight.

Veronica Strang (1997) is one anthropologist who has worked with white rural Australians in recent times. Her account of Non-Indigenous attitudes to landscape differs noticeably from my own (even taking into consideration differences in field sites and local culture), necessitating a detailed review of her ethnography. Strang tends to decry Non-Indigenous understandings of country, and she more-or-less pits white against black in her descriptions of both white-pastoralist and Indigenous-Australian attitudes towards Australia’s Gulf Country in Far North Queensland. According to Strang, the landscape concept provides a "common idiom" (ibid: 5) for both Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians which "shows how different values are located in the land according to social, cultural, historical and ecological factors" (ibid). Her portrayal of whites’ interests in the land is one in which graziers buzz over the country in their helicopters, or barrel along in their motor cars, taking in the terrain from the frame of a window, on the unremitting lookout for the next bit of economic exploitation. This "unnatural speed" (ibid: 209) at which pastoralists experience the landscape means that they "are insulated from the detail of their surroundings by introduced technology, reading and interacting with the environment with these imposed elements" (ibid). Strang argues that pastoralists, in being so out-of-touch with the landscape, view it as "empty space, untouched and wild" (ibid: 210), hostile and dangerous (ibid: 213) and

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25 Here, Strang includes surveying the land "from the back of a horse" (1997: 209) as an example of "unnatural speed" (suggesting, perhaps, that drovers in the Gulf Country muster their cattle faster than in other parts of Australia?). However, only ten pages earlier, she describes experiencing the land from horseback as 'more intimate' than scanning it from a helicopter or motor vehicle (ibid: 199). Strang's book contains several such irritating ambiguities and contradictions, which make it difficult, on occasion, to trust the ethnographic representations contained within the work.
that such a view engenders a "strong emotional response" (ibid: 215) to the landscape, characterised by nostalgia. However, Strang insists that no matter how many positive connections such responses might reveal, it does not mean there is a "permanent commitment to a specific country; the nostalgia is for the experience and not the land, which remains only a generalised theatre of activity" (ibid, emphasis added).

Ceduna People do not separate nostalgia for experience from nostalgia for land as Strang argues Gulf Country pastoralists do. Indeed, to talk of 'nostalgia' in the Far West context would disguise Ceduna People's very real affective ties with both experience and land. Ceduna People, unlike Gulf Country pastoralists, do have a deep-seated feeling for the land itself and deem themselves a part of that land. The land, for Ceduna People, is never simply a backdrop, something against which things happen, and something which could arguably be changed at a moment's notice without having any real effect on the action of the piece. These differences in view might be accounted for by differences in types of farming: sowing, growing and reaping conceivably encourage a positive affinity and closeness with land more readily than does droving cattle or sheep. Further, the differences in environmental conditions might account for apparent differences in affective ties: Queensland's Gulf Country pastoralists go about their business on land that is ripe for droving, whereas the farmers of the Far West Coast must cultivate marginal lands under extreme conditions which demand, perhaps, a greater knowledge of seasonal variation, soil structure and the idiosyncrasies of certain paddocks on a person's property than does the movement of livestock from one part of a station to another.26

There cannot really be one solid view of what landscape means to whites (or blacks) across the board. For Ceduna People, having a barbeque at your house with a few mates does not equate, experientially at least, with starting a campfire behind the sandhills and

26 But surely this is to deny pastoralists an enduring empathy with the land they operate? After all, an intimate and working knowledge of grazing country would be a prerequisite for any good pastoralist: where are the best waterholes and pastures, the most suitable camping sites? Which parts of the property are least likely to be flooded in case of torrential rain? Are there any natural dams that can provide drinking water for stock all year round? These questions beg the further question, Can these practical awarenesses of the land really be separated from a deeper understanding of that same land? I find it strange that a group of people will know the land solely for what they do on or to it without having an appreciation of the land itself.
knocking back a few cans of beer. Sandhills - or beach or scrub or farmland - are not just locations for Ceduna People to visit; they are integral to people's understandings of themselves, of being Ceduna, of their place in this Far West landscape, of their history, which is written in the very clearing of the area, and of their need and ability to survive out here. Without the land and the emotive power it accords and is accorded, Ceduna People would not be Ceduna People.

Strang's work is pervaded by implicit value judgements and by a poorly-concealed set of environmental agenda, and her analysis must be read with this in mind. She infers that Indigenous attachments to the Gulf Country are somehow 'better' than Non-Indigenous attachments, and reviews "[t]he factors that encourage or discourage the development of affective environmental values and their location in the land" (ibid: 287). Lee Sackett (1991) recognises a similar habit amongst conservationists in their representations of Indigenous People. Sackett argues that "what are depicted as Aboriginal values and practices are somehow or another more 'ecologically sound' than those of non-Aborigines" (ibid: 235). This is achieved, Sackett continues, through a selective interpretation of Aboriginal prehistory and ethnography which promotes rather than negates racist stereotypes (ibid). Aborigines are presented as "true conservationists" (ibid: 236) who, "[i]nstead of making it their right and duty to tame and harness the wilderness, [...] lived in harmony with it" (ibid: 236). Thus, "environmentalists use an impression of an extremely noble Aborigine to critique the status quo and spark change" (ibid: 241). Strang's work must be evaluated from the standpoint of appearing to uncritically, unanalytically equate Indigenous values with positive environmental values - that is, conservation and preservation of native flora and fauna and the lack of intensive land use - and Non-Indigenous values with negative environmental values - that is, destruction of native species and the use of technology to work the land. Strang's work is straightjacketed by an intuitive environmentalist mindset. She even presents a table to summarise her 'good versus bad' findings when she describes values that encourage affective environmental ties. This exercise is reproduced here:

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27 Drinking.
"ENCOURAGING FACTORS [read: 'Indigenous Australian world view']:

Inalienable land ownership
Land considered to be unique
Continuity of residence
Inhabitation of one specific area
Cognitive encompassment of one area
Cathexis with one manageable area
Detailed knowledge of immediate area
Long-term historic association with place
Socio-spatial forms mediated by place
Economic mode utilising local resources
Economy aimed at sustainability
Material culture locally produced
Activities relating directly to local env. [sic]
Cosmological structure tied to local env.
View of nature as home / nurturer
Assumed equality of humanity and nature
Moral structure related to local env.
Collective identity from locality
Individual identity from locality
Linguistic categories relating to place
Holistic / integrative body knowledge
Geographically specific representations
Education focused on local environment
Intergenerational transmission of knowledge
Cyclical vision of time

DISCOURAGING FACTORS [read: 'Non-Indigenous Australian world view']:

Alienable land ownership
Land commoditised
Discontinuity of residence
Changes in location
Attempts to 'encompass' many areas
Attempts to cathex with many / larger areas
Lack of knowledge of local environment
Lack of historic association with place
Independent socio-spatial forms
Economic mode based on imposed resources
Economy aimed at growth / expansion
Material culture imposed
Activities relating to imposed elements
Cosmology not geographically located
View of nature as wilderness / adversary
Assumed dominion over nature
Abstract morality and law
Lack of collective identity
Identity related only to socio-economic role
Generic linguistic categories
Fragmented / specialised of [sic] knowledge
Generic representations of landscape
Education generic and wide-ranging
Constant change separating generations
Linear vision of time"

(ibtid: 287 - 288).

Ceduna People exhibit to varying degrees both 'encouraging' and 'discouraging' factors in the development of affective environmental values, and some of the opposing attributes she presents in her table co-exist in the hearts and minds of Ceduna People. This also seems to be the case for Gulf Country pastoralists, for, as suggested by Strang, "[w]hen affective values cannot be located in the land, the resultant alienation appears to create a sense of conflict between explicit economic aims and less tangible needs. Thus the pastoralists on Cape York express values that are quite difficult to reconcile"
(ibid: 288). Unfortunately, this tension is not satisfactorily evoked earlier in her ethnographic presentation, much less examined or analysed at length, and there remains a primitive distinction between black and white, good and evil. The presentation, then, is a simple one (despite Strang's attempts to complexify the material at the last minute): the Other is reified, exoticised and validated and We are disdained, normalised and invalidated. In Strang's study, the white colonialist becomes emblematic of the wholesale destruction of another's culture, of unhindered economic expansion and of uncaring fiscal, capitalist scheming, whilst the black indigene represents a holistic, benevolent, even munificent culture, uninterested in material possessions or financial recompense. Rousseau's Noble Savage - a beast thought to be long extinct - is alive and well in the anthropological literature.

Strang places 'View of nature as wilderness/adversary' in the column that is said to 'discourage' affective environmental values. Ceduna People have a view of the landscape as potentially hostile - as wilderness/adversary - but that view is only one part of their larger mind-set. To infer that viewing nature as hostile discourages environmental values (and is thus inaffective) is surely to discard fear, or apprehension, or trepidation as emotional responses to the landscape. Indeed, Strang's whole thesis is based upon the premise that affective environmental values can only ever come from a 'positive' reaction to landscape, as broadly defined, arguing at base that an 'environmentally-friendly' existence naturally promotes stronger, more real sentimental attachments to country than a lifestyle based upon intrusive technologies and economic expansion. Strang further runs into trouble with her rationalist assumption that an affection for the land necessarily precludes exploitation or damage of same land, and with the deduction that exploitation or damage of land precludes affection. Stylisations such as these straightjacket any meaningful appreciations that might otherwise be gained for both cultures which Strang attempt to describe.

Michael Mayerfeld Bell's (1994) work on nature and morality in rural England offers, in my view, a better, more theoretically-grounded, conceptually-sound opening into Westerners' perceptions of themselves and their communities. Bell argues that people's understandings of nature in the village of Childerley are often determined by their place in the class system. Using Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engel's idea that social experience
"provides the categories and orientations by which we understand and experience everything" (ibid: 166), Bell describes how Childerleyans' views of nature reflect their position in the social world. Working class Childerleyans view nature as foregrounded, and describe it in "informal, group-oriented, interactive, local and experiential" (ibid: 163) terms, whilst the more moneyed villagers depict nature in more background terms which are "formal, individualistic, private, far-flung and distanced" (ibid). This 'reflection theory' of Marx and Engel is not without its problems, and Bell critiques the idea that knowledge and interests are by nature inseparable and "stem from the way a society organizes its means of material production" (ibid: 165) as being rationalistic, sociocentric, and having a reference problem (ibid: 230). Nevertheless, the idea that people impose on their surroundings their experiences of their social worlds is useful for the Ceduna material (just as it is for Bell's Childerley data) because it helps to make sense of Ceduna People's relationships with, and understandings of, their surrounding landscape, and how loving the landscape can signify a person's being Ceduna. For Ceduna People, the landscape is not purely a passive recipient of people's understandings of themselves and their experience which reflects certain features and conditions straight back at them; rather, the landscape that Ceduna People have come to know also provides them with something to talk about, think themselves into, and model themselves upon. In these ways, the toughness of the landscape is translated into the toughness of Ceduna People, and of the Ceduna community as a whole - Ceduna People are survivors who recognise the need to create community; they are common-sense people, resilient and resourceful. The landscape is also seen as ancient and untailored, which imitates Ceduna People's laid-back attributes - in both bearing and state of mind. But the landscape can turn nasty and snaffle you up, which means that people have to bunker down, reinforce ties in the town, and buttress against potential incomers who might not know the drill and thus jeopardise the community's safety and security. It is impossible to say which came first - the legendary, inherent toughness of the pioneers which was then projected onto the landscape they came to conquer, or the legendary, inherent toughness of the landscape which came to be reflected in the pioneers' efforts to establish their lives out West. Indeed, the question of antecedence is unimportant, as it detracts attention from the complementary, dialectical, cyclical, processual ways in which Ceduna People view their bonds with the landscape; it is a part of us, and we are a part of it, just as it makes us and we make it.
Bell's work stresses the importance of process and experience, and these properties can similarly be found in Eric Hirsch's (1996 [1995]) work on landscape. Hirsch argues that the landscape concept is important to anthropology in two ways: firstly, it is used as a "framing convention" (ibid: 1) which allows us to situate and bring into view the people we study - in other words, we 'place' cultures in a specific landscape, and secondly, we frequently use the concept of landscape "to refer to the meaning imputed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings (i.e. how a particular landscape 'looks' to its inhabitants)" (ibid). Hirsch presents the idea of landscape as a cultural process in which a relationship exists between the 'foreground actuality' (also equated to place, inside and image) and the 'background potentiality' (also equated to space, outside and representation) of landscape (ibid: 4 - 5). By foreground actuality, Hirsch is referring to the "context and form of everyday, unreflexive forms of experience" (ibid: 4); background potentiality is understood to mean "the context and form of experience beyond the everyday" (ibid). The emphasis placed on process means that foreground actuality and background potentiality "exist in a process of mutual implication" (ibid: 23). Hirsch's processual model can be used to help explain how Ceduna People think about landscape. In their everyday lives, Ceduna People interact with the landscape on a mundane level, in that their experience of it is a given of their existence and a part of being Ceduna: the landscape is a place where people fish, camp and farm, a place they drive through on their way to somewhere else. But the landscape is also a space in which such everyday experiences collide with people's more ruminative turns of thought. The landscape is a backdrop against which people contemplate their place in the world and their prospects of physical and emotional survival in the Far West. Aspects of both the foreground actuality and background potentiality of landscape can be best observed in Ceduna People's attitudes to driving in the Far West, for as they pelt along the highway in their motorcars, Ceduna People are intensely aware of the physicality of the landscape as it dashes past them - they take in the scrub, the crops, the way the light falls across the road - but they also spend their journeys (long or short) quietly and privately reflecting on life.

Paul Carter (1987) uses a similar device to explain the ways in which people might think about landscape in his description of the 'here' and 'there' of rhetorical possession. Travellers across colonial Australia had to possess where they had been "as a
preliminary to going on" (ibid: 48), and "[i]t depended on positing a 'here' (the
traveller's viewpoint and orientation) and a 'there' (the landscape, the horizon)" (ibid).
Carter argues that these viewpoints helped create the landscape for the early settlers,
gave it life and meaning, unlocked it, named it and made it available to dialogue. By
creating enclosures - symbolic as well as physical - travellers were able to extend their
grasp (ibid: 147), stand at a particular point and look towards another. Ceduna People
similarly create viewpoints in order to make sense of their lives Out West. They place
boundaries not only around farms or towns, but around accepted people and rejected
people and the various community and social groups that make up the town. Ceduna
People can best grasp their world at a periphery: by speculating on an 'us' and 'them',
'here' and 'there', and by drawing distinctions between east and west (and black and
white), they are able to define their lives at the same time as looking beyond those lives
to their own potential. There is, as Hirsch puts it, a reciprocal relationship between "the
way we are now" (1996 [1995]: 3) and "the way we might be" (ibid). It is through
process that Ceduna People know themselves; a dialectic between the hostility of the
landscape and a love of the landscape propels the survival ethic and keeps the
community going.

Ceduna People, therefore, have quite ambivalent attitudes to the landscape of the Far
West Coast: they see it as hostile yet beautiful, dangerous yet inspiring, treacherous yet
compelling. For the Zafimaniry of eastern Madagascar, there is no such uncertainty: the
landscape is indifferent, often antagonistic to humans, and is seen as something upon
which to put one's mark (Bloch 1996 [1995]: 65). This concern plays into a Zafimaniry
emphasis on 'spaciousness' and 'clarity' and reveals itself in the clearing of the
countryside of trees that might cloak a view (ibid). Further, this passion for
unobstructed vistas is tied into the Zafimaniry's understanding of the permanent,
uncaring countryside as a manifestation of God "within which impermanent and weak
human beings must live" (ibid: 67). However, Bloch shows that "human beings have the
potential to transcend their impermanent nature" (ibid, emphasis removed) by
"transforming the uncertain turmoil of life and youth into houses and villages and
making 'places' which remain" (ibid: 71).
Ceduna People have a rather more ambiguous view than that of the Zafimaniry. Part of this ambiguity is characterised by a perception of the countryside as potentially uncaring and hostile, but Ceduna People see this aspect of landscape as symbolic of their struggles to survive in the Far West and as such it is something to be worked with, not against. This idea resonates with the understanding that, to survive, you have to learn to work together - whether it be with other people or with the landscape. The landscape is something that must be respected for its power to overcome the lost or ill-prepared, but it is also something that has to be handled as a part of daily life, and Ceduna People have learnt much about how to get along in this environment. For Ceduna People it is not a question of permanence, but one of survival. Ceduna People's views on the significance of the landscape to their everyday existences are context- and time-specific, for they reflect people's current perspectives on their lives in the Far West: no matter the present, amazing state of technology, we still have to survive out here in a seemingly lifeless and unwelcoming environment. Further, our beloved ancestors - or the beloved ancestors of our neighbours - trudged across Eyre Peninsula to get here and build a life for themselves (and us), so we owe them something, not least of all our respect and admiration for their achievements and a particular, perhaps peculiar, perception of the landscape as extraordinarily beautiful. There is no doubt, either, that the meanings of the landscape for Ceduna People are sporadically contested - predominantly by newcomers. However the weight of the survival ethic is the one sure thing that cannot be contested in Ceduna, and it obliges these people to assume and express a requisite love and respect for the landscape if they are to be Ceduna. Newcomers thus have fresh eyes that can make fresh observations about the surrounding environment (with, perhaps, the only proviso to their observations of the landscape being that they learn to observe it as beautiful!). The contested meanings of landscape in Ceduna, therefore, are more in the order of redrafting, refining and resubmitting those meanings to the good, than of challenging them outright.

Ceduna People appreciate the land for what it is and what it has helped them become, and they recognise how important respecting the landscape is to their own, and their community's, survival. The idea of landscape as hostile or dangerous, however, is less frequently evoked by Ceduna People than is the idea of landscape as magnificent or enriching - perhaps because investing so much time and effort in convincing newcomers
that the landscape is beautiful means that you simply spend less time commenting on the negative. Nevertheless, the notion of the landscape as hostile or dangerous is a lynchpin to the need for survival, as it gives impetus to the coming-together of the town's residents. In this way, there is a dialectic in which landscape and community each informs the other: if the landscape is seen as a potential killer, it becomes necessary for people to stick together, to help each other out and to look after one another. At the same time, the community recognises its special cohesiveness and, in a way, encourages not only a large degree of conformity from newcomers, but also fosters closer ties with the landscape itself. It is almost as if Ceduna People need to continually remind themselves - internally, privately, as well as outwardly - of the threatening nature of the landscape that they might maintain their survival skills. To make the assumption that you will survive regardless, without actively working towards it, imperils not only your own existence in the Far West, but that of the community. Newcomers are thus promptly taught to love and respect the landscape; newcomers who are too fond of their individualism - in the sense that they decide not to participate in town events, groups or affairs - decrease the whole community's chances of survival, especially in terms of its growth and prosperity. In the old days, the necessity to pull together derived from the need to establish farms, homesteads and trade outlets. Today, the town's development depends upon retail, mining and agricultural services, government grants and - the big unspoken - Aboriginal money. The ethic of survival has probably been an imperative throughout the white settlement history of the Far West, for it has enabled people to come to terms with their physical environment, to satisfy themselves in a landscape which many might otherwise think is almost unbelievably unpleasant. For Ceduna People, the continuing dialogue between landscape and community is an assertion of survival as well as a sign of Cedunanness, of being Ceduna; it is a statement about our relationship with landscape which helps us define our experiences not only of ourselves, but also our collective life Out West.

The lives of the people of Santa Clara, western Amazonia, are also intimately tied to the landscape (Gow 1996 [1995]). People become 'implicated' in the landscape, "actively moving around in the landscape, and leaving traces in it" (ibid: 51) through landscape modification such as the transformation of forest into gardens (ibid: 52). Above all, however, the landscape is a 'lived space', "known by means of movement through it,
seeing the traces of other people's movements and agency, and through the narratives of yet other people's agency" (ibid: 59). Ceduna people likewise become 'implicated' in the landscape, although the traces they leave are of a less tangible nature than those of Santa Clara people. 28 Old locals and their forebears have been largely responsible for the physical transformation of the landscape of the Far West Coast from scrub to wheat belt, and in this sense the evidence of ancestral interventions in the country is ubiquitous. However, now that the land has been mostly cleared, there is little opportunity for people to leave lasting physical proof of their presence in the landscape in the form of cutting a swathe through the scrub or transforming bushland into farmland. 29 Rather, people leave remnants of their activities in the form of extinguished camp fires, tyre tracks along dirt trails, rubbish (toilet paper, tin cans, cigarette butts), fishing hooks and tangled bits of line. Such evidence is left unconsciously, for to Ceduna People such concrete confirmation of agency is less important than the stories that can be told about camping or fishing trips, coastal excursions or journeys to other settlements. It is vital that any venture outside of the town firstly be announced to all your friends and workmates, so that people know you are serious about showing your Cedunaness, about getting out into the surrounding country for your recreational activities, about loving and interacting with the landscape. Secondly, the details you give of your planned expedition demonstrate your working knowledge of what is where in the Far West, how to get there, and what you can expect once you have arrived. And when you have returned from your trip, you can inform others of the state of the country you have just visited: 'I wouldn't go out to Dav at the moment ... when we had a look, there was a king tide and some people were stranded', or 'There's a lot 30 of tourists up Goog's, so watch out when you're going over the sandhills'. As is the case for the people of Santa Clara, the bodily movement through the landscape is key to becoming implicated in that landscape. However, in Ceduna it is the narrative of a person's journey that is most significant, not the corporeal confirmation of that journey - after all,

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28 A practical explanation for this difference might be that the sheer vastness of the Far West Coast and the distances travelled by people there do not allow for perceptible vestiges of people's travels as might a more dense environment in which people travel only short distances, and often by foot.

29 Goog's Track is the obvious exception to this rule, its dusty, sandy corridor framed by low, dense scrub, lurching its way through Yumbarr Conservation Park. Goog's is the perfect pioneering allusion for Ceduna People, providing them with an image of what it must have been like for the ancestors to work their way across this land over one hundred years ago.

30 This might mean that you saw one other vehicle, which you did not recognise, on the way back.
with the constant travels of people in and around the landscape, your reportage of the condition of the country easily verifies your own recent movement within it.

Being able to recount your various adventures in the Far West landscape plays an important role in Ceduna People's understandings of themselves. Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garkovich entertain a concept of landscape whereby landscapes are manifestations of "cultural identities, which are about us, rather than the natural environment" (1994: 2 emphasis in original). They further argue that "any physical place has the potential to embody multiple landscapes" (ibid) and that both nature and the environment allow the accretion of symbolic meanings presented as subjective phenomena which "are reflections of how people define themselves as people within a given group or culture" (ibid: 4, emphasis in original).31 For Ceduna People, the landscape provides the symbolic setting for the ethic of survival: it combines nature (the austerity of the elements) with culture (the need for community) in a statement about what we need to do to subsist in such an isolated place. This statement also has emblematic value in that it clarifies to Ceduna People the image they have of themselves as being Ceduna - that is, as tough, community-minded survivors. Whenever Ceduna People go camping or fishing or sailing or surfing they are reminded of who they are and how this landscape, which they love so much and feel so comfortably a part of, can easily turn on them - wash them off the rocks or leave them stranded without any drinking water. This danger is a central, though often unarticulated,

31 Much of the social sciences literature on landscape deals with both a culturalistic and naturalistic view of landscape - that is, the land is seen as the passive and serene physical recipient of the individual and/or collective meanings which we wish ascribe to it. Tim Ingold, however, rejects the idea of landscape as "a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space" (1993: 152). Rather, he assumes what he terms a 'dwelling perspective' which takes account of the passage of time in human life, and "according to which the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of - and testimony to - the lives and work of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (ibid). From this starting point, Ingold argues that landscape is neither 'nature' nor 'space'. He rejects the emic/etic dualism of inner and outer worlds, of objective space, 'out there', in nature, and the 'in here' of "intersubjective space marked out by our mental representations" (ibid: 154). Additionally, Ingold rejects the notion of the spatial segmentation of the landscape, contending that it is not possible to cut out a place in the landscape from the whole, "either on the plane of ideas or on that of material substance" (ibid: 155), and that all places represent experience and "the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this respect is different from every other" (ibid). It is also useless to talk of places as having boundaries in terms of them being fragmentary prerequisites "for the constitution of the places on either side of them" (ibid: 156). In short, "landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (ibid).
component of Ceduna People's conception of the landscape.

Camping trips combine nearly all aspects of people's physical interactions with the landscape (save, of course, farming). Camping involves driving - normally four-wheel driving - which allows people to experience the landscape at a slower pace than might journeys along the highway, for it means taking dirt tracks that are not on any map, and testing your car-handling skills up sandhills and on the beach. Four-wheel driving takes you into the landscape where you bounce around inside the vehicle's cabin until you hit too sandy a patch and get bogged. Getting out of getting bogged requires a fair degree of observation of the immediate area: if we go forwards, how far can we go without stopping and getting bogged again? Is there suitable, hard ground upon which to halt the vehicle so that those who have been pushing the car out of the bog can get back in it without having to walk too far? Do we have to reverse our way out and can we do it in a straight line? If we can't get out using bog mats, are there sufficient dead tree branches or other such litter - even rocks - to gain suitable purchase? A four-wheel drive vehicle is essential to transporting people to more out-of-the-way camping sites, either on the coast - where they set about fishing, and perhaps swimming, and occasionally surfing or skin diving - or inland where they make a fire, pull out the fold-up chairs and the beer (or port or wine), and cook some sausages. People talk about anything and everything when they go camping, although dead spots in conversation are not seen as embarrassing silences which need to be filled; rather, they are an acknowledgement of the surrounding environment, of the animal and bush noises, of the sounds of the ocean or the dry earth. Here, people can be still and they can think and yet they do not have to be alone. Janet Fitchen shows how rural New Yorkers, U. S. A., gladly converse about their surrounding landscape, with descriptions of the physical environment eliding into "a statement of socially valued attributes of the space in which they live" (1991: 250). The landscape is a persistent part of everyday life, "a space that is both setting and symbol of rural life" (ibid: 251). In this powerful space, Fitchen argues, effectively 'mass-society' enterprises are transformed into singularly rural pursuits (ibid). The same can be said for Ceduna People and their activities in the Far West; you do not have to be a country person to go fishing, camping, or four-wheel driving, but such pursuits are singled out by Ceduna People as being particularly rural - and if people who otherwise
live in the city do go fishing, camping or four-wheel driving, you can be sure that they know neither how to do those things properly, nor the best places to go to do them.

Ceduna People love the landscape not just for what they can do in it - fish, camp, drive - but they love it on its own terms, unconditionally. For Ceduna People, love of and respect for land and landscape go hand-in-hand. There is an abiding affection for this country in which we can see our own and others' ancestors in the landscape; their heroic contests with it, their attempts to tame it, their victories and defeats, and their eventual acceptance of it as something greater than themselves, as something that, if fought against, will never relent (and will most often win). It is this realisation that marks a person as being Ceduna, and it drives Ceduna People's attachment to their landscape. There is never an instance where a person can become accepted without developing a respect for the landscape, and it is in this manner that people's attitudes to the landscape and acceptance differ from their attitudes to joining groups and conducting themselves in particular ways and being accepted. People can become Ceduna without necessarily having to join groups as long as they are clean-living and respectable and have shown a certain commitment to the town by having lived there for fifteen years or so. Similarly, if a person shows some signs of being a little leftist in their views, they can nonetheless become accepted through their intensive, high-quality group participation and the suitability of their other behaviour. Respect for the landscape, however, is a different matter entirely, and an unequivocal aspect of survival; there are no half-measures or circumstances that might mitigate in your acceptance favour as there are with group participation and with what is deemed appropriate conduct.

There is also a genuine regard for the physical power of the landscape, assimilated with a reverence for the pioneering ancestors. Indeed, people's strong affective ties to the landscape today are testament to the perceived wisdom of the pioneers, who understood that in order to survive in the Far West it was necessary to enter into an association of equals with the landscape. A trade-off was negotiated: the landscape allowed pioneers mastery over certain domains in exchange for confining their farming activities to those areas. Both were required to give and take a little, each letting down its guard to allow an open dialogue in a relationship which now needs almost no words at all. Perhaps this mutual admiration society created by the pioneers and their direct descendants can
explain why most Ceduna People - and certainly almost all farmers - never feel remorse or guilt or horror concerning the physical damage inflicted on the land by a century of agriculture. There is the distinct sense that, because the pioneers came to a special understanding with the land, farmers somehow have been given permission to eke out a living from it; that the country, as part of its 'giving', has allowed people to work certain areas to the best of their abilities. For many Ceduna People this aspect of their relationship with their surrounds is strongly felt and appreciated, and it is this very real quality of empathy which is impressed upon newcomers when they are being taken through the Attitude Test. But newcomers are also being taught these qualities for their own good - if you do not learn early on to respect the landscape, you are in mortal danger of being destroyed by it. Being cocky or over-confident about your chances of survival on camping trips or surfing adventures can, literally, lead to your own death. And on the West Coast there is any number of ways to exit the world of the living: snake bite, dehydration, drowning, shark attack, heatstroke, starvation, exposure ..., Without a proper appreciation for the capacity of the landscape to bring about their demise, newcomers place not only themselves at risk, but also their potential rescuers - a most unsatisfactory situation.

But the landscape is not all bad. Indeed, when most people talk of their feelings towards the Far West, they emphasise the enjoyment and emotional succour they gain from their surrounds. Many people work in the environment: farmers, highway maintenance workers, parks and wildlife officers, electricity and telephone company staff, council inspectors, ATSIC employees, builders, oyster growers, SABC labourers. These people are not restricted to operating within the town - often they drive from place to place, work along the side of the highway on power and telephone lines, build sheds and roads, or check on occupation health and safety practices on farms. People's experiences of the landscape are so powerful, that just to drive through it or be out in it for work can provide extreme ranges of feeling: admiration for the beauty of country, detestation of flies and sweltering temperatures, fear of succumbing to the heat, astonishment at the pioneers' gumption, irritation at being bitten by one form of insect or another, an overwhelming sense of gratitude for being able to experience this wondrous country. For Ceduna People, the division between work and play is often eclipsed when they express their feelings for the landscape. When talking about their experience of the land,
Ceduna People do not delineate between experiences had on the job and experiences had during leisure activities, such as surfing or fishing - seeing dolphins surf the bow wave of your punt or tinnie is experientially the same for Ceduna People, regardless of whether you are on your way to your oyster lease for work or to your favourite fishing spot for recreation.

In this respect, Ceduna People can be contrasted with Australian Gulf Country pastoralists whom Strang describes as compartmentalising their activities into 'work' and 'rest' (1997). This is a conflict, according to Strang, between material and spiritual needs (ibid: 130 - 1). During work activities, the landscape is appreciated for its "specialised, focused, quantitative and material" applications; during rest, the land is used for hunting and fishing and for "quiet space" (ibid: 130) people can visit for "emotional or spiritual sustenance" (ibid). Ceduna People love to drive, and tend not to delineate between driving for job purposes and driving for leisure, although driving for leisure allows for a more unhurried experience of the landscape. Ceduna People are quite happy to motor hundreds and hundreds of kilometres on work matters, travelling to Port Lincoln, then to Port Augusta, then to Adelaide and back again to Ceduna. It is never a case of boredom with these people - they like knowing the names of even the smallest settlements on Eyre Peninsula, they enjoy ascertaining the states of various crops around the region, and they even relish taking such long trips alone, perhaps because they provide some interval to the regular workings of town life. Driving gives people a chance to recharge and to think. The same can be said for many farmers in the Far West - as they reap their crops, spending hours on end in the cabins of their harvesters, they will often contemplate their little patch of earth and express their gratitude for it. One farmhand even told me that she occasionally drove her tractor around the paddocks in reverse, just to get a different view of the land (I didn't think to ask why she didn't drive it forwards, but going the other way).

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32 Such an attitude to the land indicates, to me, a far more affective relationship with the landscape on the whole than Strang gives the pastoralists credit for when she reasons that graziers esteem memory or experience (ibid) over land. Indeed, the two probably are not so easily and obviously separated in the minds of graziers, and perhaps ought not be separated when it comes to reviewing graziers' relationship to the landscape. Moreover, Strang gives no credit to the classic Marxist proposition that emotional sustenance can be gained through work.
Old locals and landscape

Some distinctions can be made between the ways in which old locals and other categories of Ceduna Person connect with the landscape - the ways they talk about it, move about in it and view it. Old locals tend to be land-centred in their considerations of their environment, whilst those whose lineage cannot be traced to the Far West are more inclined to have a sea-focus governing their picture of the Ceduna surrounds. There are also differences in the derivation of people's appreciations of the landscape. For old locals, the love of the landscape comes from within, from an ardent admiration for the toils of their ancestors, and from the respect gained through the ongoing battle with the land. Many old locals find it difficult to separate their awarenesses of their selves from the love they have of their land, and when, or if, it comes to having to sell the farm, they feel a sense of bereavement which is often hard to articulate, except in the most fundamental terms: "I think once you've been part and parcel of any sort of land, you consider it home, it's pretty hard to part with". For old locals, the use of such understated language is the only way they have of conveying their reactions to their loss. However, when there is nothing at stake (that is, no uncomfortable emotions such as the shame or guilt borne by having to sell the family property) old locals are fluent in their presentations of their perceptions of the land. One retired farming couple got into a discussion on the essences of nature and beauty:

A: To me, we don't do it very often, and when we do, it's not a long trip to go to Adelaide because I'm interested in all the farm land and the changing of the country and ... it's the same thing going to Western Australia. A lot of people say, across the Nullarbor it's so boring, how could you put up with that travelling, travelling across and back, but to me, my eyes are just on it all the time and that takes the difference away ... how the country changes and why it changes and all that sort of thing.

B: Our men always see beauty in the outback. People will say, "how can you live in that place?", but there's beauty I guess that's why ... even go just outback in the scrub there's always something to see out there, we feel.

A: What is anything that's beautiful? I mean, how do you explain that? It's something, definitely something to do with nature.

33 Here I have described all non-old locals under the inclusive rubric 'new people' to better clarify the distinctions involved.
B: You think mainly, when you think of beauty, you think of green and green and lush looking, don't you, but to me it's just well, just being up in Broome and the redness up there and comparing it with Gieke Gorge and that was absolutely beautiful and there was no green there, it was all the different colours and then we went to New Zealand last year and it was so beautiful with all the green and the snow and everything but we all agreed that the Gieke Gorge was just beautiful, so they're completely different things so it's beautiful two meanings is it? I must look up in the dictionary one day and see what the meaning of 'beautiful' is. Whether we're not using the right word when we're describing the Nullarbor Plain and all that.

A: I think that when we're talking about beauty like that that it's tied up with nature somehow, because like the Nullarbor Plain you say that's a beautiful view out over there. Well to me it's, "Why did nature do it that way? What made it?" And it's like travelling across the plain you notice you wouldn't see a tree and yet all of a sudden there'll be a change between saltbush and bluebush growing, and you ask 'why's that?' so it must something tied up with nature that we can't explain and that's the sort of thing that gets you in if you're interested in the land or anything that you're looking at that involves nature.

B: I know one lady who lives in Tasmania, I said before we left [our overseas touring party] if any of your people go through Ceduna, call in and she said, "I'd never go across the Nullarbor" and she prefers cities and she couldn't bear the thought of going across the Nullarbor - she's never been. I don't think she would enjoy it, she wouldn't be able to dress up enough.

A: I think living on the land and growing up on the land gives you an appreciation of beauty because you're interested in nature more than you are in man-made things.

But at other times, things aren't much more complicated than the fact that the bush is "not prettied up, it's just how it is". There is almost an inevitability to old locals' relationship with the land, as if the land itself is immanent to their very existence - one old local even has an in-built (but Far-West-specific) Global Positioning System:

I could never have gone to Adelaide. I just don't like a big mob of people there; I'd be a poor bushman in Adelaide, I don't know where I am half the time. Back me out into the scrub out here and I can make my way home.

For Art, it is likely that his familiarity with the seasons, the position of the sun in the sky, the way the light falls, the changes in the colour and texture of the soil, the direction and feel of the wind, and even the smell of the land, all contribute to his innate
tracking system. Old locals also have a highly utilitarian view of the land in that it provides them with their living: Art additionally monitors and analyses any change in weather conditions very closely, keeping detailed records of rainfall for instrumental purposes and has detected patterns in the climate which help him determine - with an extraordinary degree of accuracy - whether or not this will be a good year for the farm.

There is also a strongly-historical dimension to Ceduna People's love for the land and landscape. This is derived from the value placed on the contributions made to life on the Far West Coast by old locals' ancestors. Old locals talk of their forebears taming the land, working it, and creating farms out of nothing. The ancestors are rendered almost Herculean, their muscle and sinew shaping the land, their blood and sweat combining with the dusty, sandy soil to transform barren ground into productive tracts of land. The corporeal nature of ancestral descriptions is striking, and it bespeaks the transmitted worth of hard, manual labour which manifests itself in Ceduna People's everyday lives. For old locals living on farms, the toil of the ancestors imparts a bodily connection to the land they work day-by-day. These people gain strength from living on the land - they feel its potency as they dig it up, plant seeds in it and watch things grow out of it. They are constantly surrounded by the land and the material traces of their forebears: the ruins of the old homestead, fencelines which were established by great-granddad, old sheds, rusting ploughs and crumbling wagons. These physical reminders give old locals a sense of recreating the work of the ancestors and thus ensuring the continuation of the family line and farm. The first settlers' descendants are highly aware of the legacy they have inherited, and they actively seek to compare their own experiences with those they imagine their predecessors might have had, emphasising the struggle to farm on marginal lands, the tyranny of distance (spare parts for headers don't just magic themselves up out of thin air, you know) and the capriciousness of the climate.

Old locals encourage newcomers to take on this pioneering sense of history and self. Firstly, the magnitude of the first settlers' accomplishments is driven home: to trudge all that way, through scrub and swamp and lifeless terrain, then to arrive a spot and decide that this was it! With nothing to recommend it, with nine kiddies in tow, with only a wagon's worth of supplies! Then to strip the scrub with only an axe or an old stump-jump plough and build a homestead out of local rock! Then to sow acre upon acre of
wheat or barley, hope for the best, fill and sew hundreds of bags of grain, transport it to the local landing and load it onto the waiting ketches! Mate, they were tough. And we're pretty tough too; anyone who decides to live out here has to be tough. You've got to appreciate Mother Nature for her capacity to push you out, but you also have to recognise her brilliance; she truly inspires wonder. Secondly, old locals actively seek to imitate the experiences of the first settlers, and they encourage newcomers to do the same. This is largely achieved through camping and four-wheel drive trips, the most significant of which is arguably the expedition which goes up Goog's. Goog's happens to run through the only sizeable piece of uncleared scrubland in close proximity to Ceduna (Yumbarrak Conservation Park). Short trips (1 - 2 days) up Goog's might only go as far as Goog's Lake; longer trips of up to a week or more might reach Mount Finke, Malbooma or even Tarcoola (see Map 3). To traverse this lone, remaining mallee provides Ceduna People with their best opportunity to re-enact the journeys of the early pioneers - and this they do purposely, envisaging the conditions and experiencing some of the difficulties under which the vanguard of white habitation made its mark. Newcomers are persuaded to go up Goog's after they have explored the more accessible parts of the Far West, largely because going up Goog's requires a little bit of specialist survival knowledge - knowing bush first aid and how to operate a radio, taking water, spares, food and being prepared for almost any eventuality (getting bogged, lost, stranded). Newcomers must not only replicate the journeys of the ancestors (even though they are not specifically their ancestors), but be aware of doing it - or at least be aware of the whole experience as something almost sacred.

New people and landscape

Those who are not old locals interact with and think about the landscape in a slightly different way. New people (and in this section I include all non-old locals, even those who have stayed long enough in Ceduna to become new locals) train their focus largely on the coast. They talk about it in much the same terms as old locals, but without consideration for the obvious ancestral ties that characterise the latters' experience. New people also tend to explore the surrounding environment more than their old local counterparts. Where old locals are happy to stay on their farms, safe in their ancestral connections to them, new people are far more adventurous, camping along the coast, surf fishing at Mexican Hat, or taking their four-wheel drives over inland sandhills all
the way up to Tarcoola. Old locals are tied to the land in the very real sense of having
ownership of a particular part of it; new people see the Far West Coast as a place where
they can entertain themselves - go camping, bush bashing, fishing or sailing. These
people are not fixed to the land through family histories and title deeds, and they are
emotionally, at least (and in contrast to old locals), free to roam as they will. People
have fun in and by the sea - they fish, surf and camp here - but they also see the coast as
a place where they can relax and get away from it all:

Ceduna's a nice place for me. I like being by the sea, and I think because I never grew up near
the sea. And there's a lot of places I can go to get space when I need space, which is also really
important to me.

This is not to say, however, that many new people do not also enjoy forays inland:

Out here when you go out up Goog's Track and that and you look like ... people sort of wouldn't
believe that was the desert, even though it is, even though there's trees. You get people out on the
Nullarbor and they say, 'This is so boring', but it's not. Just stop and look.

And the synthesis:

We've got everything going for us, most of all something that I've found since we come over
here, you know you've got to go fifteen Ks out of town you're on isolated beach, you go 25 Ks
north you're out side the Dog Fence in no-man's land. It doesn't take much of a mind to jump in a
vehicle and disappear and not see anybody for a couple of days.

But this love for the landscape of the Far West Coast is not inborn. Newcomers to the
town first view the landscape as ugly, barren, harsh, unwelcoming: the uncomfortable
heat and burning winds add to the dryness of the surroundings, the already-harsh light is
seemingly magnified as it reflects off the white, sandy, coastal earth, the only trees are
spindly, scrappy, insubstantial shrubs, and the flies ... ! At one stage or another,
newcomers will have to challenge and probably change their assumptions about what is
and is not beautiful if they are to be accepted and if they are to contribute to survival in
Ceduna. Indeed, when many new people describe their first arriving in Ceduna they say
that they could find no saving grace in the place at all, although they are quick to qualify
their negative first impressions of the town by emphasising their now more 'educated' extant views:

Driving in and seeing all the machinery down McKenzie Street, there was a dust storm, the size of the town, looking at it and seeing that it's being really big, and my impressions were clouded, I saw it as being big, dusty and it looked unkempt, because there were machinery and yards. And it was, I didn't even notice the foreshore, I didn't even see the sea, I didn't see the boats, which I see now, and they're beautiful. I didn't see any of what I see as beautiful ...

And again:

I'd been through here a couple of times as a kid, and I just remember, like, a desolate landscape coming through here, pretty fallen, like the buildings were just like, well, you know, quite fallen, they weren't falling down, they were just unkept [sic], and so I thought, 'Hmm, Ceduna'. And I honestly didn't expect to find this view [across Murat Bay], for a start, because I remember when we came through and we stopped at the sea, blowing like anything, beach was covered with seaweed, the sea was just yuk, I can't even remember the colour of it because it was pretty yukky and yeah, that was it, they were my childhood memories, so I wasn't too keen.

Ceduna People recognise the affective power of landscape and the authorial voice that landscape often can bring to experience; they know (as the retired farming couple pointed out earlier) that many newcomers will see beauty in lush, green countryside where tall, soft trees reach skyward with an apparent purpose, and not in a stark, dusty, apparently desolate milieu where the vagrant, scruffy bush taunts a person's aesthetic sensibilities. Ceduna People understand that if a person is to get along and be happy out here - both socially and emotionally - an appreciation of, and respect for, the surrounding environment will help things along. Whereas once they saw the place as ugly and barren, they now talk about the beauty of the landscape. The process of instructing people in how to be Ceduna and how to love and respect the landscape begins early, and newcomers are quickly encouraged to get out there and start appreciating:

When I came here I thought it was ugly. I thought, 'Where is the beauty in this?' and people used to recommend that I go and see different areas around the country and they'd say it was beautiful out there. It's only just recently that I've come to admire the beauty, especially when I worked out at Oak Valley, it was so warm, and yeah, just, that, just, I looked at that rawness, nobody had
hardly ever been there before, and I thought, 'Wow, that's exciting for me, that's beauty'. And I appreciate the barrenness now.

Ceduna People help newcomers come to terms with their new surroundings by taking them into the bush or along the coast and introducing them, in an informal fashion, to the Far West.\textsuperscript{34} The introductory tours begin with places that are regarded as particularly scenic to Ceduna eyes, and newcomers are instructed in what is special about this spot and how to perceive similar sites: on a trip from Penong to Point Sinclair, for example, the changes in terrain might be pointed out (from agricultural land to scrub to gypsum field to enormous, white sand hills), the importance of the area to the cultural and economic history of the West Coast is recounted (Edward John Eyre came through here in the early 1840s on his expedition to the west, and salt and gypsum are mined from Lake McDonnell and shipped to Asia and the Pacific), and the land use is remarked upon (there is a camping ground for surfers at Cactus Beach, and lots of people fish from the Sinclair jetty). It is hoped that, given all this information, newcomers will understand how various sites fit into the Ceduna perspective, begin to see the landscape as a Ceduna Person does, and start to understand the importance of perceiving it that way to the town's survival ethic, their own acceptance and their being Ceduna.

\textit{Accepting the landscape}

Philip Drew reasons that accepting the idea of the dead heart of Australia is akin to excluding ourselves from it, building "an image that cannot possibly contribute to our own lives" (1994: 33). Although Drew acknowledges the cultural impact of this crucial, centralist image that many Australians carry around in their heads, he criticises it for preventing "a realistic image of Australia from developing; one that is posited in a real place" (ibid: 35) - that is, the urban coastal areas. Bruce Clunies Ross (1986) maintains, however, that the image of the dead heart, the outback, \textit{is} posited in a real place - a

\textsuperscript{34} Peter Read describes a similar phenomenon in his book \textit{Belonging} (2000). Read writes that many Aboriginal People in Australia formally introduce strangers to country by speaking to it, as well as respectfully asking the land if it is alright to enter the country (ibid: 87 - 8). Read then goes on to ask white informants who have affective ties with a particular tract of (usually) farming land whether or not they similarly introduce themselves and others to the land. The informants - a group of college boarders - replied that they could not imagine actually, physically speaking to the land. Nevertheless, they \textit{did} say that when they returned to their families' farms, they didn't necessarily 'say hello' to the country, but they 'rediscovered' it by driving around it, or popping out the back for a smoke "to get back to nature" (ibid: 64, emphasis removed).
place that covers a major part of the continent. To state that "because most Australians live in cities, rural images are less culturally relevant than a cosmopolitan outlook is," Clunies Ross argues, "besides being literal-minded, to deny the true geography of Australia; it is to ignore the vast hinterland" (ibid: 225) which touches the imaginations of most Australians. But Drew counters that "[t]he true centre is where we live, not some other place" (ibid: 36), indicating a mostly socially-oriented understanding of place that firmly links physical locality with potentially meaning-filled space. Drew reinforces this point by arguing that the outback "was an open boundary that escaped easy definition" (ibid: 3), a place of vagueness, remoteness, and shamelessness. He makes a case for Australians' inclination to live on the coast as a response to the ambiguous nature of the centre, stating that "it is easier to relate to an edge that has profile, for profile reveals character" (ibid).

Ceduna People are in a unusual position whereby both these images of the coast and the desert heart hold true and have true significance; but for most Ceduna People - old locals and new people alike - these images are separated temporally. The image of the dead heart is almost a backdrop, a scene-setting image, connected with the pioneers who did it tough, crossing an arid, lifeless landscape to make a new life on the West Coast: "But that's where a lot of inventions came from, people used their brains to make hard jobs easier. I mean, it was a harsh life and to survive it took harsh measures". When people head inland, they see themselves as explorers retracing, if not the exact steps, then at least some of the experiences of the pioneers. The image of the dead heart is also used by Ceduna People to explain the ubiquitous imperative of survival in difficult conditions:

The other one that I find a strange one ... and we found this, we heard this more, early when we were living in the [Northern] Territory ... Alice Springs wasn't classed as the 'Red Centre'; it was classed as the 'Dead Centre'. Now, 'Dead Centre' means 'no life', or in the general, correct terminology of the word. But even then, there was always flies, and if you, and there are countries that don't have flies, but there is always something, even in that harsh outback, it's not dead, not by a long stretch of the imagination. I mean, you've got to use your eyes and be patient, but yeah, you'll find life. And you can sustain life. The Aussie, I think, will always, or 90% of the time, anyway, they will survive. They will think about it. They won't sit down and pack up their bundle and, the old saying, pack up your bat and ball and go home. I mean, if we get stuck out in the bush ... alright, you get some people who do stupid things, but the average person will
at least make an attempt to survive, which I think, does that come from the fact that we, we’re a mob of battlers? We will always try.

When Ceduna People travel to the coast, they partly see themselves as modern consumers of fun and freedom in an anterior image which represents the here-and-now, and the truth of the Far West Coast as we see her today: a vital, exciting place to be if you know where to go and how to experience it. Inland provides a far more ancient, ancestral encounter with the landscape, a background image and continual reminder of our pioneering origins.

**Resettling newcomers**

However, Ceduna People have learnt over the years that not everyone views the Far West Coast as townspeople do - that is, as splendid, beautiful, magnificent, perhaps a little forbidding or hostile, and certainly enigmatic. Many newcomers, to the town see the surrounding landscape as nothing other than ugly, inhospitable, bleak, even intolerable and unknowable. Because maintaining population is thought to be crucial to the survival of the Ceduna community, various processes of guidance and settlement are initiated to make the landscape habitable for newcomers to the town, to help them appreciate the power and grandeur of the land, and to help them become eventual converts to the view that the Far West is one of the most special places on earth. Paul Carter (1987) investigates the settlement of colonial Australia and many of his insights into the early encounters of discoverers, explorers and settlers can be applied to an analysis of the ways in which newcomers are introduced to the Far West Coast. In the book, Carter argues for what he calls a 'spatial history', a history of "spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence" (ibid: xxii). Such an exercise both draws on people's experiences (gleaned through diaries and journals and other similar records) to explain a distinct awareness of the landscape, and refuses to exalt a "cult of places" (ibid: xi) which assumes an extant land, just waiting to be discovered.

Carter argues that settlement itself was a rhetorical process which taught the land to speak, making it meaningful, available for interpretation and understanding and thus liveable. Australia's foundation, then, was not linear in nature, but dialectical: "the new country was a product of language and the intentional gaze" (ibid: 36). Newcomers to
Ceduna undergo similar processes of teaching the land to speak (and being taught by it), of having it talk to them and make sense. But in Ceduna there is a pool of residents to help accelerate this development; indeed, the process is pushed in a certain direction whilst still allowing for a degree of imagination and uniqueness on the part of a newcomer's experience of the landscape. In this sense Carter's 'settlement' is best thought of as 'resettlement' in the Ceduna context, for resettlement takes account of people moving from one place that already exists for them to another place that already exists for others. The basic text is provided for newcomers as they undergo resettlement, providing a space that has been "written before it [can] be interpreted" (ibid: 41).

Ceduna People have already written their spaces, and they wait for newcomers to come in and read them, learn them, think about them and perhaps integrate some new content into the text. At first, newcomers are either taken on tours of the local area or instructed on how to get to certain places. Later, as a person becomes better acquainted with the Far West, more independent, more familiar with what to expect, they are persuaded to seek out new places and experiences for themselves; they go exploring, obtaining data to help them possess the land in what Carter describes as a practice of 'linguistic settling' (ibid: 137) - they bring it into being, enabling it to be grasped, known. With each camping trip or beach visit, newcomers are discovering the West Coast landscape for themselves, they are learning its small secrets, learning to love it, respect it, fear it, and they are learning to be Ceduna.

Carter identifies a similar process of discovery amongst the early settlers, who necessarily had to create a distance between themselves and what they saw: "before nature could be loved, it had to be conceptualized as a place, a visible object" (ibid: 154). This is partly achieved by setting up symbolic enclosures, "establishing a point of view with a back and front, a place with a human symmetry, a human focus of interest" (ibid: 168). Ceduna People have created a position from which they can look outwards to their surroundings and feel safe, even though the landscape can represent a degree of danger, a threat to survival. Having come to terms with the land's inherently perilous nature, and by working with it rather than against it, Ceduna People can now resettle and guide newcomers quickly and effectively, using their tried-and-proven techniques of introduction, encouragement and amalgamation. People new to the town are seized upon, and any negative reactions that incomers might have to the austerity of their
surroundings are circumvented. Indeed, Ceduna People frequently present an overly-optimistic, even skewed view of the landscape to prevent newcomers from losing heart entirely and leaving town immediately. Before long, newcomers are propelling themselves around the countryside in four-wheel drives, fishing off rocks and learning to surf at Shelly Beach. They are learning how to love and respect the landscape through having an intimate dialogue with it.

Ceduna People know the value of getting people out into country and giving them a few pointers about how to best interpret it before allowing them to go off on their own (and thus come to their own understanding of its good and bad aspects) through a process of dialectical appreciation. Newcomers are introduced to the region, told its place-names: Dog Point, Koonibba Rockhole, Tuckermore. Carter calls attention to the ways in which "space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with a history" (ibid: xxiv) through the act of place-naming. For newcomers, getting to know the names of various places around the region - especially the names that do not appear on any conventional map - gives them a sense of inclusion, a sense of being given access to a restricted zone of approval and acceptance. This is a binary state of affairs: newcomers are given access to specialised knowledge on the condition that they use that knowledge to good effect, that is, to explore the coastal and inland areas, learn about the country from their travels, and report on their discoveries. In early Australia, Carter describes convicts as 'flattering' the Enlightenment epistemology and discourse of power through their (the convicts') discoveries of mines and quarries (ibid: 302), but argues that these same convicts were unable to keep these discoveries for their own empowerment, "[f]or whatever they brought back became grist for to the mill of authority" (ibid: 315). This is not the case for newcomers in Ceduna, who are given every opportunity to unearth the beauty of the landscape for themselves. Further, newcomers can eventually become authorities on the Far West Coast through their journeys of exploration and understanding; their experiences and recollections of those experiences are respected and embraced and might even be included in the town's survival ethic, firstly as support for the ruthlessness and majesty of the landscape, and secondly as replenishment of the very good reasons we have for being so fond of this country.
Kiss or Kill

Ceduna People's understandings of landscape were emphasised in their reactions to the release of the Australian Film Industry's Best Film for 1997, Kiss or Kill, a road movie about two young people travelling (ostensibly) across the Nullarbor to escape the police. Much of Kiss or Kill was filmed in and around Ceduna, with other parts of Eyre Peninsula also making appearances. Ceduna residents were employed in bit-parts for the picture, and many local buildings were used as sets. The anticipation of the film's release in the town was tremendous, and when it was finally available on video (there being no cinema in Ceduna), the local video shop had trouble keeping up with demand. Most Ceduna People, though, were exceedingly disappointed, and it was not because the jumpy, quick-cutting style of editing was seen as too arty. Rather, Ceduna People could not fathom how the protagonists were meant to be driving from east to west, stopping off at various roadhouses and motels along the way, when in actual fact - that is, for the purposes of making the picture - they simply moved between the BP service station on the Eyre Highway just before the fruit-fly roadblock, the Pine Grove restaurant and motel on McKenzie Street and the Ceduna Community Hotel on O'Loughlin Terrace. Further, parts of what was meant to be the Nullarbor Plain were clearly stretches of road between Wudinna and Minnipa - there were trees on the treeless plain, for goodness' sake! Ceduna People are so tied up with their landscape and know it so well that they could not understand why the film's makers would want to present it all the wrong way around. If you needed to show stopping-off points on a journey which was meant to be heading towards Perth, why not film at the pub at Penong and then at the roadhouses at Nundroo, Yalata and Nullarbor? The sequence would be right, then. To do it all in the one place simply did not make sense.

Filming on the Eyre Peninsula as opposed to not heading out west to the Nullarbor proper gained more demerit points from Ceduna People, as the splendour of the Far West Coast was denied true expression. The film's denouement, which saw the protagonists seemingly travel five hundred kilometres or so from the Ceduna pub to the outskirts of Port Augusta in a matter of minutes, was further rendered incomprehensible due to the fact that our heroes had (in real life) headed east when, according to the film's script, they were supposed to be heading west. Many communities or neighbourhoods probably experience a similar sense of indignation at the overturning of the familiar, but
for Ceduna People the eagerness with which the film’s release was awaited somehow seemed to augment the community’s outrage. In addition to this, Ceduna People’s far-reaching knowledge of this immense region, their intense familiarity with its landmarks and their tremendous mobility within it, coupled with the film’s patent utilisation of the setting as both character and metaphor, meant that the landscape had somehow been devalued, abused, exploited. Because Ceduna People see themselves as emotionally tied to their environment, they extrapolated their reading of the picture to conclude that this was a further manipulation - even misrepresentation - of the community as a whole. It was hard for them not to take it personally.

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Ceduna People see the landscape as beautiful - harsh, but beautiful. They love it for its hidden splendour and they respect it for its ruthlessness: the ocean is full of sharks, the shallows might have deceptively strong undercurrents which will tow you away if you don’t know where to swim, there are nasty, bitey creatures on land and in sea - crabs, sand flies, snakes, mosquitoes - and if none of these things gets you, then the sun and heat very likely will. This understanding of potential menace inspires awe and respect in Ceduna People. A healthy regard for the land- and sea-scapes that present many hazards to human endurance might just stop you from succumbing to them in a physical sense ... it might just help you to survive. The one sure thing about the landscape is that it is always there, always ready to be related to at some level or another. The landscape represents both a certain infinity and the transience of life where the only sure thing is not necessarily survival but the struggle to survive:

Two things I’ve really enjoyed since I’ve been in Ceduna and Australia,\(^{35}\) and that’s fishing for a living, and working for the exploration company in the desert. I mean, it’s two stark contrasts, and I love the desert. I don’t know why. Two of us used to go up to the Sandy Desert, for three months. And sometimes we’d work in two different areas, one of us would go one way and we wouldn’t see each other for two days. I’d go away from Moomba, or around Coober Pedy, and there was this little blue flower that everything around it, and it’s dead flat up there, everything around it’s dead. Can’t see a kangaroo, can’t see an emu, it was that bloody hot you couldn’t see ants, but there was this little blue flower. I’d never come across it before. I used to squat down

\(^{35}\) This person came from England to live in Australia in the 1960s.
beside it. And every time I come across one, I used to sit down beside it and have a smoke.

Could never fathom that out. How that thing lived when everything else was dead.
CONCLUSION

The ethic of survival which permeates much of Ceduna's sociality has existed since the days when the pioneers slogged their ways to the Far West over a hundred years past; it was there when the old locals integrated newcomers into the community thirty years ago during the influx of newcomers to the town as Ceduna became the unofficial capital of the Far West Coast, and it persists to this day in creating commitment to the community amongst townspeople. The categorisation of different types of Ceduna Person aids survival in that because it draws differing responsibilities and obligations from different sections of the community and establishes what a person must be and do to be accepted in the town: old locals are accepted by virtue of their heritage and their pioneering ancestors who cleared and settled the Far West Coast; new locals have strong, established, group ties and are active organisers of community events; new people are likewise enthusiastic community members who enjoy exploring the coast and making the most of the Ceduna lifestyle; newcomers bring fresh ideas and different experiences into the town. What all of these people have in common is that they are contributing to the survival ethic by facilitating sociality in Ceduna, by coming together for the good of the community as a whole. But those who are not accepted in Ceduna still have a peripheral involvement in the town's survival: rejected people are often ardent members of one group only, and their contributions to that group's functioning are incontestable, meaning that, although they might not be accepted, they are nevertheless reluctantly seen as having some kind of input to the town's survival. Indeed, even the category of blow-in could be said to bolster the survival ethic, as this type of person is held outside of normal Ceduna sociality in such a manner that neither time or effort need be wasted on teaching them the general rules of Ceduna social life.

Ceduna People ensure their survival by negotiating a tension between the substantial and relational aspects of personhood: to successfully navigate a path between these two features is to be Ceduna. This is in contradiction to many representations of the West where there appears to be a prevailing idea that Western people are driven by an impassioned individualism - an idea which creates an emblematic vision or, perhaps,
caricatures of Western life. In Ceduna, individual skills and talents are used to profit the community, for they show that you are an entity capable of independent thought, able to contribute in an original way to the survival of the town and its population. The interdependence of Ceduna People, however, is similarly accentuated, as people must work together to guarantee the survival of the community. The struggle to live in this place on the Far West Coast of South Australia is an ongoing project for the people of the area, requiring both a commitment to community and personal strength of character.

The notion of being Ceduna takes into account the endurance of a community in an isolated, physically-challenging environment. Survival means adopting a certain style of sociality - that is, acting Ceduna - as well as joining groups and showing love and respect for the landscape. Being accepted means being Ceduna - the two go hand-in-hand. Being Ceduna entails expressing the notion that country life is better than city life, having a detailed knowledge of the Far West, displaying ruralness through things such as a knowledge of farming practices, making disparaging comments about other places and using a specialised language which can both include Ceduna People and exclude outsiders. Accepted people have similar styles of home, enjoy a good barbie with their mates, and go camping. They are also decent, clean and upright.

Being Ceduna also requires people to take part in town life by volunteering their time and services to various community groups, for groups make people come together for the good of the community and are thus an integral part of the survival ethic. Groups are not ranked according to a system of merit - all are believed to contribute equally to the town's survival. As a newcomer, you are actively persuaded to join groups, and your group participation is a good way for community members to track your social progress in the town. People can, however, be accepted in the town without being fervent group-joiners, but the degree of acceptance is limited somewhat, as these people must ensure that other rules of conduct are followed, such as expressing attachment to the landscape, going camping, and - most importantly for non-group joiners - being clean and decent. This is a slow-track to acceptance, and non-group participants rarely, if ever, associate on a personal level with the more active community members. Such indisposed people are atypical in Ceduna.
Loving the landscape is the most unequivocal prerequisite for being Ceduna. People can still be Ceduna even though their commitment to groups may be a little ambiguous, or their behaviour not inclusive of all that it means to act Ceduna, but not loving the surrounding landscape is seen as a flat-out denunciation of the survival ethic, the town, and the importance of people pulling together to create their community. People's ambivalent relationships with their landscape create strong affective ties with country - they love it yet fear it, but at all times respect it. Some of the academic literature on Australians' ties with landscape argues that whites have a largely exploitative attitude to landscape which eschews a deeper, more spiritual understanding of country. In a similar vein, depictions of a Noble Savage continue to generate false dichotomies and base essentialisations between an Exotic Other and a Prosaic Us, and the study of landscape in anthropology has tended to perpetuate simplistic typifications of Western people. Ceduna People do not have one-dimensional, crude awarenesses of their surrounds. Rather, they experience an often-inexpressible connection with the land they occupy, traverse and work. They farm it, camp on it, fish off it and spend their leisure time in it. Ancestral ties define old locals' relationships with the land - it has been in the family for five or six generations, now, and is in their blood. New people have a coastal focus and an appreciation of the landscape of the Far West in terms of its brilliance and emotional pull as a place to recharge. Newcomers almost unanimously view the landscape as ugly and barren when they first encounter it, but they are soon encouraged by the more established Ceduna People to see it as something else, as something special and beautiful. The landscape poses a very real threat to people's physical existence on the Far West Coast, but Ceduna People have learnt that respect for country goes a long way towards ensuring survival.

*The Wave*

To conclude, it might be appropriate to describe one of the most encapsulating images of survival on the Far West Coast, evident in a particular physical gesture which Ceduna People see as special to the region: 'The Wave'. The Wave is significant because it plays a deeply important role in the way Ceduna People express their being Ceduna through a certain action whilst simultaneously signalling the need for people to pull together if they are to survive in this tough environment.
The Wave is an act of salutation between motorists travelling on the highway: it is not an enthusiastic side-to-side or up-and-down signalling of the open hand as one person espies a friend across the main street. Rather, The Wave is a subtle raising of the index finger (sometimes the index and middle fingers, and in even fewer cases, the whole hand) which casually exposes some of the palm of one motorist to another motorist passing in the opposite direction, usually on the highway. Most Ceduna People will not wave to those who are obviously tourists ( anyone with interstate number plates on their vehicle or anyone with grey hair towing a caravan) or to long-haul truck drivers - in fact, many Ceduna People are quite adept at picking out just who to wave at and who to ignore. Ideally, The Wave should be launched by both parties at exactly the same moment - to wave too soon betrays the fact that you are new to the waving business, whilst to wave too late means either that you are a snob, or that you are not from the area, and really have no idea why you are waving at all.\(^1\)

The Wave is largely an anonymous act, as it occurs on the highway, where both the volume of traffic, and the distance from the town, mean that you are not likely to be waving at a fellow Ceduna Person. Thus, The Wave is more about asserting your Cedunaness to yourself than to anyone else in particular. If, perchance, you happen to pass a Ceduna Person that you know - especially a good mate - The Wave is dismissed altogether and replaced by a 'wave', whereby the parties recognise each other and gesture spiritedly with an open palm, moving laterally with considerable celerity, smiling and pointing, all the while wondering to where and to what your friend is going.

However, The Wave is not exclusively a Ceduna thing. There is a strong wave zone around Wudinna, and particularly between Kyancutta and Kimba.\(^2\) The pull of the wave zone, however, begins to peter out between Iron Knob and Port Augusta to the east, after Penong to the west, and, arguably, Haslam, on the way to Streaky Bay (although it does regain a little strength between Venus Bay and Elliston). For those driving between Kimba and Ceduna for the first time, all this waving business is a little startling: I think

---

\(^1\)A late wave from the other party in return for your perfectly-timed wave is usually plain embarrassing, as you really should have picked the other party out a non-waver straight away, and ought not to have waved at such a person to begin with.

\(^2\)Some Ceduna People, especially those who had spent some time in the Northern Territory, explained to me that waves were, indeed, prevalent in other areas of Australia.
someone just waved at me ... ; That person waved at me, too ... ; Do I start waving back? I think I'd better ... ; How does all of this waving work, exactly?; Hey, I think I'm starting to get the hang of this wave-thing ... . You might feel a little silly at first, but by the time you have driven several hundred kilometres waving at all the locals, it starts to come naturally. With The Wave, Ceduna People are projecting their Cedunanness, their being Ceduna, at people from other places who are presumably like-minded when it comes to why everybody is waving in the first place. Ceduna People are taking their Cedunanness into the region when they wave at passers-by.

The Wave is an important way of indicating that you accept the importance of survival to life in the Far West and want to be a part of the community. For old locals, waving is a public declaration seen as a "hangover from the pioneering days when you were all out here together" - an important part of the mythos of the early settlers. New locals do not have these historical ties with the pioneers, and prefer to think of The Wave as a way of showing that you have made your life here, that you belong here and have been accepted. Newcomers use The Wave to help them gain extra points on the Attitude Test when they have a car-captive audience of Ceduna People. And for others, the rejected people, who can never use The Wave as a statement of acceptance, The Wave is a personal way of disclosing (mostly to themselves) that they are a part of Ceduna and incontestably nascent to life in the town, despite their excluded status. All, however, recognise The Wave for its importance in showing that people must collaborate if the survival of the community is to be secured:

J: You also notice that this side of Port Augusta, it happens north as well, but as you're driving along, you lift your finger or you wave, people will acknowledge you. You get the other side of Port Augusta, and nobody knows you. Nobody will even acknowledge. It's "G'day".

B: It's "G'day, we're on the road, we're all watching out for each other". I mean, and it's a nice feeling, you're in the middle of nowhere and somewhere between Kimba and Kyancutta, a bloody long way of nothing. Somebody goes past and waves, and you think if I do break down, they're friendly people along here, somebody's going to pull up and it'll be alright.

---

3 See Appendix IV for a poem about The Wave written by local poet, Ken Bubner.
APPENDIX I
District Council of Ceduna - council profile.

Source:
District Council of Ceduna

Area of Council: 5,431 km² (or 543,120 ha)
Roads: 1,721 km
Permanent works staff: 14
Permanent administrative staff: 7
Elected members: Mayor + 8 Councillors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Within council area</th>
<th>Out of Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>3494</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population under age 15</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population over age 65</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Aboriginal descent</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II
Average seasonal temperatures and rainfall for Ceduna.

**Average seasonal temperatures for Ceduna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Maximum temperature</th>
<th>Minimum temperature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>28° Celsius</td>
<td>15° Celsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>24° Celsius</td>
<td>11° Celsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>18° Celsius</td>
<td>6° Celsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>24° Celsius</td>
<td>10° Celsius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average seasonal rainfall for Ceduna (total average: 310 mm)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Average rainfall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>15 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>26 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>24 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>38 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III

Total number of persons - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>3559</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of persons - by Urban centres and localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna</td>
<td>2599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social indicators - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16 year olds still at school</th>
<th>People with degree or higher qualifications</th>
<th>Labour force participation rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
<th>Household income per capita</th>
<th>Households in owner-occupied dwellings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>$251.00</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family type - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Couple with dependent children</th>
<th>Couple with non-dependent children</th>
<th>Couple without children</th>
<th>One parent</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labour force characteristics, persons aged 15 years and over - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employed full-time</th>
<th>Employed part-time</th>
<th>Employed total</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Not in the labour force</th>
<th>Aged 15-24 years</th>
<th>Aged 15 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupation of employed persons - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Professionals</th>
<th>Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers</th>
<th>Tradespersons and related workers</th>
<th>Associate professionals</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>1606</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Includes "inadequately described" and "not stated".
APPENDIX III (continued)

Industry of employed persons (aged 15 years and over) - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Retail trade</th>
<th>Health and community services</th>
<th>Property and business services</th>
<th>Other I</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>276</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post-school qualifications, persons aged 15 years and over - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bachelor degree or higher</th>
<th>Undergraduate or associate diploma</th>
<th>Skilled vocational</th>
<th>Basic vocational</th>
<th>Aged 15 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>2660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Couple families with dependent children - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>71/129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median weekly household income - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>$564.00</td>
<td>34/129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion of employed persons working full-time - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>87/129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment rate\(^2\) - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>89/129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) The number of unemployed persons expressed as a percentage of the labour force.
APPENDIX III (continued)

Social characteristics - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Median age (years)</th>
<th>Proportion of population 65 years and over</th>
<th>Indigenous origin</th>
<th>Australian-born</th>
<th>Overseas born (UK, Ireland and NZ)</th>
<th>Overseas born (other)</th>
<th>Speaks other language at home (5 years and over)</th>
<th>Median personal weekly income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3559</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>3190</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>$259.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing characteristics - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fully-owned</th>
<th>Being purchased (including rent/buy)</th>
<th>Rented (includes rent free)</th>
<th>Other (including not stated)</th>
<th>Total occupied private dwellings</th>
<th>Median weekly rent</th>
<th>Median monthly housing loan repayments</th>
<th>Persons in occupied private dwellings</th>
<th>Unoccupied private dwellings</th>
<th>Non-private dwellings</th>
<th>Total dwellings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>$60.00</td>
<td>$495.00</td>
<td>3443</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median personal weekly income - by Statistical Local Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Median personal income (weekly)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna (DC)</td>
<td>$259.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person and household characteristics - by urban centres and localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Aged 0-14 years</th>
<th>Aged 65 years or more</th>
<th>Indigenous origin</th>
<th>Australian-born</th>
<th>Overseas born (UK, Ireland and NZ)</th>
<th>Overseas born (other)</th>
<th>Total persons in 1996</th>
<th>Total persons in 1991</th>
<th>Lone person</th>
<th>Family with dependent children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>2267</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>2599</td>
<td>2753</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III (continued)

Labour force characteristics - by urban centres and localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full-time females</th>
<th>Full-time males</th>
<th>Part-time females</th>
<th>Part-time males</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>Employed in private sector</th>
<th>Managers and administrators; professionals</th>
<th>Laborers and related workers</th>
<th>Manufacturing; retail; health and community services</th>
<th>Aged 15-24 years</th>
<th>Aged 15 years or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dwelling characteristics - by urban centres and localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fully-owned</th>
<th>Being purchased (including rent/buy)</th>
<th>Rented (includes rent free)</th>
<th>Other (including not stated)</th>
<th>Total occupied private dwellings</th>
<th>Median monthly housing loan repayments</th>
<th>Median rent (weekly)</th>
<th>Median household income</th>
<th>Unoccupied private dwellings</th>
<th>Non-private dwellings</th>
<th>Total dwellings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>$70.00</td>
<td>$583.00</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indigenous people in communities and urban centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community/urban centre</th>
<th>Persons 1991</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Persons 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koonibba</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yalata</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceduna</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Includes people who did not state the number of hours worked.
APPENDIX IV
Poem - "No, He's not Barmy, this is Eyre Peninsula" by Ken Bubner

Have you ever noticed that
as you drove west - about ten k's -
from Port Augusta that
a motorist coming towards you will
wave.

What? I don't know him. Why?
Ah yes, we're on Eyre Peninsula now
and they
do that over there.

Is it just something to break the
boredom
of the stretched, rather anonymous
landscape?
Phew, another eighty-nine kilometres
before
Kyancutta!

Is it just something to keep you awake
and vaguely occupied after gambling on
number
plates and
I-spy have been exhausted?

No, it's more than that. That
wave goes back nearly
two hundred years now
to the time when you KNEW the bloke
driving towards you.
He was a neighbour or at least someone
local. He had to be, because
you were never too far from home.

Back in horsedrawn days
you stopped roadside for a yarn, but as
internal combustion sped the trip
a wave had to do or
nothing would get done.

And that wave said you were mates,
Battlers together in a tough land
and the wave said
"Hope everything's alright, Bert, and if
it's not
I'll be there to give you a hand -
to get off the last few acres
before that thunderstorm hits,
cart some water for your sheep
until your wool money comes through
and you can bung a new motor in your
truck,
leave everything quick to help fight the
grassfire
on your place
or look after the kids while Mary's
having the new baby -
like you've always done for me."

In these days when number one comes
first and
Organisations and Governments and
Agencies
handle your problems
this little bit of history hangs on
in a simple wave though you've
no idea who's passing.

And it will continue all the way to
Penong
until you see the puzzled look
on the face of the bloke you waved to,
"I don't know 'im!"

Then you put your hand away,
moving on to a more modern journey
passing just motorcars.

"Anyone wanna play Animal,
Vegetable,
Mineral
til we get to Nundroo?"
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Dumont, Louis


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Emmett, Isabel


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Fardon, Richard

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Fischer, Claude S.

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Gow, Peter

Gray, Ian

Green, Nicholas

Greider, Thomas and Lorraine Garkovich

Goldhamer, Herbert

Hacking, Ian

Harris, Grace Gredys

Helliwell, Christine

Herzfeld, Michael


Hirsch, Eric
Hirst, J. B.

Howard, Alan

Hsu, Francis L.K.


Ingold, Tim

Jackson, Michael

Jackson, Peter

Johnson, Frank

Kapferer, Judith L.

Kohut, Heinz

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