

Final Report

Indigenous Mobility in Rural and Remote Australia

authored by

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1.0 INTRODUCTION: BETWEEN PLACES

1.1 Introduction

Indigenous people in remote and rural Australia are frequently between places. Movement was and still is the key to the maintenance of both relationships to places and to kin in Aboriginal Australia; this is despite a period of 100 years or more when the government employed strategies to disrupt traditional Aboriginal social and geographic patterns. These movements are motivated by a distinct range of socio-cultural, economical and political factors and aspirations. There are various spatial and temporal scales of mobility that are experienced by Aboriginal people. Aboriginal mobility can be described as an epiphenomenon that reflects the setting within which people live and their culturally specific situation (Young & Doohan 1989:32-38). There is what might be described as a *culture of mobility* amongst the Aboriginal population of Australia.

Despite the importance of Indigenous mobility there remain significant gaps in the literature. Recent attempts by demographers to analyse Indigenous mobility have been curtailed by a reliance on ABS census data, which is of questionable quality for remote Indigenous Australia. There is a need for further information concerning Indigenous mobility in order to shape programs, services and policies. Therefore the aim of this project is to quantify and contextualize Indigenous mobility, that is, to develop a better understanding of Indigenous perspectives, experiences of and aspirations for mobility.

Most studies of Indigenous mobility by demographers equate mobility with change in a person's usual place of residence. Although the current study investigates this aspect of mobility it also attempts to gain a broader understanding of Aboriginal mobility - one that reflects Aboriginal experiences. Thus the project considers various spatial (intra-settlement, intra-regional, inter-regional) and temporal (short-term, long-term) scales of mobility that involve a range of settlement types. The study determines the extent of such movements and any causal factors that underlie them. The goal was to focus on the smaller intervals of time and space that have not been empirically addressed in the literature to date. Whereas the larger scales of mobility are analysable to a reasonable degree using the statistical methodologies already in the literature and using the gross census units of S.D.s and ATSI regions, the smaller-scale regional characteristics that are the main focus of this study required new methodological approaches.

Initially the project was guided by the following set of research questions:-

- Is there an ongoing trend for Indigenous people to migrate from remote regions to regional centres and capitals?
- How much circular movement takes place between settlements within and across regions?
- Are such mobility regions identifiable?
- Why do Indigenous people move from discrete remote or rural settlements?
- To what extent do people return to home communities due to obstacles to their goals in regional cities and capitals, and if so what are the more significant impediments (eg housing problems, employment chances, social problems, cost of living, trouble with police)?

- To what extent is Indigenous service need (including housing) being shaped by residential mobility?
- Does mobility impact on household profiles, stability, tenancy and household behaviours?

A review of existing literature was conducted and was reported in the positioning paper. A summary of the elements of the literature review follows. In Chapter 2 the methods employed in this project are outlined including the selection of case studies. Chapter 3 introduces the reader to the case studies and the region within which they are located. Chapters 4-7 report on case study findings. Chapter 9 synthesizes findings on the mobility pattern in the region as a whole. In Chapter 8 the policy and service implications of the findings are discussed.

1.2 Observations of Indigenous mobility in Australia: the literature

The literature on Indigenous mobility can be grouped into two broad categories. Firstly there is a body of literature dominated by the discipline of anthropology that is concerned with qualitative analysis or what might be described as the experience and role of Indigenous mobility or the cultural context of mobility. This body of literature generally sources information using ethnographic techniques. Young and Doohan's (1989) study *Mobility for Survival: A Process Analysis of Aboriginal Population Movement in Central Australia*, provides a benchmark for qualitative studies of Indigenous mobility. (Taylor & Bell 1996:395.)

The second category of literature is concerned primarily with migration demographics, this body of literature uses Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data as a primary source for analysis and it seeks to compare Indigenous and non-Indigenous mobility patterns. Taylor and Bell's work (1996; 1999; 2004) has recently dominated this second category of literature. Their work has three characteristics; (1) it is concerned with comparisons of Indigenous and non-Indigenous mobility patterns, (2) it is concerned with residential migration gauged by change of address in the last five years and within the last year, and visitation on the census night, as they rely on census data they are not able to analyse mobility in all of its forms, (3) their work looks for broad patterns of mobility or macro-scale analyses that are gauged by statistical and mapping techniques. Taylor and Bell argue that it is necessary to compare Indigenous and non-Indigenous mobility patterns in order to demonstrate distinctive Indigenous social and economic behaviour(s) that require specific or targeted policy responses (Taylor & Bell 1996:392-395).

Gaps remain within both areas of the literature, or both approaches to the study of Indigenous mobility. Since Young and Doohan's (1989) fieldwork and subsequent publication, there has been very little qualitative work that has directly addressed the question of mobility within Aboriginal regions. Surprisingly there does not appear to have been any attempts to extend Young and Doohan's work either by conducting similar types of field work in the same communities/ region, or, and perhaps more relevant to this project, by conducting a similar investigation in another mobility region.

Gaps also remain within the second body of literature with regards to the quantitative approach. An ongoing concern to the demographers is the lack of "...a sense of the overall spatial structure of Indigenous mobility behaviour...." (Taylor & Bell 2004b:1; see also Taylor & Bell 1996:394-395). Although work by Taylor and Bell (1996,1999) has contributed to the understanding of Indigenous mobility on a macro-scale, it has

simultaneously highlighted the limits of such knowledge. Given the question of accuracy that looms over the ABS data that underlies the work of the demographers it seems that this “sense of the overall spatial structure of Indigenous mobility behaviour” will not emerge from macro-scale statistical analysis alone. However, such a picture may be obtained from a combination of such analysis with a series of regionally based small-scale studies.¹

Three key aspects of Aboriginal mobility gleaned from the literature shaped this study. Firstly there is a need to understand Aboriginal mobility within the context of traditional patterns of movement and Aboriginal socio-territoriality. Although Aboriginal people moved to effectively exploit seasonal foods and resources, to participate in ceremonial activities and social exchanges, the territorial range of groups of Aboriginal people were in most areas restricted by various forms of territorial rules. They were also restricted by the need to maintain religious obligations in one’s estate (either land or sea estates) and those of one’s grandparents and spouse(s). People were conscious of their place within their own local territory, intimate with its geography, and spiritually attached to its sacred sites and sacred histories. Nevertheless this territorial range varied in different parts of the continent, from the localised movements of resource-rich wetlands to extensive journeys in the hot dry inland areas. Movement is a key to the Indigenous maintenance of both social relationships and relationships to places. However, movement can also be destructive and in many parts of Aboriginal Australia non-Indigenous authorities used movement as a tool to control, disrupt and destroy Aboriginal societies and their relationships to place. Thus mobility must be analysed within a context of attachment to place and a history of displacement. (Memmott et al 2004:14; Peterson 2004:224.)

Secondly, it is necessary to realise that there exist contemporary Aboriginal cultural regions or mobility regions. Most of the Aboriginal population particularly in rural and remote areas can be categorized into contemporary regional groupings, in many cases consisting of a number of discrete settlements separated by areas with very small or negligible Aboriginal populations. A number of Aboriginal settlements in a sizeable region may be analysable as a type of contemporary cultural unit. Within such regions there is evident a pattern of regional travel generated by kinship networks. The distribution of an individual’s kin generates for an individual a ‘beat’ – a set of places which he or she can visit and expect to obtain hospitality and economic support if necessary, and in which a person will most likely find their spouse (Beckett 1965; Memmott 1991). Young (1990) introduced the terminology of ‘mobility regions’ for the purpose of mapping and defining these contemporary cultural regions.

A boundary to a contemporary cultural region may have a number of co-incident properties where a mixture of social, economic, travel, and geographical boundaries tend to coincide, eg a lack of interaction between neighbouring Indigenous groups due to cultural dissimilarities; and a lack of accessible economic opportunities. Further phenomena that tend to reinforce the sense of region are:- (a) the presence of a highly resourced regional centre catalysing the regular visitation of Aboriginal people; (b) the establishment of a set of social and residential spaces in such a regional centre, containing individuals with kinship links back to the smaller towns or settlements; and (c) similarities or continuities in the socio-economic environments of

¹ Early work by Taylor & Bell (eg 1996:395) seems to downplay small-scale approaches in favour of macro-scale analysis. At the same time they have described some of the difficulties in achieving reliable macro-scale analysis (Martin & Taylor 1996, Martin et al 2002).

the towns in the region, so that there exists preferred dietary items, a capacity to arrange social benefit payments or credit, and freedom to maintain particular behavioural styles (e.g. camping, fighting styles, socialising, mourning). In some cases, cultural-geographic regions may overlap with one another forming more continuous networks or chains of interacting population centres, particularly on the east coast of Australia (Memmott 1991). The authors' current research on residential mobility in parts of Aboriginal Australia thus involves conceptualizing 'the community' as a regional network of kin and settlement centres, and with individuals constantly in mobility.

Lastly the literature indicates that the great driving force of Indigenous mobility in many parts of Australia is kinship. Aboriginal kinship is defined by blood ties, marriage, and through a classificatory system of relationships which extends the range of kin to many others in the wider society. Much mobility can be defined as a social process geared simultaneously towards the enjoyment of social interaction, the maintenance of social relationships and the maintenance of social identity. Thus when people visit family and friends they are not merely taking part in an enjoyable social occasion, but they are also reinforcing reciprocal ties and obligations, all of which are essential parts of their social fabric (Young & Doohan 1989:130).

While kinship networks are dependant on mobility for their maintenance, these networks simultaneously facilitate Indigenous mobility in remote Australia. Movements are made possible by the customs of sharing and reciprocity enjoyed in kin networks. The anthropologist Annette Hamilton has reflected on how Aboriginal people in Central Australia will haphazardly, "at no notice, join a vehicle travelling hundreds of kilometres away, taking with them no money and few provisions, and will have no idea of when or how they will return..." Such travel is made possible by security in the knowledge that the vehicle is in the charge of a relative (or close associate), and secondly, that relatives can be found at the end-destination and intermediate stops along the way who would "accept unannounced visits" and provide support for visiting kin. (Hamilton 1987:49.)

2.0 MOBILITY: METHODS

2.1 Cultural regions and a case study approach to a national analysis

In order to more accurately analyse Indigenous population mobility it was necessary to focus on a select number of case study locations rather than attempt to consider all Indigenous Locations within Australia. Our self-imposed requirements for case study locations were a minimum population of 50 residents (enumerated in the census) and the locations had to be considered remote. Although 50 persons is an arbitrary number it is attractive for two reasons. Firstly, using smaller populations than this threshold is likely to produce unstable rates due to the small numbers involved, resulting in doubts over the subsequent results. Secondly, a total population of 50 is desirable as it is still small enough to include the remote settlements that form an integral part of migration focusing and connectivity. Initially we planned to study and compare mobility patterns from each of three case study regions that contained Indigenous locations which demonstrated reasonably high mobility for all three census measures, ie temporary, semi-permanent and permanent. These regions were Mount Isa and its surrounding locations, West Cape York and Greater Darwin. At the start of the project nothing was known regarding the number of people leaving these locations nor the origins of people choosing these areas as their destinations.

Upon further consideration it was decided that within the budget and time constraints of the project it would be more productive to focus on one of these regions and to select two settlements within the region and the regional service centre for field analysis. Mt Isa and its surrounds (including the eastern Northern Territory) was selected because it acts as a service centre for communities within Queensland and the Northern Territory. It also acts as a service centre for two Aboriginal cultural regions that exist within Queensland these being 'The Gulf' (Gulf of Carpentaria) and 'the Georgina' (Georgina River). Within this region the two settlements selected were Dajarra (Queensland) and Alpurrurulam (Northern Territory). Both settlements have high indigenous populations by proportion. Whereas Alpurrurulam is an Aboriginal community established on a land excision, Dajarra is a small remote town with a predominantly Aboriginal population. While Mt Isa is a regional service centre for both communities, the Georgina River is something of a heartland for both. Two of the authors, Memmott and Long had well established relationships with communities across the selected region and had worked with members of both the Dajarra and Alpurrurulam communities. Memmott worked with senior Alyawarr from Alpurrurulam in land claims during the 1980s and Long conducted field research with the Dajarra community for his recently completed PhD. The project team gained support for the project from the key Aboriginal organisations in both settlements; the Jimberella Cooperative (Dajarra) and the Alpurrurulam Community Government Council. Subsequent to fieldwork in Dajarra and Alpurrurulam it became clear that Townsville acted as something of a secondary service centre and it stood out as a place outside of the Georgina Region that was either visited by participants or they had relatives living there. Consequently a short field trip to Townsville was also conducted.

2.2 Fieldwork

The aim of the field survey was to gain both qualitative and quantitative data on Indigenous mobility. Four categories of people were targeted for survey based interviews within each community (1) household heads, (2) young men, (3) young women and (4) service providers. Young men and young women were targeted in response to Taylor and Bell's (1996:399;1999:9,11) analysis of the 1991 and 1996 census which illustrated a peak in the propensity to move in the 20 to 34 year old age range. Their work also illustrated a difference in male and female mobility. They found that female mobility rates tended to be higher than males until the age of 30 years, beyond which male mobility rates exceeded those of females. Service providers were targeted to gain additional data on movement patterns and the relationship between mobility and service provision.

The survey questions for the household heads, elicited the following information. (1) The participant's personal details including their home country or language group. (2) The participant's home community and the place(s) where they were raised as a child. (3) The location of the participant's closest relatives and visitation involving the participant and those relatives. (4) Details of the participant's household, including the number of residents and details of visitation over the last year. (5) The participant's residential location over the last three years. (6) The participant's travel patterns over the last year, these were elicited (and tested) using a list of places (mostly settlements) from the region and outside of the region, participants were asked why and how often they visited such places and who they stayed with. They were also asked if there were any other places not listed that they had visited. (7) Finally a list of services was used to elicit further information regarding reasons for travelling within the last year and the places visited. A similar set of questions was used with young men and women excluding (3) and (4).

Following the collection of information from Dajarra and Alpururulam we visited relatives of participants who were living in the regional centre of Mt Isa and the east coast centre of Townsville. The idea was to gain information regarding community residents travelling to regional centres and then the perspectives of Aboriginal people in regional centres who receive visitors from outlying communities. By doing this we achieved a qualitative understanding of flows and shifts between the two remote settlements and urban centres.

A two-day pilot study was first conducted in Dajarra, which allowed the researchers to refine and revise interview questions. The draft Field Survey for piloting is contained in Appendix 1. Notes by the fieldworkers on its effectiveness are contained in Appendix 2. The revised field survey for the main studies in Dajarra and Alpururulam is contained in Appendix 3, and the Mt Isa & Townsville survey is contained in Appendix 4.

Three periods of fieldwork were conducted by Stephen Long and Linda Thomson. The first field trip was conducted in Dajarra from 27th October through to 3rd November 2004. The Dajarra study consisted of two parts – the pilot study in which the survey was trialled and the main study. A second field trip was conducted between 29th March and 6th of April 2005. During this field trip Thomson primarily worked in Alpururulam while Long conducted field studies in Alpururulam, Urandangi, Dajarra and Mt Isa. A third field trip was conducted by Long in July 2005 to Mt Isa and Townsville.

The field work relied heavily on the existing relationships that Long and Memmott held with members of the Alpururulam and Dajarra communities. Field assistants

from the communities were engaged to assist with the interview process. As with any survey the ability to gain voluntary participation relied on communicating the potential benefits of the survey to the participants, which was not always the easiest of tasks. Participants were informed that we wanted to learn about their travels so as to inform government agencies what services needed ongoing support, more support or new support. For example at Alpururulam the researchers used the poor condition of a road that provides a critical link to services as an example of the type of thing government might respond to as a result of this work.

At Dajarra 27 householders were interviewed; they occupied 23 of a total of 42 Aboriginal houses (four partners were interviewed). Interviews were conducted with seven men aged between 16 and 46 and six women aged between 15 and 30. Information was compiled on the following services at Dajarra: Jimberella, housing, the health clinic, primary school, Community Development Employment Program (CDEP), aged care, women's centre, police, Centrelink, and the community store. The majority of interviews took place at individuals' homes, with the exception of the service provider interviews, which took place at their respective offices.

The Alpururulam interviews involved 20 householders out of a total of 75 Aboriginal households (including one self-constructed camp); focus interviews were conducted with six women and six men. Information was compiled on the following services at Alpururulam: the community council, housing, the health clinic, primary school, CDEP, aged care, women's centre, police, Centrelink, and the community store. The Alpururulam interviews took place at people's homes but the social spaces in front of the community store were also used as a venue to conduct some interviews. Householder surveys took approximately one hour, sometimes longer, depending on the amount of information the interviewee provided. The recording of genealogies and the indepth Mobility Survey were the most time-consuming parts of the interviews.

In Mt Isa ten householders were interviewed who were either identified by people in Dajarra or Alpururulam as relatives whom they visited in Mt Isa, or as people known by the researchers to be associated with one of these communities. Finding participants for the Mt Isa and Townsville surveys was more time consuming and more difficult than it was for the surveys conducted in Dajarra and Alpururulam for the following reasons: (1) there was no overarching community organisation that could promote the work; (2) in small communities news of the project spread by word of mouth, but this was not the case in Mt Isa; (3) whereas in the communities we were looking for anyone who would participate, in Mt Isa and Townsville we were targeting specific people and they were not always easy to locate; and (4) Aboriginal households are dispersed across the urban environment (a greater problem in Townsville).

3.0 NORTH-WEST QUEENSLAND & EASTERN NORTHERN TERRITORY

3.1 The Aboriginal geography of North-west Queensland and Central-eastern Northern Territory

This study examines the mobility experiences of the Dajarra Aboriginal community and the Alpururulam Aboriginal community both of which lie within the Georgina River region (see Figure 2). This is an extensive internal drainage system that covers a large part of central-eastern Northern Territory and north-western Queensland. Most Aboriginal people in Dajarra and Alpururulam strongly identify with the Georgina River. Whereas the Alpururulam community was relatively close (approximately nine km) to a big Georgina Waterhole called *Ilperrelhelame*, Dajarra lay between 125 and 150 kilometres by road from regularly visited waterholes on the Georgina. The Georgina waterholes provide the only reliable surface water in the region and are of economic and spiritual significance to the Aboriginal groups identified with this river. Outside of the stream corridors a unique feature of the region is the extensive treeless black soil plains that form part of the Barkly Tableland. These black soil plains quickly become boggy when wet and can impede travel for several months. When the Georgina is fully in flood the only reliable crossing is the bridge on the Barkly Highway at Camooweal. Prior to the completion of this bridge in 2002 a big flood on the Georgina would cut all of the major roads between Queensland and the Northern Territory. The region is semi-arid with high temperatures, low rainfall and high evaporation rates. Most rainfall occurs between the months of December and March. (Long 2005:74-78.)

Most of the Aboriginal residents of Alpururulam identify as Alyawarr. The Lake Nash Alyawarra are identified as the bosses for dreamings and estates close to the Alpururulam community. However the ancestors of these people originated from Alyawarr country, desert country, further to the west of Alpururulam/Lake Nash. The Alyawarr migrated to the Georgina River and cattle stations in the early 1900s and in time succeeded to the country around Lake Nash. In contrast to Alpururulam there was greater diversity in the language group identification of the Dajarra community.²

² For a detailed description of the language group identities of Dajarra people see Long's PhD thesis (2005:68-69).

Table 1: Populations of North-west Queensland and Eastern Northern Territory, 1996.

Place	Indigenous Population	Total Population	Indig. Pop. Proportion	Settlement Type
Dajarra	171	203	84%	Town
Boulia	144	550	26%	Town
Urandangi & Marmanya	20	25	80%	Town & outstation
Mt Isa	2 853	21 860	13%	Regional city
Camooweal	119	256	46%	Town
Alpururulam (Lake Nash)	393	424	93%	Discrete Settlement
Cloncurry	597	2450	24%	Town
Burketown	89	216	41%	Town
Doomadgee	651	753	86%	Discrete Settlement
Normanton	714	1327	54%	Town
Mornington and Uninc. Islands	945	1111	85%	Discrete Settlement & Outstation

(Table by Long (2005:69) based on (ABS 1997:35,63))

3.2 Contact history and Aboriginal movements in the Queensland – Northern Territory border region

A first wave of European occupation of the Georgina River commenced in the 1860s but only lasted until 1869. A second wave of European settlement on the Georgina basin began in the mid-1870s (Memmott et al 1988:32,34). The town of Boulia was established in 1878 and it serviced the influx of pastoralists taking up holdings on the Georgina basin (Robinson 1976:17; Roth 1897; Memmott 1985:2). By the mid-1880s, the old and new Georgina stations were all stocked including Lake Nash (Black 1932:17). In the early contact history of the region a lively system of Aboriginal travel and trade was observed and documented. Aboriginal people from throughout the region travelled on foot via a network of routes to places where large camps formed for trade and ceremonial purposes. On the Georgina these camps were located on the big waterholes. The Georgina itself formed part of a customary trunk north-south travel and trade route between Cape York and the Gulf of Carpentaria and South Australia. The routes followed by Aboriginal people were subsequently followed by frontier pastoralists, drovers, and overlanders. Drovers walked cattle down the Georgina and then to Maree via the Birdsville track from where they were taken on to Adelaide. In the mid-1880s Camooweal grew as a town adjacent to the perennial Lake Frances on the Georgina River (Miller 1984:27). Stock roads soon linked Camooweal to Cloncurry, Urandangi, Boulia, Burketown, Borroloola, and Tennant Creek. The frontier pastoralists followed Aboriginal travel routes and the towns and stations were established on the perennial waterholes that were the locations of Aboriginal settlements. (Roth 1897; McCarthy 1939; Memmott 1985; Long 2005.)

Violent displacements from the Georgina waterholes coupled with disease and severe drought in the late 1800s and early 1900s contributed to migrations of Aboriginal people to the fledgling settlements of Urandangi and Camooweal and to the cattle stations where government supplied relief could be obtained. In this same period the movements of Aboriginal people came under the control of the police who were the 'local protectors' under the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*. Under the Act Aboriginal people worked on the Queensland stations of the Georgina River, such as Barkly Downs, Headingly, Stanbroke,

Ardmore, Carandotta, and Roxborough. The regulations of the Queensland Act seemed to be far more rigorous than its Northern Territory counterpart. At the turn of the century, it was far easier for Territory Aborigines to come into Queensland than for those settled in Queensland to get back to the Northern Territory. A key outcome for those Aboriginal people under the Act in Queensland, irrespective of whether they were originally from Queensland or the Territory, was that they were prevented from travelling back into the Territory by the Queensland Police who were the Local Protectors. Under the Act, there were some forced movements of Aboriginal people from North-west Queensland to east coast reserves such as Palm Island, Cherbourg and Woorabinda.

3.3 Brief demographic history of Dajarra

Dajarra is situated 150km by road south of Mt Isa and about the same distance east of Urandangi and the Georgina River. Dajarra was founded circa 1917 as a railway town and was a large droving and rail-trucking centre for live beef cattle throughout the middle part of the 20th century. A substantial Aboriginal population from the Georgina River basin was sustained by employment on the surrounding pastoral properties and railway line maintenance. A series of migrations from Aboriginal bush camps, cattle station camps and settlements to Dajarra occurred in the 1900s with the most significant movements from the Georgina River occurring in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These migrations were triggered by a number of factors including (1) movements enforced by the police under various Acts, (2) forced movements off cattle stations as a result of a decline in the labour required by the pastoral industry and the introduction of equal wages for Aboriginal stockmen, and (3) enforced school attendance by government welfare agencies. The town's economic boom declined after the 1960s with the introduction of road truck transportation for cattle, and then further again in the mid-1980s with the closing down of the railway station. (See Memmott 1996, Long in Memmott et al 1997, Long 2005.)

Long made the following observation of the Dajarra population:

A unique characteristic of Dajarra is the high proportion of the Indigenous population compared to the non-Indigenous population. In 1991 Indigenous people comprised 72% of the Dajarra population (ABS 1991) and 84% in 1996 (ABS 1996). In Queensland, a similar proportion of Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal residents is only to be found amongst discrete, self-governed Indigenous settlements that are on community title land. In this region [see Table 2] Dajarra has a similar Indigenous population by proportion as Mornington Island, Doomadgee, Marmanya and Alpururulam (Lake Nash, N.T.). But unlike these places, Dajarra is a town, the only town in Queensland in fact, with such a dominant Aboriginal population. (Long 2005:67.)

Table 2: Population Change in Dajarra in North-west Queensland, 1976 to 2001

	1976	1986	1991	1996	2001
Non-Indigenous	50	30	30	30	21
Indigenous	250	146	154	171	163
Not stated	No data	4	6	3	6
Total:	300	180	190	204	190
Sources: Mt Isa Welfare Council (1976), ABS Census data					

Until the late 1960s most Aboriginal people occupied self-built camps on the edge of Dajarra. In the late 1960s the first Aboriginal housing was built by the DAIA and a succession of building programs have occurred since that time. In 2005 the Dajarra community occupied 42 houses, 23 were owned by the Jimberella Cooperative, 17 were owned by Queensland Department of Housing and two were privately owned.

When the Queensland Aboriginal Acts were relaxed in the early 1970s permitting freedom of movement by Indigenous people, there occurred some out-migration of a portion of the Aboriginal population of Dajarra to the regional centre of Mt Isa. However since the early 1980s the Aboriginal population, because of customary and historical connections to the area has stabilized and at times gradually increased.³ The Aboriginal population of Dajarra swells during the December to March period when people return for Christmas, school holidays and station breaks, it also swells during the annual rodeo and when funerals occur. Visitors (related kin) come from Mt Isa, Lake Nash, Boulia and the east coast. There is also significant residential mobility within the town, a common characteristic of Aboriginal settlements. It is noteworthy that when the Jimberella housing cooperative was established in 1974 its first application to the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) was for a truck with which to “transport food stuffs from Mt Isa for the predominantly Aboriginal population in the town who were said to be “generally enraged by the exorbitant prices charged at the local store operated by a European”. (Memcott 1974; Memcott et al 1997:24-39.)

The Dajarra Aboriginal community through its Jimberella Cooperative, operates the town’s general store (with petrol pump) and a large community hall and associated offices. Non-Indigenous residents operate a hotel and a roadhouse. Government funding and infrastructure support is maintained for a school, police station and health clinic. Numbers of Dajarra men and women participate in the recently introduced Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) scheme and are involved in a range of work that includes construction, maintenance and stockwork. Aboriginal residents are also employed at the school and clinic as well as with the Cloncurry Shire Council to carry out essential services in Dajarra (rubbish collection, town water supply).

3.4 Brief demographic history of Alpurrurulam

The Alpurrurulam community is situated on a land excision within Lake Nash Station. The community is approximately nine kilometres from the Lake Nash homestead and

³ The percentage of non-Indigenous population in Dajarra has been relatively constant from 1976 to 1991 at about 17% and is similar to that found in the larger discrete (or Deed-of-Grant-in-Trust) settlements in Queensland. It seems feasible that in the future, the Indigenous populations and agencies of places such as Dajarra, could carry out more and more of the towns’ infrastructure support functions, rather than depending on non-Indigenous local government authorities. (Memcott & Moran 2001.)

it is approximately 225km to Mt Isa via the May Downs Road, and 382km via the 'Austral Rd' (a wet weather alternative to the May Downs Rd). It is 95 km from Alpururulam to Urandangi and from there a further 147km to Dajarra.

Lake Nash pastoral station was established in 1882 (Black 1932:17). Little is known about the Aboriginal history associated with the early years of this station (up to 1915). However, in keeping with the contact pattern established elsewhere in the region, it is assumed local Aboriginal people (Bularnu, Indjiladji, Wakaya) were used as stock labour in return for clothes, rations and tobacco. It is also assumed that these people were simultaneously subjected to the fatal epidemics that struck Aboriginal people on the Georgina during this period (Memcott 1985).

In the period c1915-1925 a wave of violence was perpetuated to the west in the central Northern Territory by newly arriving pastoralists in the Davenport and Murchison Ranges catalysing emigrations of traditional owner families eastwards (Alyawarr and western Wakaya). Some reached Lake Nash "chasing rations long good boss country", where they joined local Bularnu and eastern Wakaya in the stock camp. There was one notable migration of 150 people into Lake Nash during 1923.

The Aboriginal station camp population fluctuated in the 1930s as some of these people returned to their homelands. In 1930 the Aboriginal population was 106 and in 1933 it was 45. However in the late 1930s another migration of Alyawarr resulted in a rise in the population. In 1942 there was a report of population increases in November until the break of the wet season in the desert when people moved back to the west. Lake Nash lay on the Barkly Stock Route linking the west of the Territory (Wave Hill, Victoria River Downs) to the Dajarra railhead and there was thus much passing of stock traffic including Aboriginal drovers from diverse places. The Sandover Stock Route was also established in 1949 linking Lake Nash to the south-west. In 1949 the Lake Nash Aboriginal population was 78 of whom 77 were Alyawarr. (Memcott et al 1988:Ch.4.)

In early 1979 the Lake Nash Station terminated the labour of their Aboriginal stockmen and terminated access by these men and their families, who occupied camps close to the homestead, to all station services including the store. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs was requested by the Station owners to remove the Aboriginal population from the pastoral lease. A protracted legal and political dispute transpired for eight years during which time a minority of the Lake Nash Alyawarr migrated to Urandangi. An excision freehold lease was granted within the Lake Nash pastoral lease for the Aboriginal community in June 1988. The community of Alpururulam was founded and has grown consistently since then. (Lyon & Parsons 1989.)

In early 2005 there were 81 houses in Alpururulam owned by the Community Council (including seven unoccupied, because they were under renovation, or awaiting renovation); this also included a single men's quarters. There was also one self-constructed camp (occupied by two men who were recognised elders or 'bosses'). Estimates obtained from the Alpururulam community regarding the size of its population varied, ranging between 393 (1996 Census), 470 (information from a survey by the housing officer), and 738 (information from the Council CEO). However it is possible that these last two estimates include numerous visitors, since the 2001 census finding on the population of Alpururulam was 355 persons (of whom 334 were Indigenous). The discrepancy between these population figures highlights the difficulties associated with studying Indigenous populations and their movements in remote Australia. Table 3 sets out the ABS data on the changing

population from 1981 to 2001, but the reader should note that the definition of the Collector District changed during this period due to the granting of the excision lease and the establishment of Alpururulam.

Table 3: Population Change at Lake Nash/Alpururulam in the Northern Territory, 1981 to 2001

	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
Non-Indigenous	90	28	52	31	21
Indigenous	49	208	325	393	334
Not stated	6	0	0	0	0
Total:	145	236	377	424	355

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997:35, 63, 2001A, 2005.

Note: Figures for 1981, 1986 and 1991 are based on CD 7031205, whereas figures for 1996 and 2001 are based on the new CD 7031207 which was formed after the Alpururulam excision.

3.5 Brief history of Mt Isa

Silver-lead was discovered at Mt Isa in 1923, and in 1924 the mine was established and the town surveyed. The first substantial buildings were imported from other mining towns, which had foundered, and thus the Courthouse, the Hospital, Boyd's Argent Hotel, a tin church and a Bio, or open-air theatre, were established (Blainey 1970:157). Three years later the population was 3000. The mill and smelter were completed in 1931, but the mine struggled economically and did not boom until the late 1940s. By 1955, Mount Isa Mines was the largest mining company in Australia. It is known from oral history that a small Aboriginal population became established in Mt Isa from its outset, including members of the local traditional owners, the Kalkadoon tribe. They provided services to the mining, exploration and pastoral industries.

The intense growth led to Mt Isa becoming the regional centre for North-west Queensland, for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike. It was a holiday or recreation destination for most Aboriginal people in the region and an employment centre for some. In the early 1970s it provided a range of unique facilities for the surrounding region, including several bars and cafes, a 'late night spot', a supermarket, and the popular annual rodeo, which was the largest in Australia. Most Aboriginal visitors from the region's communities had some sort of kinship tie to at least one or more Aboriginal persons in Mt Isa with whom they could stay.

In the early 1970s the Mt Isa Town Camp on the southern edge of the city contained about 100 people and came to be known as Yallambee. This Camp was distinctive in that it contained designated places for the many visiting campers from the respective communities of the region.⁴ Thus there was a place for 'the Boulia mob', 'the Dajarra mob', 'the Camooweal mob', 'the Burketown/Doomadgee mob', 'the Mornington Island mob' etc. The Yallambee camp thus functioned as a regional settlement with residents from numerous language and community groups.

Housing began to be provided for Aborigines in Mt Isa from 1969 as part of a State/Commonwealth housing agreement. This was administered by the State

⁴ The division of a settlement into spatial zones in this manner, each occupied by an aggregate of domiciliary groups, possessing a common and distinct social and geographic identity is termed a sociospatial structure (Memmott 1983; 1990).

Department of Aboriginal Islander Affairs (DAIA) as an instrument of their assimilation policy, houses were purchased to create a 'scatterization' effect, aimed at juxtaposing whites and blacks and breaking down Aboriginal enclaves (and hence Aboriginal identity). Despite this program, the Town Camp remained a popular residential centre. Most of the town camp humpies were removed after Mt Isa Mines donated a number of second-hand fibro-clad bungalows in c1973-74.

Relaxation of the Act after 1970 brought more widespread freedom of movement of people within the North-west Queensland region. Combined with the advent of welfare payments, pensions and unemployment benefits Aboriginal people participated more centrally in the mainstream economy. Aboriginal families purchased second hand cars for local travel and hunting. The various travel restrictions in North-west Queensland partly broke down during the 1980s, with increase cash acquisition and vehicle ownership amongst Aboriginal people, as well as improved roads and a relaxation and disappearance of the provisions of the Act. Despite these changes, a regional pattern of Aboriginal lifestyle in North-west Queensland still persists. (Memmott 1996:32.)

Population estimates of the Aboriginal population of Mt Isa became available from the 1976 Census (1544 persons). Each successive consensus has indicated steady population growth of between about 150 and 800 individuals with the latter maximum increase occurring between the 1981 and 1986 census. In 2001 the population was recorded as 3265 persons. (See Table 4.)

	1976	1986	1991	1996	2001
Non-Indigenous	22,674	21,431	22,021	19,714	18,371
Indigenous	1,544	2,496	2,714	3,025	3,265
Not stated	2,278	-	-	-	-
Total:	26,496	23,927	24,735	22,739	21,636

Sources: ABS 1976, 1981, 1996, 2001B.

4.0 DAJARRA ANALYSIS

This Chapter reports on the findings of the survey conducted in Dajarra. The Chapter commences with an overview of the services available in Dajarra and then describes the findings of interviews conducted with householders and small groups of men and women.

4.1 Available Services in Dajarra

Jimberella Cooperative Society

The Jimberella Cooperative was established in 1974 and it is the main community-based Aboriginal organization in Dajarra. Initially it was formed as a housing co-operative. Whilst the primary aim of Jimberella remains to provide appropriate, affordable housing to the Aboriginal community, its role has expanded over the years to providing a broad range of assistance and services to the Aboriginal community. Jimberella purchased the Dajarra store in about 1980 and it has been successfully run by the co-operative since that time. As a co-operative enterprise, the store provides employment opportunities for Aboriginal people, information on Aboriginal issues through newsletters and brochures from various agencies which service Aboriginal communities, and a location or contact point between the Aboriginal community, the Board members and the wider community. The Jimberella Hall was opened by the Elders of the Dajarra community in November 1994. The hall is used for community meetings, meetings with outside organizations, and community activities. (Memmott et al 1997:86-92.)

At the time of the survey, Jimberella also operated a small camping area and caravan park with powered sites and toilet facilities for visitors. This facility was predominantly used by tourists travelling by private vehicle, particularly those with caravans.

Jimberella Store

At the time of the survey, the Jimberella Co-operative operated the Jimberella Store, a general store that stocks fruit and vegetables, packaged foods, frozen foods, clothing, household goods, hardware and fuel. The store ordered in certain items upon request. The store had an ATM and EFTPOS facilities and bill payments could be made there. Many people regularly used the store and some were dependant on the store for all of their grocery purchases. However, others travelled to Mt Isa to do grocery shopping as goods were cheaper and there was more variety in the large supermarkets. People travelled to Mt Isa for shopping by private vehicle and with the Home and Community Care (HACC) bus. Those without access to transport relied on the Jimberella Store or had others make purchases for them in Mt Isa. The Jimberella Store itself obtained goods from Mt Isa and the store employees regularly travelled to Mt Isa to transport supplies and stock back to Dajarra. Store purchased foods were supplemented by bush tucker, particularly fish and kangaroo (see Long 2005). This involved further local and regional travel.

Western Queensland CDEP

At the time of the survey, the head office of the Western Queensland Community Development and Employment Program (CDEP) was located in Dajarra. In 2004, Western Queensland CDEP employed 203 people from the following towns and communities in North-west Queensland: Dajarra, Camooweal, Mt Isa, Urandangi, Boulia, Bedourie, Birdsville, Cloncurry and Julia Creek. Since 2001 Western Queensland CDEP had employed 573 people. CDEP positions embraced youth work, administration, council work, construction, stock work and mustering and municipal services. Two-thirds of the CDEP participants were men. However the CDEP program provided opportunities for women to undertake employment roles that were usually male-dominated such as plant operators and construction workers. In 2004 there were approximately thirty women in CDEP positions. When people sought employment through CDEP they were usually given a position within their 'home area' or 'home community'. There was high participation in the CDEP amongst the Dajarra unemployed. CDEP provided opportunities for training and a pathway to full-time employment for people who may otherwise have had limited employment opportunities. A skills audit was made of potential CDEP participants and ongoing reviews were made in order to match people with suitable employment opportunities and to ensure that the participants were satisfied with those opportunities. Western Queensland CDEP had employed people for periods ranging from a few months to three or four years. The scheme operated with flexibility, which allowed people to change positions if they were not happy with current work, or if they were, to find opportunities to acquire full-time employment from their position.

The Western Queensland CDEP administrators believed the introduction of the scheme in North-west Queensland had influenced people's travel patterns in that people have tended to travel more when they got paid. Thus while CDEP has provided employment opportunities in home towns it had simultaneously provided people with the financial ability to travel away from their home town more frequently. Furthermore CDEP had also provided opportunities for people to travel as part of their employment within North-west Queensland, eastern Northern Territory and to the east coast. The CDEP employees were entitled to twelve days leave for cultural reasons, twelve days leave for bereavement and accrued holiday leave. People had to notify the head office of their need to leave work in order to travel.

Housing and Accommodation

In late 2004 there were four housing options for Aboriginal people living in Dajarra: (1) 23 rentable houses owned by the Jimberella Cooperative (a further four houses were designed, funded and due for construction in 2005); (2) 17 rentable houses owned by the Queensland Department of housing; (3) two private houses; and (4) self-built camps. Other housing in the town included two police residences, a house and two units owned by the education department and the residences of the hotel and the roadhouse. As at October 2004 there was no wait-list on the Department of Housing stock in Dajarra (two houses were available). In comparison there were substantial waiting lists for houses in Mt Isa. Over the previous twelve months, five Department of Housing houses were vacated; one of these households transferred its tenancy to Mt Isa.

For visitors to Dajarra the hotel and roadhouse provided meals and accommodation and Jimberella Cooperative operated a small caravan park and camping area.

However these facilities were usually not used by Aboriginal visitors who preferred to stay with kin.

Education

Dajarra has a Primary School, which is attended by children from Dajarra as well as any temporary visitors. It offers classes from pre-school to grade seven. At the time of the survey the number of students in attendance fluctuated between 30 and 40 as families moved into, or away from, the community on either a short-term or long-term basis. Children who attended the school while visiting Dajarra for a short period (eg a few weeks) were not placed on the school enrolment.

School attendance was usually high. In October 2004 there were 41 students enrolled at the Dajarra Primary School. In 2004 four families (with school age children) moved away from Dajarra but two of these later returned; and five students started schooling in Dajarra as a result of their families moving to, or returning to, the community. In 2004 the staff consisted of a principal, two teachers and two Indigenous teacher aides.

Pupils from other schools from North-west Queensland visit the Dajarra Primary School. For example in 2004 the Urandangi primary school students visited Dajarra to participate in a sports day. Events such as these provided an opportunity for children from small, remote schools to interact. The Dajarra students also travelled to visit other schools and participated in school activities such as inter-school sports. Trips were made to Mt Isa for football (games were being held every week in term two), soccer tournaments, athletics carnivals and softball competitions. Dajarra students have participated in other events in Mt Isa such as eisteddfods. The Dajarra Primary School also took students and parents on occasional 'bush trips' to places in the region. Such trips were part of a 'culture program' run by an Indigenous teacher at the school in which students were taught local stories as well as to have respect and pride in themselves, their culture and their community.

To attend high school, Dajarra teenagers must move to Mt Isa, Townsville or Charters Towers. Such moves, especially to schools in the latter three towns, were difficult (and distressing) for young people as it was often the first time in their lives they were separated from their families and community. Students usually boarded at the high schools, or if in Mt Isa, stayed with relatives and returned to Dajarra during school holidays. The Dajarra school operated a transition program, which helped to prepare year seven students for their first year at high school. This program involved grade seven students visiting high school locations. They first spent two days experiencing the daily activities at Spinifex State College in Mt Isa. They then participate in a ten-day camp at Townsville focused on education and recreation and they spent a day at Columbia College at Charters Towers. The Dajarra school operated a 'School of the Air' program for those high school students who could not leave the community to attend high school as well as for children from neighbouring cattle stations.

Health Services and Aged Care

At the time of the survey, the Dajarra Health Clinic was a small one-bed hospital. In the year 2003-2004, the clinic patient activity statistics were 62 admissions and 5669 out-patients visits. In the two years to October 2004 the clinic was used by 476 'usual Dajarra residents' (including people from nearby stations and visitors with long

medical histories at the clinic) and 860 other patients who were not 'usual residents' (visitors, mine employees, contract workers etc). In the period May-October 2004 the clinic provided 1100 consultations (these included visitors, regular patients, phone consultations and follow-up appointments). (Qld, Dept of Health 2005.)

The clinic handled general practice cases and the staff were on call seven days a week and 24 hours a day. A doctor regularly visited Dajarra though some residents preferred to travel to Mt Isa to see a G.P.. Dajarra residents, visitors, Dajarra service providers, and people from nearby cattle stations attended the visiting G.P.. Regular visits were made to the clinic by specialists in the areas of physiotherapy, dentistry, paediatrics, mental health, pharmacy, dietetics, trachoma service, aged care assessment, podiatry, women's health, obstetrics and gynaecology. A child health nurse visited Dajarra every second week. Some specialist treatment required patients to travel to Mt Isa, Townsville or Brisbane. On some occasions the clinic staff escorted patients to these distant locations, which impacted on staffing levels at the clinic. (Qld, Dept of Health 2005.)

The clinic operated the HACC (Home and Community Care) service for elderly and disabled people, which included home meals, maintenance and domestic care. The HACC service also included a bus service, which took clients to Mt Isa twice a week to attend hospital appointments. This service was used primarily by HACC clients - the aged, pensioners or people with disabilities. Pensioners were taken on Thursdays to Mt Isa to do their shopping or to attend doctors and specialist appointments. Those who did not qualify as HACC patients had to find their own way to Mt Isa to meet hospital appointments. However, those without access to private transport often found it difficult to make appointments in Mt Isa and repeatedly changed appointment times or missed the appointments altogether. In some instances clinic staff escorted people to Mt Isa to attend their appointments but this drew staff away from the day-to-day operations of the clinic.

In emergency cases the Royal Flying Doctor Service flew people out of Dajarra to Mt Isa. Since 2003 this had been possible all year round as the airstrip was upgraded to an all-weather strip. Prior to this, wet weather and the flooding of local creeks would cut the town off from emergency medical treatment.

The Dajarra clinic staff frequently received requests for information from other community clinics regarding details from patient's records such as immunisation histories, past medical histories and medication details. For example in the two weeks prior to the field survey the Dajarra clinic received such requests from health clinics at Alpururulam (Northern Territory) and Tambo (central Queensland). Clinic staff also spent time 'tracking down' people who had left town and were in need of ongoing medical attention. This was a time consuming task and generally involved the members of the Dajarra community, clinic staff and the police.

Royal Flying Doctor Service

Between 30 June 2002 and July 2005 the Royal Flying Doctor Service made 106 clinic visits (average of 35 per year) to Dajarra and 50 evacuations (average of 17 per year or about one every three weeks). This seems relatively low in comparison to other North-west Queensland communities, for example in the same period 219 evacuations were made from Mornington Island (73 per year or 1.4 per week) and 381 from Doomadgee (127 per year or 2.4 per week). However some of the difference between Dajarra and the Gulf Communities may be explained by a greater

reliance on air transport between Doomadgee, Mornington Island and Mt Isa, and by the fact that these Gulf communities have much larger populations.

Centrelink

A Centrelink community-based agent and access point operated in Dajarra at the time of the survey. This service provided information to clients regarding Centrelink and assisted them with their Centrelink business.

Police and Court Services

The Dajarra Police Station was staffed by two non-Indigenous officers and had a watch-house. The police said they rarely had any trouble with residents. The most common offences were public nuisance and drink driving. The Circuit Court visited Dajarra every three months. Dajarra residents were only required to travel to attend court when they were charged with offences committed in another town or community (but in such cases they can choose to transfer their court hearing to Dajarra), when they were charged with a serious offence (attend court in Mt Isa), and when they were witnesses to serious offences (hearings in Mt Isa). In the two years to October 2004 there were only two instances where people were required to attend court in Mt Isa and in both cases the people were witnesses.

The Dajarra police perceived domestic violence incidents to be relatively minor. However, one Aboriginal female participant suggested a women's refuge should be established near the police station. The police also perceived alcohol consumption to be at acceptable levels. There were no drug and alcohol services available in Dajarra and in some instances councillors had travelled from Mt Isa to assist people with alcohol issues.⁵

Cloncurry Shire Council Public Library

At the time of the survey, the public library was a very small demountable unit located in Lethem St, Dajarra. It was open six hours per week (Monday and Friday mornings) and had a modest collection of books, CDs, videos and educational resources. The library offered an internet access service that was not utilised by the local community because of a \$6/hour fee. (Jimberella Cooperative et al 2002:5.)

Sports & Recreation Services

Sports and recreation facilities in Dajarra included a sports ground, a public park with play equipment, and a horse sports/rodeo ground. At the time of the survey, the high cost of public liability insurance limited the number of horse sports activities that could be organised in Dajarra. Some participants raised concerns regarding the lack of recreational activities and facilities available for children in the town. Some suggested the construction of a public swimming pool and funding to take young people on regular bush trips.

⁵ For many years members of the Jimberella Cooperative have aspired to establish a community owned facility on the Georgina River which would serve a range of purposes including as a venue that people could visit to 'get off the grog.' (See Long 2005:159.)

Banking & Postal Services

The Dajarra Road House operated a postal agency and was an agency for the Commonwealth Bank. EFTPOS facilities were available at the store, roadhouse and hotel.

Town Common

For many years Dajarra residents used the Town Common to raise goats for milk, to raise a few head of cattle and to keep small herds of stock horses. The Common was then leased to a neighbouring cattle station. For some time members of the community have argued to regain access to the Common in order to re-activate some of these activities particularly the raising of stock horses which can then be used as contract mustering or horse sports. However over the years the Jimberella Co-Operative has also requested that access to the Common would also facilitate the development of small-scale enterprises such as market gardens.

4.2 The mobility experiences of Dajarra householders and their relatives

Twenty-seven Dajarra householders were interviewed consisting of 18 women and nine men. The participants ranged in age from the late teens to the late 70s.

Country or language group identity of householder interviewees

Amongst the Dajarra householders the most common country/language group identification was with the Georgina River (37% of responses), six Dajarra householders identified as Warluwarra (a Georgina River language group) and four householders expressed identification with the 'Georgina River'. The remaining householders identified with country or language groups that lie within or close to the Georgina River basin; three people identified as Waanyi/Garawa from the southern Gulf of Carpentaria, two people identified as Alyawarr/ East Arrernte, two people as East Arrernte, two people as Kalkadoon, one person identified as Wakaya, one person identified as Pitta Pitta and one person identified with the Urlampe community (likely to be identified as Wangkamana). The identity of 13 participants was initially unclear, however further fieldwork reduced this to five people. The initial failure to learn of the country/language group identity of householders may reflect a problem with the technique of the interviewer, but it may also reflect uncertainty amongst some householders of their country identification. The traditional country of most of the Dajarra household participants lay to the west of Dajarra. Except for a minority of householders who identified with country in the southern Gulf of Carpentaria, all of the household participants were from neighbouring language groups on the Queensland/Northern Territory border region. (See Figure 3a.)

Most of the Dajarra household participants (18 of the 27 participants or 67%) identified as being 'married up'. The partners of the Dajarra householders came from the same range of country/language groups as the householders themselves, four partners were Warluwarra, two were East Arrernte, two were Garawa, one was Waanyi and one was Wakaya. The country/language group identity was not recorded for eight partners. Thus Dajarra householders and their partners identified with country/language groups within the Georgina River Basin or very close to the edge of it. There seems to be a pattern of intermarriage between the language groups within this region, this pattern is likely to reflect traditions of intermarriage

between these groups and the years of co-residence of the various groups in cattle station camps and settlements such as Dajarra. Due to this pattern of intermarriage (or language group exogamy), some Dajarra people identified with two or more language group areas. (See Figure 3a.)

Most of the participants (20 out of 21 respondents) expressed no plans to return to live permanently in their home country. This is perhaps partly explained by the lack of community owned land and outstations on the Queensland side of the Georgina River Basin and in the Mt Isa/ North-west Queensland area generally.

Most of the household participants had children at the time of the survey: nine of the participants had between one and three children, ten participants had between four and six children and four participants had between seven and ten children. A significant number of participants (14 of the household participants or 52% of the sample) were rearing up children for whom they were not the biological parents. Ten participants were rearing between one and three children and four were rearing between four and six children.

The home communities of the householder interviewees

Just under half of the Dajarra household participants (twelve of 26 responses or 46%) were reared up in Dajarra which lies to the east of the traditional language group country of most of the participants. Other places where the participants were reared up were Mt Isa (23%), Calvert Hills (11%), and Urandangi, Ardmore Station, Headingly Station, Alpururulam, Boulia, Cloncurry, Calton Hills (each one person or 4%). It is therefore of note that 20 people (69% of responses) identified Dajarra as their home town or home community. This strong identification with Dajarra reflects the regular movements that occurred between cattle stations and the town during the 1900s and it reflects the migrations to Dajarra. Other places that were identified as home towns or home communities were: Mt Isa (10%), Calvert Hills (7%), Georgina River (3%), Cloncurry (3%), Borroloola (3%), Robinson River (3%). (See Figure 4.)

The location and movement of householder's closest relatives

As part of the interview process, householders were assisted to identify their ten closest living adult cognatic (or blood) relatives (see Appendix 1:Q.1.3). Most of the relatives of the household participants (the ten closest relatives of each participant) were reared up at places within the Georgina River region (although this includes places such as Mt Isa that topographically are outside of the Georgina Basin). Many (102 or 48% of the responses) of the relatives of the household participants were reared up in Dajarra. A significant number of relatives were reared up in Mt Isa (47 people or 22% of responses). Tobermorey Station was the place where the next the highest number of relatives were reared up (twelve people or 6% of responses). Following Tobermorey was Boulia (seven people or 3% of responses), Ardmore Station, Carandotta Station, and Burketown (five people or 2% of responses respectively), Calvert Hills and Lake Nash (four people or 2% respectively), Urandangi, Barkly Station, Georgina River, Toowoomba and Doomadgee (two people or 1%) and one person was reared up in each of Camooweal, Thorner Station, Cloncurry, Borroloola, Kajabbi, Mornington Island, Hughenden, Brisbane and Canberra. A significant number of the places where relatives were reared up were settlements, stations or places on the Georgina or its tributaries (34 people or 16% of responses). Thus, there exist three key places where the relatives of Dajarra

people were reared up, Dajarra, Mt Isa and the Georgina River. This reflects the Aboriginal migrations to Dajarra from the Georgina River and adjacent stations in the 1960s and 1970s, and subsequent migration into Mt Isa. (See Figure 5a.)

Data were then obtained on the place where the ten closest relatives (201 places involving 194 relatives⁶) of the Dajarra household participants were living at the time of the survey. Seven relatives were identified as living in two locations. Three relatives were identified as living in Mt Isa and Dajarra (two of these were attending boarding school in Mt Isa), two relatives were identified as living in Mt Isa and an outstation in the Northern Territory (Wunara and Burudu), one relative was identified as living in Mt Isa and Macalister Station, and one relative was identified as living in Mt Isa and Boulia. Thus 3% of responses involved people who were identified with more than one location. Most of the relatives of Dajarra householders (69% or 71 people) either lived in Mt Isa (37% or 75 people) or Dajarra (32% or 64 people). Following Mt Isa and Dajarra, other relatives were distributed across a range of places: Urlampe (seven people or 3%), Townsville (six people or 3%), Boulia (four people or 2%), Robinson River (four people or 2%), Alpururulam (three people or 1.5%), Brisbane (three people or 1.5%), two people or 1% at each of Cloncurry Woorabinda/Rockhampton, Coober Pedy, Macalister Station and Toowoomba, one person at each of The Monument, Camooweal, Wunara, Tennant Creek, Alexandria, Doomadgee, Burketown, Darwin, Stone Henge, Miles, Caloundra, Gladstone, Hughenden, Canberra, Newcastle Waters (NT), and Long Jetty (NSW). The location of seven relatives or 3% was unknown. Although some relatives were living on the east coast and other distant locations at the time of the survey, it is noteworthy that around 80% of the householders' relatives were living within the Georgina River Basin or very close to it and that 75% of the relatives lived in settlements on the eastern side of the Georgina River Basin. (See Figure 5b.)

The relatives of household participants had lived at their current location for periods of time ranging from one month or less through to 'all of their life'. The highest number of responses were for a period of two to three years (27 people or 15% of responses), followed by six to ten years (27 people or 15% of responses), 30 years or more (19 people or 10% of responses), seven to twelve months (18 people or 10% of responses), all of life (17 people or 9% of responses), eleven to 15 years (eleven people or 8%), unsure of the period of time (eleven people or 8%), 16-20 years (eleven people or 6%), 26-30 (eleven people or 6%), two to six months (seven people or 4%), 21-25 years (six people or 3%), four to five years (five people or 3%), up to one month (four people or 2%). A feature of these data is the relatively low numbers of people who had lived in places for less than one year. Another feature of these data is the significant numbers of people who had lived in a place for more than three years and more than ten years. This indicates long-term residential identification with particular locations. However it does not necessarily indicate a lack of movement or mobility. It is noteworthy that the period of ten years is mostly comprised of relatives who lived in Dajarra or Mt Isa. Dajarra and Mt Isa both have a full range of residential occupation from 'less than a month' through to 'all life'. Thus, migrations from Dajarra to Mt Isa are not a recent phenomenon.

Dajarra householders identified 119 relatives whom they had visited in the last year. The highest number of relatives visited lived in Mt Isa (60 people or 50% of visits), followed by Dajarra (44 people or 37% of visits), Townsville (three people or 2% of

⁶ These data may be slightly distorted as a relative may have been counted more than once, since some individuals are a common relative to one or more of the participants.

visits), Brisbane (three people or 2% of visits), Alpururulam/Lake Nash (two people or 2% of visits), and a relative in each of Camooweal, Boulia, Urlampe, Doomadgee, Toowoomba, Caloundra and Macalister Station was visited by a Dajarra householder. The householders identified 64 relatives living in Dajarra, however they only identified making visits to 44 of these which seems unusual in such a small town and while it is possible some relatives do not visit one another it is unlikely to involve such high numbers. These figures indicate regular movement between Dajarra and Mt Isa – 75 relatives were identified living in Mt Isa and 60 of these were visited in the last year. This data indicates a dominant pattern of Dajarra householders visiting relatives in Mt Isa and Dajarra and smaller numbers of visits to other places within the Georgina River region. (See Figure 6a.)

Dajarra household participants identified 111 relatives who had visited them in the last year. A significant number of these relatives (43 or 39%) lived in Mt Isa or Dajarra (42 or 38%). The remaining 26 relatives who visited Dajarra in the last year were from Townsville (five people or 4%), Boulia (three people or 3%), Robinson River (three people or 3%), Macalister Station (three people or 3%), Brisbane (two people or 2%), Urlampe (two people or 2%), and Camooweal, Alpururulam, Tennant Creek, Cloncurry, Newcastle Waters, Caloundra, Hughenden and The Monument (one person from each place). Thus while most of the relatives who visited Dajarra in the last year came from the Georgina River Basin including the regional centre of Mt Isa, there were also visitors who lived on the east coast. (See Figure 6b.)

Household characteristics over the last year

The majority of Dajarra household participants in the survey rented from the Jimberella Cooperative (64% of respondents), whereas smaller numbers of householders rented Housing Department stock (27% of respondents), and very few rented or lived in private accommodation (9% of respondents). There were only three privately owned houses in Dajarra that were occupied by Aboriginal people.

A total of 24% of respondents had lived in their current house for one year or less, 32% had lived in their house one to five years, 44% had lived in their house for five years or more, and 28% had lived in their house for more than ten years. Thus there is simultaneously significant stability in household occupation (at least by core members of the household) and significant movement. Houses occupied for only a short period may reflect movement of households across the Dajarra housing stock, the formation of new households (young couples getting their first house) and the movement of households into Dajarra from elsewhere.

Almost all of the participants (91% of respondents) occupied a house of three bedrooms or less. A total of 36% of householders lived in a three-bedroom house, 27% lived in a two-bedroom house, 27% lived in a one-bedroom house and 9% (two out of 22 participants) lived in a five-bedroom house.

In comparison to the relatively small houses in Dajarra, the households were quite large with 68% of participants living in a house with three or more occupants. Finer-grained analysis showed that 27% of respondents were living in households of six to eight occupants, 27% of respondents living in households of three to five occupants, 9% of respondents living in households of twelve to 14 occupants, and 4% living in a household of nine to eleven occupants. It must be noted that these data do not provide any indication of perceptions of overcrowding. Nevertheless there was a significant proportion (32% of respondents) of the population who were part of small households (less than three people). It should also be noted that an additional four houses were due to be constructed in Dajarra within the next twelve months (a key issue is will this additional housing stock alter household compositions, or, will it encourage migration from elsewhere?) A significant policy issue is that small houses with high household numbers are likely to require more frequent maintenance than would otherwise be the case due simply to the natural wear and tear associated with high use. This is a significant issue facing a community housing cooperative.

Table 5: Classification of 23 Dajarra households by household size and house size (numbers of bedrooms)

Number of Household Occupants	Number of Bedrooms				
	1 B/R	2 B/Rs	3 B/Rs	4 B/Rs	5 B/Rs
1-2	4	2	1		
3-5	2	3			1
6-8		1	5		1
9-11			1		
12-14			2	1	
Sub-total of households	6	6	9	0	2

Household visitation and departures

A significant number of participants (36% of respondents) lived in households, which had a member of the household temporarily away at the time of the survey, and a significant number of participants (41% of respondents) had visitors staying with

them at the time of the survey. Most of the current visitors (89%) were family members of whom the highest proportion were nieces and nephews (32% of visitors) followed by siblings (21%) and children (16%). Of the current visitors most (73% of responses) came from within the Georgina region; Dajarra (33% of responses), Mt Isa (33%) and Boulia (7%). The remaining smaller numbers of visitors were from the distant locations of Brisbane (13%), Townsville (7%), and Halls Creek (7%). All of the current visitors had been with the household for two weeks or less, 22% had been there for two weeks, 22% for one week, and two to three days, and 33% had been with the household for one day or overnight. These data suggest that household visitors were relatively common and the visitors make relatively short stays. These data raise an important housing policy question - is there a point when a visitor is considered to be a household member? Currently the Queensland Department of Housing considers a visitor to be a part of the household after four weeks. The majority of reasons given by householders for the visitation were of a social nature: for company (21%), simply to visit (21%), to help with children (21%), to party and drink (14%). Other reasons provided for visitation were work-related (14%) and waiting for accommodation (7% or one respondent).

The above findings pertain to household impacts occurring at the time of the survey. However further people were identified as visiting within the last year, the majority being relatives particularly siblings (28%) and children (26%); other visitors included friends and a foster child. Following visitation to Dajarra, many of these people travelled to Mt Isa as their next destination (52%), with significantly smaller numbers travelling to close locations such as Boulia (3%), and more distant locations such as Townsville (9%). One respondent identified visitors who had moved to another household within Dajarra. (See Figure 7a.)

Householders were asked whether there was anyone who used to live in their household during the last year, who now lived somewhere else. 52% of respondents identified people who had lived in their household but who now lived somewhere else. Once again these were mostly family members particularly nieces and nephews (24%), children (21%) and cousins (21%). A significant proportion of these people had moved from Dajarra to Mt Isa (50%), followed by moves to another place in Dajarra (19%) and smaller numbers to Boulia, Townsville, Hughenden, Toowoomba, Borrooloola (6% respectively). (See Figure 7b.)

These findings indicate that Mt Isa is a significant destination for both visitors leaving Dajarra and for household residents who leave Dajarra. Mt Isa is also a significant source of visitors to Dajarra. These findings also indicate movements between Dajarra and Boulia but little residential movement to other close locations particularly to Urandangi and Cloncurry. These data also suggest that Townsville is a significant location in the movement patterns of Dajarra people and for visitors to Dajarra. Thus there is mobility within a cultural region and a significant extension to that cultural region with movement to and from Townsville.

Reasons for living in Dajarra

Householders said they lived in Dajarra because Dajarra was home (36% of responses), because it was a good environment (27% of responses), because family lived there (20% of responses), because of work (13% of responses) and one respondent said they lived in Dajarra because they could save money there. Thus, these findings emphasise social reasons (including place attachment) and quality of life as the main reasons for living in Dajarra. It is noteworthy that some people chose

to live in Dajarra because of work commitments. In the late 1990s this may not have been the case. However, with the introduction of CDEP in the early 2000s there has arisen a significant increase in Dajarra-based work opportunities. In a study of mobility it seems that reasons for staying are as significant as those for moving, and in some cases these reasons may be intertwined. Many respondents stated that they much preferred to live in Dajarra than Mount Isa due to the excessive crime and pollution in the town. Concern for children's quality of lifestyle and welfare was a main reason given not to live in Mt Isa.

Place of residence three years ago

Householders were asked where they were living three years ago. A high proportion of respondents (76%) were living in Dajarra, 14% were living in Mt Isa, and 5% were living in Boulia and Cloncurry respectively. This indicates that there was a significantly stable population of Dajarra householders, that is a population that one is always likely to find in Dajarra. These data also indicate patterns of movement between four of the major town centres within North-west Queensland: Mt Isa, Cloncurry, Boulia and Dajarra. Medical issues and the need for a change were given as reasons for living in Mt Isa where respondents stayed with relatives. The need for a change was given for living in Cloncurry where the respondent rented. Funeral attendance and holiday were given as the reasons for living in Boulia where the respondent lived with relatives. (See Figure 8.)

Travel pattern of householders within the last year

Householders were asked to elicit the places they had visited in the last year. Excluding Dajarra, Mt Isa was the place most commonly visited by Dajarra householders with 81% of participants visiting in the last year, making a survey total of 495 trips to Mt Isa (one way), on average 27 trips per year per visitor. Other commonly visited locations included Boulia (70% of respondents), Urandangi (67% of respondents), the Georgina River (59% of respondents), Cloncurry (41% of respondents), and Lake Nash (29% of respondents). Following Mt Isa, the most regularly visited places were Bedourie (average of 23 trips per year per visitor⁷), Boulia (average of 16 trips per year per visitor), the Georgina River (average of 15 trips per year per visitor), Urandangi, (average of seven trips per year per visitor), Alpururulam (average of three trips per year per visitor), Cloncurry (average of two trips per year per visitor). Outside of the Georgina, a range of places were visited less commonly and less frequently including places on the Barkly Tableland, in Central Australia, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, on the East Coast and the Top End (NT). Of particular note is Townsville with 30% of respondents visiting within the last year at an average of two visits per year. Brisbane also featured as a place of visitation on the east coast with 15% of respondents visiting in the last year for an average of two visits per year. Using the data provided by the household participants as to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made around 1347 trips in the last year, 495 of which were to Mt Isa, or an average of 50 trips per participant. (See Figure 9.)

⁷ The frequency of visitation to Bedourie was heavily influenced by people who were involved in a freight business that they operated between Dajarra and Bedourie.

Length of visitation to places by Dajarra householders

Of the places visited in the last year, most Dajarra householders had visited those places for periods of two to three weeks or less. One participant had visited Urandangi for one month and one had visited Townsville for one month. Two participants had visited Urlampe for two to three months. However most visits to places were for two to three days (67 responses or 39%) or one day (48 responses or 28%). Other periods of visitation were 'passing through' (14 responses or 8%), one week (13 responses or 7%), a few hours (eleven responses 6%), two to three weeks (seven responses or 4%), and four to five days (five responses 3%). It is significant that Mt Isa, the most frequently visited place, was mostly visited for only one day (15 responses or 50% of Mt Isa responses) or for two to three days (ten responses or 33% of Mt Isa responses). Other periods of visitation to Mt Isa were one week (10% of Mt Isa responses) and two to three weeks (7% of Mt Isa responses). Urandangi was visited for periods of one day (eight responses), two to three days (seven responses), few hours (four responses), and one response for each of one week, two to three weeks and one month. Similarly visits to Boulia were two to three days (ten responses), one day (seven responses), and one response for each of a few hours, four to five days, one week, two to three weeks and one month. These figures indicate that most visits to places were of a relatively short duration. It appeared that the normal maximum length of stay was two to three weeks. It is possible that this duration is related to the timing of wages, social security payments and school holiday periods.

Reasons for visitation to places by Dajarra people

Across all of the places visited in the last year by Dajarra householders, the most common reason for moving was to visit family and friends. This was followed in descending order by funerals and sorry business, work, hunting/fishing/gathering/camping, rodeo/gymkanhas/races, passing through, shopping, other sports, special occasions (birthdays etc), visiting/holiday, hospital/specialists, land meetings and school functions, with the least common being tax, banking, community meetings, car maintenance, gambling. Of note is that no householders gave training, school, marriage or stay on an outstation as reasons for travel. Thus it appears that the strongest motivators were of a social interaction and social maintenance nature, for example visiting family was given as a reason 46 times whereas work, by contrast, was only given as a reason 26 times (across all places visited in the last year).

Attendance at funerals was the second highest reason for travel in the last year. Funerals are significant community events for which large numbers of people travel throughout the region at the same time. This is perhaps only matched by the large numbers of people who travel about the region for regional sporting events.

Mt Isa is the most commonly and frequently visited place by Dajarra householders. Shopping is given as the single most common reason for visiting Mt Isa followed by visiting family and friends. Social/community reasons were almost on par with service/work reasons as motivators for visitation to Mt Isa with a slightly higher rate towards the latter (47% versus 53%). Mt Isa is clearly the service centre for Dajarra householders; there was virtually no other place visited in the last year for which access to services was given as a reason for visiting that place. Residents commonly combine shopping trips with other activities such as the visiting of kin –

the question remains though do Dajarra people want improved shopping options within their town?

Work was given as a reason for visiting places 26 times in the last year, yet it was only given as a reason for visiting Mt Isa three times. Other places visited for work included Urandangi, Boulia, Bedourie, Birdsville, Alpururulam, Alice Springs, Townsville, and cattle stations close to Dajarra and on the Georgina. Thus work is a stimulus for travelling within the region, although it appears that work provides little stimulus for travel outside of the region. Most of these work opportunities (20 of 26 responses) were regionally based.

Townsville and nearby Charters Towers and Home Hill were also places visited in the last year. The reasons given for visiting Townsville were to visit family (50% of reasons for visiting this place), work (25% of reasons), school functions (12.5%) and sports (12.5%).

Accommodation during visitation to places by Dajarra people

At the places visited in the last year the Dajarra householder respondents mostly stayed with family members (44% of responses). A significant proportion said they stayed at a 'camp' (27% of responses). In this region people usually camp with family or in clusters of family groups. Thus it can arguably be stated that in 71% of visits to other places, Dajarra householders stayed with family members. It should be noted that the rate of camping responses reflects the significant rate of visitation to bush locations such as the Georgina River and visitation to events in bush communities such as the Urandangi rodeo. This high rate of camping does not necessarily indicate the necessity for additional housing but it may indicate the need for adequate services- toilets, showers, fresh water at defined or regularly used camping areas. Householders mostly stay with their siblings (26%), aunts/uncles (24%), nieces/nephews (13%), parents (11%), children (6%), grandchildren (4%), cousins (2%). It is notable that no Dajarra householders interviewed said they stayed with their grandparents when visiting other places (this may reflect the age of those interviewed, ie a person in their 40s or 50s is unlikely to have a grandparent still living). Hotel/motels accounted for 13% of accommodation for places visited in the last year, which most likely reflects visits to places for work or for school and sporting trips. Other places of accommodation given were cattle stations (work), community/council hall, meeting location (land meeting), and hospital. These data indicate that Dajarra householders rely significantly on kin for accommodation at places visited. The housing policy implications of this visitation pattern will be discussed in a later section.

The Jimberella Co-operative purchased a house in Doreen St Mt Isa in January 1987, adjacent to Mt Isa Base Hospital, which they call 'Jimberella House'. The house is administered by the co-operative primarily for emergency and temporary accommodation for outpatients requiring daily hospital treatment and for people visiting relatives in hospital. The house is mainly for the use of Dajarra people, however occasionally people from other communities make use of the accommodation. The accommodation is also used by Dajarra people at times of special events, for example the Mt Isa Rodeo. The house is operated by a live-in caretaker.

Travel to utilize specific services

The householders were asked if they had travelled in the last year against a list of reasons pertaining to specific services. The reasons for travel by Dajarra householders in descending order of frequency, were to attend funerals (21% of responses), sports (20%), shopping (16%), work (14%), health (11%), car maintenance/purchase (6%), training (4%), tax (3%). School, bill payment, to escort a patient, specialist treatment, bus service, customary law business were also identified as reasons for travelling but only by one person in each instance. Almost all of the service orientated responses were attributed to travel to Mt Isa. It is notable that in response to this question no householders identified the following as reasons for travel in the last year: post office, banking, police, court attendance, prison visitation, legal aid consultation, seeking housing or housing services, seeing the land council, attending land meetings, or attending birthdays. However some of these were identified as reasons for travel in earlier questions; these were banking, land meetings, and birthdays. The places visited for work were mostly within North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory (Georgina Basin and Gulf of Carpentaria). Mt Isa was the place with the highest number of people who visited for work reasons. The only places outside of this region that were visited for work were Alice Springs and Townsville. Most travels for funerals and/or sorry business were to the nearby towns of Urandangi, Boulia and Mt Isa; travel was also made to other places in the Georgina basin for this purpose (Alpurrurulam, Orwaitilla, Ampilatwatja) and the Gulf (Doomadgee). Only one person identified funerals as a reason for travelling to a more distant place (Arnhem land). Thus funerals accounted for travel within the wider Georgina region. Similarly sports prompted travels within the region (Urandangi, Boulia, Bedourie, Birdsville, Mt Isa, Cloncurry, Alpurrurulam). Only one person gave sports as a reason for travelling outside of the region (Townsville).

Reasons identified by householders for visiting Townsville were health (two respondents), work (one respondent), car purchase (two respondents) and sports (one respondent). It appears that Townsville is a secondary service centre (satellite service centre) for this region. Brisbane was visited by a person escorting a patient and Alice Springs was visited by a person for work. Brisbane and Alice Springs are perhaps third level service centres for the region.

Thus by asking Dajarra householders if they travel for particular reasons we find that householders were travelling to Mt Isa for a range of services and social reasons whereas the main reasons for travel to other places in the Georgina region were funerals, sports and work.

4.3 The mobility experiences of Dajarra men

In addition to the householders, a small sample of mainly young single men were interviewed to see how similar or dissimilar their mobility patterns were in relation to householders.

Demographic profiles of the male interviewees

Seven men were interviewed in Dajarra, three were between 16 and 20 years of age, two were in their early twenties, one in his mid-thirties and one in his mid forties. The interviewees included a father, his two sons and their cousin brother. Three of the seven men identified as Wakaya, one as Kalkadoon, one as Yalanga/Kalkadoon, one identified with country in the Kimberley region and one was unsure of his language group identity. Thus most of the Dajarra male participants were identified

with country or language groups within or neighbouring the Georgina River region. Only one of the seven participants was 'married up' and his wife was from the Georgina River Region, identifying with the Uralampe community. Three of the seven participants had between one and three children and one participant had six children. None of the men were rearing any other children.

Three of the seven male participants were 'reared up' in Dajarra. One man was 'reared up' in Mt Isa, one in Cloncurry, one in Brisbane and one at the Melville Island Catholic Mission (taken there as a child from Wyndham). Four of the seven men identified Dajarra as their home town or home community. Although he had not grown up in Dajarra, one man identified it as his home town because he has lived there for approximately 20 years and has many family members in the town. The young men who grew up in Mt Isa, Cloncurry and Brisbane identified these places as their home towns. When asked if they planned to return to their home community, four of the men who had identified Dajarra as their home community answered in respect to their country, three said they plan to visit their country (which has an outstation and a small community), the fourth man had no plans to return to his country as his children lived in Dajarra. A fifth participant planned to visit his home town.

Three of the men had lived in Dajarra over the last three years (one of these men had moved from Brisbane to Dajarra c2001). Two of the men were living in Cloncurry three years ago, one of these men had returned to Dajarra within the last twelve months after his wife passed away. The other had left Cloncurry six months prior to the interview; he then spent two months in Mt Isa where he attended high school before moving to Dajarra. One of the participants was living in Mt Isa three years ago and then moved to Dajarra. It seems that the youngest men who had moved within the last three years had done so to 'get away from trouble'.

Regional travel pattern of men within the last year

Of the places visited in the last year by the male participants, the most commonly visited cluster of places lay within the Georgina River region. Excluding Dajarra, Mt Isa was the most commonly visited place with all of the participants visiting in the last year, followed by Urandangi and Cloncurry (71% of participants respectively), Boulia and Winton (57%), Bedourie and Camooweal (14%). 71% of the participants visited the Georgina River in the last year. Places visited within the eastern Northern Territory were Alpururulam (28%), Ampilatwatja (28%), Burudu (14%, one man), Epenarra (14%) and Ooratippra (14%, one man). In the Gulf of Carpentaria, Doomadgee, Borroloola and Croydon (on the edge of the Gulf country) were each visited by one man respectively. Only two places were visited on the east coast; two men visited Townsville and one man visited Toowoomba. Other places visited included cattle stations relatively close to Dajarra (Thorner, Kallala, and Stockport).

Mt Isa and Urandangi were the most frequently visited places with an average of twelve trips per year per visitor. One man visited Urandangi once a week and one visited Mt Isa once a fortnight. The Georgina River Boulia and Cloncurry were visited on an average of three times per year per visitor, Alpururulam two times per year per visitor and the remaining places visited were visited only once per year. These data suggest that the frequency of visits to places by Dajarra men was lower than that for Dajarra householders. For example Dajarra men visited Mt Isa only half as frequently as the householders. Using the data provided by the male participants as

to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made around 161 trips in the last year or an average of 23 trips per participant.

Most visits to places by the seven Dajarra men were of two to three weeks or less (72% of responses). The periods of visitation were two to three days (20% of responses), two to three weeks (18% of responses), one day (18% of responses), couple of days/overnight (10%), lived there in the last year (10%), passed through (8%), two to three months (5%), and one response (2%) for each of 'a few hours', four to five days, one week, one month and one to two months. Thus the Dajarra men mostly made relatively short visits to places.

Reasons for visitation to places by Dajarra men

Across all of the places visited in the last year by the male participants the most common reason for travelling was work and rodeo/gymkhanas/races (14% of responses respectively). This was followed by visiting family or friends (12.5% of responses), funerals or sorry business (11% of responses), to visit pubs and drink (11% of responses), passing through (9% of responses), hunting/fishing/gathering/camping (7% of responses), other sports (7% of responses), shopping (5% of responses), seeking a sexual partner, special celebrations such as birthdays, visiting/holiday (4% of responses respectively). Other reasons for visits over the last year were to move away from trouble, going to prison, living in a place, visit/holiday, banking, and hospital/specialists, each of which received one response. Mt Isa had the greatest diversity of reasons for visitation and all of the service orientated reasons were attributed to Mt Isa visits. Whereas Mt Isa dominated the service visitation, the Georgina was the focus of visitation for hunting/camping/fishing (all of the responses that gave this as a reason did so in relation to the Georgina). Visiting family and friends and work took men to the greatest diversity of places including places outside of the Georgina region (particularly Normanton and Townsville). Funerals also took men to a range of places within the Georgina region and the Gulf of Carpentaria. The most frequent reason given for visiting a place was sport and social visitation (rodeos/gymkhanas/races combined with 'other sports' accounted for 21% of responses). Regional sporting events were highly significant in the lifestyle of Dajarra men. Sporting events were also very important social events and can also be viewed as a social reason for visitation. Therefore social visitation (visiting family and friends combined with sports) accounted for 35% of responses.

The most frequent reasons for visiting Mt Isa were social reasons (75%) followed by service reasons (25%). Of the social reasons, funerals and visiting pubs were the most frequent responses (15% of Mt Isa responses respectively), followed by rodeos, other sports, and special occasions (10% of Mt Isa responses respectively), and work, visiting/holiday, move away from trouble (5% of responses respectively). Of the service responses shopping was the most frequent (15% of Mt Isa responses), followed by banking and hospital/specialist (5% respectively). Townsville was visited by one man for work and one man was imprisoned there.

Accommodation during visitation to places by Dajarra men

When visiting places in the last year, Dajarra male interviewees mostly stayed with family members (31% of responses). A significant proportion said they stayed at a 'camp' (22% of responses). Camps were associated with trips to the Georgina River

or with trips to small remote townships for regional events. Men also stayed at places associated with work (12.5% of responses) including cattle stations (two responses), with their boss (one response), and at a police hostel (one response). One man had spent time in prison in Townsville and one man identified that he had his own house. When men stayed with family they mostly stayed with their aunty/uncle (40% of family responses), followed by siblings (30% of family responses), cousins (20% of family responses), and one stayed with grandparents. It is notable that men did not identify staying with their parents during visits.

Travel by men to utilize specific services

Male participants were asked if they had travelled in the last year against a list of reasons pertaining to specific services. The highest reasons for travel were work (17% of responses), sports (10%), shopping (5%), to attend funerals (4%), health services, training and banking (3% each), school, court, prison, and legal aid (1% of responses respectively). Almost all of the service orientated responses were attributed to travel to Mt Isa. It is notable that in response to this question no men identified the following as reasons for travel in the last year: to use the post office, to see the police, to seek housing or housing services, to see the land council, to attend land meetings, for tax services, to attend birthdays and none of the men interviewed travelled for customary law business. However some of these were identified as reasons for travel in earlier questions. The places visited for work were mostly within North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory including a number of cattle stations. The only places outside of this region that were visited for work were Townsville and Toowoomba and these were short visits. Most travels for funerals or sorry business were to the nearby towns of Urandangi, Boulia and to the Gulf of Carpentaria (Doomadgee). Thus funerals accounted for travel within the Georgina region and the wider mobility region. Similarly sports prompted travels within the region (Urandangi, Boulia, Bedourie, Cloncurry). One young man identified schooling as the reason for travel to Charters Towers.

4.4 The mobility experiences of Dajarra women

Brief demographic profile of the women

Six Dajarra women were interviewed of whom two were under twenty years of age, two were 20-25 and two were 26-30. Country/language group identity was only obtained for two participants, both of whom identified as Warluwarra. Only one of the women was 'married up' and her partner was identified as Alyawarr (from within the Georgina River basin). Four of the women had between one and three children and one participant had four children.

Information concerning where the participants were reared, their home town and place of residence three years ago, was only obtained for four of the six female participants. Three of these women were reared in Dajarra and one was reared in Cloncurry. Four of the women identified Dajarra as their home town although one of them identified both Dajarra and Mt Isa as their home town. Three years previous to the study, three of the four women were living in Dajarra although one of these women was regularly moving between Dajarra and Mt Isa. The fourth woman was living at Alpururulam where she worked for three months, she then moved to Mt Isa for eight months and had a house there. From Mt Isa she moved to Dajarra in the second half of 2004.

Regional travel pattern of women within the last year

Of the places visited by the Dajarra female interviewees in the last year, the most commonly visited cluster of places lay within the Georgina River region. Excluding Dajarra, Mt Isa was the most commonly visited place with all of the participants visiting in the last year, followed by the Georgina (three of the participants), Urandangi and Boulia (two participants respectively), Winton and Camooweal (one of the six participants respectively). Places within the eastern Northern Territory visited were Alpururulam (one person). Places on the Barkly Tableland visited were Epenarra (one person) and Tennant Creek (one person). No places in the Gulf were visited. Only two places were visited on the east coast: two women visited Townsville and one woman visited Mackay. One woman visited Katherine in the Northern Territory.

The Georgina was the most frequently visited place with 35 trips on average per year per visitor (two women said they visited the Georgina once per week). Mt Isa was visited seven times on average per year per visitor and Urandangi was visited on average three times per year per visitor. Townsville was visited four times on average per year per visitor and Mackay two to three times per year by one person. Alpururulam, Camooweal, Winton, Tennant Creek, Epenarra and Katherine were visited on average once per year per visitor.

It appears that the young women interviewed visit a smaller range of places than the male participants and in particular the range of places visited by women lie more distinctly within the Georgina mobility region and their visits were concentrated on the towns of Mt Isa and Dajarra. Of note is the high frequency of visits to the Georgina River, this is much higher than the frequency of visits by householder or male participants. It is possible that this high rate of visitation to the Georgina reflects a higher rate of participation in fishing activities by young women/ women. Using the data provided by the six female participants as to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made around 169 trips in the last year or an average of 28 trips per participant which is slightly higher than the Dajarra men.

Most visits to places by Dajarra women were of two to three weeks or less (86% of responses). The periods of visitation were two to three days (28% of responses), two to three weeks (14% of responses), four to five days (10% of responses) one day (10% of responses), 'a few hours' (7% of responses), two to three months (7%), one week (7% of responses), passed through (7%), and one response (3%) for each of one month and ten days. It seems then that Dajarra women mostly make relatively short visits to places.

Reasons for visitation to places by women

Across all of the places visited in the last year by the female participants the most common reason for visitation was sports and shopping (13% of responses respectively), followed by rodeo/gymkhanas/races (10%). Rodeo/gymkhanas/races combined with sports accounted for 23% of the reasons for visiting places. This was followed by visiting/holiday, hunting/fishing/gathering/camping, funerals or sorry business (10% respectively). To visit family/friends, to work and 'passing through' accounted for 6% of the responses respectively. Other reasons given were training (one person), hospital (one person), special celebration (one person), living there (one person) and waiting for the bus (one person). Sporting events were also very important social events thus social visitation (visiting family and friends combined with sports) accounted for 29% of responses.

The most common reasons for visiting Mt Isa were of a social nature (58% of Mt Isa responses) followed by those associated with services (42% of Mt Isa responses). Of the social reasons, sports were the most common response (three responses or 25% of Mt Isa responses), followed by visit family and friends, special occasions, visiting/holiday (one response each or 8% of Mt Isa responses respectively). Of the service responses shopping was the most frequent (three responses or 25% of Mt Isa responses), followed by work (one response) and training (one response).

Accommodation during visitation to places by Dajarra women

When visiting places in the last year, the Dajarra female interviewees mostly stayed with family (54% of responses). Family members with whom they stayed were uncles/aunties (30% of responses), parents (8%), 'family' generally (8%), grandparents and cousins (4% of responses respectively). A significant number of respondents said they camped at the places visited (17% of responses). Other accommodation responses were friends (8%) and unspecified (8%).

Travel by women to utilize specific services

Female participants were asked if they had travelled in the last year against a list of reasons pertaining to specific services. The most common reason for travel was sports (27% of responses), followed by health (18%), shopping (14%), funerals or sorry business (14%), and one response (4%) for each of work, training, banking, court, solicitor/legal aid, and taxation services.

4.5 Summary: The mobility of the Dajarra Aboriginal Community

The Dajarra householders as well as the male and female interviewees mostly identified with language groups and country in the Queensland/Northern Territory border region. Many of the spouses of the participants were from the same groups and region indicating a pattern of intermarriage involving a number of neighbouring groups. There were two exceptions to this pattern: one involved a family who identified with the southern Gulf of Carpentaria and who migrated to Dajarra after their daughter married a Dajarra man, and the other involved a man from the Kimberley Region who migrated to Dajarra after his father married a Dajarra woman.

Most of the Dajarra householders and their relatives, as well as the male and female participants were 'reared up' (spent their childhood) in settlements and other locations in the Georgina/ north-west Queensland region between Lake Nash and Cloncurry (west and east) and Calton Hills and Boulia (north to south). Significant numbers of participants and their relatives grew up in Dajarra and Mt Isa. If this survey had been conducted 30-50 years ago we calculate⁸ we would have found that most people were reared up on the Georgina River cattle stations or on the river itself. Thus the participants either grew up on, or relatively close to, their traditional country. Many of the participants identified Dajarra as their home-community. Thus many of the participants lived on or near their traditional country, they lived in or close to the place where they were reared up, and they lived in or close to their 'home town/home community'. Similarly most of the relatives of the Dajarra householders still lived in the region where they were reared up. However numbers

⁸ From our Native Title, genealogical and family history research in the region (P.M. & S.L.).

of relatives that had grown up in the Georgina/north-west Queensland region had since migrated to distant places such as east coast locations. Some relatives had grown up in north-west Queensland but were living in the eastern Northern Territory at the time of the survey reflecting a pattern of migration back to communities on country. Significant numbers of relatives had lived in their current location for relatively long periods of time.

There was a dominant pattern of Dajarra residents visiting relatives who lived in the Georgina region with a strong pattern of visiting relatives in Mt Isa. This pattern of visitation also reflected affiliations with traditional country and the places where people grew up. Similarly relatives who visited Dajarra mostly came from Mt Isa and the cluster of settlements in the Georgina region. Townsville stood out as a distant settlement that was an origin for relatives visiting Dajarra and a destination for Dajarra participants visiting relatives.

Almost all of the Dajarra households rented from Aboriginal housing agencies. Dajarra people lived in houses that were relatively small in comparison to household sizes. It was evident that some households had recently moved into their house but at the same time there was evidence of long-term occupation of many rental properties. At any point in time it seemed likely that at least one third of the households would have members absent from the community and at the same time at least one third of households would have visitors. Most visitors were relatives from the wider Georgina region, particularly Mt Isa. Mt Isa was also a common destination for household members and visitors who left Dajarra. Most householders said they live in Dajarra for social reasons and a high proportion of householders, and male and female participants were living in Dajarra or one of the other settlements in the Georgina region three years prior to the survey.

Across the three Dajarra participant groups there is a general travel pattern of visitation to places in North-west Queensland and the Eastern Northern Territory. Within the last year it seems that Dajarra householders and their families visited a greater diversity of places than the Dajarra men and women survey participants (although this may have been a product of the greater household participant sample size). There were also some differences in the travel patterns of female participants and those of the male participants and household participants. The male and household participants travelled west into the Northern Territory as far as Alice Springs and Tennant Creek, including to places within the Barkly, Sandover and Plenty regions, and north into the Gulf country. In contrast the travel pattern of the female participants was more tightly focussed on the settlements within the Georgina river region (as five of the six women had children this difference may be explained by the need to stay close to schools).

Mt Isa was the most commonly visited place and travel to Mt Isa was relatively frequent. Householders made the most trips to Mt Isa, making on average twenty-seven trips per year per visitor, this was followed by the male participants who made twelve trips per year per visitor and the female participants who made on average seven trips per year per visitor. However, the data indicates that the most frequently visited place was the Georgina River with female participants making on average thirty-five trips per year per visitor, householders making fifteen trips per year per visitor and male participants making on average three trips per year per visitor. The fieldwork experience of one of the authors (Long) suggests that the rate of female visitation to the Georgina seems exceptionally high and that it is more likely closer to the rate of household visitation. Of note though is the lower rate of male visitation to the Georgina River. It is possible that the high rate of visitation to the Georgina

recorded for Dajarra women reflects a higher rate of participation in fishing activities by women. Most of the visits of the three participant groups were for two to three weeks or less and the most common length of stay was two to three days.

It seems that although Dajarra householders, male participants and female participants share some commonalities in their travel patterns they also have differences in terms of the extent of their travels over a one-year period and the frequency of travel to particular locations. The Dajarra householders appear to make far more frequent journeys to other places than the female and male participants, in the last year they made on average 50 trips/year to other places whereas the female participants made 28 trips and the male participants made 23 trips. It is clear that the Dajarra participants were frequently 'on the road' visiting places within North-west Queensland and the Eastern Northern Territory for relatively short periods of time.

Across the three Dajarra participant groups the most common reasons for travel were of a social nature particularly to visit family, to attend funerals or participate in sorry business and to attend sporting events. Across the three groups travel for services was dominated by travel to access services in Mt Isa. Shopping was a significant service orientated reason for visiting Mt Isa. The two main reasons why Dajarra residents travelled to Mt Isa to do their shopping appear to be (1) to access a wider variety of goods, and (2) the cheaper prices of these items in Mt Isa. Participants also identified social reasons for visiting Mt Isa. Thus while Mt Isa is clearly a service centre for Dajarra it is also an important social centre. The survey has clearly uncovered a pattern of reciprocal movements between the regional service and social centre of Mt Isa and an outlying remote community, in this case Dajarra. Travel to access services also took people to more distant places particularly Townsville.

When asked if they had travelled against a list of reasons the highest responses were for funerals, sports, shopping, health and work. Each of these has policy implications. It is noteworthy that people did not travel to access housing or housing services. In other words Aboriginal mobility does not seem to be triggered by housing circumstances. Funerals were significant social events for which large numbers of people move about the region. The Dajarra community used the Jemberella Co-operative's bus to transport people to funerals throughout North-west Queensland.

From the surveys it appeared that employment influenced mobility patterns in two ways. Firstly employment was responsible for some travel to places within or close to the North-west Queensland region and to more distant places. Much of the travel within North-west Queensland was associated with travel to cattle stations in the region. Through employment small numbers of the Dajarra participants travelled to more distant places for short periods such as Townsville or Toowoomba. Secondly, it was reported by some interviewees that employment provided the means to travel more frequently.

Recreational options for adults and children within Dajarra were limited. However an important feature of the recreational activities of the Dajarra community were the regional sporting and social events that Dajarra participants travelled to attend in various settlements throughout the year; football and softball events in Mt Isa, camel races in Boulia, and rodeos in Dajarra and Urandangi. These were important times of recreation but they were also important times of regional social interaction. Unfortunately the future of many of the smaller events is continually put at risk by escalating costs in public liability insurance.

The Dajarra householder, men and women participants all identified that they relied significantly on family for accommodation when visiting places. The data suggests that the women were slightly more reliant on relatives for accommodation than the householders who were in turn were slightly more reliant on family for accommodation than the men. This reliance on kin for accommodation has implications for housing policy particularly in relation to maintenance. Across the three groups a significant number of people said they camped at places visited. Such camps were mostly associated with visits to small settlements/communities in the region for special events or to bush locations such as the Georgina River waterholes. The high rate of camping does not indicate the need for additional housing but it may indicate the need for adequate facilities. Whereas Dajarra men and some householders identified accommodation options associated with work, none of the female participants identified work-related accommodation. Of the work-related accommodation there was a pattern of Dajarra male participants and some householders living at places of work within the region such as cattle stations.

For many Dajarra people the Georgina River is a centre of bush activities including fishing, hunting, camping and visiting sacred sites. It was also a significant centre of ceremonial activity. The Georgina was also an important venue for social interaction between friends and relatives. Thus visits to the Georgina were often of a social and economic nature. There are numerous camping locations on Georgina River waterholes that were used by Dajarra people. These same camps were used by the ancestors of many of the Dajarra participants. Although many of these camps bear only minimal signs of occupation they are settlements in their own right and should be viewed as part of the repertoire of settlements that were visited by Dajarra people. One female interviewee claimed that she would visit the Georgina every weekend (to hunt and fish) if she had the money to purchase the critical items such as fuel.

Access to transportation seems to be a major factor limiting people's mobility. Some interviewees who did not have their own vehicle or did not have access to private transport (including some young women as well as some older people) rarely left Dajarra. In some instances a lack of access to transport meant that people missed important medical appointments in Mt Isa or repeatedly rescheduled appointments.

Of the places Dajarra householders visited in the last year, the most commonly visited cluster of places lie within what may be called the Georgina River region or perhaps the Georgina River mobility region. This visitation reflected the country identification of participants and their spouses, it reflected the location of relatives and it also reflected the residential locations of relatives who had visited in the last year. There was a pattern of intense visitation within the Georgina River mobility region, a wider pattern of visitation to adjoining regions particularly those of the Georgina basin, but also including the Gulf of Carpentaria and then a pattern of visitation to a distinct east coast region. Townsville in particular might be described as a significant satellite to the Georgina region.

This survey illustrated that most of the participant's kin resided within this mobility region with only small numbers of kin residing outside of the region at more distant locations. Perhaps reflecting this residential pattern and the relationship between kinship and mobility, only small numbers of participants had travelled outside of the region to more distant places in the last year. These data reinforced the earlier literature-based observation that kinship is a key driving force in Aboriginal mobility. The data collected indicate that Dajarra householders rely significantly on kin for accommodation at places visited.

The Dajarra mobility survey indicated that kinship and social relations more broadly were the significant driving force of Aboriginal mobility in North-west Queensland. Kinship triggers mobility, it is maintained through mobility and kinship networks provide an important support structure for those engaged in patterns of travel.

5.0 ALPURRURULAM ANALYSIS

This Chapter reports on the findings of the survey conducted in Alpururulam. The Chapter commences with an overview of services available in Alpururulam and then describes the findings of interviews conducted with householders and small groups of men and women.

5.1 Available Services in Alpururulam

Alpururulam Community Government Council

At the time of the survey, the Alpururulam Community Government Council was the primary service provider in Alpururulam. The Council had operated for just under ten years and was responsible for providing a range of services to the community including: housing, water supply, sewerage, public toilets, public library, sports facilities, parks and recreational facilities, sporting facilities, road maintenance and maintenance of the cemetery. Other services provided by the Council include fuel supply, vehicle workshop and aged care. (N.T., A.C.G.C. 2004.)

Warte Alparayetye Store

At the time of the survey, the Warte Alparayetye Store was the only store servicing the Alpururulam Community, and was used by residents, visitors and workers from Lake Nash Station. The Warte Alparayetye Store is a general store that stocked a broad range of goods including food, clothes, and miscellaneous items. On request, the store orders car parts from Adelaide, Alice Springs or Brisbane depending on price and these were either freighted in or brought back by someone from the community. Outside of the wet season two trucks a week supply the store from Mt Isa. The two roads into Alpururulam from Mt Isa, the May Downs Road and the Austral Road are dirt roads that pass over black soil plains that quickly become boggy when wet. The condition of these roads and the level of maintenance that they receive was of major concern to the store manager and others in the community. Prior to the wet season the store orders enough stock to last three to four months. As trucks were unable to travel on the roads during the wet season the store paid \$1000 a week for a plane to bring in perishable supplies once a week from Mt Isa. This type of transportation was very expensive especially if the wet season extended beyond the usual three to four months. Furthermore, the airstrip itself, being unsealed, was also susceptible to wet weather.

Members of the Alpururulam community also did their shopping in Mt Isa which had a much greater variety of stores and where goods were cheaper. There was no public transport to and from Alpururulam so residents wishing to shop in Mt Isa had to travel by private vehicle. Some people from Alpururulam also did some shopping at Urandangi.

Purchased foods were supplemented by 'bush tucker', particularly fish and kangaroos.

Alpururulam CDEP

At the time of the survey, the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) provided a range of employment and training activities for the Alpururulam community. There were 110 CDEP positions in Alpururulam and these were

generally always filled. CDEP positions available in Alpururulam included employment in the store, women's centre, school, clinic, sports and recreation, parks and gardens, aged care, community administration, rubbish collection, night patrol, community care and repair and maintenance of the community's housing stock.

The Alpururulam CDEP program was run by a CDEP corporation based in Tennant Creek. If they wished, Alpururulam CDEP participants could move to other towns and communities and maintain a position with CDEP. Some people came to Alpururulam from other towns and communities including Ooratippra, Irenarne, Ampilatwatja, Harts Range, Urandangi, Dajarra and Mt Isa in order to work for CDEP. Reasons why people transferred their CDEP position to another community included to be with family and to move away from trouble. The minimum age to commence employment with CDEP was 16 years of age. In early 2005, 75% of the Alpururulam male population participated in CDEP in Alpururulam. Young women also participated in CDEP but many tended to derive their income from other social security benefits. The CDEP program involved working in the community for two days per week and CDEP participants were entitled to six weeks leave a year

Alpururulam Housing Services

There were 81 houses in Alpururulam at the time of the survey, all owned by the Community Government Council. Seven of these were not occupied as five of them were under renovation and the remaining two were awaiting renovation. There were no immediate plans to build additional houses to accommodate the existing Alpururulam population or the increasing number of people moving into the community. Reasons for such immigration included people marrying someone from Alpururulam, moving to be close to family and gaining employment through CDEP. All Aboriginal residents used the housing service, including people who moved to Alpururulam from communities such as Dajarra, Mt Isa or Sandover side.

During the early 2000s (last four years), ten houses had been built, a number had been extended and renovated and some very old houses had been demolished. At the time of the survey (April 2005) there were 14 families on the house waiting list. Most of these people were Alpururulam residents who were currently living with family. A survey by the Alpururulam housing officer indicated that the average number of bedrooms was 3.1 with an average of 1.9 people per bedroom. A number of houses had up to 13 occupants. These numbers increased during special events and family visits. While houses were being renovated, householders tended to move in with other families until the work was completed. All adult residents were required to pay rent directly to the Council on either a weekly (if CDEP employed) or fortnightly (Centrelink benefits) basis. A person had to start paying rent once they had been in the community for four weeks.

Two key difficulties within this service were highlighted to the field researchers: (1) maintenance of houses, and (2), training CDEP participants to maintain and build houses.

Education Services

Alpururulam has a primary school called the Alpururulam Community Government School and it offered classes from pre-school to grade seven. Children slightly older than the grade seven age were allowed to attend but once children reached the age of twelve or thirteen, attendance started to drop. There were three teachers, one

teaching principal and four Aboriginal assistant teachers (one Aboriginal assistant teacher for each class). The school had employed two Alywarr women who taught and spoke in their language, however at the time of the survey both women had just left their positions and the school no longer had staff members engaged in the formal teaching of Aboriginal language.

A significant problem faced by the school was poor levels of student attendance. As a result, the education level of some students was lower than what they would normally be expected to achieve by a certain grade. The teacher who was interviewed by the researchers, identified a number of factors that influenced low attendance including difficulty in learning in a second language (English), pressure from other children not to attend school, a lack of interest in school and regular family travel to other towns and communities for various periods and for various reasons. Reasons identified by teachers for families visiting other communities included visiting relatives, rodeos, bush carnivals and football games. Families often attended these events and could be away for between two and four weeks at a time. For example, some children missed school for up to four weeks when they went with their family to Mt Isa for the Rodeo. At times the school was closed due to a lack of students in attendance. The school closed down on days when there were funerals. If a family travelled regularly or was away for extended periods of time, it was sometimes the case that a student would rotate between two schools - one in their visiting community/town and the other in their home community. Schools that students rotated between included Alpururulam, Urandangi, Camooweal, Ampilatwatja and Tennant Creek. In the first term of 2005, there were approximately ten children visiting the Alpururulam community. The visiting children only attended school for a short period in comparison to their overall length of stay in the community. According to the teacher interviewed, visiting families did not feel obliged to send their children to school because they were of the view that they were 'just visiting'. In comparison to the negative impacts of mobility on the mainstream education of Aboriginal children that were identified by the interviewee, mobility may offer significant positive education outcomes in relation to Aboriginal laws and customs including knowledge of country and language.

The majority of continuing students from Alpururulam attended high school at Mt Isa. Other high schools utilized by residents included Yirara (Lutheran College outside Alice Springs), Mirara (Christian College outside Darwin) and the Tennant Creek High School. The students who went to the last three schools usually did not complete high school and returned to Alpururulam. The teacher interviewed suggested that when students from these distant high schools returned to Alpururulam to attend a funeral or to visit family they usually did not return to high school because they had missed their family, and wished to remain close to them. In comparison attending high school in Mt Isa was not as difficult as it was much closer and therefore it was much easier to make regular visits home. Some students who attended Mt Isa High School had extended family in Mt Isa with whom they could stay during the school term. In addition the government funded flights for the students between Mt Isa and Alpururulam. Overall, students who attended high school at Mt Isa were more likely to continue with high school than those who attended high schools in Tennant Creek, Darwin or Alice Springs. At the time of the survey, there were no programs in place to prepare Alpururulam primary school students for high school.

Health Services

During the twelve months from 1st April 2004 to 31st March 2005, a total of 5783 visits were made to the Alpururulam health service by Aboriginal people. In addition to Alpururulam residents, others who used the service included visitors from Ammaroo, Harts Range, Epenarra, Camooweal, Mt Isa, Dajarra, Argadargada, Lake Nash Station and Ooratippra. Some visitors used the Alpururulam health clinic when they ran out of medicine while visiting the community. In such cases the clinic called the patient's home clinic to obtain a script and then administered the medicine if it was available. The medical services provided by the clinic were limited to the capabilities of the nursing staff and equipment. The clinic did not have a resident doctor and as a result, patients were often sent to Mt Isa hospital for higher levels of medical attention. Clinic nurses often made phone calls to consult with doctors in Mt Isa or Alice Springs hospitals.

Three areas of concern were identified by the health clinic staff. Firstly, some patients required a weekly INR (International Normalised Rate) blood test, which was used to monitor the health of people taking anti-coagulants (used in the prevention of strokes). As Alpururulam does not have the facilities to test samples they must be sent to Mt Isa or Alice Springs and kept frozen/cool during transport. However transporting blood for testing was difficult when the community was cut off by wet weather. Secondly, a permanent chronic disease nurse was required in the community to monitor people with renal diabetes. Patients with renal diabetes in the community were in the advanced (irreversible) stages of the disease. Renal diabetes was caused by excessive body sugar as a result of poor nutrition and lack of exercise. Thirdly, in order to prevent diseases such as diabetes, clinic staff suggested that a permanent dietician be employed in the community to educate people regarding healthy nutrition and they believed a healthy food outlet should be established.⁹ At the time of research, there was no dialysis unit available for use in the Alpururulam clinic. Two community members with renal diabetes had at first travelled to and then moved to Alice Springs to access the dialysis unit located at the Alice Springs Hospital. A third Alpururulam diabetes patient had their own dialysis service in their home in which plumbing modifications had been carried out to accommodate operation of such.

The health clinic vehicles travelled to Mt Isa twice a week, via the May Downs Road, taking patients including pregnant women to hospital (see map in Figure 1). The lack of medical facilities in Alpururulam and difficulty travelling to the Mt Isa hospital during the wet season meant that in some instances patients had to stay in either Mt Isa, Townsville or Brisbane hospitals longer than they needed to. This caused considerable stress for the family of the patient and in some instances they also moved to the places where their family member was receiving medical attention. In the recent past, some medical specialists from Mt Isa hospital had been transferred to Townsville and as a result some patients had to travel to Townsville to access specialist treatment. However, it was reported that there was a perception in the community that those who travelled to Townsville for medical treatment were likely to die. The same perception was not held in regard to the Alice Springs Hospital. A further difficulty was that if a patient from Alpururulam was sent to Townsville hospital and died there, their family was responsible for transferring the body back to Alpururulam which cost approximately \$4500. At one stage Alpururulam patients

⁹ At the time of the survey two nutritionists were visiting the community to teach people about healthy eating habits.

who were airlifted to Mt Isa were being charged \$900 for the ambulance transfer from Mt Isa airport to the hospital because they were not Queensland residents.

Royal Flying Doctor Service

During the period from 30 June 2002 to July 2005 the Royal Flying Doctor Service made 137 evacuations from Lake Nash (on average 46 per year or one every eight days). Between 1st April 2004 and 31st May 2005, 32 people were evacuated from Lake Nash by the Flying Doctor service. It took the Flying Doctor up to an hour to travel to Alpururulam from Mt Isa and three hours from Townsville. During the wet season when the roads were unusable or the creeks and rivers were up, the community was totally dependant on air services. However, access to this essential emergency service (and other air services) was jeopardised by the standard of the unsealed airstrip, which was unusable during wet weather. Patients who needed to be evacuated were usually in a serious condition requiring urgent medical attention, however due to the condition of the Lake Nash strip, bad weather had delayed the landing of some emergency flights with disastrous consequences. Staff at the clinic expressed concerns for the patients who were left waiting on the airstrip and they expressed concern for their own safety because families of patients became distressed due to such delays in medical attention. There was an urgent need to establish an all-weather airstrip that met the standards required to maintain the Alpururulam community's access to the RFDS and other air services.

Centrelink

Many Alpururulam residents used Centrelink services and received benefits such as aged pension, disability support, 'Newstart' allowance, parenting payment, youth allowance and family tax benefits. Centrelink representatives from Mt Isa visited Alpururulam every two to three months to answer questions and collect information needed for forms. Alpururulam people could use Centrelink services in other communities they visited and likewise visitors could use the Centrelink service in Alpururulam to lodge forms. The Mt Isa Centrelink office was responsible for Alpururulam (it was not responsible for any other Northern Territory communities). Alpururulam residents mostly used the Mt Isa office as it was closer than Tennant Creek and it had Indigenous staff with whom they were familiar. Three Indigenous customer service officers from the Mt Isa office travelled to Alpururulam two to three times per year. One of the roles of these officers was to encourage participation in CDEP.

Police and Court Services (including Night Patrol and Legal Aid)

Alpururulam was serviced by the Avon Downs Police Station 150kms by road to the north of the community (in the Northern Territory). The Avon Downs Police visited the community one day per fortnight or one day per month. During the wet season visits took place one day every three months. Two police visited the community for approximately 1.5 hours to check warrants, motor vehicles and registration, driver's licenses and incident reports submitted by the Night Patrol. Council staff were of the view that the length of their visit was generally insufficient. Alpururulam was the last stop of the day for the police officers who would have already visited Austral Downs (30 people) and Lake Nash (20 people) Stations on the same day. People from Ooratippra and Irenarne travelled to Alpururulam to meet the police to get vehicles

registered and to attend to warrants. At the time of the survey, there were two people from the Alpururulam community training with the NT Police as Community Officers. The trainees had spent nine months training at Tennant Creek. After spending another three months stationed at Avon Downs, they would then return to Alpururulam to commence work in their home community. Aboriginal Community Officers received benefits such as a house and vehicle. It was usual for Aboriginal officers to work in their home community due to their knowledge of cultural rules and values and domestic situations.

The maintenance of law and order in Alpururulam was assisted by a local community-manned Night Patrol, whose participants were employed by the CDEP program. At the time of the survey, there were three men who regularly worked on the Night Patrol and this sometimes increased to ten. Although men had traditionally operated the Night Patrol, the Community Council was trying to get more women involved as women often play an important role in disciplining youth.

The Alpururulam Council CEO estimated that approximately eight people from the community attended court every two months (or 48 people per year). These people had to attend court in Tennant Creek 560 km by road and it was their responsibility to find their way there. Some people had difficulty making court appearances as they did not have access to private transport. As a failure to attend court could result in a jail sentence, the Community Council tried to assist with transport for court appearances. A circuit court did not operate in Alpururulam.

The Council CEO indicated that an inquiry into access to legal support found that remote communities were largely disadvantaged when it came to legal services. There was no legal aid available in Alpururulam and at the time of the survey, lawyers did not visit the community from any legal aid office. As a result of these circumstances and the distance people had to travel for court appearances, there was a risk of people being jailed for minor offences.

Aged Care

The Alpururulam Community Government Council operated an Aged Care service which was used by 30 people. The service included meals-on-wheels, home support, shopping, firewood supply, laundry, cultural outings, hunting trips and transportation to medical appointments in Mt Isa. At the time of the survey, there was no residential care in Alpururulam. Some elderly people had to move to Mt Isa or Townsville when they could no longer access adequate support services, medical attention and equipment in Alpururulam. A priority of the Council was to establish and improve aged care services so that older people could stay in the community. For example, the Council upgraded the plumbing of a house to support a home-based dialysis patient.

Women's Centre

Programs operated by the Women's Centre included daily meal preparation for the aged, an arts program, a limited childcare facility and some gardening work. Through the Women's Centre, the Council supported Alpururulam artists by providing supplies, marketing the artwork, maintaining a website and handling the sale and postage of artwork. This program had generated a lot of interest amongst young and old, male and female painters. At the time of the survey artists were preparing for their first art exhibition to be held at Tennant Creek.

Road upgrades & maintenance

All of the roads linking Alpururulam to other settlements and services were unsealed and were in need of more regular maintenance. The field data has highlighted a significant link between Alpururulam and the regional service centre of Mt Isa. It has highlighted frequent visitation to Mt Isa by Alpururulam householders (26 trips per year per visitor), men (39 trips per year per visitor), and women (32 trips per year per visitor). The survey has highlighted a reliance on certain services in Mt Isa. The use of services in Mt Isa relied on private vehicle transportation (people were not supposed to travel in government vehicles for private purposes). The May Downs road was the most commonly travelled route between Mt Isa and Alpururulam and it was used by Alpururulam residents, service providers and visitors. It is a distance of 230km on this road between Alpururulam and Mt Isa most of which was unsealed and poorly maintained. Many Alpururulam participants including community Elders raised their concerns regarding the poor condition of this road. The Alpururulam community was keen to get this road repaired and regularly maintained. Council Officers noted that within the Alpururulam community and neighbouring Aboriginal communities, there existed equipment and Aboriginal people with the skills to contract for and undertake such work. At the time of the field study a crew from Alpururulam was working on the repair and maintenance of the 'Austral Road' which is a possible option during the wet season at times when the May Downs Road is impassable (albeit 360 rather than 230kms to Mt Isa). The Sandover Highway that passes Alpururulam on its immediate south also requires better maintenance. Vehicles travelling on this road create dust which was then blown over the community by prevailing southerly winds, particularly in winter. The sealing of the section of the road adjacent to the community would alleviate this problem which has health implications. The maintenance of roads is perhaps such an obvious implication of Aboriginal mobility that it could be easily overlooked.

5.2 The mobility experiences of Alpururulam householders and their relatives

Twenty Alpururulam householders were interviewed consisting of nine women and eleven men. The participants ranged in age from the early 20s to the late 70s.

Country or Language Group identity of householder interviewees

Most of the Alpururulam householders (85% of respondents) identified as Alyawarr, one identified as Kalkadoon and three did not provide a response to the question. The high proportion of householders who identified as Alyawarr contrasted with Dajarra where householders were identified with a greater range of language groups. (See Figure 11a.)

Most of the Alyawarr household participants (70% or 14 out of 20) identified as being 'married up'. However, of their partners, the country or language group identification was only obtained for eight persons. Of these eight partners, six were Alyawarr, one was identified as Waanyi and one as Arrernte. These data combined with the high rate of identification of householders as Alyawarr indicate a strong pattern of marriage within the Alyawarr language group (endogamy). (Also see Figure 11a.)

Most of the Alpururulam household participants had children, seven of the participants (35%) had between one and three children, eleven participants (55%) had between four and six. Four participants (20%) were rearing between one and three children for whom they were not the biological parents.

The home communities of householder interviewees

A significant proportion of the Alpururulam household participants (40% of responses) were 'reared up' at Lake Nash or Alpururulam. Other places where the participants were reared up were Dajarra, Boulia, Urandangi and Camooweal (8% of responses respectively), and Ampilatwatja, Epenarra, Bluff, Yeppoon, Blackwater and Innisfail (4% of responses respectively). These responses indicate that most of the household participants (80% of responses) were reared up in locations within the Georgina River and Sandover regions. Despite the fact that less than 50% of household participants were reared up in Alpururulam all household participants said that Alpururulam was their home community. One participant said that Urandangi was also their home community and one participant said that Canteen Creek was also their home community. (See Figure 12.)

The location and movement of householders' closest relatives

As for Dajarra, the Alpururulam householders were assisted to identify their ten closest, cognatic, adult, living relatives (a sample of 195). Most of the relatives of the Alpururulam household participants were reared up at places within the Sandover and Georgina River regions. A significant number of relatives of the Alpururulam householders (88 people or 45% of the responses) were reared up at 'Lake Nash', 49 people (25% of responses) were reared up at Alpururulam and 39 people (20% of responses) were reared up at Lake Nash Station. Camooweal was the place where the next highest number of relatives of Alpururulam householders were reared up (18 people or 9%). This was followed by Epenarra (5%), Urandangi (5%), Avon Downs (4%), Boulia (4%), Mt Isa (4%), Dajarra (4%), Ampilatwatja (3%), MacDonald Downs Station (2%), Gregory Downs (2%), Innisfail (2%), Utopia (1%), Cairns (1%), and one person from each of Tennant Creek, Canteen Creek, Alice Springs, Tobermorey, Sandover, Elkedra, Townsville, Woorabinda/Rockhampton, Yeppoon, Springsure, and South Johnstone (Innisfail). Two of the interviewed Alpururulam householders originated from the east coast and migrated to Lake Nash as adults which accounts for the east coast locations in this response. (See Figure 13a.)

Data were obtained for the places where 190 relatives of the Alpururulam household participants were living at the time of the survey. Six participants identified one relative as living in two or three locations. A significant number of the relatives of the Alpururulam household participants (50% or 95 people) also lived in Alpururulam. A significant number of relatives were currently living in Mt Isa (17% or 32 people). The next highest concentration of relatives (14% of relatives or 27 people) were living in 'Sandover River' communities and adjacent Alyawarr communities: Epenarra (4%), Canteen Creek (4%), Ampilatwatja (3%), Ooratippra (2%), 'Sandover' (1%) and Utopia (one person). Small numbers of relatives were living in the other major service centres of Tennant Creek (5% or nine people) and Alice Springs (2% or three people). Small numbers of relatives were living in Georgina River communities within Queensland (6% or eleven people): viz Urandangi and Marmanya (3% or six people), Camooweal (2% or three people) and Dajarra (1% or two people). The data

indicate eleven relatives of Alpururulam household participants living in the Cairns area and the central Queensland coast- these people were the relatives of participants who originally grew up themselves on the east coast. It is clear that most of the relatives of the Alpururulam household participants live in the Sandover and Georgina River regions (87% of relatives or 165 people (including Mt Isa). Mt Isa is included within the Georgina River region because although it is not physically within the Georgina River basin, it is in close proximity and it is clear that socially and economically it is a part of this region. (See Figure 13b.)

The relatives of householder participants had lived at their current location for periods of time ranging from one month or less through to 'all of their life'. The highest categories of response were for a period of two or three years (18% of responses), followed by 'long time' (13%), 'all of life' (11%), 16-20 years (11%), six to ten years (10%), eleven to 15 years (9%), seven to twelve months (9%), four to five years (6%), two to six months (4%), 30 years or more (3%), 26-30 years (3%), one month or less (3%), and 21-25 years (1%). Two key features of these data were the relatively low numbers of people that had lived in places for less than a year and the relatively high numbers of people who had lived in places for two to three years and for more than ten years. This indicated long-term residential identification with particular locations. However it did not necessarily indicate a lack of movement or mobility. The places where relatives had lived three years or more were predominantly within the Georgina Basin or on the edge of it. Most of the responses of three years or more were attributed to relatives living in Alpururulam, however a significant number were also attributed to relatives living in Mt Isa. Thus there were relatives of Alpururulam residents who had lived in Mt Isa for considerable periods of time which suggests that migration by members of the Alpururulam community to Mt Isa was not necessarily a recent phenomenon.

The Alpururulam householder participants identified 140 close relatives whom they had visited in the last year. Many of these (83 people or 60% of responses) were relatives who also lived in Alpururulam. The remaining 57 relatives were mostly from places within the Georgina region or close to it. The highest number of visits were to relatives living in Mt Isa (24 relatives or 17% of responses). These Mt Isa visits represented 42% of visits to locations other than Alpururulam. This was followed by Epenarra (seven relatives or 5% responses), Canteen Creek (seven relatives or 5% responses), Tennant Creek (six relatives or 4%), Ampilatwatja (four relatives or 3%), Urandangi (four relatives or 3%), and one relative was visited in each of Dajarra, Alice Springs, Ooratippra, Utopia and Mareeba. These data indicate that Alpururulam residents were more likely to visit relatives who live within or close to the Georgina River region. It also highlighted a strong relationship between Alpururulam and Mt Isa. (See Figure 14a.)

Alpururulam household participants identified 121 relatives who had visited them in the last year. Most of these (83 people or 68% of responses) were relatives who also lived in Alpururulam. The remaining 38 relatives were mostly from places within the Georgina region or close to it. None of the relatives living in more distant places such as the east coast had visited in the last year. The highest number of visitors in the last year came from Mt Isa (nine relatives or 7% responses), followed by Canteen Creek (six relatives or 5%), Ampilatwaja (five relatives or 4%), Tennant Creek (four relatives or 3%), Urandangi/Marmanya (four relatives or 3%), Camooweal (two relatives or 2%), 'Sandover' (two relatives or 2%) and one relative from each of Dajarra, Alice Springs, Ooratippra, Bidungu, Calton Hills and Murray Downs. These data indicate that the relatives who were most likely to visit Alpururulam residents were those living within or close to the Georgina River Basin. It also highlighted a

significant relationship between Alpururulam and Mt Isa. It is important to note that this question was asked in respect to a particular relative and therefore it does not give an indication of the total numbers of people who travelled from locations to Alpururulam. For example it is possible, in fact highly likely, that each of the relatives who travelled to Alpururulam did so with others, probably their own family. (See Figure 14b.)

Household characteristics over the last year.

All of the Alpururulam householder participants rented their homes from the Alpururulam Community Council. There was one self-built camp in the community at the time of the survey that was occupied by two senior men and it was often occupied during the day by groups of men. (It was therefore a traditional single men's domiciliary group or *arnkwentye*.)

The Alpururulam householders had occupied their houses for periods ranging from less than a year to more than ten years. 20% of the householder participants had occupied their house for one year or less, 20% had occupied their house for between one and five years, 30% had occupied their house for five to ten years and 20% had occupied their house for more than ten years (10% had occupied their house for 'a long time'). Thus across the Alpururulam community there was simultaneously significant stability in household occupation (at least by core members of the household) and significant movement. Houses that were occupied for a relatively short time may have reflected movement of households across the Alpururulam housing stock, the formation of new households (young couple getting their first house) or the movement of households into Alpururulam from elsewhere.

Most of the Alpururulam household participants (75%) occupied a house of three bedrooms or less. 60% occupied a three-bedroom house, 25% occupied a four-bedroom house and 15% occupied a two-bedroom house. The Alpururulam households were relatively large with 80% of participants living in a house with three or more occupants; 50% of the participants lived in households of three to five occupants, 25% of participants lived in households of six to eight occupants, 5% of participants lived in households of twelve to 14 occupants, and 20% lived in a household of one to two occupants. It must be noted that these data do not provide any indication of perceptions of crowding.

Table 6: Classification of 20 Alpururulam households by household size and house size (numbers of bedrooms).

Number of Household Occupants	Number of Bedrooms				
	1 B/R	2 B/Rs	3 B/Rs	4 B/Rs	5 B/Rs
1-2			4		
3-5		3	5	2	
6-8			3	2	
9-11					
12-14				1	
Sub-total of households	0	3	12	5	0

Household Visitation and Departures

A significant number of the Alpururulam householder participants (40% of respondents) lived in households which had a member of the household away at the time of the survey, whilst a number of participants (20%) had visitors staying with them at the time of the survey. All of the visitors at the time of the survey were family members. The visitors were identified as parents (28% of visitors), siblings (28% of visitors), nieces and nephews (28% of visitors), and cousin brothers (14% of visitors). These visitors came equally from Dajarra (Qld), Urandangi (Qld), Canteen Creek, Ooratippra and from within Alpururulam itself. All of the current visitors had been with the households between five days and two weeks. These data suggest that household visitors were relatively common and that the visitors make relatively short stays. The reasons provided by the householders for the visitation were simply 'to visit' (40% of responses), 'for company' (20%), to fish/hunt (20%) and to gamble (20%).

Other people were identified as visiting within the last year most being relatives: cousins and 'family' (22% of responses respectively) siblings, children, uncles/aunts, nieces/nephews (11% respectively) and one respondent identified friends coming and going in the last year. These visitors had since gone to Mt Isa (31% of responses), Canteen Creek (19% of responses), Tennant Creek (19% of responses), Boulia, Ampilatwitja, Epenarra and Sandover (6% of responses respectively). These data indicate that Mt Isa was a significant destination for visitors who had left Alpururulam. (See Figure 15a.)

Householders were also asked whether there was anyone who used to live in their household during the last year, who now lived somewhere else. A significant number of respondents (40%) identified such people. All of the people who had moved were family members, most being the children of the participants (75% of responses). Others who had moved were niece/nephew (12%) and an ex-partner (12%). These people had moved to elsewhere in Alpururulam (25% of responses) and to Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Canteen Creek, Mt Isa, Urandangi (12% respectively), whilst the remaining 12% were unsure of the location of the ex-household member. These findings indicate a significant movement within Alpururulam, and they also indicate that places within the Northern Territory as well as places within Queensland were destinations for both visitors and residents leaving Alpururulam. Whereas both visitors and Alpururulam residents had moved to Mt Isa, Mt Isa did not appear as a strong source of visitors to Alpururulam. It is possible then that we are uncovering a pattern of out migration to the regional service and

social centre of Mt Isa from an outlying remote community, in this case Alpururulam. (See Figure 15b.)

Reasons for living in Alpururulam

Householders said they lived in Alpururulam because Alpururulam 'was home' (30% of responses), because of work (30% of responses), because their family lived in Alpururulam (15%), because they 'grew up in Alpururulam' (10%) and because of school (5% of responses). Thus the main reasons for living in Alpururulam were of a social nature (this included place attachment).

Place of residence three years ago

Three years previous to the survey a high proportion of the respondents (77%) were living in Alpururulam, whilst 5% were living in each of Mt Isa, Urandangi, Elliot, Tennant Creek and Canteen Creek. These data seem to indicate that the Alpururulam householder population was significantly stable, that is, there was a population that was likely to be found in Alpururulam at any given time. The people who were living elsewhere three years ago had been in those places for between six months and five years. Work and 'living there' were given as reasons for living in these other locations. (See Figure 16.)

Travel pattern of householders within the last year

Mt Isa was the place most commonly visited by the Alpururulam householders; 89% of participants visited Mt Isa in the last year, making on average 26 trips per year per visitor. Other significant destinations visited by respondents in the last year were Urandangi (63% of participants), Ooratippra (63%), Ampilatwatja (Ammaroo) (58%), Canteen Creek (52%), Tennant Creek (47%), Alice Springs (47%), Epenarra (42%), Camooweal (37%), Georgina River (37%), Wunara (21%), Utopia (21%), Harts Range (21%), No. 5 Bore Outstation (21%), Mt Swan (21%). The most commonly visited places lay within the Georgina River region and the neighbouring 'Sandover' and 'Plenty' regions. This pattern of visitation reflected movement between Alpururulam and Alyawarr and Arrernte homelands in the Northern Territory, places on the Georgina River and the regional service centre of Mt Isa.

The most frequently visited places in descending order were Mt Isa and the Georgina River (other places on the Georgina) both with an average of 33 trips per visitor per year, Urandangi 23 trips per visitor per year, Utopia six trips per visitor per year, Tennant Creek four trips per visitor per year, Ooratippra four trips per visitor per year, Ampilatwatja three trips per visitor per year, Harts Range three trips per visitor per year, and Gregory (or Bidungu) three trips per visitor per year. An average of two trips visitor per year occurred to each of Alice Springs, Canteen Creek, Epenarra, Wunara, Dajarra, Camooweal, and Darwin. An average of one trip per year per visitor per year occurred to each of No. 5 Bore Outstation, Mt Swan, Doomadgee, Normanton, Townsville, Katherine, and Hatches Ck. These figures indicated frequent visitation to Mt Isa and places on the Georgina River. The frequency of visitation to Camooweal recorded in the interviews seemed low given its proximity to Lake Nash and anecdotal evidence of more regular movement between Alpururulam and Camooweal. Using the data provided by the household participants as to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made

around 1006 trips in the last year, 497 of which were to Mt Isa, or an average of 50 trips per participant per year. (See Figure 17.)

Length of visitation to places by Alpururulam people

Most visits by householders to places were for periods of three days or less (72% of responses) consisting of two to three days (43% of responses), one day (18%), a few hours (3%), and passing through (8%). Other periods of visitation were two to three weeks (11%), one week (10%), four to five days (3%), and one participant had visited Normanton for one month, one participant had visited Alice Springs for six weeks, one respondent had visited Ampilatwatja for six weeks, and one participant had visited Ooratippra for six months. It is noteworthy that Mt Isa, the most frequently visited place, was mostly visited for only one day (59% of responses for Mt Isa). Other periods of visitation to Mt Isa were two to three days (29% of responses for Mt Isa), one week (6% of responses for Mt Isa) and two to three weeks (6% of responses for Mt Isa). Surprisingly even distant places were visited for relatively short periods of time for example Alice Springs was visited by one participant for one day (by car). These figures indicated that most visits to places were of a relatively short duration. It appears that the normal maximum length of stay was two to three weeks and it is possible that this duration was related to the timing of wages and social security payments.

Reasons for visitation to places by Alpururulam people

Across all of the places visited in the last year by Alpururulam householders, the most common reason for moving was to visit family and friends (16% of responses). This was followed in descending order by sports (15% of responses), funerals and sorry business (11%), hunting/fishing/gathering/camping (11%), shopping (9% of responses – most of these were visits to Mt Isa), church/ Christian convention (6%), visiting/holiday (5%), work (4%), passing through (3%), land meetings (2%), community meetings (2%), hospital/specialists (2%), car maintenance (2%), law business (1%), court (1%), drover's reunion (1%), special occasion (1%), banking (1%), and there was one response for each of vehicle registration, visit a relative in jail, dinner stop, enjoyment/ family outing. Mt Isa was the most commonly and frequently visited place by Alpururulam householders. Shopping was given as the single most common reason for visiting Mt Isa followed by sports and funerals or sorry business.

Accommodation during visitation to places by Alpururulam people

When visiting other places the Alpururulam householder participants mostly stayed with family members (42% of responses) consisting of unspecified family (19% of responses), cousins (6%), siblings (5%), aunty/uncle (4%), children (3%), niece/nephew (2%), parents (1%), grandparents (1%). Following family members a significant number of participants 'camped' at the places visited (17% of responses). The places where people camped were mostly bush communities and some of these had facilities set up for visiting campers. One participant said they camped in Alice Springs (this may mean that they stayed at one of the many town camps). Motel accommodation (6% of responses) was used during visits to cities that were mostly outside of or on the edge of the normal mobility region, ie Mt Isa (on the edge), Tennant Creek, Alice Springs, Townsville, Darwin. Participants stayed in

accommodation associated with churches (4% of responses). Hostel accommodation (2% of responses) was used in Camooweal and Alice Springs. One person used Red Cross accommodation in Townsville. One person stayed at the women's centre at Epenarra. One person stayed at a cattle station. Only one respondent said they stayed with a friend. These data indicate that people mostly stayed with relatives or they camped (and camps were often comprised of family members). When visiting places distant from the mobility region such as Townsville and Darwin it appeared that people were more reliant on accommodation options such as hostels and motels.

Travel to utilize specific services

Alpurrurulam householders were asked if they had travelled in the last year against a list of reasons pertaining to specific services. The highest responses were to attend funerals/ sorry business (22% of responses) and sports/rodeos/shows (22%), followed by shopping (12%), health services (9%) and meetings on country (7%), church (5%), school (4%), banking (4%), purchase car/ car maintenance (3%), training (3%), work (3%), Law Business (2%), court attendance (2%), tax (2%), legal aid/solicitor (1%), Centrelink (1%), post office (1%), land council/ outstation resource centre (1%), and to seek housing (1%). No-one identified travelling to see police. The responses indicated that Mt Isa was a significant service centre for Alpurrurulam interviewees that was visited for a range of reasons. For all of the reasons provided for travel to all places, the proportions given for visiting Mt Isa were sports/rodeos/shows (16 out of 29 responses for places visited for this reason), shopping (15 out of 16 responses), health (eleven of twelve responses), funerals (six out of 29 responses), banking (five out of five responses), car purchase/ car maintenance (four out of four responses), tax (three out of three responses), school (two out of five responses), work (one out of four responses), legal aid/solicitor (one out of two responses), to seek housing (one out of two responses) and Centrelink (one out of one response). It is clear that most travel from Alpurrurulam for services involved travel to Mt Isa. The responses indicated that Alice Springs and Tennant Creek were also important service centres but they were visited for a smaller range of services than Mt Isa. Tennant Creek was visited for school, court, legal, house services, funeral and church. Alice Springs was visited for school, training, work, court and sports/ rodeo/ show. Funerals and 'sorry business' were responsible for participants travelling to the greatest range of places with 29 responses for visits to 17 places.

5.3 The mobility experiences of Alpurrurulam men

In addition to the householders, a small sample of mainly single men were interviewed to see how similar or dissimilar their mobility patterns were in relation to householders.

Demographic profile of the male interviewees

Six men were interviewed in Alpurrurulam who ranged in age from late teens to early 40s. Most of the male participants identified as Alyawarr (four out of six of the men), one identified as Kalkadoon, and the other as East Arrernte. Thus most of the Alpurrurulam male participants were identified with country/ language groups within or neighbouring the Georgina River region. Only one of the six participants was

'married up' and his wife was identified as Alyawarr. Three of the six participants had between one and three children. None of the men were rearing any other children.

Five of the six men had been living in Alpururulam three years prior to the survey and one had been living in Dajarra. One of the men had also lived temporarily at a work camp near Camooweal during the last three years.

Regional travel patterns of men within the last year

Of the places visited in the last year by the male participants, the most commonly visited cluster of places lay within the neighbouring regions of the Georgina River, Sandover River, Plenty River and Barkly Tableland. Urandangi was the most commonly visited place with all of the participants visiting in the last year, followed by Mt Isa (five men or 83% of participants), Alice Springs (four men or 67%), Ampilatwatja (67%), Urapuntja (or Utopia) (three men or 50%), Ooratippra (50%), Harts Range (50%), Dajarra, Boulia, Bedourie, Cloncurry, Wunara, Epenarra, Bonya, No. 5 Bore Outstation, Mt Swan and Darwin (two men or 33% of participants respectively), Winton, Urlampe, Georgina River, Tennant Creek, Townsville, Canteen Creek, and Katherine (one response or 17% of participants respectively). Townsville was the only place visited on the east coast and it was visited by one man. Other places visited that lay distinctly outside of the region were Katherine and Darwin.

Mt Isa was the place visited most frequently by Alpururulam men with on average, 39 trips per year per visitor. Camooweal was visited on average 14 times per year per visitor; Urandangi ten times per year per visitor; Bedourie, Wunara, and Canteen Creek, three times per year per visitor respectively; Dajarra, Boulia, Epenarra, Alice Springs, Ampilatwaja and Ooratippra two times per year per visitor respectively; Cloncurry, Winton, Urlampe, Tennant Creek, Utopia, Bonya, Harts Range, No. 5 Bore Outstation, Mt Swan, Townsville and Darwin, one trip per year per visitor respectively. These data indicate that the places most frequently visited by Alpururulam male participants were the three closest settlements (Mt Isa, Camooweal, Urandangi); these settlements all lie within Queensland. Using the data provided by the male participants as to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made around 409 trips in the last year or an average of 68 trips per participant.

Most visits to places were for periods of three days or less (68% of responses) consisting of two to three days (42% of responses), one day (18%), passing through (6%), and a few hours (2%). Other periods of visitation were 'lived there in the last year' (9%), one week (6%), two to three weeks (4%), four to five days (3%), and one response (2%) for each of one month, two to three months and six months. It is noteworthy that Mt Isa, the most frequently visited place, is mostly visited for only one day (60% of responses for Mt Isa). Other periods of visitation to Mt Isa were two to three days (20% of responses for Mt Isa), and two to three months (20% of responses for Mt Isa). Surprisingly other distant places were also visited for relatively short periods of time for example Alice Springs and Tennant Creek were both visited for one day. These figures indicate that most visits to places were of a relatively short duration and it appears that the normal maximum length of stay was two to three weeks.

Reasons for visitation to places by Alpururulam

Across all of the places visited in the last year by the male participants the most common reason for moving was to visit family or friends (20% of responses). This was followed by rodeo/gymkhanas/sports (14% of responses), hunting/fishing/gathering/camping (12% of responses), passing through (10% of responses), funerals or sorry business (6% of responses), shopping (4% of responses), church/ Christian meetings (4% of responses), visiting/holiday (4% of responses), work (3%), community meetings (3%), hospital/specialist (2%), court (2%), council business (2%). Other reasons for visits over the last year were for school or school functions, land meetings, to pick something up, to visit pubs/drink, to 'dry out', 'lived there', to 'fuel up' and to drop someone off (1% of responses respectively).

Visiting family and friends, funerals, sports and hunting/fishing/camping took men to a diversity of places. It seems that Mt Isa is a service centre for Alpururulam men but so too Alice Springs and Urandangi. Sporting events were highly significant in the lifestyle of Alpururulam men, particularly Australian Rules Football. At the time of the survey, there were two AFL teams in Alpururulam, a 'town' team that played in the Mt Isa league and a 'bush' team that played against teams from other Aboriginal communities. Therefore Alpururulam men were regularly travelling east to Mt Isa for football or west along the Sandover to other communities. Sporting events were also very important social events and could also be viewed as a social reason for visitation. Therefore social visitation (visiting family and friends combined with sports and funerals) accounted for 40% of responses.

Mt Isa was the place most frequently visited by Alpururulam men and the reasons given for visiting Mt Isa were sports (25% of Mt Isa responses), visiting family and friends (12% of Mt Isa responses), funerals (12%), hospital (12%), shopping (12%), and 'lived' there (12%).

Accommodation during visitation to places by Alpururulam men

When visiting places in the last year Alpururulam male participants mostly stayed with family members (28% of responses). A significant number said they stayed at a 'camp' (14% of responses). Men also stayed at places associated with work (4% of responses) including cattle stations (two responses) and with their boss (one response). Other places where men stayed were motels (4% of responses), hostel (1%), sports centre (1%), and friends (1%). There were a number of visits to places where the men were just 'passing through' (7% of responses) or they did not specify where they stayed (8% of responses).

Travel by men to utilize specific services

Male participants were asked if they had travelled in the last year for a list of reasons. The reasons given for travel in descending order of frequency were sports (32% of responses), to attend funerals (20%), health services (10%), court (7%), shopping (5%), training (5%), to see the police (5%), and Law business, work, legal aid, and land meetings on country (2% of responses respectively). The responses to this question revealed that Mt Isa, Alice Springs, Urandangi and Tennant Creek were service centres for Alpururulam men.

5.4 The mobility experiences of Alpururulam women

Brief demographic profile of the women

Six Alpururulam women were interviewed; two were under 20 years of age, two were between 20 and 25, and two were between 26 and 30. Two of the women identified as Alyawarr (33%), one identified as Waanyi (17%) and the country/language group was not obtained for the other three (50%). However, one of these women identified with the Georgina River saying that she came from the 'Urandangi area' and one came from Rockhampton. Five of the women were 'married up' (83%). Four of the partners of the women were Alyawarr (67%) and one woman was unsure of her partner's country/language group. Only one of the Alyawarr women interviewed was married to an Alyawarr man. Four of the six women had between one to three children and another was expecting her first child. None of the women were rearing children for whom they were not the biological mother.

Of the six women, two were reared up in Alpururulam, one was reared at Dajarra, one was reared in Rockhampton, one was reared in Mt Isa and one was reared in both Dajarra and Mt Isa. All six women considered their home community to be Alpururulam. Three years previous, four of the six women were living in Alpururulam, whilst one lived at Mt Isa. One woman was living in Dajarra three years ago, then in the following years moved to Mt Isa, Alice Springs, back to Dajarra then to Alpururulam.

Regional travel pattern of women within the last year

In the last year Mt Isa was the most commonly visited place with all of the female participants visiting this location. This was followed by both Camooweal and Urandangi (83% of participants), followed by Alice Springs, Ampilatwatja, Doomadgee, Gregory/Bidungu, Townsville and Darwin (33% of participants respectively). Each of the following places were visited by one participant: Cloncurry, Dajarra, Georgina River, Winton, Wunara, Epenarra, Orwaitilla (Canteen Creek) Urapuntja (Utopia), Ooratippra, Tennant Creek, and No. 5 Bore Outstation. The Alpururulam women visited a slightly different range of places than the Alpururulam men. The women visited two places in the Gulf - Doomadgee and Gregory/Bidungu, whereas the men did not and some of the male participants visited places along the Plenty and lower down the Georgina whereas the female participants did not.

Mt Isa was the place most frequently visited by the women who visited it on average thirty-two trips per year per visitor, this was followed by Gregory/Bidungu (13 trips per year per visitor), Camooweal (eleven trips per year per visitor), Doomadgee (six trips per year per visitor), Urandangi (four trips per year per visitor), Alice Springs (three trips per year per visitor) and Ampilatwatja (two trips per year per visitor). Dajarra, Cloncurry, Winton, Georgina River, Wunara, Tennant Creek, Epenarra, Wuratilla (Canteen Creek), Urapuntja (Utopia), Ooratippra, and No. 5 Bore Outstation were all visited on average once per year per visitor. Using the data provided by the female participants as to how often they visited places we can extrapolate that they made around 356 trips in the last year or an average of 59 trips per participant, a lower rate of travel than the Alpururulam male participants.

Most of the visits made by Alpururulam female participants were for a period of three days or less (54% of responses) consisting of two to three days (24% of

responses), 'passing through' (15%), one day (12%), and 'a few hours' (2%). A significant number of women made visits for a period of two to three weeks (27% of responses). One response (2%) was given for each of one month (Darwin) and two to three months (Townsville). These figures indicate that most visits were of a short duration and that the maximum stay is usually two to three weeks. This pattern of visitation was very similar to the Alpurrrulam male participants, however, the women made a significantly higher number of visits for two to three weeks (27% of female responses compared to 4% of male responses). The women made visits of two to three weeks to communities within the region, regional service centres (Mt Isa and Alice Springs) and more distant places (Darwin and Townsville).

Reasons for visitation by women

Across all locations visited in the last year by the Alpurrrulam female participants, the most common reason for going to a place was to visit family or friends (25% of responses). This was followed by hunting/fishing/camping (14% of responses), rodeos/gymkhanas/races/sports (14%), 'passing through' (13%), shopping (10%), hospital (8%), special occasions (6%), funerals or sorry business (5%), visiting/holiday (2%) and school functions, training, bus service, 'picked someone up' (one response or 2% respectively). It is noteworthy that none of the female participants travelled for work.

Visiting family and friends, sports and hunting/fishing/camping took the Alpurrrulam women to the greatest diversity of places. These can all be identified as social reasons for visitation and when combined, account for 44% of the reasons for visiting places.

Mt Isa is the place most frequently visited by the Alpurrrulam female participants and the reasons given for visiting Mt Isa were shopping (26% of Mt Isa responses), visiting family and friends (21% of Mt Isa responses), hospital (16%), rodeos/sports (16%) and special occasions (10%). The only other place visited for shopping was Tennant Creek and Townsville and Alice Springs were also visited for hospital services.

Accommodation during visitation to places by Alpurrrulam women

When visiting places in the year prior to the survey, the Alpurrrulam women interviewees mostly stayed with family (60% of responses). Family members with whom they stayed included uncles/aunties (25% of responses), cousins and 'family' generally (12.5% of responses respectively) and parents and siblings (5% of responses respectively). A number of Alpurrrulam women 'passed through' or visited places without stopping with anyone (17.5% of responses); some respondents did not specify with whom they stayed (7.5% of responses); a number of women camped (5% of responses); and some women stayed at a hostel, caravan park, the Batchelor Institute and school dormitories (2.5% of responses respectively).

Travel by women to utilize specific services

Female participants were asked if they had travelled in the last year against a list of reasons pertaining to specific services. The highest reason given for travel was to attend sorry business/funerals (29% of responses), followed by attending sports/rodeos/shows (19% of responses), shopping (17%), health services (10%),

banking (7%), birthdays (5%) and to visit specialists, school, solicitor/legal aid, housing needs, purchase car/car maintenance and law business (2% respectively). The responses to this question revealed that Mt Isa was the main service centre for Alpururulam women.

5.5 Summary: The mobility of the Alpururulam Aboriginal Community

Most of the Alpururulam household participants and male and female participants identified as Alyawarr. There were small numbers of participants who identified with neighbouring country or country that is relatively close to the Alyawarr, some of these participants were married to Alyawarr and some simultaneously identified with Alyawarr country and other country. Many of the spouses of the Alyawarr participants were also Alyawarr indicating a pattern of endogamy (marriage within the language group). As a result of this marriage pattern it is likely that the relatives of many of the participants were to be found in the same communities in which their spouse's relatives were found and this is likely to play a role in determining the mobility patterns of the community.

A significant proportion of the householders and their relatives were 'reared up' in 'Sandover' and 'Georgina River' communities and in particular Alpururulam or Lake Nash Station. All of the household participants identified Alpururulam as their home community. Thus many of the participants lived in or close to the place where they 'grew up' as a child. However, while many of the participants would identify with country around Alpururulam as traditional owners they do so through succession, their ancestors migrated to this country from traditional homelands that lie further to the west. It was in communities on these homelands that close relatives of some of the Alpururulam participants were reared up and lived at the time of the survey.

There was a strong pattern of Alpururulam participants travelling east to visit relatives in Mt Isa and of relatives in Mt Isa travelling west to Alpururulam. It appears that a pattern of migration to Mt Isa has occurred. Whereas seven relatives of Alpururulam householders were 'reared up' in Mt Isa at the time of the survey thirty-two relatives were living there, this was the highest population of Alpururulam relatives outside of Alpururulam itself. Another strong pattern of travel was west to visit relatives in the communities 'down' the Sandover Highway and of these relatives travelling east to Alpururulam. These communities lie within a region that is locally referred to simply as 'the Sandover', and people identify and are identified as 'Sandover Mob'. Most of them belong to the Alyawarr language group. Most Lake Nash people were descendants of people who fled east from these communities in the 1920s in response to contact violence. Thus these westerly journeys were journeys between the relatively new home community and succession country of Lake Nash and traditional country to the west. There was also a pattern of Alpururulam participants and their relatives travelling up and down the Georgina between Camooweal, Urandangi and Alpururulam. Thus Alpururulam householders and their relatives were most likely to be found in Alpururulam, Mt Isa or the cluster of communities on the Georgina River and west along the Sandover.

All of the Alpururulam householders interviewed rented from the Community Council. While there was evidence of recent tenancies there was also evidence of long-term occupation of some houses. At any point in time it is likely that around one third or more of households will have household members away and under a quarter of households will have visitors. Most visitors were relatives from the Georgina River

and Sandover communities. Whereas Mt Isa was a significant destination for visitors and for the Alpururulam participants, reciprocal numbers of visitors did not appear to be travelling from Mt Isa to visit Alpururulam.

Across the three participant groups there was a general travel pattern (over the last year) of visitation to places in North-west Queensland and the Eastern Northern Territory. This travel pattern involves settlements in the Georgina River, Sandover, Barkly and Plenty regions. Whereas participants amongst the household and female interviewees had visited the Southern Gulf of Carpentaria, none of the male participants had. A feature of the travel pattern is that small numbers from each participant group had visited Darwin and Townsville. However, it is noteworthy that no participants identified relatives living in either Darwin or Townsville. In fact Townsville was the only place on the East Coast visited by the Alpururulam participants. Thus the core area of travel of the Alpururulam participants can be described as extending south from Tennant Creek to Alice Springs, east to Boulia, then north to Mt Isa/Cloncurry then west to Tennant Creek.

Mt Isa was the most commonly visited place and trips to Mt Isa were relatively frequent. The male participants made the most trips to Mt Isa, they made on average 39 trips per year per visitor, this was followed by the female participants who made on average 32 trips per year per visitor and the household participants who made 26 trips per year per visitor. Following Mt Isa, locations on the Georgina such as Urandangi and Camooweal were the most frequently visited places. An exception was the female data that indicated a relatively high frequency of trips to the Southern Gulf of Carpentaria by those participants who travelled there. Most visits by the Alpururulam participants were for two to three weeks or less and the most common length of stay was two to three days. The Alpururulam male participants appear to make far more frequent journeys to other places than the female and household participants, in the last year they made on average 68 trips/year to other places whereas the female participants made 59 trips and the household participants made 50 trips.

It seems that the extent of travel and the duration of visits for Alpururulam householders, male and female participants were relatively similar. However there was significant difference between the three participant groups in the average frequency of trips away from Alpururulam. It was clear that the Alpururulam participants were frequently 'on the road' visiting places within North-west Queensland and the Eastern Northern Territory for relatively short periods of time.

Across the three Alpururulam participant groups the most common reasons for travel were of a social nature, to visit family, for sports and for funerals/sorry business. Hunting/fishing/camping also featured as a reason for travel and it can be viewed as both an economic reason and a social reason. For each of the three groups travel for services was dominated by travel to Mt Isa but services were also accessed in Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Urandangi and Townsville. The two most common services accessed in Mt Isa were shopping and health services. Common social reasons for visiting Mt Isa were sports, visiting family and funerals. Thus Mt Isa is simultaneously a significant service and social centre for the Alpururulam participants.

When participants were asked if they had travelled against a list of reasons the highest responses across the three groups were travel for funerals, sports, shopping and health services. Very little travel was made to seek housing or housing services. Funerals and sports took the participants to a diversity of places within North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory.

The Alpururulam household, male and female participants identified that they relied on family for accommodation when visiting places. The data suggested that women were slightly more reliant on relatives for accommodation than the householders who in turn were slightly more reliant on family for accommodation than the male participants. Camping was the next most common accommodation option. Significant numbers of male and household participants said they camped at places visited yet camping seemed slightly less common amongst the female participants. Camping was usually associated with small communities. Small numbers of male and household participants stayed at places associated with work, this type of accommodation did not feature amongst the female participants. Temporary accommodation such as hostels and motels were used at places outside of the region.

This survey indicates that people who identify the Alpururulam community as their 'home community' were likely to be found moving about communities within four adjoining regions; the Georgina, the Sandover, the Plenty and the Tennant Creek Region. This pattern of mobility reflects the traditional country identification of the participants, the location of relatives and it was in these regions that spouses and their family were likely to be found. This pattern of travel reflects longstanding patterns of interaction between groups within these regions and across these regions. This pattern of mobility also reflected travel to utilise services with the main service centres of Mt Isa, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs which all lie on the edges of the mobility region. The Alpururulam survey indicated that kinship was a significant driving force of Aboriginal mobility; it sustained mobility and is sustained by mobility.

In summary, there was a dominant dual movement pattern - west along the Sandover to homelands and bush communities and east to Mt Isa and services. This dual movement was reflected in the fielding of two football teams by Lake Nash. The 'Town Mob' team which was very successful in the Mt Isa competition and the Bush Mob team, which played in football carnivals in the Sandover communities.

6.0 MT ISA ANALYSIS

This Chapter reports on the findings of the survey conducted in Mt Isa. The Chapter commences with an overview of services available in Mt Isa and then describes the findings of the interviews conducted with selected householders.

6.1 Mt Isa Services

Aboriginal people use a range of mainstream and Aboriginal specific services in Mt Isa. A selection of those that are relevant to an understanding of mobility issues are profiled below.

Housing services and mobility in and out of Mt Isa¹⁰

At the time of the survey, there were two types of housing programs provided by the Queensland Department of Housing: (1) public rental housing (a stock of about 460 dwelling units), and (2) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) rental housing (a stock of about 195 units). The latter was a specific program for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who, it has been found, prefer to stay within this program rather than move into the public housing sector. Nevertheless the objective of the ATSI housing program is to provide a standard of housing which is equal to that of the general community.

In October of 2004 the wait-list time for public rental housing in Mt Isa was as follows: six month wait-list for a three-bedroom house, twelve month wait-list for a two-bedroom house, and two year wait-list for a four to five-bedroom house. Public housing in Mt Isa was some years ago, down to a one-month wait-list but it has now lengthened out. An increase in demand for private rentals due to the expansion of mining operations and an influx of mine workers has placed pressure on access to houses in both the Aboriginal and public rental sector. This situation has been exacerbated by the closure of two Aboriginal housing organisations. It cost \$240 per week rent for a three-bedroom house in the private sector whereas the Department of Housing charged \$180 per week rent for a three-bedroom house. Access to private sector housing was restricted by landlords with less tolerance of cross-cultural residential behaviours such as a preference to sleep outside. Although Department of Housing personnel have more tolerance of such domiciliary behaviour, they nevertheless receive complaints about such.

In early 2005, there were 149 people on the waiting list for public housing in Mt Isa and 172 people on the waiting list for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) housing. However there were only about 25 vacancies per month in both programs, ie 15 vacancies in the public housing sector and ten vacancies in the ATSI housing sector per month.

Migration patterns of Aboriginal people coming into Mt Isa seem to have developed in the last 40-50 years. Small numbers of housing transfers were made to Mt Isa from outlying communities. The Department of Housing does not usually keep records of which towns and communities people were coming from when they arrived in Mt Isa and sought housing. However, the Department has some information about the reasons why people move to Mt Isa. These include: medical

¹⁰ This profile was largely prepared from information provided by the Area Manager, Mt Isa, Queensland Department of Housing in October 2004.

reasons, family needs (to be closer to family members), education, the development of the Spinifex College, the availability of services and facilities in Mt Isa compared to outlying towns and communities and to escape from the situation in home communities.

According to the Mt Isa Area Manager, Queensland Department of Housing has in recent years detected a pattern of movement from Alpururulam, Tennant Creek, Katherine, Doomadgee and Gununa (Mornington Island) to Mt Isa. The homes in Yallambee, the old Aboriginal Reserve on the bank of the Leichhardt River to the south of the Mt Isa city centre, had become the residential centre for Katherine people in Mt Isa. Once Alpururulam people occupied a particular block of flats but they have now become more dispersed throughout Mt Isa. It seemed to be people from the more remote communities who had been making the moves to Mt Isa in recent years. There was a trend towards Doomadgee and Mornington Island people making longer stays in Mt Isa. There was also regular, temporary or seasonal movement to Mt Isa. Reasons for such movements included travel to Mt Isa for the rodeo (some people stayed a few days some stayed a bit longer), Alpururulam people travelled to Mt Isa for football, people travelled to avoid trouble in their home community and some people came just to 'see the bigger world'. People who came into Mt Isa either initially stayed with family, camped in the Leichhardt River bed or used the Topsy Harry Centre (see later profile).

At the time of the survey, there were also anecdotal reports of residential movements to Mt Isa (as well as Normanton) as a result of the implementation of alcohol management plans in Gulf communities.

Some reasons were also given by the Department of Housing for people moving out of Mt Isa. Moves were made to towns such as Adelaide, Toowoomba and Townsville and were possibly work or education related. According to the interviewee, older people tended to move back to their home countries while the younger generations tended to stay longer in Mt Isa.

Education & Spinifex College

It is known from the survey that children from Dajarra and Alpururulam experience difficulties with the transition from primary school in their home community to attending high school in Mt Isa or elsewhere. This journey was perhaps one of the most difficult young people and their families had to make. Spinifex residential college was a recent initiative that was designed to assist and support children from outlying communities while they attend high school in Mt Isa. The college commenced in 2003 and offers accommodation and support services for students in grades eight to twelve. At the beginning of 2003 there were 36 students enrolled at the college, 29 of them Indigenous. In 2004, 48 students were enrolled 35 of them Indigenous students. In 2005 there were 58 students enrolled most of whom were Indigenous. In 2005 there were two students from Alpururulam and nine students from Dajarra. Students also attended from other locations in North-west Queensland; two from each of Camooweal and Boulia, three from each of Bedourie and Doomadgee, four from each of Birdsville, Mornington Island and Normanton, and one from each of Burketown and Windora, and one non-Indigenous student from each of Urandangi and Julia Creek.

The services within the college include workers assigned to small groups of students to provide support and to assist with making the students feel comfortable. Student progress is monitored and assistance was provided in the classroom. The college

provided career guidance and encouragement. All of the students returned to their home communities during school holidays. Some of the students from relatively close communities returned home on weekends. The college recognised the importance of extended family and encouraged students who stayed in Mt Isa for the weekend, to visit family members who resided there. On occasions family members visited the college from outlying communities. Transport between home communities and Mt Isa and boarding and education costs were funded by ABSTUDY. Students who did not qualify for ABSTUDY could obtain funds through the 'Assistance for Isolated Children' scheme, which assisted with education, and boarding costs but not travel costs. In the final term of each year the head of the residential college visited primary schools in the region to explain the service the college offered. During the year the head of the college visited the communities of origin of the students to liaise with parents.

Mt Isa Hospital¹¹

According to hospital interviewees at the time of the survey, there was generally an Aboriginal liaison officer present at the front counter of the Mt Isa Hospital as well as being available when an Aboriginal patient required assistance. A problem highlighted by staff at Mt Isa hospital was the failure of patients to keep appointments. One reason given for this was that many Aboriginal people did not like leaving their families and community. Often people tolerated an injury or illness for as long as possible before they would admit themselves to hospital. In many instances, not only would the patient be admitted for treatment but a 'support person' would also be admitted. A support person could be a close relative and was allowed to stay in the hospital with the patient. Generally, Indigenous children were kept in hospital until their course of treatment (eg antibiotics) was completed.

A renal unit was introduced to Mt Isa twelve months prior to the time of the survey, and was operating at full capacity. There may be numbers of people Aboriginal who had migrated to the east coast (eg Townsville) prior to this, due to a need to access such facilities. One interviewee in Mt Isa had dialysis three times per week, and then he had the 'weekends off'. The longest he could go without dialysis was seven days but he preferred regular treatment. Therefore the potential length of travel for him away from dialysis was two to seven days.

Jimaaylya Topsy Harry Centre

The Topsy Harry Centre is a residential facility for homeless people over the age of 18 operated by the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy. Many of the clients were regular users of alcohol. Clients did not pay rent or board. The facility had single men's quarters, single women's quarters, quarters for couples, a classroom/ TV/video room, communal kitchen, a 'wet area', and an administration area. The 'wet area' was an external living area with shade and windbreak structures where clients were permitted to consume alcohol between 10am and 8pm (alcohol which they had purchased and brought to the facility).

In April 2005 the clients were from Doomadgee (eight people), Palm Island (two people), Alice Springs (two people), and one person from each of Tennant Creek, Mt Isa/Doomadgee (a person who identified with Doomadgee but spent most of their

¹¹ This profile is compiled from an interview with staff of the Mt Isa Hospital in October 2004.

time in Mt Isa), Boulia, Cloncurry, Dajarra, Borroloola, Normanton, Thursday Island, Atherton, and Ingham. Many of the clients were related to one another. Some clients returned to their home communities for events such as funerals and then come back to Mt Isa and the Centre. Some people from communities such as Alpururulam have temporarily camped in the wet area during regional events in Mt Isa (eg the rodeo).

The Centre ran activities and had certain rules designed to assist clients to gain independent accommodation. TAFE classes were run daily between 8am and 12pm. Clients were encouraged to spend their money on food and personal items before purchasing alcohol. Clients were also encouraged to find employment. Clients were required to store alcohol in a room managed by staff. Although outsiders were allowed into the wet area they were not permitted to consume alcohol there. Staff undertook case management to assist clients with things such as medical appointments.

Aged care and funerals

Mt Isa contains a large aged care facility that is patronized by many Aboriginal people throughout the region. The Laura Johnson Home, at the time of the survey, consisted of 34 low care units, a high care unit of 40 beds, 12 independent living units and a day centre offering diversional and other therapy services to aged and long-term convalescent persons (Soc. for Mt Isa Memorial Garden Settlement 2005). Patronage of this Home results in older Aboriginal people from throughout the region being moved from their community into this facility once they require specialized nursing care. It also most likely results in their ultimate death there and the necessity for their burial or cremation in Mt Isa, if the family and home community cannot or do not wish to raise the funds to transport the deceased home for burial.

Funerals¹² were very regular communal events amongst Aboriginal people – sometimes there could be three in two weeks, and regularly three a month in Mt Isa. Funerals were one of the most common reasons for Aboriginal mobility; people were obliged to attend and pay their respects in the customary manner. People would travel long distances to attend a funeral and the travel pattern was one of moving both across the region to different towns and settlements, as well as to the regional centre.

Forty funerals were performed through the Catholic Church in Mt Isa during 2004. Of these the majority of deceased persons were from Dajarra, Boulia and Mt Isa, with some coming from the Northern Territory, Brisbane, Townsville, Cloncurry and Camooweal. A significant number of people who died had lived in Dajarra but had moved to Mt Isa prior to their deaths. Deceased persons from Alpururulam and Urandangi were usually taken back to their home communities for funerals.

There were some factors which at times made it difficult for people to attend a funeral. These included a lack of private transport, a lack of available buses to transport people or in some cases some buses will not go to certain places (eg. to Urandangi) due to the bad conditions of the roads. In this latter case, the Catholic Church may take a 4WD vehicle.

¹² This information on funerals was obtained from an Aboriginal Church Elder of the Mt Isa Catholic Church.

At the time of the survey, it cost approximately \$2000 to \$4000 for a funeral. Some schemes were available by which people could prepay for their funerals. In other cases, the family had to contribute collectively to pay for the funeral. As mentioned earlier, if a person passed away in Townsville, the cost for getting the body back to the home community was around \$4500. This situation was unaffordable for Aboriginal people and was particularly distressful.

There seems to be a need to assist Aboriginal communities with funeral costs. There is however a significant question- why were there so many Aboriginal funerals in Mt Isa per year? Had a failure in service delivery contributed to this high mortality rate?

Corrective Services¹³

Following sentencing through the Queensland courts, people were placed in the care of the Queensland Department of Corrective Services. Those receiving prison sentences were sent to Townsville to serve their sentence. Once a person had completed their sentence, Corrective Services paid for their return to Mt Isa under the 'Return to Home Scheme'. There were other circumstances when people were returned to their home communities, for example if they were found not guilty or if they obtained bail. If a Northern Territory person visited Mt Isa and committed an offence in Queensland, they went through the Queensland correctional system. Approximately 60% of offenders who go through court in Mt Isa had Northern Territory affiliations. Police and the courts were looking at alternatives to having to move people such long distances from their families and communities. For example, there had been some talk about prisoner exchanges between States to deal with the issue of being incarcerated a long distance from their community of origin. Corrective Services find some Queensland people who get into trouble in the Northern Territory then transfer their Court orders to Queensland, but they do not have the same rate of Northern Territory people transferring their orders from Queensland to the Territory.

In early 2005, there were work camps in Mt Isa operating as an alternative sentencing option. The camps were based on a community service approach, undertaking different types of organised employment or activities. Offenders resided at the camp and were supervised 24 hours a day. Before offenders were located to these camps, they would first be assessed in Townsville as to whether they were a serious risk and whether they had special needs.

In comparison to community service work camps, there were community-based orders, which were also an alternative to incarceration, again depending on the criminal history of the offender and the seriousness of the offence. Through community orders, offenders had to perform certain functions and were supervised by officers. Offenders had to report in to an officer on a regular basis at a certain place and certain time, so as to ensure they had not absconded from the program. They were allowed to remain living at home and were required to be actively seeking employment or be employed.

The Mt Isa Area Manager Corrective Services noted a small pattern of people travelling from North-west Queensland and Eastern Northern Territory communities to avoid conflict in their home community. These people then often return to their community once the conflict has settled down. Other significant reasons for visiting

¹³ Based on interviews with the Mt Isa Area Manager Corrective Services (6/4/05), John Anderson (8/6/05) and Mark Browning (15/6/05), Head Office, Brisbane.

Mt Isa were rodeos and sports, funerals, and small numbers would travel to Mt Isa for work. He observed that most people come into Mt Isa for the minimum stay, they do their business and then return home (this observation is supported by the survey data). However in some instances people come into town spend all of their money and have to wait until the next pay day to return home and in the meantime get charged with minor offences such as street offences.

The Department of corrective services visited communities on a regular basis to monitor community service projects: Dajarra, Boulia and Camooweal were visited every three months whereas Mornington and Doomadgee were visited fortnightly. Visits to Dajarra by Corrective Services coincide with visits by the circuit court.

West Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Corporation for Legal Services¹⁴

The legal service visits communities across North-west Queensland alongside the Circuit Court. Locally the service works in the Mt Isa Magistrates Court. The interviewee observed that a lot of people came into Mt Isa for health and other services and then experienced difficulties getting home. Once in town people relied on family for accommodation and support, until there was some incident and then they wanted to return home. Once in town some people were arrested for minor offences that then often became outstanding warrants. In some cases the person picked up for a minor offence was already in breach of bail conditions. The interviewee believed that the style of policing contributed to higher incarceration rates. Rather than people travelling into Mt Isa to use this service it was more the case that people travelled to Mt Isa, got involved in an incident, and then required the support of this service. There were a number of people from the Northern Territory who committed offences whilst visiting family in Mt Isa and then later had to return for court.

Centrelink¹⁵

Customers from remote communities would normally do their Centrelink business in Centrelink Agency offices. Rarely would they come into Centrelink town offices, unless they were already in town for other business and needed to visit Centrelink. There was a network of Centrelink Agents throughout Australia. For example Northern Queensland had approximately 14 or 15 agents working within communities. Agents were community members who were trained by Centrelink and worked five days a week. They were not Centrelink employees and were not able to access personal records or make decisions about payments. The bulk of their work involved lodging forms and chasing up enquiries on behalf of customers. They provided assistance, guidance and support where appropriate. Issues could then be sorted out with town officers over the phone. The customer was also able to ring the Indigenous call centre direct.

Most Aboriginal people used either a Centrelink Service or were on the CDEP program. There were generally no problems when Aboriginal customers come into town to the Centrelink office because there was an Indigenous Service Officer available to help customers with questions and enquiries. In towns such as Mt Isa

¹⁴ Based on interview with Mr David Peters, Mt Isa (18/7/05).

¹⁵ Based on an interview with an officer of Centrelink Indigenous Services (Cairns office, 8/06/05).

and Cairns (with a high Indigenous population), Centrelink personnel were also experienced with communicating with Indigenous peoples.

6.2 The mobility experiences of Mt Isa householders with affiliations to Dajarra and/or Alpururulam and their relatives.

Given the use of Mt Isa as a regional centre by Dajarra and Alpururulam residents, the survey took in a sample of Mt Isa householders whose residences were identified as known destinations of travel for the people of Dajarra and Alpururulam, and indeed who had been former residents of these places themselves.

Ten household participants were interviewed in Mt Isa, two had ties with Alpururulam, three were affiliated with both Alpururulam and Dajarra, and five had ties to Dajarra. Thus the Mt Isa householder interviews were deliberately biased towards households that had ties to Dajarra. Six women and four men were interviewed. The participants were aged between 29 and 60.

Country or Language Group identity of householder interviewees

The Mt Isa householders mostly identified with country or language groups that lie within or close to the Georgina, Sandover and Plenty regions; one identified as Alyawarr, one as Alyawarr/East Arrernte, one as 'Sandover mob'/Kalkadoon, one as East Arrernte/'Stradbroke Island mob', one as East Arrernte, one as Warluwarra, two as 'Georgina River mob', one as Wakaya and one participant was unsure of their language group. (See Figure 19.)

Five of the ten participants were married. One participant had one child, five participants had between four and six children and two participants had between seven and ten children. A significant number of participants (seven of the household participants or 70%) were rearing children for whom they were not the biological parents. Four participants were rearing between one and three children, and three participants were rearing between four and six children. The partners of the Mt Isa householders were mostly from the same range of country/language groups as the householders themselves, with one partner from each of Alyawarr, 'Lake Nash Mob', 'Georgina River Mob', Kalkadoon and Wangkamana.

The home communities of the householder interviewees

Most of the Mt Isa participants were reared in settlements or places within the Georgina and Sandover regions. A number of participants were reared in more than one location. Five of the participants were 'reared up' in Dajarra, two at Lake Nash, two on Ardmore Station, two on Carandotta/ Georgina River, and one in each of Mt Isa, Argadargada, Barkly, and Camooweal. One participant grew up in Dajarra, Mt Isa, Darwin and Brisbane. Eight people identified Dajarra as their home town or home community. One participant identified Alpururulam as their home community and one identified Camooweal as their home town (see Figure 20.).

It is noteworthy that only five people were reared in Dajarra yet eight people identified it as their home town, the difference was accounted for by people who grew up 'out bush' or on the cattle stations near Dajarra and would always return to Dajarra or later lived in Dajarra. Three participants said that although they had lived in Mt Isa for many years they still called Dajarra 'home': "Probably lived more years

in Mt Isa but Dajarra would be home." Another participant reflected on their relationship with a 'home town': "Has to be Mt Isa now because I am on dialysis but Camooweal is really home. You get used to the Georgina River - walk around, cut sugar bag, get goanna, use the swamps, know places to get water when it is drying up, shoot birds." Three participants said they would like to return to their home town and six said they would not. Four participants identified reasons for not returning to live in their home town; these were employment in Mt Isa, dependency on medical treatment in Mt Isa, caring for a child who attended a specialist school, and prevention of return for one person because of the memory of a tragic event.

The location and movement of householders' closest relatives

Information was obtained regarding the mobility experiences of relatives of six of the ten participants.¹⁶ A number of the relatives were reared up in more than one place. A significant number of relatives were reared up in Mt Isa (20 people or 29% of responses), this was followed by Dajarra (17 people or 25% of responses), the Georgina River (ten people or 14% of responses), Urandangi (nine people or 13%), Ardmore Station (four people or 6%), Carandotta Station (three people or 4% of responses). (See Figure 21(a).)

Many of the relatives of the six Mt Isa interviewees were also living in Mt Isa (19 people or 42% of responses). The other locations where relatives were currently living were Dajarra (eight people or 18% of responses), Townsville (four people or 9%), Urandangi (three people 7%), Alpururulam (three people 7%), and one person (2%) in each of Tennant Creek, Walpianga, Slasher's Creek, Darwin and Katherine. Thus most of the relatives of the Mt Isa participants live within the Georgina River region or close to it. Townsville stood out as a distant location with more than one relative resident. (See Figure 21(b).)

Mt Isa householders identified 21 relatives whom they had visited in the last year. The highest number of relatives visited lived in Dajarra (seven people or 33% responses), followed by Mt Isa (six people or 29% of responses), Urandangi (three people or 14% of responses), Alpururulam (two people or 10% of responses, Boulia, Darwin and Alice Springs (one person respectively). The lower number of relatives visited at Alpururulam may reflect the sample which has a bias towards Mt Isa households that were affiliated with Dajarra. (See Figure 22a.)

Mt Isa household participants identified 28 relatives who had visited them in the last year. Six of these were relatives (21% of responses) who lived in Mt Isa. Seven of them were relatives (25%) living in Dajarra, four were relatives who lived in Townsville (14%), three from Urandangi (11%), two were relatives who lived in Alpururulam (7%), and one relative visited from each of Boulia, Slasher's Creek Station, Tennant Creek, Katherine and Darwin. Thus while most of the relatives who visited Mt Isa participants in the last year came from the Georgina River region, there were also visitors who lived on the east coast. (See Figure 22b.)

Household characteristics over the last year

In comparison to the Dajarra and Alpururulam household participants the majority of the Mt Isa household participants rented from the Queensland Housing Department

¹⁶ In the initial round of field work we did not ask Mt Isa participants about the movements of their relatives. Thus only 6 of 10 participants were asked this question.

(seven of ten participants). One household participant rented from an Aboriginal housing organisation, one participant received free accommodation as part of his employment as a care-taker with an Aboriginal organisation and one participant owned their house (purchased from the Housing Department in 1972). Most of the participants occupied a three-bedroom house (60%), the remaining participants occupied two-bedroom houses (20%) and four-bedroom houses (20%). Many of the Mt Isa participants lived in large households. 70% of the Mt Isa household participants lived in a house of three or more people, 30% of the participants occupied houses of three to five people, 20% occupied houses of six to eight participants and 20% occupied houses of nine to eleven participants. 30% of the Mt Isa participants occupied houses of one to two participants.

Four of the ten Mt Isa household participants (40%) had lived in their current house for one year or less, one household participant had lived in their house for four years, two household participants had lived in their house for five years, one participant had lived in their house for six years, one participant had lived in their house for 29 years, and one participant had lived in their house for 33 years. Thus there was simultaneously significant stability (long-term occupation) in household occupation (at least by core members of the household) and significant movement (short-term occupation).

Household visitation and departures

A number of participants (30% of respondents) lived in households which had a member of the household away at the time of the survey and a significant number of participants (60% of respondents) had visitors staying with them at the time of the survey. Most (93%) of the current visitors were family members of whom the highest proportion were nieces and nephews (43% of visitors), followed by grandchildren (28%), siblings (7%), children (7%), 'relatives' (7%) and daughter's boyfriend (7%). 36% of visitors were from Alpururulam, 36% from Townsville (a mother and four children), 14% were from Dajarra and there was one visitor from a Mt Isa residential service and one from a mine in the region. All of the current visitors had been with their respective households for three weeks or less. These data suggest that household visitors were relatively common and the visitors make relatively short stays. The reasons given by householders for the visitation were equally 'to visit', 'to visit family', 'thrown out of residential service' (relying on kin for accommodation), 'school holidays', and 'gave the householder a lift back from Dajarra'.

Other people were identified as visiting within the last year, the majority being relatives particularly siblings (25% of responses), niece or nephew (19%), sibling's partner (12%), 'relatives' (12%), daughter's partner (6%), niece/nephews partner (6%), children (6%) and cousins (6%). Many of these visitors came from Dajarra (40%), others from Alpururulam (27%), and equal numbers (7%) were from Boulia, 'Sandover', Camooweal, Mt Isa, and boarding college in Mt Isa. These visitors had since gone to Alpururulam (40% of responses), Dajarra (30%), Boulia (10%), Camooweal (10%) and 'Sandover' (10%). (See Figure 23.) These visitors had stayed for periods between one day and six months; 36% of visits were for two to three days (9% of total visits were for weekends), 18% of visits were for two months, 18% of visits were overnight, 9% of visits were for one day, 9% of visits were for 'a couple of weeks', and 9% of visits were for 'up to six months'. One participant gave a number of time periods for visits by the same relative. Another participant noted that people were dropping in all of the time for a cup of tea. One participant noted: "When

my brother came in from Lake Nash at Christmas time the Georgina came up so he stayed a couple of weeks - the length of stay all depends on the road and the river."

Householders identified the following range of reasons why people visited them: shopping (23% of responses), Mt Isa show (12%), rodeo (12%), football (12%), to spend Christmas with family (6%), to visit family (6%), for the wet time (6%), waiting to get a house (6%), to have a break (6%), to buy a car (6%), and to visit people in hospital (6%).

Four household participants identified the frequency of visitation by these people who had 'come and gone'. One response was received for each of 'once a week', 'couple of times per week', 'once every three months', 'couple of times per year', 'once per year'. The Mt Isa householders identified a range of events when they received most of their visitors; these being football (20% of responses), rodeo (20% of responses), Mt Isa Show (13%), and one response for each of funeral, 'visiting the sick', work holiday, softball, Christmas, 'everyday' and 'anytime'.

Reasons for living in Mt Isa

The Mt Isa household participants identified the following reasons for their living in Mt Isa: health (two responses), work (two responses), and one response for each of good environment/better opportunities for teenage children, school, moved away from a tragic event, and 'get away from bush life for a while'. One interviewee stated "I moved here when my son started high school. I moved here and then all of my nephews and nieces [eight in total] stayed here when they were going to high school."

Place of residence three years ago

Three years previous to the survey, a significant proportion of Mt Isa household participants (six of ten participants) were living in Mt Isa, whereas two were living in Dajarra and one was living in Alpururulam and Urandangi. One participant was living in Dajarra in 2002, then moved to Mt Isa, then back to Dajarra and then returned to Mt Isa in 2004. One participant went to Townsville for eight months in 2004 for medical treatment but retained their house in Mt Isa during this time. (See Figure 24.)

Travel pattern of householders within the last year

In the last year the Mt Isa householders visited a range of places within the Georgina River and Sandover and Tennant Creek regions and a small number of places outside of these regions. The range of travel within the region reflects the affiliation of some of the participants with Dajarra and others with Alpururulam. Dajarra was the place most commonly visited by the participants (70% of participants), followed by Urandangi (60%), Georgina River (50%), Alpururulam (40%), Tennant Creek (40%), Ooratippra (40%) and Camooweal (30%). Smaller numbers visited other places such as Boulia, Urlampe and Bonya. Visits were made to the East Coast locations of Townsville (30%), Brisbane (10%) and visits were made to the Gulf region (one person visited Gregory and another Normanton). One person had visited Katherine and Darwin. Thus most of the travel of the Mt Isa householders was contained within the Georgina River region. However, Townsville stands out as a

place outside of this region that was visited by people living in Mt Isa. (See Figure 25.)

Of the places visited by Mt Isa householders in the last year, Alpururulam was the most frequently visited place; on average 14 trips per year per visitor were made (one participant visited Alpururulam 50 times while resident at Urandangi within the last year). An average of seven trips per year per visitor were made to Dajarra and Urandangi. On average five trips per year per visitor were made to the Georgina River and Wunara. Two trips per year per visitor were made to Camooweal, Tennant Creek, Ooratippra and Bonya. Boulia, Bedourie, Urlampe, Huckitta, Normanton, Gregory/Bidungu, Townsville, Brisbane and Darwin were visited on average once per year per visitor. It is noteworthy that although Townsville was the most commonly visited place outside of the North-west Queensland/Eastern Northern Territory region it was only visited once per year per visitor.

Length of visitation to places by Mt Isa people

Most visits to places were of relatively short duration 97% of visits were for periods of four weeks or less. The most common period of visitation was 'two to three days' (30% of responses) followed by one day (19%), two to three weeks (16%), one week (11%), 'passing through' (11%) and one month (6%). Other periods of visitation were 'few hours', four to five days, three to four weeks and six months (1% of responses respectively). The six-month period of visitation was in fact a period of residence at Urandangi. All those participants who had visited Townsville in the last year stayed for a period of two to three weeks.

Reasons for visitation to places by Mt Isa people

Across all of the places visited in the last year by Mt Isa householders, the most common reason for these journeys was to visit family and friends (27% of responses). This was followed in descending order by funerals and sorry business (11%), rodeo / gymkanhas / races (10%), hunting / fishing / gathering / camping (8%), land meetings (7%), passing through (7%), other sports (4%), hospital/specialists (4%), visiting/ holiday (4%), pick up relative (3%), 'it is my home' (3%), work (3%), and visiting old places/ country (3%). One response was given for each of 'stay at outstation', 'start up outstation', Christian convention and 'drover's re-union'. Thus it appeared that the strongest motivators for travel from Mt Isa were of a social interaction or social maintenance nature; for example visiting family was given as a reason 20 times whereas work by contrast was only given as a reason twice (across all places visited in the last year). It is significant that 'hospital/specialist treatment' is the only service for which the Mt Isa householders travelled to utilise. Amongst the participants, people had travelled to Townsville and Brisbane to access health services or to support relatives who were doing so. Two Mt Isa participants had visited places in the last year for work, one had visited Camooweal and the other had visited Tennant Creek in order to establish CDEP opportunities at her family outstation community.

Accommodation during visitation to places by Dajarra people

Of the places visited in the last year respondents mostly stayed with relatives (44% of responses) these breaking down into 'family' (17% of responses), siblings (17%),

husband's parents (2%), husband's siblings (2%), children (2%) aunty/uncle (2%), and niece/nephew (2%). When not staying with relatives, people mostly 'camped' (21% of responses) at bush locations and in 'bush communities'. It should be noted that people almost always camped in family groups. Other places where people stayed when visiting places were 'outstations' (6% of responses), friends (4% of responses), hostel (4% of responses), Red Cross (2%), hospital (2%), passing through (2%) and day trip only (12%). These data indicate a strong preference to stay with kin or perhaps a reliance on kin for accommodation.

Travel to utilize specific services

The Mt Isa householders were asked if their visitors in the last year had visited to use particular services in Mt Isa or for some other particular reason. The most common reason for visits was to attend funerals (13% of responses), followed by shopping (12%), sports/rodeos/show (12%), health (8%), to seek housing/waiting to get a house (8%), court (7%), work (6%), banking (6%), school (4%), to see solicitor/legal aid (4%), to see land council/resource centre (4%), birthdays (4%), training (3%), to see the police (3%), post office (2%), and one person went to prison. When asked where did the visitors come from to use these services most came from Dajarra (47% of responses) followed by Alpurrurulam (25%), Boulia (12%), Urandangi (6%), Camooweal (6%), Mt Isa (waiting for a house), Tennant Creek (funeral) and Townsville (land council meeting). The visitors from Dajarra, Alpurrurulam and Boulia thus came to visit a Mt Isa householder for a diverse range of reasons. Fifty-one periods of visitation were recorded against the reasons for visiting Mt Isa. These were one day (24% of responses), two to three days (22%), one night (20%), one week (16%), two weeks (8%), school term (4%), one month (2%), couple of months (2%), six months (2%) and 'until get own house' (2%). Thus most visits to Mt Isa householders were of a relatively short duration. The longest stays were by people who had visited while waiting for a house/seeking housing (six months), school (couple of months) and attending court (one month).

Some of the responses pertaining to visitors' reasons for coming to Mt Isa were as follows:-

"When the kids [nephews, nieces, grandchildren] are in town and they get in trouble with the police, the police bring them here and I take them in. Or if they have to come in for court they come here."

"Some people we never really see until funerals."

"When people come in for funeral they come here and shower and get changed. Then go to the church and come back here after. Generally they are in and out for the day but will stay for the weekend if the funeral is on a Friday."

"Normally stay about two days for funerals but sometimes they wait until their pay day and shop before going home."

"My sister comes in for shopping, stops a week, spends all of her money, then waits till next pay day to go."

"My sister comes in to stay with me when the kids come in with the flying doctor."

"My brother stayed for a week while waiting to get a house in Dajarra."

6.3 Summary: Aboriginal mobility and Mt Isa

The Mt Isa participants were affiliated with Dajarra or Alpurrurulam or in some instances both communities. The participants identified with the same range of language groups as the participants from those communities, they identified with country in the Georgina River, Sandover, Plenty and Barkly regions. The participants were also 'reared up' within the same regions. Of the ten participants only one grew up in Mt Isa as a child. Thus most of the participants had migrated to Mt Isa after childhood or perhaps in their adult life. It is noteworthy that despite living in Mt Isa, in some instances for considerable periods, most of the participants did not identify Mt Isa as their home town or home community.

In contrast to the actual survey participants a significant proportion of their relatives were reared up in Mt Isa. This difference was partly explained by the participants raising their own children in Mt Isa. Some participants were reared up in bush communities, they migrated to Mt Isa, had children there and raised these children in Mt Isa. Those relatives not reared in Mt Isa were reared up in places within the Georgina River region. Many of the closest relatives of the participants were living in Mt Isa (mostly their own children) but some were in distant locations, most notably Townsville. The Mt Isa householders had visited relatives living in the Georgina River communities and were visited by relatives from these communities. There were also relatives that visited Mt Isa from distant places, particularly Darwin and Townsville.

Most (70%) of the participants rented from the Department of Housing. Whilst there was evidence of short-term tenancies there was simultaneously evidence of relatively long-term tenancies amongst the participants. Only one household participant owned their home. It seems that at a point in time it can be expected that just under one-third of households would have a member of the household away whilst almost two-thirds of households will have visitors. Most visitors were from communities associated with the Georgina River but Townsville also stood out as a source of visitors. Shopping was the most common reason given for visitors coming to Mt Isa. There were key times of high visitation associated with sporting and social events in Mt Isa.

Most of the Mt Isa participants identified service orientated reasons for living in Mt Isa. They were living in Mt Isa to access services themselves or so that their children could access services. It seems that households that shifted to Mt Isa became key extensions of extended family households that operated within communities. For example a lady who moved to Mt Isa so that her son could attend High School then had a succession of approximately seven relatives come through her house while they too attended high school. Just over half of the participants were living in Mt Isa three years previous to the survey. There was one example of a household shifting house between Mt Isa and their home community several times over a three-year period.

Over the previous year most of the travels of the Mt Isa participants were to places within the Georgina River region. There were small numbers of visits to places outside of the region most notably Darwin and Townsville. Most visits to places were of a short duration. There is a pattern of travel by Mt Isa householders for social reasons and to engage in traditional economy on country. The only service Mt Isa participants travelled for was medical treatment on the East Coast. Mt Isa participants relied on kin for accommodation when visiting places, a significant number of people 'camped' at places and they made minor use of temporary accommodation facilities.

The Mt Isa participants receive visitors who come to Mt Isa for a range of social and service reasons. The top four reasons being funerals, sports, shopping and health services. The visitors were from Dajarra, Alpururulam and other locations on the Georgina Region. Small numbers of visitors came from distant places such as Townsville. Most visitors were relatives. These Mt Isa households not only receive relatives visiting from the householder's home community, Dajarra or Alpururulam, but also from other locations in the region. Many of these Mt Isa households could be described as 'regional households' for particular families. Just as some services that have their area office in Mt Isa, which services the entire region, so too do these households in Mt Isa.

This survey indicates that Mt Isa household participants migrated to Mt Isa and they lived there for service orientated reasons. Despite in some instances long-term residence in Mt Isa most participants identified their home community elsewhere, particularly Alpururulam and Dajarra. This home town community identification reflected strong attachment to place. People retained this home town community identification whilst living in Mt Isa, thus households in Mt Isa were identified by Aboriginal people as 'Dajarra households', 'Alpururulam households' or households associated with other communities for example a 'Morrington Island household' (see Long 2005:335-337). Whereas Mt Isa householders mostly travelled within the Georgina River region for social reasons, they regularly received visitors from this region who came to Mt Isa for social and service reasons. Mt Isa was clearly a service and social centre for North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory. Thus there was dual movement of Mt Isa householders returning to home communities and country and of people from these communities visiting them in Mt Isa. It was noteworthy that visits by Mt Isa householders to other locations in the region including their home communities were less frequent than the visits to Mt Isa by people from their home communities.

7.0 TOWNSVILLE ANALYSIS

7.1 Observations of mobility between North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory and Townsville

It seems that Townsville acts as a type of secondary service centre for North-west Queensland and the central eastern Northern Territory. Householders in each of the three study communities had relatives living in Townsville. The survey identified six relatives of Dajarra household participants, one relative of an Alpururulam household participant and four relatives of Mt Isa household participants. Three Dajarra household participants had visited relatives in Townsville in the last year. Five relatives living in Townsville had visited Dajarra in the last year, and four had visited Mt Isa. Households in Dajarra and Mt Isa had visitors from Townsville at the time of the survey and households in both places had received other visitors from Townsville in the last year. People who had formerly been members of households in Dajarra had moved to Townsville in the last year. One Mt Isa participant had lived in Townsville for a period of eight months within the last three years for health-related reasons. One of the male participants from Alpururulam and two from Dajarra had visited Townsville in the last year. Two of the female participants from Alpururulam and two from Dajarra had visited Townsville in the last year.

Reasons given for visiting Townsville were to visit family, health, work, school, sports, shopping, and one man had been imprisoned at Townsville. Children from Dajarra attended high school in Charters Towers (which is relatively close to Townsville). Whilst the numbers of relatives living in Townsville and the numbers of people travelling between Townsville and the study region appear small they remain significant in comparison to other settlements that were also part of the mobility patterns of the participants. It seemed there existed a stronger relationship between Dajarra and Mt Isa people with Townsville than Alpururulam people with Townsville. In other words one was more likely to find a person associated with Dajarra or Mt Isa (or their relative) in Townsville than a person associated with Alpururulam. It seemed that there was a pattern of small-scale migrations between North-west Queensland and Townsville, such migrations are illustrated by the following case study.

7.2 Case Study of a householder who moved from Mt Isa to Townsville

This householder and his partner were both aged in their mid-sixties and both identified as Warluwarra from the Georgina River. They had seven children and four long-term foster children who were all still regarded as part of their family. As a child, the interviewee grew up on Tobermorey Station (eastern Northern Territory); then at the age of six his family moved to Dajarra. The movement of this family was part of a series of migrations from the Georgina River to Dajarra that occurred in the mid 20th century. The interviewee and his partner had then moved to Mt Isa where they lived for approximately thirty years. They had lived in the 'Mt Isa area' for most of their adult lives. They moved from Mt Isa to live in Townsville 'just for a change'. The interviewee said they 'loved' to return to visit the Mt Isa area and that 'it was not too far' to travel regularly by road between Townsville and Mt Isa. In fact they had at least two return trips planned in the following weeks. The interviewee was indefinite

about plans to return to live permanently on home country. All of the interviewees' eleven children were reared up in Mt Isa. Of these children, eight lived in Mt Isa and three lived in Townsville at the time of the survey. The interviewee and his wife had visited all of their children in the last year and all of the children had visited their parents in Townsville.

The couple purchased land and built a house in Townsville, which, at the time of the interview, they had occupied for two and a half years. It was a four-bedroom house and at the time of the survey the interviewee, his partner, four foster children and a grand-daughter constituted the household. The grand-daughter had lived with the household for two years. Others who had visited in the last year included relatives from Ravenshoe, Dajarra, Mt Isa and Normanton and friends from Brisbane. These visitors stayed for between one and two weeks. The participant said there was no special event associated with these visits instead they simply received visitors 'whenever they turn up.'

In the last year, the household had received visitors who had travelled to Townsville for a range of reasons. Relatives from Mt Isa and Ravenshoe had visited for health reasons and they stayed for a week or less. Two grandsons from Mt Isa stayed for six months to attend high school in Townsville, but they returned to Mt Isa because they were experiencing difficulties. A grandson from Mt Isa was staying with the household while trying to get an apprenticeship and had been there for four months. The partner of the householder's grand-daughter visited during his work breaks, staying for two weeks. Relatives travelled from Dajarra and Mt Isa to shop in Townsville and they stayed from three or four days to one week. A grandson from Mt Isa stayed with the household as a result of an order that restricted his movements in Mt Isa. One group of relatives stayed with the household whilst looking for a house in Townsville. Grandchildren also visited Townsville from Mt Isa for sports.

In the last year the household couple had visited Dajarra, Mt Isa, Cloncurry, Burketown, Mackay, Gladstone and Rockhampton. All of these journeys were made to 'visit family'.

7.3 Summary points on Townsville

Townsville lies 920 kilometres by road to the east of Mt Isa. It takes ten to twelve hours to drive between the two cities. Yet Townsville is the closest settlement to Mt Isa that has a greater range and level of services. Alpururulam, Dajarra and Mt Isa participants identified ten relatives living in Townsville. In addition to these during the course of the project a further six Aboriginal households were identified in Townsville that were associated with Aboriginal communities in North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory including people associated with Dajarra, Mt Isa and Urlampe. A proportion of these sixteen are likely to have their own families also living in Townsville. Townsville also stands out as a significant source of visitors to North-west Queensland and eastern Northern Territory region. Townsville stands out as a destination for people from the case study communities and visiting relatives. People from Mt Isa, Alpururulam and Dajarra visit Townsville for a range of reasons. However there is one reason for travel to Townsville that is essential and that is to access specialist health services.

8.0 THE ABORIGINAL MOBILITY PATTERN

In this Chapter of the report, we shall examine the findings about the spatial patterns of Aboriginal mobility, starting with an overview of previous attempts by anthropologists and geographers to model Aboriginal mobility regions relevant to the study area, and then examining our current findings on such. This leads to a clear distinction between two forms of mobility behaviour, regular circulation within the mobility region for short periods of time (what we have also termed 'temporary visitation'), and reasonably permanent migration (for a generation or more). We shall then extend the model of mobility in the study area by looking in more detail at its temporal dimensions, as well as the motivators for travel.

8.1 Aboriginal mobility regions in the 1970s and 1980s as identified by anthropologists

The first anthropological attempt to map contemporary Aboriginal mobility patterns in North-west Queensland was made by Memmott in the early 1990s. Based on observations made in the 1970s and 1980s Memmott argued (1991:196-202) that Indigenous people moved within contemporary cultural regions in rural and remote Australia as follows:

Most of the Indigenous population particularly in the rural and remote areas can be categorized into regional groupings, in many cases consisting of a number of discrete settlements separated by areas with very small or negligible Indigenous populations. A number of Indigenous settlements in a sizeable region may be thus analysable as a type of contemporary cultural unit. Within such regions there is evident a pattern of regional travel generated by kinship networks. The distribution of an individual's kin generates for an individual a 'beat' - a set of places which he or she can visit and expect to obtain hospitality and economic support if necessary, and in which a person will most likely find their spouse (after Beckett 1965; Vallance 1970; Memmott 1991). Young (1990) introduced the terminology of 'mobility regions' for the purpose of mapping and defining contemporary cultural regions.

Memmott (1991) along with others, thus identified kin networks as a key generator of mobility. Presumably the extent of known kin was also a constraint to mobility, but Memmott went on to identify a number of other boundary constraints.

A boundary to a contemporary cultural region may have a number of co-incident properties where a mixture of social, economic, travel, and geographical boundaries tend to coincide. Phenomena that tend to create boundaries for a population in a region are (a) a large surrounding area with no Indigenous inhabitants (possibly due to dispersals, removals, and the impact of diseases); (b) isolation between adjacent areas due to poor transport systems; (c) lack of interaction between neighbouring Indigenous groups due to cultural dissimilarities; and (d) lack of accessible economic opportunities.

Further phenomena that tend to reinforce the sense of region are:- (a) the presence of a highly resourced regional centre catalysing the regular visitation of Indigenous people; (b) the establishment of a set of social and residential spaces in such a regional centre, containing individuals with kinship links back to the smaller towns or settlements; and (c) similarities or continuities in the socio-economic environments of the

towns in the region, so that there exist preferred dietary items, a capacity to arrange social benefit payments or credit, and freedom to maintain particular behavioural styles (e.g. camping, fighting, drinking, mourning). This does not mean that all of the towns or settlements in the region have a similar character in all regards; they may be quite diverse in some respects.

In some cases, cultural-geographic regions, if they exist, may overlap with one another forming more continuous networks or chains of interacting population centres, particularly on the east coast of Australia. (Memcott 1991:196-202, cited in Memcott et al 2004:20,21.)

Memcott produced a map of contemporary cultural regions in Queensland that included a North-west Queensland cultural region (see Figure 26). Memcott mapped this region from the Southern Gulf of Carpentaria south to Boulia, along the western side of the Queensland – Northern Territory border including Camooweal and Lake Nash (Alpurrurulam), east to include Normanton and Julia Creek, and north to encompass Mornington Island, Doomadgee and Burketown. The Aboriginal people from throughout this region were using Mt Isa as their regional centre in the 1970s and 1980s. Memcott's definition of contemporary cultural regions followed Beckett's (1988:131) description of 'beats':

All Aboriginal people have "beats," areas which are defined by the situation of kin who will give them hospitality, within which they can travel as much or as little as they please, and where they are most likely to find spouses. Proximity is only a minor factor....

In the current study we have employed the term 'mobility region' for such culturally distinct Aboriginal use of territory.

Evidence from the current study facilitates some critique of Memcott's North-west Queensland cultural region for the time period during which he carried out his fieldwork. Two sets of data were collected by the current research team that pertain to where household survey participants were reared (Figure 27) and where each of their ten closest relatives were reared (Figure 28). If we assume they were reared by their parents or extended family then it can be argued the data for most of the householders reflect the residential settings of their parent's generation in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Leaving aside locations where only one individual was reared, Figure 27 indicates a cluster of locations (circumscribed by the grey ink line) that fall within Memcott's regional definition. Figure 28 follows the same patterns for the Dajarra and Mt Isa data, but the Alpurrurulam data skews far to the west of Memcott's original region, encompassing Aboriginal settlements in the Sandover River basin and in the Davenport-Murchison Ranges.

What the map in Figure 28 demonstrates is that despite the use of a common regional centre by the communities of such a region, the mobility of the residents of an individual community is likely to extend in a characteristic way outside of that region, depending on its unique history of past migration and travel. In the case of Alpurrurulam, the pattern reflects the original migrations of Alyawarr people from this traditional country on the upper Sandover and Davenport-Murchison Ranges to Lake Nash in the 1920s and 1930s. Similarly, if the survey were to be carried out at Gununa or Mornington Island, we would expect a general coherence with the North-west regional pattern but with links to other Gulf missions (Aurukun), Borrooloola (ceremonial ties) and Cairns (airline links), reflecting the unique history of its residents' post-contact migration and travel (cf Memcott et al 2004:Figure 7). What this suggests then is that rather than there being a discrete contemporary cultural

region there is a region of common movement, but any analysis of the particular movement patterns of individual communities is likely to further generate overlapping patterns with surrounding regions.

8.2 Findings by geographers on mobility regions in the 1990s

Ten years ago the human geographers, Taylor and Bell (1996:396) in a national study based on census data, noted that Indigenous mobility was higher over shorter distances (within regions and states) and lower over longer distances (interstate) compared to the non-Indigenous population. They also found that the Indigenous population was 50% more likely to have changed their residential address over the previous year. Between 1995 and 1996, 29.2% of the Indigenous population had moved, whereas only 18.1% of the non-Indigenous population had moved. In 1999 Taylor and Bell argued there were "...two distinct populations in remote regions- a relatively stable and long-standing Indigenous resident group and a chronically transient non-Indigenous group" (Taylor & Bell 1999:5-7).

By 1996 Taylor and Bell had noted that the Indigenous mobility literature repeatedly drew attention to "circuits of population movement involving a constant flow of individuals between places which form functional regional networks" and that these "functional regional networks" were defined by often interrelated social and economic factors including: location of kin, traditional associations to land, seasonal/short-term employment opportunities, and location of public services. (Taylor & Bell 1996:403.)

Taylor and Bell's analyses became sensitive to two types of Indigenous mobility, permanent migration versus short-term mobility or circulation. They had found that the relatively low rate of Indigenous migration recorded over the census period did not necessarily indicate an immobile Indigenous population in northern Australia. A lack of migration (change of usual place of residence) did not mean immobility: "...the importance in these regions of frequent mobility in the daily, periodic and seasonal round of activities associated with Indigenous social and economic life has been extensively recorded..." within the anthropological literature (Taylor & Bell 1999:4).

Taylor and Bell (1999:8) argued that a higher rate of movement within SLAs by Indigenous people may reflect greater instability in housing arrangements. They also argued that some SLAs in rural and remote Australia are very large in area and therefore although people are moving within an SLA they could be moving a considerable distance. Yet they argued that although such moves were over greater distances and therefore may not exactly be 'local' they still occurred, "...within a familiar social and economic territory...". This re-echoed Beckett's much earlier assertion that the proximity of destinations was not a key issue.

8.3 Mobility regions in North-west Queensland in the early 2000s

During the early 2000s Long (2005:315-362) revised the mapping of cultural regions and the location of 'beats' in North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory, using qualitative methods as Memmott had done, but with a better understanding of overlapping regions (see Figure 29). In contrast to Memmott, Long mapped three regions in North-west Queensland; the 'Gulf' region, the 'Hills'

region¹⁷, and the 'Georgina' region. Long found that the Georgina Region extended further west into the Northern Territory than Memmott's North-west Queensland cultural region and significantly less further east than Memmott's mapping. To the west of the Georgina and overlapping with the Georgina Region, Long mapped the Barkly, Sandover and Plenty regions (using terms for these regions that Aboriginal people themselves use). Long also mapped a region south of the Georgina Region which he termed the 'Sandhills' Region (again using a term used by Aboriginal people to refer to this region).

The difference in the western and eastern extent of Long's mapping of the region and Memmott's can partly be explained by the fact that until the 1970s Aboriginal travel between Queensland and the Northern Territory was restricted by the police under various Aboriginal Acts. Following the relaxation of these controls and with access to wages and social welfare and increased access to private vehicles, Aboriginal people gained greater freedom and ability to travel between Queensland and the Northern Territory. Furthermore from the 1980s through to the present time numbers of Aboriginal people living in Queensland communities such as Dajarra have returned to the Northern Territory to participate in Land Claims and the establishment of small communities (outstations) on country.

According to Long, Memmott's inclusion of the Gulf and the Georgina within the one cultural region did not reflect the travel patterns in the early 2000s, nor did it reflect the perceptions of Aboriginal people at the time. Many Aboriginal participants from the Georgina Region made it clear that the Gulf Country was 'out of their range'. Nonetheless in the current study, a pattern of movement was documented whereby a minority of individuals travelled into the Gulf for work, to visit family and to participate in church meetings. A minor pattern of intermarriage was also documented between the Gulf and the Georgina Region. Camooweal and Mt Isa both remain important centres of interaction between people from the Gulf and Georgina Regions. Furthermore both Camooweal and Mt Isa lie very close to the watershed between the river systems that flow into the Gulf and those that flow inland to the Georgina.

The ethnographer Roth first mapped the Georgina River region in the 1890s calling it the 'Upper Georgina Ethnographic District'. Long (2005) revised Roth's mapping of the region to include the Lake Nash Alyawarr who succeeded to country on the Georgina after the time of Roth's study. Long made the following observation of the Georgina River region:

This Upper Georgina region occupies the Georgina Basin as far south as Roxborough...this section of the Georgina is the focus of visitation, occupation and interaction by these groups [Wakaya, Alyawarr, East Arrente, Waluwarra, Injiladji and Bularnu]; the groups have shared history in this region; these groups have a history of shared participation in ceremonial activity and participation in Georgina River corroborees; the groups within this region interact with each other and look towards one another rather than outside of the region; Mt Isa acts as a regional centre for these groups (although the NT based groups also use the regional centres of Alice Springs and Tennant Creek); the movements of these groups are focused within this region...; there are economic links between communities within this region...; some people from these groups hold knowledge of the actions of Ancestral Beings across the

¹⁷ The Selwyn-Argylla range complex of the Queensland North-west Highlands.

region, and this place knowledge is at times shared with people from the region. When Dajarra people say they are from the Georgina River, they are describing two layers of identity, (1) they are identifying as people from country on the River, and (2) they are identifying as people from the Georgina River region. (Long 2005:353.)

Long's analysis of Aboriginal beats indicated that the mobility within beats was not just confined to settlements as Memmott and Beckett suggested they were, but extend to many places throughout the lands with which people had traditional or historical connections. Long (2005:346) made the following observation of Aboriginal beats in North-west Queensland and the eastern Northern Territory:

Dajarra people and other Aboriginal people use the term 'beat' to describe the limits of their travels (both physical and mental), the limits of their place knowledge, the limits of their social networks (and social interactions) including the limits of the spatial extent of family. Journeys across the geography of North-west Queensland are limited by the spatial extent of extended family households and of Dajarra households. A beat then is ...bounded by limits of familiarity. (Long 2005:346.)

Long (2005:347) further argued:

A key feature of Aboriginal beats in North-west Queensland and eastern Northern Territory is that they ...are defined by regular or repetitive physical travels that involve interactions with people and places. (Long 2005:347.)

8.4 Mobility regions in North-west Queensland– current findings

The current study has shown that the mobility of the Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa community participants is concentrated within the areas that Long (2005) called the Georgina, Sandover and Plenty beats, or regions (Figures 30 & 31). It also includes what could be called a Tennant Creek Region that lies between the Sandover and Barkly regions. Much of the mobility documented in this study was concentrated within the Georgina River region. Dajarra and Alpururulam lie within the Georgina region whereas Mt Isa lies on the eastern periphery of this region. The Sandover, Plenty and Georgina River Regions are located within the north-western portion of the Lake Eyre Basin. The Tennant Creek region lies outside of the Lake Eyre Basin but adjoins it. Each of these regions overlaps or intersects with neighbouring regions. In combination these regions form a central eastern Northern Territory/North-west Queensland mobility region or what could be called a North-west Lake Eyre Basin mobility region (however such terms would have little meaning amongst the participants who use terms such as 'the Georgina' and 'Sandover').

This mobility region has eastern and western sub-regions. For Alpururulam people Mt Isa is an eastern limit for their movements that are orientated more towards the western part of this wider mobility region. For Dajarra people Alpururulam is a western limit of their movements which are more orientated to the eastern part of this wider mobility region. Urandangi is an historical centre of social interaction between these eastern and western orientations. For both Alpururulam and Dajarra participants, the Gulf is a neighbouring region but it is not part of the core mobility of these communities (likewise the Georgina River Region is not regularly visited by large numbers of people from the Gulf). Townsville stands out as a satellite to the region (see Figure 30).

A feature of this mobility region is that it includes two states - Queensland and the Northern Territory and this does present complications for policy and service delivery (see Section 9.0). However, Aboriginal people are regularly crossing the border and so policy and service delivery inevitably must be considered in terms of this cross-border mobility behaviour.

From our survey findings the spatial pattern or mobility region observed in this study area appears to be shaped and influenced by a number of factors. It is influenced by the location of traditional 'countries'. Aboriginal people from the case study communities have remained residing relatively close to their respective traditional countries and the countries of their spouses, and they regularly visited their traditional country and its neighbouring Aboriginal country. Even those people who had migrated to Mt Isa can be viewed as living relatively close to a region that includes their traditional country and home communities. The Georgina River remains as a shared heartland country for both the Alpururulam community and many of the Dajarra and Mt Isa participants. This spatial pattern seems to coincide with drainage divisions, most of the mobility pattern is contained within the north-western portion of the Lake Eyre Basin and is suggestive of a natural-cultural area (Peterson 1976).¹⁸

This spatial pattern is further influenced by traditions of social interaction between various language groups which originate in the pre-contact period. There was a clear pattern of language group (Alyawarr) endogamy amongst the Alpururulam survey participants, whereas amongst the Dajarra participants there was evidence of language group exogamy (marriage outside of the language group). However when the Dajarra participants had married people from outside of their language groups they mostly married people from neighbouring language groups and thus there is a pattern of regional endogamy ie of marriage partners being drawn from within neighbouring groups within the region.¹⁹ (See Figure 32.)

The spatial mobility pattern can also be historically analysed and involves such circumstances as the eastward migration of the Alyawarr and the forced migrations from the Georgina to Dajarra. These are discussed further in 8.5 following. A further related factor reinforcing this spatial pattern was where people were reared; most of the participants and their relatives have remained relatively close to, or were living in the place(s), where they were reared. Most survey participants identified their home town within the mobility region and they have maintained strong emotional and sentimental bonds to their home community (Long 2005).

This study also found that Aboriginal mobility is influenced by the location of participants' relatives whom they regularly visited. Most of the relatives of the participants lived in this mobility region and were reared up in this region. This spatial pattern is continually maintained by relatives travelling to visit one another for short periods of time. This was defined by the data on travels in the last year; these travels were mostly to the places where kin were located and kin were often relied upon for accommodation. However, the spatial pattern is further defined by

¹⁸ "The question is whether there are boundaries with natural significance and historical consequences, around regional clusterings of bands such that interaction among the clusters is greater than beyond, producing culture-areas." (Peterson 1976:60.)

¹⁹ The primary language group identities of householder interviewees and their spouses was recorded in order to gauge whether there might be strong patterns of language group exogamy possibly arising from customary practices. Unfortunately, although householders readily identified their language groups, many were unable or unwilling to specify the language group of their spouse. There were therefore many gaps in the data limiting the analytic possibilities.

migrations or long-term changes of place of residence, most of these being moves within the region. (These will be discussed in the following Section 8.5.)

The spatial mobility pattern in the study area is strongly defined by the location of service centres and the need to travel to access services. However the spatial mobility pattern is equally defined by travel away from settlements for the purposes of traditional economy (collecting bush foods and resources). It seems that despite the increased ability, freedom and incentives to move, Aboriginal people are choosing to stay close to country, home communities and family.

In this study we chose to examine one particular cultural region. Are there other readily definable Aboriginal mobility regions or cultural regions? What are the characteristics of these other regions and what is the nature of the Aboriginal mobility within them? This study does not provide the answers to these questions but what it does is to provide a simple methodology for investigating these questions. As noted earlier, the ethnographic literature indicates that there are multiple contemporary cultural regions throughout Aboriginal Australia.

8.5 Findings on migration

Three types of mobility data are collected in the Australian Census. The first type concerns temporary migration whilst the other two concern permanent migration. Temporary migration is defined as including movements that involve one or more nights stay away from home, but do not entail a lasting change of usual residence. The temporary migration information can be obtained from the Census through analysis of an individual's place of enumeration on census night compared with their place of usual residence: if the two do not match then the person is considered to be temporarily away from home. In addition, information concerning place of usual residence one year ago and five years ago can also be obtained from the Census data. Again if these did not match an individual's current place of usual residence, they are considered to be migrants either in the last year or last five years. These two categories can be termed 'semi-permanent' and 'permanent' migration respectively. However based on the current findings, the authors' preferred nomenclature for the former category of mobility is 'temporary visitation', as in our data there was clearly no migration in the sense of settling down in a new home (given the close ties to home community). The current authors will make a clear distinction between migration and temporary visitation in our findings below.

This study indicates that in contrast to any literature findings or arguments that indicate a trend of migration to the east coast, most of the Aboriginal population in the current study region remained within the region where they were reared up and where their traditional country is situated. This is supported by the previously discussed findings on mobility patterns as well as the sets of data on migration trends summarized in Figures 33 and 34. It is clear that while people regularly move, their movements are for the most part confined to within this mobility region or cultural region. However a number of significant patterns of Aboriginal migration have occurred over the last 100 years and it is worth reiterating them here.

The first of these were migrations within the Georgina River region to cattle station camps and townships such as Urandangi and Camooweal in the latter 19th century, these migrations were triggered by pastoral incursions, introduced disease, and frontier violence including dispersions. At the cattle stations and townships people were able to obtain food, medicines and other material goods. These were the first migrations to access Western services. They were migrations made necessary by the circumstances of the early contact relations in the region. However, of note was

that these early 'service centres', the homesteads and early towns were located on traditional Aboriginal camps to which there was an already existing pattern of visitation for traditional social and economic interaction.

Until the 1970s there were ongoing patterns of migration within the region as Aboriginal people were moved about under the Aboriginal Acts to work for different cattle stations. A significant feature of life under the Act was that Aboriginal movements outside of the region particularly movements into the Northern Territory were restricted by the police. Within this period small numbers of people were punished by removal from the region to locations on the east coast such as Palm Island (via Townsville and Woorabinda). In the 1920s the Alyawarr migrated east to the Georgina River in order to escape violent pastoralists. There were further migrations of East Arrernte across the border and into Queensland. In the 1960s and 1970s there were forced migrations from the Georgina River to Dajarra involving groups such as the Waluwarra and East Arrernte. In the 1980s some Alyawarr migrated to Urandangi from Lake Nash in response to conflict with the Lake Nash Station management.

The last phase of migration in the region was voluntary, with a minority of residents moving from Alpururulam and Dajarra (and most likely other regional settlements) to Mt Isa in the post-1990 period. At the time of the study, Mt Isa was a key population centre for people associated with these two communities and it had the highest population of people associated with those communities outside of the communities themselves. The survey identified numbers of people associated with Dajarra and Alpururulam who have resided in Mt Isa for considerable number of years – in excess of a generation. In turn the children of these families have grown up in Mt Isa. The households of Alpururulam and Dajarra people in Mt Isa were of regional significance to this extended family groups as they provide an accommodation base in the regional centre for their relatives in their old home communities. Some of the migrations to Mt Isa were directly related to accessing services, particularly health and education services (See Chapter 9.0, Sections 9.6 & 9.8).

The only significant migrations identified outside of the wider mobility region were to Townsville on the east coast by people associated with Dajarra (see Figures 7,33,34). (Contemporary forced migrations still occur in the form of small numbers of people being sent from the region to Townsville to serve prison sentences, or the movements of small numbers of people being restricted by community based orders or other correctional orders.)

8.6 Findings on temporary visitation

A strong pattern of mobility that emerged in the study was a high rate of travel to visit places within the region for relatively short periods of time. During such visits people mostly relied on kin for accommodation or they camped. There were strong patterns of movement between Dajarra and Mt Isa and between Alpururulam and Mt Isa respectively. At any point in time it seems that around a third of the households in Alpururulam, Dajarra and Mt Isa are likely to have visitors. This study has illustrated that Indigenous people in remote and rural Australia are frequently 'between places'.

In discussions with service providers it was apparent that some of them had a highly developed understanding of the nature of the mobility of the participant communities and other Aboriginal communities who visit Mt Isa. They understood this ongoing

movement between home community and the service centre and gave reasons for visitation and the lengths of visitation that accorded with the survey data.²⁰

As a result of this high mobility the population of the case study settlements can be divided into two broad categories: (i) an Identifying Population, which is a population who identify and are identified by others, as belonging to a settlement (a township or remote discrete community) to the extent that they regularly visit it, or they reside there (some people were identified with a number of settlements in this way); and (ii) an In-residence Population, which is the total number of people residing in the settlement at any point in time. Census data only records the latter population. It will include identifying population as well as spouses and visitors. (After Long 2005:69)²¹

Reports of patterns of movement within Indigenous settlements (intra-settlement mobility) are generally absent from the literature concerned with Indigenous mobility. Yet wider patterns of mobility are not separate from these “micro- movements” (Peterson 2004:224) that occur on a daily basis, and in some cases are likely to be triggered by them or are interrelated with them. This study found that there were high rates of movement within settlements to visit and stay temporarily with kin. Such ‘micro-movements’ have implications for housing design particularly in regard to the composition of different groups that use the house during the day and at night and the spaces they occupy.

This study supports the findings of previous studies that downplay the significance of Indigenous migration in remote and some rural areas, and emphasize that contemporary Indigenous demography is characterised by marked inter-and intra-community mobility with circular movements within an area or region. This latter phenomenon falls into the ABS category of ‘temporary migration’ (what we prefer to call ‘temporary visitation’). Although such movements may cover great distances they can be described as ‘localised’ because they cover familiar country and social settings, known economic centres and traditional territories. In fact such movements are bounded by the extent of visitor familiarity with socio-geographic properties. (Taylor & Bell 1996:403, 1999:8, Memmott & Moran 2001.)

8.7 Male versus female mobility

Taylor and Bell have observed that a common feature of Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations at a broad scale, was that female mobility rates tended to be higher than males until the age of 30 years beyond which male mobility rates exceeded females. The earlier peak in mobility amongst non-Indigenous females was attributed to an earlier age of marriage than males and the formation of new households. This may also occur amongst the Indigenous population but other significant factors were considered to be influential including: (i) more Indigenous females than males progressing to year twelve of secondary education, (ii) a higher participation of females in higher education, (iii) a higher rate of retention of females in labour training programs, and (iv) a higher proportion of males deriving their

²⁰ At the same time it was clear that the personnel of some services had a very poor understanding of Indigenous mobility (for example one believed that large groups of Aboriginal people in the region were constantly on the move literally in a circular pattern of visitation moving from one community to the next and repeating the cycle the following year).

²¹ These two categories closely resemble two anthropological social units of classical Aboriginal Australia, the ‘clan’ and the ‘band’. Clan members are identified traditional owners of an estate whether residing in the estate or not. ‘Band’ members are all those residing in a particular residential group at a given time, whether they are clan members or not.

employment from CDEP which may dampen migration because employment was available in home communities. (Taylor & Bell 1996:400; 1999:9.)

This study found that there were some differences in the spatial pattern of the mobility of the male and female participants in both Alpururulam and Dajarra. The most pronounced difference in spatial patterns between male and female participants was amongst the Dajarra participants; the Dajarra female participants had a spatial pattern that was more tightly focussed on the settlements within the Georgina river region than their male counterparts, in other words they travelled to a less diverse number of settlements. There was a less significant difference between the places visited by the male and the female Alpururulam participants as compared to those in Dajarra. The Alpururulam men and women visited the same range of places with the exception of a few women who made trips to a small number of settlements in the Gulf region.

Both the Dajarra and Alpururulam male participants visited Mt Isa more frequently than their female counterparts. However, the Dajarra female participants made exceptionally more frequent trips to the Georgina than their male counterparts (35 trips per year per visitor in comparison to the male participants who made on average two trips per year per visitor). Using the data obtained for how often people visited places in the last year it was possible to extrapolate the average number of trips per year made by the participant groups. This process revealed that the household survey participants in both Alpururulam and Dajarra made about the same number of journeys away from their community per year. However the Alpururulam male participants appeared to be three times more mobile than the Dajarra male participants and the Alpururulam female participants appeared to be twice as mobile as the Dajarra women. Furthermore, whereas the Alpururulam male participants were slightly more mobile than the female participants and more mobile than the household participants, amongst the Dajarra participants it was the householders who were most mobile followed by the female and then male participants. In fact the Dajarra householders appeared to be almost twice as mobile as the female and male participants. While acknowledging that these data are based on small samples it does indicate that young women are not always the most mobile category. It also indicates that the responsibilities of householders do not necessarily dampen their mobility. The recorded high frequency of visitation to other places means that many people are regularly 'on the road' moving between places. People are regularly moving from their home community to visit other places for short periods and then returning to their home community.

8.8 Temporal patterns

This study has found that although people from the three case study locations were frequently moving, the movement was largely in the form of temporary visitation; people had relatively short stays in places. The most common period of visitation was two to three days or less and most visits were for less than one month. The highest frequency of visitation to one place was an average of 39 trips per year per visitor by Alpururulam men to Mt Isa. In both Dajarra and Alpururulam there was a distinct difference in the frequency of mobility (both temporary visitation and migration) by householders, male participants and female participants respectively (see previous Section 8.7). In Dajarra a significantly higher proportion of the male participants were living elsewhere three years previous to the study than the female and householder participants. In contrast in Alpururulam a higher proportion of female participants were living elsewhere three years previous to the study.

This study also revealed a significant pattern of mobility that is associated with a calendar of annual Indigenous social events and regional events. In particular the calendar of regional sporting events was a major contributor to the mobility pattern of the case study communities. Each of these events usually occurs at the same time annually and is therefore predictable. Thus there is a regular repeated pattern of travel that occurs every year to such events. These sporting events are also significant social events and times of recreation and they contribute to the regional economy.

Mobility patterns are influenced by seasonal environmental events. In particular the mobility of the Alpururulam community is significantly determined by the wet season. It should be noted that when asked why they had moved, or traveled, no one identified seasonal events as a reason. However we know from qualitative studies (eg Long 2005) that seasonal events do influence mobility in two key ways. Firstly, seasonal events determine the availability of bush resources and thus they influence the movements of people to hunt and collect bush foods - particularly fishing and the hunting of kangaroo, bird species, lizards and the collection of bush fruits. Secondly, the seasonal event of rain prohibits or restricts mobility. The Alpururulam community has to plan for access to services during 'the wet' season, a matter made critical by the poor condition of the Lake Nash airstrip. The Dajarra community is less constrained by the wet as they have bitumen access north to Mt Isa and south to Boulia but 'the wet' limits the access by Dajarra people to remote bush communities in the Georgina basin such as Urlampe, Urandangi and Alpururulam and other places on the Georgina River.

Temporal patterns are also shaped by the occurrence of socio-cultural events and in particular funerals. Unfortunately funerals were common and funeral attendance was identified as one of the major reasons for travelling between places. Mobility patterns may also be influenced by the timing of work, school and holidays. For example some participants were or had been employed on cattle stations. Cattle station work is seasonal; thus people travel out to stations during the cooler months. Cattle station work involves cycles of living out on the property, returning to home town for a short break and then heading back out to work again

8.9 Motivators for travel

Decision-making on public expenditure that encourages or discourages mobility is a contentious policy issue in the literature, as indicated by Taylor and Bell:-

...a tension is evident between the strength afforded to government and developmental agency in directing or enabling migration flows...and the primacy and continuity of Indigenous culture in giving expression to mobility outcomes... (Taylor & Bell 2004a:8.)

In the AHURI Positioning Paper (Memmott et al 2004), the authors developed a detailed table of motivators for Indigenous mobility that was compiled from the literature as well as the authors' experience. This table was then used in the development of questions used to elicit reasons for travel in the survey. The survey asked people about their motivations for travel twice; first they were asked in an open-ended question why they had travelled to certain places, and then they were presented with reasons for travelling and asked if they had visited any places for those reasons.

The original table is reproduced in Appendix 3 and rearranged in descending order of frequency of survey responses. It has then been summarized in Table 7. The literature concerned with Indigenous mobility and the survey responses illustrated a

range of factors that promote and, or inhibit mobility (and some factors that can both promote and inhibit mobility). These include factors which are transformed from or continued elements of, Indigenous traditions such as relationships to country, social interactions and kinship, as well as acculturated factors such as mainstream education, employment and health services. However, the findings of this survey support earlier findings from the Indigenous mobility literature - kinship is the great driving force of Aboriginal mobility; kinship is maintained through mobility; kinship makes mobility possible; kinship supports mobility; and kinship contributes to the definition of mobility regions.

Other categories of motivators for travel, which were scored highly by the survey participants, were travel for sporting events and recreation, travel for hunting and bush resources, and travel for shopping. Motivators with moderate scores were employment participation, visiting traditional country and obtaining health related services. (See Appendix 3 and Table 7.) It should also be noted that Appendix 3 contains a range of reasons for travel embedded in the literature, but which were not raised by the participants. All of these motivators for travel will be examined further in Chapter 9 in the discussion on the policy implications of Aboriginal movement patterns.

8.10 Summary of findings on mobility patterns

Bell and Taylor argue there is a need to recognize “entire modes of mobility behaviour” (Bell & Taylor 2004:265). One such mode is circulation. “Circulation ...is universally recognised as an essential strategy fulfilling multiple objectives among Indigenous communities...” (Bell & Taylor 2004:265). This study has found that participants were highly mobile in their day-to-day lives over the previous year. The trend was for people to travel to visit one or more places for short periods of time and then return to their home community, a form of circulation. People were mobile yet they were moving about within a cultural or mobility region, in other words their mobility was largely localised.

However in attempting to define the mobility region, it has been shown to be too simplistic to model it as a discrete bounded region in which the members of all constituent communities share a common pattern of spatial circulation. Rather there appears to be an inner region of common movement including the regional centre, but with the movement patterns of individual communities varying, dependent on their unique history of past migration and particular cultural and socio-economic linkages. The analysis of the particular movement patterns of individual communities is likely to generate overlapping patterns with surrounding regions.

Despite such centrifugal movements making it difficult to define any clear outer boundary to the mobility region, a range of factors provide a sense of integrity to the region when viewed from its centre. These factors include proximity to, identity with and ongoing usage of traditional homelands or country; the perception of the Georgina River as ‘heartland’ country; traditional forms of socio-economic interaction between local language or tribal groups manifested in ongoing regional marriage endogamy; shared social histories of being reared in home communities and ongoing identification and attachment to same; the resultant network of kin in the region who provide both a social reason for visitation and a hosting venue for visitors; and the powerful attraction of the regional centre both in terms of its social networks as well as its recreational opportunities.

There was evidence of a pattern of migration to the regional centre of Mt Isa, but this pattern of migration is not a recent phenomenon. There was also a minor pattern of

migration outside of the region to more distant places (specifically Townsville), but the numbers involved appeared small. This study has generally revealed relatively low levels of migration or change in usual place of residence.

This survey highlights the need for policy to be developed on the basis of localised movements within a region and a strong relationship between regional centre and outlying communities. Taylor and Bell (1996:408) have argued that such a localised mobility pattern "... adds strength to the logic of regionalising Indigenous affairs policy." This same argument on Aboriginal mobility regions as the basis for service delivery had been made by Memmott (1991:287-288) for western New South Wales. In the current case study, the mobility region lies across the Queensland and Northern Territory border and this geographic context holds implications for policy and service delivery. A number of government services in Mt Isa are already familiar with this cross-border mobility and are accommodating of it. However it is worth reiterating that services in this region must be planned on the basis of visitation and use by residents from another state.

Taylor and Bell (1999:38) have suggested that policy be targeted at regions which appear 'attractive' to Indigenous migration as well as those that appear least attractive (or 'repel'); that is, target policy at regions of significant gains or losses of Indigenous population in order to address policy goals of change. However the findings from this study region suggest a further strategy that policy should be targeted at and planned for entire regions where mobility is localised. This survey highlights the necessity for ongoing support and development of services, both in the regional centre and in outlying communities. These issues are explored further in Chapter 9.

Table 7: Categories of Motivators of Indigenous Mobility in the Study Region ordered according to the Survey Responses.

Notes:

- This is a summary of the much longer table in Appendix 3 which breaks down the categories into numerous sub-categories together with scores.
- The reasons for travel were compiled from the literature as well as the authors' experiences and the survey responses. The categories of reasons are arranged in descending order of frequency of interviewee response.
- The unbracketed numbers (in the right hand columns) are the responses given when interviewees were asked why they travelled to a particular elicited place. The numbers presented in brackets are the responses given to the question 'have you travelled for any of the following reasons'. As the two sets of scores or responses are not mutually exclusive, they are not added together in the 'total' column.

Motivators for travel	Householder interviewee responses	Other female interviewee responses	Other male interviewee responses	Total responses
(1) Kinship and Social Interaction Reasons (inc. funerals)	173 (82)	27	41	241 (82)
(2) Travel for Recreation, Entertainment, Sport etc	117 (76)	21	39	177 (76)
(3) Hunting & Obtaining Bush Resources	52 (0)	12	15	79 (0)
(4) Shopping and Business Reasons	46 (86)	10	9	65 (86)
(5) Employment, Training, Social Security & Income Reasons	37 (42)	2	11	50 (42)
(6) Temporary Visits (passing through)	32 (0)	10	14	56 (0)
(7) Visiting Traditional Country and Ceremony Reasons	22 (12)		1	23 (12)
(8) Obtaining Health-related Services	13 (41)	6	3	25 (41)
(9) Education Reasons	8 (15)	1	1	10 (15)
(10) Attending Meetings of Indigenous Organisations	5 (9)	0	3	8 (9)
(11) Policing, Court and Correctional Reasons	3 (22)	0	2	5 (22)
(12) Housing, Accommodation and Re-settlement Reasons	0 (12)	0	0	0 (12)
(13) Transport Reasons	1 (0)	2	1	4 (0)
(14) Climatic Reasons	0 (0)	0	0	0 (0)

9.0 POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF MOBILITY

9.1 Centralization and the function of the regional centre

The survey data clearly indicated that Mt Isa was the place most commonly and frequently visited by Dajarra and Alpururulam householders. The data indicated that the household participants from Dajarra and Alpururulam made a total of approximately 1000 visits to Mt Isa between them in the last year. Most visits to Mt Isa were of a short duration - people often attended to do their business in Mt Isa and then returned home. Shopping was given as the single most common reason for visiting Mt Isa, followed by visiting family and friends in the case of Dajarra people, and sports and funerals in the case of Alpururulam people. This raises three questions (1) do people want to make trips to access services in Mt Isa? (2) are there people who fail to access desired services in Mt Isa due to travel obstacles? and (3), do Dajarra and Alpururulam people want improved shopping and service options within their home towns? These questions will be explored throughout this part of the Report. However some of the above questions are answered in whole or in part by the fact that Mt Isa is clearly also an important social centre for the mobility region.

While some services will only be viable if they are operated from a regional centre there may be others, or elements of services, that could be decentralised, or that will be most effective if they remain decentralised. A major policy implication of the identified migrations to Mt Isa (see Section 8.5) is the availability of housing (public and private sector rentals and home ownership) and other forms of accommodation. In contrast to those who have migrated to Mt Isa, it is evident that many people wish to remain in their home communities (Dajarra and Alpururulam). Thus policy has the task of maintaining a balance between locally meeting the service requirements of outlying communities and rationalizing the appropriate aspects of service provision in the regional centre.

This Chapter of the report examines those motivators for travel as set out in Table 7, that have clear implications for government service delivery policy and in particular the issue of centralized versus decentralized policy. (We have not included any discussion in this Section on travel for kinship and social interaction - there was adequate coverage of this in the previous sections.) Chapter 9 is organized under the following service categories:-

- Recreation and sports.
- Shopping and store services.
- Employment, training and social security (inc. CDEP).
- Visiting traditional country.
- Health services.
- Education services.
- Police, court and correctional services.
- Housing and accommodation services.
- Aged care and funerals.
- Transport and road services.

Before concluding this report, there is also some brief comment on the policy implications of our survey method.

9.2 Recreation and sports

This study has recorded significant rates of mobility amongst interviewees from Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa for the purpose of attending and participating in sport events and active recreation. Sporting events took participants to a diversity of places across the region; it also took some participants outside of the region to distant places. The Northern Territory and Queensland Governments have policies and funding in place that aims to increase Indigenous participation in, and opportunities for, sport and active recreation. In particular the Queensland Government provides funding through its Indigenous Community Development Program and the Northern Territory provides funding through the Department of Local Government, Housing and Sport, Sport and Recreation Annual Grants.²² The health benefits of sport and active recreation are well documented, so too are the health implications of inactivity. Participation in sport and active recreation is a preventative health measure.

Nevertheless there were found to be minimal sport and recreational services and facilities in Dajarra and Alpururulam at the time of the survey. Furthermore, the future of some regional sporting events such as horse sports and rodeos was threatened by an increase in public liability premiums. Whereas people in large cities have access to a range of sport and recreational facilities, for bush communities sport and active recreation is associated with regional events which require considerable travel. The current rate of participation and the status of sport facilities in the case study communities raise the following policy implications. Firstly, the future of popular regional sporting events should be assured, and for the potential should be explored of developing further the regional calendar of sport and recreation events. Relevant issues here include event costs, particularly insurance and travel to sport events for individuals and teams. The second policy implication is adequate provision and maintenance of sporting facilities in small communities. For example some participants requested swimming pools - currently the most economically viable alternative are bush trips and visits to the natural perennial pools of the Georgina River. Ongoing funding is also required for the maintenance of sporting grounds and equipment.

The third policy implication is the relationship between sports and recreation and the regional economy. Rodeos are popular sporting events that also contribute to the development of employment opportunities and skilled workers for the pastoral industry. For example young people develop horse and stockwork skills through participation in rodeos and horse sports. These events also provide an important opportunity for interaction between cattle stations (managers) and Aboriginal communities. Due to the high rates of mobility for sport and recreation, these activities contribute to regional economies in remote Australia; therefore encouraging participation in sport and recreation has economic benefits. A further policy implication is the development of a 'sports industry' that includes the employment of coaching staff and encourages and assists young talented sports people to pursue a career in sport. The last policy implication is to consider the development of innovative or alternative events that encourage junior and senior participation in

²² See www.dlgpsr.qld.gov.au; and www.dcdsca.nt.gov.au/dcdsca.

active cultural recreation; for example, 'walking country' or 'walking the river', as part of cultural heritage maintenance, and land and riverine management.

9.3 Shopping and store services

This survey has found that shopping is one of the most significant service-oriented reasons that stimulate mobility. In both Dajarra and Alpururulam, the stores are multi-functional offering a wide range of services and taking on the role of informal community centres. The wet season can have a major impact on the Alpururulam store, reducing transport feasibility, thereby increasing transport costs and inflating the cost of staple items. As Dajarra has a sealed road connection to Mt Isa as well as a sealed airstrip, a heavy wet season does not have the same impact on its store operation. Nevertheless this does not result in any less an attraction to Mt Isa for Dajarra people for shopping. This is partly due to the multiple shopping outlets in Mt Isa, but also to the other social and recreational experiences offered by a trip to Mt Isa. Why is it that so many trips are made to Mt Isa for shopping? Secondly, are there policies, programs or strategies that need to be improved to address the shopping needs of Dajarra and Alpururulam people? A further question is would improved shopping services in home communities influence health outcomes?

While it is clear that many people travel to shop, it should be noted that even more people identified that they travelled to participate in traditional economy- the exploitation of bush resources such as game, fish and plant species. Perhaps shopping-orientated mobility and mobility to access bush resources should be considered in combination. In light of this suggestion it is noteworthy that the store in Alpururulam sells kangaroo tails. A related policy consideration here is the proximity of the area of native title of the community and the maintenance of rights to access resources in this area.

9.4 Employment and training (inc CDEP)

Taylor and Bell (1999:32) posed the questions of (i) whether migration is employment-led, and (ii) whether the Indigenous population responds to the labour market in the same way as the non-Indigenous population. Taylor and Bell (1999:35) also argued that regular and high mobility may constrain employment opportunities. Taylor and Bell (1996:408) argued that CDEP, which is prevalent in remote areas in response to a lack of mainstream labour markets, suppresses the rate of migration because people are required to participate in situ. In comparison, Indigenous people in more urban areas gain employment and training via mainstream labour market programs that may induce people to migrate.

For those over the age of 16, particularly men, CDEP plays an important role in both Dajarra and Alpururulam, facilitating the servicing of a wide range of community functions. Whereas Dajarra itself was the centre of CDEP operations for a number of North-west Queensland (NWQ) communities, the centre administering CDEP at Alpururulam was at Tennant Creek. The consistent operation of CDEP across North-west Queensland and central east Northern Territory facilitated mobility by allowing transfers of CDEP positions between communities.

In terms of CDEP, the findings of this survey appear to contradict their argument in the following ways: (1) through CDEP people gain a slightly higher income which has stimulated more frequent mobility; (2) people travel as part of their CDEP work, for example Dajarra people have travelled within the region in CDEP stock camps and for construction work; and (3) CDEP does not appear to constrain migration or

mobility within the region; people 'pull out' of CDEP for various reasons including to take up work on cattle stations in the region.

However, Taylor has asked²³ whether its geographic scale of the Taylor/Bell analysis (SDs or Statistical Divisions) is in fact comparable to that employed in the current study (whose units are more like SLAs or Statistical Local Areas), arguing that it is not inconceivable that Taylor and Bell's findings were reflecting little inter-regional migration given the large size of their remote SDs. Taylor suspects that the current authors have possibly detected a greater tendency for inter-regional movement simply because we have been dealing with a finer-grained geography. Thus all of the CDEP-related movement for work that is cited within our study occurs well within the SDs analysed by Taylor and Bell, and therefore may be undetectable by the census. Taylor concludes that this does not detract from the Taylor-Bell global observation that, at the national level, one of the reasons why remote areas report relatively low Indigenous inter-regional migration is the fact that people are tied to remaining in situ (within the SD) because of their commitment to a local CDEP scheme. In fact, our data on the spatial extent of CDEP-related mobility seems to support this, rather than refute it.

A complementary explanation may lie in the more recent regional expansion and sophistication of CDEP administration that provides more flexibility for mobile workers across this study region. At the time of the survey, Western Queensland CDEP was establishing enterprises and thus expanding employment opportunities. These developments may dampen local mobility but it is equally possible that they may attract in-migration.

Given that the most common reasons for travel were of a social nature and the high occurrence of travel for funerals, leave entitlements from CDEP and from other forms of employment for cultural reasons and bereavement, seemed highly appropriate.

A separate critical issue for policy consideration is the young people who do not cope with the transition from community to secondary education in a distant location. Some of these young people return to their home communities where there is limited employment opportunities for them and in particular, limited scope for them to continue with education or training. It seems that policy considerations include (i) training, education and employment alternatives in home communities, and (ii) ways to facilitate access to employment, education and training in distant settings. In his PhD thesis, Long found that there is a tradition of young Aboriginal people from Dajarra gaining their first work experiences with relatives:

It is common for an individual to organise to go out to work on stations with a mate or in a small group. Young men often go out to stations for the first time with older relatives. A number of men have learnt work skills from older relatives in this way, and many have gained knowledge of places from older relatives whilst working with them. (Long 2005:156.)

Policy could consider this type of work place enculturation in the development or employment and training programs, particularly where travel for work is required.

When considering the three communities in combination, employment and training did appear as a trigger for mobility. Some people who were already employed, travelled outside of the region as part of their work for short-term training and to fulfil various employment goals. In a remote region such as this there is a tradition of

²³ P.c. Dr John Taylor, Centre of Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, 21/11/05.

people travelling for work within the region particularly for employment in the pastoral, mining and to some degree road construction industries. Such work is often short-term, intermittent or seasonal. In such cases there is a pattern of mobility of people leaving home to go out to work for a number of weeks, returning to their home community for a break, then going back out to work again. It appears that few people migrated outside of the region in relation to their employment or in search of employment. Indigenous employment amongst the participant communities seems dependant on local and regionally based initiatives.

How can policy contribute to regional employment strategies? For example how can housing departments assist with regional employment strategies? Housing agencies could consider a requirement that house construction draws on labour from the region and that insitu construction methods are used. Prefabricated houses do not contribute greatly to regional economies nor does the engagement of contractors from outside of the region.

In investigating travel to obtain social security services, it was found that Centrelink services are decentralized into smaller communities through local agencies whose staff have been trained by Centrelink personnel and who are provided with necessary advice as requested by telephone. This network negated any necessity for remote residents to travel to the Mt Isa Centrelink office on a regular basis and simultaneously facilitated their travel to other remote communities with minimal difficulties in obtaining payments.

Whereas earlier studies have reported that social security or welfare payments have been found to have a strong structuring effect on Indigenous patterns of movement (Altman 1987, Memmott & Moran 2001, Smith 2004:252), there was no strong evidence for this in the study region. The explanation may well be in the regional expansion of Centrelink through its agency system, together with the acculturation of electronic banking amongst Aboriginal people. Within this context it is important to reiterate that most mobility recorded in this region was of short duration. There was an implication from the data that the regularly short periods of visitation of most frequently a few days and seldom more than a few weeks, were curtailed by the timing of CDEP wages and social security payments.

9.5 Visiting traditional country

The pattern of outstation development has not been strong in north-west Queensland, whereas there is a stronger outstation movement in central eastern Northern Territory. Nevertheless the survey established that Dajarra and Mt Isa participants made frequent visits to their traditional country on the Georgina River. These 'bush trips' included visits to a range of places that were occupied for various periods of time including repertoires of camping places that may be thought of as 'unofficial settlements'. Similarly Alpururulam participants identified journeys to small communities on the Sandover country; they also made bush trips to other places along the Georgina. This pattern of mobility, the range of bush trips that remote Indigenous populations make, is notable by its omission from the literature.

Despite their ancestors having been displaced from the Georgina River between the 1930s and 1970s, the survey revealed that Dajarra people continually return to the Georgina to visit particular places for periods of time ranging from one day to several weeks. It has been the aspiration of the Jimberella Cooperative to establish a modest outstation facility at one of the frequently visited waterholes on the Georgina to support longer stays and to be used as a place for community development and alcohol treatment. Since there are ongoing Native Title claims along the length of the

Georgina River, it would seem appropriate to strategically combine these issues by negotiating for title to land for such facilities in any Indigenous Land Use Agreement (ILUA). Similarly Alpururulam participants made journeys to small communities on 'Sandover Country', they also made bush trips to other places along the Georgina.

Aboriginal people in remote Australia will continue to move between regional centres, towns and communities and bush locations on country. Therefore certain policy decisions will need to address circumstances 'in town' and 'out bush'. In particular attention should be made to the idea of establishing 'bush facilities' that can be used for education, alcohol treatment, active recreation and enterprise development.

9.6 Health services

Taylor and Bell (1996:392) argued that knowledge of the spatial mobility of Indigenous people has policy and planning implications for the provision of health services and programs for Indigenous people. There are three aspects of the mobility that are relevant to health policy: (1) Aboriginal people are generally remaining in the region and within home towns; (2) Aboriginal people are regularly moving about the region for short periods of time; (3) Aboriginal people are frequently visiting the regional centre of Mt Isa; and (4) Aboriginal people travel to access health services but at times health services are not accessed due to the particular obstacles of travel. In respect to this mobility, an overarching policy finding is the necessity to simultaneously maintain and develop health services (eg community clinics) in outlying communities and in the regional centre.

As people are regularly on the move within the region, local health clinics such as the Dajarra and Alpururulam Clinics, provided a significant proportion of their services to non-permanent residents, ie to the short and medium term visitors. Both the Dajarra and Alpururulam clinics were experiencing annual consultation loads of over 5,500 persons, mostly Aboriginal. The Dajarra Health Clinic data indicated that the workload arising from non-residents, visitors and other irregular users was commensurate with that arising from local residents. Communication links were maintained with other regional clinics to exchange the patient records of mobile individuals. However methods to more easily share data regarding medication and patient history could be explored. A significant policy issue was that staffing and funding levels and facilities must be capable of providing health services for peak loadings of both residents and visitor populations. Another critical policy issue was the strategic balance of bringing specialists to small communities for regular consultation sessions, versus the logistic problems of transporting needy patients to Mt Isa to meet specialist appointments there. The Mt Isa Hospital staff noted a degree of failure from people in remote communities to attend hospital which they attributed to their preference to remain with their families in their home communities. Perhaps access to medical transport services needs to be broadened from just older patients to include young and middle-aged people. Furthermore ongoing funding for initiatives like Jimberella House in Mt Isa, or similar accommodation options may assist with access to centralised health services for patients and their families.

Whereas Dajarra has had an all-weather airstrip for emergency evacuation since 2003, Alpururulam with almost double the population, experienced major difficulties with the transportation of both medical patients and bio samples in the wet season due to its unsealed access roads and airstrip. This in turn placed increased pressure and cost on the Mt Isa (and Townsville) hospital due to patients waiting longer than

necessary to return home. The inability of the Flying Doctor to make emergency landings at Alpururulam in the wet could have fatal consequences.

An identified service gap at Dajarra was some sort of alcohol treatment programme (see 'decentralization' below). However for many years members of the community have aspired to establish a program at a 'bush location' on the Georgina River. People perceive that the ability to move away from settlements helps people to 'get off the grog'. The Topsy Harry Centre in Mt Isa was one of the few facilities in the region for people with alcohol problems and maintained a policy of moderation combined with a range of life skill training to facilitate the transition of residents into independent rental housing in Mt Isa.

Due to unhealthy lifestyles, diabetes and renal failure were chronic health problems and whereas some obtained services in Mt Isa, the Alpururulam renal patients were often displaced to Alice Springs for regular dialysis. Planning is required for future needs in the area of dialysis. The displacement of patients to distant centres was accompanied by a corresponding occurrence of regular travel (and associated cost) by kinspersons in private cars to visit their sick relatives in regional hospitals and clinics. Another high cost for families was that of bringing the bodies of the deceased home for burial if they died in such a distant centre (eg Townsville, Alice Springs).

At the time of the survey, a renal unit had been operating at the Mt Isa Hospital for twelve months and at full capacity. Perhaps this high usage was why Alpururulam dialysis patients were still using facilities at the Alice Springs Hospital. It was suspected that still other patients may be remaining in Townsville to utilize the larger dialysis facilities there.

The high rate of participation in sports and the support for family members involved in sports by Aboriginal communities, has policy implications for health services. Considering the poor overall status of Indigenous health, the prevalence of diabetes and heart disease, preventative health measures could consist of health services encouraging, supporting and sponsoring male and female junior and senior sports activities and active recreation.

9.7 Police, court and correctional services

Whereas Dajarra, with a permanent population of 190 people had a police station, two police officers, a watch-house and a Circuit Court hearing, Alpururulam with a permanent population of about 355 received a fortnightly or monthly visit by Avon Downs police for a few hours only. However whereas Dajarra had no Aboriginal community police, Alpururulam had two trainee Community Police Officers. Nevertheless offence rates in both communities seemed relatively low; this was achieved in Alpururulam partly through the service of an Aboriginal Night Patrol.

Whereas the Circuit Court visited Dajarra every three months for minor offences, Alpururulam residents had to travel 560kms to Tennant Creek in order to attend Court for offences in the Northern Territory, as well as to Mt Isa for offences committed in Queensland. Alpururulam residents were further disadvantaged by a lack of visitation from any legal aid service. They were thus at a risk of being jailed for failure to attend court due to potential transport difficulties and a lack of adequate legal advice and support. One relevant policy issue is whether the West Qld ATSI Corporation for Legal Services can be funded to service Alpururulam and other border outstations who utilize Mt Isa as their regional centre.

Given the ongoing rates of Indigenous deaths in custody, the transporting of offenders long distances to prisons away from their home communities and kin from whom they can gain a level of support, has significant policy implications. The situation in the current study region is made more complex by its straddling two State justice, police and correctional systems.

A significant number of Aboriginal court matters in Mt Isa involve eastern Northern Territory persons who travelled to Mt Isa due to its proximity as a regional centre. A more effective cross-State corrections policy seems desirable to permit Northern Territory persons convicted with offences in Mt Isa to be exchanged from Townsville prison to a Territory correctional facility if such a move provides better proximity to extended family visitation (in keeping with Deaths in Custody recommendations).

Queensland Corrective Services and the Courts have an integrated policy whereby a system of community service projects are maintained in most Queensland towns and communities in north-west Queensland (including Dajarra, Boulia, Camooweal), which allows those with minor offences to return to their home communities. It would be advantageous if cross-State policy could facilitate the extension of this scheme into the Northern Territory so as to include Alpururulam.

9.8 Education services

Taylor and Bell argued (1999:35) in the 1990s that because approximately one-third of the Indigenous population were changing their usual place of residence each year, there were significant implications for participation in education and training.

At the time of the survey the number of students in attendance at primary schools at Dajarra and Alpururulam fluctuated as families moved into, or away from, the community on either a short-term or long-term basis. Children who attended the school while visiting for a short period (eg a few weeks) were not necessarily placed on the school enrolment. Although high mobility was commonplace in both Dajarra and Alpururulam, its contribution to educational performance may be to a certain extent contentious, as school attendance in Dajarra was reported as high whilst poor in Alpururulam. Other factors such as the parental value of education were involved here, as identified by the Alpururulam teachers.

The educational values of students intermittently travelling away from their home community is not readily quantifiable or easily evaluated, but the survey findings indicate a range of possible educational functions including wider socio-economic networking, experiencing alternative school environments and customary learning experiences in bush ceremony and kinship. Mobility is a key to the traditional enculturation of Aboriginal children; they learn about culture, places, people, history and the characteristics of plant and animal species by moving through the landscape with Elders, learning by instruction, observation and participation. These movements are recalled in the form of place-based narratives. Perhaps Education Departments could explore opportunities to use 'mobility' as an education technique, particularly where current teaching methods do not always seem to attract regular attendance.

To attend high school, students throughout the study region must move away from their home community, the most common destination being to the regional centre of Mt Isa. However alternate destinations for Dajarra students were Townsville, Ingham or Charters Towers, whilst for Alpururulam students, the alternate options were in Tennant Creek, Alice Springs and Darwin, albeit the success rate at these latter schools for Alpururulam students was reported as poor. Such moves, especially to schools in the latter three towns, were difficult for young people and it

was often the first time in their lives they were separated from their families and community. Students usually boarded at the high schools, or if in Mt Isa stayed with relatives, and returned to their home town during school holidays. The idea of a transition program which aimed to help to prepare year seven students for their first year at high school, as was operating at the Dajarra school, could be adopted throughout the study region (visiting high school locations, experiencing the daily activities at Spinifex State College in Mt Isa, attending a school camp at Townsville, and a visit to Columbia College at Charters Towers). The Northern Territory government should consider adopting such a programme for its remote schools, as there was no correlate reported in Alpururulam. Expanding the range of transition programs into other tertiary educational programs in Mt Isa is another policy consideration.

Another aspect of policy relevance is the range of specialized services offered at Spinifex College in Mt Isa to ensure Aboriginal boarding students are given culturally appropriate support, guidance and encouragement (carers, tutors, local extended family involvement, transport assistance, family visits and parental liaison). The catchment of students enrolled at Spinifex College in 2005 comprised Dajarra, Alpururulam, Camooweal, Boulia, Bedourie, Birdsville, Burketown, Doomadgee, Gununa, Normanton and Windorah.

In addition to facilities such as Spinifex College there is scope to consider a range of innovative accommodation options to support high school education including, (i) small community-aligned boarding facilities within regional centres which create a familiar environment that may include carers or caretakers from the home community; and (ii) accommodation for visiting parents at distant boarding colleges. Parents or community members could then readily visit these colleges to provide support and encouragement.

9.9 Housing services

We found relatively few instances of people who said they had travelled to access housing or housing services, although one would expect this in the regional centre of Mt Isa. However the Mt Isa participants indicated that they received visitors who were waiting to get a house in Mt Isa or in other communities. Nevertheless it seems that people are travelling to places largely for other reasons and then accessing accommodation options. So it seems that housing need is a product of mobility not a trigger for mobility. For example in Alpururulam there were no immediate plans for new housing, yet there was also a waiting list of 14, and it had an in-migration of population on that waiting list.

Interestingly, government housing staff in Mt Isa could identify in-migrating Aboriginal families from not only the North-west Queensland region (mention made of Alpururulam, Doomadgee, Gununa), but from two places well outside of it, viz Tennant Creek and Katherine. There was therefore a view that the main sources of in-migration were from the outermost part of the region.

There is a need to understand the regional role of some Aboriginal households in regional centres. Some households act as a base for relatives from outlying communities. For example a woman moved from Dajarra to Mt Isa so that her child could attend high school, and in turn a succession of nieces and nephews came to stay with her once it was their time to attend high school. Future house designs and renovations in the regional centre should be designed to accommodate such semi-permanent migration of relatives. However large households were also the norm in the outlying communities.

In comparison to the relatively small-sized houses (three-bedrooms or less) in Dajarra and Alpururulam, the actual households were generally quite large with the majority of participants living in a house with three or more occupants (68% in Dajarra, 75% in Alpururulam). Household sizes were as high as 13. There was a clear demand for more housing in Alpururulam as indicated by the waiting list, but no strong demand in Dajarra according to its waiting list. It should also be noted that an additional four houses were due to be constructed in Dajarra within the twelve months after the survey (an unanswered question is, will this additional housing stock alter household compositions, or, will it encourage in-migration from elsewhere?)

One conclusion is that large households are the preferred norm at least in Dajarra and new stock should be four or five-bedrooms. A further conclusion is that housing should be funded in response to the size and composition of Aboriginal households (not in terms of standard three-bedroom houses). Regular household sizes, despite being large, increased at times due to short-term visitation by kin, thus placing further pressure on architectural performance (plumbing, waste disposal, energy needs). A significant policy issue was that small houses with high household numbers were likely to require more frequent maintenance than would otherwise be the case due simply to the natural wear and tear associated with high use by a large household. This was a significant issue facing a community housing cooperative or council. When the householders themselves travelled away from Dajarra and Alpururulam during the year prior to the survey, it was found the respondents mostly stayed with family members (44% and 42% of responses respectively). These data indicate that householders rely significantly on kin for accommodation at places visited.

The above data indicate three distinctive housing policy implications:

- (1) Household numbers will regularly expand with the arrival of visitors. Houses must be designed to facilitate this visitation. This does not necessarily mean the need for more bedrooms, but rather attributes such as well-sized, positioned and perhaps screened verandah spaces, adequately sized living spaces that can be used to accommodate temporary campers, detached shade structures (roofed structures positioned away from the main house) that can accommodate visitors, well designed wet areas, additional showers and toilets (in a house with 15 occupants and one shower it can take 2.5 hours or longer for the whole household to shower), appropriately sized rainwater tanks, and well-designed external living environments to accommodate externally-oriented patterns of domiciliary behaviour (including outdoor sleeping). Renovations to existing housing stock should also be designed to support large household sizes through the creation of external living environments (verandahs, shade structures), additional toilet and shower facilities, and increased capacity of rainwater tanks etc.
- (2) High household use contributes to more rapid wear and tear than would otherwise be the case thus there is a strong requirement for the ongoing and adequate funding for the implementation of regular housing and infrastructure maintenance regimes.
- (3) Large households can contribute to higher energy consumption, thus greater consideration of alternative energy sources and the design of houses that maximise passive heating and cooling is recommended.

In comparison to Dajarra and Alpururulam, the prospects of renting a house in Mt Isa were formidable with two waiting lists of 150 or more for the respective rental

programs (one being ATSI exclusive) and wait times of up to two years for large households seeking four or five-bedrooms (reduced to six months for three-bedroom). There is a far more complex housing market in the regional centre with substantial public, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and private rental sectors. The private rental market is largely driven by the demands of the regional mining economy. Of particular note is that non-Indigenous in-migration to Mt Isa has impacted on the access of Indigenous people to housing. An increase in demand in private sector housing due to expansion in the mining industry has in recent years placed increased demand on Aboriginal housing within the regional centre of Mt Isa (this was coupled with the simultaneous collapse of two Aboriginal housing organizations). A lesson is that increased demand on public housing is not necessarily a product of Indigenous migration; it can equally be a product of in-migration by others and other factors. A key question here is how readily public housing can respond to changes in demand as a result of economic fluctuations in local industries, such as mining.

Taylor and Bell (1999:35) have questioned whether there is a relationship between high population movement and low levels of Indigenous home ownership. This survey has indicated negligible home ownership amongst the participant Aboriginal communities. There are no privately owned homes in Alpurrurulam and there is very limited opportunity for private purchases of housing in Dajarra. However high mobility in the current study region does not necessarily preclude home ownership. A significant number of householders interviewed were long-term tenants who were also highly mobile, ie persons who may have lived in their house for 15 years or more but they also made frequent trips to other places. Two factors have clearly emerged that may restrict home-ownership in the study region: the cost of construction in the more remote communities is very high; and although there are opportunities for private home ownership in Mt Isa, the market has had strong demands from those involved in mining and ancillary industries.

It appears that the Indigenous population is for the most part staying within the region (both the regional centre and outlying communities). Therefore, we can expect that there will be ongoing need for the maintenance and eventual replacement of existing housing stock in both the regional centre and outlying communities, if not some new housing in response to population growth. Funding for housing must therefore be maintained, if not increased. Land availability may at times become an issue in settlements like Dajarra where there are limited serviced blocks. In some cases there is a need to plan for land acquisition and future extensions to essential services.

A feature of our findings was that most visitation seemed to be of short duration. No householders raised any concerns with 'visitors policies' imposed by housing authorities or rental agencies. Queensland State policy cites a period of four weeks. A question that remains unanswered is at what point are people no longer considered visitors by the householder but are considered as household members. Regional policies also need to address this issue. Fortunately the Queensland policy seems to accommodate the duration of most visitor stays in the current study region.

It is clear that Aboriginal people are moving across State and Territory borders- does this have implications for transferring government housing tenancies or entering house waiting lists etc? For example would people be able to transfer their tenancy across borders or between one type of housing administration and another? There were no clear solutions to this problem generated from our study, but there is clearly scope for some sort of coordinated government agreement.

Given the high frequency of visitation to regional centres such as Mt Isa to access services, there is an ongoing need to ensure adequate availability of temporary forms of accommodation eg hostels or community-owned homes such as Jimberella House. Migration to regional centres by those who are in need of regular medical attention eg dialysis amongst Aboriginal people also requires ongoing policy consideration. Consideration must be given to the implications of common illnesses on house design eg the needs of diabetic amputees. There is a need for accommodation options for families visiting relatives who are in hospital including those who are critically ill. There is a need for accommodation options for those who need to make medical appointments in town, either overnight or day-care facilities. These and other kinds of health-related migrations will place ongoing demands on the housing stock of the regional centre in the next five, ten or 20 years.

9.10 Aged care and funerals

Care services were provided for aged and disabled people in Dajarra and Alpururulam although administered in different ways through the health clinic and community council respectively. Both services included transportation for aged patients to Mt Isa for medical appointments. At the very least, policy is required to continue the existing aged care services such as transport to Mt Isa. However policy could also explore opportunities to develop home-care initiatives or aged care facilities in remote communities. This may include upgrading housing stock to accessible standards or to facilitate specific medical conditions and treatments eg home-based dialysis, wheelchair access.

Funerals provide a recurring motive for community-scale travel with people travelling regularly into Mt Isa for funerals as well as to outlying communities such as Alpururulam. The frequency of Aboriginal funerals in Mt Isa partly reflects the movement of chronically sick and elderly persons into Mt Isa for treatment or aged care facilities and their subsequent death in Mt Isa. But it partly reflects a standing pattern for some smaller towns to favour burial or cremation in Mt Isa as opposed to hometown burial. On the other hand some communities still place customary value on being buried "with kin in country" and thus bodies are brought back to places such as Dajarra, Alpururulam and Urandangi and people mobilize from across the region to attend funerals in these places. In communities who adhere to such an ideology, the costs of returning a body from a very distant hospital such as Townsville or Darwin where the person was originally sent for specialized medical treatment, can be prohibitive and distressing. While in certain circumstances government assistance is available for the cost of burials, additional assistance and policy is required, either community or government in origin, for cases where people wish to return their family member to country. The socio-cultural significance of attending the funerals of kin and other community members means that bereavement leave for Aboriginal employees is very important.

9.11 Transport and road services

Both the Dajarra and Alpururulam residents make regular visitation to Mt Isa as their regional service centre. The Dajarra householders, men and women who were surveyed made 27, twelve and seven trips respectively per year per visitor; whereas the Alpururulam householders, men and women made 26, 39 and 32 trips respectively, per year per visitor. Whereas Dajarra was linked to Mt Isa by bitumen, Alpururulam was linked by roads that were partly or largely unsealed and poorly maintained. It was recommended that a coordinated government service could be designed whereby road maintenance was carried out on a regional basis by

Aboriginal road gangs drawn from local communities. A number of residents had been employed by the Boulia, Cloncurry and Mt Isa Shire Councils, pastoral stations and civil engineering contractors doing this sort of work.

An environmental health problem was reported to occur seasonally when dust from the Sandover Highway was blown into the Alpururulam community by passing traffic (including bull trains) during southerly prevailing winds. Sealing this strip of road should be regarded as a health priority.

9.12 Methodological findings and policy implications

This research used a relatively basic survey technique to elicit mobility data from participants. There were four key fields of data to the survey, (1) identity of home community and country, (2) household characteristics, (3) the movement patterns of householders, and (4) the identity of relatives and their movement patterns. The survey used both the resident location of relatives and a list of places to test the mobility patterns of the participants. The key themes of Aboriginal mobility which have clearly emerged are in fact people and places. The effectiveness of the method could be further tested by conducting a similar survey in a different part of Australia.

Given that mobility patterns have significant implications for services and policy, the researchers were surprised to find that very few service providers recorded data concerned with Aboriginal mobility. Furthermore, few services were able to readily access data concerning the numbers of Aboriginal people that used their service, the home-community of those people or where people had travelled from to use that service. For a number of services one would have thought that such data were critical to the effective day-to-day operation of the service, as well as planning for service delivery in the future. One would have also thought that such information would be critical to ensuring ongoing funding, justifying expenditure or to support requests for additional funds. While this project will provide information concerning Indigenous mobility that will assist a number of services, certain services will have specific types of information that they will need to collect. However, the risk is that the service providers will be tied up trying to collect mobility data and clients may become frustrated with having to provide information every time they use a service.²⁴

9.13 Conclusion

Issues of control over mobility were central to government policy consideration. Should people have freedom of movement and access to country and urban centres? If so, how can policy facilitate such freedom? Or should policy influence where people move and constrain mobility in other directions?

Our study has found that the people of Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa, although exceptionally mobile by Australian mainstream standards are, for the most, relatively stable in their attachment to home community and their cultural region. This is despite the hardships of living in remote semi-arid locations, despite the past eras of forced migration that have displaced people to some extent from their traditional countries, and despite the contemporary opportunities for migration to coastal and capital cities. Attachment to place and community prevail, irrespective of a history of changing government policies. There appears to be no reason to expect that these attachments will change in the foreseeable future. In our view, policy should be shaped around this assumption. This is not to say that opportunities for change will

²⁴ This already happens to a certain extent as one of the participants pointed out - every time she uses a service, even one that she has previously used, she is asked her age etc.

not occur at the regional scale, nor that policy must remain inflexible. We concur with Taylor and Bell (2004b:17) when they say:-

“A recurring theme in the Australian literature on Indigenous population mobility is the recognition of circuits of population movement between places which combine to form functional regions. Networks of movement...typically reflect localized linkages between sets of localities in both urban and rural settings. These are influenced by a mix of considerations that reflect persistence of the customary alongside change. Thus, mobility is shaped by continuity in land use practices, as well as in the importance attached to maintaining kin relationships...At the same time, engagement with mainstream institutions is pervasive and, like the rest of the population, Indigenous people move to participate in education, training and employment, as well as to access essential services.”

The current study has presented empirical, quantified, case-study findings that generally support the above model. Taylor and Bell go on to emphasize the invariable need to balance these forces for continuity and change in social and policy planning. A mutual accommodation is required from within both the community and the policy-making centres.

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APPENDIX 1: DAJARRA AND ALPURRURULAM FIELD SURVEY

Field Surveys

1. A Household survey- conduct with householder/household head
1. B Visitor survey- conduct with household visitor
- 2A. Focus Group survey- three groups x male, three x female relatives 15-30 year old.
- 2B. In depth survey- conduct with individuals including visitors
3. Service provider interviews.- services in community

(1 A) Householder Survey

START- 1. Read through project information sheet. 2. Obtain consent. Field Assistant to help facilitate this.

1.1 Participants Details

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Country/Language Group:

Married Up:

Number of Children:

Are you rearing up/looking after any other children:

Name of husband/wife:

Age:

Country/Language Group:

1.2 Home Community/ Communities & Country

Where were you reared up?

Where is your home town or home community today?

Do you have any plans to return to live permanently in home country?

1.3 Genealogy

[Construct genealogy- restrict to ego's nuclear family, ego's sibs, ego's parents and grandparents. Note- we are going to analyze the closest ten cognate relations to ego starting with parents and siblings and if necessary moving out from them. Differentiate children and adults and restrict to those living. Eg- If interviewing young person restrict to five x siblings for each parent. Hierarchy: 1. Ego's siblings, 2. ascending first generation (parents), 3. descending first generation (adult children), 4. ascending second generation (grandparents), 5. descending second generation (adult grandchildren), 6. lateral first ascendant generation (parents sibs), 7. parallel cousins, 8. cross cousins. Care must be taken not to have overlapping individuals in genealogies.]

For each relative elicit:-

Where was each relative reared up?

Where does each relative live now? (Obtain address of those living in Mt Isa.)

(a) How long have they been there?

Have you visited them in the last year?

Have they visited you in the last year?

1.4 Household over the last year.

Do you rent from the Co-op, government, or private rental?

How many bedrooms does this house have?

How long have you lived in this house (or camp)?

Who stops in this house? (elicit household)

Is there anyone away at the moment (eg high school, visiting elsewhere)?

Are there any visitors staying with you?

Who are the visitors?

Where do they come from?

How long have the visitors been here?

Why did the visitors come?

Who else has been and gone in the last year?

Where have they gone to?

Is there anyone who used to live in your household that now lives somewhere else?

Who are they?

Where are they?

Why do you live here?

(1 B) VISITOR SURVEY

START- 1. Read through project information sheet. 2. Obtain consent. Field Assistant to help facilitate.

Participants Details

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Country/Language Group:

Married Up:

Number of Children:

Are you rearing up/looking after any other children:

Name of husband/wife:

Age:

Country/Language Group:

1.2 Home Community/ Communities & Country

Where were you reared up?

Do you have a home town or home community?

Do you have any plans to return to live permanently in home country?

1.3 Genealogy

[Construct genealogy- restrict to ego's nuclear family, ego's sibs, ego's parents and grandparents. Note- we are going to analyze the closest ten cognate relations to ego starting with parents and siblings and if necessary moving out from them. Differentiate children and adults and restrict to those living. Eg- If interviewing young person restrict to five x siblings for each parent. Hierarchy: 1. Ego's siblings, 2. ascending first generation (parents), 3. descending first generation (adult children), 4. ascending second generation (grandparents), 5. descending second generation (adult grandchildren), 6. lateral first ascendant generation (parents sibs), 7. parallel cousins, 8. cross cousins. Care must be taken not to have overlapping individuals in genealogies.]

For each relative elicit:-

Where was each relative reared up?

Where does each relative live now? (Obtain address of those living in Mt Isa)

How long have they been there?

Have you visited them in the last year?

Have they visited you in the last year?

1.4 Visitor over the last year.

How long have you been in this town/community?

Who are you stopping with here?

How long have you lived in this house (or camp)?

Where were you before that?

Who else stops in this house? (elicit household)

Why did you come to this town/community? Why are you visiting?

(2) IN DEPTH MOBILITY SURVEY

To be conducted with male and female informants across a range of age sample [16-20, 20-29, 30-39, 39-49, 50+]. Conduct three x male and three x female focus group surveys comprised 15-30 year old relatives, using questions 2.1, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5- follow up with 2.2]

2.1 Participants Details

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Country/Language Group:

Married Up:

Number of Children:

Are you rearing up/looking after any other children:

Name of husband/wife:

Age:

Country/Language Group:

2.2 Elicit three-year sequence of travel experiences (from the beginning of 2002).

[The aim of this question is to elicit the different places where people have lived in the last three years. Try to elicit time scale to travel experiences]

Where were you living three years ago – start of 2002 – not last year but the year before?

For each place, elicit the following information:-

How long did you visit for? (a day or two, week or two, month or two, some months, year or so)

When did you visit? (eg time of year/ season/ particular event)

Why did you visit? (eg family, birthday, marriage, bush resources, funeral/sorry business, bush foods, outstation, land meetings, community meetings, sports, law business.)

Who did you stop with? (relative, friend, boarding house/hotel etc)

[The aim of this question is to gain further information about the spatial extent of people's travels and to pick up on short-term travels that may be overlooked in Q2.2]

2.3 Ask the following questions against the places listed:

When did you last visit? [If greater than a year then move onto next place listed]

How often have you visited in the last year? Once a week. Once a fortnight. Once a month. Once a year.

How long did you visit for? (a day or two, week or two, month or two, some months, year or so)

When did you visit? (eg time of year/ season/ particular event)

Why did you visit? (eg family, birthday, marriage, bush resources, funeral/sorry business, bush foods, outstation, land meetings, community meetings, sports, law business.)

Who did you stop with? (relative, friend, boarding house/hotel etc)

1. East Georgina River (Sunrise Side)
 - (1.1) Camooweal, (1.2) Dajarra, (1.3) Urandangi, (1.4) Boulia, (1.5) Bedourie, (1.6) Birdsville, (1.7) Mt Isa, (1.8) Cloncurry, (1.9) Winton.
2. West Georgina River (Sundown Side)

West Georgina River- (2.1) Alpururulam (Lake Nash), (2.2) Urlampe, (2.3) Georgina River.
3. Barkly

Barkly Tabeland- (3.1)Wunara, (3.2)Burudu (Outstation on Alexandria), (3.3)Purrukawarra (Walkabout Ck), (3.4) Tennant Creek, (3.5) Llawuru, (3.6) Connell's Lagoon.

Murchison/Davenport Ranges- (3.5) Wutungurra (Frew River), (3.6) Epenarra, (3.7) Orwaitilla (Wuratilla or Canteen Creek), (3.8) Hatches Ck, (3.9) Arrawajin, WhistleDuck Ck.
4. Central Australia

(4.1) Alice Springs, *Sandover River-* (4.2) Ampilatwatja (Ammaroo), (4.3) Urapuntja (Utopia), (4.4)Alcoota (Engawala), (4.5) Ooratippra.

Plenty River- (4.5) Tarlton Downs/Walpianga, (4.6) Bonya, (4.7) Harts Range (Atitjere), (4.8) Atula, (4.9) Huckitta, (4.10) No. 5, (4.11) Mt Swan.
5. Gulf

(5.1) Doomadgee, (5.2)Gregory/Bidungu, (5.3)Burketown, (5.4)Gununa (Mornington Island), (5.5)Normanton. (5.6)Borrooloola,
6. East Coast

(6.1) Cairns, (6.2) Townsville, (6.3) Palm Island, (6.4) Mackay, (6.5) Woorabinda/Rockhampton, (6.6) Brisbane.
7. Top End

(7.1) Darwin, (7.2) Katherine.
8. Other places that you have regularly visited in the last year? (eg Georgina River, fishing places, camps, hunting places)

2.4 In the last year have you travelled to use any of these services:

[Aim to establish the relationship between travel and services]

Have you travelled for:-

	√ / X	Where to? (places)
health reasons?		
school?		
training?		
work?		
shopping?		
post office?		

banking?		
To see the police?		
court ?		
prison?		
To see solicitor/ legal aid?		
To seek housing or housing services?		
To see your land council/ outstation resource centre?		
For land meetings on country?		
Any other services? (which?)		
Any law business?		
funerals or sorry business?		
birthdays?		
sports?		

2.5 Common Travel Patterns

Use to elicit and discuss common travel patterns detected in interview 1 and/or 2.

(eg use of traditional country)

(3) SERVICE PROVIDER INTERVIEW

(storekeeper, health clinic, housing coop, school teacher/principle)

Aim- To corroborate interview residents findings, and to obtain additional hard data if possible.

Service providers were generally asked for information about the service provided and the people who use it. Questions such as the following were asked:

Do you have any records on the number of Aboriginal people that have used this service over the last year, or last three years?

Does everybody in the community/town use your service?

If not, where else do they go for this service? Why? How do they get there?

Do people use your service who are from other towns or communities? If so, why do they come here?

APPENDIX 2: MT ISA AND TOWNSVILLE FIELD SURVEY.

MT ISA HOUSEHOLDER SURVEY

START- 1. Read through project information sheet. 2. Obtain consent

1.1 Participants Details

- (a) Name:
- (b) Age:
- (c) Gender:
- (d) Country/Language Group:
- (e) Married Up:
- (f) Number of Children:
- (g) Are you rearing up/looking after any other children:
- (h) Name of husband/wife:
- (i) Age:
- (j) Country/Language Group:

1.2 Home Community/ Communities & Country

- (a) Where were you reared up?
- (b) Do you have a home town or home community?
- (c) Do you have any plans to return to live permanently in home country?

1.3 Genealogy –

[Construct genealogy- restrict to ego's nuclear family, ego's sibs, ego's parents and grandparents. Note- we are going to analyze the closest ten cognate relations to ego starting with parents and siblings and if necessary moving out from them. Differentiate children and adults and restrict to those living. Eg- If interviewing young person restrict to 5 x siblings for each parent. Heirachy: 1. Ego's siblings, 2. ascending 1st generation (parents), 3. descending 1st generation (adult children), 4. ascending 2nd generation (grandparents), 5. descending 2nd generation (adult grandchildren), 6. lateral 1st ascendant generation (parents sibs), 7. parallel cousins, 8. cross cousins. Care must be taken not to have overlapping individuals in genealogies.]

For each relative elicit:-

- (b) Where was each relative reared up?
- (c) Where does each relative live now? (Obtain address of those living in Mt Isa)
- (d) How long have they been there?
- (e) Have you visited them in the last year?
- (f) Have they visited you in the last year?

1.5 Household over the last year.

- (a) Do you rent from the Co-op, government, or private rental?
- (b) How many bedrooms does this house have?
- (c) How long have you lived in this house (or camp)?
- (d) Who stops in this house? (elicit household)
- (e) Is there anyone away at the moment (eg high school, visiting elsewhere)?

- (f) Are there any visitors staying with you?
- (g) Who are the visitors?
- (h) Where do they come from?
- (i) How long have the visitors been here?
- (j) Why did the visitors come?
- (k) How often do they visit you?
- (l) Who else has been and gone in the last year?
- (m) Where did they come from?
- (n) How long did they stay for?
- (o) Why did the visitors come?
- (p) How often do they visit you?
- (q) Where have they gone to now?
- (r) Is there anyone who used to live in your household that now lives somewhere else?
- (s) Who are they?
- (t) Where are they?
- (u) When do you get most of your visitors?
- (v) Why do you live here?

2.4 In the last year have any of your visitors come to Mt Isa to use any of these services:

[Aim to establish the relationship between travel and services]

	Who were the visitors?	Where did they travel from?
(a) Have any visitors come here for health reasons?		
(b) Have any visitors come here for school?		
(c) Have any visitors come here for training?		
(d) Have any visitors come here for work?		
(e) Have any visitors come here for shopping?		
(f) Have any visitors come here for post office,		
(g) Have any visitors come here for banking?		
(h) Have any visitors come here to see the police?		
(i) Have any visitors come here for court ?		
(j) Have any visitors come here for prison?		
(k) Have any visitors come here to see solicitor/ legal aid?		
(l) Have any visitors come here to seek housing or housing services?		
(m) Have any visitors come here to see your land council/ outstation resource centre?		
(n) Have any visitors come here for any other services? (which?)		

(o) Have any visitors come here for any law business?		
(p) Have they come here for funerals or sorry business?		
(q) Have any visitors come here for birthdays?		
(r) Have any visitors come here for sports?		

2.2 Elicit three year sequence of travel experiences (from the beginning of 2002).

[The aim of this question is to elicit the different places where people have lived in the last three years. Try to elicit time scale to travel experiences]

Where were you living 3 years ago – start of 2002 – not last year but the year before?

For each places, elicit the following information:-

- (a) How long did you visit for? (a day or two, week or two, month or two, some months, year or so)
- (b) When did you visit? (eg time of year/ season/ particular event)
- (c) Why did you visit? (eg family, birthday, marriage, bush resources, funeral/sorry business, bush foods, outstation, land meetings, community meetings, sports, law business.)
- (d) Who did you stop with? (relative, friend, boarding house/hotel etc)

2.3 Mobility Region and travel pattern within the last year

[The aim of this question is to gain further information about the spatial extent of people's travels and to pick up on short-term travels that may be overlooked in Q2.2]

Ask the following questions against the places listed:

- (a) When did you last visit? [If greater than a year then move onto next place listed]
- (b) How often have you visited in the last year? Once a week. Once a fortnight. Once a month. Once a year.
- (c) How long did you visit for? (a day or two, week or two, month or two, some months, year or so)
- (d) When did you visit? (eg time of year/ season/ particular event)
- (e) Why did you visit? (eg family, birthday, marriage, bush resources, funeral/sorry business, bush foods, outstation, land meetings, community meetings, sports, law business.)
- (f) Who did you stop with? (relative, friend, boarding house/hotel etc)

1. East Georgina River (Sunrise Side)

(1.1) Camooweal, (1.2) Dajarra, (1.3) Urandangi, (1.4) Boulia, (1.5) Bedourie, (1.6) Birdsville, (1.7) Mt Isa, (1.8) Cloncurry, (1.9) Winton.

2. West Georgina River (Sundown Side)

West Georgina River- (2.1) Alpurrurulum (Lake Nash), (2.2) Urlampe, (2.3) Georgina River.

3. Barkly

Barkly Tabeland- (3.1) Wunara, (3.2) Burudu (Outstation on Alexandria), (3.3) Purrukawarra (Walkabout Ck), (3.4) Tenant Ck, (3.5) Llawuru, (3.6) Connell's Lagoon.

Murchison/Davenport Ranges- (3.7) Wutungurra (Frew River), (3.8) Epenarra, (3.9) Orwaitilla (Wuratilla or Canteen Ck), (3.10) Hatches Ck, (3.11) Arrawajin, WhistleDuck Ck.

4. Central Australia

(4.1) Alice Springs, *Sandover River*- (4.2) Ampilatwatja (Ammaroo), (4.3) Urapuntja (Utopia), (4.4) Alcoota (Engawala), (4.5) Ooratipra.

Plenty River- (4.5) Tarlton Downs/Walpianga, (4.6) Bonya, (4.7) Harts Range (Atitjere), (4.8) Atula, (4.9) Huckitta, (4.10) No. 5, (4.11) Mt Swan.

5. Gulf

(5.1) Doomadgee, (5.2) Gregory/Bidungu, (5.3) Burketown, (5.4) Gununa (Mornington Island), (5.5) Normanton, (5.6) Borroloola,

6. East Coast

(6.1) Cairns, (6.2) Townsville, (6.3) Palm Island, (6.4) Mackay, (6.5) Woorabinda/Rockhampton, (6.6) Brisbane.

7. Top End

(7.1) Darwin, (7.2) Katherine.

8. Other places that you have regularly visited in the last year? (eg Georgina River, fishing places, camps, hunting places)

MT ISA SERVICES INTERVIEW

(a) Do you have any records on the number of Aboriginal people that have used this service over the last year, or last three years?

(b) Where do the people who use your service come from?

(c) Do you have any records on where people have travelled from to use this service?

(d) Who are the people who use this service, men/women, age etc?

(e) Is there anywhere else they go for this service? Why? How do they get there?

(f) Do people use your service who are from other towns or communities? If so, why do they come here?

(g) Do people from communities outside of Mt Isa experience any difficulties in accessing your service.

Carpentaria Land Council

Womens Shelter

KASH

Willerburi

Arthur Peterson

Aged Care Centre

Spinnifex College/ Education

TAFE

POLICE

Do you have any records on the home communities of people who have attended court in the last year?

Do you have any records on the numbers of people who have attended circuit court/ community court?

Do you have any records on the numbers of Aboriginal people sent to prison from this region in the last year?

APPENDIX 3: TABLE: LIST OF MOTIVATORS OF INDIGENOUS MOBILITY IN THE STUDY REGION ORDERED ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY RESPONSES.

Notes:

- The reasons for travel are compiled from the literature as well as the authors' experiences and the survey responses. The categories of reasons are arranged in descending order of frequency of interviewee response.
- The unbracketed numbers (right hand columns) are the responses given when asked 'why did you travel to that place'. The numbers presented in brackets (..) are the responses given to the question 'have you travelled for any of the following reasons'. As the two sets of responses are not mutually exclusive, they are not added together in the 'total' column.

REASONS FOR TRAVEL	REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
(1) Kinship and Social Interaction Reasons		173 (82)	27	41	241 (82)
Kinship networks and the maintenance of relatedness and autonomy; the movement (including dispersal) of kin; reuniting with family.	Memcott & Moran 2001; Peterson 2004:224-230; Smith 2004:243, 250-252; Taylor & Bell 1999:10; Young & Doohan 1989:108-120.	98	15	26	139
Married Up Now'- marriage, responsibility to in-laws.	Smith 2004:243				
Interdependence and independence from family and extended family households.	Taylor & Bell 1996:400,408.				
Maintenance of social networks.	Young & Doohan 1989:108-120; Memcott & Moran 2001; Peterson 2004:224,299; Smith 2004:248; Taylor & Bell 1999:16.				

REASONS FOR TRAVEL	REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Special occasions, birthdays and other celebrations.	Long (2005); Maddigan & Finnila 2004:1,4.	12 (6)	5	2	19
Funerals and Sorry Business.	Peterson 2004; Smith 2004:248	59 (76)	6	12	74
Tombstone Opening.	Torres Shire Council 2002; Howie-Willis 1994:1082-1083.				
Payback and square up, social responsibilities.	Memcott & Moran 2001; Altman 1987; Smith 2004:252				
Searching for a spouse.		1			1
Social tensions, conflict, violence and shame.	Memcott & Moran 2001; Peterson 2004:224; Smith 2004:250-253				
Exchange and carrying of goods and resources.	National Native Title Tribunal 1999; Beckett 1994:1092; Howie-Willis 1994:963; Madigan & Finnila 2004:1; Smith 2004:252				
Pick up /drop off relatives		3	1	1	5
(2) Travel for Recreation, Entertainment, Sport etc		117 (76)	21	39	177 (76)
Visiting/holiday		22	5	6	33
Partying.	Young & Doohan 1989:192-197; Memcott 1979; Long (2005).				
Alcohol, pubs and clubs.	Memcott & Moran 2001.			7	7
'To dry out'				1	1
Bingo, cards and pokies.		1			1

REASONS FOR TRAVEL		REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
	Indigenous sports carnivals, local/regional sport & Rodeos, race meetings, exhibitions, shows.	Peterson 2004:231-233; Smith 2004:248.	78 (70)	16	25	119
	Cultural Festivals.		3			3
	Religious rallies and meetings.		12 (6)		4	16
	Enjoy family visit		1			1
(3) Hunting & Bush Resources			52	12	15	79
	Water resources, hunting game, (salt-water, fresh-water, terrestrial), gathering plant resources, rocks, ochres etc.	Smith 2004:250; Young & Doohan 1989:131-143; Bradley 1991.				
(4) Shopping and Business Reasons			46 (86)	10	9	65 (86)
	For groceries, clothing, vehicles, tools, household items.		36 (53)	10	8	54
	For wholesale shopping to regional centres to obtain community goods.					
	For use of telecommunications and postal services.		(3)			
	Visiting banks, tax agents.		3 (18)		1	4
	Lack of loans and mortgages facilities ease of travel	Taylor & Bell 1999:10,13.				
	Car maintenance/purchase		6 (12)			6
	Pay Bills		1			1
(5) Employment, Training, Social Security & Income Reasons			37 (42)	2	11	50 (42)

REASONS FOR TRAVEL	REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Employment participation and employment prospects.	Taylor & Bell 1996:400,404; Taylor & Bell 1999:13,14, 33; Beckett 1994:1092; Memmott & Moran 2001; Smith 2004:252.	35 (28)		11	35
Employment that promotes mobility (with major infrastructure projects, seasonal work).	Taylor & Bell 1999:10,14,16.				
CDEP (but also inhibits travel for many).	Taylor & Bell 1996:400; Taylor & Bell 1999:9,13-14.				
Obtaining Social Security/ Centrelink payments.	Altman 1987; Memmott & Moran 2001; Smith 2004:252; Taylor & Bell 1999:35.	(1)			
Seeking reduced cost of living.	Gray 2004:209.				
Workplace skills training.		2 (13)	2		4
Employment in the arts (dance or theatre groups, bands, art exhibitions etc).					
(6) Temporary Visits		32	10	14	56
Passing through		31	10	14	55
Dinner stop		1			1
(7) Visiting Traditional Country and Ceremony Reasons		22 (12)		1	23 (12)
Visiting country.	Smith 2004:243.	2			2
Looking after country and customary responsibilities.	Young & Doohan 1989:20; Smith 2004:243.				
Sharing, teaching and learning place knowledge.					
Visiting outstations.	Peterson 2004:230; Smith 2004.	1			1

REASONS FOR TRAVEL	REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Start up outstation		1			1
Succession to country.	Veth 2003:3				
Returning to Home community/ settlement.	Peterson 2004:234	2			2
Access to country for Native Title, Land Rights and Cultural Heritage.	Smith 2004:246-247				
Avoidance of places/ moving around places/ places of non- visitation.	Veth 2003: 2-5; Long (2005)				
Planning and attending ceremony.	Peterson 2004; Memmott & Moran 2001; Altman 1987; Veth 2003:2; Smith 2004:243; Young & Doohan 1989:92-105.	2 (3)			2
Land meetings on country		14 (9)		1	15
(8) Obtaining Health Related Services	Young & Doohan 1989:170-177.	13 (41)	6	3	25 (41)
Attending local health clinic.	Smith 2004:252.				
Emergency medical treatment- flying doctor.					
Attending regional or distant hospital.					
Specialist treatment, pregnancy, birthing, mental health, drug and alcohol services.					
Nursing homes & aged care.					
Visiting/accompanying family who are utilising health services.					
Women's services-shelters/refuge	Memmott & Moran 2001.				
(9) Education Reasons		8 (15)	1	1	10 (15)

REASONS FOR TRAVEL	REFERENCES	HOUSEHOLDERS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary education.	Taylor & Bell 1996:400, 1999:9, Smith 2004:252; Young & Doohan 1989:159-170.				
School holidays and regional schools events.	Long (2005).				
(10) Attending Meetings of Indigenous Organisations	Smith 2004:246-247,252; Young & Doohan 1989:187-192.	5 (9)		3	8 (9)
Community meetings.		5		3	8
Aboriginal Council meetings.					
Meetings of Land Councils and Native Title Rep Bodies.		(9)			
Other community Organisations and Consultative groups meetings.					
(11) Policing, Court and Correctional Reasons		3 (22)		2	5 (22)
Policing , to see the police		(4)			
Seeking Legal Aid Services.		(6)			
Protection Orders (Child Protection Orders, Domestic Violence Protection Orders).	Qld Dept. of Justice and Attorney General 2003A&B; Qld Dept Communities 2004.				
Attending Circuit Court, Regional Courts, Federal Court.		1 (11)		2	3
Police Lock-ups, youth detention.					
Jail- (1 in 67 of the Indigenous population was in jail in 2002).	AIC 2004.	(1)			
Visiting jailed relatives.		1			1

	Vehicle registration		1			1
(12)	Housing, Accommodation and Re-settlement Reasons		0 (12)			0 (12)
	Seeking housing, housing services or temporary accommodation (single men's, single women, young people and families).	Taylor & Bell 1999:8,36; Taylor & Bell 2004: 7; Gray 2004.	(12)			
	Formation of new settlement eg outstation.					
	Leaving poor living conditions at home community (poor housing, services, noise.)	Smith 2004:250.				
(13)	Transport Reasons		1	2	1	4
	Access bus service		1	2		3
	Pick something up				1	1
(14)	Climatic Reasons		0			0
	Seasonal stimuli- wet season/dry season.	Altman 1987; Memmott & Moran 2001; Smith 2004:241-243,253.	0			
	Extreme weather events: Floods, Cyclones, Droughts.	Veth 2003:2,3.	0			

APPENDIX 4: FIGURES

Figure 1: Schematic map showing study region in north-west Queensland and central-east Northern Territory.

Figure 2: Compilation of road maps indicating the three study locations in north-west Queensland and central-east Northern Territory and their major road connections. (Note: map not to scale.)

Figure 3: Language Group identity of householder interviewees and their partners or spouses in Dajarra.

Figure 4: Locations given by Dajarra household participants as to where they were reared.

Figure 5: Locations given by Dajarra householders as to where each of their ten closest relatives (a) was reared, and (b) resided at the time of the survey.

Figure 6: Travel during the year previous to the survey between Dajarra households and the households of their closest relatives.

Figure 7: Out-movement from Dajarra.

Figure 8: Locations given by Dajarra household survey participants when asked where they were living in the last three years.

Figure 9: Travel destinations in the last year by Dajarra Aboriginal householders who took part in the survey.

Figure 10: Travel destinations in the last year by (a) Dajarra Male Focus Group participants, and (b) Dajarra Female Focus Group participants, who took part in the survey.

Figure 11: Language Group identity of householder interviewees and their partners or spouses in Alpururulam.

Figure 12: Locations given by Alpururulam household participants as to where they were reared. Numbers indicate how many participants were reared in each location.

Figure 13: Locations given by Alpururulam householders as to where each of their ten closest relatives (a) was reared, and (b) resided at the time of the survey.

Figure 14: Travel during the year previous to the survey between Alpururulam households and the households of their closest relatives.

Figure 15: Out-movement from Alpururulam. Responses given by Alpururulam householders when asked (a) where their visitors had moved to, and (b) where members of their own households had moved to, both during the last year.

Figure 16: Locations given by Alpururulam household survey participants (20 participants) when asked where they were living in the last three years.

Figure 17: Travel destinations in the last year by Alpururulam Aboriginal householders who took part in the survey (20 participants).

Figure 18: Travel destinations in the last year by (a) Alpururulam Male Focus Group participants, and (b) Alpururulam Female Focus Group participants, who took part in the survey.

Figure 19: Language Group identity of householder interviewees and their partners or spouses in Mt Isa.

Figure 20: Locations given by Mt Isa household participants as to where they were reared.

Figure 21: Locations given by Mt Isa householders as to where each of their ten closest relatives (a) was reared, and (b) resided at the time of the survey.

Figure 22: Travel during the year previous to the survey between Mt Isa households and the households of their closest relatives (defined as the householder's ten closest cognatic living adult relatives). (a) Destinations of travel by the Mt Isa householders to visit their closest relatives in the last year. (b) Home town or community origins of the ten closest relatives of each of the Mt Isa householders, who visited those householders in Mt Isa during the last year.

Figure 23: Out-movement from Mt Isa. Responses given by Mt Isa householders when asked where their visitors had moved to.

Figure 24: Locations given by Mt Isa household survey participants (10 participants) when asked where they were living in the last three years.

Figure 25: Travel destinations in the last year by Mt Isa Aboriginal householders who took part in the survey (10 participants).

Figure 26: Contemporary Cultural Regions of Queensland (by Memmott 1991).

Figure 27: Locations given by household participants from Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa as to where they were reared.

Figure 28: Locations given by householders as to where each of their ten closest relatives was reared.

Figure 29: Map of the 'beats' of the North-west Queensland/Northern Territory border region.

Figure 30: Travel destinations in the last year by Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa householders and male and female groups (Dajarra and Alpururulam only) who took part in the survey.

Figure 31: Destinations of travel by householders in Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa to visit their closest relatives.

Figure 32: Aggregated language group of identities of householder interviewees, male and female group interviewees and their partners or spouses in the three fieldwork locations (Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa).

Figure 33: Out-movement of household members from Dajarra and Alpururulam during the last year. Responses given by householder participants when asked where members of their own household had moved to.

Figure 34: Out-movement of visitors from Dajarra, Alpururulam and Mt Isa during the last year according to householder participants in the survey.

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