CHAPTER 7   CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

7.1   Introduction

In seeking to explore the spatial and temporal patterns of contemporary mobility among Aboriginal people in the study area, and the influences on these mobility patterns, a survey was undertaken as the second stage of the primary data collection process for this study. This chapter explores the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the survey sample, and summarises the cultural and place affiliations reported by respondents. In so doing, it provides the context for Chapters 8 and 9, which analyse the quantitative evidence for the mobility of the survey sample. The survey, undertaken in the study area from April to October 2005, resulted in a total of 192 responses from ten localities. The demographic, social and economic status of the respondents who resided within the study area boundaries are examined in Section 7.2. Eight of the respondents were not resident in the study area and, as foreshadowed in Section 4.4.5, their responses have been excluded for the purposes of analysis of quantitative data in this chapter, and in Chapters 8 and 9.   Their circumstances are discussed briefly in Section 7.3. The cultural and place affiliations of respondents resident in the study area are then explored.

7.2   Socio-demographic status of survey respondents

7.2.1 Introduction

The age-sex structure of the survey sample was introduced in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 and Figure 5.2, in Chapter 5. This section provides an overview of the survey sample in terms of other socio-demographic characteristics such as labour force status, household structure and housing status.

7.2.2 Labour force status

The survey collected data concerning the labour force status of each respondent and, where applicable, his or her partner. Table 7.1 shows labour force data by place of residence.

TABLE 7.1

Survey respondents: labour force status

Place of residence	Labour force status – number of respondents						
	Employed	Unemployed	Training/ education	Home duties	Pension	Other	Total
NFA	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bourke	16	8	1	0	4	1	30
Enngonia	9	1	0	0	1	0	11
Brewarrina	8	2	0	3	4	0	17
Goodooga	8	2	2	5	0	0	17
Weilmoringle	6	0	0	1	2	0	9
Broken Hill	20	9	0	0	2	0	31
Wilcannia	21	4	0	2	2	0	29
Menindee	9	0	0	0	2	0	11
Ivanhoe	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Dareton	15	2	0	4	4	0	25
Labour force status not stated							1
Total	113	29	3	15	22	1	184
%	62	16	2	8	12	1	100[1]

Of the 183 respondents to this question, 62% were employed (compared with 36.5% from the census), 16% were unemployed, while 20% were either on the pension or undertaking home duties. Only 2% stated that they were undertaking education or training. The labour force data translate to a workforce participation rate of 78% (46.8% from the census) and an unemployment rate of 20% for respondents (22.1% from the census)[2].

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[1] Responses in the 'not stated' category have been excluded from the total for the purposes of calculating percentages in all tables in this chapter.
[2] Sixteen per cent of all respondents equates to 20% of respondents who were in the workforce (i.e. either employed or unemployed and looking for work). Official unemployment statistics calculate the unemployment rate as the percentage of the workforce who are unemployed.

Responses in the 'employed' category are analysed by employment type in Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2

Survey respondents: form of employment

Place of residence	Form of employment – number of respondents					
	Permanent full-time	Permanent part-time	CDEP	Seasonal	Casual	Total
NFA	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bourke	8	2	4	0	2	16
Enngonia	0	3	5	0	1	9
Brewarrina	3	0	5	0	0	8
Goodooga	2	0	6	0	0	8
Weilmoringle	3	0	3	0	0	6
Broken Hill	4	1	9	1	5	20
Wilcannia	6	2	8	0	5	21
Menindee	2	0	7	0	0	9
Ivanhoe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dareton	7	1	4	2	1	15
Total	35	9	51	4	14	113
%	31	8	45	4	12	100

Of the 62% of respondents who reported being employed, fewer than one third (35 out of 113 employed respondents) are in permanent full-time employment. CDEP participants are funded for approximately ten hours' employment per week unless externally funded CDEP contracts permit the payment of 'top-up' wages for additional hours. The data therefore indicate that only 19% of respondents (35 out of 183 respondents) were employed full-time and that the majority of those who are working were employed only part-time in a paid position. The differences in employment level and labour force participation rates between the survey and the census would most likely arise from the much greater level of identification in the survey of CDEP participants (27.8% of respondents compared with 8.8% for the census).

Some limited information about the labour force status of each respondent's partner was also collected to identify whether this influenced the mobility of the respondent. Of 184 responses, 110 respondents were living with a partner and 72 were not at the time of the survey, and two did not state whether or not they

were living with a partner. Table 7.3 presents labour force data for respondents' partners.

TABLE 7.3

Partners of survey respondents: labour force status

Place of residence	Number of respondents				
	Respondent has no partner	Partner's labour force status			Total
		Permanent work	Casual, seasonal or temporary work	Not working	
NFA	1	0	0	0	1
Bourke	8	6	6	10	30
Enngonia	5	1	3	2	11
Brewarrina	8	3	2	5	18
Goodooga	10	1	1	5	17
Weilmoringle	3	1	2	3	9
Broken Hill	13	7	1	10	31
Wilcannia	8	6	4	11	29
Menindee	8	1	1	0	10
Ivanhoe	0	0	0	2	2
Dareton	8	7	3	6	24
Not stated					2
Total	72	33	23	54	184
%	40	18	13	30	100

Of the 110 partners enumerated, 30% of partners were in permanent full-time or part-time work, 21% of partners were working on a seasonal or casual basis and 49% of partners were not working. By way of comparison, 52% of respondents (95 out of 182) were working permanent full-time, part-time or for CDEP, 10% were working on a seasonal or casual basis and 38% were not working. The relationship between mobility, respondent's labour force status and partner's labour force status is further discussed, with reference to the sex of respondents and their partners, in Section 9.2.1.

7.2.3 Households and families

Table 7.4 shows the breakdown of respondents by household type.

TABLE 7.4

Survey respondents: household type

Household type	Respondents	%
Living as a lone person household	8	5
Living with immediate family members	114	62
Living with immediate family members and others who are not immediate family	37	20
Living only with others who are not immediate family	24	13
Not stated	1	
Total	184	100

One third of respondents were living in households which contained people who were not immediate family[3] but might include siblings, cousins, nieces, nephews, in-laws or unrelated persons. This may be a reflection of the traditional extended family structure but might also be a consequence of the shortage of rental housing stock in the study area.

Respondents were asked whether they had children at school and, if so, the location of the school(s) their children attended (Table 7.5). Eighteen of the 89 respondents with children at school had children attending school at a location beyond daily commuting distance, so boarding would be necessary. Table 7.6 lists the locations where the children of these respondents attend school, as well as the locations where school is within commuting distance (up to approximately 200 km round trip[4]) from the respondent's place of residence. Some respondents had children attending school in more than one remote location. Reasons for children being educated away from home were not sought in the survey. As Chapter 5 indicates, educational opportunities in the study area, especially in the more remote localities, are limited. Of the eighteen respondents with children away at school, six did not have a partner. A possible further reason for children being educated away from the respondent's place of residence might therefore be family breakdown (that is, the child may reside with the respondent's former partner). The implications of children's school enrolment for parents' or guardians' mobility is explored in Section 9.3.1.

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[3] The questionnaire restricted 'immediate family' to partners, parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren.
[4] The 200 km figure adopted represents the longest daily commute (Enngonia-Bourke-Enngonia) routinely undertaken by school students in the study area.

TABLE 7.5

Survey respondents: children at school

Place of residence	Number of respondents				
	Respondent has no children at school	Respondent has children at school:			Total
		In locality of residence	Within daily commuting distance	Beyond daily commuting distance	
No fixed address (NFA)	1	0	0	0	1
Bourke	15	10	0	5	30
Enngonia	5	3	1	2	11
Brewarrina	9	9	0	0	18
Goodooga	7	10	0	0	17
Weilmoringle	3	4	0	2	9
Broken Hill	18	10	0	3	31
Wilcannia	19	7	0	3	29
Menindee	5	3	0	2	10
Ivanhoe	2	0	0	0	2
Dareton	9	11	3	1	24
Not stated					2
Total	93	67	4	18	184
%	51	37	2	10	100

TABLE 7.6

Survey respondents: locations where children go away to school

Place of residence	Locations within daily commuting distance	Locations beyond daily commuting distance			
Bourke	Brewarrina	Dubbo	Grafton	Cairns	Brisbane
Enngonia	Bourke	Sydney			
Weilmoringle		Dubbo			
Broken Hill		Wilcannia	Dareton	Murray Bridge (SA)	Loxton (SA) Monash (SA)
Wilcannia		Broken Hill Menindee	Brewarrina	Warren	Windsor (Qld)
Menindee		Sydney	Hay		
Dareton	Mildura	Sydney			

7.2.4 Housing status

The survey collected data in relation to household size and dwelling type and size. Table 7.7 indicates the variety and number of different types of dwellings in which respondents were living by locality of residence. The four dwellings with no bedrooms are caravans, self-built camps or other types of dwelling which are not houses or units.

TABLE 7.7

Survey respondents: dwelling type

Place of residence	Dwelling type – number of respondents				
	House	Unit or flat	Caravan or camp	Other	Total
NFA	0	0	0	1	1
Bourke	30	0	0	0	30
Enngonia	11	0	0	0	11
Brewarrina	17	0	1	0	18
Goodooga	17	0	0	0	17
Weilmoringle	9	0	0	0	9
Broken Hill	30	1	0	0	31
Wilcannia	24	2	3	0	29
Menindee	11	0	0	0	11
Ivanhoe	2	0	0	0	2
Wentworth	24	1	0	0	25
Total	175	4	4	1	184

Table 7.8 cross-tabulates household size against dwelling size to provide an indicator of likely housing stress arising from crowding. In addition to the responses tabulated, a further respondent (included within the not stated category) indicated that the household population varied. The data indicate that at least thirty-eight of the 178 respondents for whom both dwelling size and household size were recorded were living in dwellings with more than two people per bedroom. These dwellings can be classified, *prima facie*, as crowded according to the Canadian National Occupancy Standard, the criterion commonly in use in Australia and internationally to quantify housing utilisation and to identify overcrowding (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006). The Canadian National Occupancy Standard uses both dwelling population and

TABLE 7.8

Survey respondents: dwelling and household size

No. of bedrooms	No. of residents in household									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	Not stated	Total
	Number of respondents									
0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	5
1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		2
2	0	8	6	0	2	0	1	0		17
3	4	13	17	14	13	8	8	14	1	92
4	0	6	8	11	10	4	7	11		57
5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2		3
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		3
Not stated	2			1			1		1	5
Total	8	29	32	26	27	12	17	30	3	184

household composition to identify crowding. Here, only household size is being considered. Additional informants may therefore be experiencing crowding, subject to household composition. The relationship between crowding and mobility is explored further in Section 9.3.2.

Table 7.9 cross-tabulates form of tenure by survey location. Overall, 14% of respondents were owner-occupiers, compared with 13% for the 2001 Census, and, as with the census, the highest level of owner-occupation (33%) was recorded in Broken Hill (see Table 6.16). Menindee had the highest proportion of respondents either staying with friends or relatives or boarding, as distinct from entering into an independent tenancy. The incidence of 'other' forms of tenure (house-sitting, boarding, squatting or staying with friends or relatives), at 24%, was far higher than the corresponding census figure (13%), and this raises the question of whether the census may be under-enumerating people in the 'other' tenure category.

The respondents who were renting were tenants of a variety of landlords and the distribution of landlord types reflects the holdings of each landlord from locality to locality, as Table 7.10 demonstrates. There is clearly little dependence on the private rental market, and very high dependence on Aboriginal community-controlled social housing.

TABLE 7.9

Survey respondents: form of tenure

Place of residence	Form of tenure – number of respondents							
	Renting	Owner occupier	House sitting	Staying with relatives or friends	Boarding	Squatting	Not stated	Total
NFA	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Bourke	22	5	1	1	1	0	0	30
Enngonia	8	0	0	2	1	0	0	11
Brewarrina	9	3	1	2	3	0	0	18
Goodooga	15	0	0	1	1	0	0	17
Weilmoringle	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	9
Broken Hill	14	10	0	2	5	0	0	31
Wilcannia	16	3	0	3	5	1	1	29
Menindee	2	3	0	1	5	0	0	11
Ivanhoe	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Wentworth	18	2	0	5	0	0	0	25
Total	113	26	2	20	21	1	1	184
%	62	14	1	11	11	1		100

TABLE 7.10

Survey respondents: landlord type

Place of residence	Landlord type – number of respondents							
	Private rental	AHO	DOH	Local Aboriginal co-op or LALC	MPRHC	Employer	Not renting	Not stated	Total
NFA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bourke	2	2	4	1	13	0	8	0	30
Enngonia	1	1	0	5	1	0	3	0	11
Brewarrina	2	0	1	3	3	0	9	0	18
Goodooga	0	0	0	12	3	0	2	0	17
Weilmoringle	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	0	9
Broken Hill	5	0	5	3	0	0	17	1	31
Wilcannia	2	0	1	0	13	1	12	0	29
Menindee	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	11
Ivanhoe	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Wentworth	1	7	0	0	10	0	7	0	25
Total	13	10	11	26	52	1	70	1	184
% of renters	12	9	10	23	46	1			

7.3   Non-resident survey respondents

Of the 192 respondents, only ten, or 5%, were interviewed away from their locality of residence, as indicated by their response to the question 'Where are you living now?' Table 7.11 shows the place of interview and identifies the place of residence of those not resident in the locality where they were interviewed.

TABLE 7.11

Place of interview and place of residence of all survey respondents

Address of survey	Is survey locality respondent's place of residence? Number of respondents		Place of residence, respondents not resident in survey locality at time of survey
	Yes	No	
Bourke	30	1	Wagga Wagga
Enngonia	11	1	Walgett
Brewarrina	18	2	Sydney x 2
Goodooga	17	0	
Weilmoringle	9	0	
Broken Hill	31	1	Menindee
Wilcannia	29	1	Western NSW – no fixed address
Menindee	10	0	
Ivanhoe	2	1	Mildura
Wentworth	25	3	Lake Cargelligo x 2, Adelaide
Total	182	10	

Of the ten interviewed away from their current place of residence, two were usually resident elsewhere in the study area. One of these two respondents, from Menindee, was interviewed in Broken Hill, where she worked, and the other had no usual place of residence, but had been circulating through four households in Broken Hill, Wilcannia and Mutawintji for several months prior to responding to the survey in Wilcannia. Because these two respondents were resident in the study area, they have been retained in the survey sample for the purposes of data analysis. Of the eight respondents who were not resident in the study area, five had been born and six at least partly reared in the study area. Six of these eight felt that their place of greatest belonging was a locality within the study area, and the other two felt that their place of greatest belonging was Murrin Bridge, where the residents of Menindee Mission had

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been relocated in 1949. Five of the eight had family histories of having been forcibly moved from within the study area by the APB. All of the eight had affiliations with language groups whose country is in western NSW or south-western Queensland. Three of these eight respondents identified their place of residence as Sydney or Adelaide, but saw the place where they were interviewed, not their current capital city residence, as the place they usually lived. Their capital city residences were seen as temporary.

7.4 Place affiliation, spiritual and temporal: an overview

7.4.1 Introduction

This section summarises the cultural background and place affiliations reported by respondents both resident and non-resident in the study area. The survey sought information about respondents' own language group affiliation and that of each of their parents. Respondents were also asked to identify their own traditional country and to rate the strength of their belonging to it; accounts of family experiences of forced mobility, too, were sought. As Chapter 5 noted, traditional associations with place were disrupted by the policies of the APB and AWB. The cultural affiliations of some respondents appear to have been mediated by the disruption of ties to country and culture wrought by the APB and AWB, and, as Section 10.2 discusses, this has continued to influence spatial behaviour. Respondents were also asked to nominate the place or places which they saw as home, and the place or places they saw as the best place to live, and to provide information about birthplace and places of childhood residence.

7.4.2 Traditional affiliations

Table 7.12 summarises the extent of knowledge of affiliations to language group and to traditional country. Sixteen respondents described their traditional country in terms of language group name (for example, 'Paakantji country'), rather than actual locality (for example, 'Darling River' or 'Wilcannia'). These responses are not included in the table. Of the 157, or 85% of all respondents who identified their language group affiliation, twenty, or 13%, identified an affiliation with two language groups; usually one inherited from each parent.

TABLE 7.12

Cultural knowledge

	Number of respondents
Knows own language group	157
Knows both parents' language group(s)	101
Knows mother's language group only	45
Knows father's language group only	9
Knows own traditional country	139
Knows both parents' traditional country	93
Knows mother's traditional country only	38
Knows father's traditional country only	10
n=	184

Table 7.13 shows the number of respondents reporting affiliation with each of the language groups identified.

TABLE 7.13

Language group affiliations

Language group	Number of responses[5]	Language group	Number of responses	Language group	Number of responses
Paakantji	68	Wangkumara	7	Gurnu	1
Murrawari	28	Wiradjuri	7	Yota Yota	1
Ngiyampaa	14	Dieri	7	Wanyawalku	1
Badjeti	10	Kamilaroi	4	Wadigali	1
Ngemba	9	Yuwalaaraay	3	Other group	7
Kunja	8	Muthi Muthi	2	Don't know	27

The traditional links to country nominated by each of the respondents who identified with a language group and had a traditional affiliation with a particular place are presented in Table 7.14, by language group. One hundred and seven respondents who identified with a language group nominated at least one specific place (a locality or a watercourse) to which they felt an affiliation, and further seven respondents who could not identify their language group indicated that they had a traditional relationship with particular country.

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[5] n=184. Respondents could nominate more than one language group.

TABLE 7.14

Survey respondents with a traditional affiliation to a specific place: place affiliation by language group affiliation

Language group	Places cited as traditional country by language group members (number of responses in parentheses)[6]
Paakantji	Wilcannia (32), Darling River (24), Pooncarie (14), Menindee, Wentworth (5 each), Bourke, Mutawintji, Paroo River (3 each), White Cliffs (2), Dareton, Louth, Yancannia, Broken Hill, Lake Cargelligo, Condobolin (1 each)
Ngiyampaa	Menindee (5), Mt Grenfell, Wilcannia (4 each), Carowra Tk, Darling River (3 each), Paroo River (1)
Muthi Muthi	Murray River (1)
Gurnu	Paroo River, Darling River (1 each)
Murrawari	Weilmoringle (11), Goodooga (5), Enngonia, Brewarrina (4 each), Bourke, Angledool, Denewan, Caiwarro (1 each)
Ngemba	Brewarrina (3), Mt Gundabooka, Angledool (1 each)
Yuwalaaraay	Goodooga, Angledool (1 each)
Badjeti	Enngonia, Caiwarro (1 each)
Kunja	Enngonia (1)
Wangkumara	Bourke (3), Tibooburra (2), Milparinka, Wilcannia, Wee Waa (1 each)
Wiradjuri	Balranald (2), Condobolin, Wellington, Warren (1 each)
Yota Yota	none mentioned
Kamilaroi	Brewarrina (2), Walgett (1)
Wanyawalku	Mutawintji, White Cliffs, Darling River (1 each)
Wadigali	Tibooburra, Milparinka (1 each)
Dieri	Innamincka (6)
Other	Various locations in Queensland, WA and SA (7 respondents)
Not known	Brewarrina (2), Bourke, Gingie Mission-Walgett, Euston-Robinvale, Quilpie, Cunnamulla (1 each)

Twenty-one respondents who reported that they belonged to at least one language group did not identify with anywhere as their traditional country. There were a number of suggestions in the data that understanding of language group identity and traditional country is somewhat fluid. Eleven respondents' language group identity differed from that of both of their parents, and twelve respondents identified traditional country which would not historically have

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[6] n=114. Respondents could nominate more than one location.

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been associated with their language group (for example, three Wangkumara persons identified Bourke as their traditional country). These issues are discussed in greater detail in Section 10.4.

Of the 184 respondents, 177 responded to the questions both about the location of their own traditional country and about the strength of sense of belonging to their traditional country. The responses are summarised in Table 7.15.

TABLE 7.15

Survey respondents with a traditional affiliation to place: strength of affiliation

Identification with country	Sense of belonging % of respondents					
	Not applicable	None	Slight	Moderate	Fairly strong	Extremely strong
Does not identify with traditional country	77	10	3	3	5	2
Identifies with a specific place	0	6	0	7	28	59
Identifies with country belonging to nominated language group	0	4	4	0	11	81
Does not know where country is	100	0	0	0	0	0
Total (n=177, not stated=7)	18	6	1	5	21	49

The strength of affiliation with country of those who identify with specific places and those whose identification is less specific (that is, by language group name rather than by place name) is similar, with slightly more of those whose identification is more vague reporting a fairly strong or extremely strong sense of belonging. The tendency of respondents who do not identify with traditional country nonetheless to express a sense of belonging is interesting. It is possible these nine respondents were confused by a request to state a degree of attachment to a concept they had already indicated they did not identify with; the research assistants had been instructed before the survey commenced to skip the question about sense of belonging if the respondent indicted no traditional place affiliation.

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7.4.3 Early associations with place

Of the 184 respondents, 132 had been born in the study area, twenty-three elsewhere in western NSW, six elsewhere in NSW and twenty-two in other states, with one respondent not stating a place of birth. Table 7.16 summarises the responses.

TABLE 7.16

Survey respondents: place of birth

Locality	Number of respondents	Locality	Number of respondents
Bourke	38	Balranald	3
Wanaaring	1	Other Riverina-Murray	1
Brewarrina	29	Other Western NSW	2
Goodooga	4	Sydney	4
Angledool	2	Other NSW	1
Broken Hill	30	S-W Queensland	7
Wilcannia	27	Other Queensland	5
Old Menindee Mission	1	Mildura	7
Walgett	1	Other Victoria	2
Coonamble	1	Western Australia	1
Dubbo	4	Northern Territory	1
Lake Cargelligo	10	not stated	1
Condobolin	1	n=	184

Of these 183 respondents for whom place of birth was recorded, sixty-two, or 34%, were living in their place of birth. Respondents tended to interpret birthplace as the location of the hospital where they were born, and the responses tabulated above would reflect the availability of maternity facilities at the time the respondents were born, rather than their parents' place of residence at the time. For example, almost all respondents who spent all or part of their childhood at Weilmoringle had been born either at Bourke or Brewarrina, with one born in Dubbo and two in Dirranbandi, Queensland.

In response to the question about the places where they had lived during their childhood, 109 respondents, or 60%, identified only one locality, thirty-six identified two, twenty identified three, six identified four, eight identified five to

ten localities, and two identified more than ten (including one respondent who reported that she had lived in twenty-six localities as a child). At the time of the survey, ninety-nine respondents were living in one of the places where they had lived as a child. Twenty-five, or 14% of the 182 respondents to this question, had not lived in the study area as a child. Of these twenty-five respondents:

◊ five had spent their childhood at Murrin Bridge as a result of their families having been moved by the APB from Pooncarie or Carowra Tank to Menindee Mission, thence to Murrin Bridge, and an eighth respondent also lived at Murrin Bridge, although with no knowledge of APB involvement. These respondents were all living either in the Dareton-Wentworth area;

◊ three, one living at Bourke, one at Buronga and one at Ivanhoe at the time of the survey, had been removed from their families and reared in government institutions for Aboriginal children;

◊ seven, two living at Broken Hill, two at Wilcannia, two at Bourke and one at Buronga at the time of the survey, had lived interstate throughout their childhood and a further three, living at Buronga, Broken Hill and Brewarrina, had spent part of their childhood interstate and part in Sydney or other areas of NSW not in the western division;

◊ six, living in Bourke (2), Wilcannia, Buronga, Goodooga and Weilmoringle at the time of the survey, had lived in localities in western NSW outside the study area boundaries in their childhood. One of these six had also lived in Sydney, and another had lived an itinerant lifestyle.

Table 7.17 summarises the localities where respondents had lived as children.

The importance of the activities of the Aborigines Protection Board and Aborigines Welfare Board in shaping the place connections of childhood (and, as the following tables show, adulthood) is evident in these data. Overall, 68 of 184 respondents, or 37%, indicated that their family had been forcibly moved by the APB or AWB; 72, or 39%, indicated that they had not been moved; and 44, or 24%, were unsure. Respondents reported family having been moved from a variety of localities but foremost in terms of numbers were Pooncarie (13 respondents), Wilcannia (ten), Angledool (eight) and Carowra Tank

TABLE 7.17

Localities where survey respondents had lived as children

Locality	Respondents	Locality	Respondents
Wilcannia	47	Newcastle	3
Bourke	31	Orange	3
Goodooga	22	South Australia	3
Enngonia	21	Old Menindee Mission	2
Broken Hill	19	Wentworth	2
Weilmoringle	19	Lake Cargelligo	2
Brewarrina	18	Albury	2
Sydney	16	Wagga Wagga	2
Other Western NSW	10	Other state	2
Other Victoria	10	Wanaaring	1
Menindee	9	Tilpa	1
Murrin Bridge	9	Angledool	1
Dareton	8	White Cliffs	1
Other NSW	6	Gingie Reserve, Walgett	1
Dubbo	5	Coonamble	1
Children's institution	5	Wellington	1
Cobar	4	Condobolin	1
S-W Queensland	4	Balranald	1
Other Queensland	4	Tamworth	1
Louth	3	Other Riverina-Murray	1
Old Brewarrina Mission	3	Mildura	1
Tibooburra	3	Transient/multiple localities	1
Silverton	3	Overseas	1
Rural property in study area	3	Not stated	2
		n=	184

(four respondents). Respondents also reported their families having been relocated to a variety of places, not only the Government stations. Seventeen respondents indicated that their family had been moved to Menindee Mission and sixteen to Brewarrina Mission; the families of 11 respondents had been removed to Murrin Bridge Aboriginal Station. A further 13 respondents reported that they themselves or family members had been removed to a government institution for children, including the Kinchela Boys' Home and the Cootamundra Girls' Home. Interestingly, the 1994 NATSIS reported that, of

respondents aged 25 and over, 0.4% of those surveyed in the Murdi Paaki Region reported that they were removed from their natural family (5.7% for NSW as a whole). A further 1.1% did not respond to this question. The 2002 NATSISS indicated that, for remote and very remote NSW, 4.8% of respondents had been removed, and 20.9% had had relatives removed from their natural family. The survey data suggest a rate of removal, at 7%, between those indicated by the two ABS surveys. It appears likely, from the reports of forced mobility which do not relate to a Government station or institution, that some respondents recalled moves relating to indentured labour mandated under the APB's and AWB's so-called apprenticeship system.

Far fewer respondents reported involvement with the AFVRS. Nine of 184 respondents (5%) indicated that their family had moved in association with the AFVRS; 122 (67%) indicated that they had not moved; and 52, or 28%, were unsure. Of those who reported a move, the places of origin of the families were Bourke (four respondents), Enngonia, Broken Hill, Wilcannia and Coonamble (one respondent each). The families were moved to Newcastle (five families), Wagga Wagga (two families) and Albury (one family). The connections with AFVRS resettlement centres in the responses outnumber the recollections of associations with the scheme, and it seems possible that some additional respondents may have been unaware of family involvement with the AFVRS thirty-odd years ago. The relationship between forced or government-sanctioned moves in the past and contemporary mobility are discussed in detail in Section 10.2.

7.4.4 Current affiliations to place

Respondents were asked to nominate the place they identified as home; in other words, the place to which they felt the greatest sense of belonging (Table 7.18).

TABLE 7.18

Survey respondents: where is home?

Locality	Number of respondents	Locality	Number of respondents
Western NSW generally	1	Darling River	1
Bourke	27	Murray River	2
Alice Edwards Village	1	Walgett	1
Enngonia	11	Murrin Bridge	4
Brewarrina	11	Lake Cargelligo	1
West Brewarrina	5	Condobolin	1
Goodooga	16	Balranald	2
Weilmoringle	8	Newcastle	1
Tibooburra	2	Sydney	3
Broken Hill	12	Mildura	2
Wilcannia	42	Brisbane (Qld)	1
Menindee	7	Cunnamulla (Qld)	1
Mutawintji	1	Innisfail (Qld)	1
Wentworth	3	North Qld generally	1
Pooncarie	1	Perth (W.A.)	1
Dareton	6	Fitzroy Crossing (W.A.)	1
Namatjira Avenue	1	America	1
Buronga	1	Not stated	2
Gol Gol	1	n=	184

Of the 182 respondents to this question, 126, or 69%, were living in the place they saw as home. Respondents were invited to identify the characteristics of home which made it the place of greatest belonging for them. A total of 407 characteristics were nominated by the 182 respondents to this question. The most frequently mentioned characteristics of 'home' were: the presence of family (115 mentions), having been brought up there (52), cultural or spiritual ties, including a sense of belonging to traditional country (38), the presence of friends (39), having been born there (27), nostalgic associations or memories (16), a general feeling of home (12), having family members buried there (11), lengthy residence (10) and knowledge and familiarity (10). Twenty-six other characteristics each rated fewer than ten mentions.

Respondents were also invited to indicate whether there were any other places they saw as home. Seventy-four respondents identified a second 'home'

location and, of these, twenty-one nominated a third, and two a fourth 'home' location. A further twenty-nine respondents not living in their nominated primary home locality were living in one of their secondary homes. The way in which perceptions of multiple 'home' locations relates to mobility is discussed in Section 10.4. Table 7.19 lists these secondary 'homes'.

TABLE 7.19

Survey respondents: secondary 'home' locations

Locality	Number of respondents	Locality	Number of respondents
Bourke	4	Lightning Ridge	1
Enngonia	1	Walgett	1
Brewarrina	2	Gingie Mission, Walgett	1
Goodooga	4	Murrin Bridge	5
Weilmoringle	5	Lake Cargelligo	5
Angledool	1	Warren	1
Silverton	2	Gunnedah	1
Broken Hill	15	Forbes	1
Wilcannia	10	Bathurst	1
Menindee	5	Orange	1
Old Menindee Mission	1	Sydney	3
Ivanhoe	3	Castlemaine (Vic.)	1
Mutawintji	1	Loxton (S.A.)	1
Wentworth	1	Murray Bridge (S.A.)	1
Pooncarie	4	Innamincka (S.A.)	1
Dareton	3	Pt Augusta (S.A.)	1
Namatjira Avenue	3	Whyalla (S.A.)	1
Buronga	4	Darwin (N.T.)	1

The most frequently mentioned attributes which characterised secondary 'home' localities were: the presence of family (48 mentions), having been brought up there (12), lengthy residence (11), and the presence of friends (11). Twenty-six other characteristics each rated fewer than ten mentions.

Table 7.20 summarises the responses to the request to identify the best place to live.

TABLE 7.20

Survey respondents: best place to live

Locality	Number of respondents	Locality	Number of respondents
Bourke	18	Walgett	1
Enngonia	9	Dubbo	2
Wanaaring	1	Lake Cargelligo	2
Brewarrina	13	Bathurst	1
Goodooga	14	Newcastle	2
Weilmoringle	9	Tamworth	1
Tibooburra	1	Orange	2
Broken Hill	22	Sydney	5
Wilcannia	28	Wollongong	1
Menindee	8	Karuah	1
Ivanhoe	1	Nambucca Heads	1
Wentworth	5	Brisbane	1
Pooncarie	2	Toowoomba	1
Dareton	9	Bundaberg	1
Buronga	4	Glenorchy	1
Gol Gol	1	Fitzroy Crossing	1
The bush	1	Tribal country	1
Darling River	1	Don't know	5
Barwon River	2	Not stated	4
Murray River	1	n=	184

Of the 180 respondents to this question, 135, or 75%, were living in the place they regarded as the best place to live. Three respondents identified two places: Weilmoringle and Toowoomba, Wilcannia and Broken Hill, and Ivanhoe and the Murray River.

As with the 'where is home' question, respondents were invited to identify the characteristics which made their selected location(s) the best place to live. A total of 354 characteristics were nominated. The most frequently mentioned characteristics of 'the best place to live' were: the presence of family (76 mentions), the presence of friends (24), a feeling of home (20), access to opportunities (14), knowledge and familiarity (14), lifestyle generally (14), a sense of peace and quiet (13), employment opportunities (12), having been

brought up there (11) and lengthy residence (11). Thirty-four other characteristics each rated fewer than ten mentions.

Characteristics which make a place either 'home' or 'best place to live' were combined into thematic categories, as follows:

◊ *use* – characteristics such as birth, upbringing or lengthy residence.

◊ *connection with family and friends* – characteristics which relate to people, such as birthplace, presence or burial place of relatives or friends, kinship-related attributes.

◊ *cultural connection* – characteristics such as traditional country, historical connection and availability of cultural pursuits.

◊ *experiential factors* – feelings about a place, for example, sense of peace, welcome, memories, nostalgia, pride, freedom, lifestyle generally.

◊ *physical factors* – attributes connected with the environment, such as presence of a watercourse, open space, size of community.

◊ *services and facilities* – access to services such as education, training, employment, health care, shopping, sporting opportunities, transport.

◊ *other factors* – other characteristics not readily categorised, such as freedom from crime or antisocial behaviour, feeling of personal security, cost of living.

A comparison of the frequency of responses in each of these categories against the three types of place (primary home, secondary home and best place to live) is presented in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 shows the importance of connections with family and friends in shaping place affiliation overall. Responses in this category were most numerous for all three types of place. The relative unimportance of the 'availability of services and facilities' and 'experiential factors' categories in defining a sense of home compared with the relative importance of these categories in relation to liveability is noteworthy, as is the relative weight given to aspects of use (birth, upbringing and long residence) and to culture in identifying the factors which give rise to a sense of belonging. These, too, are relatively unimportant in relation to liveability. The implications of these considerations for mobility are canvassed in Section 10.4.

FIGURE 7.1

Reasons for place affiliation by type of place
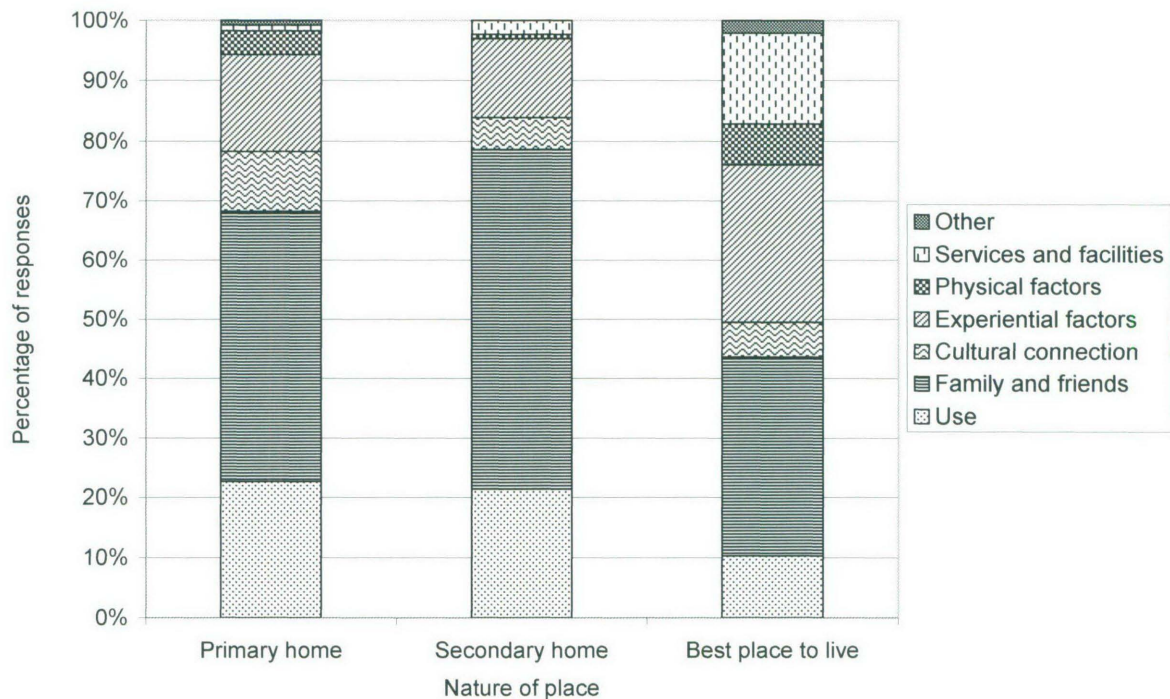
7.5   Conclusion

The overview of the survey sample developed in this chapter portrays a population whose economically marginal status is demonstrated by a number of socio-demographic characteristics.   In terms of labour force status, the unemployment rate is, at 20%, high.   The workforce participation rate appears surprisingly favourable until it is realised that only 19% of adults are employed full-time, and that the greatest proportion of employed adults are CDEP participants.   The rate of ownership of dwellings is low, and there is a high level of dependence on social housing, especially that provided within the Aboriginal-identified sector.   Thirty-eight per cent of the housing occupied by survey respondents is crowded, and this is an indication of the shortage of housing in the study area.   The implications of each of these factors for mobility are explored in Chapters 8, 9 and 10.

The overview also revealed a population with strong spiritual ties to culture and country.   A large proportion of respondents belonged to at least one language group, and could identify and express a sense of affiliation with traditional country.   This strong sense of attachment to culture and country survived the

experience of disruption and dispossession wrought on many respondents or their families by the implementation of government policy.

Respondents also identified places to which they experienced attachment for other reasons: because they were home, or represented a preferred living environment. The attributes which made a place 'home' or 'the best place to live' differed but, in each case, the strength of the family connection was important.

The brief summary of the characteristics of the eight respondents not resident in the study area provided a glimpse of the relationship between movement and place attachment which, as subsequent chapters show, is characteristic of many of the resident respondents from time to time. As the discussion in the remaining chapters shows, the attributes explored in this chapter – socio-economic characteristics, cultural affiliation, place attachment, and historical and contemporary circumstances – all influence the spatial behaviour and settlement patterns of the respondents.

Chapter 8 continues the exploration of the influence of socio-demographic characteristics on propensity to move. A number of aspects of mobility are explored, such as age and sex differentials, spatial variability, repeat mobility, the effects of ageing on mobility, and expectations of movement in the future. Factors in the decision to move are discussed and spatial patterns of movement are reviewed.

CHAPTER 8   THE PROPENSITY TO MOVE

8.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the propensity to move of Aboriginal people included in the survey sample and, where relevant, compares the survey data with the results of the census analysis. Thus, the discussion addresses the first two objectives by exploring the spatial and temporal patterns of contemporary mobility among Aboriginal people in the study area, and the influences which affect these mobility patterns.

The survey has a number of advantages over the census, but two are particularly important in examining spatial and temporal patterns of movement. First, it is possible to examine the temporal continuum of movement behaviour for each respondent. In other words, the movement history is not restricted to cross-sectional information at the one year and five year intervals. Second, there are no scale-based constraints on recording spatial patterns of movement. It is thus possible to use the survey data to examine churning (that is, repeated mobility from dwelling to dwelling within the one population centre), and to identify movement paths between localities within SLAs, as well as between SLAs.

In general, the analysis has been carried out on the basis of movement during the one and five year periods prior to the survey. Five years is the period adopted in this study to define current mobility. In this sense, a focus on the continuum of movement over the five year period readily shows short-term or repeat mobility where it has taken place. Nevertheless, movement during the twelve months prior to the survey has also been examined to identify respondents' very recent mobility as it is during this period that circumstances in the respondents' lives are most likely to have been those which applied at the time of the survey.

The literature uses the terminology 'repeat mobility', 'multiple mobility' and 'chronic mobility' interchangeably, without necessarily defining any of these usages precisely, to describe the circumstance where a respondent to the census moved at least twice within a five year intercensal period (see, for

example, Bell 1996; Bell & Hugo 2000; Newbold 2004). For the purposes of this thesis, respondents who moved more than once in the five year period prior to the survey are referred to as repeat movers, and those who moved five or more times during the five year period are referred to as multiple movers. Use of the term 'chronic' in relation to mobility has been avoided here because of its potentially pejorative connotations; it uses the language of pathology to label a behaviour which may be of cultural or practical value to the movers.

Some definitional difficulty arose in the cases of respondents whose residence is bilocal or multilocal. Respondent's mobility history, was coded, among other things, in terms of number of moves over the respondent's adult life, and number of moves over varying distances in the previous five years. This coding scheme was difficult to apply to itinerant respondents and those whose residences were bilocal or multilocal. Only one respondent indicated that he had no fixed address (NFA) and his data are readily recognised in the tables which follow. Several others reported that they circulated between two or more localities but did not indicate with what frequency. Where this is the case, only the major substantive moves could be coded. Thus, the tables in this chapter do not reflect the level of repeated short-term mobility between such paired or multiple localities. The individual cases of bilocal or multilocal residence, or churning within one locality, are discussed separately in Section 8.7.

8.2 Rates of mobility

8.2.1 One year and five year mobility

Of the 182[1] informants for whom mobility histories were recorded, forty-seven, (26%) had moved at least once within the previous twelve months, and 100, or 54% (52% of men and 56% of women), had moved at least once in the previous five years. This compares with one year and five year mobility rates of 21% and 43%, respectively, from the census. Table 8.1 indicates the number of moves made by male and female survey respondents within the past five year and twelve month periods.

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[1] The eight respondents not resident in the study area have been screened from the sample for the purposes of quantitative data analysis.

TABLE 8.1

Survey respondents: number of moves during the five years and the twelve months prior to the survey, by sex

Number of moves	Male		Female		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
	Number of moves during preceding 5 years					
0	46	48	38	44	84	46
1	22	23	20	23	42	23
2	14	15	12	14	26	14
3	4	4	8	9	12	7
4	3	3	2	2	5	3
5	3	3	2	2	5	3
6	2	2	0	0	2	1
10	1	1	1	1	2	1
>10	1	1	3	4	4	2
Not stated	1		1		2	
Total	97	100	87	100	184	100
	Number of moves during preceding 12 months					
0	68	72	67	77	135	74
1	23	24	14	16	37	20
2	3	3	3	4	6	3
3	0	0	1	1	1	1
4	0	0	2	2	2	1
8	1	1	0	0	1	1
Not stated	2		0		2	
Total	97	100	87	100	184	100

Table 8.1 demonstrates a substantial level of repeat mobility at the five year threshold. Thirty-one per cent of respondents (29% of men and 32% of women) had moved twice or more during the five years prior to the survey, and 7% of both men and women had moved five times or more (that is, on average, at least once per year). Repeat mobility is also evident at the one year mobility threshold but to a lesser extent: 6% of respondents had moved twice or more. Overall, men were 20% more mobile than women at the one year interval but women were 8% more mobile than men over the five years prior to the survey.

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8.2.2 Age- and sex-specific mobility rates

Figure 8.1 show the age- and sex-specific mobility rates for the survey sample.

FIGURE 8.1

Mobility, 2004-2005 and 2000-2005, by age by sex
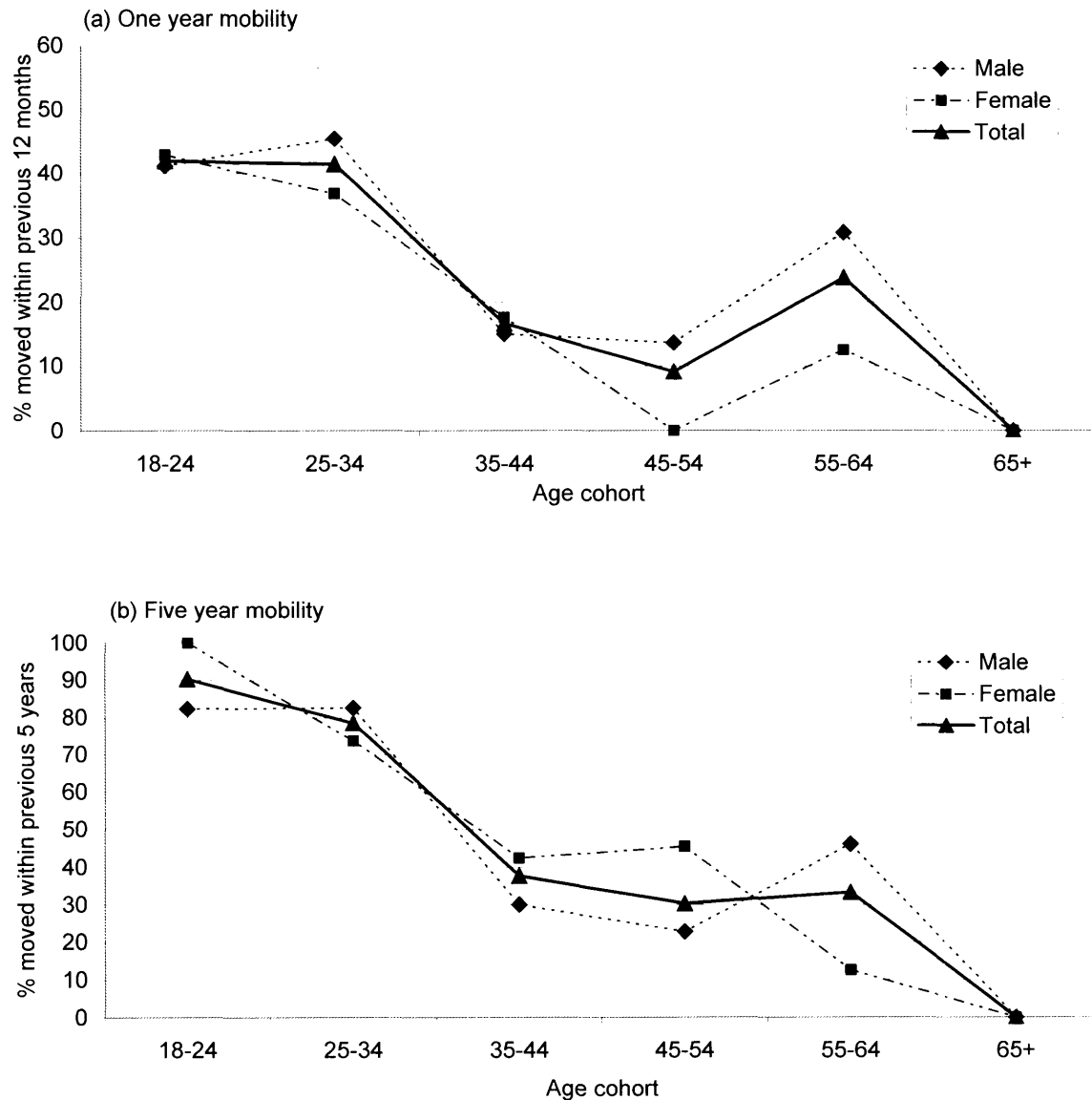
Overall, the survey data show the same decline in mobility with increasing age as the census, both for men and women, with the exception of the 55-64 age cohort, where a second peak occurs (except for women at the five year interval). Reasons for the age and sex differences, and for the overall shape of the graphs, are explored in Section 8.6. The survey sample included only two people aged

65 years and over[2], and neither of these informants had moved during the past five years. At the five year interval, as with the census, young women in the 18-24 year age cohort were more mobile than any other group included in the survey. This may result from a greater tendency among young women to move to independent living or to leave the parental home for reasons of family formation, and may also reflect a greater participation of younger women in education. This would be consistent with the findings of Taylor and Bell (1999:9). At the one year interval, men were more mobile than women in all age cohorts. This may reflect a higher incidence of movement for employment among male respondents (see Section 8.5). Allowing for the broader age cohorts provided by the ABS, the shapes of the census-based and survey-based plots of mobility rate by age by sex are similar, except for the 55-64 age cohort peaks in the survey data.

8.2.3 Spatial variability

Table 8.2 shows frequency of moves by place of residence for respondents, ranked in order of increasing one-year mobility, and Table 8.3 shows corresponding data for the five year mobility interval.

Mobility rates obviously vary markedly from place to place. Respondents living in Menindee had the highest overall mobility rate at both one year and five year intervals. Mobility rates tended to be higher among respondents resident at the time of the survey in localities at the western end of the study area, with the exception of Bourke at the one year interval and Goodooga at the five year interval. Respondents in Enngonia showed the highest level of repeat mobility at both intervals, but the absolute numbers of repeat movers in this locality were very small. Of the more populous localities, where sample sizes were larger, the incidence of repeat mobility was relatively high: Broken Hill, Goodooga, Brewarrina and Dareton at the one year interval, and Broken Hill, Wilcannia, Brewarrina, Bourke and Dareton at the five year interval. The elevated levels of mobility in the western localities is very likely related to the role of Broken Hill as a net beneficiary of Aboriginal migration (see Sections 3.3.3, 5.6 and 6.5), and the lesser levels in the northern localities, to the

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[2] As Section 4.4.3 discussed, this reflects of the high mortality experienced in the Aboriginal population.

TABLE 8.2

Survey respondents: one year mobility by place of residence

Place of residence	n=	Percentage of respondents who:			
		Did not move %	Moved at least once %	Moved once only %	Moved twice or more %
NFA	1	0	100	0	100
Menindee	11	45	55	45	9
Ivanhoe	2	50	50	50	0
Bourke	29	66	34	34	0
Wilcannia	29	69	31	31	0
Dareton	25	72	28	20	8
Broken Hill	30	80	20	7	13
Goodooga	17	82	18	12	6
Brewarrina	18	83	17	11	6
Enngonia	11	91	9	0	9
Weilmoringle	9	100	0	0	0
Not stated	2				
Total	184	74	26	20	5

TABLE 8.3

Survey respondents: five year mobility by place of residence

Place of residence	n=	Percentage of respondents who:				
		Did not move %	Moved at least once %	Moved once only %	Moved 2 to 4 times %	Moved 5 or more times %
NFA	1	0	100	0	0	100
Menindee	10	20	80	40	40	0
Broken Hill	30	33	67	20	37	10
Wilcannia	29	34	66	28	24	14
Goodooga	17	47	53	29	24	0
Bourke	30	50	50	23	23	3
Ivanhoe	2	50	50	0	50	0
Dareton	25	52	48	24	20	4
Brewarrina	18	61	39	17	11	11
Weilmoringle	9	67	33	33	0	0
Enngonia	11	73	27	0	9	18
Not stated	2					
Total	184	46	54	24	23	8

possibility that respondents tend to be stayers (people from these localities tend to move to Dubbo and Orange, rather than to destinations within the study area). The spatial variability of mobility also reflects the direction of migration counterstreams from regional centres (see Section 6.5). Mobility levels at a local scale are also likely to be related to the level of provision of Aboriginal-identified social housing (see Section 9.4.2).

8.3 Projected future mobility

8.3.1 Introduction

As discussed previously, use of the census to examine past mobility practices in the light of personal circumstances at the time of data collection can be problematic because it is often not possible to ascertain whether life circumstances which might have influenced migration have changed since the last move. However, the survey does allow respondents' expectations of future mobility to be explored in the light of their circumstances at the time of the survey.

8.3.2 Projected likelihood of one and five year movement

Respondents were asked about the likelihood of a move in the future at the one year and five year intervals, and were also asked to indicate their feelings towards such a prospect. The responses to these questions are summarised in Table 8.4.

Predictably, the data show that there is a greater overall projected likelihood of mobility at the five year horizon than the one year horizon. On the basis that respondents who replied that a move was moderately or extremely likely would actually move, the projected one year and five year mobility rates are 26% and 36% respectively. The projected one year mobility rate is therefore identical to the observed rate of mobility for the twelve month period prior to the survey. The five year projection is lower (the observed rate was 54%), and this could reflect a tendency to underestimate future repeat mobility. In general, more males expected to move than females, and the difference was more pronounced at the one year horizon (26%) than at the five year horizon (12%). The sex

difference at the one-year interval closely parallels the difference in recorded mobility rates for the twelve months prior to the survey. It may be that women's primary responsibility for child-rearing dampens both their recent mobility and their expectations of future mobility in the short term. Much of the difference at the five year horizon is accounted for by the relatively high level of uncertainty among women when asked to project the likelihood of their mobility at the five year time horizon.

TABLE 8.4

Prospects for future mobility

		One year move			Five year move		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	47	53	50	32	29	31
	Moderately unlikely	13	9	11	14	15	14
	Equally likely as unlikely	6	8	7	11	10	10
	Moderately likely	10	12	11	13	12	13
	Extremely likely	19	11	15	25	22	23
	Don't know	5	7	6	5	12	9
	Not stated n=	3	1	4	4	5	9
	Total n=	97	87	184	97	87	184
Attitude	Very happy	27	25	26	29	32	30
	Moderately happy	14	9	12	14	10	12
	Indifferent	20	20	20	24	18	21
	Moderately unhappy	8	8	8	8	13	11
	Very unhappy	31	38	34	25	27	26
	Not stated n=	1	0	1	2	0	2
	Total n=	97	87	184	97	87	184

The proportions of respondents who expressed positive attitudes (38%) and negative attitudes (42%) to the prospect of a move at the one year horizon were similar, but a greater proportion of male than female respondents were positive. At the five year horizon, the sex differential diminishes, and a greater proportion of the respondents (42%) expressed a positive attitude towards a prospective move, although the proportion in the 'indifferent' category is greater than at the one year horizon. Data relating to expectations of and attitudes to future mobility are not available for non-Indigenous Australians so comparisons are impossible. However,

at least among the movers, there does seem to be an acceptance of migration and a reasonably favourable attitude towards it, suggesting that residential mobility is part of the taken-for-granted world of these respondents.

8.3.3 Mobility history as a predictor for future movement

The data presented in Section 8.3.2 and, in particular, the similarity in projected and observed mobility rates, invite the question: is it the respondents who have moved in the past who are anticipating a mobile future? Table 8.5 presents an analysis of projected moves at the one year horizon by mobility during the twelve months prior to the survey.

TABLE 8.5

Prospects for one year mobility by moves during last 12 months

Moves in last 12 months:		0	1	2+	Total	Not stated	n=
One year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	59	29	11	51	0	90
	Moderately unlikely	11	6	22	11	1	20
	Equally likely as unlikely	7	3	22	7	0	13
	Moderately likely	8	20	0	10	1	19
	Extremely likely	9	31	44	15	0	27
	Don't know	5	11	0	6	0	11
	Not stated	1	2	1		0	4
	n=	135	37	10	182	2	184
Attitude	Very happy	24	32	33	26	0	47
	Moderately happy	8	22	11	11	1	21
	Indifferent	21	11	44	20	0	36
	Moderately unhappy	10	5	0	8	1	16
	Very unhappy	38	30	11	35	0	63
	Not stated	0	0	1		0	1
	n=	135	37	10	182	2	184

It appears from the data that there is an association between mobility within the past twelve months and projected likelihood of moving in the next twelve months. Over twice the proportion of respondents who had not moved as those who had during the twelve months prior to the survey responded that they were

either moderately or extremely unlikely to move within the twelve months after the survey. Of those who moved at the one year interval, only a third responded that they were unlikely to move within the following year. An interesting feature of these responses is the extent to which the repeat movers were unsure about whether or not they would move, and their comparative indifference to the prospect. The suggestion here is that not only are their intentions or expectations less well-defined than the other groups, they are also relatively blasé about the prospect of mobility, and consequently appear to be less likely to plan their residential location than those who are less mobile. Alternatively, it may be that the fact of having moved is an enabling experience, and thus results in further mobility being seen as a feasible, and possibly a desirable, option. A relatively small proportion of the very mobile express outright unhappiness about the prospect of a one year move but they are less happy about it than those who moved once only during the previous twelve months. Those who had not moved during the preceding twelve months were least happy about the prospect of a move at the one year horizon.

The relationship between recorded five year mobility and projected one year and five year movement is examined in Table 8.6. Here, too, those who had been mobile in the past were most likely to expect to move in the future, with 38% moderately likely or extremely likely to move during the subsequent year, and 51% moderately likely or extremely likely to move during the subsequent five years, compared with 12% and 22%, respectively, of respondents who had not moved during the prior five year period. Those who had been most mobile during the previous five years projected the greatest likelihood of moves in the future at the one year horizon but were less likely than those who had been moderately mobile to predict an extreme likelihood of five-year mobility.

Those who had been highly mobile at the one year interval were least negative towards the prospect of future moves. Those who had been most mobile during the five years prior to the survey were less happy about future moves, at both the one year and five year horizon, than those who had moved two to four times during the preceding five years. It appears as though a fatigue factor may set in following a prolonged period of high mobility, and there is some evidence for this in the relative expectations of mobility at the five year interval expressed by the highly mobile and the moderately mobile.

TABLE 8.6

Prospects for one year and five year mobility by moves during last 5 years

	Moves in last 5 years:	0	1-4	5+	Total	Not stated	n=
One year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	64	41	29	51	0	90
	Moderately unlikely	12	9	14	11	1	20
	Equally likely as unlikely	5	10	7	7	0	13
	Moderately likely	5	17	0	10	1	19
	Extremely likely	7	18	43	15	0	27
	Don't know	7	5	7	6	0	11
	Not stated n=	1	3	0			4
	n=	84	84	14		2	184
Attitude	Very happy	16	33	50	26	1	48
	Moderately happy	7	18	0	12	0	21
	Indifferent	20	19	21	20	0	36
	Moderately unhappy	11	7	0	8	0	15
	Very unhappy	46	23	29	34	1	63
	Not stated n=	0	1	0			1
	n=	84	84	14		2	184
Five year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	50	17	8	31	0	54
	Moderately unlikely	15	12	23	14	0	25
	Equally likely as unlikely	6	15	0	10	1	18
	Moderately likely	10	12	31	13	0	22
	Extremely likely	10	36	23	23	1	41
	Don't know	9	8	15	9	0	15
	Not stated n=	5	3	1			9
	n=	84	84	14		2	184
Attitude	Very happy	13	44	50	30	1	55
	Moderately happy	8	17	7	12	0	22
	Indifferent	23	21	22	22	0	39
	Moderately unhappy	12	7	14	10	1	19
	Very unhappy	44	11	7	26	0	47
	Not stated n=	0	2	0			2
	n=	84	84	14		2	184

Overall, then, it appears that past mobility may be a predictor of future mobility and that there is a solid core of both stayers and movers among the survey sample. Possible factors which underlie the behaviour of the movers are canvassed in the remaining sections of this chapter and in Chapter 9, and Chapter 10 explores some of the experiential influences which shape mobility.

8.4 Spatial patterns of movement

Each of the last five moves for multiple movers, or all moves in the last five years for other movers, were classified in terms of distance and settlement type to allow the spatial patterning of mobility to be explored, and to enable comparison between localities within the study area (Table 8.7).

TABLE 8.7

Respondents who moved: scale of mobility, all moves within the past five years

	Within the same town or community	Different town, same SLA	Between study area SLAs	Between Sydney and study area	Between Sydney and other	Between study area and other NSW	Other NSW to other NSW	Between study area and other state	Other interstate	Total moves	Total movers – n=
Bourke	10	-	2	3	2	9	-	7	2	35	15
Enngonia	-	3	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	10	3
Brewarrina	7	1	3	5	-	2	1	-	-	19	7
Goodooga	2	2	1	-	-	6	1	-	1	13	9
Weilmoringle	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	3
Broken Hill	24	-	7	1	-	3	-	3	3	41	20
Wilcannia	29	-	3	-	1	2	1	4	4	44	19
Menindee	7	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	12	8
Ivanhoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	1
Dareton	12	-	1	-	-	4	1	4	2	24	12
Total	92	6	25	10	3	31	4	20	14	205	97*

* The total table population excludes the respondent with no fixed address, as it was not possible to estimate the number of discrete moves this respondent made.

Table 8.7 reveals marked differences in scale of mobility from locality to locality. Of particular note are the relatively high levels of:

◊ churning in all localities at the western end of the study area, and especially in Wilcannia, Broken Hill and Menindee;

◊ mobility between the three smaller centres in the northern part of the study area, Enngonia, Goodooga and Weilmoringle, and other localities within the study area;

◊ mobility between the Bourke-Enngonia-Brewarrina cluster and Sydney;

◊ mobility between the northern part of the study area and localities in NSW external to the study area; and

◊ mobility between Bourke and Dareton and other states.

The relatively low level of mobility between Broken Hill and other states is somewhat surprising given Broken Hill's relative proximity to the South Australian border; however, Broken Hill is comparatively well serviced and is not close to any other large centre. These spatial patterns are discussed in greater detail, and possible reasons explored, in Section 10.3.

Spatial patterns of mobility for non-local moves have been mapped for each locality of residence, and for the non-residents captured by the survey but excluded from the quantitative data analysis. These are presented in Figures 8.2 to 8.12. Because the moves are recorded as a continuum, it has been possible to map the spatial patterning of individual moves as 'cricket runs', rather than as aggregate population flows as in Chapter 6.

The mapping tends to suggest the existence of circulation patterns which connect Bourke, Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle and Enngonia; Wilcannia and Broken Hill; and Menindee and Broken Hill. The patterns which arose from the activities of the Aborigines Welfare Board and the Aboriginal Families Voluntary Resettlement Scheme are also evident in the mapping; for example, in the case of circulation between Wilcannia, Murrin Bridge/Lake Cargelligo and the Dareton area; and, possibly, movement linking study area localities with AFVRS destinations including Orange, Newcastle, Wagga Wagga and Albury. Also present is evidence of movement between study area localities and Dubbo, which has been receiving media coverage in the context of social issues in a public housing estate in West Dubbo (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2005a; Brown 2006a) and, to a lesser extent, Orange.
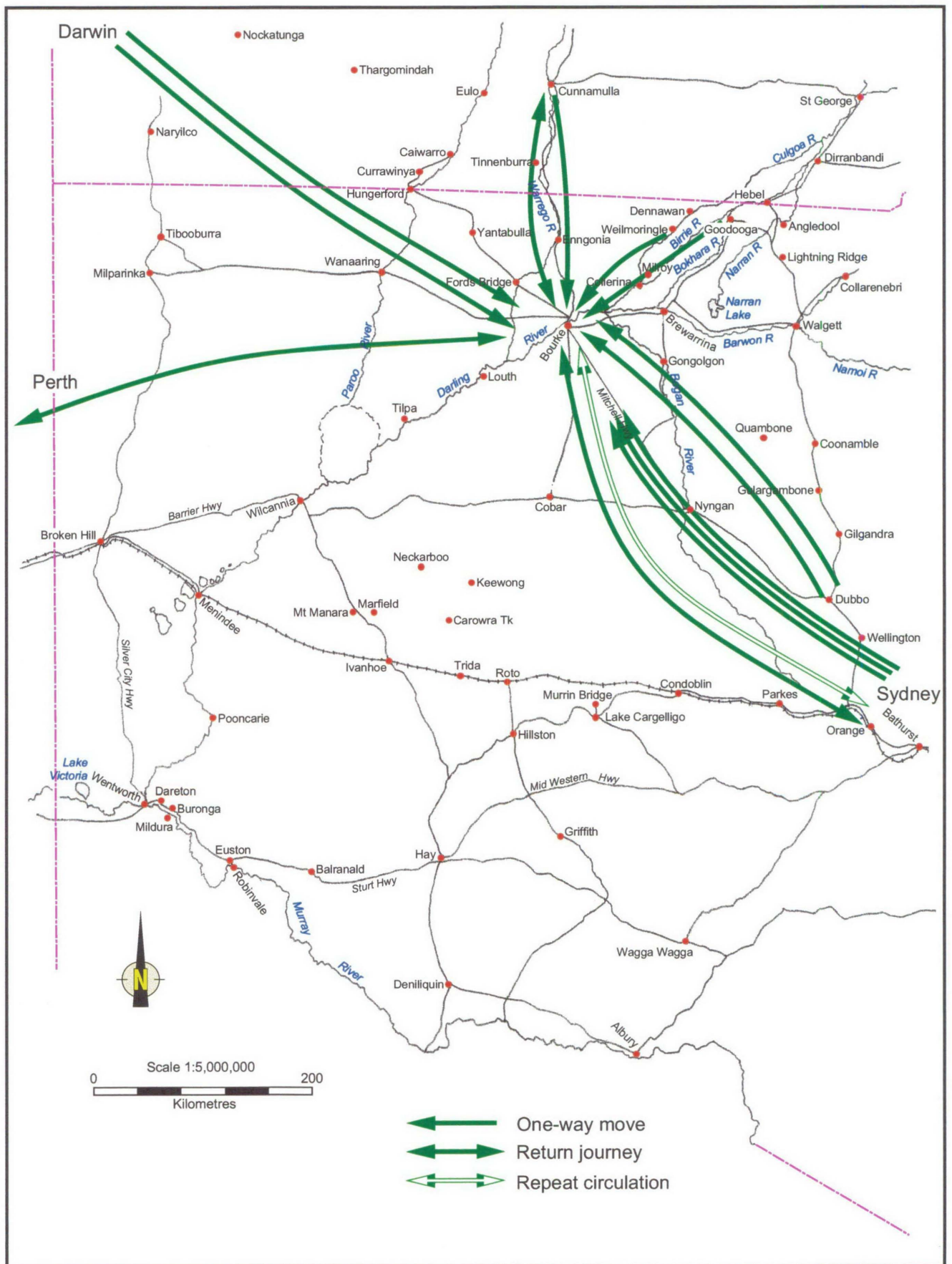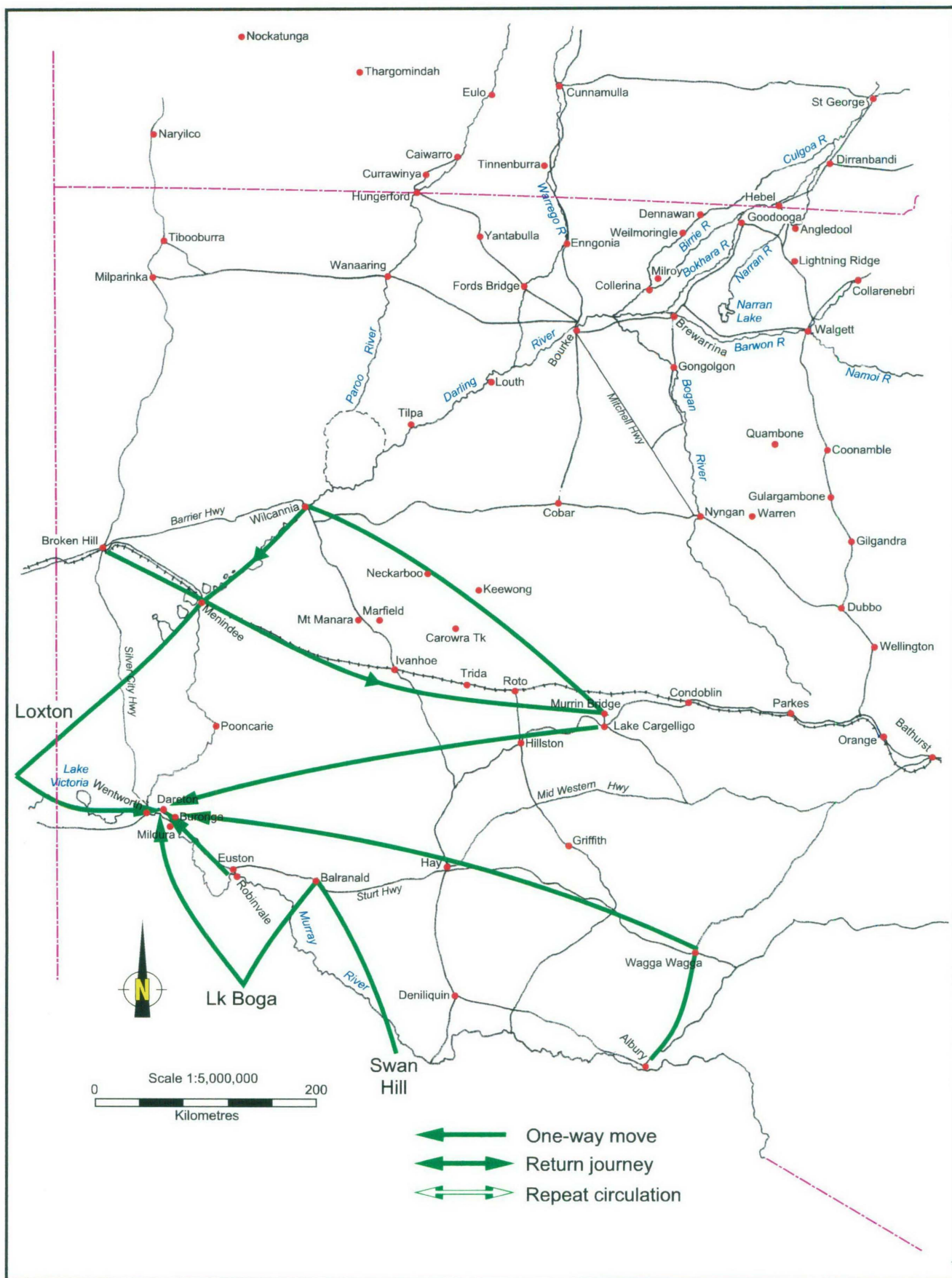
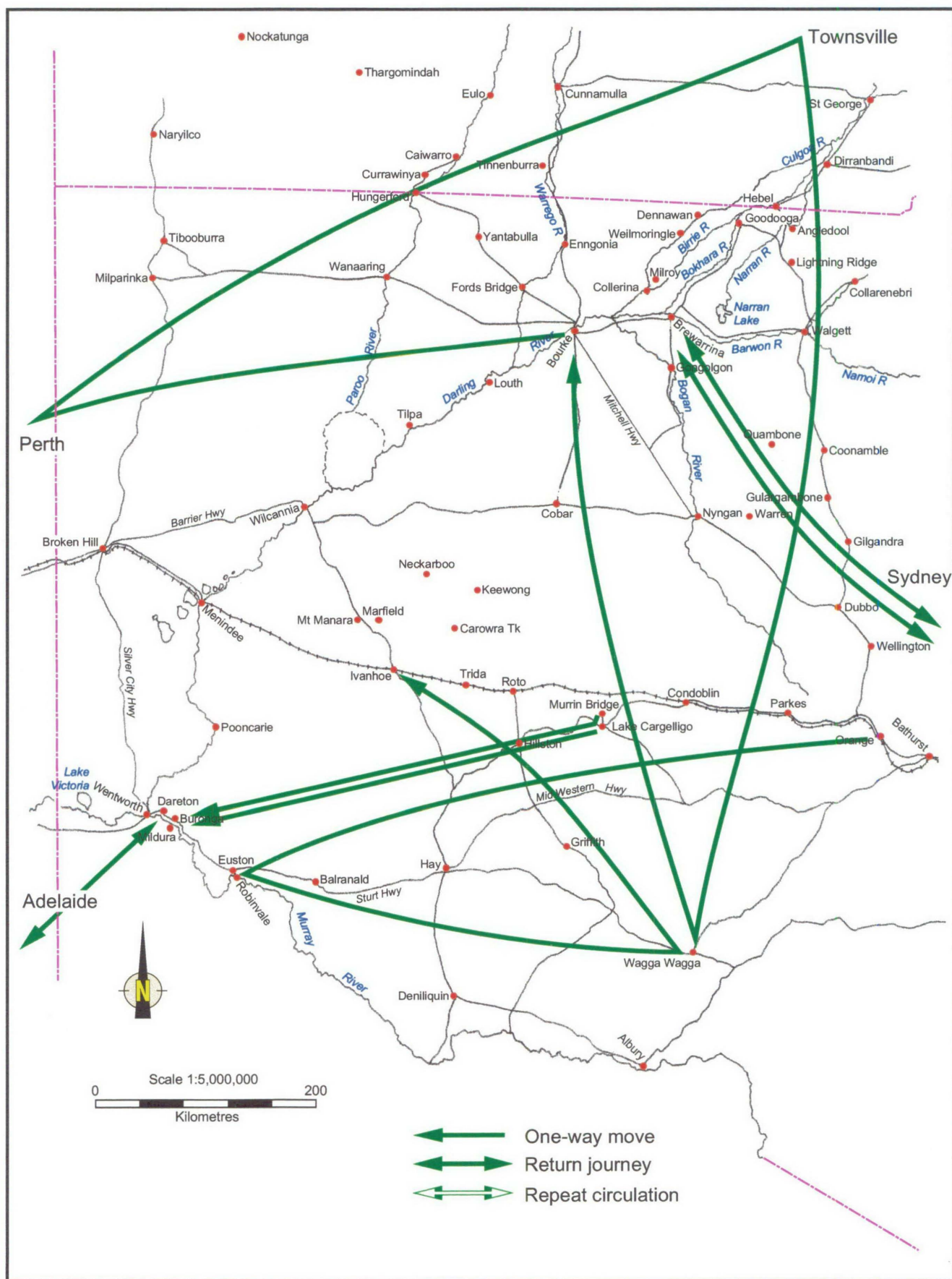**Figure 8.2:** Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Bourke.
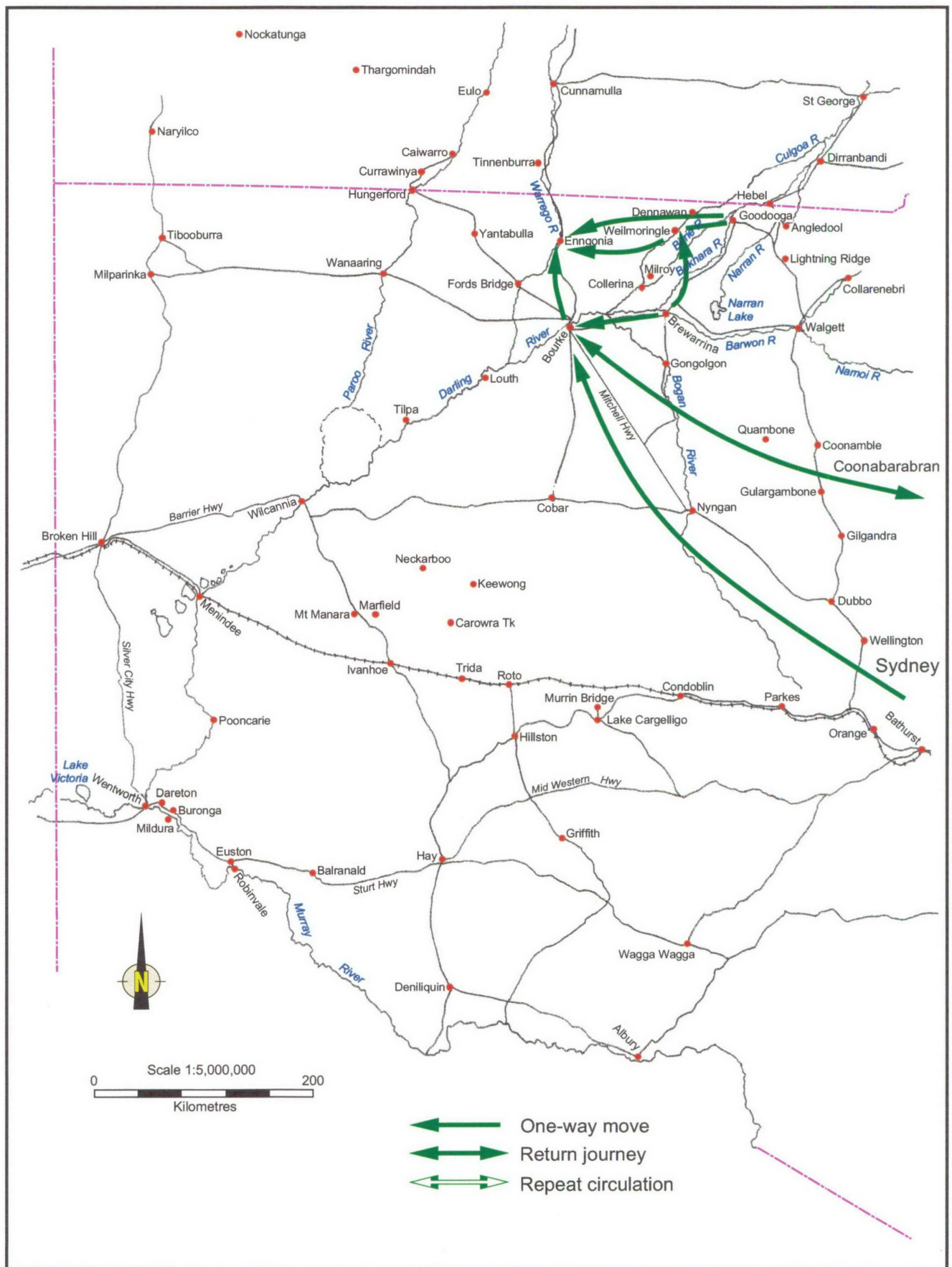
Figure 8.3: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Enngonia.
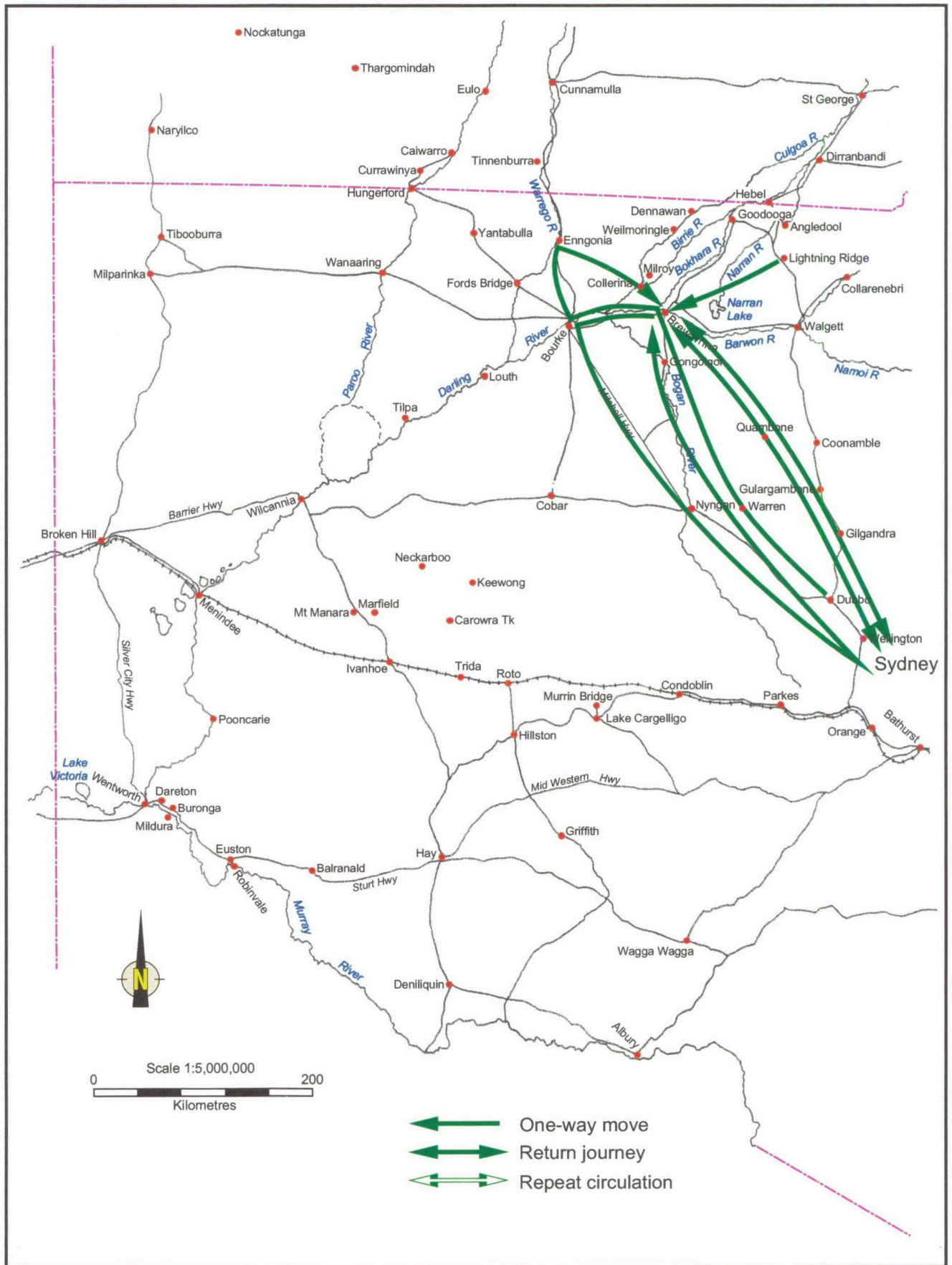
Figure 8.4: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Brewarrina.
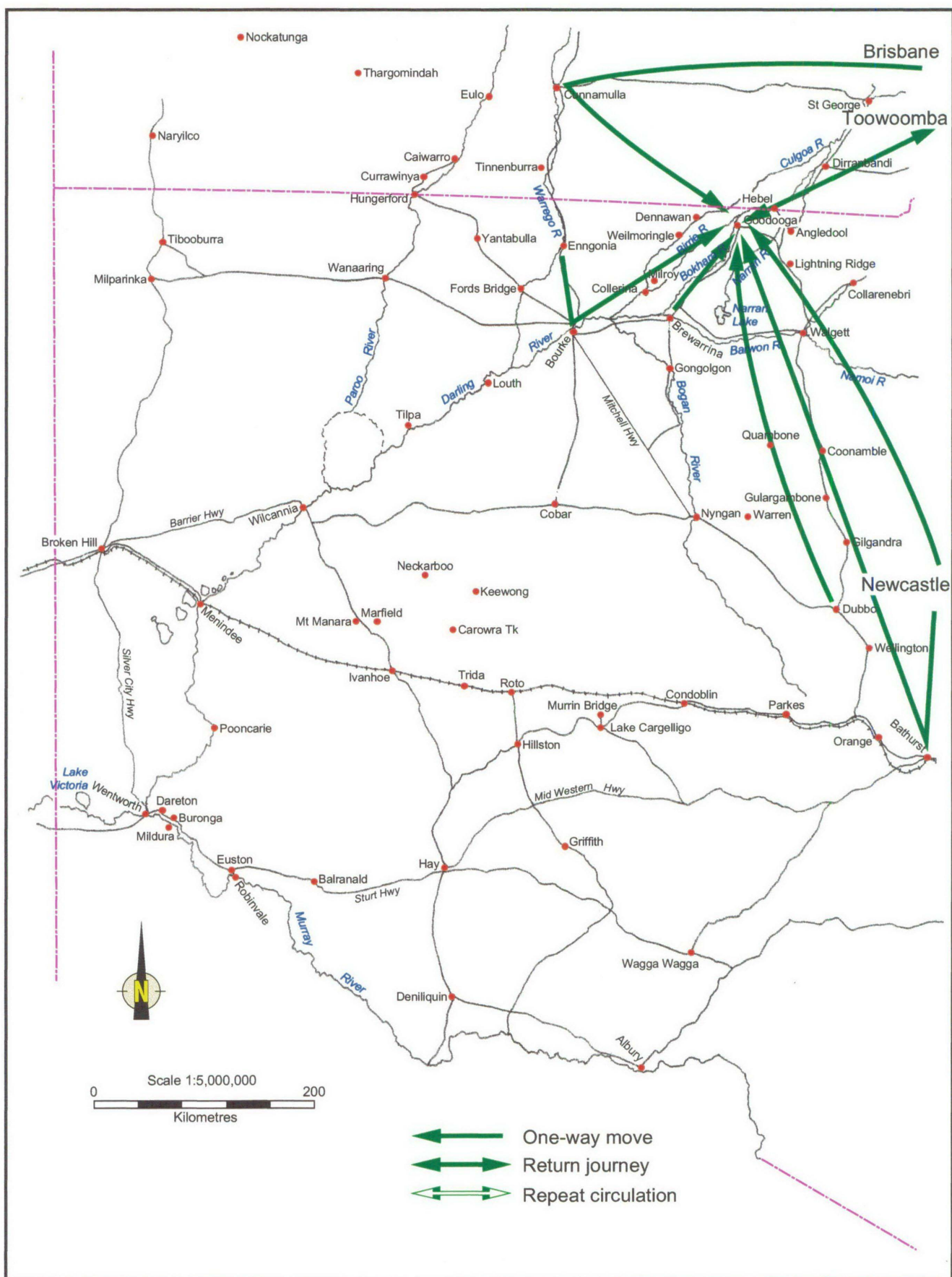
Figure 8.5: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Goodooga.
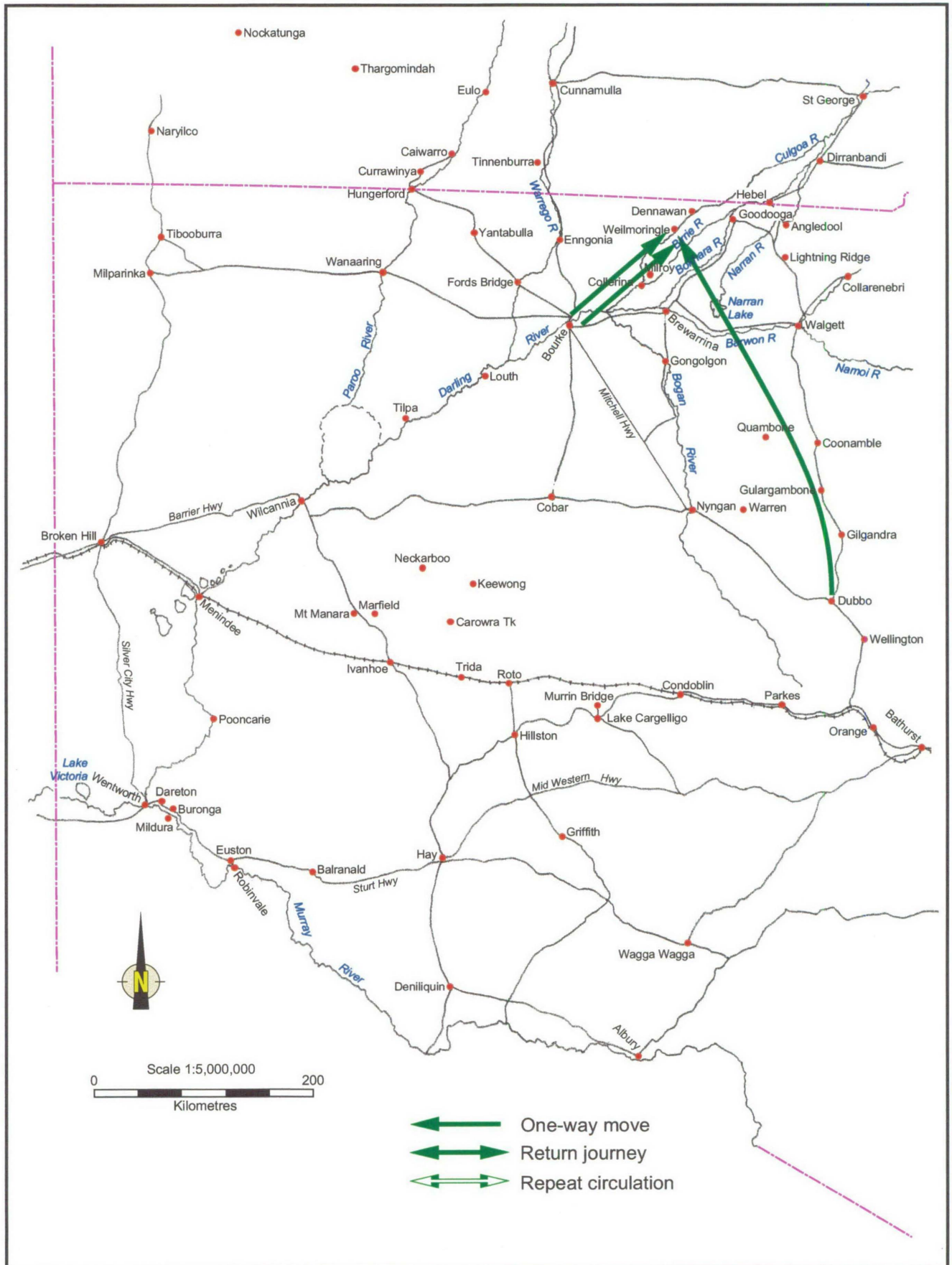
Figure 8.6: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Weilmoringle.

Figure 8.7: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Broken Hill.

Figure 8.8: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Wilcannia.

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Figure 8.9: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Menindee.

Figure 8.10: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Ivanhoe.

Figure 8.11: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents resident in Dareton.

Figure 8.12: Non-local mobility: moves within last five years, or last five moves for multiple movers. Survey respondents non-resident in study area.

8.5 Factors in the decision to move

8.5.1 Introduction

The survey collected data about the motivation to move in two ways. In providing their mobility history, respondents were asked to nominate a reason for each of their moves. Responses to this question were open-ended. Respondents were also asked to respond to a number of potential motivating factors, selected to reflect the social science research on migration, by choosing a number on an ordinal scale which represented the relevance of the factor, and its importance (or lack thereof), in their most recent non-local move.

8.5.2 Substantive reasons for current mobility

Reasons for each respondent's last five moves (or all moves within the last five years, if there were fewer than five moves) were coded, and codes were aggregated into broadly descriptive themes relating to employment, education, health, housing, family, personal issues and culture (Table 8.8).

Home and family were the most frequent reasons for mobility. Over ten per cent of moves by survey respondents related to a desire to be with family, nine per cent were related to rites of passage to do with attaining adulthood and family formation, and a further nine per cent related to family conflict or breakdown. Returning to the place perceived as home was the reason for another nine per cent of moves and, as the presence of family is critical in creating the sense of belonging that defines home (see Section 7.4.4), the motives of the homecomers must be seen to some extent as being family-influenced too. For comparison, the NATSISS (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004) indicated that 43.7% of respondents in remote or very remote NSW who had moved during the previous year had done so for family reasons.

TABLE 8.8

Survey respondents who moved in the last five years: reasons for mobility

Theme	Reason	Last move		Last 5 moves/ moves in last 5 years	
		No.	%	No.	%
Employment		*9*	*9*	*28*	*13*
	Move town to take up permanent employment	4		9	
	Move town for partner's permanent employment	0		2	
	Move town to look for work	1		6	
	Move locally to be closer to work	2		3	
	Move for seasonal or pastoral work	2		8	
Education		*0*	*0*	*4*	*2*
	Own education	0		4	
Health		*2*	*2*	*3*	*1*
	Access to health services	1		2	
	Ill – wanted to be with family	1		1	
Housing		*32*	*33*	*57*	*27*
	Obtain a rental dwelling	5		9	
	Obtain a better rental dwelling/leave rundown dwelling	9		14	
	Obtain a larger rental dwelling	2		2	
	Purchase a house	8		8	
	Evicted	1		1	
	Previous rental house no longer available	1		4	
	Move in with family/to family-owned house	1		4	
	House condemned	0		2	
	Conflict with landlord	0		1	
	Rent too high	0		1	
	Services disconnected	0		1	
	Overcrowding	3		6	
	Conflict/boredom with other tenants	1		2	
	Obtain squat/housesit	1		2	

TABLE 8.8 (continued)

Survey respondents who moved in the last five years: reasons for mobility

Theme	Reason	Last move		Last 5 moves/ moves in last 5 years	
		No.	%	No.	%
Family		*33*	*34*	*63*	*30*
	Move with parents/family	1		3	
	Leave parental home – personal independence	5		7	
	Get married/move to be with partner	6		11	
	Move to be away from family/family conflict situation	6		10	
	Move to be with children	1		1	
	Move to be with parents	0		2	
	Be with family generally	8		20	
	Care for sick relative	0		1	
	Family breakdown/divorce	6		8	
Personal		*21*	*21*	*54*	*26*
	Return to home town	11		18	
	Move to better area/escape stigma	3		5	
	Escape conflict in community	3		5	
	Change of scenery	0		10	
	Boredom/restlessness	1		7	
	Holiday/travelling	0		5	
	Closer to town	1		1	
	Wanted to settle/attain stability	0		1	
	Wanted to be alone	2		2	
Cultural		*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*
	Move to be in own traditional country	1		1	
All reasons		*98*	*100*	*210*	*100*

Reasons which collectively relate to housing were almost as frequently offered as those relating to family and home. At least fifteen per cent of moves related to occupation of rental housing. Condition of housing appears to have been particularly influential (but the move to 'better' housing may also stem from a desire for social mobility, as discussed in Section 10.5). By comparison, 34.1% of NATSISS respondents in remote or very remote NSW who had moved during

the previous year had done so for housing-related reasons (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004).

Reasons categorised as personal were also influential. Twenty-two per cent of the moves occurred simply as a result of the desire for change, in the guise of boredom, restlessness, desire for travel or for a change of scene. Interestingly, ties with culture and country were mentioned only once as a reason for mobility. It is possible that respondents included cultural motives with homecoming when rationalising their moves. Even so, given the level of cultural attachment and the strength of affiliation to traditional place among the survey sample (see Section 7.4), the rarity of mention is surprising. Perhaps it is the stayers who have the stronger cultural ties, a possibility discussed further in Section 10.3.

The frequency data for the broad themes set out in Table 8.8 were also analysed in terms of age and sex of movers (Tables 8.9 and 8.10). Age cohorts were combined to give three categories so as to avoid a preponderance of small cell counts. The age ranges of the combined cohorts were based on the changes in mobility rate evident in Figure 8.1.

Cross-classification of motivation by sex reveals large differences between male and female respondents in mobility prompted by employment (male responses 2.9 times higher than female responses) and in mobility for personal reasons (female responses 74% higher than male responses). Male responses were higher than female responses across all employment-related reasons for movement except 'move town for partner's permanent employment', which was not offered by any men as a reason for movement. Examination of reasons clustered under the 'personal' theme revealed that a greater number of responses among women than men took the form of reasons related to change: boredom, restlessness, desire for travel, a holiday or a change of scene, or wanting to settle or to be alone.

TABLE 8.9

Survey respondents who moved in the last five years: reasons for mobility, collated by theme, by sex

Theme	Last 5 moves (or moves in last 5 years)			
	Male respondents		Female respondents	
	No.	%	No.	%
Employment	21	20	7	7
Education	1	1	3	3
Health	0	0	3	3
Housing	29	27	28	27
Family	35	33	28	27
Personal	20	19	34	33
Cultural	1	1	0	0
All themes	107	100	103	100
Total movers n=	50		48	

TABLE 8.10

Survey respondents who moved in the last five years: reasons for mobility, collated by theme, by age

Theme	Last 5 moves (or moves in last 5 years)					
	18-34 age cohort		35-54 age cohort		55+ age cohort	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employment	12	8	14	26	2	17
Education	4	3	0	0	0	0
Health	1	1	1	2	1	8
Housing	38	26	12	23	7	58
Family	49	34	15	28	0	0
Personal	41	28	11	21	1	8
Cultural	0	0	0	0	1	8
All themes	145	100	53	100	12	100
Total movers n=	61		30		7	

The breakdown of responses by age revealed clear differences in the motives of the different age cohorts. Of the younger respondents, who were in the most mobile age cohorts, relatively few moved for employment reasons compared with those in the middle years. Mobility prompted by family, personal and housing reasons among younger people were higher than for those in the 35-54 year age cohort, but all of these themes were influential for both groups. The incidence

of mobility in the older age cohort may not be generalisable because of the small number of movers. Housing-related mobility among older people is elevated by the inclusion of one highly mobile respondent who moved five times for housing reasons, and the employment-related mobility arises from two moves by one unemployed person looking for work. The lack of movement for family reasons in this cohort is perhaps surprising given the discussion in the literature of the circulation of older Aboriginal people (particularly women) between family members (for example, Beckett 1965a; Birdsall 1988). On the other hand, it may be that there is an expectation that family will visit the respondent, rather than the converse. This would be consistent with the comments of Kath, an older interview participant living in Ivanhoe, when asked whether she would visit her relatives: "Well, I'd get them to come and see me, I think".

8.5.3 Motivating factors

Respondents were presented with twenty-two possible motivating factors which might prompt a move to a different locality and asked to rate the relevance and importance of each factor in their last non-local move. Non-local mobility was the focus of this question because the factors presented related to motives which were largely irrelevant to a move within the same locality. Table 8.11 presents two summary measures, and corresponding rank orders, for the importance of each factor. Weighted averages have been computed by giving a score of 1 to the answer 'not important', 2 to 'slightly important' and so on, to a score of 5 for the answer 'very important'. Two average scores have then been calculated for each factor. The first average indicates the relative importance of the factor to all respondents for whom it was a relevant consideration (that is, the sum of the weighted scores for each factor was divided by the number of respondents who rated the factor on a scale ranging from 'not important' to 'very important'). The second average indicates the relative importance of the factor to all respondents (that is, the sum of the weighted scores for each factor was divided by the total number of respondents, including those who indicated that the factor was not applicable). The second average is thus a measure of

TABLE 8.11

Survey respondents: factors relevant to last non-local move

Factor	Importance to respondents who cited factor		Rating in terms of overall relevance	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
Employment				
Chance of a job in another town	3.35	9	1.26	10
Firm offer of a job in another town	2.98	14	0.93	20
Being unemployed	3.17	11	1.04	17
Education				
Closer to education opportunities - children	4.05	3	1.66	8
Closer to education opportunities - self	3.35	9	1.26	10
Health				
Access to health services	3.84	6	1.80	4
Housing				
Chance of a house in another town	2.87	16	1.05	15
Firm offer of a house in another town	3.09	12	1.14	13
Run-down home	3.03	13	1.05	15
Crowding	2.67	18	1.07	14
Family				
Wanting to be with own family members	4.21	1	2.81	1
Wanting to be away from family	2.56	19	1.00	18
Wanting to be with partner	4.08	2	1.76	6
Wanting to be with partner's family	2.24	23	0.63	23
Personal				
Change of scenery	2.98	15	1.71	7
Wanting to be in place of upbringing	3.72	7	1.77	5
Conflict in community e.g. fighting, pressure	2.71	17	0.98	19
Excitement or bright lights	2.27	22	0.64	22
Conflict with police	2.54	20	0.80	21
Sporting opportunities	3.46	8	1.31	9
Itchy feet or restlessness	2.49	21	1.26	10
Cultural				
Cultural reasons e.g. fishing, hunting, ceremonial matters	4.03	4	2.01	2
Wanting to be in traditional country	3.98	5	1.88	3

the *relevance* and *applicability,* as well as the *importance,* of each factor. Necessarily, these figures will be lower than the scores for importance. In any case, given the arbitrary weightings, it is the rank order rather than the magnitude *per se* which is revealing.

The most influential factor, in terms of both importance to those for whom they were relevant and of relevance overall, was wanting to be with family. Other factors which were ranked in the top six in terms of both importance and relevance were: cultural reasons, wanting to be in traditional country, wanting to be with the respondent's partner, and access to health services. The factors of least importance and least relevance were: wanting to be with the respondent's partner's family, excitement or bright lights, conflict with police, wanting to be away from family, and conflict in the community. The responses to the question about motivating factors were also classified by sex and by age, and the results of these analyses are presented in Tables 8.12 and 8.13. Results are tabulated only where the difference between the sexes or between any two age cohorts for the total of the 'moderately important' and 'very important' responses to a particular factor exceeds 30%.

TABLE 8.12

Factors moderately important or very important to last non-local move, by sex

Factor	% of respondents for whom the factor was applicable who saw the factor as important or very important	
	Male	Female
Chance of a job in another town	31	14
Firm offer of a job in another town	23	15
Closer to education opportunities – self	22	30
Firm offer of a house in another town	16	26
Wanting to be with partner's family	8	13
Conflict in community	14	23
Itchy feet or restlessness	31	19
Cultural reasons e.g. fishing, hunting, ceremonial matters	49	36

As with the substantive reasons for moves within the past five years, factors relating to employment were far more influential for male respondents than for

female respondents. The difference in the case of 'partner's family' tends to support the contention that, in couple relationships, it is the women who move, rather than the men. This is canvassed further in Sections 9.2 and 10.2. The responses in the 'personal' category are not entirely consistent with those shown in Table 8.8. The difference in the 'itchy feet' response is surprisingly large, as is the difference in the responses to the cultural factor, although a review of the data pertaining to cultural affiliation does indicate that a higher percentage of male respondents than female respondents reported an affiliation both to a language group and to traditional country.

TABLE 8.13

Factors moderately important or very important to last non-local move, by age

Factor	% of respondents for whom factor was applicable who saw the factor as important or very important		
	18-34 age cohort	35-54 age cohort	55+ age cohort
Chance of a job in another town	14	32	27
Firm offer of a job in another town	19	21	14
Being unemployed	15	26	9
Closer to education opportunities - children	22	44	45
Closer to education opportunities – self	21	32	18
Access to health services	28	44	36
Chance of a house in another town	21	19	32
Firm offer of a house in another town	15	19	45
Run-down home	15	26	18
Crowding	26	17	14
Wanting to be away from family	16	16	23
Wanting to be with partner	29	43	41
Wanting to be in place of upbringing	33	45	36
Excitement or bright lights	16	7	9
Conflict with police	16	16	5
Itchy feet or restlessness	35	20	13
Cultural reasons e.g. fishing, hunting, ceremonial matters	32	52	41
Wanting to be in traditional country	28	52	32

There were only a few factors where the difference between age cohorts was smaller than 30%. These were: conflict in the community, wanting to be with

family, wanting to be with partner's family, and access to sporting opportunities. Access to employment, or lack of employment, were most influential in the 35-54 age cohort, as was access to education and health services and, interestingly, place affiliation. The percentage of respondents citing each of the three factors which relate specifically to place (place of upbringing, culture and being in traditional country) as relatively important is, surprisingly, higher for the middle age cohort than for the older age cohort. A larger percentage of older respondents than respondents in either of the other two age cohorts regarded housing availability as relatively important, whereas a greater proportion of members of the middle cohort were influenced by housing condition and, of the younger cohort, crowding. Perhaps predictably, the pull of excitement and bright lights and a sense of restlessness were most influential for the youngest cohort. The difference in response to the 'wanting to be with partner' category is partly explained by the relatively higher proportion of respondents in the youngest cohort who are not in a couple relationship.

It was discovered when coding data relating to factors influencing the decision to move that some of the response categories had been framed in a particularly 'white' manner. For example, factors related to desire to leave a crowded or run-down home, to obtain housing or to obtain employment imply an expectation of a desire for social mobility which is not necessarily a relevant motivating factor for an Aboriginal person seeking a more traditional lifestyle. In most cases this was not an issue. This possibility was not, however, overlooked in the survey instrument because possible motivating factors, such as a desire to be in traditional country or to maintain ties with country, were offered for consideration by respondents, and respondents were free to dismiss whichever factors which were irrelevant from their own frame of reference. A few respondents spoke of their own mobility choices in terms of a deliberate decision to return to a more traditional lifestyle (for example, by building and moving into a self-built humpy in the bush) and, in at least one case, mobility itself was seen as an expression of an Aboriginal tradition. This is discussed further in Chapter 10.

8.6   Movement and the life cycle

8.6.1 Variability with age

Changes in individual mobility over the life cycle are readily apparent from the mobility histories collected in the survey, and through some of the comments offered by the respondents. As Figure 8.1 shows, mobility rates calculated on the basis of the survey data describe a bimodal distribution, with the main peak for the 18-24 age cohort and a second peak for the 55-64 age cohort. Section 8.5 demonstrates that the factors which prompt mobility differ between age cohorts. The relatively high mobility among younger people reflects departure from the family home to attain independence, family formation, restlessness and a desire for excitement but also results from movement to be with family. Of all the specific reasons for movement, 'be with family' resulted in the greatest number of moves among respondents aged 18-34, followed by 'return to home town'. Some of those returning home are school leavers who had been educated in larger centres. Others had been mobile for a variety of different reasons.

The reduction in mobility during the middle years is likely to be related to the assumption of family responsibilities. As Figures 6.1 and 6.2 (Chapter 6) show, this decline in mobility appears in the census data too, and is common to both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population sectors, although the mobility differential between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations actually increases through the middle years. Chapter 9 explores the relationship between mobility and a number of economic and demographic factors, and one of the results presented is an association between lower levels of mobility and responsibility for school-aged children.

The second peak does not appear in the mobility rates derived from the census data, but it may be masked, since the division by age cohorts is coarser in the case of the census data. Closer examination of mobility rates by age and sex (Figure 8.1) reveals that although mobility for women rises very slightly in the 45-54 cohort at the five year interval, it does not increase again, whereas there is an increase in mobility rate from the 45-54 cohort to the 55-64 cohort among male respondents. At the one year interval, the 55-64 year peak among female respondents arises from the complete lack of mobility in the 45-54 cohort, and

this seems likely to be a sampling issue. If this is disregarded, the female mobility rate declines steadily from the 35-44 cohort onwards. On the other hand, there is a distinct peak in mobility among male respondents in the 55-64 cohort, although the number of respondents is very small.

Of the thirteen male respondents in the 55-64 age cohort, six had moved during the prior five years, and four of these had moved within the twelve months preceding the survey. One of these respondents was a multiple mover (see Jack's case study, Section 8.7.2). One had made a decision to live in a self-built camp on a former reserve, to return to his spiritual and cultural roots. One had moved home after many years away from Bourke, and had purchased a house. For the latter two respondents, homecoming, in a spiritual sense as well as from a practical point of view, may well be a function of life cycle. One respondent moved to obtain employment, one had to move locally because of a sewage overflow problem after fifteen years in the one residence and the last of the six movers left a dilapidated residence a year previously, after twenty-one years, to live in a caravan until his new house was built. It would be reasonable to observe, then, that half of the mobility in this group was related to the pragmatic business of living in a remote Aboriginal community, and the age and sex of the movers was incidental. Notwithstanding this, an increase in the mobility of the older age cohorts is consistent with the findings of Taylor and Bell (1999).

8.6.2 Variability over time

The mobility histories of middle-aged and elderly respondents were available to provide an indication as to whether the pattern of age-related mobility rates had changed over time. The level of mobility between the ages of 16 and 21 years was calculated for each of these respondents, where possible, with a view to comparing the level of mobility during early adulthood with present levels of mobility for these respondents, and with the level of mobility of the current generation of young adults.

The early mobility histories of all fifty-nine respondents in the 45-54, 55-64 and 65+ age cohorts were examined and a five year mobility rate computed as accurately as possible, given that the early sections of the mobility histories

were a little vague in some cases, for comparison with current mobility rates. Only fifty-five responses were included in the calculation as one history was clearly missing its early section. This may have been the case with a few others, too, although this was not as obvious. The resulting mobility rates are shown in Table 8.14.

TABLE 8.14

Survey respondents aged 45 and older: five-year mobility in early adulthood

Number of moves	%age of respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
At least one move	62	65	63
2-4 moves	22	24	22
5 or more moves	14	10	12

These mobility rates compare with corresponding rates of 54% for at least one move, 23% for two to four moves and 8% for five or more moves among the entire survey sample within the last five years. The current five year mobility rate for respondents aged 45 years and over is 31%. When compared with mobility rates for the 18-24 year age cohort for the survey sample, the early mobility rates among those now in middle age are substantially lower (63% compared with 90%). This suggests an increase in overall mobility rates among Indigenous people in the study area, and this finding would be consistent with the increase in the rate of mobility of those identifying as Aboriginal at each successive census from 1991 to 2001 (Section 6.2.4).

The most noteworthy difference is not in mobility rates but in reasons for movement. At the time the oldest of these respondents attained adulthood, the Aborigines Welfare Board was still in existence, and Aboriginal affairs policy was still characterised by constraint and compulsion in relation to every aspect of life for those under AWB control, including their working life. Pastoral industry was not yet in decline, and employment on rural properties was, as it had been through the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, still a feasible prospect for Aboriginal people. Among the fifty-five respondents included in Table 8.14, the most frequently mentioned reason for early mobility was employment. Fifty per cent of those who had moved had moved for their own or their husband's employment. All of the multiple movers

were mobile for employment reasons. Five of the respondents were continuously mobile and, in each case, their mobility was related to employment: one was in the army, two were working on rural properties, one was moving around rural properties with her husband and the fifth was in 'show business' of some sort. A further 19% had moved for family reasons, 17% for housing reasons, and 11% for personal reasons such as a desire to be in the city or for a change of scenery. When these motives for movement are compared with the reasons for movement offered by respondents aged 18 to 34 (see Table 8.10), it becomes apparent just how large an impact economic change in the form of rural restructuring, as well as developments in Aboriginal affairs policy such as CDEP, have had on the making of mobility decisions. This issue is discussed further in Sections 10.2 and 10.5.

In summary, then, it is clear that mobility does change over the life cycle in much the same way as it does for the population as a whole. Respondents who are now older and more sedentary were relatively mobile in their youth. The character of their mobility, however, has changed over the years with changes in economic circumstances and in the policy environment. Young adults today are more mobile than the older respondents were in their youth, and this is evidence for an increase in the rate of mobility among Aboriginal people in the study area generally.

8.6.3 Mobility projections and the life cycle

Projections of future mobility by age and sex (see Section 8.3) were graphed to produce a series of plots to predict one year and five year movement, for comparison with the graphs of recorded one year and five year movement by age presented in Figure 8.1. The projected mobility plots, presented in Figure 8.13, are based on the scenario that those who stated that they were moderately or extremely likely to move will move.

The overall form of the projected mobility graphs is remarkably similar to the plots of observed mobility in Figure 8.2. At the one year interval, the projected mobility rate for male respondents exceeds that for female respondents except in the 18-24 and 55-64 cohorts. As Figure 8.2 shows, men were more mobile than women at the one year interval throughout the age range. The 18 to 24 year

FIGURE 8.13

Predicted one year and five mobility, by age by sex

(a) One year mobility

(b) Five year mobility
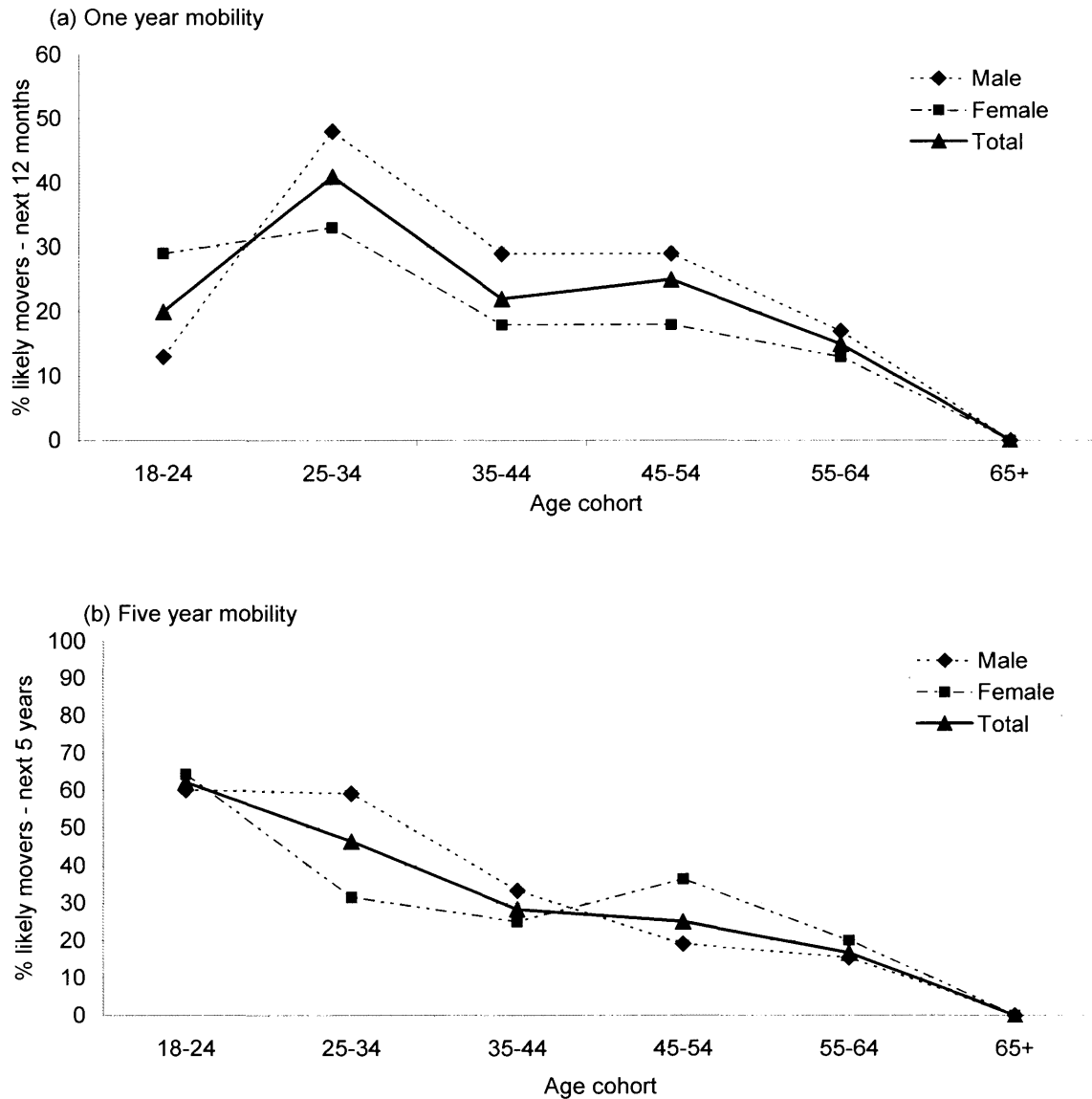
olds are predicting much lower mobility rates for themselves than is likely, based on mobility history, and the 45 to 54 year olds are predicting relatively high mobility for their cohort. Apart from this, though, anticipated mobility rates are quite similar to the observed rates, overall.

At the five year interval, predicted mobility rates are lower than observed rates throughout all age cohorts except for those 65 and older, who are completely sedentary and expect to remain so. Apart from this, the form of the plots is similar. The interesting feature is the predicted mobility difference between the sexes. Male respondents are predicting greater mobility through the 25-34 and

35-44 year age cohorts but, in the 45-54 and 55-64 year age cohorts, female respondents' predictions of five year movement are markedly higher than those of the men. Figure 8.2 shows that the difference between the sexes varies from age cohort to age cohort, with women more mobile in the 35-44 and 45-54 cohorts and men in the 25-34 and 55-64 cohorts. The predicted mobility plot actually shows an increase in female mobility between cohorts 35-44 and 45-54, and this is consistent with a very slight increase in observed mobility among women in the same cohorts. Perhaps the women, with the principal role in child-rearing, are experiencing (and continuing to anticipate) greater freedom to move once their children grow up and leave home.

8.7 A closer look at the multiple movers

8.7.1 Who are the multiple movers?

Fourteen of the 184 respondents moved five or more times during the five year period preceding the survey. Six of these multiple movers reported that their place of residence was not their usual place. Five of these six indicated that, though they were resident in the study area at the time of the survey, their usual residence was outside the study area, and the sixth had no fixed address. All except three of the fourteen had moved during the twelve months prior to the survey. Table 8.15 provides information about selected characteristics of each of the fourteen highly mobile respondents. Pseudonyms have been given to each respondent to protect their identity.

In summary:
◊ Although all of the multiple movers were in the labour force, none was in full-time employment. The proportion of multiple movers who were in seasonal or casual employment or unemployed was higher than for the sample as a whole. The proportion of those on CDEP or in permanent part-time employment was similar.

TABLE 8.15

Survey respondents who are multiple movers:

(a) selected socio-demographic characteristics

Name	Age	Sex	Labour force status	Tenure type	H'hold size	Has a partner?	School-age children?
Bill	25-34	M	Seasonal	Staying with relatives/friends	varies	no	no
Janet	25-34	F	Unemployed	Boarding	3	no	no
Sally	18-24	F	Unemployed	Renting – MPRHC	8	no	no
Maggie	45-54	F	CDEP	Renting – private landlord	1	yes[3]	no
Eric	25-34	M	Seasonal	Staying with relatives/friends	varies	no	not stated
Alice	25-34	F	Seasonal	Renting – private landlord	4	no	yes
Fred	18-24	M	CDEP	Boarding	10	yes	no
Mike	35-44	M	Perm. P/T	Renting – DoH	12	yes	no
Louise	18-24	F	Casual	Owner-occupier	3	yes	no
Simon	25-34	M	CDEP	Staying with relatives/friends	8	yes	yes
Shane	25-34	M	Casual	Owner-occupier	7	yes	yes
Lucy	35-44	F	CDEP	Renting – local organisation	3	no	yes
Jack	55-64	M	Not stated	House sitting	1	no	no
Anita	25-34	F	Unemployed	Boarding	12	yes	no

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[3] Maggie and her partner do not live together.

TABLE 8.15 (continued)

Survey respondents who are multiple movers:

(b) Characteristics of mobility – last five years

Name	No. of moves in these timeframes:		No. of moves at these scales:								
	last 5 years	last 1 year	Local moves	Different locality, same SLA	Between study area SLAs	Between Sydney and study area	Between Sydney and other	Between study area and other NSW	Other NSW to other NSW	Between study area and other state	Other interstate
Bill	many	many	-	-	many	-	-	1	1	-	-
Janet	many	2	2	-	many	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sally	many	many	-	-	-	-	-	many	2	-	-
Maggie	many	-	-	many	many	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eric	10	8	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	4	2
Alice	10	4	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fred	6	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mike	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	3
Louise	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	many	-	-	-
Simon	5	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shane	5	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lucy	5	2	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
Jack	5	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	-
Anita	5	4	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 8.15 (continued)

Survey respondents who are multiple movers:

(c) other characteristics of mobility

Name	Family moved by APB/ AWB?	No. of childhood localities	Evidence of patterned circulation?	Residence is bilocal/ multi-local?	Evidence of churning in last 5 moves?	Reason for last move:
Bill	yes	3	yes	maybe	yes	family breakdown
Janet	?	1	yes	yes	yes	be with family
Sally	no	3	yes	yes	no	boredom/ restlessness
Maggie	no	2	yes	yes	no	obtain rental housing
Eric	yes	1	itinerant	no	no	visit family
Alice	yes	9	no	no	yes	over-crowding
Fred	no	1	yes	yes	yes	better rental housing
Mike	yes	1	itinerant	no	no	be with family
Louise	yes	2	yes	yes	no	return home
Simon	?	1	no	no	yes	family conflict
Shane	no	1	no	no	yes	house purchase
Lucy	no	3	yes	yes	no	family conflict
Jack	no	1	yes	no	no	obtain squat/ housesit
Anita	no	1	yes	yes	no	obtain rental housing

◊ The percentage of multiple movers who were owner-occupiers was the same as that for the survey sample as a whole (two out of fourteen). The proportion who were renters was far lower (five out of fourteen, or 36%, compared with 62% for the survey sample) and there was a greater proportion living with relatives or friends, or boarding (three out of fourteen respondents, or 21% in each case, compared with 11% for the entire sample). Of the three respondents who had not moved during the year prior to the survey, one was an owner-occupier and two were renting (one privately and one from DoH).

◊ Half of the multiple movers were living with a partner and only four out of fourteen (29%) had school-aged children for whom they were responsible,

compared with 60% and 49% for the survey sample as a whole. Of the multiple movers who were responsible for children at school, three had children attending school in the locality where they were living at the time of the survey and the fourth had children at school in a place beyond daily commuting distance.

◊ A lower proportion of highly mobile respondents lived in small households (four or fewer people) than the survey sample as a whole (six respondents, or 42%, compared with 51%); a higher proportion (three respondents, or 21%) compared with 17%) lived in very large households (8 or more residents) and two were unable to state the size of the household because of lack of a usual residence or because of a frequently fluctuating population.

◊ There is no conspicuous pattern manifest in the data for scale of move. Some respondents are clearly more mobile at the local or regional scale but this does not appear to be related to frequency of movement or any other characteristic. Only one of the eight respondents who moved beyond the study area during the five years prior to the survey was responsible for school-aged children.

◊ It appears that here is no greater tendency for multiple movers to come from families with a history of forced mobility or to have had particularly mobile childhoods than other respondents.

8.7.2 The character of multiple mobility: some case studies

Part (c) of Table 8.15, above, attempts to categorise the movement patterns inherent in the mobility histories of the multiple movers. The mobility history of all except three of these respondents showed some patterning of movement relating to circulation among multilocal residences, or churning within one locality, or both. Of the reasons provided by multiple movers for their last move, six were housing-related, six were family-related, one related to moving to the locality the respondent felt was home, and one respondent moved due to boredom or restlessness. These motives are consistent with reasons for previous mobility throughout the accounts given by these fourteen respondents of their mobility over recent years; reasons for mobility are almost always related to housing, family, place affiliation or ennui. The single exception among the multiple movers is Mike who, prior to his last move two and a half years ago, lived an itinerant lifestyle associated with his work as a traditional

dancer, circulating through localities including Alice Springs, Townsville, Sydney, Port Macquarie, Kempsey and Brisbane at intervals ranging from two months to three years, over a period of eleven years. The following case histories illustrate these patterns of, and the factors motivating, movement.

Bilocal and multi-local residence

Each of the respondents whose stories are presented in this section reported having multiple homes. Because it is not possible to quantify their mobility due to their frequent circulation among their homes, their mobility experiences are best presented as narrative. They exemplify one aspect of the inadequacy of the census, which identified a single place of residence, in capturing Aboriginal mobility.

Louise was aged in the 18-24 year cohort and had been educated at Balranald. Although resident at Wilcannia at the time of the survey, she reported that she usually lived at Balranald. Louise advised that she had been living at Wilcannia for the last two and a half years (since she left school) yet she had continued to oscillate between the two towns. She identified Wilcannia as both her home and the best place to live, because of the presence of family and her knowledge of the place. As a Paakantji person, Louise also identified it as her traditional country.

Bill had no fixed address and indicated that he was living in 'Western NSW, Mutawintji, Broken Hill and Wilcannia', which appeared to represent one rather large, scattered locality in his mental map. This was not where he usually lived; in response to the 'where do you usually live' question, he reported that he had no fixed address for the preceding three months. Prior to this, he had lived in Armidale (two addresses) for the prior three and a half years, and this period of relative stability had been preceded by a two year period of continual mobility 'trying to find myself'. Before this, Bill had lived in Armidale for two years (three addresses) attending university, after having moved from Dubbo where he had lived for the three years prior to that (two addresses including a hostel). It appears that Bill's place of residence represented a rather complicated version of bilocality with Armidale, where churning was evident, at one end of his range and the western NSW cluster at the other. He accounted for his bilocal

residence thus: 'When away from Wilcannia and western NSW, I miss it; however, long stays are rare because of social disadvantage and isolation from mental stimulation'. His reasons for specific moves were primarily relationship-, family- and housing-related. Bill's cultural knowledge was detailed and precise. He identified as Bandjigali Paakantji and saw Mutawintji both as his home, primarily for cultural reasons, and as his traditional country. He reported that his family had been moved by the APB or AWB from Yancannia, about halfway between White Cliffs and Tibooburra, to Wilcannia, and Yancannia, too, was traditional country.

Janet was living at Broken Hill at the time of the survey, had been at her current address for three months and indicated that this was her usual place of residence. Her history contains elements of both bilocality and churning. She had moved to Broken Hill from Wilcannia at age sixteen, for a change of scenery and, after three or four years, moved in with her partner. After staying with him for a year, and experiencing 'hard times', she moved back to Wilcannia for the support of her family and, after a further year, moved back to Broken Hill for a year to 'take son to see his family'. She then spent two years travelling backwards and forwards between Broken Hill and Wilcannia. After this period, she 'got sick of moving – wanted stability' and settled in Broken Hill, where she spent a year in one Broken Hill residence. Janet made two further moves within Broken Hill. After twelve months, she 'got bored – wanted a change of scenery', so moved house, and then moved after a further six months to be with family. Three months later, she was still there. Janet saw both Broken Hill and Wilcannia as home, but felt that Broken Hill was the best place to live. She identified as Ngiyampaa, but saw Wilcannia as her traditional country (as, indeed, it was the traditional country of her father, who was Paakantji).

Sally had lived in Bourke, her usual place of residence, for eight months prior to the survey, but had been moving between Bourke and Orange at fortnightly intervals throughout the eight month period. Her reason for movement was boredom: 'When I get bored here I like to move around'. She was born in Bourke and lived there until the age of eighteen but moved to Orange 'because there's nothing here [Bourke]'. After six months in Orange, she moved to Wagga Wagga for a year to join her mother, then returned to Bourke and commenced her oscillation between Bourke and Orange. Sally did not identify with a

language group or with traditional country. She noted that her mother was Wangkumara, but was not aware of the forced relocation of the Wangkumara people from Tibooburra. Bourke was home for Sally, because of the presence of her family, but Orange was the best place to live, because 'you can go to places and everything is down there'.

Maggie had been more or less sedentary in Enngonia for the two and a half years prior to the survey, having obtained a house, but, prior to that, had circulated through Weilmoringle, Bourke and Brewarrina 'on and off' for a period of twelve years. She had earlier moved to Orange for eight years to be with her husband. Her home, the place where she felt the greatest sense of belonging, was unequivocally Enngonia, because of the presence of family. She identified as belonging to the Badjeti language group but had no knowledge of traditional country.

Lucy had lived in Enngonia for three years at the time of the survey, and indicated that this was where she usually lived. Her mobility history appears to be discontinuous. She had spent a period of three to four years in Cunnamulla, then eight to nine years in Sydney, followed by a year in Coonabarabran, but the reason supplied for the move following each of these periods of residence was 'Wanted to return home'. Moves back to Enngonia have therefore been interpolated between these periods of residence in other localities. No reason for the moves to Cunnamulla, Sydney or Coonabarabran were recorded but she noted that movement was important to her lifestyle because she 'like[s] to travel to different towns'. The following comment is recorded at the foot of Lucy's mobility history: 'I have lived in Bourke and Enngonia periodically most of my live'. Most recently, she had moved to Bourke from Enngonia for two weeks as the result of a family dispute, and had then moved back to Enngonia. She was born in Bourke and reared in Bourke, Sydney and Newcastle but saw Sydney as her primary home, because her sisters and brother live in Sydney. Enngonia and Bourke were recorded as secondary homes, and her sense of belonging there stemmed from the presence of family and friends. Sydney was the best place to live because of 'entertainment – easier to travel around – family and friends live there'. Lucy's language group was Kunja but she did not identify with traditional country.

Anita was living in Brewarrina at the time of the survey but reported that her usual place of residence was in Sydney. She had been in Brewarrina for a month, waiting for her own house, after six months in Sydney. Prior to that, she had lived in Brewarrina for two months after moving from Bourke, where she had lived with her sister for two months. She had moved to Bourke from Sydney, where she had lived for two years after ten years in Brewarrina (five years in town and five years at West Brewarrina). Prior to that, she had lived in Orange for seven months with her partner and, for ten years before that, had lived at West Brewarrina with her family. Anita's reasons for moving were almost exclusively related to a desire to be with family and friends, or with her partner, apart from the earlier period in Sydney, where she had moved for a change of scenery. She had been born and reared at West Brewarrina, and saw it as home, and as the best place to live, because of the presence of family and friends and because it was the place where she had grown up. Sydney was also home, because that is where her partner was and, again, because of the presence of family and friends. Anita identified as Murrawari, and had a strong attachment to Weilmoringle, her traditional country.

The experiences of these respondents show that there is no single cause of bilocality or multi-locality in residence. The respondents circulated for a variety of reasons: boredom, the spatial distribution of family, a desire to be in traditional country. A common thread was a tension between a desire to be 'home' (where family or friends were, a place of upbringing, or in traditional country) and wanting access to services or to other experiences.

Churning

The stories of a number of respondents illustrate the processes which result in frequent mobility between dwellings within a locality.

Simon had lived at Wilcannia all his life but had had a number of residences. He left his family's home, married and had lived with his wife for three and a half years until their marriage ended. After three years in another Wilcannia dwelling, he moved because the rent was unaffordable. Six months later, he moved back to his mother's house because the power was disconnected. He then moved again after two months to another dwelling, which he left eight

months later because of conflict with the owner of the house and with a family member. Eight months later, he was boarding with relatives (living in a sleepout) at the time of the survey. Simon appeared to regard frequent mobility as a way of life, but found aspects of this lifestyle problematic: 'It's hard to find housing when you move for short times; it's too much to pay bond when you only want to stay for a short time'. Simon was a Paakantji person who felt an extremely strong sense of belonging to Paakantji country. Wilcannia was his home because of the presence of family, and because it was where he had been born and reared. He was unaware of any forced mobility in his family. Mobility was important to him because he needed 'to have freedom – don't want to be tied down'.

Shane, living in Wilcannia, was purchasing his house, and had moved in nine months previously. He had lived in Wilcannia all his childhood. Once he became independent he moved to Broken Hill 'for excitement', stayed for two years then moved to Dareton. After nine months, he said, he was 'allowed to come back home'. Who or what was preventing him from doing so before that is unclear but he did indicate he had been in conflict with the police at one stage, so perhaps this was a bail or parole condition. He lived in a house in Wilcannia until it burned down, then moved into a caravan with his wife and children. Shane takes up the story from this point:

> We lived in a caravan waiting for a house from Murdi Paaki. We have been on the waiting list for over a year, got the OK [for] three houses but got knocked back every time because the previous renter still had the lease. We only have a house now because I got a job and was able to buy my own house, otherwise I would still be in a caravan with my wife and four kids.

Shane saw Wilcannia as his primary home because it was his birthplace, his family lived there and it held good memories. Dareton was seen as a secondary home for similar reasons. Wilcannia's role as the Aboriginal 'centre' of the area made it the best place to live. He identified as Paakantji and identified strongly with the Darling and Paroo Rivers. He was not aware of his family having been forcibly moved.

Alice was living in Broken Hill. She left school in Broken Hill at eighteen, moved to Wilcannia and spent periods working at Mutawintji, Sydney and

Menindee. She had moved to Broken Hill from Wilcannia at the age of twenty-five because of pregnancy and, at the time of the survey, had had ten residences in Broken Hill in a period of three years and eight months. The reasons for successive moves were: family problems, obtaining a house, just moving, relationship problems, privacy issues for her cousins with whom she was staying, the person with whom she was boarding moving out, overcrowding, conflict with her cousins, and crowding, noise and alcohol in a shared dwelling. Alice's mother had been forcibly moved from Wilcannia to Broken Hill, Adelaide and Sydney and she attributed much of her own desire for mobility to this:

> I inherited the moving bug from my mother, who was stolen as a child. This reflected on her as a mobile person, being taken from home at an early age, made her more likely to travel, to find home.

Alice was born at Wentworth but had a very mobile childhood. She saw Wilcannia as home because of family and cultural ties and familiarity. Broken Hill was seen as a secondary home, and as the best place to live, because of the presence of friends and family and because Alice spent some of her childhood there. She identified as Paakantji and felt a strong affiliation to her traditional country, which she identified with some precision. She saw the ability to move as important because it enabled her to visit family and was a source of freedom, "but mainly because the urge to move keeps coming".

Fred, too, had been churning in Broken Hill for an extended period prior to the survey, and there are also elements of bilocal residence in his mobility history. He had lived in Broken Hill for seven years but reported that he usually lived 'back and forwards between here [*Broken Hill*] and Wilcannia'. He had moved from Wilcannia to Sydney with his partner at age seventeen but after eight months moved to Broken Hill because of relationship problems. He moved after six months to a larger house but found it too large and difficult to maintain, so moved after a year to another house. After two years, he moved again because he was 'sick of the area – noisy people'. He then had a succession of three dwellings in twenty months, and left each because the houses were in poor condition and the landlords would not make repairs. He had been in his present dwelling, boarding with cousins, for one month at the time of the survey. Fred's sense of home was bilocal: 'I see Broken Hill and Wilcannia both

as my home, and travelling back and forth is normal.' Wilcannia was home because he had grown up there, his family and friends were there and it was his traditional country. Broken Hill was home because of the presence of family but also because he was employed there. Sydney was the best place to live because of greater opportunities. Fred had not had a particularly mobile childhood, and his family had not been forcibly moved. He identified as Paakantji and had an extremely strong sense of belonging to his traditional country, which he identified precisely. The ability to move was important because it allowed him to work, visit family and do different things.

The mobility behaviour of these respondents arose from a number of factors: conflict, tenancy issues, poverty, and crowding. Churning thus appears to depend on characteristics both of the housing market and of the individual tenants.

Unpatterned mobility

The mobility of only three of the multiple movers appeared to show no discernible pattern. Mike's mobility is discussed above, in the first paragraph of Section 8.7.2. In general, for these movers, decisions to move appear to be taken opportunistically, in response to an event in the community such as a funeral, or the availability of a squat or a house-sitting vacancy.

Eric was living at Dareton at the time of the survey but usually lived at Loxton, South Australia. He had been born and reared at Murrin Bridge, and had lived there until adulthood. His subsequent mobility involved a succession of short stays, ranging from one month to one and a half years, with family and friends, and most of these moves appeared to be related to funerals. On leaving Murrin Bridge he moved to Buronga for five weeks, then to Loxton, where he visited his mother for eighteen months. After that, he spent a month in Mildura, then two months in Robinvale, followed by about six weeks in each of Broken Hill, Menindee, Murrin Bridge, Wilcannia and Loxton again, before arriving at Dareton, where he had spent seven weeks prior to the survey. The reason for each of these moves was to visit family and attend funerals. Eric had been in trouble with the Police in Wilcannia and had been compelled to remain there to report weekly but, apart from this, his movement appeared unconstrained. His

seasonal employment would have assisted in this regard. Eric identified as Paakantji and his traditional country is Pooncarie. His family were removed from there to Menindee, and then to Murrin Bridge, where Eric spent his childhood. Home is multilocal: primarily Murrin Bridge, where all the people he grew up with live, and where friends and family are buried, but also Pooncarie, Wilcannia, Loxton and other places, because he is 'always welcome and ... can always get a feed and bed'. He could not identify a best place to live. Mobility is important to Eric because, as he explained, 'I need to see my people and friends. When I get restless I have to move. I do a lot of hitchhiking'.

Jack was living in Brewarrina at the time of the survey but his usual place to live was 'anywhere it['s] possible' and, in response to the question asking how long he had lived there, he replied 'transit'. His mobility history was incomplete, but extended back over twenty-eight years. After six years travelling around in show business, he spent three years in Goodooga and six months in Collarenebri for employment, followed by two years in Goodooga, two years in Enngonia and one year in Bourke with family. He then lived in Cunnamulla with relatives for five years, which was his longest period in one place. After that, he lived in Goodooga for one year, followed by one year in Walgett, to be with family. After three years in Dubbo, where he moved for 'better living', Jack moved to Warren, where he spent eighteen months in a Housing Commission dwelling. Since then, he lived with relatives in Brewarrina for three months, in a caravan park in Bourke for three months and then for seven months in Enngonia caretaking [3]. At the time of the survey he had been caretaking in Brewarrina for seven months. Jack was born and reared in Goodooga. His family was not forcibly moved. Jack identified with the Murrawari language group, and had a strong attachment to traditional country. He saw Weilmoringle as home, because that was where he grew up, lived with family members and worked, and because it was his traditional country. There was no other place he saw as home, but Tamworth was the best place to live because of the availability of better housing and the lower cost of living.

These accounts of multiple mobility show that, while predominant reasons for movement mirror those of the sample as a whole, there is much diversity in the

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[3] 'Caretaking' is a term commonly in use in the study area for an unofficial sub-let when a tenant vacates a rental property for a period.

experiences and motives of these highly mobile respondents. One aspect of spatial behaviour which is clearly illustrated by these stories is the way in which, for several respondents, 'usual residence' is experienced as a region rather than as a single locality. The stories also reinforce the importance of 'home', often conceptualised in terms of the presence of kin, and the influence of the availability of appropriate housing, particularly on repeat mobility at a local scale.

8.7.3 Other instances of multiple mobility

Other respondents had had periods of frequent mobility at different times in their lives but were relatively sedentary at the time of the survey. Of the 184 respondents resident in the study area, eight had moved ten or more times since the age of sixteen, but fewer than four times in the last five years. Of these movers who had become (relative) stayers:

◊ four were male and four were female;

◊ three were aged in the 35-44 cohort, two were aged 45-54 and three were aged 55-64

◊ three were renting, four owned or were purchasing their own house and one was living in a caravan waiting for his house to be built.

◊ periods in their present dwellings ranged from one year (the man in the caravan) to sixteen years (a Weilmoringle LALC tenant), and the median duration was four years.

Most of the mobility histories were similar to those of the multiple movers recounted above, with one key difference: the movers had become sedentary. Of the respondents who owned or were purchasing their dwellings, all had been highly mobile when younger. One was a Vietnam War veteran who had been highly mobile during his six years' military service, then lived in rented accommodation in the inner western suburbs of Sydney for twenty-six years, and finally returned to Bourke, purchased a house and settled. The other three had mobility histories which were more or less typical of the multiple movers: years of frequent moves for pastoral or seasonal employment, family reasons, or because of inadequate housing, restlessness, boredom or a desire to go home. They ceased moving on purchasing a house. Two of the renters had similar mobility histories, characterised by frequent mobility for pastoral work, sport,

family and other reasons but had found a place they wished to settle and had abandoned the restlessness which had characterised their earlier years. The tenant of the caravan had 'worked around the Wilcannia area before then [twenty-two years ago], never really stayed in one spot since I was sixteen', but had lived in Wilcannia in an increasingly dilapidated house for twenty-one years before moving to a caravan to await the completion of his new rental house. The last of these eight respondents had been mobile for a lengthy period because of illness, and had had to spend lengthy periods in Dubbo and Sydney for this reason, returning to Coonamble, Walgett and, four years ago, Bourke, with her partner, when it was possible to do so.

8.8 Conclusions

The findings presented and discussed in this chapter are generally consistent with the literature of Aboriginal mobility at the population scale, but the investigation of aspects such as motivation and expectations, and the collection of long-term individual accounts of mobility, have enabled the development of insights not available from the census alone.

The survey data revealed rates of mobility higher than those evident from the census. Importantly, the survey identified high levels of repeat mobility which the census does not detect. Patterns of movement by age and sex were generally consistent with those derived from census data. Examination of mobility with age confirmed the influence of typical life cycle events such as attainment of independence, household formation, and responsibility for children on mobility. The projections of future mobility obtained in the survey show that survey respondents' expectations reflect their previous behaviour, and point to the lack of planning inherent in the behaviour of the most mobile respondents. Overall, the data revealed that the population contains a solid core of both stayers and committed movers.

Spatial patterns have emerged which illustrate various processes at work in the study area and beyond. Levels of mobility were highest at the western end of the study area, and this is related to the role of Broken Hill as the only 'sponge city' in the study area (cf Taylor 2006). The mobility patterns recorded also identify movement patterns which link the smaller locations at the north of the

study area to each other, and to larger urban centres such as Dubbo, Orange and Sydney. The significance of this is discussed further in Chapter 10. The incidence of repeat mobility is highest in the larger centres, a possible reflection of the concentration of population over time in these locations.

Analysis of substantive reasons for mobility, and of motivating factors in the decision-making process, confirmed the importance of family, home and housing to mobility behaviour. Differences in motives by sex and age were revealing. There was relatively little emphasis on mobility for reasons of employment among young people, who tended to be influenced more by restlessness and a desire for excitement, and also by crowding. Older people were more likely to be motivated by a desire for access to services, and for the cultural connection. For men, employment and culture were relatively important, and the male respondents were also more likely to be motivated by restlessness. Women tended to identify education as a motive for mobility. Comparison of the early mobility of those now in the older age cohorts with the younger respondents revealed that reasons for mobility had changed over time, with far less emphasis now on employment-related mobility. This reflects economic change in the study area.

The exploration of multiple mobility using the life histories of the multiple movers provides a window onto the processes underpinning this exaggerated form of spatial behaviour. The stories of these movers reflect a variety of influences: historical circumstances, conflict, relationships, availability of services and resources, the critical importance of family, and the desire to be in places which are familiar or which are valued because of their cultural connections.

Chapter 9 builds on these findings with a closer focus on the relationship between several socio-economic characteristics and mobility.

CHAPTER 9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOVEMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between residential mobility and a number of socio-economic characteristics. As Chapter 6 demonstrated, antecedent mobility rates, calculated from usual residence data obtained from the census, varied according to social and economic indicators. Chapter 9 sets out to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of this study by augmenting the analysis of mobility patterns developed in Chapter 8 with a review of the effects of differing labour force status, household and family circumstances, and tenure derived from the survey data.

The characteristics explored were selected for a variety of reasons. Labour force status is clearly at the core of contemporary welfare policy, and this is demonstrated in the Aboriginal sector by current changes in the policy relating to CDEP (see Section 10.5.2 for further detail). Yet, as Section 8.5 indicated, there was comparatively little employment-related mobility among the survey sample. This issue is explored here in detail. Family and housing were, by contrast, widely relevant as motivating factors for movement, and qualitative comments both from the surveys and from the in depth interviews revealed that these influenced movement patterns in a variety of ways.

9.2 Labour force status

9.2.1 Mobility by labour force status

One year and five year mobility rates by labour force status for survey respondents resident in the study area are presented in Table 9.1. The first part of the table shows data for those in the labour force, and the second part, data for those who are not in the labour force. The data presented are the percentages of respondents within each labour force category who moved or did not move.

TABLE 9.1

Mobility by labour force status

Percentage of respondents in the following labour force categories:		Mobility interval:			
		1 year	5 years		
		Moved once or more	Did not move	Moved 1 to 4 times	Moved 5 or more times
	n=	%	%	%	%
Permanent full-time work	35	23	54	46	0
Permanent part-time work	9	13	56	33	11
On CDEP	50	22	44	48	8
Seasonal work	4	75	25	0	75
Casual work	14	29	22	64	14
Unemployed	29	38	31	59	10
Training/education	3	33	67	33	0
Home duties	15	20	53	47	0
Retired or pensioner	21	18	67	33	0
Other	1	0	100	0	0
Not stated	3				
Total	184	25	46	46	8

At the one year interval, the unemployed had been more mobile than any group other than those in seasonal employment. This is consistent with the results of the census data analysis, although the mobility rate derived from the survey data exceeds that from the census by 9%. At the five year interval, those in seasonal or casual work were more mobile than the unemployed who, in turn, had been more mobile than those working for CDEP or with other permanent employment. The one year mobility rate for all respondents who indicated that they were in employment was 24%, which exceeds the census-derived rate by 33%[1]. Unemployed survey respondents were 8% more likely to have moved at the one year interval than the unemployed enumerated in the census. At both intervals, those employed (whether full-time or part-time) were least likely to have moved of all those in

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[1] The differences between census and survey data in relation to labour force status are likely to arise from anomalies in census enumeration of CDEP participants – see discussion in Section 7.2.2 for further detail.

the labour force. No respondent with permanent full-time work had moved more than four times in the five years prior to the survey. Only four respondents were recorded as being employed on a seasonal basis, but three of these were, as might be expected, multiple movers, and these three had all moved during the twelve months prior to the survey.

Overall, the five year mobility rate for those who were unemployed at the time of the survey was 35% higher than the rate for respondents who were employed permanently part-time, full-time or on CDEP, and the one-year mobility rate was 76% higher than for employed respondents. It cannot be assumed that the difference in mobility rates between the unemployed and others in the labour force is explained solely by movement to seek out work. Mobility among unemployed people could conceivably result from a variety of causes: economic pressure to move because of inability to afford rent; mobility to take advantage of kinship-related reciprocity; or freedom arising from lack of labour-related ties. Motivation for mobility is explored further in Section 9.2.2.

Of those not in the labour force, respondents who were undertaking study, or were retired or otherwise receiving a pension, had been the least mobile during the five years prior to the survey. On the whole, those in the labour force had an overall five year mobility rate 55% higher than those who were not in the labour force (58% compared with 38%), and an overall one year mobility rate 39% higher than those not in the labour force (27% compared with 20%). The one-year mobility rate for survey respondents not in the labour force (20%) was similar to the census-derived rate (21%).

Mobility data at the one year and five year intervals by labour force status were tabulated by sex to identify differences between male and female respondents in the various labour force categories. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 9.2 and 9.3.

There is a degree of variability in mobility from labour force category to labour force category. Among those in the labour force, male respondents in the permanent full-time employed category had a higher rate of one-year and five-year mobility than female respondents. A greater proportion of

TABLE 9.2

One year mobility by labour force status by sex

Labour force category			Mobility rate					
			Did not move		Moved once		Moved more than once	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employed full-time	20	15	70	87	30	13	0	0
Employed part-time or on CDEP	36	22	81	77	11	9	8	14
Seasonal/casual	10	8	60	63	30	25	10	13
Unemployed	13	16	54	69	46	19	0	13
Training/education	2	1	50	100	50	0	0	0
Home duties/ retired/pension	13	24	85	79	15	21	0	0
Other	0	1	0	100	0	0	0	0
Not stated	3							
Total	97	87	72	77	23	16	4	7

TABLE 9.3

Five year mobility by labour force status by sex

Labour force category			Mobility rate					
			Did not move		Moved 1 to 4 times		Moved 5 or more times	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employed full-time	20	15	50	60	50	40	0	0
Employed part-time or on CDEP	37	22	49	41	43	50	8	9
Seasonal/casual	10	8	30	13	40	63	30	25
Unemployed	13	16	38	25	62	56	0	19
Training/education	2	1	50	100	50	0	0	0
Home duties/ retired/pension	13	23	69	57	31	43	0	0
Other	0	1	0	100	0	0	0	0
Not stated	2	1						
Total	97	87	48	44	45	48	6	8

unemployed men had moved at the one year interval than women but, at the five year interval, the reverse was true. At the one year interval, there was a

relatively small mobility difference between men and women in casual or seasonal employment but this increased at the five year interval, with women's mobility exceeding men's by 25%. Among those not in the workforce (except training and education and other, where counts were very small), women were more mobile at both the one year and five year time intervals.

The sex-related differences in mobility between labour force categories raises questions as to ways in which the mobility of respondents who are in a relationship varies according to their partner's labour force status. Table 9.4 presents data on mobility by partner's labour force data, for those respondents who reported having a partner. Labour force categories have been collapsed to avoid, as much as possible, large numbers of cells with small absolute populations.

TABLE 9.4

Respondents with partners: mobility by labour force status, by partner's labour force status

| | | Respondent's labour force status | | | | |
		Permanent Work	Seasonal/ casual Work	Unemployed	Not in labour force	Total
	n=	60	8	21	23	112
Partner's labour force status	n=	Respondents – One year % mobility rate				
Permanent work	33	24	0	0	20	18
Seasonal/casual/ part time work	23	15	0	50	17	17
Not working	54	17	50	44	0	23
Not stated	2					
Total	112	19	13	38	9	20
Partner's labour force status		Respondents – Five year % mobility rate				
Permanent work	33	48	50	33	40	45
Seasonal/casual/ part time work	23	31	50	100	33	39
Not working	54	57	50	69	25	53
Not stated	2					
Total	112	47	50	67	30	48

Overall, respondents in permanent employment had the highest mobility rate at both the one year and five year intervals if their partner, too, was in permanent employment. It might be expected that this group would be less mobile, unless perhaps there were several instances in the data of one person in a couple relationship moving when their partner obtained permanent employment, then his- or herself finding a permanent position also. No respondent who was a seasonal or casual employee or unemployed had moved at the one year interval if his or her partner was permanently employed. Unemployed respondents with partners who were in seasonal, casual or part time work or not working had tended to be relatively mobile at both intervals, presumably because they were comparatively free of economic ties. Overall, partners' permanent employment appears to be sedentarising for respondents who are seasonal or casual workers or unemployed. Respondents not in the labour force whose partners were not working were the most sedentary group overall. This may result from income constraints. On the whole, the fact of being in a couple relationship, and the labour force status of the partner, does influence mobility.

Table 9.5 presents mobility by partner's labour force data, by sex of respondent, with a view to determining whether the partner's labour force status has a greater or lesser effect on respondent's mobility if the respondent is a male or female partner in a couple relationship. This table needs to be interpreted with some caution, as some of the cell counts are small, so percentage figures could be misleading.

One year mobility rates were lower for female respondents than for male respondents in each labour force category except for those not in the labour force. This suggests that women's employment may be more stable than men's, and may also reflect the incidence of child-rearing responsibilities in couple families. It may also reflect the higher skills level among women. For the ATSIC Murdi Paaki Region, women had a 45% greater likelihood than men of having a tertiary qualification (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002). Where both partners were in permanent employment at the time of the survey, the five year mobility rate for female respondents was 42% higher than that for male respondents. Female respondents overall had been more mobile in the longer term than male respondents if their partner was in

TABLE 9.5

Mobility by labour force status by sex, by partner's labour force status

		Respondent's labour force status									
		Permanent Work		Seasonal/ casual Work		Unemployed		Not in labour force		Total	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	n=	37	23	5	3	12	9	7	16	61	51
Partner's labour force status	n=	Respondents – One year % mobility rate									
Permanent work	33	38	15	0	0	0	0	0	25	23	15
Seasonal/casual/ part time work	23	17	14	0	0	100	0	0	20	22	14
Not working	54	19	0	50	0	44	43	0	0	24	19
Not stated	2										
Total	112	23	14	20	0	42	33	0	13	24	16
Partner's labour force status	n=	Respondents – Five year % mobility rate									
Permanent work	33	38	54	50	50	0	100	0	50	31	55
Seasonal/casual/ part time work	23	33	29	0	100	100	100	100	20	44	36
Not working	54	57	50	50	-	67	71	20	29	54	50
Not stated	2										
Total	112	49	45	40	67	58	78	29	31	47	48

permanent employment but less mobile if their partner was in seasonal, part-time or casual work or not working, unless the respondent, too, was in seasonal or casual work (absolute numbers here are, however, very small). Male respondents in permanent employment whose partners were not working had been relatively mobile compared to female respondents in similar circumstances. The suggestion here is that, in the longer term, a partner's permanent employment has a more sedentarising effect on the respondent if the respondent is male. If the respondent is unemployed and the partner not working (either unemployed or not in the labour force), the sex-related difference, again, is small, and mobility rates are comparatively high. All unemployed women respondents whose partners were in permanent work had moved during the five year period, but no unemployed male respondents whose partners were in permanent work had moved. All unemployed respondents whose partners were in casual, seasonal or part-

time employment had moved. This suggests that, for the survey sample, where the respondent is in a couple relationship, it tends to be the male partner's labour force circumstances which direct the female partner's mobility. This is consistent with comments made by Kath, one of the interview participants, when asked whether couples moved to the male or female partner's country. Kath was quite emphatic that a woman would follow her partner's employment commitments.

9.2.2 Labour-motivated mobility

The tables presented to this point have related labour force status at the time of the survey to earlier mobility behaviour. This can be complemented by some indication of motivation as revealed in responses to questions about what prompted each move, despite the danger that the expressed reasons for moving may be, to some extent, post hoc rationalisation. A review of the reason provided for the last move of each respondent who moved in the last five years revealed a relatively low level of mobility prompted by labour force issues. Only nine respondents, out of ninety-seven who had provided a reason for their last move, indicated an employment-related reason. Table 9.6 presents the number of responses in each category for these nine respondents.

TABLE 9.6

Employment-related reasons for last move, by labour force status at time of survey

	Move town to take up permanent employment	Move town to look for work	Move locally to be closer to work	Move for seasonal or pastoral work	Total
Employed full-time	2	-	1	-	3
Employed p/t or on CDEP	-	-	1	1	2
Seasonal/casual	1	-	-	1	2
Unemployed	-	1	-	-	1
Training/education	-	-	-	-	0
Home duties/retired/pension	1	-	-	-	1
Other	-	-	-	-	0
Total	4	1	2	2	9

None of the respondents gave unemployment as the reason for their last move and only one indicated a move to search for employment. Why, then, were the unemployed, in particular, moving? Of those who were unemployed at the time of the survey and who had moved at least once during the previous five years, reasons for the last move were as follows: one respondent had moved to look for work, five had moved for housing-related reasons, ten for family-related reasons, two to relocate to a more favourable area, one to escape community conflict and one as a response to boredom. The fact that they are free of work gives them the ability to move. Whether this is a choice or not remains unclear.

Origin and destination data for the last moves of each of the nine respondents who cited an employment-related reason for their last move were tabulated against their employment status at the time of the survey and the reason for moving (Table 9.7). Distances are direct, not by road.

TABLE 9.7

Characteristics of last employment-related move

Labour force status by reason for last move	Last move:		
	Origin	Destination	Distance km
Employed full-time			
Move town for permanent employment	Robinvale	Buronga	75
	Mudgee	Brewarrina	400
Move locally to be closer to work	Wentworth	Buronga	25
Employed part-time or on CDEP			
Seasonal or pastoral work	Goodooga	Enngonia	155
Move locally to be closer to work	Wentworth	Dareton	15
Seasonal/casual			
Move town for permanent employment	Dubbo	Bourke	360
Seasonal or pastoral work	Murray Bridge	Broken Hill	570
Unemployed			
Look for work	Wagga Wagga	Mildura	480
Home duties/ retired/pension			
Perm. job	Lightning Ridge	Brewarrina	130

No conspicuous pattern emerges in terms of distance of travel for specific employment-related reasons. Respondents appear to have been prepared to travel as far for a seasonal engagement as for permanent employment. These results cannot, however, be generalised because of the very small sample size.

Examination of the reasons for last five moves (or all moves within the last five years, for those who had moved fewer than five times within that period) indicated that employment or training-related reasons had been provided for 32 of a total of 210 moves, or 15%, by a total of 23 respondents (12.5%). The distribution of the 32 responses from study area residents by response category and labour force status at the time of the survey is shown in Table 9.8. Note that labour force status at the time of the survey may be quite different from that at the time of the any of the moves. This is most likely for earlier moves.

TABLE 9.8

Employment-related reasons for last five moves (or all moves within last five years, if fewer than five), by labour force status at time of survey

Labour force status at time of survey	Move town to take up permanent employment	Move town for partner's permanent employment	Move town to look for work	Move locally to be closer to work	Move for seasonal or pastoral work	Own education	Total
Employed full-time	5	-	2	1	-	-	8
Employed part-time or on CDEP	1	-	1	1	7	2	12
Seasonal/casual	2	-	1	-	1	2	6
Unemployed	-	2	2	1	-	-	5
Training/education	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Home duties/ retired/pension	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	9	2	6	3	8	4	32

None of those who were unemployed at the time of the survey had moved to take up an offer of permanent employment, although two had moved to look for work. It is surprising that only one of the respondents whose work was seasonal or casual had moved during the five-year period to take up seasonal or pastoral work, whereas seven in permanent part-time employment had done so. On the face of it, then, employment does not appear to be a broadly influential motivation for mobility, notwithstanding relatively high levels of unemployment and, possibly, underemployment in the study area.

Table 9.9 presents origin and destination data for these thirty-two moves, tabulated against reason for moving, this time classifying moves by scale.

TABLE 9.9

Employment-related reasons for last five moves (or all moves within last five years, if fewer than five), by scale of move

	Within the same town or community	Different locality, same SLA	Between study area SLAs	Between Sydney and study area	Between Sydney and other locality	Between study area and other NSW	Other NSW to other NSW	Between study area and other state	Other interstate	Total
Move town for permanent employment	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	2	2	9
Move town for partner's employment	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Move town to look for work	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	1	6
Move locally to be closer to work	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Move for seasonal or pastoral work	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	2	8
Own education	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	4
Total	3	2	5	0	3	6	1	6	6	32

Apart from the obvious local moves to be closer to work, there is no apparent distance decay effect. The actual origin and destination data show that more respondents moved from regional centres (Dubbo, Mildura, Wagga Wagga

and Broken Hill) to smaller localities than the converse. Obviously, the respondents who moved to regional centres and remained there are not included in the survey sample, except for those who moved to Broken Hill. The survey data reflect the return migrations, and the balance between out- and in-migration may be an artefact of the timing of the survey, and also of the small cell populations. All the same, return migrations for economic reasons are a counterintuitive finding.

Responses to employment-related motivating factors (see Section 8.5) were reviewed to identify any relationship which might exist between labour force status at the time of the survey and motivation related to employment or self-education at the time of the last move. Table 9.10 presents the results of this analysis for respondents who had moved during the five years prior to the survey.

TABLE 9.10

Employment-related factors influencing most recent move in the last five years, by labour force status at time of survey

Labour force status		Employment factors in decision-making for last move							
		Chance of a job in another town		Firm job offer in another town		Being unemployed		Education opportunities	
		factor is relevant	factor is very important or extremely important	factor is relevant	factor is very important or extremely important	factor is relevant	factor is very important or extremely important	factor is relevant	factor is very important or extremely important
	n=	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employed full-time	16	69	44	44	13	38	19	44	31
Employed part-time/CDEP	32	25	16	16	13	35	19	41	22
Seasonal/casual	14	36	21	14	0	29	14	21	7
Unemployed	20	45	20	55	25	50	15	45	20
Training/education	1	100	100	100	100	0	0	100	100
Home duties/retired/pension	14	21	7	14	7	29	7	21	0
LFS not stated	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	98	38	21	29	13	36	15	37	18

Overall, 'chance of a job', 'unemployment', and 'self-education opportunities' were almost equally relevant, while 'firm offer of a job' was obviously relevant only to those who had received an offer. 'Chance of a job' and 'education opportunities' were recorded as very important or extremely important factors with a greater frequency than either of the other directly employment-related considerations ('firm offer of a job' or 'being unemployed'). Fewer than 30% of those in permanent employment (full-time or part-time) or on CDEP cited employment-related considerations as being very important or extremely important influences on their last move. Interestingly, of those who were unemployed at the time of the survey, 24% cited a firm job offer as a moderately to extremely important factor in their last move, which suggests that, if they took up an offer of employment, they must subsequently have became unemployed again. Overall, speculative job opportunities were more frequently cited as an important factor than were firm offers of employment. On the whole, unemployment appears to have been of comparatively little importance as a motivating factor, particularly for those who were unemployed at the time of the survey. The reasons for its importance or lack thereof are not forthcoming from the data. Unemployed respondents may equally have moved to take advantage of kinship-related reciprocity as to seek employment. The relative importance of employment-related motivating factors compared to other influences such as housing, family and country is discussed in Section 8.5.

9.2.3 Labour force status and projected mobility

Expectations of future mobility and attitudes to the idea of moving at the one year and five year intervals were also explored in relation to labour force status at the time of the survey (Table 9.11).

Those who were in permanent employment or undertaking home duties, retired or on a pension had the lowest expectation of a move in the shorter term. More of those who were permanently employed in full-time work had a positive attitude to a short-term move than those who were employed part-time or on CDEP. Overall, a higher proportion of those who were undertaking home duties, retired or pensioners had a positive attitude to the prospect of a one-year move than any other labour force category, but also

TABLE 9.11

Labour force status by expectations of and attitudes to future mobility at the one year and five year intervals

Labour force status		Employed full-time	Employed part-time or CDEP	Seasonal/casual	Unemployed	Training/education	Home duties/retired/pension	Other	Total	Not stated	n=
One year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	53	43	50	43	0	65	100	50	1	90
	Moderately unlikely	14	17	6	7	33	3	0	11	0	20
	Equally likely as unlikely	6	12	0	11	0	2	0	7	0	13
	Moderately likely	12	11	6	7	67	11	0	11	0	19
	Extremely likely	9	12	33	29	0	8	0	15	0	27
	Don't know	6	5	5	3	0	11	0	6	0	11
	Not stated	1	2	0	1	0	0	0			4
	n=	35	60	18	29	3	37	1	183	1	184
Attitude	Very happy	14	34	22	28	67	22	100	26	0	48
	Moderately happy	14	14	11	10	33	5	0	11	0	21
	Indifferent	20	25	11	24	0	11	0	20	1	36
	Moderately unhappy	9	8	11	3	0	11	0	8	0	15
	Very unhappy	43	19	45	35	0	51	0	35	0	63
	Not stated	1	0	0	0	0	0	0			1
	n=	36	59	18	29	3	37	1	183	1	184

TABLE 9.11 (continued)

Labour force status by expectations of and attitudes to future mobility at the one year and five year intervals

Labour force status		Employed full-time	Employed part-time or CDEP	Seasonal/casual	Unemployed	Training/education	Home duties/retired/pension	Other	Total	Not stated	n=
Five year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	26	31	23	24	0	47	0	31	0	54
	Moderately unlikely	29	9	24	10	0	9	0	14	0	25
	Equally likely as unlikely	6	9	0	21	33	12	0	10	0	18
	Moderately likely	9	14	6	14	33	12	0	12	1	22
	Extremely likely	24	30	35	24	0	9	0	24	0	41
	Don't know	6	7	12	7	34	11	0	9	0	15
	Not stated	1	3	1	0	0	3	1			9
	n=	35	60	18	29	3	37	1	183	1	184
Attitude	Very happy	26	34	39	35	33	19	0	30	1	55
	Moderately happy	15	10	5	17	67	8	0	12	0	22
	Indifferent	18	24	17	24	0	22	100	21	0	39
	Moderately unhappy	12	10	17	7	0	11	0	11	0	19
	Very unhappy	29	22	22	17	0	40	0	26	0	47
	Not stated	1	1	0	0	0	0	0			2
	n=	35	60	18	29	3	37	1	183	1	184

saw a move as less likely. This may have been because of resource constraints, or perhaps simply hypothesising a move was more attractive to this group than contemplating reality. Just over half of these respondents were aged in the 45-54 year or 55-64 year cohorts, and a reduced expectation of mobility would be consistent with the responses of these cohorts as a whole (see Section 8.6). Of the unemployed, just over one third saw themselves as being likely to move in the short term, and a similar proportion had a positive attitude to the prospect. When asked to predict mobility at the five year interval, the only group which saw itself as hardly

any more likely to move than at the one year interval consisted of those who (save for the three who were studying) were not in the workforce, but fewer of these respondents were happy about the idea of a five-year move than a one-year move. More of those in permanent employment saw themselves as likely to move at the five-year interval than at the one-year interval, and were happier at the five-year move prospect than the possibility of a move in the twelve months following the survey but, as with the one-year move prospect, fewer of those working full-time felt positive about five-year mobility than those working part-time or on CDEP. It may simply be that those in the workforce who prefer to be sedentary tend to be the full-time workers.

9.3 Family and household circumstances

9.3.1 Family circumstances

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were living in a couple relationship, whether they were responsible for children at school, how many other residents were living in their dwelling and how many of these were immediate family. One year and five year mobility was examined in the light of each of these characteristics (Table 9.12).

Respondents living on their own or with other people who were not close relatives at the time of the survey had a one year mobility rate 34% higher than those living with a close family member or members. The corresponding difference in mobility at the five year interval is 42%. In the case of repeat and multiple mobility, the effect is even greater, with 2.4 times more respondents not living with family moving more than once at the one year interval, and 50% more moving more than once at the five year interval. In other words, those without family commitments were free to be more mobile or, conversely, perhaps those who wanted to be more mobile did not contract or maintain family commitments.

The difference in mobility levels between respondents in and not in couple relationships is even more marked, although not unexpected. Respondents living without a partner at the time of the survey had a one year mobility rate 67% higher than those living with a partner. The corresponding

TABLE 9.12

Mobility by family circumstances at time of survey

Family circumstances	% mobility rate										
	Moves during 1 year interval					Moves during 5 year interval:					
	0	1	2 +	n.s.	total	0	1	2-4	5+	n.s.	total
	%	%	%	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	n=	n=
Living with close family	76	20	4	1	32	50	22	21	7	1	32
Not living with close family	68	23	10	1	151	29	29	32	10	1	151
Total	75	20	5		183	46	23	23	8		183
Not stated (n.s.)			1		1			1			1
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184
Living with a partner	80	18	2	1	72	52	23	18	6	1	72
Not living with a partner	66	24	10	1	110	37	24	30	10	1	110
Total	74	21	5		182	46	23	23	8		182
Not stated	1		1		2	1		1			2
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184
No school-age children	70	24	7	1	93	40	25	25	10	2	93
Children at local school	85	12	3	1	67	60	22	13	4		67
Children at school within commuting distance	100	0	0		4	50	25	25	0		4
Children at school beyond commuting distance	61	39	0		18	33	17	44	6		18
Total	75	21	4		182	47	23	23	7		182
Not stated			2		2			1	1		2
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184

difference at the five year interval is 33%. In the case of repeat and multiple mobility, the effect is even greater, with over five times more respondents not living with a partner having moved more than once at the one year interval, and 59% more moving more than once at the five year interval.

Respondents responsible for children at school either locally or within commuting distance (no more than one hour each way on the school bus) had lower mobility rates at both the one year and five year intervals than respondents either with no children or with children attending school in a location beyond commuting distance. These children would be either boarding to attend school in a larger centre, or living with a custodial parent from whom the respondent is separated, or with another relative. Respondents with children attending school at a remote location had the highest mobility rate among the four groups at both intervals, and the highest five-year repeat mobility rate. These respondents would thus not have been constrained by the need to maintain continuity for their children at a local school.

The sedentarising effect of parenthood (or guardianship) is further borne out by the comments of some of the interview participants. Kirsty, who, with her husband, had moved between Bourke and Dareton for seasonal fruit-picking work, explained her decision to settle:

> [T]he work was here, so … after having three kids, we decided … to – save us just carting them back and forwards – so we decided to stay …[2]

Other interview participants' histories reveal that they, too, became more sedentary when they had children. Eddie, whose residence is bilocal for family reasons, settled after he became a father. Steve expected to settle when he had children but found it difficult to make the transition to being a "good family man", so continued to travel, but eventually became more sedentary after the birth of his second child.

In summary, respondents living with close family or a partner or both, and respondents responsible for school aged children had reduced mobility rates. These characteristics might be expected to be typical of those aged from their mid-twenties to mid-forties, and could explain, to some degree, the reduced mobility evident in plots of mobility rate by age cohort (see Chapter 8). These findings are generally consistent with the results of the census data

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[2] Where excerpts from interviews are quoted, an ellipsis (…) denotes an editorial omission, whereas a dash (-) represents a pause in the respondent's narrative.

analysis, presented in Tables 6.13 and 6.14, which showed at a population level that couple relationships and the presence of children result in reduced mobility rates. Both sets of data clearly show that having the care of children or having a partner dampens mobility.

9.3.2 Household circumstances

Table 9.13 relates one year and five year mobility to size of household at the time of the survey, and to a crude measure of crowding based on whether there are more than two household members per room.

TABLE 9.13

Relationship between mobility, household size (summary) and crowding

Domestic circumstances	% mobility rate										
	Moves during 1 year interval					Moves during 5 year interval:					
	0	1	2 +	n.s.	total	0	1	2-4	5+	n.s.	total
	%	%	%	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	n=	n=
Household size 1 to 5	75	21	4	2	122	48	23	24	5	2	122
Household size 6 to 9	76	22	2		46	43	26	24	7		46
Household size 10+	77	8	15		13	46	23	8	23		13
Total	75	20	5		181	47	23	23	7		
Not stated		1	2		3			1	2		3
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184
Household crowded	74	21	5	2	140	53	18	21	8	2	140
Household not crowded	76	20	4		38	45	25	23	7		38
Total	76	20	5			47	23	23	7		
Not stated	2	2	2		6	2	1	2	1		6
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184

As Table 9.13 demonstrates, people who were living in a large household at the time of the survey reported no greater or lesser degree of antecedent mobility than those who were living in a small household. No consistent pattern emerges from the data. In the case of crowding, a slightly greater proportion of those who were living in crowded conditions had been mobile

at the twelve month interval, but the reverse was true at the five year interval. Those who were crowded did, though, have a higher incidence of multiple mobility. This is consistent with Jones's (1994:15) finding that overcrowding is affected by itinerancy.

Examination of the circumstances of the ten respondents living in crowded circumstances who had moved once or more during the prior twelve months revealed that all except one, who did not indicate tenure type, were either boarding or staying with relatives. Their reasons for moving included family conflict or breakdown (three respondents), eviction or obtaining habitable accommodation (three), a desire to be with family because of illness or other reasons (two), leaving the family home to attain independence (one) and a desire to return to the respondent's home town (one respondent). One of the boarders was occupying a caravan while awaiting the completion of a new house.

Of the thirty-three one-year movers who were not crowded, nineteen were renting, four were owner-occupiers, five were boarding, four staying with relatives, and one was house-sitting. Of those who were boarding or staying with relatives, three had moved to be with children or other family, two had moved to escape family conflict, one had left the family home to attain independence, one had moved to escape a dilapidated dwelling, one was awaiting the availability of a rental house, one had wanted to return home from another locality; and the house-sitter had simply moved because a house-sitting opportunity had become available. Three of the owner-occupiers had moved when they purchased their house and the other had wanted to return home from another locality. Of the renters, only two had moved for a reason which might be characterised as a crisis situation – that is, to escape family or community conflict. None of the respondents renting a dwelling had moved for other 'crisis' reasons such as eviction, illness, divorce or family breakdown. Their other reasons for moving included obtaining a rental dwelling, a better rental dwelling or addressing crowding (seven respondents), to move home or to a preferable locality (five respondents), to be with family (one), to leave the family home to attain independence (one), for employment reasons (one), or restlessness (one).

In summary, then, while the relationship between crowding and mobility is weak, if it exists at all, those who were in crowded circumstances at the time of the survey and had moved during the prior twelve months tended to have done so as a consequence of family or housing crisis, and to have forgone independent tenure. A far greater proportion of those movers who were in less crowded circumstances at the time of the survey were enjoying independent tenure, and had had a variety of reasons other than crisis for moving.

9.3.3 Mobility and change in household and family composition

To investigate whether families and households fracture or coalesce as a result of mobility, respondents were also asked whether everyone they had been living with before their last move had moved with them and, if not, who had stayed behind. Table 9.14 provides an impression of the incidence of households fragmenting at the most recent move (not restricted to moves within the last five years).

TABLE 9.14

Household fragmentation at the most recent move

Circumstances of move	No. of responses	%
Respondent has never moved	5	3
Respondent lived alone at time of last move	33	18
Everyone moved with the respondent	97	53
Some people stayed behind	49	27
Total	184	100

Almost one third of households comprising more than one person split at the time of the most recent move. The circumstances under which people stayed behind varied, as might be expected. The most common reason given for a last move where some household members remained behind was a desire to be with other family (nine respondents). Eight of these respondents had left assorted family members (parents, siblings, offspring, other relatives) to move to be near other members of their family. A further three respondents had left households (two containing relatives) to return to the place they identified as home. Eight respondents, six aged 18 to 24, had left the family

home (usually one or both parents and siblings) to attain independence and a further six (three aged 18 to 24, three aged 35-44) had variously left their parents' home, a son, a daughter or some unrelated people to be with their partners. The three younger respondents in this category were forming their own households for the first time. Seven left household members (in two cases, a partner) to obtain better rental housing. Perhaps the partners later joined the movers – this is not discernible from the data. Four respondents left their household to escape conflict (family conflict in three cases) and a further five left their partner and, in two cases, their children, as a result of family breakdown or divorce. Two others left other relatives to purchase a house. One respondent left his partner to move for employment. Two respondents moved because of illness, one moved with her parents, and one other respondent did not state a reason for his move or record who or how many people remained behind. Most of these 'split household' moves relate to rites of passage such as leaving the family home to establish independence, family formation and, regrettably, family breakdown. Perhaps the 'homecoming' moves and the moves to be with family can be characterised in terms of the anecdotal evidence of household fluidity arising from movement on a whim but these moves would be in a minority among those which result in household fragmentation, and may well be shorter term.

9.4 Tenure and landlord status

9.4.1 Housing tenure

As Table 8.8 demonstrated, more than a quarter of all current mobility among the survey sample occurred for housing reasons, with the desire for rental housing and, especially, less dilapidated or less crowded rental housing, and the purchase of a house, particularly influential. The census data, too, suggest a clear relationship between antecedent mobility and housing tenure and landlord status at the time of the census, and much of the churning, especially in localities such as Wilcannia, Broken Hill and Dareton, appears to be at least partially housing related. Table 9.15 presents mobility rates for survey respondents resident in the study area by tenure type at the one and five year intervals.

TABLE 9.15

Mobility by tenure type

Tenure type	% mobility rate									
	Moves during 1 year interval					Moves during 5 year interval:					
	0	1	2 +	n.s.	total	0	1	2-4	5+	n.s.	total
	%	%	%	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	n=	n=
Renting	82	14	4	1	113	53	22	20	5	2	113
Owner-occupier	85	15	0		26	54	23	15	8		26
House-sitting	0	100	0	1	2	50	0	0	50		2
Staying with relatives/friends	45	45	10		20	20	25	40	15		20
Boarding	52	29	19		21	29	24	33	14		21
Squatting	100	0	0		1	0	100	0	0		1
Not stated		1			1			1			1
All tenure types %	75	20	5			46	23	23	8		
Total n=	135	37	10	2	184	84	42	42	14	2	184

Owner occupiers and renters were approximately equally mobile, and were less mobile on the whole than respondents living in other tenure circumstances. The numbers squatting and house-sitting were very small (three in total) and these columns might best be disregarded. Not surprisingly, those staying with relatives or friends, the so-called 'sofa surfers', had the highest mobility rate and the greatest incidence of repeat and multiple mobility, closely followed by those who were boarding. Eight of the twenty-six owner-occupiers, or 31%, had moved to purchase their dwellings in the last five years. This leaves a further fifteen per cent who moved as owner-occupiers during the five years prior to the survey. The similarity between mobility rates for owner-occupiers and renters differs from the census data for the study area as a whole, which showed renters to have been 61% more mobile than owner-occupiers (Section 6.5.3). The survey may have detected a recent increase in the purchase of dwellings which would result in respondents moving from rented accommodation. This appears to be the case in Broken Hill. This may account, at least in part, for the difference.

9.4.2 Landlord status

The census analysis showed substantial mobility differentials between the mobility rates for Indigenous families renting from various landlord types, with those in private rentals or renting from an employer having far greater antecedent mobility than tenants of social housing, whether owned by the state housing authority or a community housing provider. In the study area, rental housing is provided by a number of sources: private landlords, who often let through real estate agents; employers such as the Greater Western Area Health Service and the Teacher Housing Authority; the DoH; the AHO; the MPRHC, an Aboriginal community controlled organisation providing housing at the regional scale; and a variety of Aboriginal housing companies, co-operatives and LALCs at an individual locality scale. To complicate matters, the MPRHC has contracted management agreements with a number of local community controlled housing organisations to manage their housing stock. Table 9.16 presents mobility data for survey respondents renting housing in the study area, by landlord type, at the one year and five year intervals.

TABLE 9.16

Mobility by landlord type – respondents renting accommodation

Tenure type	% mobility rate										
	Moves during 1 year interval					Moves during 5 year interval:					
	0	1	2 +	n.s.	Total	0	1	2-4	5+	n.s.	Total
	%	%	%	n=	n=	%	%	%	%	n=	n=
Private tenancy	50	33	17	1	13	8	25	50	17	1	13
Employer	100	0	0		1	0	0	100	0		1
DoH	100	0	0		11	27	27	36	9		11
AHO	90	10	0		10	80	20	0	0		10
MPRHC	82	18	0		51	61	24	14	2		51
Local organisation	85	8	8		26	64	16	16	4	1	26
Not stated	1				1		1				1
All landlords %	82	14	4			53	22	20	5		
Total n=	93	16	3	1	113	59	25	22	5	2	113

Only one respondent was renting from an employer. Local organisations include Aboriginal community-controlled housing corporations (AHCs) and LALCs.

Respondents in social housing have relatively low rates of mobility in comparison with those in private tenancies. At the one year interval, tenants of both the DoH and the AHO, which provides Aboriginal-identified public housing, had had the lowest antecedent mobility rates, followed by Aboriginal community-controlled housing providers. Tenants in private rentals had a 50% one year mobility rate, which compares with a rate of 45% derived from the census data. At the five year interval, those who had been most frequently mobile had a higher tendency to be living in private rentals or in DoH dwellings. The highest proportion of stable tenancies over the five year period occurred in AHO accommodation, followed by accommodation provided by Aboriginal community controlled providers.

These results prompt a question: are spatial variations in mobility rates, particularly at the local scale, related to differences in the level of provision of Aboriginal-identified social housing from locality to locality? Table 9.17 sets out the provision of Aboriginal-identified housing by locality.

TABLE 9.17

Provision of Aboriginal-identified housing in the study area

Locality	No. of Aboriginal-identified dwellings				No. of Aboriginal households	Ratio of Aboriginal households to Aboriginal identified dwellings
	AHO	MPRHC	AHC or LALC	Total		
Bourke	34	85	-	119	204	1.71
Enngonia	-	-	26	26		
Brewarrina	23	74	33	140	173	1.24
Goodooga	-	40	20	60	67	1.11
Weilmoringle	-	17	-	17	17	1.0
Broken Hill	24	-	54	78	289	3.71
Wilcannia	16	4	89	109	92	0.84
Menindee	1	-	45	46		
Ivanhoe	-	21	-	21		
Dareton	35	97	-	132	161	1.22

Source: Aboriginal Housing Office; ABS 2001 Census

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The number of households was not available from the ABS data for the smaller localities. Weilmoringle is a very small locality, and the number of households was known from fieldwork. The number of Aboriginal households enumerated for Wilcannia appears on the basis of the author's knowledge of the community to be low. The COAG Co-ordinated Care Trial which operated Wilcannia in the late 1990s estimated the population to consist of an estimated 509 temporary residents, in addition to a permanent population of 800 to 900 (KPMG 2001:62). Maari Ma Health Aboriginal Corporation, which manages health services in Wilcannia on behalf of Greater Western Area Health Service, was approached for advice as to whether the census count is reliable. Maari Ma's demographer advised, that despite some scepticism, they use the ABS Census count for service planning purposes, and that the apparent undercount may be related in part to high volumes of migration from Wilcannia to Broken Hill. No more recent population survey has been conducted in Wilcannia, and it will remain unclear whether the count is reliable until the 2006 Census data are released (C. Kennedy, pers. comm., 28th April 2006). In any event, it is unusual for housing to be in oversupply in an Aboriginal community and, in fact, MPRHC has a waiting list of seventeen applicants for housing in Wilcannia, of whom at least seven already live in the locality. It seems likely that the census-derived number of Aboriginal households in Broken Hill is also an underestimate, given the volume of recent in-migration (see Taylor 2006).

The ratio of number of Aboriginal households to availability of Aboriginal-identified social housing units was graphed against the number of local moves within the last five years (or last five moves, for multiple movers), and the resulting scattergram is shown in Figure 9.1. The mobility data used are those presented in Table 8.7. The coefficient of determination, $r^2 = 0.162$, indicates a weak relationship. Wilcannia is an obvious outlier and, if it is excluded because of uncertainty as to the reliability of census estimates of households, r^2 is 0.834, suggesting that 83% of the variation in churning can be explained by the availability of Aboriginal-identified social housing in a locality. If both Broken Hill and Wilcannia are excluded, r^2 is 0.433. It does appear, then, that churning could be related to limited availability of Aboriginal-identified social housing.

FIGURE 9.1

Scattergram of local moves at five year interval by relative availability of Aboriginal-identified social housing
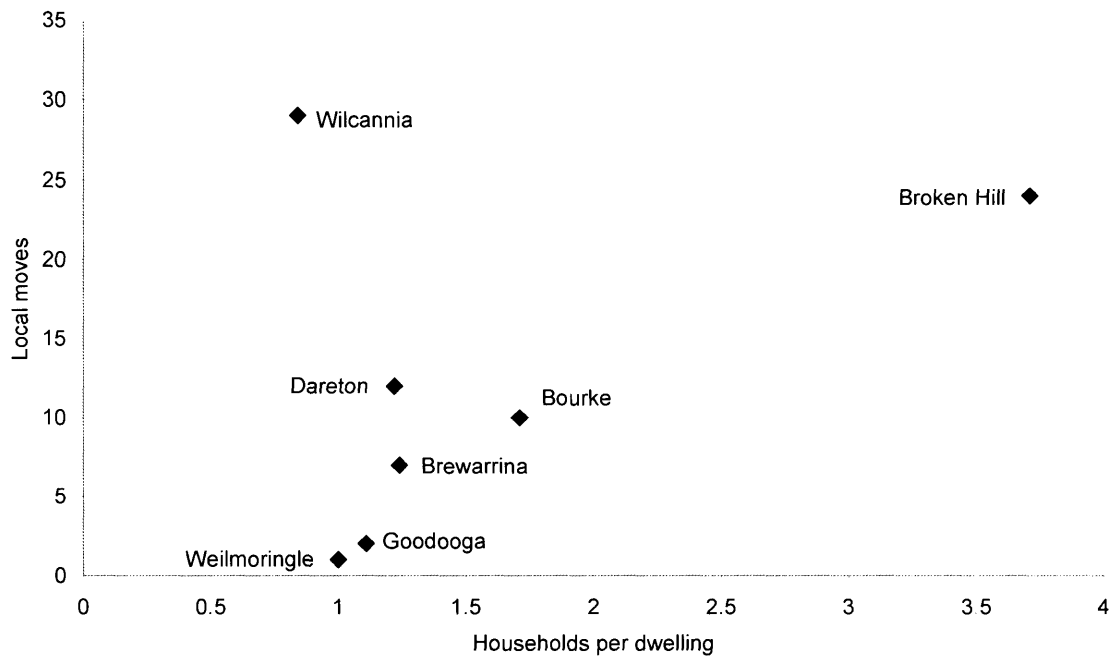
9.4.3 Housing-related mobility

Thirty-two of the ninety-eight respondents resident in the study area who had moved in the five years prior to the survey had given a housing-related reason for their last move. Table 9.18 presents reason for mobility by tenure type, and Table 9.19, by landlord type. Some of the 'reason for move' categories have been amalgamated for convenience of presentation[3].

For renters and those staying with others, obtaining accommodation, including acquiring a rental dwelling, finding a larger dwelling or escaping run-down accommodation, was the leading reason for moving. All the owner-occupiers moved in association with their dwelling purchase. The

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[3] 'Obtain accommodation' includes: 'obtain a rental dwelling', 'obtain a better rental house/leave rundown dwelling', and 'obtain a larger rental dwelling'. 'Move in with family' includes: 'move in with family/move in to family-owned property/"inherit" house'. 'Previous dwelling no longer available' includes 'evicted' and 'previous rental house sold/required for other tenant/principal tenant moved out'. 'Crowding or conflict' includes ' overcrowding' and 'conflict/boredom with other tenants'.

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TABLE 9.18

Housing-related reasons for last move, by tenure status at time of survey

Tenure status	Reason for last move						
	obtain accommodation	purchase dwelling	obtain squat or house-sit	move in with family	previous dwelling no longer available	Crowding or conflict	Total
renting	11	1	-	1	1	3	17
owner-occupier	-	7	-	-	-	-	7
house-sitting	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
staying with friends, family or boarding	5	-	-	-	1	1	7
Total	16	8	1	1	2	4	32

TABLE 9.19

Respondents renting accommodation: housing-related reasons for last move, by landlord status at time of survey

Landlord status	Reason for last move					
	obtain accommodation	purchase dwelling	move in with family	previous dwelling no longer available	Crowding or conflict	Total
Private rental	3	-	-	-	2	5
Employer	1	-	-	-	0	1
DoH	0	1	1	-	-	2
AHO	1	-	-	-	-	1
MPRHC	5	-	-	1	-	6
AHC/LALC	1	-	-	-	1	2
Total	11	1	1	1	3	17

respondent who was renting but who had moved to purchase a dwelling appears to have provided conflicting responses to the survey.

Half of the renters who had moved for reasons which could be characterised as housing crisis were living in private rental accommodation. In general, though, given the relatively small number of responses, there appears to be little variation in reasons for mobility by landlord type.

9.4.4 Housing and projected mobility

Expectations of future mobility and attitudes to the idea of moving at the one year and five year intervals were also explored in relation to tenure status at the time of the survey (Table 9.20). The number of responses to each question varied, so ranges of response numbers have been recorded against different tenure categories. Expectations by landlord status, for renters, have not been tabulated because cell counts were generally too small.

Those who were staying with friends or relatives, or boarding, had the highest expectation of a move at the one year interval, and tended, not surprisingly, to be happy about the prospect. Curiously, fewer of them considered that they were likely to move at the five year interval. It is possible that they were interpreting the question as concerning the likelihood of an additional move (after the move at the one-year interval). Respondents who were renting had only a slightly higher expectation of mobility at the one year interval than the owner-occupiers, but tended to be happier at the prospect. Owner-occupiers were less likely to expect a move at the five year interval than renters. It appears that the purchase of a house is not necessarily seen as putting an end to mobility. There were varying views among the interview participants, all of whom were renting Aboriginal community-controlled social housing, about whether house purchase would lead to a reduced tendency to move, and this is discussed further in Section 10.5.3.

TABLE 9.20

Expectations of and attitudes to future mobility at the one year and five year intervals, by tenure

Tenure type		Renting	Owner-occupier	House-sitting/squatting	With friends/relatives/boarding	Total	Not stated	n=
One year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	55	69	33	25	51	0	90
	Moderately unlikely	13	8	33	8	11	0	20
	Equally likely as unlikely	6	0	34	13	7	0	13
	Moderately likely	11	11	0	8	10	1	19
	Extremely likely	9	8	0	38	15	0	27
	Don't know	6	4	0	8	6	0	11
	Not stated	2	0	0	2			4
	n=	113	26	3	41	183	1	184
Attitude	Very happy	23	15	67	40	26	0	48
	Moderately happy	11	12	33	10	11	1	21
	Indifferent	18	4	0	35	20	0	36
	Moderately unhappy	9	4	0	10	8	0	15
	Very unhappy	39	65	0	5	35	0	63
	Not stated	0	0	0	1			1
	n=	113	26	3	41	183	1	184

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TABLE 9.20 (continued)

Expectations of and attitudes to future mobility at the one year and five year intervals, by tenure

Tenure type		Renting	Owner-occupier	House-sitting/squatting	With friends or relatives/ boarding	Total	Not stated	n=
Five year move prospect:		%	%	%	%	%	n	
Likelihood	Extremely unlikely	35	31	0	24	31	0	54
	Moderately unlikely	10	34	0	13	14	0	25
	Equally likely as unlikely	11	8	67	5	10	0	18
	Moderately likely	12	8	33	16	13	0	22
	Extremely likely	21	11	0	39	23	1	41
	Don't know	11	8	0	3	9	0	15
	Not stated	6	0	0	3			9
	n=	113	26	3	41	183	1	184
Attitude	Very happy	29	20	67	35	30	1	55
	Moderately happy	12	12	0	13	12	0	22
	Indifferent	18	16	0	37	21	0	39
	Moderately unhappy	12	16	33	2	11	0	19
	Very unhappy	29	36	0	13	26	0	47
	Not stated	0	1	0	1			2
	n=	113	26	3	41	183	1	184

9.5 Conclusions

This chapter has confirmed that characteristics such as labour force status, the presence or absence of a partner, children or close family members, and tenure type all have a relationship with degree of, motives for, and expectations of mobility.

The findings in relation to movement *vis à vis* labour force status are interesting and complex. Permanent employment, including CDEP,

appeared to dampen mobility, as might be expected. Conversely, the unemployed had relatively high levels of mobility, but largely not with a view to finding employment. The data suggest that, at the time of the survey, there were three groups of respondents: one group (approximately half of respondents) in permanent employment and relatively less mobile, one group (approximately one quarter) not in the labour force and relatively less mobile, and a third group (approximately one quarter) who were either unemployed or working on a seasonal or casual basis, who appeared at the time of the survey not to be engaged in the mainstream economy, but who were very mobile. There was little representation within the survey sample of respondents participating in training or education, and there appeared to be correspondingly little focus on skills acquisition. The relatively high propensity of unemployed people to move is consistent with the findings of Taylor and Bell (1999), who were, however, unable to explore motivation for movement within this group. The low incidence of labour mobility reported by the survey respondents mirrors Young's (1982b) and Lawrence's (2005) observations in the Northern Territory, and also those of Gray (2004), in relation to coastal NSW. These issues, and their implications, are discussed in further detail in Section 10.5 and Chapter 11.

As expected from the exploration of relationships between life cycle and mobility (Section 8.6), the sedentarising effects of partnership and parenthood were readily observable in the data. Respondents living in a couple relationship, or with responsibility for school-age children, or living with close relatives (either singly or in combination), tended to be less mobile than single respondents with no family responsibilities.

As with the census, the survey revealed that tenure type was an important influence on mobility. High levels of mobility were associated with relatively insecure forms of tenure such as residence with friends or relatives, or boarding. While neither household size nor crowding appeared to be strongly related to mobility, crowding was related to these less secure forms of tenure and recent prior mobility for crisis reasons. Among renters, levels of mobility were related to the nature of the rental. Tenants in private rentals were highly mobile; those renting Aboriginal-identified social housing, much less so. Spatial variations in mobility, particularly at the

local scale, appeared to be related to differences in the level of provision of Aboriginal-identified social housing from locality to locality. As Section 3.2.4 discussed, housing provision is a potent influence on mobility processes, and tenancy processes have tended to be used as an instrument of assimilation (Beresford 2001; Gray 2004; Morgan 1999). The findings of the survey illustrate the consequences of the processes described in the literature, but also demonstrate the complexity of the linkages between housing, movement and other aspects of life for Aboriginal residents of the study area. These issues are explored further in Chapter 10.

This chapter has focused primarily on the quantitative evidence for the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics. Chapter 10 explores qualitative evidence for influences on mobility, both contemporary and historical, and examines the importance of mobility and its cultural and practical meaning among the survey respondents and interview participants.

CHAPTER 10   THE MEANING OF MOBILITY

10.1 Introduction

This chapter examines experiential aspects of mobility, and explores qualitatively the influences which shape the spatial behaviour of Aboriginal people in the study area. Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, in responding to the first and second objectives of this study (Section 1.2), quantified aspects of spatial and temporal patterns of mobility, and explored influences on mobility in quantitative terms. Chapter 10 departs from the quantitative examination of spatial and temporal patterns of mobility with a view to contributing to the achievement of the second and third objectives. In this chapter, the historical and contemporary influences on movement are discussed, as seen through the eyes of the interview participants and survey respondents[1]. Patterning of movement is still relevant here, but is examined qualitatively, to the extent that it illustrates the influence of historical and contemporary circumstances on spatial behaviour. This chapter also canvasses the cultural, social and practical importance of mobility, and further explores the nexus between mobility and issues such as the availability of employment, and qualitative and policy-related aspects of the provision of housing and the availability and adequacy of services and facilities.

Much of the discussion which follows is based on qualitative responses to a number of survey questions, but particularly the final question, a catch-all question which sought respondents' further thoughts on mobility in a general sense. The more discursive responses from the survey are amplified, where further illustration is helpful, by responses drawn from the eight semi-structured in-depth interviews which preceded survey design (see Section 4.3). The discussion is very detailed, and reflects micro-scale analysis; however, it is only at the micro-scale that the rich variety of experience and perspective becomes apparent which might otherwise be masked in aggregate statistics. The level of focus thus helps to bring out the general in the particular. The integration of this degree of detail with the broader scale quantitative results

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[1] Informants are referred to as survey *respondents* and interview *participants* throughout, for ease of identification. Numbers have been used to denote survey responses, and pseudonyms, for interview participants.

presented and discussed in earlier chapters is consistent with the approach recommended by Young (1990:188), discussed in Section 3.6.

Before proceeding, a few words about the relationship between mobility and place affiliation may be beneficial. To this point, place affiliation has been dealt with to the extent of tabulating the places which respondents see variously as traditional country, home or the preferred place of residence (see Section 7.4) and cataloguing the reasons for these various associations. However, as is evident from the discussions which follow, mobility, its purposes, and the factors which influence it, cannot be appreciated in the absence of the realisation that movement and place attachment are, Janus-like, the two faces of a single phenomenon. Place affiliation and its reasons therefore figure prominently in the following sections.

10.2 How the past influences contemporary mobility

The discussion which follows reflects the importance of historical context to the current patterns of mobility and place attachment which were documented in the interviews and the survey. Chapter 5 provided an account of traditional mobility patterns, to the extent that these have been documented, and summarised the movements which were forced upon Aboriginal people in the study area as a consequence of the implementation of protection and assimilation policy. As Chapter 7 reported, a substantial proportion of the survey population indicated that they or their families had been forced to move. Most of these respondents' accounts were consistent with the documented history of the mass migrations; however, there were also a number of forced movements which suggest a level of APB and AWB intervention in the spatial distribution of individuals not readily apparent in the literature. As this section illustrates, these moves have led to the establishment of patterns of place attachment and movement which are still influential in shaping spatial behaviour. On a more subtle level, these moves also appear to have altered the place-based sense of cultural identity of many of the respondents. This is discussed further in Section 10.4.2.

10.2.1   The influence of traditional movement patterns

Chapter 5 indicated that opportunities for large-scale continuation of traditional movement were constrained by the expansion of pastoral industry across the study area and then curtailed by the implementation of Aboriginal affairs policy from the 1880s onwards.   Notwithstanding the disruption to traditional patterns of spatial behaviour wrought by the processes of colonisation, a number of respondents drew links between contemporary spatial behaviour and movement paths which extend back through the millennia:

> I believe moving comes from our past; before European contact we moved with the seasons, still keeping in touch with all our sacred places. We also moved to have ceremonies or to trade. It's as important [a] part of our culture as the rest; everything ties in together.   (Survey no. 38)

For this respondent, the importance of mobility derived from its traditional value, to which he had been exposed during his childhood:

> Because I was reared up like that, our people moved when food got scarce before European inhabitants. I grew up with my grandmother this way.

Another respondent offered similar reflections on the links between contemporary and pre-contact movement:

> A lot of mobility is linked to trade routes. A lot of fellows from Enngonia are moving to Bre [Brewarrina] to pick up their partners. Grandchildren are doing what grandparents did. Badjeti people are marrying Murrawari still. Bre was a big meeting place for tribes – this is still the case. Lots of people come to Bre to find out who their relations are. Marry outside of circle – go to another place to marry someone you're not related to.   (Survey no. 183)

Several respondents attributed multi-local place affiliation to traditional patterns of movement:

> It's a natural, we always moved even in the old days; we moved with the seasons. Because we moved around a lot and got attached to more places it feels like I have many homes.   (Survey no. 136)

> Culturally our people moved over this region rather than one specific area. For us to stay in one place, like a town for example, is not so natural, because we see the whole area or country as our home, this means we tend to travel usually to where our relatives are.   (Survey no. 155)

To some extent, the links between traditional and contemporary movement echo the findings of Young and Doohan (1989) and Altman (1987) (see Section 3.4.2) in that mobility is characterised by the interaction of elements of pre-contact and post-contact life; however, there is a less collective flavour to this continuity in the present study area than in the Northern Territory settings described by these authors. The movement patterns described by the current survey respondents are more complex, varied and individualistic.

More detailed discussion of the relationship between traditional and contemporary movement patterns was obtained from the original eight interviewees. In general, though, knowledge of traditional mobility is vague at best and, for several survey respondents and interview participants, descriptions of traditional mobility revolved around life on the Government stations and labour mobility for pastoral work. Two interview participants identified 'traditional' with their parents' or grandparents' generation, and a third equated traditional movement paths to those arising from the moves forced on Aboriginal people by the APB and AWB last century.

Of the four interview participants whose understanding of the idea of 'traditional mobility' related to the time before European colonisation, three appeared to have some specific knowledge of traditional mobility, and a fourth observed that her people's movement was 'just over their country generally'. Ursula identified her people as 'nomads', and their movement paths as 'up and down the river – Pooncarie to Menindee to Wilcannia'. When asked to explain her understanding of 'nomad', she described in some detail a process of purposeful movement intended to conserve resources. Movement for resource conservation was intimately connected with totemic identity:

> Well, it depended on the abundance of food. They – with the Paakantji tribe that I belong to, our totem was the grey kangaroo and we protected the grey kangaroo – we weren't allowed to eat it. Red one and blue one, yes, but not the grey one ...they only took what they really needed. And they just moved on to ... if there

was an area where they had plenty of maybe fish or different food they'd move to that area and they'd get what they want and then they'd move on ...

Ursula noted parallels between traditional and contemporary mobility, but more in terms of the fact that Aboriginal people continue to move rather than that the actual routes travelled are those travelled in past times. Steve, living in the north of the study area, also noted that traditional mobility was along the river. He related the traditional patterns to his own movement and seemed to feel that his personal mobility was determined by the traditional patterns:

> ... I've been around to Walgett, Lightning Ridge, Goodooga, Enngonia, Bourke, Bre, Wilcannia, sort of mainly along that way, and they said that the – there was a line that all Aboriginal travelled, along the river, that's all that mob, just straight out from there. So that's that – that's the only line I could travel.

Nerida, a Badjeti woman who also claimed specific knowledge of traditional mobility, observed that the rivers were both boundaries and transit routes, and people followed the rivers firstly, then the waterholes. Her people identify with the river first, then with their town.

There is, then, an awareness among at least some of the residents of the study area of traditional movement patterns, although the extent to which these constrain or encourage contemporary mobility is variable. The eight interview participants were asked whether traditional language group boundaries were a barrier to movement. It was generally agreed that traditional boundaries do not inhibit movement; however, five of the eight interview participants had a sense of crossing boundaries, and felt more comfortable travelling within the land they defined as their own country. Ursula was aware of crossing boundaries and, while she did not see this as an impediment to movement, feels that boundaries should constrain behaviour – for example, people should not speak in meetings or hunt on other groups' countries. She did feel, however, that awareness is generally decreasing in the broader Aboriginal community. Kirsty's view was that people think of where their country is when moving around, and that people who don't know where the boundaries of their country are look for them as they travel – as they try to come home. Steve did not believe that people are aware of crossing physical boundaries but was aware of being in his own Paakantji country once beyond Louth, on his way to Wilcannia. Nerida had a

sense of belonging and needing to be on her own country. When travelling, she recognised the point at which she was home. Katie agreed that the traditional boundaries present no impediment to movement, but could sense them when she travelled, and was acutely aware of being in other people's country. She experienced this as a feeling of reduced comfort, different atmosphere and different spirit.

Among the survey respondents, the question of traditional boundaries *vis à vis* travel was not asked; however, several respondents provided minutely detailed descriptions of the boundaries of their country, and one respondent noted that 'all people should have freedom to travel within their traditional country' (survey no. 173). It is not evident from this comment whether the respondent perceived freedom to move within his country as being constrained (this is possible, since he was removed from his country by the APB), or whether he understood traditional boundaries to be a barrier.

10.2.2   The impact of APB and AWB policy

The history of forced relocation of Aboriginal people in the study area from the 1920s through to 1950 was recounted in detail in Section 5.5.5. Many of the survey respondents and interview participants revealed place attachments (or antipathies) and movement paths strongly influenced by the compulsions and constraints imposed by the APB and AWB. In several cases, the informant was unaware of the involvement of the APB or AWB, yet the locales in his or her mobility history, combined with information about ancestry, suggested that the informant's family had either been forcibly moved or had relocated voluntarily to be close to relatives who had been moved.

Mapping of aggregate mobility histories for all survey respondents who have, at some time in their adult life, moved beyond their locality of current residence is shown in Figure 10.1. The maps reflect the ongoing connection, where it exists, between current places of residence and localities with which associations have been forged as a consequence of the application of protection or assimilation policy. There are a number of distinct circulation patterns or, as Beckett expressed it, 'beats' evident in the mobility histories collected in the course of

Figure 10.1: Schematic Representation of Movement Paths.
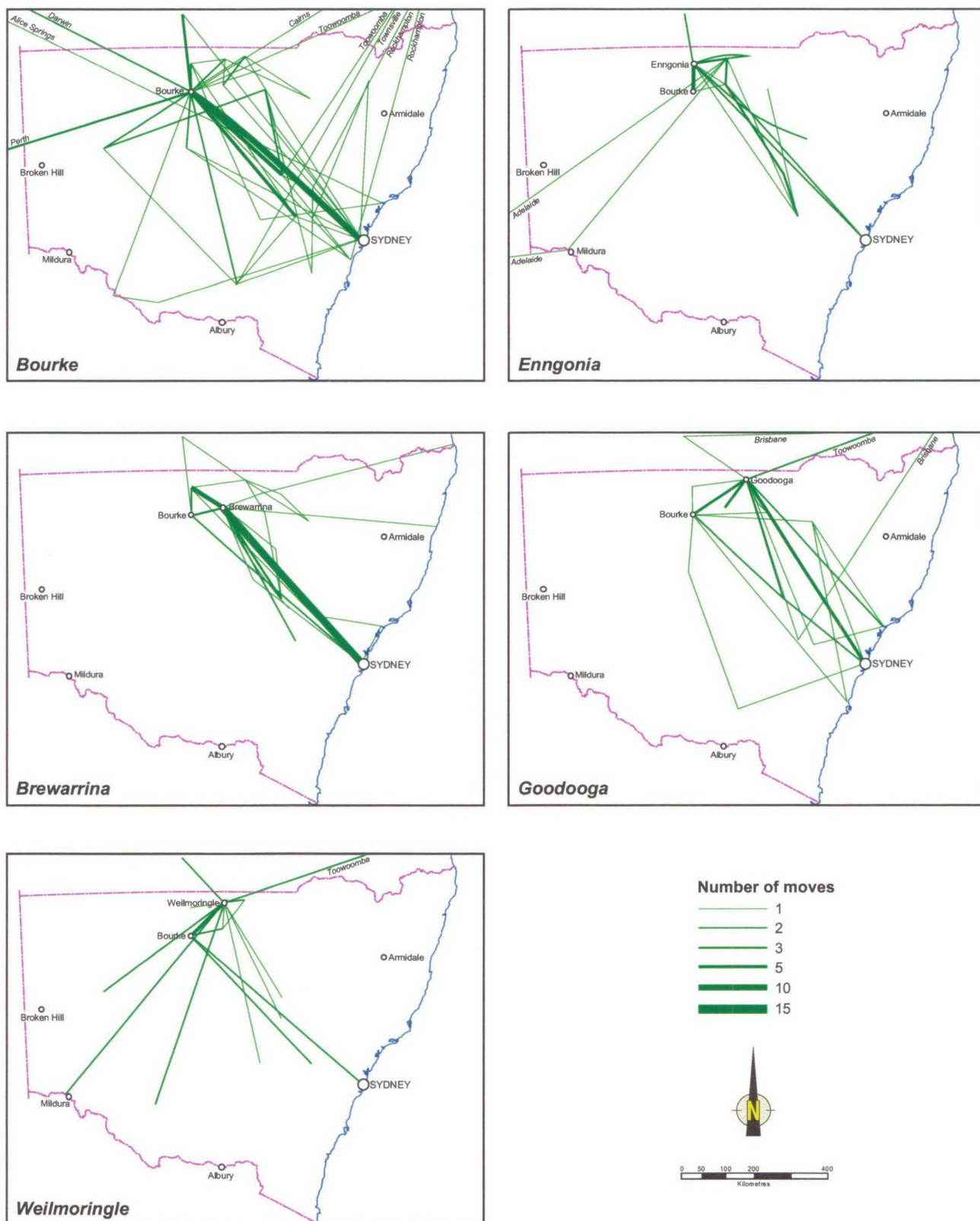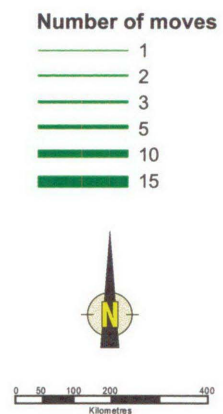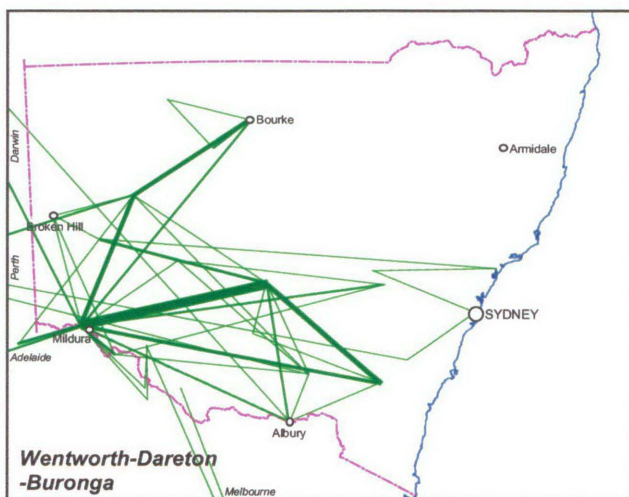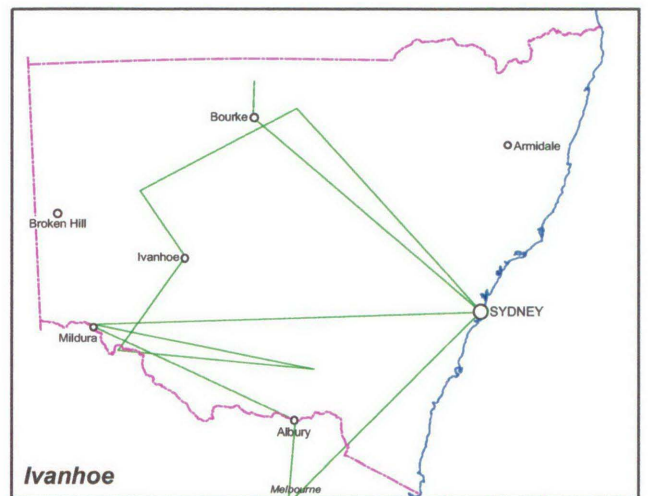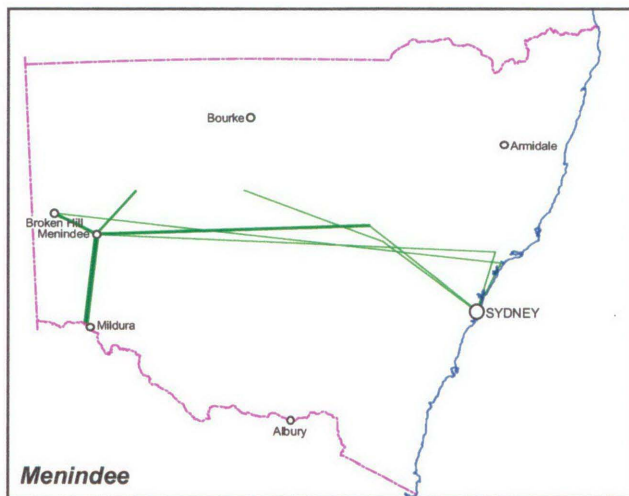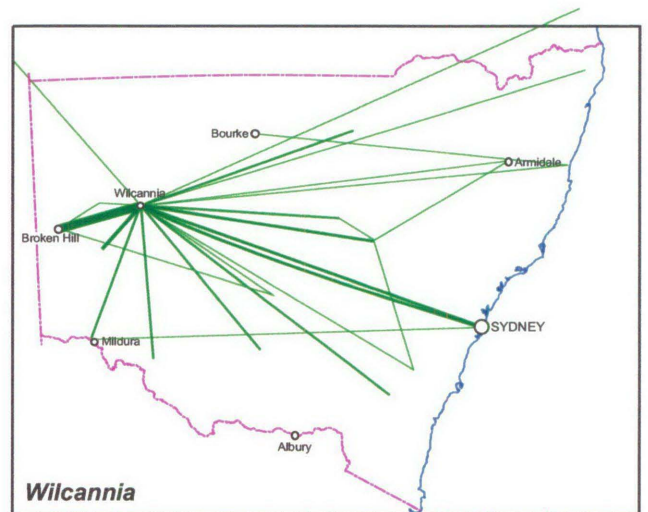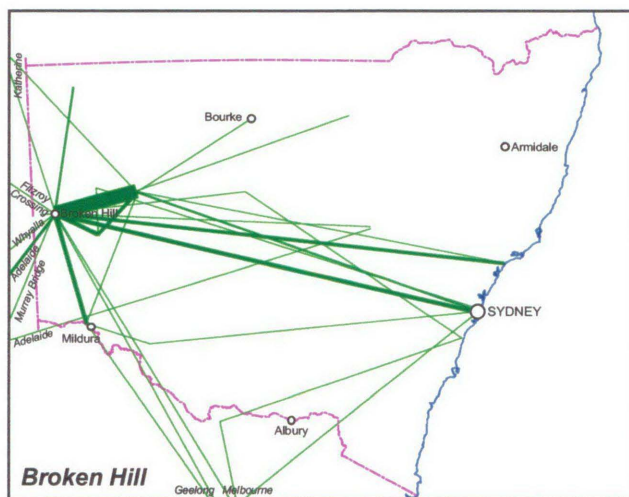
Figure 10.1 (Continued): Schematic Representation of Movement Paths.

the survey and interviews which reflect a combination of traditional associations, forced or coerced migrations and other, more recent associations. This section discusses the spatial effects of the forced moves[2]; the later influences on mobility are discussed in subsequent sections.

Brewarrina Mission

Fifteen survey respondents and two interview participants indicated that they or their families had been forcibly moved to Brewarrina Mission. Four of these were people of Wangkumara descent with links to Tibooburra; eight respondents indicated that they or their family had been relocated from Angledool, and others had been moved from Wanaaring, Goodooga or Weilmoringle, or from some unknown point of origin.

The mobility histories of these respondents varied markedly. The respondents with links to Tibooburra were living at Enngonia, Weilmoringle and Dareton (2) at the time of the survey. Only one of these respondents had himself been moved, as a small child, and his family left Brewarrina soon after their arrival to continue an independently mobile lifestyle associated with rural contracting. Two had been reared in Bourke, and had been relatively mobile throughout western NSW and beyond as adults. The fourth had been born in Dirranbandi and reared in Weilmoringle, Enngonia and Forbes. His family was relocated from Enngonia to Newcastle by the AFVRS. His mobility history was incomplete but indicated that after a two year spell in prison, he had spent the last seven or so years shearing around Brewarrina, Weilmoringle, Goodooga and Enngonia. It is interesting that none of the five Wangkumara respondents living in Bourke (four respondents) and Broken Hill (one) were aware of their history of forced mobility, given that Bourke has a noticeable Wangkumara identity. Most of these people were aware of their links with Tibooburra: "My mother was born in Brewarrina and we belong to the Tibooburra people" (survey no. 63), but there was no memory of the relocation.

Eight survey respondents indicated that they or their family had been relocated from Angledool, and others had been moved from Wanaaring, Goodooga or Weilmoringle, or from some unknown point of origin. Those removed from

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[2] The eight survey respondents not resident in the study area are included in this discussion.

Angledool were living at Bourke (one respondent), Brewarrina (four) and Goodooga (three) at the time of the survey. Two of the Angledool people had had relatively mobile histories but the mobility histories of the other six showed a striking degree of sedentariness. Three of the four Brewarrina residents had lived in Brewarrina all their adult lives. Two of these respondents had been born at Angledool. The three Angledool people living at Goodooga had lived there all their lives, with the exception of one who had worked as a housemaid in Sydney for two years, in the early 1950s. It is possible that this period of service may have been mandated by the AWB, under the 'apprenticeship' system.

There are no reports in the published literature of forced moves to Brewarrina Mission other than those discussed in Section 5.5.5. Nonetheless, three respondents reported their families having been forcibly moved from the Goodooga area (possibly Angledool), Weilmoringle and Wanaaring. The circumstances of these moves were not disclosed. These respondents were living in Goodooga, Brewarrina and Bourke, respectively, at the time of the survey.

The mobility histories of those who reported historical forced moves do not contain any evidence of links with the places of origin of those moves. Return to Angledool was not an option for those who had been removed from there as the dwellings had been burned and the reserve revoked, and no town housing exists. Tibooburra had an Aboriginal population for many years after the abolition of the AWB but these people were not related to the Wangkumara people who were removed to Brewarrina. Following the withdrawal of the Roads and Traffic Authority depot, the primary source of employment in the area, these people moved to Broken Hill. Continuing attachments to Brewarrina, and to Bourke, where many of the Wangkumara settled, are evident in the mobility histories.

Menindee Mission and Murrin Bridge

Twenty-one survey respondents reported that they or their families had been relocated to Menindee Mission. Of these, sixteen reported a move from Pooncarie and five from Carowra Tank. Three of the Carowra Tank respondents

and nine of the Pooncarie respondents, as well as two from Menindee itself, reported a subsequent move to Murrin Bridge. Sixteen of those who reported removal to Menindee were resident in the Dareton/Wentworth area, or Mildura, on the opposite bank of the Murray River, at the time of the survey. The other five respondents were at Menindee (one respondent), Wilcannia (one), Lake Cargelligo (two) and Wagga Wagga (one).

Unlike most of those who had been removed from Angledool to Brewarrina, the respondents who had associations with Menindee Mission and Murrin Bridge tended to have relatively extensive mobility patterns, and this may be a result of the comparative ease with which these people were able to return to their own country. Beckett (1965:13) reported that, when the Menindee station was transferred to Murrin Bridge, '... while most of the Carowra Tank people were content to "go with the mission", most of the Darling River people were not, preferring to live independently at Menindee or joining their countrymen in Wilcannia'. The survey responses obtained at Dareton suggest, however, that there was a substantial Paakantji contingent at Murrin Bridge who subsequently moved to Dareton, which is as close to Pooncarie as it is practically possible to obtain social housing. Mobility patterns linking Dareton and, to a lesser extent, Menindee and Wilcannia with Murrin Bridge are readily discernible in the mobility histories, and are discussed further in Section 10.3.5.

The legacy

The forced relocation of Aboriginal people in western NSW has left a legacy of resentment and displacement which has contributed to the establishment of ongoing patterns of spatial behaviour. Ursula could not remain at Murrin Bridge because of her strong attachment to the idea of traditional country, and this kept her mobile:

> I never ever felt that I belonged in Murrin Bridge. And I never even want to go back, even though my mum and dad and my son is buried there and all my family. I never ever want to go back there. It's hard for me to go back there because it's not my country. I mean, I feel like an intruder.

For others, though, Murrin Bridge became home, and remains a key node in their movement paths. Those who were moved to Brewarrina, too, bear an intense sense of resentment about having been forcibly moved:

> We lived in Angledool and were forced to move to the Brewarrina Mission. We were forced to move from where we were born to a place that we knew nothing about and are still bitter about this ... moved by government at gun point.
>
> (Survey no. 174)

Nonetheless, this respondent has remained at Brewarrina all his adult life, even though he has never come to see it as home.

The mobility of families other than those which were forcibly moved has also been influenced by the relocations. Some families not under the control of the APB or AWB chose to engage in chain migration to enable them to be with their relatives. An example is the story of Eddie, another of the interview participants. Eddie's family was living in Menindee when he was born at Broken Hill Hospital, the nearest hospital to Menindee. His mother had been born at Menindee Mission, but his paternal grandparents, who were independent, had voluntarily followed family members forcibly moved to Menindee Mission in 1933 from Carowra Tank, and later bought a block of land at Menindee. This independent chain migration may account for associations of some of the respondents who indicated no history of forced mobility with localities where the APB and AWB maintained government stations.

10.2.3   The Aboriginal Families Voluntary Resettlement Scheme

The history of the AFVRS is discussed in Section 5.5.6. Nine survey respondents and one interview participant reported that they or their family had been relocated under the AFVRS. A further fifty-two survey respondents were unsure whether or not their family had been relocated. Of the survey respondents, five reported that all or part of their family had been relocated from Bourke or Enngonia to Newcastle, three to Wagga Wagga from Broken Hill, Condobolin or Coonamble and one to Albury from Wilcannia. For all of these nine respondents, the link with the AFVRS destination centres appears to have been a transitory one. With one exception, the resettlement centres do not

feature at all in the adult mobility histories. The exception is the respondent whose family was relocated from Coonamble to Wagga Wagga, and who spent one year in Wagga Wagga for education reasons after a period in Wilcannia.

The recollection of Ian, one of the interview participants, illustrates how the resettlement process began and ended for at least one of the participants.

> Well, I settled down there then – done some fencing round there, and worked on stations ... we looked after place there for about couple of years – Wanaaring. And this old whitefella bloke come along, he asked me would I like to go to Newcastle ... And I said yeah, so he took us down to ... 'cause I had all my kids then, only Stephen wasn't born then. Yeah, we all came down to Newcastle. Stephen was born down in Newcastle. He's the last one. It worked out all right – I worked on the railway there for about 2 years and then when that finished, I got a job at the cotton mills then, I worked there for seven or eight years, I s'pose ... must have been there for ten years, I s'pose – cause all the kids were growing up and getting big when I came back here. ... I   came   straight   back   here   then. Well, my work ran out at the cotton mill – the cotton mill was closing down, then. We were only getting two, three days a week. And the bloke wouldn't drop my rent down unless I filled out a form and sent it in. Some days I'll do three days, some days I'll do a week, and some weeks –. I had to keep filling in the form every time I'd do that, so I got sick of it, I said 'no, I'll chuck it in and go home, so I had a car and a trailer then, station wagon and a trailer, so I said for Mum to come up, she come up in a car, load some of my stuff on, we came back down here.

This was the end of Ian's association with Newcastle. He returned to Dareton, where his family were, and remained there permanently. The literature suggests that Ian's experience was typical. Morgan (1999:6) noted that the promised job opportunities used to motivate participation in the AFVRS were disappearing by the mid 1970s, as a consequence of recession and economic restructuring, and reported that 'the scheme wound up in the early 1980s when it was found to be not meeting its objectives'. The mobility histories in general show, though, that movement paths continue to include the resettlement centres. It may be that some of the resettled families remained in these centres, and that they represent kin locations for extended family living in the study area, but follow-up of the AFVRS participants did not survive the cessation of the scheme, so information on the long-term influence on settlement patterns is not available.

10.2.4 Social and economic change

As Chapter 5 discussed, Beckett's 1950s fieldwork illustrated the spatial extent of kinship ties of Aboriginal people living in Wilcannia and Murrin Bridge which had resulted, at least in part, from the APB and AWB forced moves. He predicted that the 'beat' within which Aboriginal people could travel, defined by the location of kin who would provide hospitality, would increase in range as marriages were contracted by successive generations in compliance with the traditional prohibition on consanguineal relationships. At the time, he provided an hypothetical example of a Murrin Bridge resident with kin located at Mildura, Wilcannia, Hillston, Griffith and Condobolin, and affines located at Wilcannia, Bourke, the Lower Darling and Murrin Bridge. He noted that nobody at the time had 'kin so widely dispersed as the offspring' of the hypothetical resident (Beckett 1965:20). Evidence from the interviews and the survey indicates that Beckett's prediction has become reality for many people. The survey data indicate connections through localities well beyond those where Beckett's hypothetical Murrin Bridge resident had family. It seems, though, that there are many factors involved in this increase in the range of the 'beat' other than the search for suitable marriage partners. It seems also that locations of kin are not necessarily the constraint that that they once were on movement.

Within ten years of Beckett's fieldwork in the 1950s, the institutional constraints on movement which applied at that time had ceased to exist. With the abolition of the AWB, Aboriginal people's freedom to move was no longer subject to overt, direct bureaucratic interference. The AFVRS was put in place subsequent to this and served to extend the range of movement of Aboriginal people living in the study area, whether by increasing the possible locations where kin were to be found or simply by enabling the development of familiarity with larger and more distant centres.

The regional economy has changed radically since Beckett's fieldwork, and this has contributed to change in movement patterns, but also in the reasons for mobility. The surveys and interviews reveal a profound intergenerational change between the employment-related movement undertaken by the older

generations in their youth and the mobility of those now of working age. The accounts of the mobility of George Dutton, Myles Lalor, Walter Newton, Eliza Kennedy, Evelyn Crawford and others paint a vivid picture of itinerant families moving both for and in the course of employment in rural industry from the earliest decades of the twentieth century through to the 1960s (Beckett 1958; Crawford & Walsh 1993; Kennedy & Donaldson 1982; Lalor & Beckett 2000). The interviews and surveys undertaken in the course of the current study both echo the mobility patterns in the published works and illustrate just how much life has changed. Six of the eight interview participants recalled a permanent, independent if, for some, itinerant pastoral life which, except in the cases of seasonal fruit picking and, to a lesser extent, shearing, has almost disappeared. Kath's father, Ian's parents and then Ian himself, Katie's father, Eddie's paternal grandparents, Steve's legal father and Nerida's father all either worked on pastoral properties or were independent rural contractors undertaking work such as droving or fencing. For some families, such a lifestyle often resulted in long periods of separation for parents as the father continued to live and work on the property and the mother reared the family in the nearest town; other families lived together on the property at least until the need to educate children arose.

The mode of transport available influenced the way in which a family's working life proceeded in the days before ownership of private motor cars became common. Kath's father was a drover for a while, and she has memories of the family, which included thirteen children, travelling from Marfield to Balranald, and later, to Ivanhoe, by horse and cart. Her father needed three equipages to transport the whole family. The advent of the car saw movement become much easier for those who could afford one, but the survey showed that access to transport is still a constraint on the mobility of many people in the study area.

The working life of Ian, who was in his sixties at the time of his interview, illustrates the changes in mobility which occurred over the course of the twentieth century. At the age of twelve or thirteen, Ian moved to Wilcannia from Dareton to stay with his grandmother. His mother remained in Dareton. Ian recalled that it was not unusual for Aboriginal people to be independently mobile in their early teens. He left school at fourteen and went droving with his uncle to the stations around Wilcannia, then went fencing with his mother and

stepfather around Wilcannia and White Cliffs. At sixteen, Ian joined a man who had come along with a team of horses and travelled to northern Victoria, where he spent the next eight years working around Swan Hill, Shepparton and Moulamein. In 1960, he moved to Menindee to work on the Menindee Lakes project but found there was no work so drifted back to Wilcannia, where he was put in gaol. After his release, the police took him to Broken Hill, and he travelled on the mail coach to Tibooburra, where his parents were living by that time. From Tibooburra he moved to Wanaaring with a fencing contractor, where he married. After his marriage and the birth of his daughter, Ian settled in Wanaaring, until he was moved by the AFVRS to Newcastle (see Section 10.2.4). His move back to Dareton was primarily housing related; his inability to pay rent in Newcastle arose from the change in his labour force status. Ian stayed with his mother for a period, then moved to Namatjira Avenue, the former reserve on the outskirts of the town, in the early 1980s. Ian remained at Namatjira Avenue from that point onwards, with no further labour-related mobility.

The early mobility patterns of the older women respondents were shaped by their husbands' employment. For instance, some of the younger respondents remember their parents' mobility but were excluded to some extent because of the need to obtain an education. Nerida, one of the interviewees aged in her thirties and living in Enngonia at the time of the survey, is a good example. She was born in Brewarrina, at a time when her father was working on a nearby station. Her childhood was spent living in Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle but mainly at Enngonia. Her father lived and worked on properties and moved when the work finished and her mother moved between Enngonia and Weilmoringle. Nerida always wanted to stay in Enngonia, and would be sent back by her parents to stay with her aunt and uncle so, while her parents were itinerant, Nerida spent most of her childhood in Enngonia, and went to school there until the end of primary school.

The world of rural contracting Ian left to move to Newcastle no longer existed on his return. Katie, too, noted that there has historically been a lot of labour mobility from Weilmoringle: people went to Bourke for shed work, but this has ceased with increasing levels of unemployment in pastoral industry, because "a lot of people in Weilmoringle haven't had the education to do ... jobs ... other

than being a station hand, shed hand or shearer". The current state of play in relation to access to employment is discussed in Section 10.5.2.

10.3 Contemporary movement patterns

10.3.1   Introduction

The mapping in Figure 10.1 shows a multiplicity of movement paths focussed on a number of nodes. Among these tangles of paths are a number of distinct beats (cf Beckett 1965) which are relatively heavily trafficked. In this section, the four beats with the greatest migrant flows are selected and discussed, with a view not only to describing spatial patterns of movement but, also, to developing a typology of mobility, in response to one of the research questions articulated in Section 1.1.

The beats selected for examination are:
◊   the north-western NSW–Dubbo–Orange–Sydney-Newcastle-Wollongong beat;
◊   the   Bourke–Brewarrina–Goodooga–Weilmoringle–Enngonia–Cunnamulla beat;
◊   the Wilcannia–Broken Hill beat; and
◊   the Murrin Bridge–Dareton–Canberra beat.

Movement through each beat (some of which are more or less linear) consists of flows and counterflows which may be motivated by differing factors. Each of these beats is associated with secondary, lower-traffic circulation patterns. The selection of the four beats is not intended to indicate that other patterns of circulation are of lesser importance.

10.3.2   North-western NSW–Dubbo–Orange–Sydney–Newcastle–Wollongong

The survey recorded numerous instances of movement between Bourke, Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle or Enngonia and one or more major centres to the south-east. Most respondents who had moved to Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong, Dubbo or Orange had returned permanently to their home town at the time of the survey but others had established patterns of

oscillation between a regional or metropolitan centre and a locality in the study area.

The reasons provided for movement to these larger centres are generally related to employment, education or lifestyle. Here are a sample of the reasons stated: 'better living' (Dubbo), 'the kids wanted to play sports' (Newcastle), 'for school reason' (Sydney), 'to better my lifestyle' (Dubbo), 'educational reasons' (Bathurst), 'work' (Sydney, Dubbo, Orange, Wollongong), 'because there's nothing here - when I get bored here I like to move around' (repeat mobility between Bourke and Orange). The reasons for counter-migration are almost all family-, home- or upbringing-related: 'I was born here' (Bourke), 'my partner moved' (Bourke), 'wanted to return home' (Enngonia and Bourke), 'my husband wanted to move home' (Goodooga), 'family' (Goodooga, Enngonia, Bourke), or else relate to the availability of a house in the respondent's home town (which suggests that there may have been some housing-related consideration in the decision to move away, too).

Respondents were generally more expansive when discussing the relative merits of the place they saw as home compared with the locality they considered the best place to live. Attributes of home, where most of these respondents were living at the time of the survey, revolved around family, upbringing and traditional country, whereas the best places to live, often, for these respondents, the regional or metropolitan centres where they had lived, were viewed favourably because of the availability of affordable, accessible services and a measure of excitement not available at home. For a few respondents, the major centres were also seen as home, but this depended upon the presence of family. Here are a few examples:

◊ Bourke is home because of 'family and friends' but Orange is the best place to live because 'it's a great place for schools, good night life, it's great for shopping' (survey no. 93).

◊ Goodooga is home because of 'my family' but Dubbo is the best place to live because 'available of everything' (survey no. 157).

◊ Brewarrina is home because it is 'where I grew up, where my parents stayed – that's why it'll always be home'. but Newcastle is the best place to live because the respondent 'just like[s] the people, it's a city but not a city, big

country town. Size, sense of community, know my way around' (survey no. 92).

◊ Bourke is home because 'it's the grass roots. I was born and bred here'. Wollongong is the best place to live because 'everything's available – doctors, etc.' (survey no. 70).

It seems likely that the AFVRS sparked an appreciation of the possibilities of independent movement between north-western NSW localities and the urban centres. There is certainly evidence of continued migration between these more remote localities and the AFVRS centres of Newcastle and Orange. These responses provide some evidence for the process of urbanisation discussed in Chapter 3, but also support the finding of a substantial counter-flow and, generally, support Gray's (1989:133) assertion that, far from there being a distinct class of 'urban Aboriginal', the same Aboriginal people may be urban or rural dwellers at different periods in their lives.

10.3.3 Bourke–Brewarrina–Goodooga–Weilmoringle–Enngonia–Cunnamulla

A number of survey respondents have mobility histories which include, or in some cases consist solely of, moves among some or all of these localities. Typically, these people identify as Murrawari, Kunja, or Badjeti, either singly or in combination. Circulation patterns incorporating these localities tend to date from childhood. Typical lists of the places where this group of respondents lived as school age children include: Goodooga, Weilmoringle–Enngonia, Weilmoringle–Enngonia–Dubbo, Weilmoringle–Enngonia–Goodooga–Brewarrina–Bungendore–Forbes–Newcastle–Sydney, Enngonia–Bourke and a number of other permutations. Katie's story would be typical of the mobility patterns of these respondents:

> I certainly do remember living at Orana. It was wide open spaces and my father was working there as one of the stockmen and my mother was looking after us there. From there, there was Kylie my eldest sister; she's two years older than what I am and then Mum had Winnie and – 1955 – and she was only a baby when we had to move to Brewarrina so that she could be near the doctor 'cause she was a little sickly child. So we stayed in Brewarrina till I was about – must have been about 8 or 9, I think. After my father died ... we moved from there to Goodooga,

and we stayed in Goodooga there, went to school. I don't know really why we didn't come back out to Weilmoringle, because my mother's parents and my mother's sisters and brothers were out here, but we moved onto Goodooga ... I think she had special nieces and cousins up there ... after that, then I was 15 and my mum wanted to move back to Weilmoringle, so we came back to Weilmoringle and I've been here ever since.

These patterns of mobility have continued into adulthood in a number of cases, interspersed for some respondents with periods of residence in other localities. The main factors which motivate mobility among these localities are the presence of family, attachment to traditional country, familiarity with places of upbringing, the availability of pastoral employment, and access to services such as health care at the scale not provided at the smaller population centres. Approximately half of the residents of Weilmoringle are Murrawari traditional owners. Most of the other residents are Kunja, who migrated from southern Queensland when the larger properties were broken up in the 1930s. Enngonia is home mainly to Badjeti people, who moved in similar circumstances in the 1930s to escape the draconian provisions of the Queensland *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* and to obtain an education for their children, but it is Murrawari country and some of the residents are also Murrawari. Goodooga is in Yuwalaraay country but also has a substantial Murrawari population, and sectors of the Aboriginal populations of Brewarrina and Bourke are also Murrawari, Badjeti or Kunja. Many of the Murrawari people, particularly those living on their own country, maintain and pass on cultural practices and knowledge associated with country. The Kunja and Badjeti families are related to families resident in Cunnamulla. The presence of family in all of these localities, as well as nostalgia for childhood, contribute to the maintenance of circulation.

10.3.4   Wilcannia–Broken Hill

Broken Hill is the largest urban centre in the study area, with a population of approximately 20,000. There has been a substantial flow of migrants from Wilcannia and, to a lesser extent, Menindee, to Broken Hill. Wilcannia is two hours by road from Broken Hill. Menindee, at one hour away, is close enough to commute, for those who work in Broken Hill, but Wilcannia is not, and this

could account in part for the difference in the level of residential mobility between the smaller towns and Broken Hill.

Reasons for moves from Wilcannia to Broken Hill largely relate to access to employment and services, but boredom is also a motivating factor, as is conflict. Some of the reasons offered include: 'for a change', 'medical reasons (son)', 'for work', 'for grandson's health', 'change of scenery', 'get away from trouble', 'getting in trouble', 'pregnant so I moved to Broken Hill', 'got job in NPWS [National Parks and Wildlife Service]', 'for TAFE', 'change', and 'went for excitement'. The surveys indicated that there is a pattern of return migration, and some respondents indicated a pattern of repeat movement between the two localities. Reasons for return mobility include: 'went home', 'be with family', 'TAFE course finished', family illness, and obtaining the support of family in hard times. As with the respondents who had moved from north-western NSW to a larger centre, Wilcannia has remained home for each of the respondents who migrated to Broken Hill, because of the presence of family, cultural ties and memories of childhood. Most of these respondents, though, also saw Broken Hill as home, again because of the presence of family and because of lengthy association with the place.

10.3.5   *Murrin Bridge–Dareton–Canberra*

The survey recorded a consistent pattern of migration, stepwise for some respondents, between Murrin Bridge and Dareton. The establishment of an Aboriginal population in Dareton and surrounding localities appears to be a post-World War II phenomenon. Ian's recollections of Dareton in the mid-1940s are as follows:

> Since I first came here ... during the winter, there was no-one down here, no Aboriginal people ... One Aboriginal people used to live at Buronga ... they used to live there and I used to meet him every weekend and we'd go into Mildura from the bus ... visit for the weekend. He's the only mate I had down here then. Then picking time they'd all come back down here, and a lot of them got hooked up with people from Wilcannia, people from Menindee got hooked up with the Condobolin mob and – they all sort of settled down down here and most of them married down here.

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The 'Condobolin mob' Ian referred to may be Paakantji people who moved from Murrin Bridge. The routes by which these people made their way to Dareton were, for a number of respondents, quite circuitous, taking the form either of a single, sometimes stepwise migration from Murrin Bridge to Dareton, or an ongoing circulation process (see, for example, Eric's story in Section 8.7.2).

Perhaps the most extreme example of the stepwise migration process is that of Ursula, one of the interview participants. Ursula's mother had been moved from Pooncarie, and her parents were living at the Murrin Bridge government station at the time of her birth in Lake Cargelligo, the nearest town. Ursula lived at Murrin Bridge until she left school at sixteen, then she moved into Lake Cargelligo, then to Swan Hill, in northern Victoria, where she stayed with relatives for about six months, and then back to Murrin Bridge, where she rented a house and worked at the pre-school for about two years. Then, she moved back into Lake Cargelligo, doing domestic work at the hotel. Ursula married a construction worker while living in Lake Cargelligo, and because of her husband's work, the couple became extremely mobile, living mostly in caravans in over twenty locations in NSW, Western Australia and the Northern Territory over a period of a few years. Ursula found constant movement isolating, but the alternative to movement was the prospect of life in Murrin Bridge, and her antipathy to the reserve where she grew up appears to have been a strong motivating factor, but she was also motivated by the idea that she might ultimately find the place where she belonged:

> I think all the time we were moving I was looking for that place ... where I could – I enjoyed the place but I couldn't wait to move on because I know I didn't belong there ... That's why I enjoyed it, too, because I know I wasn't going to stay there, and I didn't find that place I wanted to settle down in.

After the breakdown of her marriage and the subsequent death of her husband, Ursula moved to Dareton to be with her children and finally found a sense of belonging to place that she had searched for all her adult life. Since her interview, she has purchased land at Pooncarie where she intends to move permanently.

I never felt at home; there was something missing. I always had a longing to be somewhere else. And when I came back here I knew that this was where I wanted to be. Because this is my mother's country.

For at least one of those who moved from Murrin Bridge to Dareton, then, the motivation was return to country and, for Ursula, the craving for country was more intense than the need to maintain personal relationships: 'roots are stronger than branches'. Most respondents, though, identified family as the main reason for their migration to Dareton. A number of these respondents also have links to family in Canberra, which features in some of the mobility histories, as do Albury and Wagga Wagga, two of the resettlement centres.

10.3.6   A typology of mobility

It is possible to categorise the moves associated with these beats according to pattern, purpose and the character of the relationships between the movers and the nodes of the beats. A typology developed as a result of examination of these circulation patterns is as follows:

◊ *Movement for opportunity.* This would characterise the type of moves undertaken between the smaller north-western localities and Sydney, Dubbo, Orange, Newcastle and Wollongong, as well as much of the mobility between Wilcannia and Broken Hill. Those who move for opportunity are doing so for economic reasons: to gain access to employment, services and facilities such as education and health providers, more affordable goods, or lifestyle benefits.

◊ *Movement to be with family.* Family is central to return mobility from the larger regional centres, as well as circulation among smaller centres such as the Bourke–Brewarrina–Goodooga–Weilmoringle–Enngonia–Cunnamulla beat, and to many of the Murrin Bridge people.

◊ *Movement back to country.* The movement of at least some of the Murrin Bridge residents is related to country as much as, if not more than, family. Although movement to traditional country was rarely offered as the substantive reason for a move, examination of the characteristics that defined 'home' indicated that this was a factor in movement, particularly in relation to circulation between the smaller locations, and to return movement to Wilcannia.

◊ *Childhood mobility.* For a number of respondents who moved between Bourke, Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle and Enngonia, patterns of mobility established in childhood appear to have continued to shape spatial behaviour into adulthood.

The intention in developing a typology of mobility is to assist understanding of the patterning of Aboriginal settlement in the study area and the modes of spatial behaviour associated with it. There are doubtless other types of mobility which could be inferred from the data, or other typologies developed. For completeness, *cultural mobility* might be added. This is not necessarily explicitly manifest in the beats described above, and is potentially more short term, but would include the movements of those who move to attend funerals and then remain in their destination location, as several respondents reported. It might also include those who move to live more traditional lifestyles, for example, those who have chosen to move to the riverbank or to a self-built dwelling to return to their roots, as with the Wilcannia respondent who had moved to the edge of town to 'go back to the old ways and spiritual upbringing … I live on the outskirts in a humpy on my own choice' (Survey 118). This type of mobility might also include shorter term mobility for gathering, hunting and visits to significant places to walk over country and pass on knowledge.

The *stayers* ought not to be forgotten in developing a typology of mobility. The more sedentary survey respondents were not asked why they had not moved, and yet there must be decision-making processes associated with staying. The survey identified a number of respondents who had remained in the one dwelling for many years, as well as those who had moved house within the one locality but not moved beyond it. The interviews and surveys show that the ability to move is still important to them; however, they appear to be able to meet their needs through short-term movement rather than by moving residence, in contrast to the 'opportunity' movers, whose motives would have little relevance for the stayers. Katie's mobility illustrates this point. Having lived at Weilmoringle all her adult life, and worked on local properties and, after blocks of training at Sydney University, as an Aboriginal Education Assistant at the school, her current mobility consists of visits to her country around Weilmoringle for cultural purposes, and more short-term pragmatic movement

around the region and beyond, for periods of up to one and a half weeks, for social purposes:

> We go to Lightning Ridge to do our shopping and we ... have a whole day out and we go to the club and ... we go to the swimming pool in the summer ... then we go to Brewarrina – wherever there's bingo on, we go to that place wherever they're having bingo, if they're having bingo in Goodooga we'd go to Goodooga for bingo or Brewarrina for bingo or wherever – Enngonia, we'd go there sometimes ... they're only day trips. I went to Alice Springs once for a conference for five days and ... usually go on Land Council meetings – if they're ... two days or one day they have it in Lightning Ridge, Goodooga, Baradine ... but we went to Coffs Harbour for one with the Land Council – we had a week there ... Yeah, we like going travelling. We go to Ipswich – we went to Ipswich, we all went on a trip ... from there we went to ... Maroochydore, yes. Yes, see, if we've got a car, and we've got money for petrol, we just go for a day, anywhere.

Katie is one who feels less comfortable away from her own country:

> You feel a different sort of atmosphere, a spirit or – I don't know, it's something that's inside of you ... telling you that you're not on your own ground, that it's other people's ...

There are undoubtedly other reasons for the choices of the stayers which might be explored.

10.4 Mobility, place and identity

10.4.1   Introduction

This section examines the links between movement, place affiliation and cultural identity as evident in the survey responses and interviews.   The construction of identity, the idea of home and the cultural importance of mobility are discussed.

10.4.2   The mutability of identity

Section 7.4.2 summarised the extent of knowledge of language group identity and affiliation to country manifest in the survey sample, and it was noted that

many of the place affiliations cited by survey respondents were not traditional. The survey responses indicate that both language group identity and understanding of traditional country have been mediated by historical circumstances.

The ontological significance of place in Aboriginal society, particularly in relation to cosmology and identity, has been well documented (see, for example, Baker (1999), Berndt & Berndt (1992), Macdonald (1998a), Read (2000), Swain (1993)). Several authors make the point that tradition in Aboriginal society is not a phenomenon based in the past; that the Dreaming is ongoing, and that Aboriginal people (especially those living in 'settled' Australia) are not 'non-traditional' or 'detribalised' but are dynamically adjusting and creating tradition on an ongoing basis to deal with the impacts of colonisation (Macdonald 1998a:297-298; 2001; Stanner 1979:64; Swain 1993:279). The ways in which traditional connections with place have, seemingly, evolved as a consequence of the impacts of protection policy might be construed as evidence of this.

The survey and interview responses indicate that the places which feature in the historical narrative of dispossession have been gathered into the understanding of 'traditional country' of many of those who have historical or contemporary associations with those places. Thus, the Ngiyampaa people whose country lies between Ivanhoe and Cobar have come to regard the Darling River country, where they were moved in 1933, as also being their traditional country. In the same way, a number of Paakantji people regard Murrin Bridge, Lake Cargelligo and Condobolin as outposts of traditional country; Badjeti and Kunja people have come to regard Bourke, Brewarrina and Enngonia in the same light; Wangkumara people now identify with Bourke as well as Tibooburra; and Murrawari people, with Goodooga, Brewarrina, Bourke and some of the southern Queensland localities whence the Badjeti and Kunja came.

Related to this is the construction of language group identity around place affiliation rather than descent. An example from the interviews is that of Eddie. Eddie claimed Ngiyampaa descent patrilineally and Paakantji descent matrilineally but indicated that his maternal grandmother was born at Cumeragunja and belonged to the Yota Yota language group, and that his

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maternal grandfather, born at Condobolin, was Wiradjuri. This being the case, the interview participant's mother could not be a Paakantji woman. He observed in his interview, while stating that Menindee was his traditional country, that his paternal grandparents had moved from Carowra Tank to Menindee Mission in 1933, his paternal grandfather having originally been from Mt Manara, an area traditionally associated with the Ngiyampaa language group. Eddie himself was reared at Menindee and sees Menindee as his traditional country. An understanding of Menindee as traditional country would not be consistent with Eddie's parents' places of origin and the only possible explanation is that his Paakantji descent is a construct arising from his own attachment to the place where he grew up, and where his extended family reside. The construction of language group identity in this way is not a new phenomenon. Beckett (1978:12), writing of his informant George Dutton's early life in the 1880s, noted that Dutton's stepfather '... was a Maliangaba. George's mother had been a Wonggumara, but he himself was Bandjigali, because he was born in Bandjigali country'.

The fluidity of language group identity and affiliation to traditional country is clear from the data, and is acknowledged by a number of authors (although there appears to be spatial variation in the extent to which it is the case – see, for example, McConvell (1998) in relation to inheritance of identity and country in the Victoria River district of the Northern Territory). However, it is problematic in the context of the current policy environment, particularly in relation to the workings of the Commonwealth *Native Title Act 1993* (Macdonald 1998b) and the operations of the Indigenous Land Corporation. The requirement that continuous title be proved tends to dispossess not only those who have been forcibly removed from country but also those who moved in historical memory, but have nonetheless come to identify with the places in which they settled. Trigger (1983) argued that the traditional ownership basis for recognising claims to land is inadequate for this reason, and that Aboriginal historical associations with land, in addition to traditional knowledge of and association with land, should be considered as the basis for land claims.

10.4.3   *The meanings of home*

As the mobility histories indicate, the idea of home is a powerful influence in shaping spatial behaviour.   The characteristics of home were summarised briefly in Section 7.4.4, but the multiplicity of meanings of home is further examined here, in the light of some of the qualitative survey responses and the interviews.

Survey respondents and interview participants were asked about the possibility of having more than one home, and the responses revealed, among other things, a dichotomy for a number of respondents as to what home is. Kirsty, for example, living in Dareton but reared in Bourke, was open to the idea of bilocality in the construction of home

> Well ... I go back to Bourke now and then, and ... sort of my home is sort of here, now – this is where I prefer to be. But – oh, because I've been here for that long. It's – home now to me ... I always referred to Bourke as home, because that's where I come from. And I enjoy the time away – you know, when I do go back there, even if it's three or four weeks at a time, now and then, when I do go. But – I don't know, you sort of get the feeling too that you can't wait to get home, so ... I just guess Dareton's home now.

When asked what it is that makes a place feel like home, Kirsty argued strongly that the presence of family is the most important factor:

> I think what it's – what you achieve, and home is what you make it and – and your kids are, you know, you've got your kids with you ... you know some of them's home, some of them live nearby, so ... it's having family, yeah.

Later in the interview, though, Kirsty voiced an intense sense of belonging to Bourke, and expressed the intention to be buried there, even if she could not return there to live.

> Yeah, well when I said home here, as for Dareton's like before, I meant home because ... this is where I live. But Bourke is going to be always home to me.

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When asked whether she felt that Bourke is the place that she belongs to, Kirsty was adamant that it is. She feels a tension between ties to family and ties to country but is unable to say which are stronger, and recognises that this tension keeps her moving. It was the search for home, too, that kept Ursula mobile over many years (see Section 10.3.5).

Nerida saw the dichotomy in a different way She was adamant that Enngonia was the only place she could possibly see as home, and it was home because of personal attachment. However, there was another type of home, which was inherited:

> I call Queensland my cultural home – cultural – you know – tribal way, from my mother way. But I'll always call Enngonia home. Oh, I reckon it's right - in every Aboriginal person, you know. Like what there's a place that we call home, but – like out here, and we know a bit about our tribal background and all that there, well we call that our home too. So that's on our mother's side, been handed down for years ...

In the sense of a temporal home, Nerida stated emphatically that it was the presence of family which made a place home, but for her, the family tie *is* the tie to country:

> Always want to be back at their own place. Or – if I want to put it cultural way, back to ... your spiritual land – spiritual ways, you want to walk – over your land. So I reckon, once they move away, they'll ... always come back. In any Aboriginal community, I see that. 'Cause family tie. And I reckon, it depends on whether you're strongly on your father's side or on your mother's side – but I – I'll feel for my mother's land ...

Some of the survey respondents felt similarly about home as traditional country, and perceived home as a region rather than a single place. One respondent, living in Wilcannia, saw Dareton and Broken Hill as 'an extension of my home, being in the same area' – that is, tribal country (Survey 26), and another observed that his home was the Broken Hill region, from the Paroo to the South Australian border. This region was home because of a 'sense of belonging – connection through the land as a physical and mental thing – culture – the country itself and cultural ties with it' (Survey 88). Another

respondent had similar views to Nerida: 'When I go out to Pooncarie, nothing else matters – I don't want to leave there, I feel at peace there' (Survey 85).

For many other respondents, as with Kirsty, home is family – 'Where I am in a moment of phase in life is home, but only where my husband and children are with me' (Survey 72); 'Family is a big thing for Aboriginal people. Staying with family is the same thing as staying at home' (Survey 52); and 'Home is where family is, not a house' (Survey 135). Regardless of the attributes from which home is constructed, though, it is seen as a place to return to.

10.4.4　　Mobility as a cultural asset

At this point, the discussion returns to the quotation reproduced in Chapter 1 from Myers, who observed that mobility was 'the greatest traditional asset of an Aboriginal group and its members' (Myers 1988:148). This was expressed in the context of the desire of white society to impose geographical stasis on Aboriginal people, and the role of housing policy in attaining this desire. In this regard, it is clear from the discussion in Section 10.4.3 that mobility is, at the very least, vital if residents of the study area, many of whom are not living, and cannot live, on their own country, are to maintain connections with that country.

Neither the survey nor the interviews provided any evidence of continuing mobility for collective ceremonial purposes of the sort described by Peterson (2000), for example, in the context of initiation journeys in the contemporary Northern Territory. This type of movement took place within the study area but not, seemingly, within the last few generations. Beckett wrote of the travels of his informant, George Dutton, in the first decades of the twentieth century, and observed that, although generally related to his employment in pastoral industry, they had a dual purpose in that Dutton followed traditional routes and participated in corroborees in various South Australian and Queensland localities which were part of his extensive 'beat'. Beckett noted, though, that ceremonial activity was ceasing in New South Wales about this time: 'Dutton thought that the last *dalara*[3] ceremony had occurred in 1902 and the last *milia* in New South Wales around 1914' (Beckett 1978:18). At about the same time, the last large-scale ceremonies involving Badjeti and Kullilla were taking place

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[3] *Dalara* and *milia* were two types of initiation rite practised in western NSW.

in southern Queensland. The last gathering took place at Caiwarro station in 1913 (McKellar 1984:45).

Cultural mobility now is focussed towards different ends. As Chapter 8 indicated, only one survey respondent had indicated that the substantive reason for a recent move was cultural. This respondent, a man of Paakantji and Ngiyampaa descent aged in his late fifties or early sixties, had made a conscious decision to 'go back to the old ways' and to return to his 'spiritual upbringing' by moving to a self-built humpy on the outskirts of Wilcannia. In spatial terms, this was a local move but it appears to have been a significant move in cultural terms for this respondent. Other respondents, too, expressed a preference for a lifestyle more consistent with the 'old ways'. Two of the respondents living in Brewarrina, both of whom had been moved from Angledool in 1936 by the APB, felt that the best place to live was the riverbank at Brewarrina. This, too, is most likely the practical expression of a preference for the old ways. In general, though, movement to practise culture does not involve change of residence; rather, movement is short-term, and involves visiting country, hunting, gathering, remembering and sharing the place-based elements of dreaming, and walking. Large-scale ceremonial business now is more or less limited to attendance at funerals. Funeral attendance is not necessarily characterised by short-term mobility, though. Some respondents indicated that moves of residence had been initiated by attendance at a funeral.

For some, mobility is a cultural virtue in its own right. The value of mobility for cultural purposes may be in enabling a respondent to visit country, maintain family connections or attend funerals, but maintenance of an important cultural tradition is seen in the act of movement itself. The quotation from Survey 38, reproduced in Section 10.2.2, is evidence for this. This respondents' view was that mobility was as important a part of culture as all other aspects, and his comments gave the impression of culture as a *gestalt* of which movement was one non-separable element. Other respondents were less expansive, but some of the responses to the 'why is mobility important?' question support this view: 'Freedom of movement, we need this being Aboriginal people' (Survey 23); 'Wouldn't want to be held down in one place for too long – important to be able to move as a theoretical thing' (Survey 88).

A number of respondents equated commitment to family with culture: 'Very important to move around to keep connection with your family – very important to meet family on a regular basis. Aboriginal people are very closely-knit people family-wise' (Survey 86). It seems possible that culture is expressed now as much through family connections as through ties to country.

10.5 Mobility and pragmatism

10.5.1   The practical utility of movement

As Section 10.3 demonstrated, movement to gain access to employment, education, health services, other services and goods was a common theme in the surveys and interviews. Many of the responses to the 'importance of mobility' question in the survey bear this out. Movement is important because it enables respondents to maintain family ties, obtain work, find housing and gain access to a variety of services. For the many respondents for whom transport is problematic, their constrained ability to move for any reason is frustrating, and complicates life in remote parts of the study area to an uncomfortable degree: 'If every Aboriginal family had a car in outback country ... they'd have their own home but spend at least two days in every town where they've got relations, just to make that connection' (Survey 86). This section examines the implications of access to services and resources for mobility.

10.5.2   Employment

Changes in employment-related movement patterns over time are discussed in Section 10.2.4. For most study area residents, there appear to be two choices now that rural employment and contracting opportunities have dwindled: travel further afield, or remain *in situ* and join the CDEP programme. Section 10.3.6 discussed economic mobility, as manifest in some of the movement patterns evident in the data. Some survey respondents were prepared to move away from home for a time to enhance their opportunities for economic participation; others, it appears, were not. Either way, lack of local employment opportunities is a source of frustration: 'If employment opportunity was available, mobility wouldn't be necessary' (Survey 75).

It is possible that the extent of employment-related mobility detected by the survey is so small because many of those who do move for employment reasons are not currently living in the study area. For example, one of the respondents surveyed at Brewarrina had moved home from Sydney, where he had recently relocated from Brewarrina with his partner and children, for the school holidays. He had obtained employment in Sydney as an Aboriginal Education Assistant, and was looking forward to enhanced education opportunities for himself and, especially, his children. Home for this family is still Brewarrina, but they spend most of their time in Sydney. If this family's mobility pattern is consistent with others recorded, they will at some time return to Brewarrina permanently. In the meantime, they and many like them are most likely living in Dubbo, Orange, Sydney, Toowoomba and other centres, where meaningful full-time employment is a more realistic expectation than it is in Brewarrina, Bourke, Enngonia or Wilcannia.

All of the locations where the survey was conducted have a CDEP organisation. As Section 7.2 indicated, 45% of the employed component of the survey sample were CDEP participants. The review of the AEDP conducted in 1994 provided some background information to the CDEP scheme which is relevant to consideration of the effect of CDEP on mobility to date:

> The CDEP was the Government's major strategic response to its policy of providing jobs wherever people live, and of providing options which value the traditional employment aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people ... CDEP offers jobs where there are no or limited employment prospects.
>
> (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission 1994:6)

CDEP might, then, be expected to dampen labour mobility. This seems particularly likely to be the case if, as a consequence of high levels of long-term unemployment and effective exclusion from the mainstream labour market, Aboriginal people's expectations are lowered to the extent that ten hours' employment per week with the equivalent of the dole in recompense is perceived to be the norm. As the data presented in Section 9.2 indicate, CDEP participants had a mobility rate similar to those in full-time work at the one year interval, and a higher rate at the five year interval. Only two CDEP participants had recently moved locality for employment in the five years prior to the survey: one from Menindee to Broken Hill, and one, moving home, from

Toowoomba to Goodooga. It seems likely that the partial regionalisation of CDEP programmes in the study area may have facilitated movement between CDEP 'cells' in different localities.

At the time of writing, changes to the operation of CDEP are imminent. Each CDEP participant has received notice from the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations advising as follows:

◊ new or resuming CDEP participants aged twenty or under will receive a youth participant rate equal to the independent rate of youth allowance;

◊ all CDEP participants living in an urban or regional centre must register with a Job Network member;

◊ participant plans are to be prepared for CDEP members living outside the area where Job Network members operate with a view to developing skills to obtain outside employment;

◊ new participants in urban and regional centres, and those joining CDEP after an absence of twelve weeks, will be restricted to participation in the programme for a maximum of fifty-two weeks in total.

'Regional centres' are not defined, so it is unclear how many localities in the study area the new rules will apply to. There are a number of possible impacts which arise from the new rules:

◊ participants in smaller localities who are removed from CDEP after fifty-two weeks may relocate to a larger centre in search of work, or may simply transfer to unemployment benefits *in situ*;

◊ participants in regional centres who are unable to obtain mainstream employment and who are removed from CDEP after fifty-two weeks may return home, or may move on to a metropolitan centre.

The stated policy intentions underpinning the rule changes are to improve participants' work skills and to help participants to 'get a job off the CDEP programme'. An increase in labour mobility is not explicitly identified as a desired outcome, but it may well result, as may an increase in the counterflow of economic migrants who, unable to obtain work in mainstream centres, have little option other than to return home where recourse to the traditional benefits of kinship is available.

10.5.3   Housing

As Section 8.5 discussed, review of the substantive reasons for mobility provided by the survey respondents indicated that housing was an influential factor in motivating movement, particularly at the local scale. The literature, too, focuses on the importance of housing policy for spatial behaviour. As Gray (2004:220) observed, '... residential patterns have changed in a way determined to a very great extent by the housing programmes operated by the Commonwealth and State Governments because permanent or long-term migration requires access to housing'. This section explores some of the housing-related issues relevant to mobility in further detail. The discussion is based on the surveys and interviews, but also on a series of interviews with three members of senior management staff of Murdi Paaki Regional Housing Corporation (Peter, Mark and Evan[4]), the major provider of Aboriginal community controlled social housing in the study area, and one representative of the Department of Housing (Robert), which manages its own and AHO housing. This section therefore addresses the impact of housing issues on mobility, and vice versa, from both the tenants' and the provider's perspective.

Churning and social mobility

Different processes appear to be operating in relation to former reserve housing and town housing. Peter advised that residents of two of the reserves in the study area where they manage housing, Namatjira Avenue at Dareton and Alice Edwards Village at Bourke, are very mobile. He noted that as residents leave, the reserves are tending to be colonised by one particular family or clan, and this is leading to increased stability. This accords with observations undertaken at the West Brewarrina reserve[5] during the 1990s (Burns 1997). Evan indicated that MPRHC has been receiving requests from reserve residents to be reallocated to town housing. Mark noted that the desire to move from reserve housing was dependent upon individual circumstances, and is partly service-related. There are no services provided on the former reserves. If a tenant is without a car, town-based services are inaccessible. Families tend to look after their relatives, and members of non-dominant families on the reserve

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[4] Names have been changed to protect the identity of informants.
[5] West Brewarrina is known colloquially as 'Dodge City'.

therefore seek to move into town because they are unable to obtain support. Reserve living is also problematic for people with disabilities.

Residence on former reserves is also problematic because reserve residents tend to be stigmatised. This was observed first hand in the attitudes of town dwellers towards the residents of West Brewarrina, which was described as '... like a leper colony. There are two classes in society. There is discrimination within the Aboriginal community. Dodge people are stigmatised' (Burns 1997:37). Former residents of Alice Edwards Village echoed this sentiment. One respondent, who had moved into town some years prior to the survey, observed: 'Living on the reserve, you feel like a social outcast'. He had moved 'up town' to live in a modern house and 'to be treated like everyday, normal people'.

For others, local mobility occurs for different reasons. The survey identified a relatively high incidence of churning in Dareton, Broken Hill and Wilcannia, and much of this appeared to be housing-related. The three Dareton-based interview participants, Ursula, Kirsty and Eddie, all identified churning as a particular issue for Dareton, and interpreted the desire to be constantly moving to a 'better' house as a vehicle for social mobility. MPRHC, too, identified a higher level of churning in Dareton than in other localities. Kirsty noted that people wait years for a house, then perversely leave it a short time later. Eddie reported that a lot of people move around to put their names on waiting lists, move to Mildura, find that they cannot make ends meet, then return to Dareton or put their names on a Dareton waiting list. All three agreed that people always want newer homes. Ursula's view was as follows:

> A lot of people move too because ... they just like moving into new homes. I mean, I know certain families that are – Dareton, that's their hobby, moving – house jumping, you know, house hopping ... they move into new homes and they wreck 'em – I'll be honest with you, they wreck 'em, and they think, "Oh well, a new home's coming up, we'll get another new home", you know, and they move in with their parents and – and then they get a new house. That's the way it goes. And it's already happening now out there.

For some tenants, housing appears to be regarded as an ephemeral commodity, and repeat local moves are a consequence. Eddie's comments about movement

to and from Mildura are relevant in the context of the relationship between landlord type and local mobility. There was a general view among survey respondents that landlord type is influential, and that people renting from private landlords or through real estate agents would have higher levels of mobility. This was attributed to the higher cost of private rentals and restrictions on lifestyle – for example, tenants' ability to have extended family stay. In localities where there is a relative abundance of private rental housing, such as Dareton and Broken Hill, movement between dwellings in the private and community rental sectors is comparatively easy, and this could be contributing to the high incidence of churning. Mark's view was that people were very mobile between different landlord types, and that this was central to churning in Dareton: 'Go into a house, make arrangements to pay rent then find out it's too costly … move back in with family'. The comments of several of the survey respondents reinforced the impression that inability to afford rent is a contributing factor to mobility: 'I witness whole families moving from their houses on a weekly basis which is based on the "pay week", moving to relatives' places when the money runs out, so they live off each other. This stops the children becoming attached to houses, which then increases the chances of … becoming nomadically mobile' (Survey 133).

Housing need

Jones (1994:44), in examining Indigenous housing need throughout Australia, found that, of all the ATSIC regions in NSW, the Murdi Paaki Region had the highest levels of both homelessness and housing stress. Despite a number of housing and infrastructure construction projects across the region since Jones's report, the shortage of Aboriginal-identified rental housing in the study area continues to be demonstrated by the extent of the waiting list for housing in each locality, and by the comments of some of the survey respondents.

Mobility to obtain housing was discussed in detail with the interview participants. In relation to Ivanhoe, Kath reported that most people who move are young people in the throes of family formation, moving to Mildura or Cobar. Older people in Ivanhoe are housed. Kath's daughter Elizabeth noted that people do move from Ivanhoe to obtain housing but if they are on an Ivanhoe waiting list, they return home if housing becomes available, so mobility out of

the community for housing tends to be temporary. Most people are not on multiple waiting lists. Kirsty noted that people moving to Dareton in expectation of a house tend to be people originally from Dareton who had moved away or had been moving between spouses' families. Katie observed that people originally from Weilmoringle, who have moved elsewhere, want to move back, but she is concerned that this causes conflict because people who move back bring change.

Steve, Nerida and Katie noted a tendency to move in with relatives rather than to travel to obtain housing. Steve interpreted this as a reaction to lack of satisfactory housing, high rents and an inability among potential renters to understand tenancy agreements. Nerida and Katie both saw the same tendency as a response to attachment to place and family, and a disinclination to leave home.

MPRHC representatives maintain housing waiting lists in each locality where they provide housing, as do the AHO, DoH and locally-based AHCs. The MPRHC waiting lists are not culled because it is too difficult to contact applicants to determine whether they still need housing. Peter advised that applicants still telephone after two to three years to follow up applications. Both Evan and Mark were aware of people joining waiting lists in the hope of moving to the study area. Enquiries have been received from people currently resident in Orange and the coast enquiring for housing in the study area, but MPRHC representatives were unsure whether these people were wanting to move home or were just searching for housing wherever they could find it. Evan noted a limited incidence of people looking for housing in MPRHC's region but outside their own town. He has observed a tendency for people who leave home to settle close to other people from their own town. Thus, there is an enclave of people from Cunnamulla living in Bourke. Mark, too, observed that 'outsiders' do apply for housing in localities within the region: 'You might see people you've never heard of but you always recognise their last name'. This suggests that most people moving in from outside the region are, in fact, coming home, or joining relatives already resident.

Home ownership

The level of home ownership among Aboriginal people in the study area is low. Evan's view was that this is largely a consequence of socio-economic circumstances, and he noted that MPRHC has had a few purchase enquiries from tenants, but that those enquiring would be unable to service a loan. He did, though, concede, when asked, that non-ownership may be partly strategic. Mark attributed low levels of home ownership to issues of financial management, access to economic information, lack of income and lack of confidence.

One survey respondent saw the importance of mobility to him in terms of precluding home ownership: 'not to have the responsibility of owning your own house' (Survey 53). There were varying views among the interview participants about whether tenure type affects mobility. All interview participants rented their houses from Aboriginal community controlled housing providers. Ursula felt that renting Aboriginal housing gave her stability, but thought that home ownership would make her even more stable, but Nerida saw home ownership as facilitating movement. Conversely, Katie felt that she would be "tied down" more if she owned her home, and saw this as a deterrent to home ownership. Ian had never thought of owning a home. He perceived a general desire for mobility. He observed that only a few people he had known had wanted to settle down, save money and buy a house, and he saw this as synonymous with a desire for a settled life:

> Well, most like to move around, I think – don't … like to settle down in the one place – only knew a few that wanted to settle down – save money to buy a house and that– only two or three of them, though – but most of them like to move from one town to the other – most from Wilcannia now, they've moved from there to Broken Hill and stayed in Broken Hill for a few months and moved back to Wilcannia and move around here – they're moving all around the place.

It is possible, then, that the relatively low incidence of home ownership in the region may result from choice, as well as from economic disadvantage.

Allocation of MPRHC dwellings, except in Bourke, is generally carried out by Community Working Parties (CWPs) or local housing committees which are, or ought to be, broadly representative of the Aboriginal population in any locality. Allocation of AHO and DoH housing is undertaken by DoH in accordance with its usual procedures, and allocation of dwellings owned and managed by local community-controlled housing providers is undertaken in accordance with their own processes, which are not necessarily consistent from locality to locality. Evan perceived a tendency among the CWPs and local housing committees to favour long-term stayers and family members who want to return home in the allocation of housing. MPRHC received enquiries from people wishing to move home from locations further away, but Evan indicated that these are outweighed by the extent of out-migration from the region.

All MPRHC representatives lamented the tendency of tenants to vacate without notice. Often, the tenant simply leaves, and this causes difficulty for housing managers; the first they know of the vacancy is a telephone call from a prospective tenant asking to move in. Collection of rental bonds is an administrative impossibility because of the poverty of the tenants. Houses which are unoccupied for any length of time, particularly on former reserves, tend to be vandalised: 'We can't leave a house overnight without damage being caused'. Houses vacated without notice require extensive cleaning, at a cost of $400 to $500, and rent is foregone until one month after the dwelling is re-let. Peter noted that the cost of housing repair and maintenance is directly proportional to turnover. Stable tenancies are thus less costly and easier to manage.

One consequence of mobility is the sub-letting of dwellings. In Chapter 8, it was noted that one respondent was house-sitting, or 'caretaking'. Subletting is permitted by MPRHC on request if a substantive tenant moves temporarily, and can be a way for MPRHC to protect their asset if the alternative is a lengthy but temporary vacancy. However, problems can arise if a sublessee then does not to move out on the return of the substantive tenant.

The move in recent years to formal Residential Tenancy Agreements (RTAs) has had no effect on mobility. The RTAs formalise the legal relationship between MPRHC and the tenant and enable both parties to seek recourse to the Residential Tenancy Tribunal (RTT) in the event of breach of the RTA, but this has no practical effect on occupant behaviour: 'the tenant will move in with someone else rather than comply with a [RTT] order, unless there is a strong desire to stay in a particular place'. The RTA is more an enabling mechanism for tenants who wish to comply. Evidence of permanence of tenancy indicates stability, and may provide assistance in obtaining finance to purchase a house, and can also be used to prove payment of rent, so the benefit of the move to RTAs tends to flow to stayers who wish to own their home.

Tenants whose ongoing breach of their RTA leads to their being evicted tend to move in with family or friends, often exacerbating overcrowding, or relocate to stay with friends or relatives in Dubbo or other centres. Since it is the problem tenants who are evicted, housing management problems tend to spread as a consequence of evictions. MPRHC charges rent on a number-of-bedrooms basis, rather than number of tenants, so there is no financial deterrent to overcrowding. Maintenance problems are an obvious consequence for the housing provider. Tenants may be warned to desist from overcrowding, and have been charged for damage in some instances, but it is difficult for MPRHC to recoup the costs of damage.

MPRHC has been affected by the trend of mobility from smaller communities to the next largest town. Evan noted that there are large volumes of movement from Bourke to Dubbo and from Wilcannia to Broken Hill, on the basis of expectation of better services in the larger centres. Consequently, services within the smaller localities, both government and non-government, are in constant decline. The effect on morale, well-being and access to services and trades in the smaller localities is adverse. By way of example, Evan advised that the post office agent who delivers mail to Wilcannia has observed a decline in the volume of incoming mail of 50% over the last eighteen months to two years. Most of this mail is for Aboriginal people. Evan indicated that this 'sponge city' effect has accelerated markedly in the very recent past. Difficulty has arisen for MPRHC in planning for future housing stock needs. For example, MPRHC is unsure whether it ought to be land banking in Bourke if

large numbers of Bourke people are likely to move to Dubbo. Evan was unsure whether the housing currently under construction in Wilcannia will be occupied. He doubts whether those who have moved to Broken Hill to gain access to services will want to move back to obtain housing when it becomes available. Predictions of tenant numbers on which the current house building and acquisition activities are based were made five to six years ago. The acceleration of the 'sponge city' effect is a phenomenon of the last two to three years.

10.5.4   Health and education

The effect of the accessibility of health, education and other services is less complex and less subtle than that of the availability of housing or employment. Services are provided to a particular extent and in particular localities and, if the requisite level of service is unavailable, patients, students or clients must relocate.

The surveys indicated a degree of mobility related to access to health services. The movements reported tend to suggest that movement occurs to the closest centre which will provide the level of service required. Thus, Katie's mother relocated from Weilmoringle to Brewarrina to obtain medical care for her small daughter, and a number of other respondents reported moving from Wilcannia to Broken Hill to gain access to medical services either for themselves or for their relatives: 'I moved from Wilcannia to Broken Hill because of my grandson's health; otherwise I would have stayed home' (survey no. 127). For people with more complex conditions, travel to regional or metropolitan centres is unavoidable, but can be problematic. Access to and affordability of transport creates difficulties which ought to be easily resolved with a degree of co-ordination between mainstream and Aboriginal community controlled health services, but which apparently is not. One respondent, who had had to relocate to Sydney for radiotherapy and chemotherapy and had subsequently had further periods of health-related travel, observed: 'If taken away for doctor reason, you should be brought back by the Aboriginal Medical Service so as not to put extra stress on the patient' (survey no. 77). The AMSs do, in fact, assist with transport where possible. There has historically been a great deal of difficulty in obtaining access to the Isolated Patients' Transport and

Accommodation Assistance Scheme (IPTAAS) and this may be a continuing problem.

Movement to obtain access to education tends to be long-term. Young people from Weilmoringle and Enngonia live away from home to undertake secondary school studies but this is often not a satisfactory arrangement. Katie commented on the effect of this on Weilmoringle families:

> See, when they finish school here, they only go to sixth class, then the kids have to go on to ... living away from home, to boarding school, or go to somewhere else, and then sometimes the parents might have to move with them. Or if they come back from boarding school 'cause ... they don't like it down there, then they might have to move because of them, put them to school but when they go away, the kids they usually end up back here and they don't do no schooling at all. It's before they finish school, yeah, even ... Not even [to Year 10], sometimes ... the families that are supportive are the ones who get mainly the education. They'll stay away, yeah.

Supportive parents stay away with their children, and return home eventually, when the children finish school, but children who don't have supportive parents make a choice between school and Weilmoringle, and generally choose Weilmoringle.

Nerida's experience after she finished primary school in Enngonia exemplifies that of young people who leave their community to attend school:

> I went to Bourke High School, didn't like it there – because there was no high school out here, and that was the closest high school, and didn't like it there so – Mum ... got in touch with ... Aboriginal Hostel Limited, so she sent us to boarding school ... in Sydney. Boarding school I mean is we go ... to a Aboriginal hostel.

After living in hostels in Allambie Heights and Sylvania, and finishing her secondary education at Gymea High School, Nerida attended TAFE in Sydney and completed a secretarial course, then returned home to Enngonia at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

The mobility histories in the surveys indicated a degree of mobility of young adults to larger communities (for example, from Wilcannia to Broken Hill) to

attend TAFE, and to major centres (for example, from Weilmoringle to Toowoomba) to enrol in university. Some complete their studies; for others, the desire to be at home exceeds educational aspirations.

10.5.5 The criminal justice system

The discussion of practical aspects of mobility has focused to this point on the availability of facilities, services and opportunities. One further institutional factor which influences mobility, but is more in the nature of a constraint or compulsion than an opportunity, is involvement with the criminal justice system.

A number of survey respondents indicated that their mobility had been influenced by their interaction with the police or the court system. Conflict with the police was a factor in choice of locality. Steve commented in this regard: 'Cause I had a lot of bad experience with police, and all these things, and I thought that I'd move to Weilmoringle 'cause there's no police here'. Steve also saw the actions of the police as a barrier to movement. A further constraint is the manner in which the courts set bail conditions. Depending upon the charge, offenders coming before the court are often bailed on the condition that they move to another locality – so, for instance, an Enngonia resident may be required to live in Bourke, or a Bourke resident, in Inverell or Moree. For example, one survey respondent who has lived in Bourke for most of his life has spent periods of three months in Cobar, Bathurst, Inverell and Sydney in compliance with bail conditions (Survey 71). This can, in turn, lead to the offenders' families following. It also leads to problems in the localities to which the offenders are sent. Australian Associated Press reported in February, 2006 that magistrates in towns within the study area were accused of 'exporting crime' by bailing young Aboriginal offenders to centres such as Orange, Bathurst and Parkes. The report indicated that these offenders were then appearing in courts in the locations to which they were bailed, on further charges (Dixon 2006).

10.6 Conclusion

This chapter, in responding to each of the research objectives, has discussed historical, cultural, social and institutional aspects of residential mobility in the study area, on the basis of qualitative responses provided by survey respondents and interview participants, as well as service providers in the housing sector. The empirical data indicate that the effects on spatial behaviour of historical circumstances are ongoing, and are compounded by the continuing process of social and economic change within and beyond the study area, and by issues relating to the provision of services, facilities and resources.

The surveys and interviews indicate a degree of mobility for pragmatic reasons, and it seems reasonable to expect that Aboriginal people's movement to gain access to medical services, for example, would not differ greatly from the mobility of the mainstream population for the same purpose. However, the complexities which arise from a number of factors, such as traditional ties to country, cultural values, a history of government intervention and interference, and economic and social marginalisation, contribute to patterns of movement which are, as writers such as Taylor (2006) have found, characteristic of Aboriginal people. The mobility patterns explored in this chapter are consistent, to a degree, with the findings of remote area research in the Northern Territory that contemporary mobility patterns result from the interaction of elements drawn from pre-contact and post-contact life (Altman 1987; Taylor & Bell 2004; Young & Doohan 1989). However, it is clear that, in an Indigenous Australian context, the idea of continuity is nuanced. In the current study area, there is little if any collective ceremonial business apart from funerals, traditional cycles of production no longer provide subsistence at a population level, and there are no outstations as such. Traditional attachment to country, and activities associated with country, have been further mediated by the impacts of protection and assimilation policy in ways which differ from the Northern Territory context. Even so, cultural attachment to place is still strong.

Chapter 11 provides an overview of the findings of the study in terms of the original objectives, revisits the practical utility of the study and identifies potentially fertile areas for further research.

CHAPTER 11   CONCLUSION

This study of residential mobility among Aboriginal people in north-western and far western NSW was conceived in response to a number of questions which arose from a lengthy period of observation of spatial behaviour incidental to community development work in the study area. The questions, which are addressed in Section 11.1, are encapsulated in the objectives of the research: to examine, describe and explore reasons for the spatial and temporal patterns of contemporary mobility among Aboriginal people in the study area; to explore the historical and contemporary influences, including availability of services, resources and facilities, on these mobility patterns; and to assess the cultural and practical importance to Aboriginal people in the study area of the ability to move.

This thesis addresses three lacunae in the body of research relating to mobility among Aboriginal people. First, it focuses on a geographical area which has been more or less neglected in terms of field-based empirical research for the last forty years. Second, it explores mobility at a regional scale and, in so doing, examines both intra- and inter-regional movement. Third, the study employs quantitative data at a variety of scales in combination with qualitative data to permit the exploration not only of manifest patterns of spatial behaviour but also the motives and influences which shape these patterns. The research was question-led, rather than founded in hypothesis, and has, because of the three lacunae mentioned above, resulted in a thesis which is largely exploratory and descriptive in character.

Three bodies of literature were interrogated to provide an academic context for this thesis. The general literature relating to migration was explored, and the evolution of migration theory, and approaches to the study of migration canvassed to place this study in an academic context. In general, the emphasis on movement patterns arising from a linear progression towards economic development which is characteristic of much of the mainstream migration literature had limited relevance to a marginalised Indigenous population such as that of the present study area. A possible exception is the mobility transition of Zelinsky (1971), and the discussion returns briefly

to this later. Second, the literature relating to Indigenous Australian mobility was reviewed. This body of literature provided a number of insights which are relevant to the study area, and, where relevant to the objectives of this thesis, these are revisited in this chapter. In addition, this second body of literature provided useful guidance in formulating the research design for this study. Third, a variety of sources which related directly to the study area were consulted to provide historical and geographical background material vital to the interpretation of the empirical data collected and analysed.

The study involved the collection of empirical data about demographic characteristics, mobility, place attachment, and historical and contemporary influences on spatial behaviour among Aboriginal people in each of the main population centres in a region comprising 234,100 km² of remote NSW. In 2001, this area was home to 4,475 Aboriginal people and 30,617 non-Indigenous people. Empirical data were collected in ten localities with populations ranging from 70 to over 20,000. A three stage process of data collection, involving analysis of customised census tables, exploratory interviews, and a sample survey, formed the basis for examining the patterns of mobility and the factors which have influenced, and continue to influence, these patterns. As discussed above, the objectives of this study focus solely on the mobility of Indigenous population of this particular study area. The discussion which follows does not, in general, attempt to draw comparisons with the broader non-Indigenous population or with Indigenous peoples in other contexts. While the pragmatic reasons for movement might appear to be similar, cultural differences associated with people-place attachment are complex; a comparative study of these is beyond the scope of this research.

11.1 The findings

In what follows, findings of the study are reported in this section in relation to the research questions posed in Section 1.1.

The degree of mobility of Aboriginal people in the study area

Within the Aboriginal population, mobility is highly variable. There is a notable incidence of repeat and multiple mobility, with nearly a third of survey respondents having moved twice or more during the five year period prior to the survey. The movement of the frequent movers is certainly not aimless, but does not, in many cases, appear to be particularly strategic, either. While less mobile than Aboriginal people in more closely settled parts of NSW, the Aboriginal residents of the study area have a greater propensity to move than non-Aboriginal people.

Differences in mobility from person to person are related to a number of demographic and socio-economic variables. The highest levels of mobility are among young adults, whose movement is related to their establishment of independent status and household formation. Mobility declines with increasing age until a second peak occurs in the 55-64 age cohort. Those in couple relationships, those with responsibility for children and those living with close family were less mobile than single respondents with no obligations to dependent family members, and the sedentarising effect of family responsibility accounts for decline in mobility from the mid-twenties. A number of respondents were highly mobile at the time of the survey, while others had had very mobile periods earlier in life but had become relatively sedentary. At all ages, though, Aboriginal people in the study area were more mobile than their non-Indigenous counterparts. These patterns are generally consistent with the findings of previous census-based studies of Aboriginal mobility (Bell & Hugo 2000; Taylor & Bell 1999).

Demographic and socio-economic influences on movement

Apart from family structure, the two socio-economic attributes which had the greatest influence on mobility were labour force status and housing tenure. The survey revealed relatively low levels of mobility among those in permanent employment (full-time, part-time or on CDEP) or not in the workforce (undertaking home duties, retired or otherwise on a pension) and relatively high mobility among the unemployed and those in seasonal or casual employment. The impression of this more mobile latter category was

of a group relatively uncommitted to the mainstream economy who moved for reasons which were predominantly not related to employment.

Tenure type and, among renters, landlord type were strongly related to mobility. Those in less secure forms of tenure, such as boarding or staying with relatives or friends, were highly mobile, and expected to continue to be mobile in the future. Tenants of Aboriginal-identified social housing, rented from the AHO, MPRHC or local Aboriginal community controlled social housing providers, tended to have relatively low levels of mobility compared with those living in private rental accommodation or mainstream public housing. There is a relatively low incidence of home ownership, and it appears that, although socio-economic disadvantage is a primary reason for this, for people who wish to continue to be mobile, rejection of home ownership may be a strategic decision, notwithstanding its economic advantages. House purchase did not appear to lead to any reduced expectation of future mobility but, for those who had purchased their dwellings, the move from rented accommodation had been, in each case, their most recent move.

The patterns of migration, and a typology of mobility

There were a number of distinct spatial patterns of movement in the mobility histories of the respondents. The four most heavily trafficked paths linked: north-western NSW Dubbo, Orange, Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong; Bourke, Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle, Enngonia and Cunnamulla; Wilcannia and Broken Hill; and Dareton, Murrin Bridge and Canberra. From these beats, and the stories and motives of those who travel them, can be deduced a typology of mobility. Movement for *opportunity*, whether for employment or for access to services or lifestyle benefits, characterises mobility between the study area and larger urban and metropolitan centres, as well as migration from Wilcannia to Broken Hill. Movement for *family* reasons underpins the counterstreams of migration from larger centres to smaller localities, as well as circulation among smaller centres. *Return to country* motivates some movement from Murrin Bridge, a destination for forced mobility, to Dareton, as well as some return movement to Wilcannia. Patterns of *childhood mobility* continue to influence contemporary movement,

especially for some respondents who circulate between Bourke, Brewarrina, Goodooga, Weilmoringle and Enngonia. As the conclusion to Chapter 10 pointed out, there is, in these mobility types, and in the spatial decisions of the stayers, an element of cultural continuity in spatial behaviour which is analogous to that described by Young and Doohan (1989) and Altman (1987) in the Northern Territory context, but very much modified by the post-contact experience in an area appropriated by pastoral and mining interests from the mid-nineteenth century.

The influence of historical factors

The history of forced mobility imposed by the APB and AWB continues to influence settlement patterns and spatial behaviour. Circular mobility between Dareton and Murrin Bridge is an example, as is the presence of a sizeable population of Wangkumara people, originally from north of Tibooburra, in Bourke. Individual place affiliations and understandings of associations between language groups and country have been reconstructed by the experience of large-scale forced migration. The experience of the forced moves lives on in the memory of some of the older residents of the study area, and influences their attitudes to the places where they live. The legacy of the AFVRS can still be traced in current movement paths, too. Migration routes between study area localities and centres such as Orange, Newcastle, Albury and Wagga Wagga which were established in the early 1970s have been maintained. Beckett's (1965) study of migration in Aboriginal communities of western NSW revealed movement limited by the locations of kin and, although he predicted that the extent of these beats would grow as people travelled further afield to marry, he did not foresee movement beyond an expanded range of localities in western NSW. The adverse effects of the AFVRS, as an exercise in assimilation, have been documented; however, it could also be seen, in a way, as enabling, in that it showed migration to major urban centres, as and when advantageous, to be achievable.

Practical considerations affecting propensity to move

There were few explicit indications of practical constraints on movement, but it could be inferred from the quantitative data that lack of income and responsibility for the care of children might dampen mobility. On the other hand, it is clear that provision of services is influential. Access to health services and education is a factor underpinning migration flows to larger centres. Within the study area, spatial variation in local mobility appeared to be related to the availability of Aboriginal-identified social housing.

Change in mobility

Evidence from both the census and the survey is that mobility rates are increasing. However, the life mobility histories of the older survey respondents indicate that the reasons for mobility have changed. There is no longer the emphasis on employment-related movement that existed before rural restructuring. Movement among young people is now more family-related, or motivated by restlessness and a desire for change and excitement. This is certainly at odds with a linear mobility transition as postulated by Zelinsky (1971) and must reflect the economically and socially marginal status of Aboriginal people within the study area (Taylor & Bell 2004). Further evidence that the evolution of mobility is non-linear, ambiguous and complex is provided by the pattern of return mobility from large regional centres to small, remote localities, mirroring a process of mobility in and out of the mainstream economy.

Movement and culture

A large proportion of Aboriginal people in the study area have strong ties to culture and country. Although culture was little mentioned as a substantive reason for mobility, the location of traditional country was widely influential as a motivating factor in the decision-making process. It is one of the factors underlying circulation among the smaller centres in the study area, and appears to be a strong influence on the behaviour of the stayers. The act of movement in itself was seen by some informants as an element of culture. Although movement for collective ceremonial business (other than funerals)

ended in the study area many decades ago, the ability to move to and through country is important. This is an area which, with the exception of ethnographic accounts such as those of Peterson (2000; 2004), has not attracted a great deal of attention in the mobility literature, although traditional place attachment *per se* has been well covered. Cultural aspects of migration in areas long colonised by Europeans might thus present fertile ground for further research.

Ties to place, family and friends

A desire to be with family was the single most influential factor, both as a substantive reason for mobility and as a motivating factor. Ties to home are closely related to ties to family and, for some, the tie to family is also the tie to culture, so family-related movement equates to mobility for cultural reasons. The factors which made a place 'home' were not necessarily the same as those which made it 'the best place to live', and a tension between the pull of home and family, on the one hand, and, on the other, the lifestyle benefits of 'the best place to live' contribute to repeat and return mobility between the study area and other, larger urban centres.

The meaning of moving and staying

It was clear that mobility is highly valued, both as a means of maintaining ties with family and country and gaining access to services, facilities and resources, and as an end in itself. For some informants, mobility was a taken-for-granted aspect of Aboriginality. For the stayers, the tie of home and country was so strong that they appeared to be prepared to meet their needs through short-term movement alone. In some ways, the circulation of some informants through the Bourke-Brewarrina-Weilmoringle-Enngonia-Goodooga beat could be see as a form of staying, in that they are maintaining their associations with a multi-locale 'home' which is significant to them, without venturing beyond this circuit of familiar places.

On the whole, the overwhelming impression obtained from the findings of this study is of tremendous variety and complexity. Certainly, a number of overall trends were able to be drawn from the data, but the results reinforced

the importance of viewing the characteristics of a population in terms of the sum of the life experiences of the individuals it represents, and the value of an integrated approach to the study of mobility in settings such as the present study area.

11 2 The policy relevance of this study

The history of displacement of Aboriginal people from country, and the settlement patterns and mobility behaviour which have resulted, and which continue decades after the protection era, are clear evidence of the impact of policy. In the protection and welfare days, the enabling mechanisms and policy objectives were transparent and unambiguous. Today, policy decisions are equally capable of rupturing people-place connections and setting up patterns of migration and circulation. However, these outcomes are generally an incidental effect, foreseen or otherwise, rather than the express objective of policy formulation.

Of particular concern at the time of this study is the making of policy-on-the-run as a political response to media reports of social issues in various locations, which indicate clearly that those in positions of influence have failed to learn the lessons of the past. Central to the political responses to turmoil or deprivation appear to be the relocation of Aboriginal people to another area, or the prevention of their continued residence in the same locality (which amounts to the same thing). Such, for example, was the response of the Member for Herbert, in Queensland, to protracted unrest on Palm Island (SBS Television 2006), and of the previous Commonwealth Minister for Indigenous Affairs, Amanda Vanstone, to the plight of Aboriginal people living in the absence of physical infrastructure and human services on remote outstations in the Northern Territory and Western Australia (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2005).

Closer to home, and of far greater relevance to the current study, is the area of West Dubbo described almost uniformly in the media as 'the troubled Gordon Estate'. An article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* on 12th May 2006 (Brown 2006) indicated that the Gordon Estate was to be redeveloped and the 'mainly Aboriginal population' removed. The NSW Minister for Housing,

Cherie Burton, indicated that 'any tenant rehoused in Dubbo will have a good tenancy record and will be found housing in an area appropriate for their needs'. The implication of this, as the article notes, is that 'troublemakers would be dispersed'. The article reported that two families have already been relocated to Wagga Wagga, where 'they had never lived before', and indicated that tenants were questioning whether residents were to be asked where they wished to relocate to, or whether they would be forcibly moved. Conventional wisdom is that the days of wholesale forced moves, permitted by protection legislation, have long since passed. However, actions such as that announced for West Dubbo by the Minister for Housing have precisely the same material effect, such is the deficit of socially and economically accessible housing in places which are 'home' to the Aboriginal people of the study area. As Chapter 10 indicated, Dubbo has become a 'sponge city' for Aboriginal people from Bourke, Brewarrina, Menindee and Wilcannia, in the same way as it has for non-Aboriginal people. The mapping presented in Chapter 10 recorded the residence in Dubbo of respondents who had subsequently returned to the study area. It did not document the mobility of Aboriginal people originally from within the study area who were living in Dubbo at the time of the survey. The survey provided ample evidence of continuing links with home for Aboriginal people living as a 'diaspora' community, with return home as one of the most common substantive reasons for recent mobility (see Section 8.5). Should Aboriginal people from within the study area now living in Dubbo become even more far-flung as a consequence of their removal from the Gordon Estate, their mobility is very likely to increase as 'home' becomes further away.

It was noted in Chapter 10 that policy options in providing access to health services and education are limited by the way in which planning of facilities is linked to the hierarchy of rural and regional centres. Housing policy, on the other hand, can be developed in a manner more responsive to local needs. The findings of this study suggest that much local mobility is unwanted and could be eliminated, to a large extent, by adequate provision of properly maintained and appropriately managed Aboriginal-identified social housing. It is clear from the comments of a number of interview participants that many people who are living away from the places they see

as home would return home if housing were available. A lack of Aboriginal-identified social housing is thus constraining spatial choice, and increasing the incidence of churning.

Employment is a further policy area which deserves a renewed focus in the light of the findings of this study. As mentioned above, it appears that streams and counterstreams of migration between the more remote study area localities and urban centres such as Dubbo, Orange, Broken Hill, Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong may be paralleled by movement in and out of the mainstream economy. With the exception of transfers for those in public sector positions, the notion of economic mobility *to* locations such as Bourke, Brewarrina and Goodooga from Dubbo, for example, stretches the imagination. The survey provided evidence of a relatively low incidence of migration for economic reasons. This resonates with the findings of Gray (2004), in relation to the Box Ridge community on the north coast of NSW, and is most likely a reflection of the marginal and intercultural status of Aboriginal people (Taylor & Bell 2004:13-14).

As Chapter 3 noted, Gray's (1989) view was that urban and rural Aboriginal people were the same people at different stages in their life cycle. The present study tends to support this, but a parallel suggestion emerging from the findings is that Aboriginal people may also move in and out of the mainstream economy in parallel with changes in their level of mobility and the places to which they move. There is also a solid core of stayers (or, at least, people who have no history of movement for economic reasons) who may be CDEP participants and who, with the decline in pastoral employment, are probably less engaged in the mainstream economy than ever before. It appears unlikely that the change in the focus of CDEP from a community development initiative to a labour market programme will precipitate these people into a phase of economic mobility. The likely effect of changes in CDEP rules on this group are unclear, but, in the absence of effective creation of meaningful and sustainable employment and enterprise opportunities located where they would best serve the needs of their target market, it appears likely that increased poverty and marginalisation will be an outcome. If labour market programmes were to be targeted to local initiatives, it is imperative that they be based on a clearer understanding of

the expectations of Aboriginal people in relation to their working lives in the long term, and the nexus between these expectations and the desire to move.

11.3 Opportunities for further research

As Chapter 1 pointed out, this study was very much question driven. Because little prior research had been carried out in relation to the specific circumstances of mobility among Aboriginal people in the study area, this thesis has tended to be broad in focus and exploratory and descriptive in character. A number of specific opportunities for further research flow from this study, and a few are considered here.

The dichotomy between movement for opportunity (to Dubbo and Orange, specifically) and return movement for family reasons warrants further investigation. The social issues in the larger urban centres which appear to be attracting housing policy-on-the-run obviously make this subject a candidate for social research; however, the potential effects of change in labour market policy on these patterns further emphasise the need for a greater understanding of the drivers of these processes. Empirical research with those currently resident at the Dubbo-Orange-Sydney end of the beat may yield interesting results which would better inform policy.

At the other end of the spectrum from the 'opportunity' movers were the stayers. Further qualitative, in depth exploration of the experiences of these most sedentary people, their access to services and, in many cases, their isolation from the mainstream economy, would be relevant not only in terms of understanding of place attachment, but would further illuminate the behaviour of the movers.

This study provided evidence for change in mobility with restructuring in the rural economy. There are doubtless other external factors which might affect spatial behaviour in the future. One such is climate change. Predictions of changes in climatic conditions in the study area as a result of global warning vary. Exploration of possible changes in spatial behaviour as a consequence of the impacts of this factor on water availability, health,

comfort, the economy and other aspects of life could be fundamental from a policy perspective.

An additional proposal for further research is prompted by a sense of injustice that the subjects of an assimilationist social experiment have never been given the opportunity to tell their stories. As far as it is possible to determine, there has been no attempt to follow the long-term fortunes of those moved by the AFVRS. The AFVRS operated through the 1970s and ended in the early 1980s, at a time of recession and economic restructuring in the destination centres to which the resettlement families had been transferred. The recollections of interview participant Ian (see Chapter 10) may or may not be typical of the experiences of the participants, but it would be interesting to know. The most recent publications relating specifically to the AFVRS uncovered in the course of this study date from the late 1970s. In the light of continuing, though less transparent, policy initiatives resulting in relocation of Aboriginal households, it seems important that the long-term effects of these policies and practices be understood.

11.4 Conclusion

This study was sparked by a paradox: the statement, on the one hand, that mobility is 'the greatest traditional asset' for Aboriginal people and, on the other hand, the observed challenge of planning and delivering services to a mobile population. The reality, as revealed by the empirical data for the study, is complex and varied, affected, as it is, by the position of Aboriginal people as an enclave population. Geographical circumstances, cultural traditions, a post-contact history of oppression and dispossession, and ongoing social and economic marginalisation all play a part in what has turned out to be a very complex mosaic of spatial behaviour. Most alarming is the finding that, after close on a century of living as subjects in a succession of government-sponsored socio-spatial experiments, the Aboriginal people of western NSW are still faced with the necessity to fend off the impact of policy decisions which would continue the process of forcibly distancing them from the places they value.

This thesis has contributed to understandings about mobility processes among Aboriginal people in two ways: it has examined mobility at a regional scale, and it has adopted an integrated approach in doing so. It has therefore been able to make explicit spatial links both within and beyond the study area boundaries, and to explore the reasons for links in terms of history, culture, service provision, Aboriginal affairs policy and a variety of other influences. This research makes it more difficult for those in positions of influence to ignore the lessons of the past; if it provokes a more informed and compassionate consideration of the spatial impacts of policy-making, it will have made a useful contribution.

APPENDIX A – THE ABS CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A.1   Census geography

Chapter 4 discusses the selection of geographical scale for the analysis of ABS Census data. The relationships between the three ABS spatial hierarchies are shown in Figure A.1.

FIGURE A.1

Spatial hierarchies: Census geography
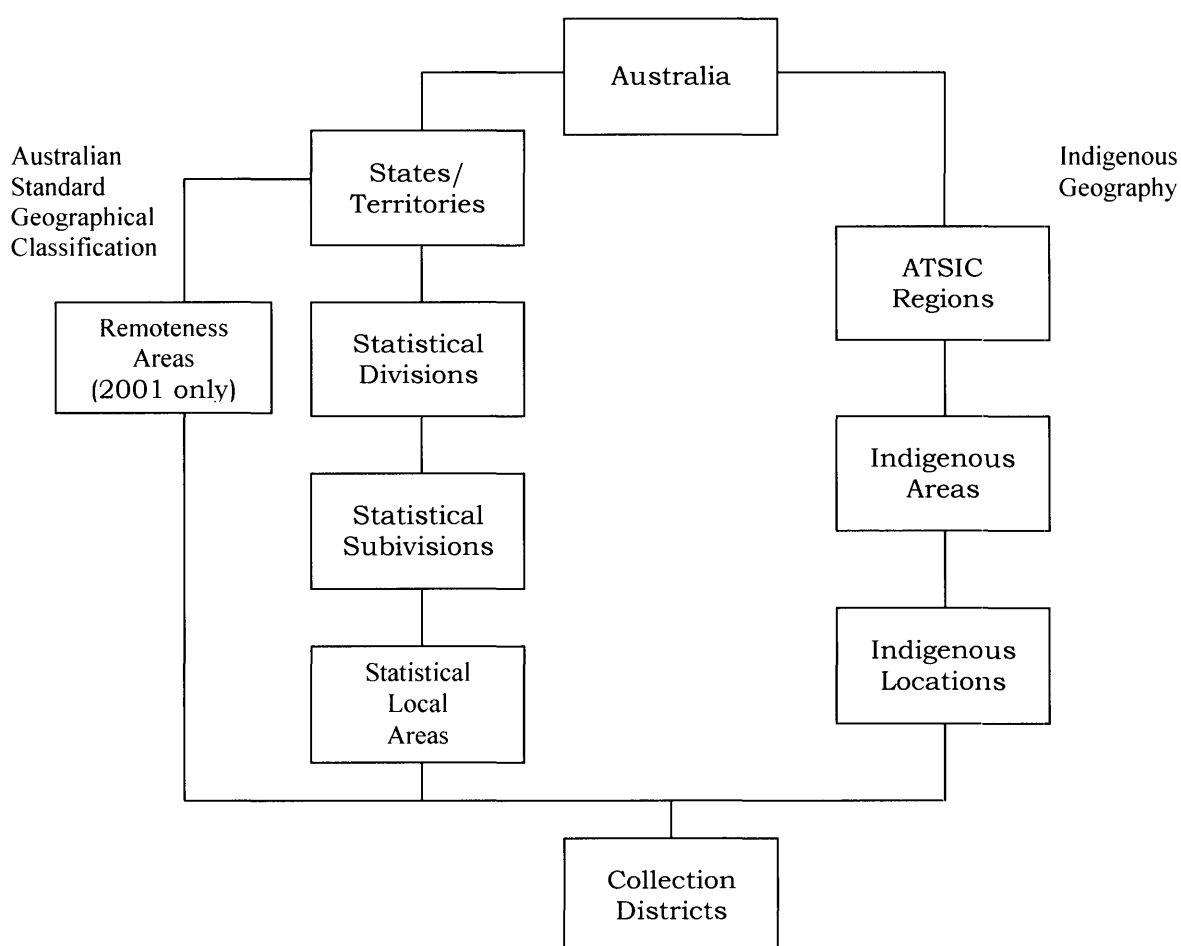
The fundamental areal unit at which census data are available is the Collection District (CD). Data for CDs are aggregated by the ABS to generate tables at other scales. Basic Community Profiles (BCPs), which comprise 33 tables relating to a variety of census variables, are released at each scale of

the ASGC hierarchy. Indigenous Profiles (IPs) are produced by the ABS to allow aspects the socio-economic status of the Indigenous population at various scales to be examined. Full IPs, comprising 29 tables, are released for Australia, states, ATSIC regions, Remoteness Areas, Statistical Divisions (SDs), Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs), Statistical Districts and Indigenous Areas (a subdivision of ATSIC regions typically containing 300 or more Indigenous people), as well as local government areas. Summary tables only are released for Indigenous Localities (a subdivision of Indigenous Areas containing 80 or more Indigenous people) and Statistical Local Areas (SLAs).

The Indigenous geography for the study area changed markedly between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. In contrast, the SLA boundaries, which are based on local government area boundaries in the study area, remained stable.

In 2001, the ABS introduced a further structure to the ASGC: remoteness. Australia is divided into remoteness areas on the basis of the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA) Plus methodology, which generates an index between 0 and 15 calculated for 1 km grid squares to represent the remoteness of a point based on the road distance between that point and the nearest town or service centre in each of five population categories. The ASGC Remoteness classification groups census collection districts into 'comparative classes of remoteness' (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003:3-4). The remoteness areas are: Major Cities of Australia, Inner Regional Australia, Outer Regional Australia, Remote Australia, Very Remote Australia and Migratory.

A.2 ABS collection of migration data

The ABS has collected internal migration data at each census since 1971. In each census, except that of 1991, the census form has sought each respondent's place of usual residence on census night, one year previously and five years previously. The census coding has translated the responses into two groups of variables: migration indicators, which distinguish those absent from home on census night or, for the one year and five year indicator, those who have moved; and geographical variables, which indicate the respondent's state and SLA of enumeration and usual residence on

census night, and their state and SLA of usual residence one year and five years ago (Bell & Hugo 2000:18). The three census questions which elicited information about usual residence in the 2001 Census are shown in Table A.1.

TABLE A.1

Migration question – 2001 ABS Census

7	**Where does the person usually live?** • For persons who usually live in another country and who are visiting Australia for less than one year, mark 'Other country'. • For other persons, 'usually live' means that address at which the person has lived or intends to live for a total of six months or more in 2001 • For persons who now have no usual address, write 'no usual address'. • For boarders at boarding school, give address at boarding school or college.	❑ The address shown on the front of this form ❑ Elsewhere in Australia – please specify address ❑ **Other country**

8	**Where did the person usually live one year ago (at 7 August 2000)?** • If the person is less than one year old, leave blank. • For persons who had no usual address on 7th August 2000, give the address at which they were then living.	❑ Same as question 7 ❑ Elsewhere in Australia – please specify address ❑ **Other country**

TABLE A.1 (continued)

Migration question – 2001 ABS Census

| 9 | **Where did the person usually live five years ago (at 7 August 1996)?**

• If the person is less than five years old, leave blank.

• For persons who had no usual address on 7th August 1996, give the address at which they were then living. | ❑ Same as question 7

❑ Same as in question 8

❑ Elsewhere in Australia – please specify address

❑ **Other country** |

Space was provided to allow the respondent to write the address. In the 1996 Census, the questions were worded similarly, except that question 7 did not include the first dot point, regarding persons usually living in other countries.

In the 1991 Census, data for the one year interval were sought only for moves between states or territories. Thus, the 'SLA of usual residence one year ago' variable is not available for this census. This compromises the scope for longitudinal comparison of relatively short-term mobility.

APPENDIX B – INTERVIEW GUIDES

(a) Interview guide for Aboriginal interview participants

(b) Interview guide for Aboriginal-identified social housing providers

INTERVIEW GUIDE

◊ Place of birth

◊ Place(s) where childhood was spent

◊ Language group affiliation (if known)

◊ Affiliations to country (own places, parents' places – are affiliations stronger with mother's or father's country?)

◊ Preferred locality(ies) of residence

◊ Where is home? Is it possible to see more than one place as home?

◊ Traditional migration patterns and motivations(if known)

◊ Influence of post-contact Government policy (e.g. forced moves to Government stations, AFVRS) on mobility (if known)

◊ Mobility history (= life history?)

◊ Current mobility patterns (spatial, temporal) – map these

◊ Planning for mobility

◊ What life events trigger moves?

◊ Motivation to move – is this different for short term and long term moves; short distance and long distance moves?

◊ Influence of kin on mobility patterns (map kin locations)

◊ Influence of employment opportunities (e.g. cotton chipping, picking) on mobility patterns

◊ Influence of transport availability

◊ Influence of residential tenure

◊ Influence of traditional language group boundaries on contemporary mobility

◊ Gender differences in mobility

◊ Do partners in a household always move together?

◊ Influence of distance on mobility – how is distance perceived?

◊ Other influences on mobility

◊ Similarities to or differences from parents' and children's mobility

◊ Adaptations to a mobile (or a sedentary) lifestyle

◊ Significance of mobility as an asset

◊ Feelings about being on the move

◊ Other people's attitudes to respondent's mobility

◊ Any discrimination from ACC organisations against mobile people?

◊ Constraints on mobility and their impacts

◊ Impacts of housing availability (and housing policy generally) on freedom to move – could low rates of home ownership (and limited numbers of possessions) be related to desire to be mobile as well as to economic circumstances?

Interview guide for housing service providers

1. Levels of mobility
   ❖ Any perceptions of differing levels of mobility between communities? Between reserves and town?
   ❖ Any perceptions of differing levels of mobility between different household structures? Anything else?

2. Process for a move
   ❖ What does a tenant typically do when they want to move?
   ❖ What do tenants do if evicted?
   ❖ Any perceptions of mobility with the purpose of joining a waiting list? Obtaining housing?

3. Implications of mobility
   ❖ What effect do high levels of mobility have on the organisation's ability to manage housing stock?

4. Policy-related issues
   ❖ Does the organisation have any policies which might impact on mobility (either to make tenants more mobile or more sedentary)?
   ❖ Any implications of the Residential Tenancies Act in this regard?
   ❖ How are houses allocated? Is there any tendency in the process to favour long-term stayers in a locality? Family members returning home?

5. Anything else?

APPENDIX C – SURVEY INSTRUMENT

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Residential Mobility among Aboriginal people in Western NSW

Note to research assistant

By now, you have made sure that the respondent understands the
Information Sheet for Participants, and the respondent has signed the
consent form and given it back to you. The questions to put to the
respondent begin on Page 2. Before you begin asking the respondent the
numbered questions, please record the following three items yourself:

Date of survey: _____

Address of survey: _____

Is the respondent male or female?

    Male   ☐

    Female   ☐

Then, please read the following statement to the participant:

This survey seeks to collect information about the patterns of
movement for Aboriginal people in western NSW. It also seeks to
look at the factors that affect movement, and the factors that have
affected it in the past. For the purposes of this survey, when
I talk about moves, I mean times when you change the place
where you live permanently, or when you move away from your home
for a month or more at a time. Moves don't have to be over long
distances - moving house within the same town counts,
as long as you move for a month or more.

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Section A
Personal mobility history

In this section, I want to ask you about the moves that you have made since you turned 16. Remember, a move can be made over a short distance (say from house to house in the one town or reserve) but it has to last for a month or more, so not just a short holiday.

1 Where are you living now? [*Prompt: which community, reserve or town?*]

_____

_____

2 Is this where you usually live?

No	☐	➔ go to question 3
Yes	☐	➔ go to question 4

3 If no, where do you usually live?

_____

_____

4 How long have you lived there? [*Prompt: If you have lived there more than once, how long this time?*]

_____

5 Which face comes closest to showing how you feel about that place?

6 Thinking about the last time you moved between towns, or between town and reserve or reserve and town, did everyone who was living with you at that time move with you?

I was living on my own	☐	➔ go to question 8
Yes	☐	➔ go to question 8
No	☐	➔ go to question 7

7 Who didn't come with you last time you moved?

_____

_____

_____

_____

8 Still thinking about the last time you moved , I want to ask you about what made you move.

[*Research assistant: please hand the participant the yellow card*].

For each reason, please tell me how important this was in your decision to move.

[*Prompt: 1 means not important, 2 means slightly important,*

3 means moderately important, 4 means very important and 5 means

extremely important. N means you don't know or it doesn't apply.]

Last time you moved, how important was:

Chance of a job in another town	1	2	3	4	5	N
Crowding at home	1	2	3	4	5	N
Wanting to be with your partner	1	2	3	4	5	N
Change of scenery	1	2	3	4	5	N
Closer to education opportunities for yourself	1	2	3	4	5	N

Wanting to be in the place you were brought up	1	2	3	4	5	N
Conflict in the community (e.g. fighting, pressure, not getting on with people)	1	2	3	4	5	N
Firm offer of a house in another town	1	2	3	4	5	N
Being unemployed	1	2	3	4	5	N
Wanting to be in your traditional country	1	2	3	4	5	N
Wanting to be away from your family	1	2	3	4	5	N
Excitement or bright lights	1	2	3	4	5	N
Run-down home	1	2	3	4	5	N
Firm offer of a job in another town	1	2	3	4	5	N
Conflict with police	1	2	3	4	5	N
Wanting to be with your own family members	1	2	3	4	5	N
Closer to education opportunities for your children	1	2	3	4	5	N
Wanting to be with your partner's family	1	2	3	4	5	N
Sporting opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	N
Chance of a house in another town	1	2	3	4	5	N
Cultural reasons e.g. fishing, hunting, ceremonial matters to do with country	1	2	3	4	5	N
Itchy feet or restlessness	1	2	3	4	5	N
Access to health services	1	2	3	4	5	N
Other: please specify _____ _____	1	2	3	4	5	N
Other: please specify _____ _____	1	2	3	4	5	N

9 Now, I want to ask you about all the times you have moved since you
were 16, starting with your last move and working backwards. I'm
thinking here not just of towns but actual homes you have lived in. It's
quite possible you've lived in more than one house in the one town.
Can you tell me in order all the different dwellings you lived in,
how long you lived there and the reasons why you moved?
[*Research assistant: please use pages 20 and 21 if you run out of
room on this page*]

Why did you move?														
How long did you live there? (or dates)														
Name of the place where you lived														

10 Do you feel that you have ever been forced to move when you really wanted to stay?

Yes ☐

No ☐

11 If yes, could you say briefly what happened and when?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

12 Do you feel that you have ever been forced to stay somewhere when you really wanted to move somewhere else?

Yes ☐

No ☐

13 If yes, could you say briefly what happened and when?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14 Now I want to ask you what you think about moving in the future.

[Research assistant: please hand the participant the blue card].

How likely or unlikely do you think it is that you will move house, either in the same town or elsewhere, in the next year?

[Prompt: 1 means extremely unlikely, 2 means moderately unlikely, 3 means equally likely as unlikely, 4 means moderately likely and 5 means extremely likely to move. N means you don't know.]

<div align="center">

1   2   3   4   5   N

</div>

15 Which face comes closest to showing how you would feel about moving in the next year?

<div align="center">

☺ ☺ ☺ ☹ ☹

</div>

16 How likely or unlikely do you think it is that you will move house, either in the same town or elsewhere, at some time in the next five years?

<div align="center">

1   2   3   4   5   N

</div>

17 Which face comes closest to showing how you would feel about moving at some time in the next five years?

<div align="center">

☺ ☺ ☺ ☹ ☹

</div>

18 The next question is about transport and ease of moving about.
[*Research assistant: please hand the participant the green card*].
In terms of access to transport, how easy or difficult is it for you to
move from place to place?
[*Prompt: 1 means very easy 2 means fairly easy, 3 means neither
easy nor difficult, 4 means fairly difficult, 5 means very difficult.*]

1   2   3   4   5

19 Now I want to ask you about the importance of movement.
[*Research assistant: please hand the participant the yellow card*].
How important is it to your lifestyle to be able to move from one
place to another?

1   2   3   4   5   N

20 If it is important, why is it important?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section B

Historical influences on mobility

In this section, I would like to ask you about the things that may have happened in the past that influence where you have lived and the places that are important to you.

21 Where were you born?

_____

22 What places did you live in when you were a school-aged child?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23 Do you know if your family was moved from their own country by the Aborigines Protection Board or the Aborigines Welfare Board?

Yes, my family was moved ☐ → go to question 24

No, my family wasn't moved ☐ → go to question 26

Don't know ☐ → go to question 26

24 Where was your family moved from?

_____

25 Where was your family moved to?

_____

26 In the early 1970s, an organisation called the Aboriginal Families
Voluntary Resettlement Aboriginal Corporation moved Aboriginal
families from western NSW to Newcastle, Tamworth, Orange, Albury
and Wagga Wagga. Do you know if your family was moved by this
organisation?

Yes, my family was moved   ☐   → go to question 27

No, my family wasn't moved   ☐   → go to question 29

Don't know   ☐   → go to question 29

27 Where was your family moved from?

_____

28 Where was your family moved to?

_____

Section C

Place attachment

In this section I'd like to ask you about places you feel a sense of belonging to.

29 If I asked you to think about home, in the sense of the place you most feel you belong, where would you think of?

_____

30 What is special about this place that makes it home?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

31 Are there other places you see as home?

No ☐ ➔ go to question 33

Yes _____

_____

_____

_____

32 In just a few words, what is it that make these other places feel like home?

_____

_____

_____

_____

33 Out of the places you have lived in or are living in, where do you think is the best place to live?

_____

34 Why do you think it is the best place?

_____

_____

. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section D - Cultural attachment

In this section I would like to ask you some questions about how you feel about traditional culture and traditional places.

35 Which language group or mob do you belong to? _____

_____ _____

Don't know ☐

36 Which is your mother's language group or mob? _____

_____

Don't know ☐

37 Which is your father's language group or mob? _____

_____

Don't know ☐

38 Do you identify with somewhere as your own traditional country?

No ☐ → go to question 46

Yes _____

_____

_____

39 Now I want to ask you about your sense of belonging to country.

[Research assistant: please hand the participant the purple card].

How strong a sense of belonging do you feel to your traditional country?

[Prompt: 1 means no sense of belonging, 2 means a slight sense of belonging, 3 means a moderate sense of belonging, 4 means a fairly strong sense of belonging and 5 means an extremely strong sense of belonging.]

<div align="center">

1   2   3   4   5

</div>

40 Is this the same country as your mother's traditional country?

Yes	☐	➔ go to question 43
Don't know	☐	➔ go to question 43
No	☐	➔ go to question 41

41 If not, where is your mother's traditional country?

_____

_____

42 How strong a sense of belonging do you feel to your mother's traditional country?

<div align="center">

1   2   3   4   5

</div>

43 Is your country the same country as your father's traditional country?

Yes	☐	➔ go to question 46
Don't know	☐	➔ go to question 46
No	☐	➔ go to question 44

44 If not, where is your father's traditional country?

_____

_____

45 How strong a sense of belonging do you feel to your father's
traditional country?

1 2 3 4 5

That's all the questions that deal with the moves you have made and
belonging to place.
Now, I want to ask you just a few more general questions about you and
your household.

Section E - Personal profile

46 What age group are you?

18-24 years	☐
25-34	☐
35-44	☐
45-54	☐
55-64	☐
65 and over	☐

47 What kind of dwelling do you live in?

House	☐
Unit or flat	☐
Caravan	☐
Self-built camp	☐
Hostel	☐
Other (please specify)	_____

48 If you live in a house or unit, how many bedrooms does it have?

_____

49 Thinking about the dwelling you are living in now, are you

Renting your home	☐	→ go to question 50
A home owner or buying your home	☐	→ go to question 51
House sitting	☐	→ go to question 51
Staying with relatives	☐	→ go to question 51
Boarding	☐	→ go to question 51
Squatting	☐	→ go to question 51
Camping	☐	→ go to question 51

Other (please specify) _____

_____ → go to question 51

50 If you are renting, are you renting from:

A private landlord or real estate agent ☐

The Aboriginal Housing Office ☐

The Department of Housing/Housing Commission ☐

A local Aboriginal housing organisation ☐

The Land Council ☐

Murdi Paaki Regional Housing Corporation ☐

Your employer ☐

Other (please specify) _____

51 Not including you, how many adults live in your dwelling? _____

52 How many children live in your dwelling? _____

53 How many of these people are your immediate family (your husband, wife, de facto, parents, grandparents, children or grandchildren)?

_____

54 If you have children at school, what town(s) do they go to school in?

_____

55 Now for a question about your working life. Are you doing:

CDEP ☐

Permanent full time work ☐

Permanent part time work ☐

Seasonal work (e.g. picking, cotton chipping) ☐

Casual work ☐

Unemployed, looking for work ☐

Going to TAFE/uni/other training ☐

Doing home duties ☐

Retired or on a pension ☐

Other (please specify) _____

56 If you have a partner, is your partner doing:

Permanent work ☐

Casual, seasonal or temporary work ☐

Not working ☐

Section G - Other comments

57 Is there anything else you would like to tell me about mobility
you think might be useful for this study?

_____

_____

_____

_____

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your help - I really
appreciate your time and the thought you put into it.

[*Research Assistant: please make sure you have the yellow, blue , green and
purple cards, the signed consent form and any copies of the survey form.*]

9 Continued. Please use this page if the space on page 5 is not enough to write all the moves.

Name of the place where you lived	How long did you live there? (or dates)	Why did you move?												

9 Continued. Please use this page if the space on the previous page is not enough to write all the moves.

Name of the place where you lived	How long did you live there? (or dates)	Why did you move?

Notes

APPENDIX D – INSTRUCTIONS TO RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Survey: Residential mobility among Aboriginal people in western NSW
Instructions to research assistants

Thank you for agreeing to help with my survey. As we discussed, the purpose of the survey is to collect information about residential mobility among people living or staying in selected Aboriginal communities in the former ATSIC Murdi Paaki Region for me to analyse and write up, so that I can tell the story of mobility in my PhD thesis. The information in these notes will help you to collect the information I need.

1. Background information and purpose of the survey

Aboriginal people have always moved and continue to be highly mobile. Residential mobility among Aboriginal people appears to be important both for practical and cultural reasons. Historical and current circumstances have affected Aboriginal people's movement patterns. Aboriginal people's mobility, in turn, creates challenges for service providers, and especially housing providers. These are the issues that led me to choose this topic.

The survey is to collect information which enables me to
◊   examine and describe patterns of contemporary Aboriginal mobility in the region
◊   explore the historical and contemporary influences on mobility patterns
◊   look at the importance of mobility, and
◊   look at the implications of mobility for housing provision

2. Research ethics rules

My PhD research has been approved by the University of New England Human Research Ethics Committee. I have to comply with certain rules of ethical research conduct and some of these rules apply to the work that you will be doing in collecting information for me. The most important things to remember from your point of view are that it is vital to maintain confidentiality of the people with whom you talk and that the people that you ask to participate must know that responding to the survey is voluntary. Here is what you need to do:

◊   Make sure that anyone you invite to take part in the survey is aged 18 years or over.

◊   Make sure that anyone you invite to take part understands the information in the Information Sheet for Participants and can give you their informed consent.

◊   Keep the identities of the people that you talk to, and the responses they give you, confidential. The only person apart from yourself who can be told the identities of the survey respondents and the answers that they give is me.

◊ When you approach potential survey respondents, please give them a copy of the Information Sheet for Participants (on UNE letterhead) and allow them time to read it. If they have trouble reading it or understanding anything about the study, please read it to them and explain what it means. It is very important to make sure they understand that they don't have to answer any questions unless they want to – that their participation is voluntary and they don't have to take part if they don't want to.

◊ If they agree to participate, ask them to sign the consent form and give it back to you. They should keep the Information Sheet for Participants in case they have any questions later.

◊ Keep their responses to the questions confidential – show the completed survey forms to nobody except me. Cliff may collect the forms – if so, could you please pack them in one (or more, if needed) of the envelopes I have given you and seal them up before you give them to him.

◊ If you or anyone you ask have any questions about the purpose of the survey or what happens to the information collected, it is important to contact me.

3. How to identify potential survey respondents

As we discussed, you will be administering the survey in Brewarrina. We need to survey at least 30 people in Brewarrina. I will talk with you about how to identify the people to interview, and we can do some of this together. I want to get surveys from a range of people:
◊ older⇔younger
◊ male⇔female
◊ more mobile⇔less mobile
◊ have children living with them⇔no children
◊ employed⇔unemployed⇔not in workforce
◊ home owner⇔renter⇔living with relations⇔camping
◊ more traditionally oriented⇔less traditionally oriented

Most people fit into quite a few of these categories, but I want you to pick up as big a range as possible of people with different characteristics, e.g. young, old, working, not working and so on. If there are people in town for a month or more who usually live somewhere else (say Dubbo, for instance) it would be good to include them too.

4. How to approach people who might be willing to be interviewed

You will know the best way to get in touch with people who might be willing to be interviewed. You will need to make sure that it is convenient for them to set aside about half an hour or so to

answer the questions, so you might have to make a time before hand or come back at another time if they are busy.

5. How to conduct the survey

The survey form consists of quite a few questions, but most of these are fairly short. There is a paragraph at the beginning of the survey, and at the start of each section, that you need to read out to each person you are interviewing so that they understand the purpose of the questions. Then, it is simply a matter of asking each question and writing down the answers. You should use the pens I have given you, and record each answer either by ticking the appropriate box, boxes or number, or by writing the answer briefly on the lines provided. If there is a question that someone doesn't want to answer, just leave it and go onto the next one. Don't ask them why. We will have a practice run through before you begin. If, when you are talking to people, they say something interesting about moving about that doesn't fit exactly into the questions, please make a note of it so that I can ask you about it later. Please be sure to express appreciation to the respondent at the end of the survey.

6. What to do next

Keep the survey forms and consent forms safe and either Cliff or I will collect them from you when we call in in a week or two. I will phone you every few days to find out how you are getting on. Please phone me (my phone numbers are below) if there is anything you need to ask or tell me.

7. At the end of the survey

When we agree that you have finished doing all the interviews and I come to pick up the rest of the survey forms, if you are willing, I will interview you and tape record our conversation about the survey process and about any interesting insights you picked up while you were talking to people.

8. Timeframe

I am working to a tight deadline with my research, so the period available to get the survey done is not very long. I would like to have all the interviews done and forms collected by the end of April. If you find that you are having trouble getting the interviews done by the time we agreed, please let me know straight away so that we can talk about what to do.

9. Administration

I will need to get from you a completed UNE employment form, a PAYG declaration form and a confidentiality agreement. You will also need to fill in timesheets and either give them to me (or to

Cliff) when you have done the surveys or, if you prefer, you can fax them to Carmel Velleley. Carmel is the Office Manager in the School of Human and Environmental Studies. Her fax number is 02 6773 3030. The closing dates for timesheets are 18th May, 1st June and 15th June. If you can get timesheets to Carmel by the day before the closing date then she can process them and you will be paid on the next UNE pay day, which is the Thursday of the following week. The hourly rate for the work you are carrying out is $24.07 per hour, before tax. This is the rate we will be paying you for travelling time away from the town where you are usually based. We will be paying you on a 'per survey' basis, assuming that each survey is equal to a half hour's work. When you fill in your timesheet, if you count up the number of surveys then divide the number by 2, then add on your travelling time, this will give you the number of hours to claim. Could you please record the kilometres you want to claim for car allowance on the vehicle log sheets and I will pay you for those at the Tax Office rate which applies to your car.

If you have any queries about the survey, or about my PhD at any time, please contact me. My contact details are:

Telephone:	02 6771 4123
Mobile:	0409 300 572
E-mail	jburns2@une.edu.au
Address	25 Burgess Street
	Armidale NSW 2350
or	PO Box U295
	University of New England NSW 2351

You can use the phone card I have given you from a public phone or, if it is not possible to use a public phone, you can ring me reverse charge, or leave me a message and I'll call back.

I hope you find collecting the information interesting and enjoyable. Good hunting!

Best wishes,

Judith Burns

APPENDIX E – PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA

E.1 Climate

Much of the study area is arid. The mean annual rainfall ranges from 228 mm at Tibooburra to 420 mm at Goodooga (Bureau of Meteorology 2004a online; 2004b online). The percentage of time between 1965 and 1980 in which a serious or severe rainfall deficiency was recorded ranged from 30% to 50% (Harriman & Clifford 1987:105). The rainfall variability in the study area ranges from low to moderate, along the southern fringe, to very high in the north-west, near Tibooburra (Bureau of Meteorology 2006 online). Average annual evaporation, too, varies across the study area, from about 2000 mm per year along the eastern and southern fringe to about 2800 mm per year west of Tibooburra (Bureau of Meteorology 2003 online). The average growing season is one month around Tibooburra and ranges to between four and five months around Goodooga (Harriman & Clifford 1987:105).

Temperatures vary little across the study area but there is a measurable temperature gradient from north to south. In January, mean maximum temperatures are generally about 36° in the north and 33° in the south, and mean minimum temperatures are about 22° in the north and 17° in the south of the study area. In July, mean maximum temperatures are generally about 18° in the north and 16° in the south, and mean minimum temperatures are about 5° throughout of the study area. Summer temperatures up to 48° have been recorded and very hot spells with temperatures over 40° often last for several days. The average number of days with temperatures exceeding 30° varies from 145 days per year at Goodooga, in the north, to 92 days at Wentworth (Bureau of Meteorology 2004a online; 2004b online; 2004c online). The region also experiences many days during the year when the relative strain index (which incorporates the effects of mid-afternoon temperature and humidity on a lightly-clothed person engaged in manual activity to predict a level of heat discomfort) exceeds 0.3 at 3.00 p.m. This level is thought to be the threshold of discomfort. The average number of heat discomfort days per year

varies from about 25 at Dareton to over 50 at Tibooburra, Bourke and Brewarrina (Harriman & Clifford 1987:104).

The coldest part of winter is brief compared to that of the rest of the state, with the median period between the first and last frost ranging from less than 50 days around Tibooburra to about 100 days on the eastern edge of the region (Harriman & Clifford 1987:104). The region also has relatively few days when thunder is heard, varying across the study area from ten days to about twenty-five days per year (Bureau of Meteorology 2001 online).

E.2   Topography, geomorphology, soils and vegetation

The topography throughout much of the region comprises alluvial plains, which extend for varying distances from the Barwon-Darling River system. The southern and western parts of the region are characterised by dunefields and sandplains. There are several isolated pockets of irregular or undulating erosional plains in the northern part of the region, in the vicinities of Tibooburra, White Cliffs, Louth, Bourke and the area north of Broken Hill, with low tablelands around White Cliffs and Tibooburra. There are low hills and ridges around and to the north of Broken Hill (the Barrier Range), south of Brewarrina (the New Years Range), south of Bourke (Mt Oxley) and west of Tibooburra (Grey Range), and between Broken Hill and Wilcannia (Scopes Range). The geological features underlying much of the region are relatively recent, consisting of gravel, sand, silt, clay, silicified sediments, conglomerate, sandstone, siltstone and claystone. The area around Broken Hill is characterised by very old rocks of volcanic origin. There are scattered areas of more recent volcanic rock types around Cobar, extending towards White Cliffs, and some granite and other igneous rocks in the immediate vicinity of Tibooburra (Harriman & Clifford 1987:90-91).

The then Soil Conservation Service undertook detailed mapping in the late 1980s using remote sensing and field survey to identify a total of 251 land systems in a 335,667 km² area of western NSW. As part of the survey process, detailed identification and mapping of soil types and vegetation was undertaken. The land systems were then aggregated into eleven major

rangeland types, ten of which are represented across the present study area. The rangeland types broadly describe landform and vegetation, as follows:

◊ mulga sandplains and dunefields, hard red ridges and flats, ranges and hills, found over widespread areas in the northern half of the study area;

◊ plains, ridges, ranges and hills with bimble box or pine forest, located mainly to the north-east and south-east of the study area and along tributaries of the Darling River;

◊ downs country characterised by stony downs and associated plains with saltbush and bluebush, located mainly in the north-west and far west of the study area;

◊ sandplains and dunefields with belah, rosewood and bluebush found mainly in the south and south-west of the study area;

◊ sandplains and alluvial plains with gidgee and brigalow, located mainly in the far north of the study area;

◊ the northern floodplains with coolibah, lakebeds and swamps, and scalded floodplains, found in the northern part of the study area adjacent to the Darling River and its tributaries;

◊ floodplains with Mitchell Grass in the north near Goodooga;

◊ riverine plains with saltbush and bluebush in the south and south-east of the study area; and

◊ southern riverine woodlands, floodplains, lakebeds and swamps with black box and river red gum along the Murray River and the lower reaches of the Darling River.

<div align="right">(Walker 1991b:7-10)</div>

Vegetation types and range have been documented in greater detail by Cunningham (1992).

Soil types vary markedly across the study area from place to place but, in general, the dominant soils are:

◊ massive red and yellow earths which are gradational soils with low to very low inherent fertility west of the Darling River;

◊ calcareous earths, which are reddish-brown gradational loams on dunes and sandplains, subject to severe wind erosion if disturbed, which are very widespread in the central and southern parts of the region;

◊ coarsely cracking grey and brown clays which are deep, moderately fertile alluvial heavy clays prone to compaction and salination under irrigated cultivation, which are found along the river system and are the dominant soil type east of Bourke;

◊ shallow loams of low fertility and poor water holding capacity on siliceous parent materials, found mainly west of the Darling River;

◊ siliceous dune sands, which are deep uniform red sands of low fertility and water holding capacity, subject to severe wind erosion hazard if disturbed, found in the far north-west part of the region, to the east of the Darling River along its lower reaches and close to the South Australian Border in the southern part of the region.

(Harriman & Clifford 1987:92-93)

APPENDIX F – THE PITFALLS OF MAPPING TRADITIONAL AFFILIATION TO COUNTRY

As Chapter 5 indicates, the mapping of tribal or language group boundaries is attended by controversy, for a number of reasons.

Donaldson pointed out that the assumptions which form the basis of the practice of making tribal maps are likely to be alien to Aboriginal people's understanding of the way they inhabit their country. Mapping is concerned with the distribution of 'named groups of people (or the languages spoken by them) mutually exclusively over the entire territory chosen to be mapped – say the State of Victoria, or the State of New South Wales' (1984:21). In this regard, Donaldson posed the question: 'Why ... should people with an orally-transmitted culture necessarily be interested in achieving a taxonomy of territorial or linguistic groups which are mutually exclusive' (1984:21). The information provided to map-making anthropologists, linguists, geographers and others concerned with the incomprehensible practice of delineating boundaries is therefore likely to be nuanced in response to the form and perceived purpose of the questions asked. Other writers have commented on the ways in which supposed boundaries are equivocal. Young, for example, observed with reference to the western desert that country is 'delineated by criss-crossing and intersecting 'Dreaming' tracks rather than by continuous boundaries', and that responsibility may be held jointly by two or more groups for sites and regions (Young 1999:322) Hardy (1981:12) indicated that this was the case for the Paakantji. Peterson, introducing a collection of papers from a seminar entitled 'Ecology, spatial organisation and process in Aboriginal Australia', noted that 'boundary' is, in fact, shorthand for a varied and complex set of discontinuities created by a number of disparate factors including differences in physical environment, economic factors and cultural and linguistic distinctions. He commented on the permeability of the discontinuities between bands which arises from communication, ceremonial gatherings and commerce (Peterson 1976:2-4). The deliberate blurring of the boundaries shown on the map prepared and published by AIATSIS reflects this complexity.

The cross-cultural confusion inherent in mapmaking is further elaborated by Donaldson, whose parenthetic comment in the first quotation in the preceding

paragraph is relevant here, as it underlies the absence of a uniform taxonomy among Aboriginal land-owning and language-speaking groups which, at least in part, accounts for differences between Tindale's map, for example (see Figure 5.4), and subsequent maps of traditional boundaries. Indeed, the terminology used to describe traditional Aboriginal social organisation is itself problematic. Donaldson (1984), who recorded the existence of a schema of etymologically distinct, parallel naming systems used by the speakers of Ngiyampaa, observed that the discrepancies in the mapping arose from the map-makers' lack of familiarity with the array of terms used by Ngiyampaa in describing languages, tracts of land and the people associated with the tracts of land. It is worthwhile remaining with Donaldson's Ngiyampaa example for the moment as it shows not only how the variations in the mapping arose but also illuminates the way the Ngiyampaa speakers Donaldson worked with saw their world. The world of the Ngiyampaa people's own experience is *ngurrampaa*, with *ngurra-* being all the places the Ngiyampaa camp, and the suffix *-paa* indicating world, so *ngurrampaa* is 'camp-world' or 'homeland'. *Ngiya-* means word, speech or law, depending on the context, so Ngiyampaa, the name of the language, is 'word-world' (Donaldson 1984:23). Within the world of the Ngiyampaa, people are classified according to territorial association by a word indicating the features of a tract of country, with the suffix *–kiyalu*, so people from the belar (Casuarina cristata) country are called *pilarrkiyalu*, while those from the nilyah tree (Acacia loderi) country are called *nhiilyikiyalu* and those from the stony country to the north of the *ngurrampaa* of the Ngiyampaa (the Cobar peneplain) are called *karulkiyalu* (*karul* meaning stone). The Lachlan River people to the east are called after their river, *kaliyarr*, and are thus *kaliyarrkiyalu* and the Darling River people to the west, similarly, are *paawankay* (*-kay* is a synonym for *–kiyalu*), after the Darling River, *paawan* (c.f. Barwon). These are, of course, the people who call themselves Paakantji, forming their own name in exactly the same way. Ngiyampaa speakers also differentiate themselves on the basis of differences in speech. The distinguishing criterion is the way the word 'no' is formed, and the name of the language group is formed by the word for 'no' in that language, with the suffix meaning 'having'. The Ngiyampaa people are also, therefore, the *wangaaypuwan* (c.f. Tindale's 'Woŋaibon), who use *wangaay* for no. Other groups which form their names the same way are the *wayilwan* (also a Ngiyampaa dialect group) who use *wayil* for no and *wan*,

rather than *puwan,* for having, and the *wirraathurray* (c.f. Wiradjuri) who use *wirray* for no and *thurray* for having (Donaldson 1984:23-26).

Similar naming issues arise for other language groups. For example, Hercus, like Donaldson a linguist, provided an exposition of the relationship between Paakantji (*Bāgandji* in Hercus's paper) and a number of language groups identified by Tindale on his map. In summary, Hercus reported that:

◊ Gurnu (Gunu in Hercus's paper, Ku:la on Tindale's map) and Bārundji (Paru:ndji on Tindale's map – that is, people belonging to the Paroo) are northern dialects of Paakantji. Hercus noted that Naualko and Gūla are no longer used.

◊ Wiljāli, Daŋgagali, Bandjigali, Wanjubalgu, Southern-Bāgandji and Marawara are all southern dialects of Paakantji, with Daŋgagali having a further local variant form called Bulāli and Southern-Bāgandji having further local variant forms called Barindji (shown on Tindale's map), Menindee talk and Pooncarie talk.

◊ Maljaŋgaba, Wadigali and Yadliyawara, a group of three related languages, adjoin Paakantji to the west. The Paakantji shared social and trade contact and some cultural traditions with these groups.

◊ The Waŋgkumara, Bundumara and Guṇadidji were northern neighbours of the Paakantji and shared contact and some traditions with the Paakantji until the removal of Aboriginal people from Tibooburra (see Section 5.5.5).

◊ The people to the east of the Paakantji 'belonged to the Waŋāybuwan-Niyambā-Wiradjuri group' (but note Donaldson's comments above). These people and the Paakantji shared some cultural traditions and law.

◊ The southern neighbours of the Paakantji were Kureinji and Madimadi speakers

A further controversy stems from disciplinary rivalries, from the variety of motivations explicit and implicit in map-making and, in more general terms, from the increasing politicisation of people-land associations. Until the relatively recent past, attempts at mapping Aboriginal country were motivated predominantly by intellectual curiosity. From the 1970s, with demands by Aboriginal people, on the one hand, to have land rights recognised and, on the other hand, the development of processes to recognise and respond to these rights (or to deny them), the reasons for the documentation of boundaries

became more multifarious. The specific example which illustrates this point is the mapping prepared by Davis, and the critique of this mapping by Sutton and others. In 1992, *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia* was published (Davis & Prescott 1992). The mapping was the work of two political geographers, and was based on case studies in coastal and interior Arnhem Land, central Australia and the Torres Strait. This work was followed by a map entitled *Australia's Extant and Imputed Traditional Aboriginal Territories* (Davis 1993). In 1995, a lengthy and detailed critique of the work of Davis and Prescott was published (Sutton 1995). The arguments are too complex to do justice to here but, in essence, the elements are these:

◊ criticism by Davis and Prescott, whose work was, in part, funded by Australian Mining Industry Council, of the motivation of anthropologists' approach to mapping country and to a perceived reluctance of anthropologists to work for the resource industry (with the bias that implies);

◊ criticism by Sutton and over forty correspondents of his, variously anthropologists, linguists and geographers, of the substance of Davis's and Prescott's mapping and the assumptions and methodology underlying it.

This particular controversy extends to the present study area, in that four of Sutton's expert correspondents, whom he quotes directly (including Hercus and Donaldson, who had both spent many years undertaking detailed fieldwork), commented specifically on Davis's mapping of boundaries and language groups in western NSW. The criticisms by these four writers related to methodological issues, including lack of reference to explicit sources, and errors of fact including misplacement of several groups, mapping of extinct groups while omitting extant ones with large populations, and expansions of some groups at the expense of other extant groups, some of which are omitted. Donaldson commented specifically on 'a vast area to the south-east of all marked boundaries and frontiers' and related notes on Davis's map to the effect that it was not possible to trace Aboriginal people with a traditional affiliation in these areas where she herself had undertaken extensive fieldwork with traditional owners over many years (Sutton 1995:143-146).

In summary, then, mapping of Aboriginal country is complex and potentially controversial.

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