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JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY
AUSTRALIA

Torres Strait Islanders' experiences of contemporary out-movement:

A Grounded Theory of 'Living in Two Worlds'

Thesis submitted by

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BSW (Hons)

January 2015

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In the College of Arts, Society and Education

James Cook University

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I acknowledge my God and Creator for life, for sustaining me on this journey, and carrying me when times were difficult. I respectfully acknowledge the Aboriginal Nations of Australia, whose lands I live and work on. I respectfully acknowledge my Torres Strait Islander families and ancestors. I thank my cultural mentors *Au bala* Ron Day, and *Au sisi* Lillian Noah for their wisdom, guidance and strength.

I would like to thank people who participated in this research for sharing their stories, for without you there would be no story. I am also most grateful to my informants who took the time in their busy jobs to patiently walk me around their Islands. It is with indebtedness that I thank Mayor Fred Gela and the Torres Strait Island Regional Council, and Pastor Brian Lampton and Nintringayni Cultural Training Centre for their support. I thank Centrelink, my employer, for granting me leave of absence.

I most humbly and graciously acknowledge and thank my wonderful and brilliant advisors. I thank Associate Professor Wendy Earles for having faith in me and for allowing me to accomplish what I had set out to do. Her wisdom, kindness, patience and encouragement were more than I could have asked for. I thank Professor Komla Tsey for his wisdom, kindness and insightful feedback throughout, and for seeing beyond the horizon.

I would like to thank my colleagues and friends at James Cook University for moral and technical support, especially Dr Roger Wilkinson, Dr James Coughlan, Peter Garrity, Bronwen Forster, and Margaret Bradley. I am most grateful to my scholarship providers The Cairns Institute; The Australian Research Council (Australian Postgraduate Award); and the School of Indigenous Australian Studies.

I thank my children, my family and my friends for their patience, love and support throughout this journey and for making my life incredibly blessed.

I dedicate this thesis in honour and memory of my late mother and father
Baina Gesah and Joseph Boyce Keane.

Declaration on Ethics

This research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the following:

The proposed research methodology received clearance from the James Cook University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number H4409).

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Statement on the Contribution of Others

Nature of Assistance	Contribution	Names, Affiliations of Co-Contributors
	Editorial Assistance	Katharine Fowler(formatting and proof-reading)
Financial support	Australian Postgraduate Award	The Australian Research Council
		The Cairns Institute
		School of Indigenous Australian Studies

Abstract

Out-movement of Torres Strait Islanders from their homelands to the Australian mainland has increased as people have sought opportunities and services unavailable locally. This movement is part of a wider problem faced by Islanders in different locations who have migrated in response to a range of pressures including poverty and inequalities, political reforms, obligation and expectation, environmental pressures, and personal freedom. As Torres Strait Islander migration is internal, this predicament tends to go unnoticed and the experience is absent from social work literature.

This study explored the experiences of Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movement. Decolonizing methodologies helped frame and guide this study. A Constructivist approach helped in co-constructing meaning, while Indigenous Research Principles determined how I went about the study, as I was both insider and outsider to the research focus and location. I am a Torres Strait Islander woman, a contemporary mover, and a social worker.

The study employed a mixed method approach consisting of two phases: virtual remote surveying of Island communities, and grounded theorizing from semi-structured interviews. Unobtrusive telephone surveying was used in phase one to collect data on the nature and scale of out-movement from key informants, and descriptive statistics and graphical displays were used to inform Island communities. Quota, purposive and theoretical sampling methods were used in phase two to recruit participants who had moved between 2001 and 2011 and who were residing in Cairns. Grounded theorizing from experiences of out-movement and resettlement involved a process of opening coding, concept building, focused coding and finding the core construct through an analysis metaphor of *zeuber* (the wave) and a meaning making metaphor of migrating birds. First person accounts woven into the grounded theory were used to present the experiences of moving.

Phase one findings indicated that motivations to move were similar to those described in other migration literature, but with the addition of medical movers. The core construct from phase two findings was 'living in two worlds' and comprised seven experiences: like a new adventure, living with uncertainty, feeling out of place, getting back on your feet, finding the right spot, managing obligations, and growing from here up. Four dimensions of sense-making: belonging, security, purpose and hope - and four specific strategies: setting boundaries, making adjustments, taking responsibility,

and keeping close – helped to articulate the process of 'managing the crossings' between the two worlds of 'island life' and 'mainstream'.

In addition to Berry's (1997) process of acculturation and four outcomes: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization, the experience of out-movement, of 'living in two worlds', was found to be an ongoing and complex process of adjustment that required 'managing the crossings' daily and sometimes many times a day. These finding might be transferable to other internal, and possibly international, movements; and have implications for developing policies and practices to support future resettlement arising from climatic and economic imperatives.

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Introduction, Background

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Chapter 1.   Gazing the Horizon

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I introduce myself, the researcher. To establish connections with people and place, relate 'self' to the research, and ensure cultural safety are practices of paramount importance for Indigenous researchers. Following my introduction, I present important considerations: to locate place, to identify the research problem, aims and question, to articulate the key term, to provide a rationale for the research and background on Torres Strait Islander migration, and to describe the approach to this research and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Anchoring Self

I am a Torres Strait Islander woman, born and raised on Thursday Island, with family ties to the Murray Islands (Mer, Dauar and Waier). My mother is from the *Komet* tribe, whose culture and traditions I inherit. My totem is the Sea Turtle, *Nam,* which I take from my grandmother. *Nam* is renowned for travelling alone over great distances, but no matter how far she travels, she always returns to nest and bury her young in the sands of her origins. Like my totem, I cannot venture too far or for too long before I have to return home. My children are many, and my lineage transcends many generations. My tribal wind is the North Westerlies *Koki*, which arrives swiftly but briefly during the monsoon period of November and March. *Koki* brings with it much needed rain that cleanses the islands and readies people for the new year.

My father is Australian, of Irish ancestry. My grandfather was an economic migrant and, together with his siblings, migrated to different continents in search of opportunities. I am also a contemporary mover, moving from the islands in 2005 for educational opportunities for myself and my children. I now live in Cairns, in Far North Queensland, Australia. Cairns is an important destination for Torres Strait Islanders, being the closest regional centre to the islands, and hosting a significant proportion of Torres Strait Islanders with historical links to the mainland.

I am a social worker, and I graduated with a Bachelor of Social Work with Honours in December 2010.

The experience of 'living out of a suitcase', of knowing that I am here living on the mainland for an indefinite period, provided some certainty as well as a degree of instability. In the first five years after moving to the mainland I found life very unsettling. I would go through moments of stability, but most times, deep inside, I was somewhat unsettled. Although my life seemed to be purposeful and productive, and I was making headway, I felt I had left my spirit behind on the islands. It seemed like I was expecting to move. Move where? I did not know. All I knew was that I was temporarily positioned in this location and at any time I was going to pick up and go – somewhere, if not back home. Most of my personal belongings, including photographs and sentimental items remained packed, in preparation for the inevitable move. By the sixth year, I gradually unpacked my photographs. This feeling of temporary existence made me wonder if others were feeling the same, and if so, why and how did they manage these experiences? I struggled to form an anchor.

As a social worker, I would like to think that I am an agent of change. To do this, I work alongside others through consciousness-raising and drawing on people's rich and diverse capacity to affect change and challenge domination. In a professional capacity, I consider myself a dialectic social worker with a predisposition towards critical theory, drawing on strengths-based anti-oppressive approaches and decolonising practice frameworks. I wanted to understand people's experiences of migration in order to raise awareness and stimulate discussion that may influence change at different levels: the individual, community, and wider policy environment. Most importantly, I wanted to provide a reference point for others, by uncovering the concealed experiences of Indigenous and minority group movement within large nation states. This knowledge could then be shared to help others manage their migration and resettlement experiences.

This research is a reflection of the work that I have been involved in for most of my career: helping people access welfare services. Welfare is a necessity for many marginalised Indigenous peoples living in first-world nations. Not only does welfare meet people's material needs, but it enables people to go beyond mere survival, into meeting obligations and responsibilities. We live in a world where money takes precedence over cultural practices, as most of us can no longer live self-sufficiently on

our lands, waters and skies. There are too many laws - other people's laws - that restrict our freedom to live outside modernity.

I have witnessed significant changes in my own lifetime, and traveling to the remote island communities in the Torres Strait over the last two decades with my work was a blessing. I had the opportunity and privilege of spending time with different people, in different island communities. I appreciated the times spent talking with the Councillors and the elders. Having worked within the welfare sector, I was well informed about political changes and government reforms, and it was usually my responsibility to roll out these changes in the community. I was interested in how government policies affected people's lives, especially small, isolated island communities far removed from the large mainland cities where the policy-makers lived. I could see that we were slowly becoming Westernised, and our values and way of life were being compromised. I was told stories about our children on the islands were refusing to eat fish, and wanting only to eat chicken. So when the cargo boat came in, it wasn't long before all the frozen chicken would be sold out (personal conversation 2002, IBIS Manager, Poruma). Sharing yarns with many former leaders and other family members, some of whom are no longer with us, were special moments that remain alive in my memory, and as I sat writing this thesis, I could still hear their voices.

I was always interested in what would become of us as a unique cultural group if we were forced to move away from our islands, as climate change threatened our way of life and existence. Adding to the imminent threat of climate change were the constant reminders from other small nations in the Pacific experiencing the same vulnerabilities. The prospect of moving was daunting. Political reforms, along with high unemployment and a high cost of living, placed us in a precarious position. I remember my last conversation with Chairman *bala* (Councillor of one of the islands), over a dinner of fried fish and rice. I informed him of the recent welfare reforms that were to be introduced on mainland Australia, with significant implications for people living in remote communities. Chairman *bala* seemed dismayed and somewhat confronted by the prospect that we were unprepared for the changes that were on the horizon. I knew at that moment that a new dawn was upon us that would confront the continuation of our survival as a cultural group, a minority within a minority, inside the confines of the larger nation state of Australia. Merely being Australian citizens did not protect us as an Indigenous minority amongst the larger Indigenous minority, as they too were faced with similar challenges. Chairman *bala* sadly passed away within months of our talk.

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1.3 Important Considerations

The following section provides four important considerations for this research and thesis. These are: insider-outsider researcher, cultural grounding, using metaphor, and authenticating our existence.

1.3.1 Insider-outsider researcher

My own standpoint as a Torres Strait Islander woman informed this research with an insider's perspective of what disconnection to place means for Torres Strait Islanders. My stance as an insider-outsider therefore positions this research as looking at the phenomenon from the inside out, as well as from outside in (Absolon & Willett 2004). The term 'research' is conceived by Indigenous scholars as "probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith 1999, p. 1). However, I use the term in this thesis, not to replicate injustice or denigrate Indigenous peoples, but to distinguish my study from others that I have referenced.

My place in this whole research process had to be managed to avoid unequal reciprocity, especially with recruitment, so that those invited to participate did not feel obligated in any way. I had to be wary also of education, class and colour, and of my position of privilege and power. I had to constantly negotiate my way around social and family relationships, including those of my in-laws, which at the time were very contentious for personal reasons, as I was also going through a divorce at the same time. I could at no time assume that having on-going relationships with participants placed me in a position of privilege. As an insider, I had to consciously and continuously manage my place to find a balance between staying connected while maintaining a safe distance. My insider status was continuously shifting, and I had to determine where I stood at different times in relation to the person with whom I was connecting. I juggled multiple roles and responsibilities in my community, and now I was going in as a researcher, an out-sider, who had to knock before re-entering (Martin 2008).

1.3.2 Cultural grounding

To manage my insider-outsider status, I engaged two separate cultural guides, one I refer to as my cultural mentors and the other as my peer reference group. My cultural mentors acted as my anchor, pulling me back into safety and keeping me on course. My culture guides kept me grounded during rough seas and high swells that sometimes obstructed my path. Our conversations were stabilizing, reminding me of who I was,

where I came from, and why I was headed in this particular direction. I was travelling as part of a larger fleet that was travelling alongside me. Some had gone ahead (migrated) and disappeared beyond the horizon, while others were getting prepared to make the crossing behind me.

I also enlisted a peer reference group, people similar to myself in experience who also gave of themselves by participating in the research. This group audited my work and added momentum to my voyage, so that I was able to reach my final destination with speed and certainty knowing that I was responsible for crew and cargo. It is from them that I was able to look back in from the outside, seeing through those different eyes and broadening my own horizons. I sought each for their wisdom on several occasions as I shared my preliminary findings with them. Their perspectives and deconstructions of Western references pushed my research further and enlightened my search for new grounds.

1.3.3 Using Metaphor

I used metaphor to guide my research process and the presentation of this thesis. The use of metaphors is consistent with Torres Strait Islander ways of sharing knowledge through conceptualising understanding through illustrations. We call this sort of talk in Torres Strait Creole (the commonly spoken language of the Straits) as *sake tok*, in the Eastern region of the islands, *taum dikada* and in the Western region, *taumanin*. It is a part of storytelling that resonated with me as I too think and speak in metaphor. You will notice throughout this thesis that I use my own illustrations of metaphors to traverse blurred areas and to form a point. There are three main metaphors that have taken me through this journey, and were important to conceptualising Western frames of thought into Torres Strait Islander worldviews: 'the wave', 'migrating birds', and 'a voyage by canoe'.

This research was inspired by the first metaphor of 'the wave' or *zeuber* that intends to transport people's voices from the grassroots to the policy-makers at the top, and then like the wave, folds back into itself, influencing the political structures that affect and determine our lives. The wave moves forward, gathering its energy from the ocean floor and bringing up to the surface its entire elements. Then another wave emerges. This continues until it reaches its destination, a distant shore where it spreads its goods along the beach for people to collect at their discretion.

The second metaphor was 'migrating birds', which assisted in the data analysis phase. Like migrating birds, there was only one leader when finding the core construct in

grounded theory. Out of all the codes and categories, the theory emerges in the form of one core construct.

The third and overarching metaphor, 'a voyage by canoe', encapsulates the research journey and structure of this thesis. Basing my research on the canoe voyage helped set the course of writing and presenting my research, unfolding like a story: with a beginning, middle and an end. The story of the sea voyage is a journey taken by Torres Strait Islanders over many generations. These journeys were crucial to our survival, forming trade routes and relationships with *Migi Daudai* (Papua New Guinea) and *Keoy Daudai* (Australia). Most important was the establishment of kinship ties between the different islands that continues to hold fast today.

1.3.4 Authenticating our existence

As a Torres Strait Islander woman, I use a capital for the term Indigenous to personalise and authenticate our existence as peoples in first world colonized nations. I also use the term Indigenous Research Principles to denote our (Indigenous) values, conduct, ethics and ways of doing business (research) – supported by Indigenous scholarship.

1.4 Locating Place

The islands of the Torres Strait are located between the northern tip of Australia and Papua New Guinea. The region was formerly a land bridge, which connected the Australian continent with New Guinea in a single landmass called Saul until the end of the last ice age (Lawrence & Lawrence 2004). Many of the western Torres Strait Islands are granite remnants of peaks that formed this land bridge before ocean levels rose (Lawrence & Lawrence 2004). The Torres Strait region today comprises 17 inhabited island communities, with two discrete Torres Strait Islander communities located on the mainland (the Cape), the communities of Bamaga and Seisia (Lawrence & Lawrence 2004). These communities were established to accommodate the resettlement of Saibai Islanders after a massive flood inundated large sections of the island in the 1950s (Ober, Sproats & Mitchell [circa 1999]).

The islands are grouped into four geographic regions that share similar language, culture and often ancestry as a result of inter-island exchanges; Eastern, Central, Top Western and Inner-Western (Figure 1.1); Torres Strait Islanders are predominantly Melanesians, and towards the Cape region are also of Aboriginal descent. Outside

presence increased in the Torres Strait from the mid-1800s with the introduction of the marine industries (Beckett 1987). This included South-East Asians, Pacific Islanders and Europeans, with many taking Islander wives and as a result a long established and diverse society emerged.

Figure 1.1 Map of Torres Strait
(sourced from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Torres_Strait_Islanders
and modified to depict regions)

The Torres Strait is named after the Spanish adventurer Luis Baez de Torres who navigated through the narrow passage in 1606. Prior to Torres' voyage, there were some indications of Islander contacts with outsiders from nearby Asia (Beckett 1987). It was not until 1770 that Captain James Cook claimed Australia for the British Empire by planting the Union Jack on the island closest to the tip of Cape York Peninsula, consequently naming it Possession Island. In that one act, the Torres Strait region and its people unknowingly became British subjects.

In 1992, the Torres Strait flag was first flown (Figure 1.2) (Shnukal 2001). Green represents the islands, blue the sea, and black the local Melanesian people. The star in the centre of the head-dress represents the five clusters of the Torres Strait. The five clusters are the four regions previously mentioned and the inner-islands adjacent to the main port of Thursday Island, whose traditional custodians are the *Kaurareg* nation.

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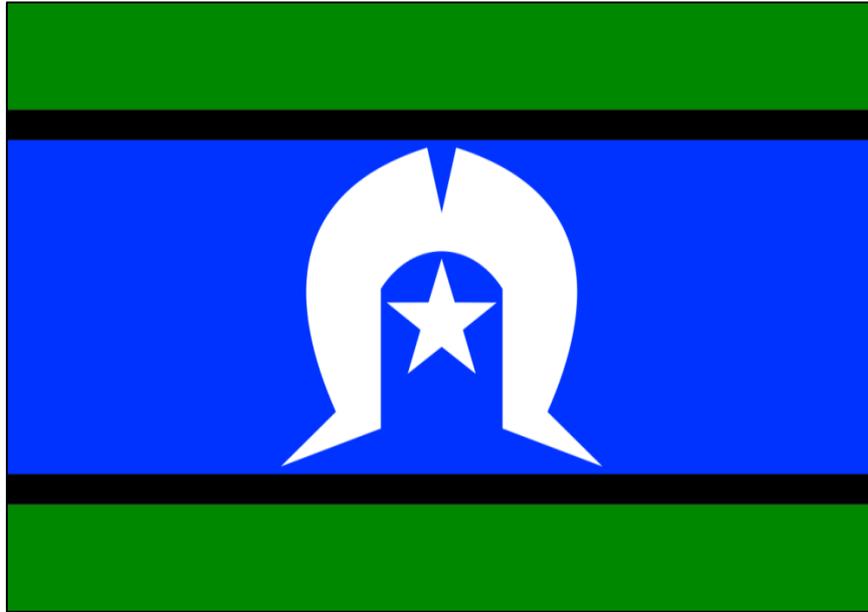
Figure 1.2 Torres Strait flag
(source from http://www.tsra.gov.au/the-torres-strait/torres-strait-flag)

In the same year the High Court handed down its judgement in the Murray Island land case (Shnukal 2001). The High Court's recognition of the Murray Islanders' customary land tenure upheld the essential continuity and integrity of their culture and custom. The High Court's ruling proved that Torres Strait Islanders' culture and custom had not been obliterated by contact and with colonialism and capitalism. Thus, the Torres Strait Islanders' right to their property and resources had not been extinguished and the past had continued to co-exist with the present (Shnukal 2001).

Indigenous Australians form a very small proportion of the Australian population, with the 2011 census showing 548,370 people identified as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin in the census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012). Of these, 90% were of Aboriginal origin only, 6% were of Torres Strait Islander origin only, and 4% identified as being of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander origin. Torres Strait Islanders, residing in the Torres Strait region, number approximately 5921 or 10% of the national Torres Strait Islander population (Figure 1.3).
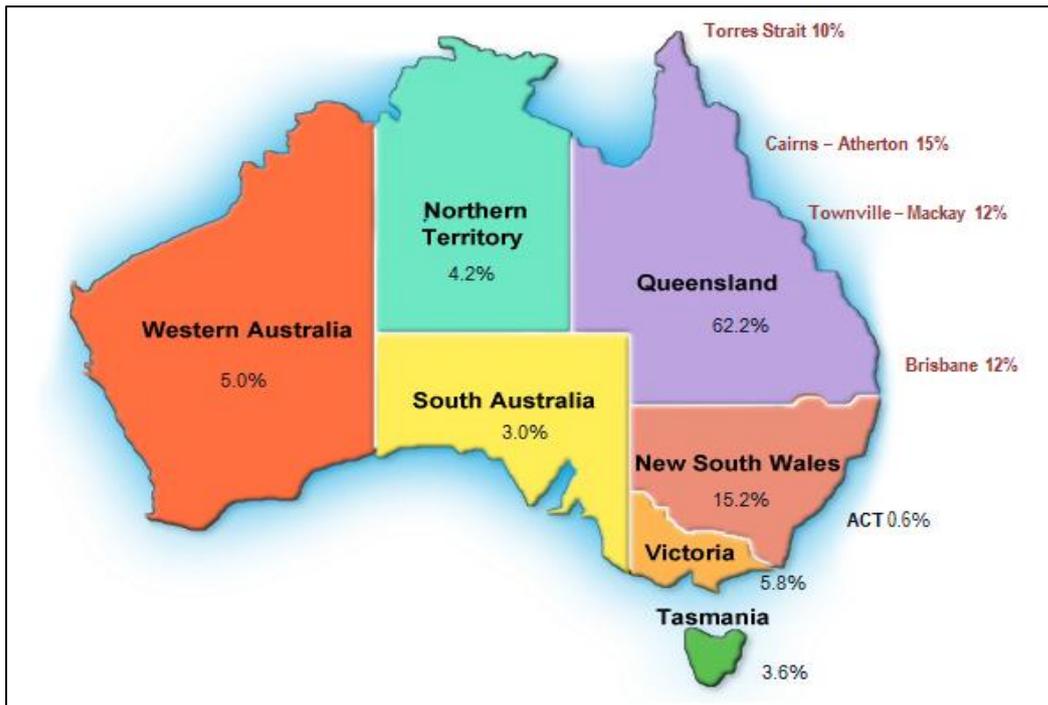
Figure 1.3 Torres Strait Islander population distributions from 2011 census collection (base map adapted from www.bedandbreakfast.com.au and data from ABS 2011)

Torres Strait Islanders frequently move between the islands and the mainland to seek out opportunities such as employment, housing and education. Living on the mainland is fraught with challenges, as people seek resources necessary to realise their current and future needs and aspirations.

1.5 Research Problem

Out-movement is part of a wider problem facing many smaller island regions in the Pacific. Much of the attention is on climate change and rising sea levels. While climate-related change poses a threat to small, low lying regions of the world, people are already on the move.

The Torres Strait Islands consist of a number of small island communities, remotely located from the nearest regional centre. As a result, they frequently experience land pressures and disputes, limited economic development opportunities, a high cost of living, and the lack of many civic and essential services. When combined, these limitations have a serious effect on economic and self-development opportunities for individuals, families and communities. Climate-related change and increasing fuel costs raise questions around viability and sustainability, particularly in political forums.

Like many other remote Indigenous communities, this means that people are placed at greater risk in maintaining optimum physical, psychological and spiritual wellbeing. Most importantly, this raises questions about how this will affect the lives of Torres Strait Islanders, especially when they are forced to abandon their islands and move to urban areas located on the Australian mainland.

Out-movement of Torres Strait Islanders from their homelands to the Australian mainland has increased as people have sought opportunities and services unavailable locally. This movement is part of a wider problem faced by Islanders in different locations who have migrated in response to a range of pressures including poverty and inequalities, political reforms, obligation and expectation, environmental pressures, and personal freedom. As Torres Strait Islander migration is internal, this predicament tends to go unnoticed and the experience is absent from social work literature.

A large Torres Strait Islander population is already established on the Australian mainland as a result of decades of migration, again mostly economically motivated (Biddle & Hunter 2006; Watkin Lui 2009). There is a need to understand how this group is experiencing their out-movement in order to support future relocations.

1.6 Research Aims

The overall aim of this research was to uncover the hidden facets of out-movement to raise consciousness among communities and people working to support contemporary out-movers, through the validation of Torres Strait Islanders' lived experiences. Privileging Torres Strait Islander voices challenges generalisation, marginalisation, domination and misrepresentation through dominant colonial discourses (Nakata 1998; Rigney 2001; Smith 1999).

The specific aims of the research were to briefly describe the history of Torres Strait Islander migration (this chapter); review literature on migration for key concepts and do a metasynthesis of minority migration for sensitizing concepts (Chapter 2); explore the nature and scale of out-movement (Chapter 6) and develop a grounded theory on the experiences of out-movement (Chapter 7); and position the grounded theory against existing migration models for the purpose of informing social policy and social work practice (Chapter 8).

1.7 Research Question

In this research I explored the question: What is the experience of Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movement?

The purpose of this research was to increase understanding of the experience within the community and to inform policy and practice to support future resettlement arising from climate and economic imperatives.

1.8 Key Term

I used the term 'out-movement' for this research so that it was not confused with other internal movements and forms of mobility. The term 'out-movement' refers to the internal migration of members of a collective society with a shared culture, that is not seen as one-dimensional, nor a permanent disconnection to place. Although such movement can be classified as internal migration, as people are moving within the borders of a nation state, the term 'out-movement' seemed more appropriate as the Torres Strait region is geographically and culturally disconnected from the Australia continent. Hence, the use of the term 'out-movement' in this thesis refers to people moving across water, locations and culture.

1.9 Rationale for Research

There is a dearth of literature documenting first person accounts of internal migration within Australia from Indigenous peoples' perspective, and in this case, Torres Strait Islanders. Research into climate change adaptation for remote Torres Strait and Aboriginal communities has been forthcoming, with researchers looking at rising sea levels and predicting possible worst-case scenarios as global temperatures increase (Green 2006; Green, Billy & Tapim 2010; Hanslow, Isherwood & Torres Strait Regional Authority 2010; Howitt, Havnen & Veland 2012). Connell (2013a) raised concern that, as Indigenous ecological knowledge fades and is ignored, effective adaption to climate change will prove difficult for communities. This will, in effect, reduce any potential development. Should communities become less viable, with increased fuel costs, transportation, and general living expenses, more people will be forced to move closer to regional and urban centres. These urban concentrations accentuate problems of overcrowding, unemployment, crime, and social disorganisation (Connell 1999). New arrivals into existing high density urban areas create additional socioeconomic

problems that are directly connected to the individual, as well as collective wellbeing. These encompass the physical (body), mental/emotional (mind), and spiritual (spirit) health (Elu 2004; Pattel 2007). More research is needed to bridge the gap between social work research and migration, particularly among vulnerable populations whose internal movements remain concealed and ignored within predominantly Western nation states.

The findings from this research will add to the body of literature already focusing on the potential displacement of people through climate change-induced migration. The findings may be useful as governments prepare to support future out-movements from remote Indigenous communities, as people respond to climate change and economic imperatives. Capturing the experiences of current Torres Strait Islander migration and resettlement can contribute to the knowledge that will support the survival and continuation of Torres Strait Islander culture and wellbeing in the face of displacement and disconnection.

This research is linked to social sustainability of tropical regions, as more and more people will be internally and externally displaced by changing weather conditions and environmental degradation. This research will provide the foundations for further research into resettlement experiences of potential environmental refugees, who will most likely choose to live in tropical regions that are similar to their own homelands.

1.10 Torres Strait Islander migration: A brief history of research

To understand contemporary out-movement, I needed to consider the history of Torres Strait Islander migration in order to contextualise the current movement of people. To do this, I searched for articles specific to Torres Strait Islanders and their migration to the mainland. I located a number of key articles that described the rationale that motivated this movement and provided important historical accounts of colonial rule and restrictive practices. These practices dictated physical as well as social, economic and political development. I was also seeking information about whether conditions and motivations of past movement might correlate or differ from current out-movement. It was important to develop a deeper understanding of my own history and how this has shaped the lives and experiences of Torres Strait Islander people and communities, both in the region and on the mainland.

I conducted a general search of the literature on Torres Strait Islander migration using the social science and humanities databases, and the James Cook University

OneSearch search engine using keywords "Torres Strait', "Torres Strait Islander" and "Migration" (Table 1.1). I selected Beckett (1987, 2010), Shnukal (2001), Hodes (1998), and Watkin Lui (2009, 2012) as key authors, providing an historical account on pre- and post-war migration; while Fiske, Duncan & Kehl (1974), Duncan (1974), and Taylor & Arthur (1993) provided an analytical account which addressed the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) economic and demographic distribution of Torres Strait Islanders (since their inclusion into the National census collection from 1971).

Table 1.1
Key authors on Torres Strait Islander society and political history

Date	Author	Field of study
1974	Fisk, Duncan & Kehl	Research School of Pacific Studies, Department of Economics, Australian National University Canberra
1974	Duncan	Research School of Pacific Studies, Department of Economics, Australian National University Canberra
1977 1987 2010	Beckett	Anthropology
1993	Taylor & Arthur	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
1998	Hodes	Degree of Masters of Letters in History, Central Queensland University
1992 2001	Shnukal	Sociolinguist
2009 2012	Wakin-Lui	Doctoral dissertation/Thesis, School of Indigenous Australian Studies, James Cook University

Taylor & Arthur (1993, p. 27) found a paucity of literature in their attempt to map the redistribution of the Torres Strait Islander population in Australia, having to integrate "unconnected threads" from literature relating to the patterns and causes of migration and using data from the 1986 and 1991 censuses. Hoping to shed some light on Torres Strait Islander patterns of movement, they found that existing analysis was "unsystematic, spatially restricted and generally dated", and that, in prior studies, the "knowledge of Islander migration has all too often been derived as a by-product of some other inquiry into social and economic issues with no researcher making it the

primary focus of their investigation" (Taylor & Arthur 1993, p. 27). Moreover, Torres Strait Islander movement occurs within Australia's borders, and for this reason goes unnoticed and unaccounted for as people move between the mainland and the island communities. These findings were confirmed by Biddle & Hunter (2006), who found that the knowledge on Indigenous Australians' mobility and their patterns of migration are limited. What is known from census data, is that Indigenous Australians are relatively mobile and are more likely to change residence over a period of time (Biddle & Hunter 2006).

The following presents an overview of the Torres Strait and its people from the time of European contact to the 21st century. Again, the intention here is to provide background and context in order to position the research and to provide a brief account of past migratory patterns.

From the time of British annexation in 1770, contact between Torres Strait Islanders and others was infrequent and primarily consisted of ships passing en route to the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The 1860s saw the arrival of the pearlers and trepangers (sea cucumber harvesters), who establishment semi-permanent fishing stations on some of the islands. These newcomers found the Islanders, who were a sources of cheap labour, eager for trade goods such as iron, cloth and tools (Beckett 1977). The establishment of both these industries required Indigenous land, resources, labour and women (Beckett 1977). By the 1880s, these marine industries had become permanent, with fleets of schooners and luggers arriving and departing, and shore stations developing, occupied by an introduced labour force of South-East Asians, Pacific Islanders, Australian Aborigine, and Europeans. When the London Missionary Society (LMS) landed on Darnley Island in 1871, the Eastern Islands of the Torres Strait had been in contact with Europeans for some time, engaging in trade with transient ships that passed by. The LMS established a teachers' training college on Murray Island, training workers for their mission fields in Papua New Guinea. Along with the LMS came teachers from the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia and Samoa (Shnukal 1992).

Although annexed as part of Australia, Torres Strait Islanders enjoyed relative freedom to move about and engage in economic activities. This entitlement was primarily due to the region's isolation and a lack of competition between European settlers and Islanders. This soon came to an end when the 1897 Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, which was enforced in most states, reached Queensland. By 1904 these restrictions became more evident in the Torres Strait

(Beckett 1987). The 'Act' appointed Superintendents to direct the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people without any rights of appeal. The protectors used their official powers to keep a tight hold on the Islanders' money, not only to discourage extravagant gifts to the church, but also to limit their consumption of items that were necessities to Europeans (Beckett 1987). Protectionist policies denied and restricted free movement of people who were under the Act. Those residing on outlying island communities could not travel to the main port and administration centre of Thursday Island or to the Australian mainland without approval. Travel restrictions were also placed on movement between the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea after the country's Independence in 1975, further loosening longstanding trade, family and cultural ties between the Torres Strait and the coastal regions of Papua New Guinea.

Past migratory patterns in the Torres Strait have been influenced by both push and pull factors, with employment and better educational opportunities attracting Torres Strait Islanders to the mainland (Beckett 1987, 2010; Fisk et al. 1974; Watkin Lui 2009). People moved to escape restrictive conditions imposed by State administrators that controlled virtually all aspects of Torres Strait Islander people's lives. The introduction of the cash economy, and their subsequent reliance on it, meant that Torres Strait Islanders had to head south to the mainland in search of a wage to support communities that were headed into the 20th century.

Apart from the residents of Malay Town on the outskirts of Cairns, there is little evidence of any permanent movement out of the Torres Strait before 1945 (Taylor & Arthur 1993). The only well-documented movement prior to World War II was of Douglas Pitt (snr), a Jamaican residing in the Torres Strait who relocated his family to Cairns in 1905, and was followed later by a number of other Torres Strait Islander families who had ties to the Pitt clan (Hodes 1998). This movement saw the establishment of Malay Town, a makeshift settlement that grew around Chinaman Creek, in what is now the Cairns city district. Malay Town attracted other new migrants, adding to the diversity of the Torres Strait Islander population. Becket (1963, cited in Hodes, 1998, p.34) noted that these first Torres Strait Islander migrants escaped being under the 'Act', as it was thought they did not require protection and control because of their seeming "superior mentality and sophistication". Others noted around this time, that 'coloured' people (in Cairns) were accepted as long as they kept to themselves and didn't cause trouble (Hodes 1998).

World War II was a turning point for the Torres Strait, particularly due to the region's perceived vulnerability to the advancing Japanese forces, who by 1941 were already in

the Pacific (Nagata, Shnukal & Ramsay 2004). The enactment of the National Security (Aliens Control) Act of 1939, meant that all Japanese residents over the age of 16 were to be registered and later transferred to internment camps on the mainland for the duration of World War II (Nagata et al. 2004). In 1942 the European and 'coloured' populations from Thursday Island and the non-reserve islands were evacuated. My late Aunt Emily Ahmat recalled that residents, during the relocation from Thursday Island, were permitted to take one piece of hand luggage only. Abandoning their homes, they travelled by steam ship to Cairns, and then further on to Brisbane. Aunt Emily and her family remained in Brisbane until the war ended. On returning to Thursday Island, many families found their homes ransacked, while many more were unable to return, as they had no home (house) to return to (personal communication, late Aunty Emily Ahmat). The evacuees were of 'mixed' heritage and were exempt from being 'under the Act'; hence their relocation to the mainland was permitted. The Indigenous population that remained behind supported the war efforts. Young men enlisted in the Australian Defence Force with the hope that their efforts would be rewarded by a better deal and full citizen rights afterwards (Beckett 1987). However, after the war little had changed, which started a chain of kin-based migration to the Australian mainland as people left in search of work. This was because wages in the Torres Strait were low and remittance was necessary to support families and communities on the islands (Beckett 1987; Duncan 1974; Fisk et al. 1974).

This type of movement began shortly after the war when the Queensland Government allowed a small group of Islander males from the Murray Islands to work in the Queensland cane fields to meet a demand for unskilled labour (Beckett 1987). High unemployment in the Torres Strait during this time contributed to the release of the first wave of migrants, acting as a safely value to relieve population pressures (Beckett 1987). These men were to return to the islands after the cane-cutting season. This form of indentured labour movement continued between the islands and the mainland as Islander labour was necessary to fill jobs that white Australians did not want (Taylor & Arthur 1993). The first wave of migrants worked as boat crews and cane-cutters, eventually staying on to work on the railway construction projects that spanned the Australian continent. These workers formed small pockets of Torres Strait Island communities all over Australia and established a pattern of migration that has persisted to the present day (Beckett 2010).

The only other known mass out-migration of Torres Strait Islanders shortly after World War II was in 1947, when environmental pressures and seasonal flooding caused a

large number of people from Saibai Island to move to the Australian mainland. The move was motivated by environmental hardship, increasing population, and scarcity of natural resources such as firewood (Ober et al. [circa 1999]). The scarcity of usable land, inadequate water supply, and recurring illness from nearby swamps, forced people to venture beyond the comforts and confines of their traditional home in search of a better life for their families and future generations. Following considerable planning and discussion within the community and with guidance from the Elders, half the population of Saibai gradually moved to the newly established community of Muttee Heads on the Cape York Peninsula region, and then later moved to the current settlement of Bamaga. Ober et al. ([circa 1999]) noted that between 250 and 300 people moved during this exodus.

The collapse of the Torres Strait pearling industry in the 1960s forced many men to move to the mainland to find work to support their families living on the islands (Beckett 1987). Around the same time, a surge in the mainland economy required labour for jobs that were not attractive to white workers, but which Islanders could perform under extreme heat, providing higher wages than those earned in the Torres Strait (Beckett 2010). While small scale Japanese pearl culture stations seemed to offset some of the out-migration in the Torres Strait, most of these 'live shell' stations were relocated to Kurri Bay in Western Australia, attracting working aged Islander men to the West Coast, and adding to the growing numbers of others that were recruited by the railways and mines (Beckett 1987). Despite hard work and harsh conditions, the opportunity to earn "white man's wages in the hand rather than through the government office" motivated these men to persist (Beckett 2010, p. 67).

In 1965 the former colonialist administration was replaced by the Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DAIA) under The Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander Affairs Act (1965). Almost all the restrictive clauses under the previous Act were removed, including the prohibition to travel freely to the mainland (Shnukal 2001). The removal of legal and administrative restrictions, along with improved transportation between the islands and the mainland, made travel between destinations accessible to others, and residence in either location by this time was "regarded as an act of choice" (Beckett 1987, p. 180). Significant out-movement from the Torres Strait after the relaxing of restrictive government policies had a profound effect on the economic development potential of the region, prompting political attention (Duncan 1974). A study of socio-economic conditions in the Torres Strait was initiated by the Australian National University Research School of Pacific Studies, surveying four of the islands;

Badu, Murray, Yorke and Saibai. The findings from these studies revealed a significant decline in population between 1961 and 1971, with a total of 1431 Islanders moving away, "a substantial number in comparison with the 1961 population of 3509" (Duncan 1974, p. 92). Some of these movements included secondary school children who had moved to Thursday Island or Bamaga in order to continue their schooling.

By the early 1980s much had improved in the Torres Strait, with local governance arrangements, the push for self-determination, and the introduction of the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) (Hunter 2002). The CDEP provided employment and much-needed income for the region. As a result, the intensity of this out-movement decelerated (Shnukal 2001). Increases in State and Federal funding improved living conditions, adding to the material wealth of many Islanders. At the same time Torres Strait Islanders had become politically visible, attracting attention from both levels of government and the major political parties, whom they found could be played against each other. Politics in the Torres Strait has done a full circle, from the decentralisation of colonial governance to returning to central control in 2008 with the amalgamation of local councils in the State of Queensland. Also, the 1984 Community Services Act (Torres Strait), which provided individual councils' jurisdiction over their community interest and needs, was repealed (Sanders 1995). The removal of the CDEP program created job losses in other industries that were part-funded (Jordan 2012).

The more recent out-movement of people has been a response to 'push' factors, such as limited community housing stock in island communities, the high cost of living (Dunlevy 2009), and scarcity of land to support an increasing population (Green, Alexander, et al. 2010). Environmental concerns are also causing concerns over the region's future, with some low lying islands in the Torres Strait already experiencing erosion and sea water inundation during seasonal king tides (Beck 2011; Wilson 2011). Climate change-related events are a real threat to six of the most vulnerable (and inhabited) islands: Boigu, Saibai, Yorke, Poruma, Warraber and Yam. Some parts of these islands are no more than one metre above sea level, with infrastructure and communities situated only metres back from the beachfront (Green 2006). Efforts to acquire government funds to repair seawalls and protect receding shorelines from tidal surges are an ongoing challenge facing local councils as they prepare to endure the wild onslaught of each monsoon (Torres Bousen 2012; Parsons 2012; Vlasic 2014; Wilson 2011). While some people are choosing to stay and develop appropriate

adaptive strategies, others are succumbing to out-movement, exacerbating declining living conditions in remote communities.

1.11 Approach to this Research

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of my research paradigm, methodology, and research design. These will be covered extensively in chapters in Part Two.

1.11.1 Paradigm

This research used a Constructivist Approach supported by Indigenous Research Principles, and was driven by Decolonizing Methodologies, which together formed a transformative agenda. I wanted to know more about the experiences of Torres Strait Islander out-migration from the small island communities to the Australian mainland. This would involve listening to the stories of others who have also undertaken the journey, as I have, but allowing their voices to be heard without my own preconceptions distorting the stories. Positioning my research using Indigenous Principles was important to privilege Torres Strait Islander worldviews and ways of being, knowing, doing and feeling (this is taken up further in Chapter 3).

I sought to challenge Western methodological assumptions and looked for alternative yet complementary ways of 'doing' research. I was also very aware of past research of Indigenous peoples and their past representations in scholarship, and I was not about to add to this by being seen as an insider expert on Torres Strait Islander knowledge and culture (Smith 1999). For this reason, it was important for me to use a Decolonizing stance to guide this research. I was also mindful of my own experiences and assumptions as a contemporary out-mover. I used a Constructivist Approach to co-construct meaning with my participants, using their voices as far as possible in order to keep the data grounded in meaning and context (Charmaz 2006). Indigenous Research Principles determined how I went about the research, as I was both insider and outsider to the research focus and location (Kovach 2009).

I was also aware that I occupied a position of power and privilege as an academic. Therefore, my research had to be relevant to the communities involved and not just for my own gains. It was my responsibility to give back from this position of privilege I had occupied for so long, and to also share knowledge and protect the integrity of the community and people who participated throughout the process. I wanted to raise awareness, create discussion, and provide an alternative understanding of who we are,

and how we came to be where we are; therefore I had to work from a transformative position (Mertens 2009).

1.11.2 Methodology

The research involved a mixed method approach consisting of two phases: virtual remote surveying of island communities, and grounded theorizing from semi-structured interviews. In the Phase 1, I wanted to know the nature and scale of out-movement from the islands. In the Phase 2, I wanted to explore the experiences of out-movement. Unobtrusive telephone surveying was used in Phase 1 to collect data with key informants, and descriptive statistics and graphical displays were used to inform island communities. Quota, purposive, and theoretical sampling methods were used in Phase 2 to recruit participants who had moved between 2001 and 2011, and who were residing in Cairns. Grounded theorizing involved a process of opening coding, concept building, focused coding, and finding the core construct through an analysis metaphor of *Zeuber* (the wave), and a mean-making metaphor of migrating birds. First person accounts woven into the grounded theory were used to present the experiences of moving.

1.11.3 Design

Phase 1 consisted of a virtual remote surveying method, which I developed in the course of data collection, using unobtrusive phone surveying. The aim was to understand the nature of the out-movement by asking the questions; who moved, why, when and where to in the period 2001-2011. Results from Phase 1 were analysed using descriptive statistics, compiled into a report, and returned to Individual communities for their use and purposes (See letter to Torres Strait Island Regional Council for Phase 1 results, Appendix A). This was also a one-time opportunity to collect baseline data. The people who I anticipated as holding the answers to my questions were the Torres Strait Island Regional Councillors (TSIRC) of each community (See letter of support from TSIRC, Appendix B). Not only were they locals, but occupied a position of authority. They were spokespeople on behalf of their communities and were in a position to re-introduce me back into the communities I once walked. It was very important that I knocked, before re-entering communities (Martin 2008).

Phase 2, consisted of in-depth interviews in Cairns with people who had moved between 2001 and 2011 and were now living on the mainland. A Grounded Theory method was used to collect and analyse data. I worked alongside Nintiringanyi Cultural

Training Centre (NCTC), an Indigenous not-for-profit organisation that was established and working with Torres Strait Islander communities in West Cairns (See letter of support from NCTC, Appendix C).

Using the quota sampling method, I grouped possible participants known to me based on their motivations for moving. This allowed me to also achieve a spread across demographic variables. I chose to start with what I refer to as the 'familiar', and worked outwards into the 'unfamiliar'. I started with people who I considered to be my peers. These were people almost similar in level of education and professional achievements. I did this as a way of protecting myself culturally and to develop a style of interviewing that would be comfortable, safe and congruent to our ways of doing. I also recruited through casual conversation during social outings, when people indicated an interest to participate. Referrals by NCTC ensured privacy, and extended recruitment into the 'unfamiliar'. Because interviewing creates a responsibility to maintain relationship after the life of the research, I had to be wary of the recruitment process and who I approached, balancing the question of forming lifelong obligation.

Data analysis was the ongoing (*zeuber)* 'waves' and 'migrating birds', which I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5. The rolling waves represented stages of analysis: open coding, building concepts, focused coding, finding the core construct, and at all times memoing throughout the collection and analysis phases. I used the metaphor of migrating birds for the emerging findings. As a child, together with my mother, we would watch migrating birds fly over from one *Daudai* (mainland Papua New Guinea) to another (Australia). Like finding the core construct, the birds would only have one leader. So out of all the codes and concepts, I came up with one core construct.

1.12 Structure of thesis

This thesis is divided into four parts and consists of nine chapters. Part One, *Introduction, Background and Literature Review*, contains two chapters. In this introductory chapter, *Gazing the Horizon,* I position myself in line with Indigenous protocols of anchoring self and making connections. I then present important considerations, locate place, provide the aims of the research, the research question, rationale for research, a brief history of Torres Strait Islander migration, and the approach for the research. In Chapter 2, *Searching the Passages,* I present the literature review. I discuss migration as a concept, the drivers of migration, the results from the metasynthesis of literature, the experiences of migration, the implications of

migration and resettlement, and social work and migration. The main arguments are migration as a concept is complex, Pacific Islander migration is driven by remittance and economic imperatives, and social work has so far not considered Torres Strait Islander internal migration.

Part Two, *Paradigm, Design and Learning*, consists of three chapters. Chapter 3, *Crafting the Voyage*, presents my theoretical framework, and research paradigm which is driven by a transformative agenda and informed by three paradigms: Decolonizing Methodologies, a Constructivist Approach, and Indigenous Research Principles. In Chapter 4, *Taking an Eagle's View*, I present the design and learning from Phase 1. In this chapter I challenge the Western surveying approach and develop a virtual remote surveying method, which involves walking alongside community members, village-by-village, street-by-street, and house-by-house. In Chapter 5, *Moving with Zeuber,* I present the design and learning from Phase 2. In this chapter I use the metaphor of the wave, *zeuber*, to collect and analyse data using a grounded theorizing method, while managing my place in the data and community by using a Constructivist Approach and Indigenous Research Principles to guide the process.

Part Three, *Findings*, consists of two chapters. In Chapter 6, *First Voyage,* I present the findings from Phase 1 using descriptive statistics, presented in the same manner as I reported to communities as part of reciprocity. In Chapter 7, *Second Voyage*, I present the findings from Phase 2, where I develop a grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' from in-depth interviews. I present this chapter using individual voices, woven together to form a theory of 'living in two worlds'.

Part Four, *Discussion and Conclusion*, contains two chapters. In Chapter 8, *Sighting Land,* I present my findings from Phase 2 against the existing literature on migration from Chapter 2. I then position my grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' from Phase 2 against the existing models, particularly Berry's (1997) model of acculturation strategies. This chapter ends with implications for social work policy and practice. In Chapter 9, *Setting Anchor,* I present a summary of the thesis; draw conclusions from the data and analysis; acknowledge the de-limitation of this research; identify use of current research; and make recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2.   Searching the Passages

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at migration literature particularly relating to the experiences of those migrating. I set out to explore: migration as a concept, Pacific Island migration, internal migration, migration and climate change, drivers of migration, experiences of migration, implications of migration, and social work and migration.

2.2 Searching the passages

My understanding of Torres Strait Islander migration was restricted to what I had read in history books and my own personal knowledge of the out-movement taking place in the Torres Strait region. I needed to know more about migration as a concept, the drivers of migration, and understand the experiences of migration. Just as my ancestors would have done before a long sea voyage, I planned my journey by 'searching the passages', both literally by searching for references, theories and findings from studies conducted by those before me, while searching for a way forward for my own research.

I was interested in the experiences of Indigenous Australians, particularly those living in remote communities and whose lands were considered prone to seawater inundation and environment degradation as a result of climate change. I first searched literature pertaining to climate change and the effects this had on people's decisions to migrate, assuming that more recent literature would be centred on climate change-induced migration. I found that current studies into Indigenous peoples were mainly based on community adaptive capacities in view of climate-related change, for example Green, Alexander, et al. (2010) and Petheram, Zander, Campbell, High & Stacey (2010). Green et al.'s (2010) study, in partnership with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (Marine and Atmospheric Research) and the Australian Bureau of Meteorology, aimed to provide a more accurate assessment of islands exposed to the impacts of climate change in order to support adaptation strategies and address concerns about long term resilience and viability of island communities. Petheram et al.'s (2010) study of the Australian Aboriginal coastal communities sought to understand Aboriginal people's perceptions of climate change and identify other factors which might influence general vulnerability such as poverty.

Both studies aimed to investigate remote Indigenous communities' understandings of climate change from an adaptive, resilience and sustainability perspective. Then it was necessary to widen my search parameters to include experiences outside of Australia.

I also wanted to understand people's experiences of migration and not just current climate change-focused movement, so I turned my attention to historical literature. Existing Torres Strait historical studies tended to be third person accounts of movement from archival research and through ethnographic and other anthropological methods (Beckett 2010; Hodes 1998; Shnukal 2001), or quantitative accounts from census data (Biddle & Hunter 2006; Fisk et al. 1974; Taylor & Arthur 1993). Due to limited number of studies into internal movements of Indigenous people within Australia, with particular reference to Torres Strait Islanders, my search for literature extended beyond Australia. Torres Strait Islander migration literature was presented earlier in Chapter 1 as background to the thesis.

I proceeded by searching for literature pertaining to climate change and migration in the Pacific. I found that many authors echoed the same concerns, particularly about small island nations that occupy low lying islands with insufficient land to expand, limited economic prospects, high unemployment, limited housing, social services and educational opportunities (Bridges & McClatchey 2009; Farbotko 2005; Farbotko & Lazrus 2012; Locke 2009; Mortreux & Barnett 2009). The main difference between Pacific Islands and the Torres Strait was that most Pacific Island groups were their own sovereign nations, and they did not have the same welfare benefits and services as we in Australia receive. For example, in Australia the welfare system provides a safety net for the unemployed, aged and vulnerable, whereas in the Pacific, families are primarily reliant on remittances sent by members working abroad, a necessity in the absence of state welfare provisions (Connell & Conway 2000). Like the Torres Strait, on these vulnerable islands, traditional land tenure and the lands were central to people's identity, culture, history and sovereignty (Mortreux & Barnett 2009).

Extending my search further, I searched literature relating to climate change and migration to remote regions of Canada and Alaska as I knew of the threats people faced with the receding glaciers (Ford, Pearce, Duerden, Furgal & Smit 2010; Marino 2012). I also searched for literature about people with existing vulnerabilities who had experienced displacement or were faced with the prospect of forced migration. In my search, I found extensive literature on the refugee experience and diaspora. For example, Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett (2010) considered the psychosocial factors associated with subjective health and wellbeing outcomes of young people with

refugee backgrounds. This was typical of this type of literature, which focused predominately on impacts of resettlement, the process of acculturation and social integration. These types of papers considered outcomes and did not necessarily examine the processes or the experiences of people.

I searched for literature using the following social science and humanities databases: ScienceDirect, ProQuest, Infotrac and Informit. The James Cook University *OneSearch* search engine was also very useful in locating articles using keyword searches. Google Scholar was also accessed to locate related website and publications to inform the scope of my research (including information on the Torres Strait Island Regional Council, Carteret Islands, Tuvalu, and Kiribati). I used the following keywords and used several combinations of these keywords to narrow my searches: 'Indigenous'; 'Indigenous peoples', 'Migration/Migratory'; 'Experiences'; 'Minority groups', 'Internal', 'Movement', 'Mobility', 'Displacement' and 'Climate Change'. Literature on the physical adaptation of communities to climate change was excluded, as well as those providing only policy analyses and descriptive outsider commentaries, as these were not relevant to the focus of my research.

I went about synthesising studies from other international communities. This was necessary to inform my research question and challenge my own preconceived assumptions as an insider-outsider to the research topic. As part of the metasynthesis, I sought people's firsthand accounts of migration, and selected studies that provided direct quotes from interview participants. I did this to gain a more personal and deeper account of migratory experiences. A metasynthesis of literature was a methodical and useful way for collecting and collating information on the experiences of migration while at the same time uncovering sensitising concepts informing the data collection phases of my research. The methodology for this metasynthesis and the way the synthesis was used in this research are detailed in Chapter 5, while the results are presented in this chapter.

As a final step, I looked at social work migration research because this related to my positioning and discipline. I was interested in how social work researchers looked at migration. I started with a special edition of migration in the British Journal of Social Work (2014) and worked backwards, using references from these articles. I also searched for articles in the Australian Social Work Journal using the search criteria; 'Migration', 'Immigration', 'Refugee' and 'Resettlement' in various combinations. I found the main area of social work research was looking at refugees and asylum seekers.

2.3 Migration

In this section, I engage with literature exploring the various concepts of migration, the definitional issues, the nature of migration, migration in the Pacific, and conclude by arriving at my own understanding of migration for the purpose of this research.

Migration is, and was, crucial for human existence as people moved about to hunt and gather and later farm sections of the earth; to escape danger and sustain life. Migration can sometimes transcend death, with the deceased being returned home for burial (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014). The study of migration is also multidisciplinary, with each discipline seeking to explore, understand and explain the causes and processes of migration from various theoretical and paradigmatic positions (Castles et al. 2014). Despite numerous empirical studies in this field, a single definition has not been established, since the concept of migration transcends time, space and distance and consists of individuals and families, as well as large groups of people moving under diverse conditions (Castles et al. 2014; Connell 2013a). The process of migration is not limited to just moving from one country, region or place of residence to another, but entails such factors as the reason or reasons for migrating, the social class and education of those moving, duration of location and the geographical location and distribution of migrants and migrant communities (Bhugra & Becker 2005).

Migration can be short-term or long-term; spanning thousands of kilometres across international borders, or movement over short distances within the nation state for seasonal work, or to graze livestock (Nielsen & Reenberg, 2010) or as temporary evacuees (Kingston & Marino 2010; Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye 2008). Such crossings are not strictly limited to geographical and national boundaries; they can also transcend social, cultural, ethnic, language, economic, social and spiritual landscapes (Becker, 2003; Correa-Velez, Gifford, Barnett, 2010). Furthermore, migration consists of three main stages: pre-migration, migration (the actual relocation) and post-migration (Bhugra & Becker 2005). Ruben, van Houte & Davids (2009) add a fourth dimension of return migration, particularly of those forced to return to their country of origins. Return migration is most pertinent to developing nations from a developmental perspective, replacing the social and economic gaps left by skilled emigrants (Storey & Steinmayer 2011).

The distinction between internal and international migrations is further contested as they tend to be inseparable and can be driven by the same underlying social, economic and political processes (Castles et al. 2014). Internal migration is frequently seen as a

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precursor to international migration (Connell 2013b; Muckler 2006). Obvious examples of internal movement leading to international migration are internally displaced peoples escaping conflict and persecution who seek protection in refugee camps in and outside of their country of origin. At times, forced migrants cross international borders as illegal or undocumented immigrants and as asylum seekers and refugees (Barnes 2001; Hernández & García-Moreno 2014).

The condition under which migration is characterised as forced or voluntary is also questionable. For instance, Connell (2013b, p. 468) suggested that people may be forced to leave hazardous areas, or migrate voluntarily in view of imminent danger, however "at what point 'necessity' occurs is variable and uncertain". Because the reasons for migration are often multiple, and compounded by a number of related variables which over time instigate movement, those considered to be economic migrants may in effect be driven out by political oppression (Castles et al. 2014). Equally, political oppression may be a response to poor economic conditions resulting from environmental destruction from a combination of war and drought (Schweitzer, Greenslade & Kagee 2007). In the presence or aftermath of natural disaster, migration can be both spontaneous or directly administered by governments as was the case of Hurricane Katrina (Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye 2008). At other times, migration is planned well in advance such as that exhibited by the Carteret Islanders, who migrated as salt water devastated much of the Islands and ruined garden plots so that they could no longer sustain a growing population (Connell 2013a).

Forced migrants are referred to as refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented immigrants, or displaced peoples (Black 2009). Voluntary migrants are referred to as immigrants, migrants and sojourners (Bhugra & Becker 2005). Because of this lack of clear distinction between displacement and migration, Black (2009) stated that theories and concepts of migration could equally be applied to both groups. While there is no single definition, migration is understood to be people moving from one location to another, though the motivations, nature and conditions of the move may vary.

Due to the extensive literature, models and theories surrounding the concept and process of migration, I focus the following sections on migration literature in the Pacific regions, including the Melanesian Islands to the West of the Pacific in order to regionalise, contextualise and anchor my own research of Torres Strait Islander migration.

2.3.1 Pacific migration

Life in the Pacific has historical links with migration, as people regularly travelled across the sea to occupy new islands (McCall 2006). Trade routes were established and maintained essentially to facilitate inter-island exchanges over many centuries. Sometimes whole islands were abandoned as people moved in search of new destinations with arable land, natural resources and freshwater supplies. Migration was, and is, essential to human occupation and survival. As populations increased and resources became scarce, people moved (Ryan 1985). When islands were devastated by natural disasters, people moved, and when conflict mounted between warring tribes and neighbours, people moved (McCall 2006; Ryan 1985). Migration continues to be central to Pacific Islander culture and is a collectively organised means of meeting family obligations as well as personal desires (Connell & Brown 2005; Farbotko & Lazrus 2012).

In Muckler's (2006) studies of the Pacific Islands, he found that migration consisted of four key elements: movement away from small remote islands; movement down mountains to more accessible coastal locations; urbanization; and international migration. The first three comprise internal migration and are often motivated by work opportunities driven by economic incentives, increased living standards, and access to services and amenities (Connell 2003; Muckler 2006). The goals behind internal migration are a mixture of economic and social and are often motivated by a demand for cash that can no longer be generated in rural areas from agricultural work (Muckler 2006). Connell suggested that migration in this sense is "a response to real or perceived inequalities in socio-economic opportunities that are themselves a result of dependent and/or uneven regional development" Connell (2003, p. 55).

Migration is by no means one-directional but may consist of an ongoing interchange of people and goods between the place of origin and destination (Ryan 1985). People move intermittently between rural and urban areas for work, to acquire goods and services, visit relatives and to realise cultural and social obligations (Ryan 1985; Tabuna 1985). Such movements have been termed circular migration, reflecting people's strong cultural and family ties to their place of origin. Circular movements are indicative of the economic needs of rural communities and the desire to obtain material items vested in the cash economy (Tabuna 1985). As such, people leave communities to engage in temporary work in order to meet their needs and aspirations before being drawn back by social obligations to their original community (Bedford 1985; Racule 1985). While the tendency of regular return to the original community diminishes over

time, some members become permanently absent (Connell 1980). Contact with those back home, and the exchange of goods and gifts between the two locations may continue over time, however becoming more symbolic rather than out of necessity (Connell, 1980).

In collectivist societies, the decision-making processes around migration are a consciously deliberated collaboration between members, as the benefits and cost of out-migration affects whole families and communities (Connell & Conway 2000). While at the same time, not all members have opportunity, reason or desire to migrate. Often claims to land hold people back or dictate the return of those away (Bedford 1985; Racule 1985). Most of the time one member of the family stays back to ensure land remains in the family while others migrate (Bedford 1985). Sending remittance back home also ensures the absentee maintains his/her rights to land while away (Connell, 1980, p. 5). This is particularly important for those who intend to return to the homeland once their work contracts end or they have achieved their objectives (Connell, 1980, p. 22). Muckler (2006, p. 67) identified the undercurrents of migration as consisting of the centrifugal 'push' that forces people to look beyond their communal space to realise unmet needs and aspirations, while the centripetal 'pull' of social and cultural obligates draw people back.

Engaging with Pacific Island literature uncovered some key features of migration. Migration was collectivist, potentially circular, driven by multiple and complex motivations, and some movement was internal. While recognising shared migratory characteristic between international and internal migration for the purpose of this research, I will focus on internal migration, as Torres Strait Islander migration is largely internal.

2.3.2 Internal migration

It seems that less is known about internal migration, which generally involves a shift in permanent residence from one place to another, and is assumed to be primarily economically motivated (Muckler 2006). A shift in residency may constitute moderate to long durations of stay at the new location, without necessarily eliminating an eventual permanent return to the place of departure (Chapman & Prothero 1985). These out-movements may exacerbate existing problems particularly in small rural and remote areas (Alston 2004; Prout 2008). As a result of declining populations, service delivery is reduced or withdrawn, in turn increasing the likelihood of further out-movements, accentuating existing discrepancies and vulnerabilities (Alexeyeff 2008;

Connell 2003). Again, internal migration is often seen as a forerunner of subsequent movement and a precursor for international migration. Bhugra & Becker (2005) distinguished migration between rural and urban areas as frequently associated with economic or educational needs, while international migration tended to include social and political motives.

Given the absence of mainstream labour market opportunity across Northern and Central Australia, areas that host large Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, intermittent movement between remote settlements and regional centres is common (Biddle & Prout 2009; Taylor 2009). Intraregional movement is driven by the lack of services and amenities such as banks, hospitals, retail outlets and government offices, including employment opportunities, sporting and education and training institutions (Foster, Mitchell, Ulrik & Williams 2005). Although mostly temporary sojourners rather that migrants, these movements according are not "spatially random, and mobility occurs within well-defined spaces or networks defined mostly by historical administrative connection to particular centres, as well as the location of kin" (Taylor 2009, p.8).

Australian Aboriginal people living in remote communities frequently move for better housing and to visit family. Travel between locations is done by family-owned vehicle and those who remained longer in town quoted their reasons as being as "not having enough room in the vehicle to go back" (Foster et al. 2005, p. 45). Movement in this sense is referred to as 'mobility' and is recognised as important to Aboriginal life in some remote locations as essential to "maintaining relationships and relationships to places" (Foster et al. 2005, p. 45). Prout & Yap (2010, p. 23) identified several socio-cultural factors in drawing Indigenous people temporarily to Broome, most notable being "family, funerals, footy and festivals". The motivation for movement among remote Indigenous population tends to be influenced by stages of life-cycle and a time in life when young people tend to be "exploring and contesting their identities in relation to the state, their cultural context, and wider social norms" (Prout 2008, p. vi). Many use mobility as a means of exploring and establishing their own social networks of "relatedness and belonging" (Prout 2008, p. vi).

Mobility and migration are therefore synonymous and used interchangeably when referring to the movement of people between locations, whether movement is internal or international, circular as with labour migration or long term. In these cases, movement tends to be about improving employment prospects and living conditions.

Mobility in this sense includes improvement in the migrants' socioeconomic position or to achieve what they perceived to be a satisfactory standard of living.

As mentioned earlier in the introduction chapter, the term migration or out-migration can be confused with people crossing international borders, and the term mobility is too broad and frequently associated with short-term economic migrants or Aboriginal peoples temporary movement between remote settlements and regional centres (Biddle & Hunter 2006; Habibis 2011; Long & Memmott 2007; Prout 2009). Torres Strait Islanders moving from the islands to the mainland do, in fact, cross geographical seascapes and landscapes and therefore the term migration or out-migration tends not to highlight the distinctiveness of this movement. Besides, these terms can deflect the significance of what is occurring, or on the other hand, inaccurately present the source region as defunct and deficient. Hence, the term used for the purpose of this research is 'out-movement'.

2.3.3 Migration and climate change

There is a growing body of literature around adaptation and climate change, for example Locke (2009), and Mortreux & Barnett (2009), who conducted research in the Pacific. Current adaptation initiatives in the Torres Strait are being mainstreamed into resource management (Hanslow et al. 2010), disaster preparedness and sustainable development programs, but there is growing awareness that the social, cultural and spiritual aspects of migrations and displacement are gaining significance (Green 2006). However, studies mostly focus on physical adaption and mitigation with fleeting references to social adaption, which for Torres Strait Islanders means moving away and becoming disconnected from their traditional homelands (Hanslow et al. 2010).

The new awareness of the vulnerability of rural and remote communities, particularly in Australia, draws mainly on the adaptive capacities of remote Indigenous communities as these are the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change (Duce, Parnell, Smithers & McNamara 2010; McInerney 2012; Petheram et al. 2010). Climate change-related migration is distinguished between entire communities relocating in response to uninhabitable living conditions, and migration which is often based on individual and family decisions and may include other reasons in addition to climate change (Campbell 2014). However, these interests tend to be focused on climate change-related migration, while many affected regions are currently experiencing out-movement for reasons other than environmental degradation (Biddle & Hunter 2006; Locke 2009; Mortreux & Barnett 2009).

2.4 Drivers of migration

Phase 2 of the research design looked at the nature and scale of contemporary Torres Strait Islander out-movement, and therefore it was important to look at current literature on drivers of migration.

The most prominent drivers of migration tend to be economic, political, social, demographic and environmental (Black, Bennett, Thomas & Beddington 2011). While studies have identified a number of significant factors that influence migratory decisions, most movements are influenced by multiple variables that are inseparable, interconnected and interrelated. Black et al. (2011) provided a comprehensive model, inclusive of the five main drivers of migration and how these influence people's decisions to migrate, or not to migrate (Figure 2.1). Black et al. (2011) explained how economic drivers are made up of income inequalities and a lack of employment opportunities. Social drivers of migration include family and cultural expectations and the fact that the nature and place of destination is often steeped in historical connections and existing social ties. Political drivers sometimes include breakdown in governance, discrimination, persecution and conflicts that may result from competition and corruption. Demographic drivers are associated with population size, density and structure, also inclusive and compounded by other drivers. For example, younger people have the highest prevalence of migration due to demographic characteristics of the place of departure such as increasing population and lack of employment (Black et al. 2011). Environmental drivers of migration are those associated with natural hazards such as floods, volcanoes, tsunamis, landslides and bushfires. Under these circumstances migration is usually temporary and over shorter distance, with people moving back to their place of origin once the hazard has passed. In contrast, recent discussions have turned to the threat of rising sea levels, water shortages and desertification of agricultural lands, and as such migration is seen as a means of adaptation or survival (Bridges & McClatchey 2009; Connell 2012; Ford et al. 2010; Geddes, Adger, Arnell, Black & Thomas 2012; Locke 2009; Neil Adger, Arnell & Tompkins 2005).

THE DRIVERS OF MIGRATION
Many factors influence whether a person or family will migrate. Their effects are closely intertwined, so it makes little sense to consider any of them in isolation.

SOCIAL DRIVERS
Education, family/kin

PERSONAL/HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS
Age, sex, education, wealth, marital status, preferences, ethnicity, religion, language

ENVIRONMENTAL DRIVERS
Exposure to hazard, ecosystem services such as land productivity, habitability, food/energy/water security

POLITICAL DRIVERS
Descrimination/persecution, governance/freedom, conflict/insecurity, policy incentives, direct coercion

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE ON DRIVERS

DECISION

MIGRATE

STAY

ECONOMIC DRIVERS
Employment opportunities, income/wages/well-being, producer prices (such as in agriculture), consumer prices

DEMOGRAPHIC DRIVERS
Population size/density, population structure, disease prevalence

INTERVENING OBSTACLES AND FACILITATORS
Political/legal framework, cost of moving, social networks, diasporic links, recruitment agencies, technology

Figure 2.1 Drivers of migration (Black et al., 2011, p.478)

The literature on Pacific Island accounts of migration are similarly multidimensional and tend not to fit into conventional models such as that prescribed by Black et al. (2011). Using Black et al.'s (2011) model, I developed a slightly different typology to tell the Pacific Island story of poverty and inequality; political reforms; obligations and expectations; and environmental pressure. The following table lists drivers of migration, the perceived push factor at the place of origin and pull factors of the receiving destinations.

Table 2.1
Pacific Islander drivers of migration

Drivers	Origin (Push)	Destination (Pull)
Poverty and inequality	Need for remittance	Employment opportunities
Political reforms	Political instability, stagnant economy	Conducive policies
Obligations and expectations	Duty to provide	New expectations
Population pressures	Long term viability	Sustainable future for next generation

Where migration is a conscious and voluntary act, poverty and the lack of opportunities in terms of education, employment and health are often the motivation as are the raised perceptions of what appears to be a good job or living standard (Connell & Viogt-Graf 2006). For instance, economic motivations for migration are often a response to real and perceived inequalities in income and socio-economic opportunities as a result of limited economic growth or government oppression and corruption (Connell 2013b). While most migratory decisions are considered voluntary, politically motivated conflicts are most evident when examining human displacement (Warner, Hamza, Oliver-Smith, Renaud & Julca 2010). Least prominent are factors influencing voluntary migration, as literature suggests that voluntary movements can be for multiple reasons. In addition to aspirations, the decision to migrate is also influenced by the presence of kin in the destined location and the capabilities that are required to realise the move (Castles et al. 2014).

Class and social status are also recognised as significant contributors that influence migration but tend to be least considered. For example, Alexeyeff's (2008) study of the Cook Islands' economic reforms found that those with business savvy and economic and cultural capital could choose to stay or choose to move, while others had little choice in their decision to migrate. The author also noted that the reason, route and destination of travel varied considerably with mobility, class, status and gender, which suggests that there are obvious winners and losers amongst different migrants and the

constant tug between the decision to move or not to move is also influenced by individual qualities and capabilities.

More recently, environmental drivers of migration have captivated global interests, particularly in regards to climate change. While some are attending to actual cataclysmic events and learning from these, others are looking at mitigation as a form of adaptation for both current and future generations (Barnett & O'Neill 2012; Locke 2009; Warner et al. 2010).

2.4.1 Poverty and inequality

Economic migration is not strictly a move from a relatively poor area to a rich area but dependant on other factors such as personal characteristics and circumstances that determine the scale and destination of migration (Black et al. 2011). For many small island nations in the Pacific, remittances form a significant proportion of their national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Connell 2013). Along with foreign aid, remittance reduces poverty in recipient nations, especially in the recovery efforts after natural disasters (Connell 2013).

A number of factors keep small developing nations in the grasp of poverty. Apart from having smaller island and population size, these islands are geographically isolated and therefore cannot complete in global markets. The high cost of inter-island and international shipping and high cost of energy production limit economic growth and development opportunities. This, in turn, encourages the migration of skilled professions (Connell 2013a; Ward 1989). Compounding such economic and physical disadvantages are demographic changes in small island nations. Many experience a rapidly growing youth population which is without work and largely dependent on imports for food and consumables. International migration thus becomes most prevalent in rapidly growing urban centres (Connell 2013a).

Connell (1980) cautioned against placing migration in a solely economic framework, as this can disregard the underlying, other than economic, determinants prompting migration. People sometimes move under economic guises to minimise rural social obligations in the villages, yet despite their absence they are still required to send remittance home to relatives (Brown, Leeves & Prayaga 2013). Others move to obtain urban education and vocational skills that will then lead to economic opportunities necessary to support families, as well as maintain or elevate one's personal, family and villages social status (Besnier 2004).

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Remittances also support and reinforce traditional values, customs, and obligations, and as such provide respect, autonomy and continuity of socio-political structures (Besnier 2004). Lack of opportunity and economic development pushes those with suitable skills to migrate in search of work to support their own households, as well as extended kin and community development projects (Connell 2006). This form of cash transfer usually goes towards family expenses and other local development projects such as building new churches or schools.

2.4.2 Political reforms

Political drivers of migration can be deliberate in the opening up of policies for labour migration, as was the case with New Zealand's demand for Pacific Islander labour throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Spoonley 2006). Indirectly, migration can result from a collapse in governance that results in internal conflicts, and in this case, people move within state or across international borders, sometimes leading to displacement (Black et al. 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). When there is political instability or drastic economic reforms where government or aid funding is reduced and agriculture activities can no longer sustain communities, people tend to migrate out of desperation (Alexeyeff 2008).

The politically motivated military coups in Fiji in 1987 and again in 2000 (Kaplan 2004), are examples of political instability in the Pacific which resulted in substantial migration of Indo-Fijians, Europeans, Chinese, along with professional and skilled ethnic Fijians (Mohanty, Reddy & Naidu 2006). In Tonga's case, political and institutional reforms incited discontent and subsequent out-migration (Gibson & McKenzie 2011). Growing frustration over the ruling system and a stagnant economy, along with calls for greater administrative transparency, democracy and improvements to wages for civil services, were among some of the politically instigated drivers that compounded existing poverty levels (Connell 2013a).

More recent forms of policy-driven migration include labour schemes between New Zealand and some of the smaller Pacific nations, which tend to have the dual benefits of addressing labour shortage in the host country and providing much needed economic opportunities for developing nations (Spoonley & Bedford 2008). In this regard, unilateral and bilateral policies can influence the flow of migration through liberalising rules of entrance and facilitating economic participation through recruitment strategies or restricting the rules of migration (Haus 2001).

2.4.3 Obligations and expectations

The collective community responsibility of Pacific Islander culture and their strong kinship ties often require people to migrate in order to financially support immediate families, as well as extended kin and the affiliated village or community (Gough 2006; Reenberg, Birch-Thomsen, Mertz, Fog & Christiansen 2008). Remittances sent back to the community not only fulfil economic and developmental aspirations, but are also considered a sense of responsibility and are motivated by obligation (Brown, Connell & Jimenez-Soto 2014). The obligation to share with the local community means that there is additional expectation to contribute financially and in-kind to weddings, funerals and other major ceremonies (Macpherson & Macpherson 2009).

According to Connell & Conway (2000, p. 59), families carefully deliberate as to who within the family would be most successful overseas as on a household level remittances and return migrants are seen to boost a family's overall skills, experience, and finances. Cultural practices regarding inheritance, payment of dowries or bride payments, and the search for educational opportunities to increase work prospects also influence migratory decisions (Black et al. 2011). While remittance is a known factor for sustaining the cash flow of rural and small island nations, sending money back home is also a means of maintaining social and cultural position of certain families and individuals (Gough 2006; Graves & Graves 1985; Hanna 1998).

In earlier studies, it was understood that migratory decisions in parts of the Pacific and Melanesia were often 'linked', as opposed to individuals acting on their own or out of their own self-interest (Connell 1980). Linked migration occurs when kin and obligation systems determine movement for specific reasons. In Samoa, it was often the extended kinship unit *(aiga)* that decided who would migrate, and this arrangement was tightly controlled by those who had previously migrated (Gough 2006). Under such arrangements, extended kin are selected to migrate in order to raise the economic status and profile of their family so that wealth would be distributed as evenly as possible and obligations fulfilled. In Micronesia, it was often the head of the nuclear family who decided, and in outer island regions of Fiji, the community would fund leaders to migrate in order to create a "bridgehead" for subsequent migration (Connell 1980, p. 8).

Studies have indicated that people usually relocate to areas with a high concentration of individuals with similar characteristics. These areas offer protection and access to established social networks necessary to find employment, housing, and access the psycho-social support these structures provide (Biddle & Hunter 2006; Smit & Wandel

2006; Warner 2010). The presence of kin in the planned destination largely determines the direction of migration and is frequently quoted as the reason for choosing the selected country (Connell & Viogt-Graf 2006). Black et al. (2011, p. 7) further suggested that social drivers of migration are grounded in specificities such as the connections "developed between places as a result of histories and cultures of migration". This is evident in densely populated Pacific Islander enclaves in metropolitan regions of Australia and New Zealand, where established social networks have been known to support the process of resettlement (Tanielu & Johnson 2013).

2.4.4 Environmental pressure

Earlier studies in the Pacific found that environmental pressures and shortages of arable land have played a large part in internal migration patterns in larger island nations such as Papua New Guinea (Ryan 1985). People moved to cultivate new lands or move towards urban areas in search of work as agricultural activities became less viable and could no longer support the expenses of consumer goods to which people had become accustomed (Ryan 1985). However, rural migrants were often faced with unemployment and low wages in the receiving destination, forcing them to live in squatter settlements on the outskirts of towns (Jones & Lea 2007; Mitchell 2004). These makeshift settlements were frequently without adequate water supply, sewerage systems and garbage disposal services, which created and contributed to hazardous environmental conditions in the receiving areas (Mortreux & Barnett 2009; Ryan 1985).

Migration as an adaptation strategy in times of severe drought and natural disaster is a century-old strategy that has continued in recent climate-related movement from unprecedented droughts in the Northern clusters of the Marshall Island, provoking short term migration. Such strategies are known to provoke social conflicts over land and resources (Connell 2013a). Another example of an adaptive response to environmental forces, saw the mass relocation of Carteret Islanders who were relocated to Bougainville, and the Manam Islanders who were subsequently resettled on mainland Papua New Guinea after a volcanic eruption that devastated large parts of the island (Boege 2011; Connell 2013b).

Such adaptive responses have had their shortcomings, as some studies suggest those who moved are, in some regards, worse off in terms of access to land, employment, discrimination and legal protection (Connell 2013b). Such conflicts prompted others to move back to the islands (Boege 2011). Migration under these conditions is contested,

with some arguing that it is a maladaptive response that increases the risks for those moving, and adds to the pressures placed on receiving areas, exacerbating existing environmental, health, economic and social conditions (Adamo 2010; Connell 1999; Farbotko & Lazrus 2012; Oliver-Smith 2009). The opposite concern is of excessive depopulation of smaller communities as they become devoid of human resources and the capacity necessary for achieving sustainability, therefore leaving those behind in greater poverty (Connell 2013b; Wrathall 2012).

Environment-driven migration in the Pacific is difficult to establish since immigration policies do not offer such provision in their residency submissions. Those migrating to New Zealand and elsewhere must provide reasons other than 'environmental', as they must fit into a specific category for approval (Shen & Binns 2012). The most common reason for migration from the Pacific has been employment and to seek better education or future. For nations like Tuvalu, who is at the forefront of the climate change debate, migration is predominantly driven by economic motives which may be an adaptive solution to existent environmental concerns (Shen & Binns 2012).

2.4.5 Freedom to be

Beyond the Pacific literature, the metasynthesis of qualitative literature conducted to explore the experience of migration indicated that 'freedom to be' was also a possible driver (Table 2.2). I noted from this undertaking that personal freedom and the freedom to live a peaceful existence were motivating factors that influenced people's decisions to move, or not to move. The decision to migrate, or not to migrate, required careful deliberation of the costs and losses involved. In most cases, the benefits of migration outweighed the impulse to stay.

Table 2.2
Drivers of migration from metasynthesis

Study	Freedom to be
Greene, Tehranifar, Hernandez-Cordero, & Fullilove (2011)	Seeking freedom from oppressive and persecution
Kingston & Marino (2010)	Loss of freedom to practice 'way of life' as now in cash economy
Mortreux & Barnett (2009)	Maintaining freedom by not moving
Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye (2008)	Restricted freedom
Nielsen & Reenberg (2010)	Remaining free from 'foreign rule' by not moving
Rosbrook & Schweitzer (2010)	Free from worry

This freedom also entailed living outside Western constraints and the demand of having to work in low paying jobs simply to meet living expenses that afforded no room to meet personal and cultural obligations (Mortreux & Barnett 2009). The free and relaxed lifestyle experienced by some groups was a key factor influencing people's decisions to stay (Mortreux & Barnett 2009). The decision to migrate is therefore determined by the cost of one's ability to maintain a certain level of freedom, whether to retain or regain a certain way of life.

In a Tuvalu study, Mortreux and Barnett (2009) found that the free and relaxed lifestyle experienced by Islanders was a key factor influencing people's decisions to stay on Tuvalu when asked if they had considered migrating. This theme is highlighted in one of that study's participants' statements.

> *Is good here. It is my paradise. I can sleep wherever I want, do whatever I want. I can visit my sister and just talk – and sleep there if I want… I can sleep and work when I want. (Mortreux & Barnett, 2009, p. 108)*

Similarly, the *Fulbe* of Northern Burkina Faso chose not to move and live in permanent settlements in order to maintain personal freedom from political control. Despite recognising the benefits of living in permanent settlements and adopting the

diversification measures taken by other groups through labour migration and project work, the *Fulbe* accepted the hardships of living in isolated family groups in the bush. Freedom from the subjugation to foreign rule and dependency on others was morally correct and valued over material gains.

> *Out here I am free. . . I don't have to worry about what my neighbours does,*
> *where my animals are, I just have to look after myself and my family.*
> *(Nielsen & Reenberg, 2010, p. 149)*

2.5 Experience of migration

This section relates to experiences of migration. Warner (2010) identified gaps in research into migrant resettlement and how migrants are managing in their new place of residence. Research has focused more on the processes of migration, the characteristics and the determinants that influence positive and negative outcomes of resettlement. Individual experiences of resettlement and the motivation for moving remains underexplored, particularly within the context of internal migration of Indigenous Australians (Biddle & Hunter 2006). What I seek to do in this section is to provide an outline of the existing knowledge of general migration experiences, particularly in the Pacific, as background for the second part of my research.

The main gaps that I found in the literature surrounding migration experiences were that it lacked first person accounts, and the experiences were often about refugee resettlement and international migration. Hence, this section also draws on the metasynthesis of literature focusing on qualitative studies and first person's voice.

2.5.1 Factors of migration

Studies have identified a number of factors that can influence the process of migration and resettlement, resulting in various models and theories (Berry 1997; Greene, Tehranifar, Hernandez-Cordero & Fullilove 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). For example, some of the factors that facilitate migration include the economic and social position of migrants in their place of origin, the social networks available and accessible in the new location, and whether or not migrants assimilate, integrate, or remain separate from the dominant society.

Individual factors such as age, gender, social status and degree of distance between two cultures also influence migratory experiences (Mortreux & Barnett 2009). Moderating factors that obstruct the transitional phases of resettlement include

discrimination, coping strategies, and resources and social support received (Berry 1997). However, there is an emerging group of psychosocial approaches which may offer an alternative for exploring the experiences of migration. These approaches encompass a psychological dimension which relates to the social, material and cultural issues that influence and facilitate this process (Stillman, McKenzie & Gibson 2009). Barnett & O'Neill (2012) argued that the distance of the move and the destination also determines the outcome of the migratory experiences and that international or long distance migration may bear significant risks to the livelihood and wellbeing of those migrating.

2.5.2 Outcomes of migration

Berry (1997) investigated acculturation: the process that occurs when two groups come together, where one is more dominant than the other, and as a result of this fusion, a number of cultural exchanges take place in both parties. According to Berry (1997), the contact experience has a greater impact on the non-dominant group which assumes most of the culture and characteristics of the dominate group. This has been the experience of most migrant groups and colonised Indigenous peoples who, over time, have become marginalised as a result of greater competition for employment, housing, education or social benefits (Clarke & Garner 2005). Berry's (1997) acculturation model includes four strategies (assimilation, separation or segregation, marginalisation and integration) which migrants may use or experience as they deal with change.

Assimilation occurs when individuals abandon their own cultural heritage and take on the culture of the dominant group. This strategy involves having greater contact and interaction with the dominant or settlement society and minimal contact with their own ethnic community (Hernandez-Plaza, Alonso-Morillejo & Pozo-Munoz 2006). Those who use the separation or segregation strategy place value on maintaining their former culture while at the same time avoiding interaction with the dominate culture, or, for whatever reason, are excluded by the dominate culture (Hernandez-Plaza et al. 2006). Marginalisation occurs when the migrant is unable to maintain contact with either the former culture or participate in and interact with the host society. Integration, as a strategy, involves selectively adopting new behaviours of the host society whilst retaining valued aspects of the former culture (Berry 1997). The integration strategy tends to be most successful for both the migrant and the host society (Berry 1997).

2.5.3 Diaspora

While much of the theory focuses on the reasons behind migration, recent discussions have also highlighted the need to think about how migrants experience migration in more socially nuanced ways (Raghuram 2006). An increasingly popular term associated with the analysis of migration is diaspora, a concept that not only incorporates the social forms of migration but also the consciousness and awareness of home. Diaspora includes demographics, the psychic, social, economic, political and cultural aspects surrounding migration as recognising the linkages across space, and the multiple connections that we make in different places (Raghuram 2006, p. 21). The social construct of diaspora is simply defined as, "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their country of origin – their homelands" (Sheffer 1986, cited in Shuval 2000, p. 43). Shuval (2000, p. 43) extended this concept by emphasising that, "at a given moment in time, the sense of connection to a homeland must be strong enough to resist forgetting, assimilating or distancing".

2.5.4 Placelessness and displacement

Forced migration tends to present multiple and acute challenges for people who have to regain and rebuild their lives in an unfamiliar and sometimes hostile environment. Extreme cultural distances (Hernandez-Plaza et al. 2006) between the origin and resettlement societies present complex challenges such as language barriers, cultural practices and worldviews. These challenges also include having to learn new behaviours and conform to unfamiliar expectations from systems such as employment, education, housing, legal, and welfare (Wrathall 2012).

The placelessness experienced by people being forced to relocate as a result of climate change-related ecological pressures results in the loss of "land, homes, livelihoods, food security, health security, political power and social capital" (Wrathall 2012, p. 583). The social construct of placelessness "entails the disintegration of material and non-material goods that contribute to development and well-being, and increases likelihood of downward social mobility and impoverishment" (Wrathall 2012, p. 583). Subsequent anomalies, contributing to psychological deterioration such as loss of confidence, depression, apathy and violence may present, compounding existing social and environmental pressures (Cernea 2000).

The displacement of Hurricane Katrina evacuees is evidence of vulnerability in first world nations, as it is often the poor that live in hazardous areas and who are unable to

recover from their loss (Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye 2008). In most cases, the displaced and vulnerable are unable to return home to their families, previous life and associations (Cernea 1997).

2.5.5 Maintaining 'continuity of being'

As a precursor to my studies, it was important that I conducted a systematic search of literature on migration experiences, most importantly of first person accounts. As part of the metasynthesis, six qualitative studies were selected that looked at migration experiences through chronicles of loss. What I found through the analysis were stories of strength and resilience that were often concealed within separate, isolated studies. These were stories that tackled the difficult task of maintaining a 'continuity of being' from one cultural and social context to another. This overarching construct of 'continuity of being' needed to operate at personal, family and cultural levels. Three themes related to 'continuity of being' emerged from the process of reciprocal translation and synthesis of the selected studies (Table 2.3). These were: 'freedom to be' (the motivating factor discussed in section 2.4.5); and the experiences of 'staying close' and 'forming anchor' (Mosby 2013).

Table 2.3
Experiences of migration from metasynthesis

Study	Staying close	Forming anchor
Greene, Tehranifar, Hernandez-Cordero, & Fullilove (2011)	Breaking long-standing ties	Restoring familiarity
Kingston & Marino (2010)	Keeping unity and group identity	Being able to practice tradition
Mortreux & Barnett (2009)	Staying back with family	Moving away being the last resort
Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye (2008)	Reminiscing the old	To feel welcomed
Nielsen & Reenberg (2010)	Taking care of your own	Maintaining a separate way of life
Rosbrook & Schweitzer (2010)	Maintaining contact	To feel safe, valued and cared for

The process of uprooting from one's homeland involves severing longstanding ties with families, friend and community (Greene et al. 2011). This change disrupts the individual's routine daily activities and day-to-day physical and emotional help is withdrawn. All six studies emphasised the invaluable support from within the family, especially those living together (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010) or within close proximity of each other (Kingston & Marino 2010; Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye 2008). The multi-generational space of the family home was valued in the Karen and Chin refugees study (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). Their understanding of 'home' is described as sharing a physical dwelling with others as well as being a place of "giving and receiving care and support" (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010, p. 165). The expression of 'home' was both a tangible place and an intangible perception, which included the space a family or community occupied. The closeness of community and family is missed when people are displaced, as was the case of the Hurricane Katrina evacuees who had to rebuild their lives in other parts of the country (Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye 2008).

The process of recreating home elsewhere is likened to setting down anchor. Staying connected with family back home, or making new friends in the receiving location tended to enable people to establish themselves in new environments. Families also formed anchor by investing in their children's education and future (Greene et al. 2011). Being accepted in a new place, to be valued and welcomed, also facilitated the course to anchorage. People on the move can often remain in a state of limbo between the original and new worlds; having to sever well-established ties can leave people feeling uncertain and vulnerable.

Restoring the former sense of being is achieved by connecting with ethno-cultural communities and surrounding oneself with the art, food and language of the former country (Greene et al. 2011). Murakami-Ramalho & Durodoye (2008) found that the New Orleans evacuees found meaning by revisiting past lives in order to make sense of the new situation before being able to move forward. Reminiscing on what was left behind enabled participants to recover from their loss and restore order in their lives once more, often under unreceptive and difficult conditions. Most important was having a sense of belonging, as this meant having somewhere to return to emotionally, psychologically, spiritually as well as physically, despite danger (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). Greene et al. (2011) found that participants overcame this sense of loss by developing connections within their new environment, achieving financial stability and seeing the benefits in the lives of their children.

2.6   Implications of migration and resettlement

Resettlement under different economic, social, and political environments inevitably creates new opportunities, uncertainties and vulnerabilities for both the migrant and the receiving communities. New migration can place excessive demands on existing migrant communities, especially when the target migrant community is not well placed itself (Connell 2013a). These obligations may include in-kind support, like providing free accommodation, financial support, or assistance with housing and employment, for the new arrivals (Brown et al. 2013; Gough 2006). There are also the social and psychological costs of migration, as expectations heighten as cost of living and distance between kin increases. Although some evidence has suggested that the role of social relationships supports health and longevity, others argued that these social support systems do not provide the stress-buffering that is often anticipated (Hanna, 1998). In Graves & Graves (1985) study of Samoan migrants, they found that maintaining kinship ties can come with psychic costs. Better employment opportunities

also mean longer working hours and less time to carry out cultural and family obligations (Kingston & Marino 2010; Mortreux & Barnett 2009). Oftentimes, cultural obligations to extended families and community increase with the rise in income and living standards (Hanna 1998).

Studies indicated that forcibly resettling people created increased levels of impoverishment due to landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, social marginalization, food insecurity, reduced access to common-property resources, increased morbidity and mental health concerns (Barnett & O'Neill 2012; Cernea 1997). Connell's (2013b, p. 470) extensive experience in mapping migration of the Pacific region emphasized the significance and problems posed in land tenure, particularly to those whose "kinship is written on the ground", noting that in almost every settlement site some degree of conflict existed over land, and that "settlers are almost always marginalised by the previously settled".

Studies also suggested that migration and resettlement tended to be most favourable when "important characteristics of the original community, including its social structures, legal and political systems, cultural characteristics and worldviews are retained" (Campbell 2010, p. 59). This is particularly important to cultures that are inherently rooted in place as they tend to be most prone to disarticulation (Cernea 1997). The relocation of the Banaban Islanders to Rabi Island in Fiji in the mid-1940s is one such example of successful resettlement. In this case, the Islanders replicated their own social and governance systems and retained much of their worldview and separate cultural identity (Tabucanon 2012). The continuity and transfer of culture were important elements in successful community relocation as it kept the community intact, preserved their collective identity, and evaded potential social disarticulation which may have resulted (Tabucanon 2012).

Often associated with the implications of out-migration are the concepts of brain-drain and skill-loss. Those who migrate are usually the most educated who leave in order to take advantage of superior education facilities in urban centres and internationally (Connell, 1980, p. 5). The loss of "scarce-skilled manpower" (Connell 1980, p. 6) creates deficits in the place of origin as communities tend to lose the young and the most "energetic, skilled and innovative individuals" (Gough 2006, p. 38). Similarly, those who are able to afford the costly process of international migration are often better educated, wealthier and with relatively fewer vulnerabilities than those remaining behind. This trend is apparent in many small Pacific Island countries where migration policy attracted only the relatively skilled, talented and affluent migrants (Connell 2003).

The brain-drain is expected to continue in the Pacific as current immigration policy continues to discriminate against the "unskilled, uneducated, the old and poor" (Shen & Binns 2012, p. 75).

Because of limited economic growth and development in the developing island nations, the prospects of returning often diminishes over time as migrants invest more into their children's future (Gough 2006; Maron & Connell 2008). Disparities in income levels between small island nations and receiving countries tend to keep migrants away longer. Some suggest that return migration is often linked with the persons initial reason for departure such as those who migrated on scholarships for tertiary studies and were bound to return (Cassarino 2004). Those returning voluntarily quoted family reasons such as caring for elderly parents, or a death of a spouse, as prompting their return with only very few actually returning to retire (Maron & Connell 2008). Most skilled professionals were reluctant to return because of loss of income, poor working conditions and isolation as a result of minimal or no professional contacts (Ahlburg & Brown 1998; Storey & Steinmayer 2011).

2.7 Social work and migration

I used two main sources of literature on social work research and migration to position this section: Shier, Engstrom & Graham (2011) and Cox & Geisen (2014), which studies I then supplemented with further literature.

Shier et al. (2011) conducted a review of articles in 2008 of research specifically relating to social work or social services and international migrants using two electronic databases, Social Services Abstracts and Social Work Abstracts. They searched using the keyword terms, 'immigrant*', 'migrant*', and 'refugee', and limited literature to peer reviewed journals published between the period 1985 and 2008. Findings from their review suggest a steady increase in migration research. While early discourse around international migration focused on policy, the "sociological underpinnings of why people migrate" was least explored, as was internal migration (Shier et al. 2011, p. 46). Using thematic analysis Shier et al. (2011) identified four main themes from the selected literature: demographics and or context(s); service delivery; health and mental health needs; and macro-level or systemic issues.

As this seemed dated, using the Social Services Abstracts database and various other search engines (Informit, SpringerLink, ScienceDirect) in lieu of the Social Work Abstracts database (which I could not access through my institution), and the same

keyword terms, I continued searching for literature between 2009 and 2014. I selected twenty-five articles from this period relating to social services, migrants, and immigration policies (Clifton 2010; Ersanilli & Saharso 2011). The literature included practice and service provisions (Dow 2011; Edge, Newbold & McKeary 2014; Stewart et al. 2014) and post-migration experiences of refugees in their countries of resettlement (Bronstein & Montgomery 2011; Craig, Jajua & Warfa 2009). Most of the articles were published in the Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies, followed by Social Sciences & Medicine, and journals specific to psychiatry and psychology. Only three of the articles were published in social work-specific journals, but were orientated towards clinical practice with refugees and trauma (Cummings, Sull, Davis & Worley 2011; George 2012; Lacroix & Sabbah 2011). Out of the twenty-five articles, only two had focused specifically on experiences of migrants in Australia (Correa-Velez et al. 2010; Steel et al. 2011), with Canada and USA leading the way in migration research.

A more recent review of social work and migration literature by Cox & Geisen (2014) in both the English and German languages found a "paucity and generality" of research into migration within the discipline of social work (Cox & Geisen 2014, p. 157). The focus on migration research has predominantly been on the challenges faced by refugees and asylum seekers (Cox & Geisen 2014). They argue that "changes to practices in social work migration research, incorporating local, regional and international perspectives, are needed" (Cox & Geisen 2014, p. 157). Furthermore, social work research tends to focus on movement across international borders and on the resettlement experiences of those forced to move (Barnes 2001; Briskman & Cemlyn 2005; Cox & Geisen 2014; Rees 2004).

In the Australian social work context, migration research literature seems somewhat limited. Besides, Kidson's (1993) study of African male refugees and their experience of resettlement, impacted by torture and/or trauma, Rees (2004) study of social and emotional wellbeing of East Timorese women asylum seekers, and Barnes (2001) study of long-term Vietnamese refugees attachments to original and subsequent homelands, studies tend to focus on trauma and refugees. Alston (2004) is one of a few researchers who looked at the rural-urban drift of young people from a social work perspective, confirming that research into internal migration is minimal, while much of the literature appears to be largely responsive to emerging social justice concerns and human rights issues faced by asylum seekers (Briskman & Cemlyn 2005). Cox & Geisen (2014) noted similar disparities, and found that, when migration is included in

social work education and practice, it tends to be focussed on specific migrant needs such as access to resettlement and welfare services.

I also found from my search that social work research focuses mostly on international migration and resettlement, overlooking much of the movement that exist within nations (Cox & Geisen 2014). Internal migration of people between regions and cities and rural to urban settings has rarely been given attention. Irrespective of the distance travelled or the social, cultural, spatial and economic divide, internal movers share similarities with international migrants. Both must relinquish social relationships, and negotiate and re-establish them again under new conditions (Valtonen 2008). Both groups of migrants (internal or international) are faced with the same task of familiarizing themselves in a new environment and learning how to respond to changes in everyday life (Cox & Geisen 2014). Changes can be both positive and negative depending on actual and perceived cultural differences between groups and how well the newcomers and the established community learn to respond to new experiences, including implicitly established social norms (Valtonen 2008).

Studies suggested that social welfare services assisting migrants tend to work from a risk-based perspective that are heavily bureaucratised and which do not adequately promote migrants' strengths (Hernández & García-Moreno 2014). Resettlement policies tended to promote the concept of integration, directing the social work profession to mainstream migration by addressing cross-cultural practice and competence (Cox & Geisen 2014). Social work practice with migrants tended to concentrate on the social services delivery aspects of resettlement, and ways of improving intervention and practices that are culturally appropriate (Blunt 2007) and anti-oppressive (Laird 2008). While most of the work carried out by social workers has been related to human suffering and oppression, studies have found that most migrants and migrant communities have developed resilience in the face of adversity and have grouped together and provided support for their members (Hernandez-Plaza et al. 2006).

Despite these shortfalls in resettlement policies, Hernández & García-Moreno (2014) found that most migrants coped relatively well because of the protective factors of social networks and develop a strong sense of meaning to their migratory experience. Elliott & Segal recommended that "social workers need to understand the context of their clients' experience, as well as the complexity of world politics and economics that influence the way governments of nation-states formulate immigration policies" Elliott & Segal (2012, p. 564). Much of the literature on social work and migration tended to

focus on demographic, experiential and contextual aspects of the migrant, followed by the service delivery aspects and then the migrant's physical and mental health needs. Shier et al. (2011) opined that these should not be seen as mutually exclusive. For instance, the physical and mental health of the migrant can be directly linked to service delivery challenges and the experiential aspects of migration.

The increased emphasis placed on integration and the mainstreaming of migration in social work has developed in areas of cross-cultural practices and competence. Therefore social work is in a position to promote social cohesion while at the same time working towards addressing inequality, discrimination and oppression (Cox & Geisen 2014). Further, social work with migrants requires an understanding of the person's experience that extends beyond local, regional and national boundaries (Elliott & Segal 2012) and the transnational experiences of those who maintain relationships and obligation in one or more locations through technology, fast and affordable oversea travel and money transferring facilities (Furman, Negi & Salvador 2010).

Shier et al.'s (2011) literature review of international migration and social work found that the literature tended to focus on the implications of migration on the political and economic systems and with a primary focus on arriving newcomers. They concluded that the "one-sided investigation places limitations on social work practitioners to effectively engage in culturally appropriate practice with migrating populations - both domestically and internationally". Valtonen (2008) also identified gaps in migration research suggesting that studies need to explore migration trajectories and life strategies that individuals, families and groups use to manage and make sense of their experience. The narratives, reconstructions, memories and biographies of migrants and their communities can foster effective social work practice and immigration policies that will liberate oppression and lead to social change (Cox & Geisen 2014).

The literature suggested that even when social work lags behind in migration research, islands of strengths within these challenges that characterise migration are being identified through practice (Hernández & García-Moreno 2014; Nelson, Price & Zubrzycki 2013). Studies of Indigenous people's experiences of migration within the larger nation state is now more critical, as Indigenous peoples are pushed out of their traditional lands and become urbanised as a result of regressive political reforms, poverty and inequalities, and a changing natural environment. While most studies seemed to be associated with the experiences of mental anguish (George 2012; Stillman et al. 2009), and such challenges are acknowledged as inherent to migration

(Casado, Hong & Harrington 2010), my research sought to focus on strength and the richness of experiences of those attempting to manage the transition.

My research looked at the 'pre', 'in' and 'post' migration experiences. In Phase 1, I looked at the departing communities and sought the perspective of those witnessing the out-movement. In Phase 2, in-depth interviews with those experiencing the move looked at the 'in' and 'post' migration, along with the circumstances surrounding 'pre' migratory decisions.

Part Two

Paradigm, Design & Learning
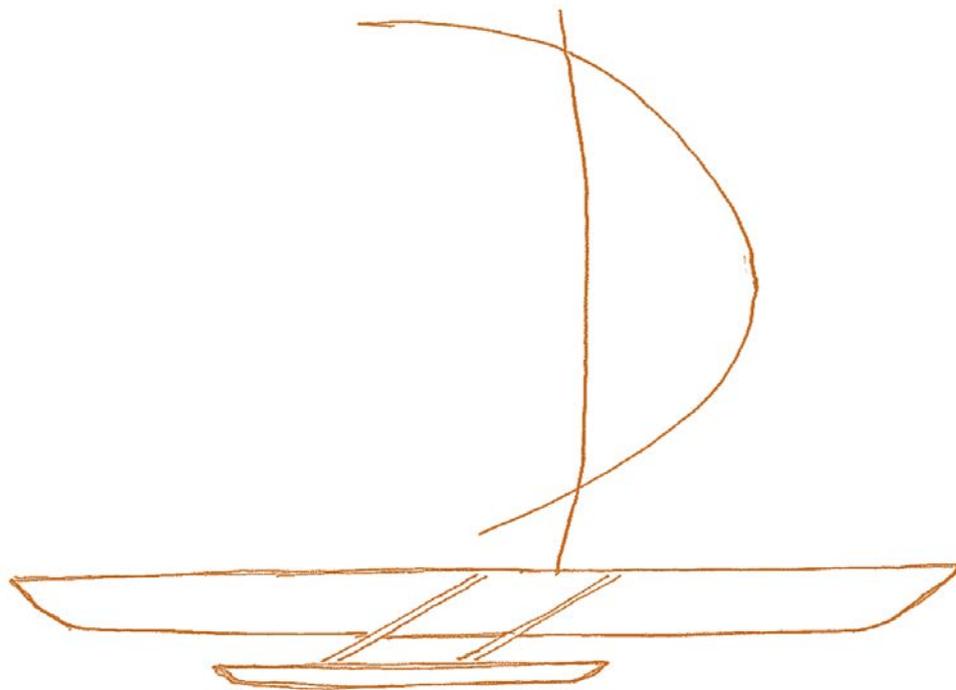
Chapter 3. Crafting the Voyage

3.1 Introduction

I used a mixed method approach for this research consisting of two separate but related phases informed by a Constructivist Approach, Decolonizing Methodologies and Indigenous Research Principles. In order to highlight the issue of out-movement I conducted a survey of individual island communities in the Torres Strait. The purpose of this was two-fold: firstly to provide background for this research and secondly to highlight the nature and scale of this out-movement for community members and leaders. Attempts were made to include all the islands using key informants and a virtual remote surveying technique. Results were analyzed with descriptive statistics and used to produce reports for the islands as material to share, and as background and context for the thesis (Chapter 6). My intention was to produce a visual aid that would speak to the audience and stimulate thought and discussion around this topic.

The second phase of the research explored the experiences of people who had moved to the mainland. I used quota sampling, which flowed through to purposive and theoretical sampling, working from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Data was collected using in-depth interviews, and analysis was done using constructivist grounded theory techniques. Findings were produced as a story (from the grounded theory presented in Chapter 7) to take back to the islands, and also to share in conference papers with other Indigenous researchers. The intention was not only to understand the hidden facets of moving away from the islands and the motivations for the move, but also to seek out experiences that may help others manage their resettlement experience.

The theoretical framework for the research involved Decolonizing Methodologies, Constructivism and Indigenous Research Principles (Table 3.1). In Phase 1, I worked from a decolonizing position, using Indigenous principles to co-create findings addressing the question: what is the nature and scale of out-movement? I needed information from the islands. In Phase 2 I needed stories of experiences. I worked from a constructivist position to explore the resettlement experience, taking on an insider-outsider status, and using Indigenous Research Principles to guide the process.

Table 3.1
Research design

Mixed Methods Design	Phase 1 Virtual Remote Surveying	Phase 2 Constructivist Grounded Theory
Theoretical framework	Decolonizing Methodologies Indigenous Research Principles Constructivist Approach	Constructivist Approach Decolonizing Methodologies Indigenous Research Principles
Research question	What is the nature and scale of out-movement?	What is the experience of resettlement?
Data needs	Nature and scale of movement	Stories of experiences
Population/Sample	All TSIRC island communities (census) and key informants	Quota, purposive and theoretical sampling. Familiar to unfamiliar.
Data collection	Virtual remote surveying	In-depth Interviews
Data analysis	Descriptive statistics	Constructivist Grounded Theory methods
Dissemination method	Report to individual islands, journal article and visit to island. As context/background for thesis.	Conference papers to be shared with other Indigenous researchers. Story shared on island visit.

3.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework guiding this research and the chosen methodology sought to challenge past representations of Indigenous peoples through the processes of imperialism and colonisation (Smith 1999). I visualised my theoretical framework in the form of an outrigger canoe (Figure 3.1). Canoes were an integral part of Torres Strait Islanders' culture and society. Renowned for their seafaring abilities and navigation skills, Torres Strait Islanders created and sustained trade routes throughout the islands, extending to Papua New Guinea and the Australian mainland. These voyages created and sustained long-lasting kinship ties that remain intact today and continue through intermarriage and increased mobility.

Sail: Decolonizing Methodologies

Hull: Constructivist Approach

Outrigger: Indigenous Research Principles
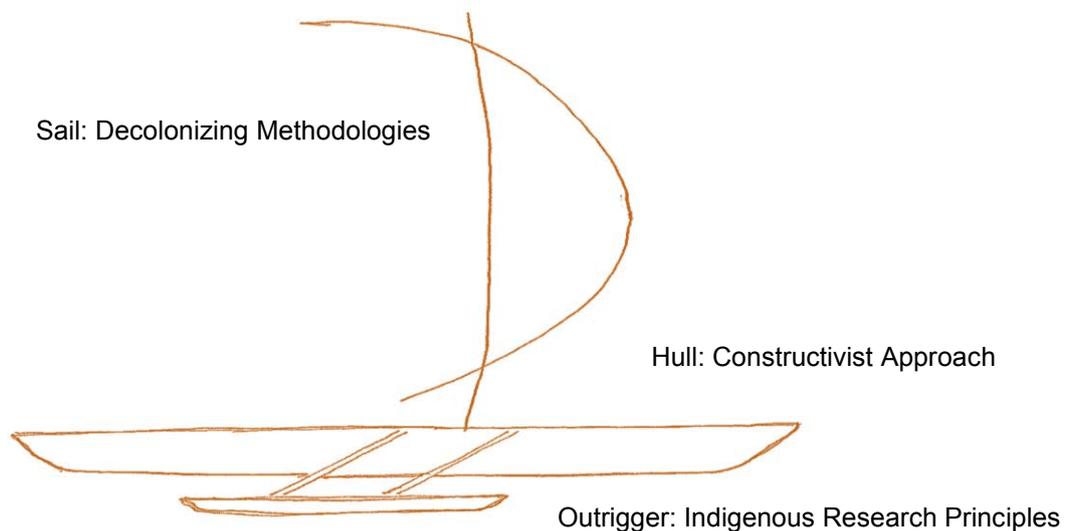
Figure 3.1 *Serib Serib Nar* **- Outrigger canoe**

Decolonizing Methodologies helped me theoretically frame and guide this research, as do the sails of the canoe propelling the vessel onwards (Figure 3.1). These principles provide a guide to working from the inside out, as well as from the outside in. I chose to use a Constructivist Approach together with Decolonizing Methodologies as my lenses (Figure 3.1). Co-construction of meaning is like the hull of the canoe, the vehicle that transports people and goods back and forth, requiring a joint effort in reaching a common destination. Indigenous Research Principles were also integrated into my theoretical framework and are congruent with my own worldview; they became the stabilizer for this research, the outrigger (Figure 3.1).

Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 54), posited that "the researcher's standpoint dictates how he or she makes sense of the many competing theoretical frames and therefore selects it (or them) as most appropriate for the research". They explained that selecting a theoretical framework is an ontologically, axiologically and epistemologically driven task that frames the researcher's standpoint, often in alignment to a particular theory. It also frames how he/she views the topic, and the disciplinary field in which the researcher and the theory are situated (Walter & Andersen 2013).

3.3   How I came to my theoretical framework: the canoe

When I first designed this research, I assumed an interpretive approach to qualitative research, viewing my research question as understanding how people conceptualised what 'successful' resettlement meant for them. I understood this to be measured by personal characteristics and external factors such as economic and social participation. After much contemplation and deliberation, I found that my intentions were to move people beyond physical and material capacities and focus more on meaning making and how people defined what 'success' meant for them. I also wanted to uncover the challenges, and understand how people managed living in mainstream. These private shared experiences could then be used to enhance the lives of others and hopefully contribute to a more positive and sustainable outcome for subsequent movers. For this reason, I looked beyond the home environment and into the social world where people are walking the tightrope of mainstream demands and expectations, while holding on to their cultural values and obligations. I hoped to look beyond meaning making and the relationships of the teller and the listener, and produce something more substantial that would transform lives (Liamputtong & Ezzy 1999; Mishler 1986).

What I liked about the Constructivist Approach was that it recognised humans as active agents, rather than passive recipients of larger social forces (Charmaz 2006). Taking this stance would foster my reflexivity about my own interpretations and assumptions as well as those of my research participants. However, this was not enough. I wanted more than to interpret assumptions and perceptions; I wanted to be an active agent of change, facilitating, educating and learning through increasing and challenging my own understandings. I wanted to create a product that was much more concrete and tangible, and which would add real value to people's experiences.

As an Indigenous researcher, it was important for me to capture and present people's voices and stories in their original form to retain meaning and language. The

extraction, analysis and construction of meaning had to be grounded in and generated from their original sources. I was also aware of the exploitation of Indigenous knowledge systems by well-intended researchers whose work has misrepresented and objectified Indigenous peoples. I was determined not to reproduce that history, while also remaining vigilant that I did not become the 'expert' (Smith 1999).

Although having lived and worked in the Torres Strait for most of my life, my return to the islands as a researcher did not give me right of way. My obligation and responsibility to family and community continues to exist while I am away from the islands. These responsibilities exceed the realm of academia, and are areas of contention as I walk firstly as a Torres Strait Islander woman and secondly as a scholar of Western epistemologies. As an insider-outsider researcher it was important that I manage my place not only in the access, interview and analysis of data but within the Torres Strait Islander community on the mainland and as well as in the Torres Strait. Such tensions have been encountered by others before, who have found that Decolonizing Methodologies helped sort out tensions between academia and community (Kovach 2009). As an insider-outsider researcher it was my responsibility to remain vigilant at all time, consciously navigating uncharted waters and on the lookout for submerged reefs that could become hazardous.

Like the winds that fill the sail, this research was driven by a transformative agenda that is present in the theoretical framework, the chosen paradigms, purpose, process and destination of this journey. Mertens (2010), a proponent of the transformative paradigm, confirmed that this stance allows researchers to consciously situate their work as a response to inequities. The fundamental principles of transformative research are the "enhancement of social justice, furtherance of human rights, and respect for cultural norms" (Mertens 2010, p. 470). Mertens (2010, p. 470) suggested that "It is possible for researchers to situate themselves within the constructivist paradigm and not address issues of social justice", hence the need for a transformative agenda. These words resonated with my own reasons and purpose for doing this research.

Decolonizing Methodologies, a Constructivist Approach and Indigenous Research Principles together draw upon the premise of multiple truths, respecting difference and the furtherance of human rights and social justice. I deliberately chose not to include a transformative paradigm as part of my theoretical framework as this paradigm stands on its own, while I feel the others are complementary and together form the basis of a transformative agenda (Figure 3.2).

Figure with three vertical boxes labeled "Decolonizing", "Constructivism", and "Indigenous" above a downward-pointing arrow labeled "Transformative Agenda".
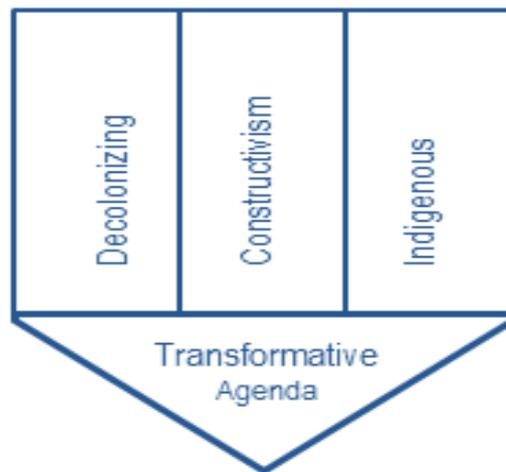
Figure 3.2 *Sarik kep* (arrow head).
Theoretical framework with a transformative agenda

3.3.1 Research Paradigms

The way in which people view the world is often influenced by those around them, and the place, time, circumstance, culture and religious beliefs in which they are raised. Outside knowledge permeates these realities through mass media and other dominant cultures imposed on or introduced to them throughout the course of history. This knowledge is adopted and adapted to suit people's circumstances and understandings of what they see, hear and feel around them. It is from these positions that people draw meaning and make sense of their lives and situations, choosing which knowledge to retain, adopt, adapt or abandon.

From an ontological position, what I believe is real is influenced by my Torres Strait Islander heritage and the dominant Western knowledge systems in which I exist. Significant members of my immediate and extended family helped shape my reality through stories, teachings and enactments. My reality is further strengthened by my own personal lived experience, and reinforced by the stories and experiences of others. Colonisation, Western sciences, and Christianity further shape how I think about that reality.

Epistemologically, I understand the world through these introduced lenses as well as my own Torres Strait Islander belief system about the seen and unseen world around me. My worldview is a figment of the space and time in which I exist, and consists of new knowledges that I gain from outside my immediate physical bounds. From an

axiological position, my family values, and teaching reinforces my understanding of what is *prapa* (right), and what is *nugud* (wrong). I know this from within, through feeling and sensing. When it feels right, I know it is right. When I know it is right, then I am able to do what is right in whatever methodological approach I adopt. Feeling, knowing and doing what is right is central to my being and informs the way I see, relate and live in this world (Figure 3.3).
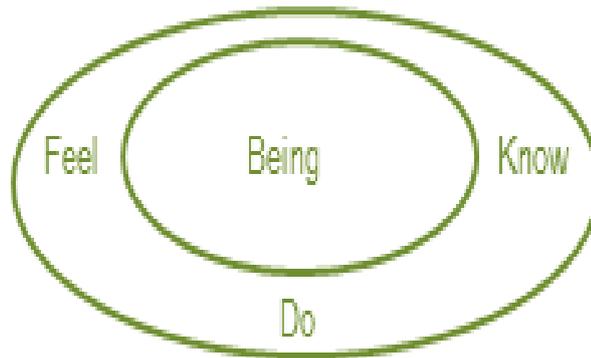
Figure 3.3 Ways of Knowing, Being, Doing and Feeling.

Western presentations of paradigms work from ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology (Table 3.2). Martin (2003) presents worldviews as Knowing, Being and Doing. My intuitive understanding of this is; Knowing, Being, Feeling, and Doing. Knowing is contextual: you are raised into a certain reality. Your being is informed by what you know, and reinforced by what you feel. Being is an embodiment, a lived experience, a feeling which then allows you to do. I believe it is important to know who you are and where you stand, to live and feel this reality which guides what you do.

Table 3.2

Paradigmatic table adapted from Denzin & Lincoln (2008); Kovach (2009); Neuman (2006); Smith (1999); and Wilson (2001)

		Decolonizing	**Constructivist**	**Indigenous**
	Purpose of research	Expose myth and empower people to challenge & change society – restitution & emancipation.	Understand and describe meaningful social action. Understanding & reconstruction	Validates Indigenous worldviews and knowledges.
Being	Ontology (my way of being; what I believe is real in the world; my reality)	Multiple layers governed by hidden, underlying structures. Historical realism – shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time.	Fluid and situational, created by human interaction. Knowledge socially constructed and relative to time, place and space. Relativism – local and specific co-constructed realities.	Multiple realities; knowledge is holistic, pragmatic and relational.
Knowing	Epistemology (how I think about that reality)	Unequal distribution of power, insider-outsider research, knowledge being socially and historically situated.	Everyday theory used by ordinary people. Feels right for those being studied. Values are part of life.	Knowledge lives within a relational web, residing in both physical and metaphysical space. Honours shared story as a means of knowing.
Doing	Methodology (how I gain more knowledge about my reality)	Provides tools/knowledge needed to affect change.	Helps us embrace/share the experiences of others.	Allows for voice and representation. Research by inductive methods (as

		Reveals true conditions and helps people take action.		opposed to deductive). Valuing both process and content.
Feeling	Axiology (set of morals and ethics)	Must have a value position, some are right and some are wrong	No group's values are wrong, only different.	Community owned, controlled and for their use. Gaining knowledge to fulfill my end of the relationship and being accountable (to all my relations).
Why I chose these and what do they allow me to do?		Manages insider-outsider status. Raise awareness to change lives and challenge domination. Addresses inequalities and promote social justice.	Values the realities and experiences of others, privileging voice and representation of marginalised groups.	Valid and respecting our ways (knowing, being and doing), relevant, appropriate and meaningful.

3.3.2 Ways of Knowing

My ways of knowing, my epistemology, relate to how I think about that reality (Table 3.2). Smith stated that our survival as Indigenous peoples has come from our knowledge of context and environment:

> *"We had to know to survive. We had to work out ways of knowing, we had to learn and reflect, we had to preserve and protect, we had to defend and attack, we had to be mobile, we had to have social systems which enable us to do these things."*

Smith (1999, p. 13)

Our ways of knowing inform our way of being, for without this knowing we are unable to be (Martin 2003). Wilson (2001) regarded knowledge acquired by Indigenous researchers as relational knowledge, which is collectively owned and to be shared with all of creation. This knowing must also be for our purposes and most importantly derived from our thinking and ways of being. My *Au bala* (big brother) tells me that knowledge comes from man, while wisdom comes from God. This wisdom is conceived, tested and realised through one's own personal experience (personal conversation with Ron Day).

3.3.3 Ways of Being

My way of being, ontology, relates to what I believe is real in the world, my reality (Table 3.2). Indigenous worldviews or ontology are relational and consist of all of nature, the lands, waterways, skies, winds, and including our weather (Martin 2003). All things are equal in value, relevant and purposefully placed on earth for each one of us by the Creator/s to support and sustain life. Martin (2003, p. 206) stated "It is through ontology that we develop an awareness and sense of self, of belonging and for coming to know our responsibilities and ways to relate to self and others" (2003, p. 206). Noting further that:

We are part of the world as much as it is part of us, existing within a network of relations amongst entities that are reciprocal and occur in certain context. This determines and defines for us rights to be earned and bestowed as we carry out rites to country, self and others – our ways of being.

(Martin 2003, p. 209).

3.3.4 Ways of Feeling

Ways of feeling (axiology) are the morals and ethics that guide my decisions and actions (Table 3.2). From an Indigenous axiological position, we make decisions of what research we undertake and how that research will benefit our communities (Weber-Pillwax 2001). These are a set of morals and ethics that safeguard relationships, determine engagements, and ensure accountability to each other and those around us. According to Wilson (2001) these sets of ethics hold us responsible to fulfil our role in the relationship. Ways of knowing and being are embodied and experienced as ways of feeling. I can take in knowledge but when in becomes embodied and integrated into my own being and I start feeling, then I am able to articulate it in a way that is most meaningful. Otherwise, it remains regurgitated knowledge. I can take this knowing in, I can take the doing in, but somehow, it needs to connect in an embodied way with me and become feeling, in order for me to express my being. It becomes experiential knowledge or wisdom as opposed to shared information (Castellano 2000).

3.3.5 Ways of Doing

Ways of doing relates to how I gain more knowledge about my reality (Wilson 2001) (Table 3.2). I write from a perspective of knowing, being and feeling. From within this space, I am able to inform my doing. Thoughts have to become feeling for me to conceive them into something concrete, to firstly, form a deeper understanding that is sensed at an emotional level, and then to share this experience with others. Our ways of doing are an expression of our ways of knowing and ways of being. Weber-Pillwax (2001) argued that the knowledge that we acquire through studies is derived from integrating our own ways of being, knowing and doing. She suggested our studies have "no life" without such integration (Weber-Pillwax 2001, p. 169). Martin (2003, p. 210) succinctly brought it all together by affirming that "we are able to show (do), respectfully and rightfully (being) what we know (knowing)".

Weber-Pillwax (2001, p. 173) referred to this as the "intuitive stuff" that initiates a vision, empowering the unfolding of the process:

Living that way presupposes very little need for explanation and description.
That way is natural: It is always there because it is a part of who I am.
Adapting this very personal spiritual and intellectual reality to contemporary
research and scholarship is an everyday task for Indigenous scholars."

(Weber-Pillwax 2001, p. 173)

Furthermore, she explained that intuition is invisible but "central integrity of the Indigenous person that lies the strength of Indigenous identity" (Weber-Pillwax 2001, p. 173).

3.4 Decolonizing Methodologies

Originating from Critical Theory, Decolonizing Methodologies endeavour to expose myth and empower people to challenge and change society. The methodology states that truth is multilayered, influenced, manipulated and hidden within underlying structures shaped over time by social, political, cultural, economic, and ethnic and gender values. This position also recognizes the unequal distribution of power, particularly noting the differentiation between researcher and those being researched, making it appropriate for insider-outsider research (Collins 1986; Johnson-Bailey 1999; Smith 1999). From this position, knowledge is seen as being socially and historically situated, which means colonized peoples have had their histories pre-written and their truths conveyed through the eyes, writing and oral accounts of their colonizers.

Past representations of Indigenous peoples were highly politicised within academia as mitigating indifference and the "othering" (Smith 1999, p. 28). This is particularly pertinent for Indigenous researchers who themselves have been indoctrinated into Western ways of thinking. The insider researcher according to Smith (1999) needs to be as reflective and critical as the outsider research, so not to assume the role of official insider voice. Decolonizing Methodologies attempt to offset the role of the expert by recognising the centrality of voice and representation in research. The aim is to present the voices of others at the forefront. This presentation should promote social justice while reducing further indifference and marginalisation (Kovach 2009).

Smith (1999) highlighted the advantages in using Decolonizing Methodologies as they introduce Indigenous researchers to the social, political, and cultural aspects of insider-outsider research. I chose to use a Decolonizing stance for this reason, as well as for its transformational qualities, as my intention was to develop new knowledge and understanding. I hoped this knowledge would change lives through restoring and

building personal agency and self-realisation. From this position, I am able to raise consciousness so that people can take action to challenge myth and inequality.

Decolonizing Methodologies allowed me to work from the inside-out and at other times from the outside-in. Walter and Anderson held that, "Modernity in all its aspects is the primary shaper of the life circumstances of Indigenous peoples in colonized first world nation-states, both in terms of our investment in and our resistance to it …" ; confirming that as Indigenous scholars we are also part of our respective modern societies (2013, p. 72). As such, it is therefore critical that we engage with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels and to be critically aware of the underlying assumptions, motivation and values which inform research practices (Smith 1999).

3.5   Constructivist Approach

Constructivists attempt to understand and describe meaningful social action. Knowledge is seen as socially constructed and relative to local and specific co-constructed realities (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). People use everyday theories as they go about their lives and these theories are accepted on the basis that "it feels right" (Neuman 2006, p. 105). Understanding the experiences of others, and giving voice to marginalised groups helps us to embrace difference and different perspectives (Neuman 2006). According to this position, no group's values are wrong or inferior, but only different (Neuman 2006). I integrated a Constructivist Approach into this research as it values the realities and experiences of others, and privileges the voice and representation of marginalised groups.

Originating from the interpretive tradition, Constructivism assumes that both data and analysis are social constructions and contextually situated in time, place, culture and situation (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). As active agents, rather than passive recipients, people develop subjective meaning to their experiences, to objects and things. These meanings are varied and multiple (Creswell 2013). This stance fostered reflexivity on my part, and safeguarded data by keeping me, the researcher, in check, as I am both an insider and outsider to the participants, communities, and focus of the research. The Constructivist Approach recognises the subjective nature of research and insists on the constant need for reflexivity to ensure that the researcher does not become an outside expert or an official insider voice (Smith 1999). It invites the researcher to listen to the participant's story and at the same time reflectively engaging with the

research as they co-create meaning, a process critical to Indigenous ways of knowledge transfer (Kovach 2009).

I deliberately chose to use a constructivist approach for this study irrespective of being criticized for not doing enough to challenge social issues that confront marginalize peoples (Creswell, 2014). The focus of this study is to understand how Torres Strait Islanders' experience contemporary out-movement, hence co-constructing the stories of movement. As a member of the Torres Strait Islander community, this study is ongoing and forms the basis to facilitate change.

3.6 Indigenous Research Principles

Indigenous ways of being acknowledge multiple realties located with a relational web that exists in physical and metaphysical spaces. According to this position, knowledge is holistic, pragmatic, relational, experienced and shared with and by others. Indigenous Research Principles honour shared stories as a means of knowing, valuing both process and content (Kovach 2009). Incorporating Indigenous Research Principles into my research was crucial as it supported Torres Strait Islander ways of being, knowing, feeling and doing. It made research respectful, relevant and meaningful.

It was important for me to stay close to what I knew and felt as most natural, so I wove Indigenous Research Principles into the framework of the research as the stabiliser, guiding my interactions throughout the journey. It was not until I returned from a conference in Canada and then attended Associate Professor Margaret Kovach's seminar in Cairns on Indigenous Methodologies that I fully understood and became confident with engaging aspects of Indigenous Methodologies. I found this particularly useful during the second phase of the research.

Indigenous Research Principles view research as a subjective activity, privileging individual meaning creation, which is reflexive, and seeks to authenticate and validate personal and group experiences by member checking (Kovach 2009). Like the Constructivist Approach, integrating an Indigenous Research Principles framework around the research provides an inclusive place for situating self through self-reflection while honouring multiple truths and understandings (Kovach 2009). It is from within this space that we give back of ourselves (Kovach 2009), share knowledge (Wilson 2008), and build resilience (Smith 1999).

Indigenous Research Principles are congruent with a transformative agenda, a framework of belief systems that directly engages members of culturally diverse groups, with a focus on increasing social justice (Harris, Holmes & Mertens 2009; Mertens 2009). Such methodologies are openly critical of and oppose the status quo, and are committed to building a more inclusive and just society (Brown & Strega 2005).

3.7   Transformative Agenda

A transformative agenda is characterised by close collaboration between researchers and the participants of the study, including both community leaders and members (Mertens 2009). Communication is achieved by the use of the participant's language of choice and the relationship is both interactive and empowering (Mertens 2009). Fundamental to the transformative paradigm are enhancement to social justice, furtherance of human rights, and respect for cultural norms (Mertens 2010). Understanding culture and building trust are essential, with the research purpose, design, implementations, and utilizations developed and implemented with appropriate cultural sensitivity and awareness (Mertens 2009).

While constructing the theoretical framework I began to appreciate the interplay between paradigm, process and product (Figure 3.4). As I unpacked my own baggage for the purpose of this research, I could see my own characteristics and belief systems unfold. To be able to see myself in the theoretical framework was transformational in itself. It is from within this space of self-realisation that a process materialised, and what I had thought and felt was most natural became clear to me, and validated why I did things a certain way. For me, research must be tangible, practical, relevant and useful to others. I refer to the intended outcomes of both process and paradigm as the product of research, which came to me in the form of a warrior club or *seuri seuri* (Figure 3.4).
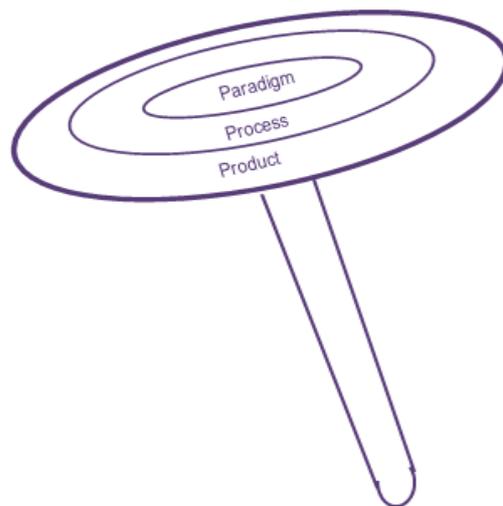
Figure 3.4 *Seuri seuri* – Three Ps of research

The *seuri seuri* is a warrior's club used in warfare prior to the arrival of missionaries. The *seuri seuri* is also used as a symbol of passing on the mantle of knowledge, leadership, and responsibility to successive generations and is used in *zogo kab* (sacred dance). Dancers perform in pairs of two, with the second dancer following the lead. The *seuri seuri* is held up to the sky by the dancer in front, and then lowered to the ground, symbolising the rise and fall of each generation. As it is lowered, signifying the passing of the elder, the dancer following comes out from behind and takes hold of the *seuri seuri* before it touches the ground and raises it up again as he takes the lead. This dance is strictly performed by menfolk in the Murray Islands, though I use it here to signify the importance of passing on knowledge, responsibility and leadership to others.

The following two chapters outline my research design based on the three paradigmatic influences of Decolonizing Methodologies, Constructivist Approach and Indigenous Research Principles. The decisions and experiences of Phase 1 and 2 signal how this theoretical framework informed and guided these decisions on both processes and products.

Chapter 4.   Taking an Eagle's View

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two series covering the design. This first phase attempts to address the nature and scale of out-movement. The second phase provides an overview on the qualitative, constructivist grounded theory method. In this section I present my intention, description, reflection and learning. In the intention section, I outline what I wanted to achieve and the decisions I made. In description, I discuss what I did; in reflection, I discuss what became apparent in the doing; and in learning, I present what I found in the process.

4.2 Intention

I wanted to collect data on the nature and scale of the out-movement from individual Torres Strait Islander communities. Given the time constraints of this research and the financial cost of conducting face-to-face surveys of the community, I decided to use semi-structured telephone surveys with key informants from each of the remote island communities. I saw this as a one-time opportunity to collect base-line data for all the islands for further research and to position future studies, as this had not been done before. I wanted to raise consciousness (with a political agenda), and provide insight and discussion around the phenomenon. This phase was also critical in formulating my later interview questions and broadening my own knowledge of the phenomenon prior to the in-depth interviews. From an insider-outsider standpoint, I included aspects of Decolonizing Methodologies, as it was important that I challenge my own preconceptions and assumptions acquired over the time I spent living and working in the Torres Strait.

It was important for me to gain support from the Torres Strait Island Regional Council Mayor and respective Councillors. Respecting local authority and cultural protocols, I approached the Torres Strait Island Regional Council for their support and assistance. I needed the council's endorsement and support as the leaders and gatekeepers to their communities. My access and re-entry into these communities was informed and guided by Indigenous Research Principles founded on the core value of *apasin* (humility), respecting cultural norms, protocols and relationships.

From a decolonizing position, I tackled a non-Western survey approach. I wanted to use an unobtrusive non-Western style of surveying method to collect data, island-by-island and house-by-house. As the intent was to delve deeper into the extent and nature of the out-movement and provide a descriptive account of the phenomenon, the questions focused predominantly on who moved, when, why and to where. I wanted to capture two significant changes in the region that may have contributed to the out-movement and explain the declining population of Torres Strait Islanders living in the region in successive census data. These changes consist of the Local Government Amalgamations in 2008, and Community Development and Employment Program (CDEP) Reforms in 2009.

In addition, I wanted to explore the skill-base and employment status of individuals before moving to identify local skill loss, and whether those factors (skill-base and employment status) influenced the move and/or influenced people's ability to find work in the new location. I also wanted to explore people's living arrangements prior to moving away to identify possible housing issues, such as shortage and overcrowding, which may have contributed to people's decisions to move. Together with the informants, I constructed a story by piecing together their knowledge of out-movements and systematically recording these for each island.

4.3 Description

This section details the actual research process from gaining access, through to the survey design, sample, recruitment, recording, data analysis and reporting.

4.3.1 Gaining access

Respecting local authority, I contacted the Torres Strait Island Regional Council Mayor (who represented fifteen island communities in the Torres Strait region). First, an email was sent with my proposal attached for the Mayor's perusal. We later spoke by phone where he commended me on my PhD candidature and provided verbal support. The Mayor expressed his support and was happy for me to proceed. Once the Mayor had informed the other Councillors of my research, he sent me a letter of support, after which I began contacting individual Councillors. Many had been expecting my call. They expressed their anticipation of hearing from me and declared that they were happy to participate. One of the Councillors, with whom I had worked in the past, said he was very proud of me, and that it was good to have 'one of us', who knew the issues, come back and do research. This occurred in February 2012, following my

confirmation of candidature seminar and a month prior to the local council elections. The Councillors at the time pledged their support. I could not proceed through to the next stage of personally contacting the remaining Councillors, as I had to wait for the outcome of the upcoming elections in March 2012. This was necessary to see whether there would be changes in the current council, as this would mean going through the process all over again. As well as a phone call to each Councillor, I emailed a copy of the research proposal, interview schedule and data recording sheet. I also contacted the Divisional Managers, who became my primary informants after delegation of the task by Councillors.

In this phase of the research, I was held up by the local government elections, which were delayed further by contested elections in certain island communities. I had to respectfully wait out this process until the new council was sworn in. Once the new council had assumed its responsibilities, I sent each new Councillor an email introducing my research and myself, and congratulating them on their new positions. I then followed the email by contacting the Councillors personally by telephone. I also contacted the returning Councillors, again congratulating them on their positions and reconfirming their permission for me to continue working with their communities. I knocked, by sending them an email before I entered, by contacting them by phone. This process took time, which was inescapable, as I knew that this was the right way to continue from where I had left off. In all, this process pushed the timeline of my research out by four months.

4.3.2 Survey design

A questionnaire was developed to capture and reflect the out-movement. The questions were framed to identify who moved, when, why, and where (Table 4.1). Without the need to identify individuals or family groups, the questionnaire was set out to establish the year people moved and whether the movement concerned individuals or family groups, including single parent households. It was also designed to capture age, gender, skill-base and qualification, and living arrangements before and after movement, as well as people's reasons for moving. The information collected was based on the informant's local knowledge and assumptions. Intimate details were not required, nor were names used or recorded, as the purpose of this research was to aggregate data for Islands and not identify people (See survey guide, Appendix D).

Table 4.1
Key variables and attributes

Variable	Attributes
Family structure	Single or families (including single parent families, couples with no children, and couples with one member moving)
Number of adults	Number of people over 18 years
Number of children	Number of children 18 years or under
Number of school aged children	Prep to Year 12
Age group of adults	Grouped in years i.e. 0-19, 20-29,30-39,40-49,50-59,60-69,70 and over
Gender	Male/Female (for individual movers only)
When did they move	Year
Reason for move	Employment, housing, study, family, medical, other, unknown
Where did they move	Cairns, Townsville, Brisbane, Thursday Island(TI), Weipa, other Torres Strait island (TSI), and unknown
Skills-base/ industry of employment (before move)	Admin, police, fishing, trade, retail, education, health, CDEP, other, not working.
Doing now (current circumstances in new location)	Working, studying, not working, unknown
Living arrangement before and after move	Social housing, renting (privately), living with parents, living with family, other, unknown

The first interview with one of the small communities acted as a pilot. In this interview I had relied on the informant's local knowledge and memory, which, when I reflected, may have under-represented the number of out-movements. In subsequent interviews I developed the process intuitively by walking the informants down each street, surveying each household virtually. Taking a walk alongside the participants down each street and stopping at each house to see who lived there was a method that emerged through trial and error. On the largest populated island, this process took three separate interviews, ranging from one to two hours in duration. The actual survey method evolved during the course of the survey process.

4.3.3 Sample population

The sample population for this research consisted of remote island communities within the Torres Strait Islander Regional council constituency, excluding the mainland communities of Bamaga and Seisia located in the Cape York Peninsula area. The Torres Strait Island Regional Council area is made up of 15 island community Councillors, headed by the Major. The communities include Badu, Boigu, Dauan, Erub, Hammond, Iama, Kubin, Mabuiag, Masig, Mer, Poruma, Saibai, St Pauls, Ugar, and Warraber (http://www.tsirc.qld.gov.au/about-council - accessed 25/07/12). The Torres Strait Island Regional Council is one of two local councils in the region, the other being the Torres Shire Council, that represents the larger island communities of Thursday Island, Horn Island, Prince of Wales and Friday Island.

In total, I was able to survey thirteen of the fifteen remote island communities. The absence of available informants or passive refusal by potential informants not returning my calls resulted in the non-completion of the remaining two islands. After a number of attempts to contact these communities, I stopped calling them.

4.3.4 Recruitment of key informants

The decision to work with the Divisional Managers was first recommended by one of the Councillors during our initial discussions. The Councillor mentioned that Divisional Managers were mostly present in the community and were knowledgeable and up-to-date with local matters. The Divisional Managers were often long-term residents of the community, and had worked within the Council over a number of years in various capacities before assuming their current positions. This suited the criteria for participation, as the parameter of this research was ten years. During subsequent introductory phone calls to the councils, I asked the Councillors whether they would like to participate and suggested whether they would allow their Divisional Managers to

take part, given that Councillors are often away from the community attending meetings. In most cases, the Councillors were happy to have their Divisional Managers become the informants on their behalf. After verbal consent and approval was obtained from Councillors and the informants, I then organised a suitable time for the interview during work hours.

Organising a time to carry out interviewing was never concrete and was determined by the informant's availability, taking into account unexpected work and personal commitments. I would usually call the informant on the day of the interview to confirm their availability. If they were unavailable we would reschedule a time and 'play-by-ear'. Interviews took place by phone during work hours and in the informant's workplace, except for one, which took place face-to-face in a coffee shop as suggested by a Councillor who was in Cairns at the time.

During the course of data collection, two of the Divisional Managers who had previously consented to participate had relocated to the main office in Cairns. I made contact with them towards the end of data collection, and they again confirmed willingness to participate. I did not feel that it was right to ask for their time outside of work, knowing myself how difficult work-life balance becomes when living on the mainland. I requested permission from the Torres Strait Islander Regional Council Chief Executive Officer to interview the Divisional Managers during their work hours, to which he kindly agreed. I then organised a suitable time for the interview.

4.3.5 Recording

The survey questions were listed in a series of tables, which I used to record raw data from the telephone interviews with the informants. I created two data recording sheets, one for family movements and the other to record individual movements. I did this as early questions seeking family arrangement such as number of adults, number of children and/or school aged children (prep to year 12), were not applicable to individual movers. The next set of questions after age group were the time of move (year), reason for move, skills and employment status before the move, destination of move, work status after the move (if known), living arrangements before the move and their living arrangements after the move (if known).

Where there were multiple individual or family movements in a single household, I would note these using arrows to link each column. With this technique, I was able to establish larger movements from the same household and cross-reference these with their reasons for move (see data recording sheet, Appendix E). In order to manage

and organise data, I would write the street names or village at the top of each column as we walked along and reflected on each household. This proved helpful, especially when interviews were interrupted and continued at another time. Once completed, I then typed up the handwritten data using the same format and re-checked each movement, particularly against those who left and returned within the ten-year period. This process also gave me time to re-engage with the data and furthered my exploratory analysis.

At the end of the interview I thanked the informants and asked if they had anything that they wished to add. Some provided their own insights on the out-movement and how they perceived the resettlement experiences of others who were now residing on the mainland.

I was mainly interested in the out-movement, although I did note some people returning to the communities. If the return was within one year, I did not count this as out-movement. Those who I counted as moving had moved for a sufficient time, and their absence was recognised by the community. I counted return movement for baseline data purposes, and as their numbers were minimal I left them out of the report.

4.3.6 Analysing quantitative data

It was important for me to give back the data collected from this phase of the research to each individual council, the informants, and to Nintiringanyi Cultural Training Centre, whose involvement in the second phase of the research was instrumental in the recruitment process. To do this, I used SPSS to construct coloured figures using frequency counts to illustrate the nature and scale of the out-movement (see Chapter 6).

4.3.7 Reporting

I presented the aggregate findings to the respective Community Councillor and Divisional Manager informant in the form of a report, which I sent to each by mail. The report contained coloured figures of each of the findings and a brief account of each figure (see Chapter 6). The report was simple and visually effective, as I did not want to bombard the reader with unnecessary technicalities. It was up to the readers to formulate their own opinion on the findings and use them as they wished. Data for individual communities was also provided in a two-page report and sent only to the participant community, along with a copy of the aggregated report. I did this to

maintain integrity and anonymity of those communities, who then had their choice of sharing the information with others at their discretion.

As part of reporting back to communities, I visited the island community of Mabuiag in January 2014 (see letter to Councillor requesting visit, Appendix F). This visit coincided with my regular visit home to Thursday Island during the long school holidays. I had previously provided the Council and informants with a copy of the report. My intention in visiting was to present the preliminary findings from the in-depth interviews collected during Phase 2 as well as visiting one of my peer participants (the visit discussed in Chapter 5) who had returned, along with her family, to live on the island. I gave back the findings of both phases to this community in story form, weaving together the key concepts, which I developed as a single story. I wanted to learn what they understood about this out-movement. With the story I gave each person, I also presented copies of the aggregate report and a copy of their communities' report.

The reaction that came out of the viewings of the report was almost surreal. Community members knew of this out-moving, acknowledging that significant numbers had moved, yet when they viewed this as part of the report in frequency figures, they seemed confronted by the scale. They sat quietly looking through the figures, seemly struck by the magnitude of the out-movement, affirming what they were witnessing as casual observers. This realisation was internalised, the knowing become feeling as people thought of their own futures and the likelihood of having to move themselves one day. They verbalised this by requesting that I produce a resource pack as reference material for prospective and subsequent movers; confirmation that people felt more people would move out. Taking the data back was a catalyst for provoking thoughts surrounding what was happening around them and of what may lie ahead.

During my visit, I met with small groups: individuals, families, members of the local council and cultural representatives. I chose to personalise these meetings by keeping them informal, mostly outdoors and in and around the daily life of the community. I sat with them under trees and on the verandas of their homes. In all, I spent four days in the community. The first two days consist mainly of visiting families and telling them what I was doing. From there we organised a suitable time and place to meet community members and go through my findings.

4.4   Reflection

Looking back on Phase 1 of this research, I recognised how my understanding of
Indigenous Research Principles informed what data I needed to collect, how I collected
the data and for what purpose (Kovach 2009; Wilson 2001). I also noted how
Decolonizing Methodologies informed the way I went about collecting data using pre-
dominantly Western methods, and how I adapted these to suit the needs of this
research (Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2001). Decolonizing Methodologies also
informed how I represented the findings back to the communities involved, not
reproducing the usual statistical constructs of "difference, deficit, and dysfunction'"
(Walter & Andersen 2013, p. 9). The Constructivist Approach used here created the
story of out-movement from the inside-out as informants shared eye-witness accounts
of the phenomenon as we walked each island community. There were four main areas
of reflection: asking for time; Western survey methods; sharing knowledge; and
respecting relationships.

4.4.1 Asking for time

In my attempts at surveying remote communities, asking for time from someone who is
also very busy with their own duties and responsibilities was extremely difficult. Due to
the informants' variable availability, what I thought would take two to three months
actually consumed nine months. Giving people time means that you are willing to
recompense the time people take out for their own lives to accommodate you,
especially when there are no perceptible benefits or tangible incentives involved for
them.

While research in Indigenous communities requires comprehensive collaboration,
logistically this is not often feasible. Researchers sometimes feel pressured not to add
more work to already "overextended" community participants (Stanton 2014, p. 580).
In Stanton's (2014) study, an elder cautioned that these anxieties, based solely on
assumptions, would just be another form of colonization in that it would become an
excuse for reducing participant involvement. I felt the same when asking already busy
staff members for their time, feeling like I was asking too much. This request was in
addition to their workload and personal commitments. I do believe that many who
participated agreed to take part because the research was endorsed by the Mayor and
supported by the Councillors, and that most of the informants and I had 'relational'
obligation to each other and to our communities.

My own knowledge and understanding of Torres Strait Islander values and culture informed how I went about recruitment. Building trusting relationships with participants and communities is recognised as an essential factor for successful recruitment (Walter & Andersen 2013). These relationships are often on the terms of the participant, and should only commence when the participant is fully informed and is comfortable with taking part (Walter & Andersen 2013). Research that recognises and includes Indigenous ways of building trusting relationships with participants and communities tends to be successful at recruiting and in the retention of participants. Success requires time to establish trust, while the researcher must maintain integrity and respect throughout. Studies have shown that trusting relationships must be built around what Indigenous communities regarded as the appropriate way to build a relationship (Walter & Andersen 2013).

4.4.2 Western Survey methods

The apparent decline in population identified in consecutive census data provided statistical evidence on the scale of out-movement; however, it did not provide the reasoning behind this phenomenon. What I needed to do was provide an account of the nature of this out-movement from the perspective of people living on the islands, who were witnessing the movement from their very windows. These were real people's accounts, valued and validated in their own right (Walter 2010), not some aggregated external data from census information. While official statistics provide a standardized, snapshot count, I did an experiential, retrospective count, walking alongside a person doing the actual counting on the ground.

The approach I used was non-intrusive, non-invasive and respectful. I did not use the standard technique of going in and surveying people directly. I chose a non-invasive method and employed it deliberately with the Councillors and the Divisional Managers, because they were the people who I wanted to raise consciousness with; the people who would share this knowledge with others. They were also the local authorities and gatekeepers of the community.

From a Decolonizing stance, I sought to challenge the Western tick and flick method of surveying. I considered this method of remote surveying to be problematic (Maar et al. 2011), and practically impossible to complete within legitimate financial and time constraints. Madans (2001) recommended using different data collection methods and strategies determined by the survey objectives and the characteristics of the area being surveyed. It was important to consider an alternative type of surveying that was

practical and convenient for the informants, the community and me. Previous studies have found mailed surveys to be ineffective because they generate a poor response rate. In addition, participants may prefer to have their responses written down by the researcher team (Maar et al. 2011). Face-to-face surveying was impossible, so I conducted phone interviews. Being aware of this restriction, I developed a way of obtaining information that was both cost-effective and respectful to the island communities I was surveying.

Aware of these aspects of quantitative methods, like Walter (2010), I attempted to find a way forward and to use a survey method that was grounded, more participatory and empowering for the people doing it. I used quantitative methods at the descriptive, more accessible end. I did not use a technique that required a special skill. I did not use Western scientific notions of validity, but based the process on trustworthiness, having to trust the person in the process as having been there, witnessing the out-movement. It was not an outside collector that knocked on the door and physically counted people; it was a different knowing: knowing that people have moved.

Quantitative research tends towards the numeric and abstract in the representation of peoples and communities. These methodologies allow researchers to draw information from local context, standardize it, and, removing it from context, deliver it to a central point of calculation. It is this reordering and rescaling that concerns qualitative researchers, who argue that it fails to recognize the complexity of our social relations and down-plays the important of place, which is central to many expressions of Indigeneity (Walter & Andersen 2013). Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 73) noted that properly conceived and executed quantitative evidence simply "speaks back" in a manner that both incorporates Indigenous knowledges and is ontologically translatable. They also added that qualitative and quantitative methodologies are equally appropriate depending on the research problem, and can be authentically operationalized within an Indigenous methodology.

An unobtrusive non-Western method was considered safe, both for the researcher and the population of the islands, as it was discrete, non-disturbing and maintained anonymity as opposed to traditional methods of door-to-door interviews (Kellehear 1993). Besides time- and cost-effectiveness, telephone interviewing using structured surveys and fixed-response questions can protect both informants and the community (Knight 2002). For an 'outsider' to be seen wandering from house-to-house door knocking can be intrusive and cause suspicion. Working with communities' Councillors

and their staff, I was able to discretely collect data, island-by-island and house-by-house, through key informants.

4.4.3 Sharing knowledge

I used an approach which worked from my Indigenous Research Principles, but also my purpose was in line with the arguments of Walters (2013), who stated that research was not about othering, or producing statistics to problematize, but was conducted in order to stimulate discussion, instigate positive action and raise understanding. It was about producing statistics to raise awareness within, to alert people to the scale of out-movement and the reasons for it. Census statistics tend not to tell us why people move. I was seeking depth, although not through the gaze of 'this is a problem' and 'we need to measure the size of the problem'. It was more 'this is a phenomenon' and 'we have to unpack this phenomenon' to identify what this out-movement means to Torres Strait Islander people and the region. I wanted to make sense of and attribute meaning to the situation, to inform, and to instigate dialogue. Informed by a Constructivist Approach, this understanding was co-created with and validated by others: knowledge that was relevant to us. It is through this sharing of knowledge and information that we recover collective consciousness and a sense of community. This knowledge is shared through kinship relationships, and is purposeful and inseparable from the value it incurs in giving back (Kovach 2009).

In Indigenous societies, value is placed on experiential knowledge (Kovach 2009). These knowledges are "acquired by local peoples through daily experiences" (Sefa Dei, Hall & Rosenberg 2000, p. 19). It was a knowing 'know' that was resident in the informants that I accompanied on our walks. No longer was this phenomenon recognised through observation, but it became a lived experience of walking their own islands which they can relive and relate to others as they discuss later. The act of walking through their communities becomes their being, knowing, feeling and doing.

Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 107) argued that the standardized practice of aggregating Indigenous statistical data under the category of 'Indigenous populations' decontextualizes Indigenous lived experiences, disregarding people's "unique history, affiliation to country, and cultural identity, and their location in specific places and spaces shapes the context and circumstances of their community and individual lives" Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 107). My intent was to capture both the similarities and the differences between individual island communities, not for comparative reasons,

but to inform communities of what was happening on the ground for their own purpose and benefit (Walter & Anderson, 2013, p. 101).

Using traditional storytelling as the method to transfer knowledge seemed the most natural process. Castellano (2000, p. 31) noted that using stories as the medium for conveying knowledge is a non-intrusive way of teaching, because it allows the listen to either "ignore the oblique instruction or apply it to the degree he or she is ready to accept, without offence". Sharing my findings with the community members of Mabuiag respected the oral traditions of passing on information. Being an insider-outsider, and now someone on the receiving end of the out-movement, I was aware of the risk of assigning an outsider's interpretation of inside knowledge, and as Castellano (2000, p. 31) points out, "writing things up gives authority to a particular view and a particular writer".

4.4.4 Respecting relationships

Respect is a core principle of Indigenous research (Hart 2010). I found, through my own experience, that respecting others guided my decisions on what steps to take next. Because I had respect for the relationships that I was involved in and the obligation I was creating through these exchanges, it became easier for me to be flexible with the time, commitment and obligations of others. Although concerned about my timeline blowing out, I remained respectful and in return they gave me the same respect by making time for me. Another key characteristic of Indigenous research is humility (Louis 2007). It does not imply being subservient, but truly valuing and respecting of others. It is the core sentiments of respect and integrity that enable flexibility, an essential component for building trusting relationships. As Indigenous researchers, our interactions with our Indigenous participants is relational (Martin 2003; Wilson 2001) rather than transactional (Kovach 2009; Walter & Andersen 2013). I had to let go of my own fears, inhibition and limitations and place my trust in relationships, the process, and the commitment of those involved. As Stanton pointed out, "to increase rigor we need to be faithful to our relationships and not to impose more methods" (2014, p. 580). Too often researchers are concerned with establishing validity to verify truth instead of investing in relationships (Stanton 2014).

4.5 Learnings

Three key learnings emerged from my experience of virtual remote surveying on how to do Indigenous Research Principles-informed Decolonizing surveying: 'take off your

hat'; 'take a walk'; and 'won't get burnt'. 'Take off your hat' is the acknowledgement and respect for local authorities and Torres Strait Islander ways of doing things. It is about gaining trust, approval and respect before entering the community. 'Take a walk' describes the process of walking alongside the Informant, an actual resident, down each street, through each village, from house to house. 'Won't get burnt', is the responsibility for ensuring the maintenance of personal and community integrity (Weber-Pillwax 1999).

4.5.1 Take off your hat

Gaining support and approval is critical when working with Indigenous peoples and communities, even more so when the researcher is Indigenous. I could not assume that being an insider gave me the right to re-enter communities and the lives of people with whom I had formerly had relationships. To some degree, living on the mainland had made me an outsider, although going home regularly gave me some in-roads. Returning to the islands as a researcher can be somewhat contentious, although gaining community support and having the right intentions might support what you are trying to achieve. I had to take off my hat and bow to the authority and the people of the place when entering. It was from this act that I was taken in, led through the doors and placed back into my cultural position whether this was cousin, aunt, grandmother, or *buai* (extended kin).

Flexibility was of utmost importance, so I mentally set my watch to *ilan taim* (island time). Time taken to participate in an interview may be time taken away from other tasks which are more meaningful to the participant (Donovan & Spark 1997). I was fortunate in that I had access to my informants during work hours. Even so, I had to respect their work and other responsibilities. Giving people time was a valuable lesson and a compromise on my part, as the months dragged on. The informants returned my patience by letting me in, and by their willingness to participate. The interviews did not always occur on schedule due to interruptions, unavailability and other work commitments that unexpectedly appeared. It became a case-by-case situation, where interviews were repeatedly rescheduled for various reasons. Informants were under no obligation, other than they knew me and that they perceived my research as having some benefit to their community.

I found that interviews of this nature cannot be rigid and they do not always go as planned. There was time to stop and have a yarn about the emerging data or whatever came to the informant's mind at the time. Meaning making was included in these

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dialogues. Before we could proceed to the next stage of discussion there was a need for mutual understanding and consensus. I had to allow time for conversations in-between interviews, which was central to maintaining access and a certain level of rapport. Research in Indigenous communities extends beyond the parameters of academia. When 'in' the community you are seen as a reference point to the outside. The marginal position I occupied as an outsider-within (Collins 1986) served as a reference point for advice and information. At times I was seen in my former position as government employee providing services to the community, and at other times as a social work graduate who had knowledge of the system.

Throughout the interviews a reciprocal exchange was taking place as I negotiated my multiple identities and simultaneously gave back to the community, which had been the intent of this research from its conception. Gathering information is a two-way process: just as information is relevant to the research, it may also be of use to the community (Donovan & Spark 1997).

4.5.2 Take a walk

Taking a walk alongside the participants down each street, and stopping at each house to see who lives there, was a method that emerged through trial and error. I discovered that by walking alongside the Informant and doing a house-to-house virtual tour enhanced coverage. I walked with the informant through each village, along each street crisscrossing as we walked along to cover houses on each side. I found this to be useful in prompting informants to recall past events that may have slipped their memory. Walking the informant through the community also personalised this journey by changing the out-movement from figures to real people. This process peered beyond the noticeable, and looked past the obvious signs of empty houses and fewer people. Surveying the islands, street-by-street took on the metaphor of an eagle, soaring above, with a view of the landscape below (Figure 4.1). In order to do this, one must be grounded and know the physical landscape of the community intimately.
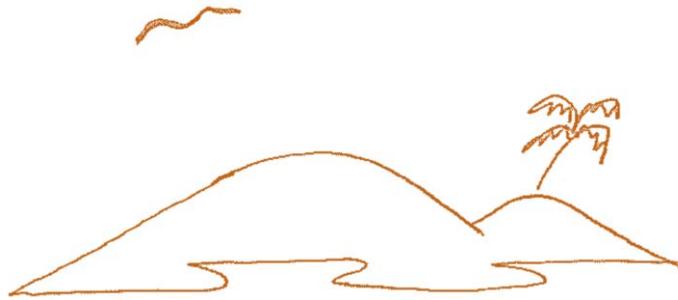
Figure 4.1 Eagle's view

Place-based interviewing has gained prominence in the social sciences. As with walking interviews, they serve as prompts or cues for respondents' narratives (Holton & Riley 2014). Walking interview techniques such as this are becoming more prominent in the social sciences as researchers recognise the importance of place within the research encounter (Holton & Riley 2014). Arguably, walking interviews tend to generate richer data, as respondents are prompted by meanings and connection to the surrounding environment (Evans & Jones 2011). Walking studies such as these evoke relationships among places, lived experiences, and community members. They are especially relevant for those who have a sense of place (Powell 2010). Powell (2010, p.553) mentioned that mapping both physically and conceptually "configures a sense of self in relation to historical, geographical, and localized environments" that allows things to be understood in a holistic, contextual and lived manner. My own experience of walking and working in these communities facilitated this method of data collection, as I visualised the landscape as I walked alongside an actual resident. Walking in such a way enhances faded memories and images of place and are a "critical part of lived experience" (Jung 2014, p. 20). This was a co-constructed journey between the informant and myself. As we walked down the street, we co-constructed the story of people moving.

4.5.3 Won't get burnt

People need to know that they will be safe from harm or retribution from within their communities and from outsiders as a result of participating in research (Smith 1999). Trust is essential, and this is achieved through making small talk and sharing personal experiences and family connections. The key informants were people with whom I may have shared some time with through schooling, work or through familial ties. It was

essential that I maintained those personal relationships by being myself and continuing pre-existing social bonds. People need to be assured that you are the same person and speaking the same language to avoid any sense of inferiority. In one of my interviews, I assisted an informant with information that would be useful to a relative. The informants felt that they could speak openly about community matters, and sometimes of their own personal issues, because I was on the other side of the phone, which gave them a sense of anonymity.

The manner in which data was collected through third-party informants based on hearsay information can have serious implications, and a researcher must proceed with extreme caution. Protecting individual identity was essential, and information pertaining to sensitive issues was generalised and listed under the 'other' categories without further elaboration. Broad categories, seeking general information, were developed using a structured interviewing technique (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays 2008). Intimate details were not required, nor were names used or recorded. Aggregate figures for the region were reported back to each community Councillor and informant, but the summary of the findings of each individual community was reported solely to the respective community.

Chapter 5.   Moving with Zeuber

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the second of two series covering the design. Phase 2 of the research involved in-depth interviews with people who had moved and were living in Cairns. The following sections discuss my intention and methodology in this phase, and describe the research process. I then discuss the rhetorical structure of the thesis, and reflect on tensions, upholding ethics and ensuring quality.

5.2 Intention and methodology

The intent of the second phase of this research was to listen to the stories of people who had moved, in order to provide a deeper understanding and gain insight into these experiences. Sharing this new knowledge is intended to enhance the resettlement experiences of others, and to raise consciousness of the out-movement. The findings from this phase may be utilised in developing practice tools for people who have moved or who are considering moving from the islands (see Chapter 8 for practice implications).

5.2.1 Qualitative Methodology

I chose to use qualitative methodology for Phase 2 of the research. Qualitative methodology does much more than provide facts and figures; it delves deep to understand the non-obvious, unsolved and unexplained phenomenon of each private experience that may or may not be shared by an individual or group. Qualitative research differs from quantitative research, as it looks beyond representational data such as age, gender, ethnicity, economic status and so forth (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). It involves "both interpretive and analytical approaches to finding meaning from the insights of an inquiry" (Kovach 2009, p. 130).

The process of how I went about collecting data and its ultimate purpose was central to this research. According to Absolon (in Kovach, 2009, p. 152), "our methodology is process", with the ultimate goal being to privilege Indigenous worldviews. Qualitative methods are supportive of creating safe and respectful ways of researching, particularly where Indigenous participants and communities are involved. Qualitative methodologies allow for the collection of stories, using an oral tradition that is valued by

Indigenous people for knowledge transfer. This iterative and dialectical approach allows participants to expand and clarify their stories through subsequent unstructured or semi-structured interviews (Stanton 2014) - hence the notion of giving voice.

5.2.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a "qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 24). It can be considered the method of analysis as well as the results of the analysis, as it provides the guidelines for a systematic process of collecting and analysing qualitative data. As a method, grounded theory consists of a set of flexible guidelines for researchers to focus their data collection, and inductively build theories as they progress through stages of the data analysis and conceptual development (Mertens 2009). This systematic process of collecting and analysing qualitative data allows for the construction of theories in order to provide an abstract and conceptual understanding of studied phenomena (Charmaz 2006).

Grounded theory therefore has an emerging design that begins with a broad purpose of determining what is going on within a particular area of interest. Data analysis occurs concurrently with data collection and the specific focus or research findings emerge as the analysis proceeds (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Researchers do not impose their own notion of what is most significant. The grounded theory method, according to Charmaz (2011), provides a useful toolkit for analyzing and situating processes, and aids the researcher in making explicit the participants' implicit meanings and actions, prompting them to look beyond the obvious.

Researchers use grounded theory as an analytical strategy, beginning data analysis as soon as data are collected, and continuing throughout the life of the research (Mertens 2009). I liken this to the *zeuber*, the waves, as data collection and analysis continues to move forward, rolling into each other and forming new waves until it reaches a distant shore (Figure 5.1).
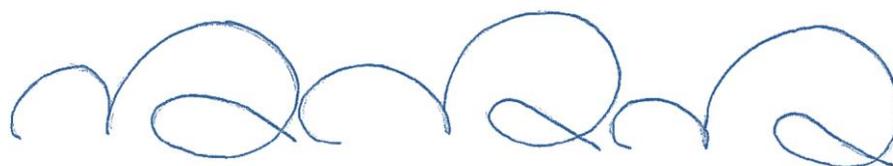
Figure 5.1 *Zeuber* – Waves

Assuming a constructionist position requires recognising that concepts and theories are constructed by the researcher out of the stories told by research participants who try and make sense out of their own experiences, both to themselves and the researcher (Morse et al. 2009). As knowledge is constantly evolving, and as new experiences come to light, these new experiences become constructions of reality that the researcher interprets through analysis which builds new knowledge. This knowledge does not mirror reality, but helps us understand human responses (Morse et al. 2009). From a constructivist position, a researcher recognises his/her own personal, cultural, and historical experiences, and how these shape their interpretations of events. Rather than starting with a theory, the researcher generates meaning with participants from which inductive theory is developed from patterns of meaning (Creswell 2014).

I chose to use constructivist grounded theory methodology as it seemed most congruent with the principles of Decolonizing and Indigenous Methodologies, as it privileges the voice and knowledge of minority and marginalised groups (Kovach 2009). From a constructivist position, knowledge is seen as socially constructed, and relative to time, place and space (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). No group's values are inferior or superior, just different, and these values are founded on "what feels right" (Neuman 2006, p. 105) (Table 3.2). Indigenous epistemologies and constructivist grounded theory allows the privileging of alternate worldviews. Recognising that meaning making is relative to "local and specific co-constructed realities" (Denzin & Lincoln 2008, p. 260), I was safeguarded against attaching and imposing my own worldview to that of people participating. Corbin (in Morse et al., 2009, p. 39) explained that "each personal experiences, gives meaning to, and responds to events in light of his/her own biography or experiences, according to gender, time and place, cultural, political, religious, and professional backgrounds". From a constructivist position, concepts and theories do not emerge but are constructed by the researcher from the stories told by participants (Morse et al., 2009).

Qualitative approaches and constructivist grounded theory anchors the approach and enables processes that are congruent with Decolonizing Methodologies and Indigenous Research Principles. Kovach (2009, p. 82) posited that the inductive nature of grounded theory was congruent with Decolonizing Methodologies and Indigenous epistemologies, confirming to me their complimentary benefits when used together. Since theory is constructed from the data, iteratively through constant comparison, and is exploratory as well as intuitive, it challenges the researcher's own assumptions. Thus, theory is co-constructed with the participants, co-learning is facilitated through

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this process, and multiple realities are accommodated. This is particularly important to insider-outsider research where meaning and realities can become entangled. If the researcher is not careful, this entanglement can relegate alternative views.

Charmaz (2011) pointed out the compatibility between the grounded theory strategies and social justice, created by the need for a close relationship with the data. This close relationship with the data requires critical self-reflection to increase levels of conceptualization during analysis. She further contended that the constructivist version of grounded theory provides reciprocal benefits of increasing the understanding of conditions that support or impede the achievement of social justice. This is created by revealing how power, oppression and inequalities are experienced differently by "individuals, groups and categories of people" (Charmaz 2011, p. 362). This situation is particularly pertinent to Indigenous researchers who are working with and for Indigenous communities. Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 87) argued that our experiences of Indigeneity are not identical, as we are as embedded in our social worlds as our research subjects. Understandings of our own life and social positions are important as "we approach, understand and do research". Constructivist grounded theory therefore anchors the approach and enables the use of Decolonizing Methodologies and Indigenous Research Principles.

5.3   Description of the research process

In this section I will discuss how I developed sensitizing concepts, chose my sample, gained access, recruited participants, and collected, recorded, and analysed data. I used excerpts from my memos to help tell the story of the research process, as well as code lists and examples.

5.3.1 Metasynthesis of literature to develop sensitizing concepts

Metasynthesis is a technique for combining the results of multiple qualitative studies on the same topic (Beck 2009). The technique has gained prominence in the field of nursing since the early 1990s, and is becoming popular within social sciences (Sandelowski, Docherty & Emden, 1997). Metasynthesis involves looking beyond descriptive information, as presented in conventional literature reviews, to locate qualitative studies within a broader interpretive context (Sandelowski et al. 1997). Integrating qualitative data for the process of metasynthesis requires locating references to particular bodies of literature of a common focus, which is cross-examined to identify key constructs and themes. The goal of metasynthesis is to not

only look for similarities in results of a specific phenomenon, but rather to probe more deeply to reveal new information that may increase our understanding. The aim is to account for all important similarities, differences and nuances in language, concepts and around key ideas (Sandelowski et al. 1997).

The literature selected for review in this research was organically and deliberately extracted for the sole purpose of informing my research, particularly Phase 2. In order to focus on current issues of migration, inclusion was limited to studies published between 2001 and 2011. This was a period that reflects both increasing knowledge around climate change-related migration on marginalised populations, while also coinciding with the parameters of this research. I sought articles that had first-hand accounts of people's experiences of migration, and included studies that contained rich description of the data collected using various qualitative methodologies. The inclusion of direct quotations throughout the articles was an important feature, giving people a voice that would otherwise be lost to the scholarship of expert observers. Due to the paucity of literature on Australian Indigenous migration, I extended my search parameters to include studies of minority groups from other nations, ethnicities and cultures.

The six selected studies focused on people with existing vulnerabilities who had experienced displacement or were faced with the prospect of involuntary migration. Case study was the methodology for all but two of the studies and data was captured using in-depth interviews. I followed the approach of Noblit & Hare (1988), which includes a seven-step process for aggregating and analysing individual qualitative studies (Table 5.1). The step-by-step procedure proved invaluable in providing a conceptual framework in order to understanding the depth and complexity created by this mode of analysis (Beck 2009).

Table 5.1
Seven step process for aggregating and analysing qualitative studies, adapted by Beck (2009)

Order	Process Name
1	Identify topic
2	Decide which studies are relevant
3	Read the studies multiple times
4	Determine how the studies are related to each other by making a list of key metaphors (concepts or themes)
5	Translate the studies into one another (reciprocal translation)
6	Synthesize the translations
7	Interpret the synthesis results through written form

Reciprocal translation was used to synthesize the articles (Britten et al., 2002). The selected studies were read multiple times, and key concepts within each study were listed in a table, following the process used by Ypinazar, Margolis, Haswell-Elkins & Tsey (2007). Key concepts identified from this process became the data for synthesis using tables. The themes from one study were then translated into themes from the next, in an iterative process to identify commonalities and differences across the other studies selected for analysis. This produced the higher order synthesis presented in Table 5.2. The overarching construct of 'continuity of being' consisted of three main themes previous introduced in Chapter 2: 'freedom to be' (Table 2.2); and 'staying close' and 'forming anchor' (Table 2.3).

Although based on international migration literature, this process was necessary in the formative stages of my research, adding depth and extending upon my own knowledge and experience of moving.

5.3.2 Sampling, gaining access and recruitment method

The intent of this research was to explore the experiences of moving, and focused on meaning making. For this reason, sampling was determined by saturation of categories which, according to grounded theorist, supersedes sample size (Bryant & Charmaz 2007; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). In this phase of the research, I interviewed eleven participants. Included were two couple interviews and follow-up interviews with some participants. In total, I conducted thirteen interviews before reaching theoretical saturation. Charmaz (2006, p. 114) suggested 25 interviews should suffice for projects. Kovach (personal communication June, 2013) suggested 15

interviews as being adequate, particularly with Indigenous participants, as research is relational and requires trust and time.

I deliberately positioned and limited this research to Cairns as it has the largest Torres Strait Islander populations outside the Torres Strait Region. Phase 1 also confirmed Cairns as an often chosen destination, with 90% of recent movers resettling in the area. Initially, I used quota sampling to ascertain the various reasons for moving. This quota method of sampling allowed me to establish initial rapport with the community and explore the experiences of moving, which then directed purposive and finally theoretical sampling.

The quality and credibility of grounded theory resides in the depth and scope of the data obtained. Rich, substantial and relevant data is not only essential in developing core categories, but must also achieve "suitability and sufficiency for depicting empirical events" (Charmaz 2006, p. 18). Rather than concentrating on the amount of data, some grounded theorists recognise smaller studies that are respectful of the participants and the process of establishing rapport. Respecting participants and building rapport are the prerequisite for obtaining solid data, and should pervade data collection (Dey, 1999, cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 19).

Because the Torres Strait Islander population is relatively small and inter-related through familial and kinship ties, having prior knowledge and relationships with participants is not uncommon for researchers in this area. If I already knew the participants personally, I approached them directly with an invitation to participant in the research. For this reason, the initial recruitment cohort consisted of people already known to me and who I considered my peers. These were people who were either working or studying and had shared in conversations about my studies.

To manage the recruitment process, I started with quota sampling criteria, for which I grouped possible participants known to me into categories based on their motivations for moving: employment, education, housing, and medical. These criteria were used in Phase 1 of this research in order to record people's reasons for moving. This allowed me to also achieve a spread across demographic variables. I chose to start with what I refer to as the 'familiar' and worked outwards into the 'unfamiliar'. I did this as a way of protecting myself and to develop a style of interviewing that would be comfortable, safe and congruent to our ways of doing. After the third interview with peers, I proceeded to recruit through referrals from Nintiringanyi Cultural Training Centre.

Another strategy I employed for recruitment was to ask the participant to refer other persons whom they saw as suitable, referred to as snowball sampling. They did this by providing people with my contact details or providing me with potential participants' contact details once they had agreed to be contacted. This method of recruitment ensured privacy and respected people's right not to participate. Often in situations when people are known to each other, the obligation to do something outside one's comfort zone is exacerbated as people feel that they cannot decline a request by a fellow Islander, relative, or friend.

I also recruited through casual conversations with people I had pre-existing relationships with while I lived and worked in the Torres Strait. I met these people during social outings. They had asked what I was doing and were interested in my research. I asked them if they would be interested in taking part when I was ready for fieldwork, to which they agreed, and in that conversation phone numbers were exchanged. During the recruitment phase I mapped the sampling process by diagramming. Figure 5.2 demonstrates the contacts and connections for these contacts. It also indicates the difficulty I had in maintaining a pool of participants and how I managed to overcome these difficulties with support from others. Some of the challenges faced with recruitment will be further discussed in the reflections section of this chapter.
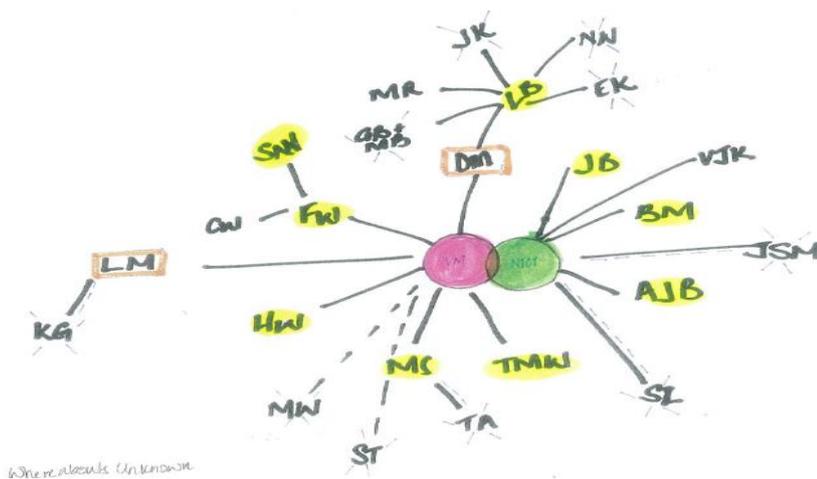
Figure 5.2 Representation of recruitment process

The final sample is described in Table 5.2. The table indicates whether the participant was part of the quota, purposive or theoretical sampling phase, and provides key characteristics for each, including gender, family structure and motivation, and linking couples.

Table 5.2
Description of participants by sampling stage

	Interviewee	Quota	Purposive	Theoretical
		Sample and key characteristics		
1	Single female with children	Education (for self)		
2	Single male	Employment		Returned to this participant for theoretical development
3	Couple with children	Housing		Returned to this participant for theoretical development
4	Couple with children		Employment	
5	Couple with no children		Housing/ employment	
6	Couple with child, mother and child moving first		Education (for child)	
7	Partner of 6, joining family later		Family	
8	Couple, partner of 9	Medical (male)		
9	Partner of 8 (extended family household)	Family (partner of 8)		
10	Single female		Housing/ education/other	
11	Single female with children		Family/housing	

Analysis of the data informed and determined the criteria for subsequent participant recruitment. These were either new participants recruited through purposeful sampling, or acquired by inviting current participants for a follow-up interview to further theory development. Central to grounded theory is theoretical sampling, which requires continual analysis of data as it is collected in order to guide the sampling

process. Data collection ceases when limited new information on any particular code is emerging, referred to as theoretical saturation. In this way data collection is guided by theory development. In terms of meaning making, grounded theory has an insistence on theoretical sensitivity where the researcher is able to "see the developing theory" (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 44).

I had initially set out to interview between 15 to 20 people (Kovach, 2009; Birks & Mills, 2009) however I ended up withdrawing from the field after 11 interviews. The size of the small community was a factor influencing my decision to cease interviews as I found it was becoming harder to recruit as time progressed, and at the same time it was clear that the last few interviews were not providing new information that would add to coding and require further investigation. I found in the last few interviews that people were mainly concerned about meeting their basic material needs, and for this reason could not see beyond their immediate existence. This group interpreted their future in materialistic terms such as getting a job, renting a bigger house or buying a new car. Limited new data was emerging from these interviews that would have added to, or extended upon the developing theory.

5.3.3 Data collection and interviewing

In preparation for the interviews, I developed an initial interview guide in which the questions were based on the templates from Phase 1. I extended this to talk about people's experiences (Appendix G). The interview questions were a combination of all three aspects: a chronological story; an understanding of the experiential; and then proceeding on to theory building. I also developed a consent form and information sheet, which I discussed with participants prior to the interviews (Appendix H and I).

During the first contact with participants, in order to ensure university ethical protocols were followed in relationships, the information sheet was explained in depth in Torres Strait Creole. Torres Strait Creole is a collective language of shared identity that places people on equal terms. The informed consent form was provided to the participants in English, and explained to participants in Torres Strait Creole prior to the face-to-face interviews. Once participants were satisfied with the information, they gave consent to continue with the interview by signing a consent form.

The first two interviews were conducted at the participant's home at a time that was convenient for them. I had afternoon tea with one and shared an evening meal with the other. At both times I also contributed by way of nourishments. The third interview was conducted at my residence as this suited the participant. The interviews took

place after casual conversation about other things - after a meal or a cup of tea. I tried to make these sessions as informal as possible, knowing that the participant and I were both nervous.

The first three interviews involved peers, lasted just over 30 minutes and were audio-taped. This was the first of my interviews, and I was nervous. Through my nervousness, I started noticing that my participants had become nervous as well. General dialogue prior to the interviews was natural and free flowing and in our collective language of Torres Strait Creole. When I positioned the voice recorder in between us and transited to the more formal dialogue of the interview, our body languages changed, our tone of voice, the words we chose, and language we spoke.

Despite indicating to the participants that they were most welcome to speak in Creole, as I would do the transcribing and analysis (and then translate into text), some still chose to speak mostly in English. Upon reflection, I wondered whether this was because I had constructed an unnatural divide placing the voice recorder between us, or whether it was because I had a set of questions laid out in clear linear format. It could also possibly have been because they were also professionals and knew what to say and kept themselves on track with the questions, or that the words used to describe situations, feelings and experiences were now different, and Creole was limited in articulating these meaning suitably. I memoed these aspects, as they came to me, to explore them further.

> ***Memo: 28 Feb 2013 - Away from classic interview questions***
>
> *I tried reading extensively on interview techniques as I am very conscious of missing informant meaning or non-verbal expressions, or missing questions and realizing these during transcription where I could have elicited deeper meaning during the interviews. Recapturing the essence in repeat interviews is not always possible. I know for myself that I elicit and create new meaning for myself during casual conversations with others, and I think to myself, gosh I just discovered new knowledge that I did not think existed or 'wow, where did that come from'.*
>
> *I developed a series of questions for my first interviews where I'm seeking general information about people's reasons and experiences of moving to uncover sensitizing concepts and develop units of analysis to aid consequential interviews. After going through the questions with my supervisor, I realised that this was not the way 'we' talked. Say for instance, I would ask participants, "what are some of the good things about moving?*

And what are the not so good things…?" To us, good and bad are seen as dualities, unless asked 'lelbet good' or 'mina good', otherwise anything in between may not be conceptualized by the participants as a closed question like asking yes or no. Of course, each situation will be different given people's levels of education etc.

Changing the interview guide from classical questions means changing questions to Creole. I've decided to keep the questions in English and to translate them into Creole as I introduce them and as the need arises.   My queue came from others in the field of Indigenous research. Ndimande (2012) talks about using the local language when interviewing to affirm and reinforce the importance of Indigenous languages, especially when the colonized languages have been used to dominate, discriminate and disadvantage people. Code-switching recognizes the diversity in communities as there is difference in languages, ethnicity and class. Bringing languages from the margins to the centre (McCarty 2009, cited in Ndimande, 2012:218). Smith (1999, p.39) talks about carefully and critically considering methodologies, and methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions which they will generate, and the writing styles they employ become significant acts in decolonizing.

In a similar vein, as I moved through the interviews I realised that the term 'success' had multiple meanings and was perceived as a Western description for accumulated material wealth. Success was a concept I had originally used to describe the research focus and questions (see theoretical framework section earlier in this chapter). Eventually my interview questions were reduced to three main questions; what happened when you moved; what is happening for you now; what are your hopes for the future? Most participants were able to articulate their hopes and desires for the future, except one. I had to reconsider what 'success' meant, and deconstruct what 'future' could mean as I was asking people to project beyond the here and now – a 'knowing' that had not been experienced. I needed to make clear that I was seeking aspirations, but not in those words. I later noted the term 'feel good' resonated when people made reference to being in a good place. The following memo captures the tensions of Western language and concepts.

Memo: 23 October 2013 - Deconstructing Success

I found that I only used the term 'success' in two participants' interviews in the earlier stages of my interviewing, and even then I didn't feel that the term was appropriate to measure peoples interpretations of their resettlement experience. When I asked about 'success factors, they spoke about being able to have their own space, pay their rent and bills, had their own transports. These were people who were employed and had some form of higher qualifications. The term 'success' when measured against Western meaning schemes presented as being materially and socially well off. Although, one of the participants had to think through the question before replying;

Participant: Ah…success would be to me?

Researcher: What is to be in a good place like after you move come and you resettled? What is your ideal experience of [resettlement]?

Participant: Get a good job, own your own home and your cars, good friends, yeah…that's about it.

As these interviews progressed to recruiting people whose circumstances were less familiar to me, the question changed. By the 4th interview, the term 'good' seemed to be more frequent. When I asked, what were some of the good things about living on the mainland?, the answers seemed to revert back to materialistic qualities such as more opportunities, better services, and life being much easier than on the island, like having water on tap and electricity at the touch of a switch (participant moved to Cairns 2005).What seemed to be most important was the ability to 'feel good'. The term 'feel good' was also used to convey people's level of satisfaction living on the mainland. What I found later as I proceeded is that success was not a part of everyday language or was conceptualized as what I had previously thought. I went back to my transcripts and started to search for the word 'good' to see when it was used, how and why.

5.3.4 Storytelling and yarning

I used storytelling or yarning as an informal method for gathering data in the interviews which seemed comfortable and respectful of Indigenous ways of communicating. In the initially stages of interviewing, storytelling was integral for building rapport and trust and for setting a level playing field between researcher and research participants. The interview questions became more focused during the theoretical sampling phase of

data collection where specific information was sort to build concepts and then categories. Although I expected this style to evolve naturally, it did not come easy.

During the first three interviews, I was too concerned about getting it right. Keeping closely to my interview guide and only deviating where I needed to expand on a statement or seek further information. It was a tense process, although I knew at the back of my mind that I was a good orator. I felt I had to have all the boxes ticked, as the textbooks instructed. This was an Indigenous research project but at the same time I knew it was measured against Western academic standards and I was very concerned with not being adequate.

I was so concerned that the first few interviews were covered within half an hour, and later while transcribing I noticed the artificiality of engagement. We were doing it 'white man style', professionally and to the point. I struggled with my own self, a person who was a good conversationalist. I was inquisitive and interested in people, but why could I not master this natural ability here? I was afraid of what the final results would be. I experienced self-doubt, driven by fear that I would fall short on rigour, validity and reliability, words and concepts that were taught to me in my undergraduate years. There was this lore that I had to abide by to be a good researcher. At this time, I knew very little about Indigenous Methodologies and others ahead of me had similar experiences and had to face up to their academic institutions to validate the conversational or yarning style of interviewing that was both natural and culturally appropriate (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010; Kovach 2009).

As I grappled with the task of interviewing, by focusing on getting it right and staying on track I started to dread the process, as it became laborious, artificial and debilitating. A few months later I had the privilege of attending Margaret Kovach's one-day seminar in Cairns. Margaret's talk lifted my worries, as she validated the use of a conversational method of interviewing or yarning. It is recognised as the most suitable and legitimate method for Indigenous ways of learning and sharing information. She referred me to other Indigenous academics who had applied this style in their research (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010). I also came to learn that the act of yarning or storytelling was not only culturally relevant, but the most natural way of communicating and congruent with Indigenous epistemology (Fredericks et al. 2011; Kovach 2009). 'Right' was not in the criteria, it was in the 'depth'.

Understanding Indigenous Research Principles as a way of guiding research gave me permission to proceed, and I became more relaxed in my interviews. It was natural for

me to use a storytelling process that has a beginning, middle and an end. Often, there is a moral within these stories. This became useful later during the analysis stage, when I would conclude each piece of analysis by seeking the moral of that particular story or stories. I would summarise each interview and note the main points, and looking back on those points, I looked for the moral behind the story.

5.3.5 Yarn *big tap*

I encouraged participants to speak in the language they were most comfortable with, with most choosing to speak Torres Strait Creole in later interviews. I deliberately used this method to decolonize research as participants told of their experiences and articulated their thoughts, feelings and insights. I also transcribed and presented excerpts of these transcripts in their original form in this thesis (Chapter 7). For those who spoke *big tap* (heavy Creole), I have added an interpreted version below the original text for readability purposes. Again, I tried to maintain meaning by opting for English words closely related to the participant's original meaning.

5.3.6 Recording and Analysis

Interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and transcribed soon after. A thirty-minute interview took approximately two hours to transcribe. The efficiency of transcribing was enhanced by my knowledge of what was said and in what context (as the interviewer), and by the fact that often our spoken language is concise, being descriptive without having to say much. This was assumed by the participant as a knowing that I had as an insider and person familiar to them, and their experience.

Some participants frequently added "you know" as they spoke, as either seeking my understanding or to validate this shared knowledge. Sometimes I would try and reframe the questions, but most often allowed the conversation to flow. It was also this deeper sense that 'we know', a shared knowledge that was being conveyed in a shared language that did not require flowery words to impress the listener. The Creole language is simple, but can have multiple meanings depending on the listener's interpretation. An example of this is the word 'good'. In Creole, good is simply good, there are no levels of 'good' that can be elaborated on with any adjectives or other descriptors. Unless you add *mina* before it, then it becomes 'real good'. It is not for me to interrogate my participants' knowledge, particularly if I thought the phrase chosen was inadequate, as it is not the nature of these exchanges.

To interrogate participants can be regarded as disrespecting and doubting their 'knowing'. These conversations were gifts of knowledge and the participant knew that I was going to co-construct as well as wrap my understanding around it. Attempting to be aware of my knowing and how this might influence my analysis led me to memoing as a source of self-interrogation, where I would interrogate my own knowing to consider the topic from various angles. Kovach (2009, p. 60) explained that the interpretation becomes the listener's task, and the insights gained are part of the listener's involvement, a process "highly particular and relevant form of knowledge exchange" This issue of interrogation is taken up later in this chapter.

Using memoing to capture the processes and points that stood out during the transcribing stage, while focusing analytically on what was being said in the interviews, made it possible for me to construct codes when doing initial coding. For example, early on I noted that there was an expectation to maintain a certain degree of obligation. I named this code 'expectation' and attempted to unpack it in a memo.

Memo: 29/07/13 - Expectation

Cultural obligation and expectation change upon moving. On the islands you are expected to accommodate family members indefinitely and the issue of having personal space is unquestioned. The experience of living with families in Cairns means that you are required to 'fork out' additionally to cover the household's expenses, especially when there is gambling involved. The opposite of which is that families staying or outstaying their stay with you in Cairns, expecting you to bear their costs for instance extra food, electricity etc. In this case, one needs to set 'rules' by inadvertently suggesting that they also need to contribute.

Maintaining relationships in the homelands also comes with the expectation that you will meet requests to purchase items in Cairns and freighting it to the island at your own expense. This is what you do without question and is part of reciprocity. Your family took care of you when you were growing up, and in return you repay the outlay of time and money that was invested in you. This includes caring for the sick and elderly who may have to relocate for medical reasons. The expectation that we as individuals have of giving back to where we come from is ingrained, particularly for the ones who had certain privileges as children, or that it is something that you do as a collective society, always looking back to your beginning. When one leaves the island to increase their capacity, there are inexplicit expectations to

> *return with something for your family and community. Expressed in the*
> *following quote as:*
>
> *"…looking at how something either can contribute towards…community at*
> *home, how I can assist, or it's something that I can just utilize on the*
> *mainland"*

The data collected was analysed by means of constant comparison. Initially, I compared data with data, and progressed to comparisons between the participants' accounts translated into codes and categories, and more data. This method of constant comparison of analysis to the field grounds the researcher's final theorizing in the participants' experiences (Mills et al. 2006).

Charmaz (2006) recommended using the participants' own words when coding, so that the researcher's own preconception does not take them away from the data. This is precisely what grounded theory is about - data emerging from within data. This opened up my eyes to how I was already forming categories and concepts before I had thoroughly immersed myself in open coding. The danger of that may have initially forced my data, restricting my view of the whole, and prematurely narrowing my focus-- following my own preconception of what I thought I had already uncovered. This is particularly relevant to my inclusion of Decolonizing Methodologies, in which first person's voices are privileged and not consumed by people who think they have enough information to form an opinion.

Narrowing the focus, as Charmaz (2006) mentioned, influenced my own attempts of initial coding, as I had developed a deeper awareness of the literature surrounding the migration experience of family groups and individuals in conducting the metasynthesis. The concepts that had emerged from the metasynthesis had taken root, and I was looking at the new data in light of 'freedom to' as I listened to and read the interview transcripts. I made 'freedom to' a code until I realised I was actually forcing the analysis with preconceived knowledge gained from the metasynthesis. That code was later abandoned. I also created codes such as 'experience of move' as a heading in order to capture individual responses to the question of how participants experienced their move. I used this strategy to help manage the volume of data. After I had grouped these separate experiences of moving, I selected a statement or word from these accounts (in vivo) to name my codes.

I used the qualitative analysis package NVivo to assist with the coding and analysis of data. Once interviews were uploaded, I started reading the transcript over again

looking at experiences and meaning. Being a novice grounded theorist, I devised a set of steps to help organise and rationalise the cyclic and inductive nature of data collection and analysis. Birks and Mills (2011, p.109) highlighted the difficulties associated with grounded theory analysis for novices who can become 'stuck' with description and unable to move beyond to developing medium to higher level concepts. I came up with the following 11 steps intuitively, which at the time seemed to be process-oriented, but then I realised later when meeting privately with Jane Mills that I was indeed engaging in grounded theory analysis.

Table 5.3
11 step process developed to guide data collection and analysis

Order	Process name
1	Identify participants from quota, referrals
2	Contact participant and organise interview time or initiate visit
3	Record interview
4	Transcribe interview
5	Consider creating memos as transcribing (primary analysis)
6	Load transcripts to NVivo
7	Analyse data using opening coding and forming codes from concepts or themes
8	Write a commentary of each code, noting relationships with other codes.
9	Dot point key concepts for each code within the commentary
10	Sitting in each interview and seeing what is coming out for me.
11	Step back and write a brief on what the data is saying at this stage and how it answers research question

These steps are further expanded in the following account of the analysis process. The following is a memo of 'being stuck' in the course of coding.

Memo: 28 August 2013 - Stuck in initial coding!

It is now towards the end of August and I am still sitting in the initial coding and analysis stage and I'm still uncertain to what they mean about core categories. I have read a number of books and I still need someone to tell me that I am on the right track. Each book I read adds to this confusion. Am I looking at line-by-line analysis, sentences, and concepts? I think I will stick to In vivo coding, clarified by Birks and Mills (2011, p. 10) as looking at important words or groups of words (usually verbatim quotes from the

participant). Verbatim quotes – what the hell's that?   I don't want it to end
up being thematic analysis. I'm still not sure about thematic analysis. I am
more inclined to 're-storying' as this sits most suitably with my style of
recapturing main concepts and in the process, develop codes. What then
after re-storying the interview. I hope *** provides me with some sort of
enlightenment after supervision today.

5.3.7 Open coding

I struggled with the various terminology from Glaser & Strauss (1967), Strauss & Corbin (1990, 1998), and Charmaz (2006). I had to diagram the path from concepts to categories, from subcategories to core categories. I later read Birks and Mills (2011, p89), who alleviated much of the dilemma by confirming that the language used by different grounded theorist can seem confusing, until you realise that the terms "concepts, codes and categories often mean the same thing". Hence, for my own comprehension I chose to use the following terms: 'chunks of meaning' (meaning units from the transcripts); codes/concepts (codes are linked to groups of meaning units which are developed into concepts); categories (groups of concepts that enable higher order meaning to emerge); and core construct (the overall umbrella construct that connects the categories).

Open coding is the first part of the grounded theory coding process. The aim is to document an emergent set of concepts and their properties, usually through line-by-line analysis of data, alongside theoretical memos that are written at the time of data collection and analysis. Here the emphasis is on looking for similarities and differences, and the grouping of information into categories. During coding of my data, I looked for the main points from stories of moving and compared the different accounts. In the first instance, I looked at people's motives for moving and the experiences that presented before and after they moved.

I proceeded with the analysis, using opening coding, forming more codes. For example, I open coded using chunks of meaning and named these according to what I considered their underlying significance (Table 5.4). I then condensed corresponding chunks under a code, for example; 'freedom to' and 'having purpose' as presented in the following table. I stayed with first person's voice as I coded in an attempt to retain original meaning and to allow people to use their own words to describe their experiences.

Table 5.4
Opening coding using chunks of meaning

Freedom to	Having Purpose
Accessing services	Being stable
Sense of security (knowing that this is not it)	Finding the right spot
Reason for move	Breaking the chain
Experience of move	No encouragement for people to stay on
It's not like home (lifestyle change)	I was lucky (I had a job to come to)
It's just about getting by	Bit more hard cos of our colour
Setting boundaries	(Home) is always at the back of my head
I've grown	For education blo my gel
Family is always there watching out for me	Need for guidance
Going home	
Settling	
Done it before	
Help me get on my feet again (family)	
Yeah I feel settled	
Home sick	
Making sacrifices	
Important to know both ways	
On track but not moving yet	
Taking responsibility	
Adapting	
Know what to expect	

Minichiello et al. (2008), suggested that when looking at transcripts and notes from the interviews, you can either look for groups of words, phrases (concepts), sentences, themes or even the writing between the lines. Because we say things succinctly, we tend to use simple English words strung together in short sentences to respond to a given question. Being an insider, it was assumed that I would know what the participant is talking about, and the need for meaning making is unnecessary. The advantage is that I am able to understand what is being said. However, my own assumptions can undermine what the underlying feelings or thoughts are that may be difficult to articulate; thereby accepting a response at face-value without checking for authenticity.

It was important that I stayed close to the data while analyzing it. Liamputtong & Ezzy (1999) explained the aim of this 'first run' of coding data is to look at data in new ways, to see new relationships between events and to develop new ways of describing these relationships. Charmaz (2006) emphasised the need to stay close to the data and maintain the fluidity of the participant's experiences by remaining open to what the data suggests. Strauss and Corbin (1998) saw this stage as "analyzing each event, idea, action through 'comparative analysis' as sharing common characteristic or happenings, if so place under the same code, if not give it a new name (code)" (1998, p. 105). I tried using the participants' language to name these codes. Often they could not be captured in a single word, but I needed a string of words to give meaning. For instance, "[home] is always at the back of my head". This is how home is retained and is experienced when one is living away. It is always remembered and reminisced upon at various intervals.

Subsequently, I did an analysis of the first six interviews. I did this by listing all of the key points provided in each of the interviews, and then spoke to these by memoing, starting each line with the words "success means". This process allowed me to frame the memo within the research question, "What factors influence successful migration". I stayed close to meanings relating to success. I used the same process of analysis for other interviews. Afterwards I realised that success was not what people were basing their experience on, and I therefore changed my research question. As I learnt to code in vivo (Birks & Mills 2011), using the language taken from the data to form codes, I revisited the codes that I had derived from preconceived terms from the metasynthesis as described in the memo below. Literature suggested this method of initial coding as being most appropriate to the researcher's own extant theory, professional experiences and knowledge. Lay experience and knowledge can also influence the identification of codes (Birks & Mills 2011). Codes derived from extant theory have specific use in later stages or theory development, however, at the initial stage, researchers are encouraged to move "swiftly to open up the data by identifying conceptual possibilities" (Birks & Mills 2011, p. 95).

Memo: 15/05/13   - in vivo coding in first person's voice

I started opening coding in vivo, using concepts from each participant in order to develop codes. I titled each code to what I considered to be relevant to the interview transcript, and then I added further excerpts from the data from all other participants that fit within that code. I somehow distinguished similar results from my metasynthesis of literature on migration, and started changing the codes to reflect what I had discovered previously i.e. Freedom to be, Staying close (to family).

Printed transcriptions and read through and coded chunks of meaning on the right hand side of the transcript.

Imported transcript to NVIVO and expanded on these codes

I looked through the transcripts again and wrote a summary under each code. (I named this part 1st analysis).

After the 1st analysis, I created another document which I named 'key concepts. I dot pointed all the key concepts at the top of the document then I wrote a memo to those ideas, which I termed 'moral of the story'. Asking myself the question, what is the moral of the story, allowed me to look deeper into the meaning. Being both congruent with the storytelling style that I am using in this study and coding using 'chunks of meaning'.

Charmaz (2006, p. 49) warned about outsiders often importing an alien professional language to describe a phenomenon, words that participants would not use and "accepting a participants' orchestrated impressions at face value can lead to outsider analysis". I attempted to stay close to the data and use the participants' own words wherever possible. In the instance where I used the code 'freedom to' this was to consolidate all positive aspects denoting the freedom one assumes when moving out of a communal group situation (Table 5.4). Another example of a code I used that was not derived from the participant's own words was the concept of 'having purpose'. I used this to articulate the underlying action of helping out around the church to pass the day when not working. Although desperately trying to find paid employment, the participant kept himself occupied by helping others, his family (fundraising for his daughter's school excursion) and by reading the Bible. 'Having purpose' appeared to fit well as a code for this action as the concept captured the deeper meaning.

5.3.8 Building concepts through open coding

Codes are built around concepts, and concepts, when grouped, form abstract categories (Liamputtong & Ezzy 1999, p. 194). Corbin reminded us that the analytic process is first and foremost a thinking process, which requires us to step into the shoes of the other to try and see the world from his/her perspective (Morse et al. 2009, p. 41). Analysis should be relaxed, flexible, and driven by insight gained through interaction with data rather than being structured and based on procedures (Morse et al., 2009, p. 41). At the beginning of analysis, the researcher does not know with any certainty the degree of significance of earlier concepts, but may know intuitively that something is important and should be noted (Morse et al. 2009). These "somethings" become codes that are built around a concept, and concepts give us a basis for discourse, allowing us to arrive at a place of shared understandings (Morse et al. 2009, p. 40).

I proceeded to write a commentary for each of the codes, noting their interrelationships. Once completed, I read through each memo to see the emerging concept from various perspectives. For instance, in analysis of the concept, 'freedom to', I wrote the following memo;

> *Memo: 28/10/13 - Freedom to…*
>
> *People move to find their own space, like their own lives and grow into their full capacity.   The shortfall of community life is having people 'watch you' and having to conform to certain norms so that you are not isolated.   Being able to raise your children the way you feel is right without having other people intervening or interfering, which could undermine your ability of parenting, give the child "mixed messages", and allowing them the freedom to roam and run away from discipline.*
>
> *"…cos every family there, she knows she can walk into any families home and make herself at home more or less"*
>
> *Moving away allows you to establish yourself "independently" and having your own space. Freedom to move outside your social circle, gaining different perspectives, and, "being able to hold on to things or touch opportunities that are not…so close and available up on the islands". Moving provides freedom to escape from sitting under a structure that cannot be easily broken, and the 'thoughts' that reinforces that structure. Having your own space means not living with other families, under their rules and lifestyle, creating your own routine and drawing your own boundaries.*

Having your own space ("independency")

Living by your own rules and lifestyle (self-managed)

Freedom to choose other than conforming (personal autonomy)

By doing this, I was able to consolidate each person's account of freedom, and the way that person perceived freedom. I chose the term 'freedom to' as this corresponded with what I found during my metasynthesis phase of other people's experiences of moving. My own research strengthened this early sensitizing concept. This expression of 'freedom' is a form of escaping cultural and social expectation when living in the confines of small island communities, where everyone knows your business.

I also found the need to dot point key concepts that emerged from these individual accounts. These summaries then directed data collection towards more purposive sampling and emerging concepts. These further refined my interview questions. My summaries of the first six interviews noted what I thought were the key concepts. I proceeded in the order of questions asked and participant's responses, and I wrote in traditional storytelling mode. For example, I wrote what happened (beginning), what was the experience (middle), and what lessons were learnt (end). The following is an example of a memo, written in summary after coding an interview, which lists the key concepts followed by what I thought was the moral of the story.

> ***Memo: 04/09/13 – Summary of interview after coding***
>
> *Getting back on your feet*
>
> *Sacrifice*
>
> *Reason for being*
>
> *Taking responsibility /Making right choices*
>
> *Adjusting*
>
> *Finding the right spot*
>
> *Stay afloat*
>
> *Staying close to family*
>
> *Self-reliant/self-improvement*

Keeping door open

Don't give up

Having family in Cairns can help you get <u>back on your feet</u>. Once on your feet (having a job and seeing your kids settle into school) <u>adjusting</u> to mainstream becomes easier. You have to make <u>sacrifices</u> and know why you're here. You must have a reason (purpose). It is important to find the right spot (location) to live, in the middle of everything (work & family). It is good to <u>catch up with family</u> regularly and talk (creole/language) and attend cultural gatherings. There is still family back home so we can go back home and have a place to go to. You must have a <u>job</u> to put food on the table and have your own bedroom. Life is full of <u>uncertainties</u> living on the mainland, and we're not really set yet (on track but not moving), but you <u>don't give up.</u> You have to be prepared to wait in line and grab on to whatever opportunity comes your way. Things are not as you may expect them to be when you get here. We must break the chain of dependency and become <u>responsible</u> for ourselves, our action, and for our children. At the moment, you just strive to stay afloat. One day we'll go back when the children know what to expect, and I feel confident that they understand white man life.

What is the moral of the story?

Success means having a job and seeing the kids go to school. Be independent, responsible and self-reliant. Be able to catch up with family regularly. Maintain family connection to island so you have a place to go back to. Be able to get back on your feet and adjust according to mainstream life. Know why you're here, having purpose and know why you're making sacrifices. Finding the right spot and be able to stay afloat (without showing the kids you're struggling). To understand and be able to live in both worlds (integrate while maintaining separate cultural identity) – "normal white man life"

5.3.9 Focused coding to build categories

Focused coding occurs once initial concepts have been developed during open coding. Open coding breaks down data to reconceptualise it, while focused coding puts the data back together in new ways by making connections between concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990 p. 97). Having completed storying each of the concepts and morals, I started synthesizing codes under categories. I created memos as new information came to light. For example, I noted that 'freedom' could mean 'freedom to' live your own life, or 'freedom from' the gaze of the community. When people speak about

returning to the islands, even for short periods, they talk about 'freedom from' the bustle of mainstream life.

> ### Memo: 3 /04/14- Freedom to
>
> *From the data I have already I found the concept of freedom is more complex. People had either moved to access opportunities not available in the community, to live independently in their own homes, raise their families the way they so choose. Freedom from is made up of the following nuances;*
>
> *Having your own space*
>
> *Being able to pay for rent (pay your way)*
>
> *Maintaining a certain level of life style*
>
> *Living above subsistence*
>
> *Having a little extra, say going out for dinner with friends (maintaining/participating in the social aspects of mainstream)*
>
> *Pay for children's sporting/leisure/school activities*

I also used memoing during focusing coding to develop concepts at a higher level. For example, when I asked a participant about what motivated her to achieve in mainstream she found it difficult to articulate. I went away thinking about what was said and memoed the following.

> ### Memo: 5/11/13 - My will (Kara ubi)
>
> *I keep thinking about what *** responsed to my question of what makes her do things like further studies and employment opportunities in comparison to other known family members who have arrived before her and have not progressed (i.e. worked, studies or renting a home). She shrugged and suggested that she is a willing person "kara ubi", in Meriam language meaning "my desire" or "my choice". The phrase 'will' has been floating around in my head since that interview, and it's making me wonder why some people are 'willing' and others aren't. Is it the result of being continually knocked back or made to feel incompetent or inferior? Or is it the people who surround you and their expectations or lack of expectations of you?*

I began to see this as human agency or self-efficacy, later adding this concept to the category of 'taking responsibility' (for self and others). Corbin & Strauss (2008, p. 120) accentuated the use of memos as enabling researchers to work concepts rather than raw data, and allows for creativity and imagination that stimulates insight. During focused coding the researcher moves across interviews and compares people's experiences, actions and interpretations (Charmaz 2006). Once these codes are grouped they form categories as the researcher begins to identify conceptual patterns in their analysis (Charmaz 2006). Birks & Mills (2011) explained that grounded theory categories are multi-dimensional and may consist of a number of concepts that together contribute to the formation of the broader category.

I also used colour in focused coding in order to separate the codes for each interview. I used this method to see relationships between participant's experiences and what they saw as important to them (Figure 5.3)

Own space
Own rules
Car
House
Family support
Manage obligation
Personal growth
Maintaining space (place)
Independent
Re-create home away from home
Having a stable income
Survive a structured/routine live
Have family watching out for you (safety net)
Make sacrifices
Know why you are here
Personal growth
Put down boundaries for self and others around you
Have a little bit extra
Engage in recreational and outdoor activities
Have the means to travel (mobility)
Self-motivated
Ability to change mindset and make compromise
Maintain and value relationships
Having a job
Kids go to school (settled into school)
Be independent / self-reliant
Breaking the chain of dependency on others
Be responsible for self (actions) and children
Know why you're here (purpose)
Understanding living in two worlds
Know what to expect
Be able to adjust
Re-establish (recover) "get back on your feet"
Finding the right spot
Maintain family mainland and island (keeping door open)
Be able to stand in line
Get a good job
Buy or rent your own house
Car (mobility)

Good friends
Be able to say 'no' (manage obligation)
Know you're boundaries and limitation
Know truly what's right and what's wrong
Steer clear of negative habits
Have extra money for outings and pay for school
expenses
Keeping busy
Know why you're here
Remain optimistic
Care for others
Finding own space (making life for myself)
Ubi blo me - Self-willed
Speaking up (self-advocacy)
Anticipating return
Freedom to move
Families visit every day (unity intact)
Hard to get around
Living daily
Practicing culture
Have a home to go back to
Belonging (Land) — ownership and history
Connectedness to environment and spirituality
There is still time to teach our children
Must place yourself within (believe in your own reality)
Language
Must keep talking (to your kids)
Purpose — to teach the following generations
We are part of a bigger organism
Acceptance
Having role models
Giving a little bit of yourself (reciprocity)
Changing roles
Must bring pikinini come back

Figure 5.3 Focused coding using colour

In Figure 5.4 I used colour and did a frequency count of the concepts to help form categories though this was not a reversion to content analysis. I did this to help conceptualize what was being said at a high level with a view to forming categories. Corbin (2009, in Morse et al., p.44), supports this when stating that, "It is not until you go deeper into the analysis that you discover that the concepts are part of a higher level concept (or category)". She urged researchers to trust their instincts, and let their interpretation of what is perceived to be significant to guide them to the next phase.

Own space

Own rules

Car

House

Family support

Manage obligation

Personal growth

Maintaining space (place)

Independent

Re-create home away from home

Having a stable income

Survive a structured/routine live

Have family watching out for you (safety net)

Make sacrifices

Know why you are here

Personal growth

Put down boundaries for self and others around you

Have a little bit extra

Engage in recreational and outdoor activities

Have the means to travel (mobility)

Self-motivated

Ability to change mindset and make compromise

Maintain and value relationships

Having a job

Kids go to school (settled into school)

Be independent / self-reliant

Breaking the chain of dependency on others

Be responsible for self (actions) and children

Know why you're here (purpose)

Understanding living in two worlds

Know what to expect

Be able to adjust

Re-establish (recover) "get back on your feet"

Finding the right spot

Maintain family mainland and island (keeping door open)

Be able to stand in line

Get a good job

Buy or rent your own house

Car (mobility)

Good friends

Be able to say 'no' (manage obligation)

Know you're boundaries and limitation

Know truly what's right and what's wrong

Steer clear of negative habits

Have extra money for outings and pay for school expenses

Keeping busy

Know why you're here

Remain optimistic

Care for others

3 — Purpose
7 — Boundaries
4 — Independence
6 — Space
8 — Job/money
11 — Integrate /car
6 — Family
5 — Personal Growth/devel.

Figure 5.4 Frequency count using colour coding

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I proceeded to group the codes under categories. I kept the initial codes in first person's voice in an attempt to retain original meaning and developed names for the categories. For example, I got a feeling that people were 'living with uncertainty', not knowing what the next day would bring. Participants made this known as they compared mainstream life with the idyllic 'island life' that is certain and stable. I also noted how people managed to live in mainstream by 'setting boundaries' for themselves and others. They achieved this by maintaining a safe distance from family, and obligation, while 'keeping close'.

Table 5.5
Emerging categories

Category	Code
Living with uncertainty	Don't know what tomorrow will bring.
	Today you gad, tomorrow you nor gad
	Distance creating isolation
	Cost of living / Complexities
	Change of lifestyle and routine (including diet)
	Completing/changing values
	Having others look out for you
	Knowing this is not all (temporary home)
	Don't know what tomorrow will bring.
Setting boundaries	Knowing where you can and cannot go (limitations)
	Knowing right from wrong
	Laying the rules down for family
	Lead by example (gaining respect through responsibility, care and leadership)
	Taking responsibility (self)
	Managing responsibilities and obligations
	Managing and maintaining space

Category	Code
Keeping Close (family, home, culture/ identity, spirituality	Holding community/family together
	Ability to return home (keeping the door open)
	Maintain, practice and teach culture/ language/ceremonies
	Recreating home (away from home)
	Know history, ancestry and spirituality (knowing who you are)
	Caring for the wellbeing of others (reciprocity)
Knowing	Why you're here
	Have a purpose (have a plan)
	Doing it for yourself to help others (collectivist)
	Family looking out for you and vice versa (knowing your place)
	Home to return to (this is not all)
	Believing your own realities (spirituality)

I visualised this process of meaning making from chunks to codes/concepts to categories as migrating birds, all heading in one direction with one in front leading the way. I captured this vision in the following memo and depict it in Figure 5.5.

Memo 28 August 2013 - Migrating birds (analysis)

Another metaphor that came to me during supervision was 'migrating birds' from the mapping process *** was constructing to show me how categories and core categories were formed as you combined codes and from the categories a theory is developed. The process of connecting the whole together looked like the formation migratory birds took when in flight, starting with a leader and then gradually widening as towards the end. I'd watch these birds fly over as a child living on the islands, and my mother would say that these birds were travelling from one Daudai to another (from PNG to Australia). It was also a seasonal pattern informing us of the approaching change in weather.

Figure 5.5 Migrating birds: Meaning making metaphor

Using metaphor in the coding phase of analysis is support by Liamputtong and Ezzy (1999, p. 196), who stated that "metaphors cannot easily be quantified, and are used as a way of understanding in everyday life". In this case, metaphor enabled me to understand the constructivist grounded theory analysis process as an integrated whole.

Don't know what tomorrow will bring
Today you gad, tomorrow you nor gad
Distance creating isolation
Cost of living / Complexities
Change of lifestyle and routine
Completing/changing values

Living with uncertainty

Having others look out for you
Knowing this is not all
Why you're here
Having purpose/plan
Do for self to help others
Family looking out for you
Home to return to
Believing your own realities

Knowing you're boundaries
Knowing right from wrong
Laying rules down for family
Lead by example
Taking responsibility
Managing responsibilities (obligations)
Managing and maintaining space

To community/family
Ability to return home
Maintain, practice & teach culture
Recreating home
Know history, ancestry & spirituality
Caring/providing for others

Knowing

Setting boundaries

Keeping Close

Uncertain yet knowing you're ok
OUTCOME (STRUCTURE)
17/10/2013 (old wisdom)

Setting boundaries yet keeping close
STRATEGIES (process)
17/10/2013 (new wisdom)

new

Living in two worlds
6/11/2013

Staying

Write the story about what it means to live in two worlds.

Managing obligations

Keeping the door open

Everyday is both staying in & on the edge. No certainty.

Figure 5.6 Mapping with Jane Mills (13/11/13)

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From this phase, four categories emerged; living with uncertainty; knowing; setting boundaries; and keeping close. Pushing beyond, two core categories emerged: 'uncertain yet knowing', and 'boundaries yet close'. I conceived this as people living with uncertainty, but seeming to be 'ok'. They set boundaries, yet they maintained closeness. I diagrammed during this phase in an attempt to map relationships between concepts and categories (Figure 5.6). I found out later that diagramming was a valid method for grounded theory that I had used intuitively and from my preference for visual learning and engagement. Using diagrams allowed me to organise data and record concepts in a way that I could see and speak to as I integrated new ideas and expanded these further (Corbin & Strauss 2008).

I later used diagramming during one of my interviews to see whether it would enhance the interview process. It appeared to be useful as the participant was able to map her progress with me on a timeline from when she arrived to what she hoped to achieve in the future. She informed me after the interview that she felt "real good" to be able to see her own progress, which provided a sense of achievement. I found that these visual representations allowed us to speak to the illustrations, and as we did, the illustrations spoke back at us. This was the first time I attempted this method and found it to be very useful, especially when interviewing participants who were nervous or shy.

5.3.10 Finding the core construct

Liamputtong & Ezzy (1999) referred to this stage of data analysis as selective coding: the process in which all categories are unified around the core construct (category) in an attempt to map the links between all the codes. Theoretical sampling that surrounds generation and collection of data ceases once the core and related categories become saturated (Birks & Mills 2011).

I met privately with Jane Mills, as I needed assurance that I was doing grounded theory correctly. Jane read through my notes and viewed my diagrams and confirmed to me that I was on course. She also suggested that I go away and write my own story in order to help conceive the core construct of the theory I was developing. I knew of the tensions that are created by living on the mainland and the challenges that were faced daily, not only from my participants' stories, but from my own lived experience. I went away and I wrote my story. I kept seeing this divide between the two worlds, the islands and mainland. I sensed the struggle that participants were experiencing in

having to live in two separate dimensions and carry out the obligations that were attached to each. The core construct came to be 'living in two worlds', comprising the experiences, the sense-making and the strategies people acquired or developed to manage.

I saw this as a canoe voyage between two islands or two worlds. I drew my vision of the crossings and related the journey to how my ancestors would have prepared, planned and navigated these (Figure 5.7). This required an understanding of the currents, tides, winds and safe passages. It meant carrying supplies and calculating the weight of your goods and passengers. Sometimes carrying extra weight is favourable, yet at other times a heavy load can be dangerous.

Figure 5.7 The crossing

Corbin and Strauss (2008) referred to a descriptive narrative that conceptualizes the phenomenon as a storyline. According to Birks & Mills (2011, p. 118), presenting grounded theory findings as a story has dual function: firstly, it assists in the production of the final theory and the means of conveying the theory to readers, and secondly, it can be used as a tool for integration thereby being "both a means and an end in itself" Strauss & Corbin (1990). Writing the theory into a storyline clarifies the relationships between the concepts and categories that made up the theory, provides the mechanisms to explain the theory, and by doing so explains the phenomenon being studied (Corbin & Strauss 2008).

Birks & Mills (2011, p. 101) noted how a core category is selected "once the researcher can trace connections between a frequently occurring variable and all the other categories, sub-categories and their properties and dimensions". This is achieved as the researcher moves between initial and intermediate coding, as directed by theoretical sampling. Referring back to the writing of Corbin & Strauss (2008), I was reassured that grounded theory techniques and procedures are not directives to be rigidly adhered to, but essentially a set of tools to be used by the researcher as they see fit. They warn that when researchers become obsessed with following set coding, they can lose the fluid and dynamic nature of qualitative analysis (Corbin & Strauss 2008).

5.4   Rhetorical structure

Traditionally, stories were the main medium of knowledge transfer between Indigenous people and between locations (Kovach 2009). Stories mould and inform our place within our families, society and cosmos. Teachings essential to managing our daily existence and our place in the world are explained to us through messages intricately woven into the storylines and illustrated through metaphors. The use of metaphor is central to Torres Strait Islander ways of conveying sensitive and sacred knowledge in a way that is comprehensible, compelling and relevant to space and context. I use this style of storytelling throughout my thesis, basing it upon a metaphor of the sea voyage for which our ancestors were renowned.

I used the canoe as the vessel for carrying this study forward and on which I assembled my theoretical framework (Figure 3.1). I used the waves as the metaphor for the grounded theory data collection (Figure 5.1), and the migrating birds (Figure 5.5) as a metaphor to envisage the analysis process to help with coding data and

creating categories. Anchoring this research in a single story based on shared stories facilitated the conception, implementation and progression of my own journey. As in the Western narrative tradition, the structure of this story has a beginning, middle, end, and sometimes a moral or purpose. Stories prompt the researcher to reflect as the narrative unfolds, while meaning making requires the research to be presented in its "contextualized form" (Kovach 2009, p. 131).

In the conception phase, I conducted a metasynthesis of other studies that looked into the experiential aspects of migration and resettlement. The findings from the metasynthesis not only informed my understanding of the phenomenon and highlighted gaps in literature, but also challenged my own assumptions based on personal experience and my insider-outsider position. In the implementation phase, I conducted a remote community survey followed by in-depth interviews using a constructivist grounded theory methodology. In the progression phase, I developed the storyline based on the out-movement experiences of people, and from the contribution of relevant studies and literature surrounding migratory experiences. I also contemplated placing 'self' in the story and how I was to present my participants so that it becomes 'our' story. It was the story of a group of Torres Strait Islander people who moved from the islands to the mainland and who were managing the experience of 'living in two worlds'.

I struggled with crossing the divide, keeping within the requirements of Western academia while at the same time trying to maintain 'self' in the process. I managed my place in the story by continuous critical reflection of 'self', ensuring that I represented the experiences of Torres Strait Islanders in a way that would protect and maintain their cultural integrity. Smith (1999) warned about the dangers of writing without thinking critically, as academic writing, and writing in English, can become misconstrued and used to discredit Indigenous peoples.

5.4.1 Positioning self in story

I place myself in the story, as it is my interpretation of the stories of others. I use 'I' when I am talking about making meaning from the data, for example "I found… I came to understand". I chose this style of writing to privilege other voices. Even though I share the same story, our circumstances vary, and as individuals our experience of moving is different. I also recognised the need to remove myself from being too emotionally close to the story. I found on returning to the islands on one of my personal visits, that I started reliving the experience of moving. I write from this

position as an academic observer, presenting the story in the English language for the purpose of writing this thesis. I am not an interview participant in this research. I did not set out to write an auto-ethnography. I see myself as a medium for other people's stories; I do not want to claim it as mine, but to authenticate their story as someone who shares the experience of a contemporary out-mover.

5.4.2 Presenting participants in story

When I am talking about participants, I use the word 'people', 'some people', or 'most people'. The use of the term participant to me refers to a sterile group, colonizing, objectifying, and separating us from each other. Coming from my theoretical framework, I did not want to use the term participant/s'. I use the word 'people' because it corresponds with the Torres Strait Islander language word *buai* (kinsfolk), meaning people who belong to a cultural group or sharing common ancestry. I stayed with the respectful term of 'people', or as a collective group in Torres Strait Creole '*people blo youmi'* which translates as 'our people'. This is an affectionate term, claiming relationship as being 'one people'. I did not use the term 'Islanders' as this would assume that I am referring to other Torres Strait Islander people who reside on the mainland outside the parameters of this research. I use the term 'people' for its English translation, but I am actually referring to *buai* (kith and kin). I also struggled with the term 'informants' for referring to participants in the Phase 1 of this research, however, despite these contentions I could not find an appropriate title in the English language to reference this group of valued contributors.

By taking aspects of the analysis back to the islands to gain further perspectives, I made it our story. But on presenting for academia I have to take myself back out, which fits with literature, as sometimes I am an outsider and sometimes I am an insider (Smith 1999). I am an insider when I take it back to the islands and so I use the terms 'we', 'us' and 'our', but now that I am presenting it in a thesis and in English, I am making a choice to take the observer stance, the outsider stance, to present my findings.

I deliberately transcribed and presented excerpts of these transcripts in Torres Strait Creole and inserted these into the findings section of this thesis. For those who spoke *big tap* (heavy Creole), I extended upon these by adding a translation below quotes using closely related English words to retain original meaning. I did this for readability reasons for non-Creole readers.

I also chose not to assign people aliases as I did not consider them characters in the story. These were real people with real experiences whose stories together formed a single story of out-movement. Western epistemologies use simplistic Eurocentric narrative constructs, such as "character" and "setting", which differs to the stories told by Indigenous people whose basis for storytelling relies on a relational framework, as opposed to an "objectivist Cartesian worldview" (Hendry 2007, p. 491).

5.5   Reflection on tensions

There were a number of tensions and discoveries that accompanied the second phase of this research. These related to recruitment; lifelong obligations; and Western-style interview techniques. Overall, I needed to trust the process.

5.5.1 Recruitment

There were a number of tensions during the recruitment stages of Phase 2. Due to my insider-outsider status, and having pre-existing relationships with participants and the Torres Strait Islander communities, I had to consciously navigate the recruitment process.

Asking for time was an issue as it was in Phase 1 data collection. The difference was that the group of informants in Phase 1 had allocated time during their work hours, something for which I was most grateful. Recruiting participants in Phase 2 required them finding time outside of work and trying to work within the personal time and space of the participants. What was noticeable in this phase was that, although people may not be working, finding time and participants was not easy. It seemed that people who lived routine lives could more easily identify an opening than those whose daily routine were unpredictable. This uncertainty of living on the mainland filtered into my research with those whose lives were uncertain. I initially assumed that people who were not committed to a 9 to 5 schedule would be easily accessible and available. Even when I checked again before each interview, things had changed for people. The following memo is an account of the challenges accompanying recruitment.

Memo: 4/11/13 – Lack of interested (fatigue)

*** rang on Saturday to say that she spoke to *** again and that *** doesn't seem to be that interested in participating in the interview. It sounds that *** 'slack' and even when asked whether *** would like to participant, *** response was somewhat casual. *** said that, "I think when she gets home from work she just sleeps". I'm ok with that and I can't help but empathize with ***, who holds down a mainstream job during the week, comes home to a full house and still has to attend to the general upkeep of the home in addition to being the main income earner.

Researchers have found various strategies that are highly effective when recruiting difficult-to-reach groups, such as the vulnerable. Some use informal gatekeepers, including key members of a group or informal networks of individuals who have similar vulnerabilities (Liamputtong 2007). They also found that people were more likely to participate in research when asked by someone they knew, such as family members, other significant individuals or agencies with which participants were involved (Liamputtong 2007). I also found this strategy helpful, particularly when participants referred other family members to me. Studies have shown that traditional methods of recruitment such as advertising are usually ineffective. However, personal strategies of word-of-mouth from informal gatekeepers tends to be much more productive (Liamputtong 2007). These methods are also limited to participant availability, locate-ability, interest and people's willingness to participate (Liamputtong 2007). The following memo is an example of the negotiation that took place during recruitment using referral strategies in my research.

Memo: 17/10/2013 - Yet another cancellation…

Had organised last week with *** to interview him today at families home where he was temporarily residing. Rang referee today to confirm availability and was informed *** had returned home last night, took his bags and left. She doesn't know where he went. Asked whether her partner was interested, but he declined as being 'shame'.

That's not all; *** got back to my text message informing me that her partner is unwell and in hospital. She had agreed to do the interview last Thursday 10/10/13 and that I would contact her Monday 14/10/13. Phone kept ringing out on Monday, Tuesday I rang then sent text. She was obviously avoiding me as she no longer able to spare the time to do the interview. She is related, and I was able to make her feel good about her withdrawal by being considerate and concerned about both their wellbeing.

*** is yet to re-contact *** and organise meeting, and also contact *** for me
to have their contact details. I am hoping to interview both couples next
week/weekend. *** is still trying to contact ***, but doesn't have her new
number. I was also given *** number, who I tried calling today. *** is another
close relative whom I feel is ok to contact personally.

While Liamputtong (2007) focuses on the recruitment of vulnerable participants,
gaining the support of families is important also to Indigenous people. The family's role
as gatekeeper not only provides an entry point to access participants but also ensures
that the participant is protected and confidentiality is maintained. Confidentiality, as
noted by Kovach (2009) can be interpreted differently in Western, as opposed to
Indigenous contexts. In some cases, a research participant may choose to be
identified as being accountable to one's word or the knowledge that is being shared.

I used snowball sampling, although it is not often encouraged in grounded theory
recruitment. I found this method to be consistent with Indigenous Research Principles
as a means of entry when seeking new people. Gaining access is appropriately
negotiated through introductions and referral, and having pre-existing relationships is
an accepted characteristic of Indigenous research (Kovach 2009). This method is not
only respectful when entering families and communities, but also protects people's
privacy and preserves the choice of participating (Liamputtong 2007). I was wary that
people might agree to participate because they felt refusal would be disrespectful.
However, when invited by others, the prospective participant can decline without
obligation. Snowball sampling means that people can ask questions and feel
reassured by knowing what to expect during the interview.

I recruited couples together, for reasons of personal comfort and respecting Indigenous
protocols when working with the opposite gender. I also wanted to understand how
each member experienced the move. I saw this as an opportunity to explore how
couples viewed the experience of moving together as well as separately as gendered
individuals, and as the role each occupied in their families dictated. I was able to
interview two couples using this method of recruitment. The first couple moved for
medical reasons, and the second couple moved for better educational opportunities for
their child. The following memo unpacks some of the respectful protocols.

Memo: 24 April 2013 - Making inroads

My meeting with the Mrs *** was imperative, respecting Mr *** position as elder, former *** and as a cultural authority for *** before any interview would transpire.   Mrs ***involvement in the process of re-entry was important as a woman, a matriarch and having the power within the family (as most women in Torres Strait Islander families do).

The meeting with Mrs*** was important as the first call respecting cultural protocols of gender, age and cultural differences. Although my children are from the same cultural heritage and were initiated there, I was still an outsider that needed to gain peoples trust and approval. I would not have been able to commence my interview with Mrs*** without Mr*** knowledge and approval. A lot is at stake here – people's identities, beliefs, feelings and values. Who was I to assume that people will see my work as valuable and be sure to participate in sharing sacred secrets that exist today merely as thoughts and feelings.

Mrs*** was happy for me to call again when she arrived back from the islands.   She said that was real good of me to visit and for us to share stories from the past.

A month had passed before I returned to interview Mrs***, but when I arrived I also found Mr*** waiting for me and agreeing to take part in the interview and in fact contributing the most during the interview. Going to the couple's home was not only convenient to them but also presented the opportunity to conduct a joint interview. The second interview with a couple took place after church, as we sat together in the adjacent courtyard and recorded the interview. Another participant had his partner present, and although not taking part herself, she became the reference point upon which the participant focused his story.

I also found that each gender viewed their experience of moving differently. While women tended to focus on children and everyday upkeep of family life, men spoke more generally and looked beyond the family and into the wider community and spoke about ways of maintaining culture and improving the wellbeing of others. Gender did not deter or determine who contributed most during the interviews. In the case of the first couple, the wife felt that it was right for the husband to contribute, possibly due to his ability to articulate his feelings and his standing in the community. In the second couple interview, the wife spoke mostly, and again I suspect it was for reasons of

articulation. I did, however, attempt to involve both partners in dialogue and used the recorder as a talking-stick to direct conversation.

Bjornholt and Farstad's (2014) study of joint interviews conducted with couples identified a number of advantages. As well as valuing equal representation and reducing the risk and tensions surrounding anonymity and confidentiality, the common reflective space that these interviews allowed provided for richer data (Bjornholt & Farstad 2014). They found that often couples would discuss or disagree on opinions at times and because of this meaning making becomes co-produced. The argument that individual interviews are superior to joint interviews is dismissed on the grounds that people's lives are conveyed primarily through stories, and accounts such as these should be respected as they represent people's lived experiences (Bjornholt & Farstad 2014).

5.5.2 Lifelong obligations

Accountability to participants and communities has lifelong implications, with obligation continuing after the course of the research (Weber-Pillwax, in Wilson, 2008, p. 105). This was about "relational accountability" to others that describes how the Indigenous researcher negotiates the research terrain of engagement and recruitment, as the researcher's own integrity must also be managed and maintained in the process (Louis 2007, p. 133). The commitment that participants and communities give to the researcher may require reciprocation for an indefinite period, which meant that I had to carefully choose participants according to the nature of my relationship with them, and the potential risks that may present later.

I was particularly wary of in-laws and those who I perceived as becoming contentious later and in situations where the ability to maintain a balanced relationship thereafter may prove problematic. Therefore, I chose to work with those closer to me and whose relationship and family background were low risks. The recruitment process is critical when working from the inside-out, especially when the researcher is part of the larger cultural community. The risk of losing face, confidence or place in people's social standing can be devastating to both them and their families (Louis 2007). Research of this nature does not provide immunity where one can stand at a distance and detach oneself from the site and topic of the research after completion. As a result of these considerations, the implication is that certain voices may not be present in this research. While I attempted to move from the familiar to the unfamiliar in my sampling, I was at times constrained by my cultural and social positioning.

5.5.3 Western style interview techniques

Absolon (in Kovach 2009, p. 152) noted that, "we don't do interviews in Aboriginal culture. We have discussions and talks". My own experience of an 'interview' is one of interrogation. Either I was doing the interrogating as a public servant, assessing client's eligibility for welfare payments, or as a client being interrogated when seeking services. Interview questions under such conditions were usually very direct and focused on extracting personal details without really listening to the person. In these instances, the interviewer becomes the interrogator and gatekeeper to what information is perceived valid. Questions are confined to meeting the requirements of policies and procedures, and at the end of the interview the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee is terminated without the need to reciprocate or maintain relations thereafter.

Smith (1999) experienced a shift in relationships when visiting women in their homes, as a researcher. She noted that the women's homes were spotless, food was prepared and children were bathed and ready for bed at 7.30pm. Quite the opposite of her previous visits, as a mother and teacher dropping in for school related matters. What was immediately evident was the perceived formality of such occasions, which not only altered people's daily life but raised the assumption that under these circumstances their ways would be scrutinized (Smith 1999). Likewise, in my own attempts of recruitment, people became anxious about the recording process, or were too ashamed to talk formally. In one case the prospective participant response to the invitation was, "oh no, I don't want to go on TV", confirming the misconceptions of the term 'interview'. In doing the interviewing, I moved away from questioning that seemed interrogational to a more relaxed and natural conversational style as indicated in the following memo.

Memo - 30 April 20013:   Free- style Interviewing

I had become so paranoid with my interview schedule and the processing surrounding in-depth interview. I changed the interview schedule a number of times and on advice from a colleague who suggested keeping it simple and comprising of only three questions; 1) why did you move? 2) What is happening for you now? 3) What are your hopes for the future?   This seemed like a relief. Yes, I can do this. I assumed that all the other questions would flow naturally as we move through the story. So I was ready to test the free style option. Next set of thoughts; where will I keep the schedule, when do I refer to it and should I be referring to it at all during the interview? But is this really necessary, and does this mean I still don't trust myself? I am a natural and confident speaker, attentive and inquisitive at the same time. Why am I freaking out now? Is it because this is 'real' work – work which will be read and scrutinized by others outside these conversations?

It was time to meet my 5th participant at our interview location. I made sure I arrived well before time to settle into the field prior to starting the interview. I realised I had forgotten my blue folder with the interview schedule. Here I was about to be thrown in to the depths of 'free-styling'. I was here now and I had no choice but to swim. In hindsight, I think I went ok. I had read that one must always keep the thesis question in mind (Birks & Mills, 2011) when asking questions. I did this, I kept the question in line with the 'success' stories of moving and resettling. I also looked for concepts, and asked for elaboration where I thought more depth could be uncovered. I allowed the participant to take his time, despite a lot of …um's between thoughts. I shared glimpses of my findings and my own personal experiences of moving to encourage dialogue. I believe this personalizes the relationships between interviewer and the interviewee – I was no longer someone foreign to the participant or to his experience.

On discussing the future of narrative, Hendry (2007, p. 495) stated that "our questions do not entail listening or being open, but are questions that operate as interrogation". Instead of having faith in people and their stories, we tend to analyze and verify as our knowledge claims are predicated not on faith but distrust (Hendry 2007). Yarning was more in line with Indigenous Research Principles and a Decolonizing Methodologies as previously discussed.

5.5.4 Trusting the process

Stanton (2014, p. 580) argued that crossing the border between theory and practice is much more complex than initially envisaged asserting that "we have to become comfortable with the dynamic nature of the process, learn to question our own understandings and assumptions, and actively embrace the challenges and opportunities". I thought that being an insider would make this journey easier and that I would have all the right questions and gain all the right access and answers. This assumption proved incorrect, as I soon discovered the difficulty in reconciling the two worlds that I had become accustomed to living in, as they were very foreign to each other, and did not necessarily correspond. I learnt to trust the process of being present and natural in the interviews accidently on the fifth interview, as noted in the previous memo.

In the process I also learnt to trust my instincts and intuition. Looking back on this journey, I note specific turning points where I knew I had to do something a certain way because in my head and heart it seemed right or practical. Driven by my own need to plan and map my course through the various phases of this research, I recovered confidence in my own abilities and calmed the paranoia of 'getting it right' and being too rigorous in the process. I knew instinctively how I was to proceed and the obligation of responsibility and accountability to my community kept me within the guidelines of ethical and respectful research. Being constantly reflective and consciously navigating the passage towards my final destination meant that I maintained safe distance from submerged reefs, and followed the stars that once guided my ancestors as they travelled at night.

As I sat at the computer writing this chapter I recounted my journey just as I would, had it been part of an actual sea voyage. I saw myself standing on the shore looking out to the wide expanse of the ocean. I knew my destination, yet the course I was to map was inconceivable. I knew of specific landmarks and landfalls to rest and replenish my supplies. I recalled the perils that confronted me, and the places where I ran aground and got stuck in mud. As I sat writing, I acknowledged the feeling of recovery and relief when I finally regained control, having learnt to trust the process. Castellano (2000, p. 28), explained this experiential knowledge as, "knowledge of the physical world, which forms an essential part of the praxis of inner and outer learning, does not flow exclusively or primarily through the intellect". Trusting the authenticity of Indigenous ways of gathering and sharing knowledge meant that I was able to relax and be present in process and to trust the people who were part of my journey. Trusting

intuition and knowledge acquired outside conventional means, as Castellano (2000, p. 24) termed "revealed knowledge", means that I am true to self and my ways of being, knowing, doing and feeling. I also learnt to trust my own personal knowledge, to stop and listen to my own story.

5.6   Upholding ethics and ensuring quality

This section on ethics is aligned to the works of Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) and their "Four Rs" of Indigenous research: Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity and Responsible. I found these to be most appropriate for arranging and discussing the research quality section of this chapter as it equally upholds both Western quality standards and Indigenous Research Principles and ethics. All other ethical considerations involving Indigenous research such as equality, survival and protection, and integrity are encompassed within the Four Rs, including the Western concepts of rigour, validity, accountability and authenticity.

As an Indigenous researcher, researching Indigenous communities within the parameters of Western academia meant that my research had to be consistent and aligned with Indigenous values and centred on the mantle of respect. Research in this regard had to be relevant to the people and communities involved and derived from and inclusive of Indigenous worldviews (Kovach 2009; Weber-Pillwax 2001). Indigenous Research Principles required that I give back to community. Research must be seen to have an outcome or a product as noted in the 3 P's of research and be process driven and informed (Figure 3.4). This giving back can be either tangible or in the way of knowledge that increases awareness and enhances lives. To give back is a responsibility that all Indigenous people share and value. We give back of ourselves. In Torres Strait Creole this is expressed as *pay back*. I was giving back to the people, communities, and places that sustained me as a child, as an individual and as part of the larger collective.

5.6.1 Respect

Respecting the research relationship and alternative ways of knowing, doing, being and feeling (Table 3.3), means that authentic partnerships can be developed and maintained throughout the life of the research and ensures no disruption to lifelong obligations. Essentially, from the principle of respect, the Indigenous Research Principles of relevance, reciprocity and responsibility are established (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6
Upholding ethics and ensuring quality

Quality standards	Indigenous Research Principles
Respect	Relationship Ways of knowing
Relevance	Interest and needs Language and meaning
Reciprocity	Giving back Sharing stories
Responsibility	Authenticity Accountability

5.6.1.1   Relationship

A research relationship must be founded on equal partnership where the participant's ideas, contribution and time is acknowledged and valued. Included in this relationship is the need to reciprocate or give back by way of resources, skills, employment or training (Mertens 2009). The giving back of 'self' informally means that respectful relationships are continued after the life of the research. Smith (1999, p. 128) explained that, in many projects, process is far more important than the outcome (product): "Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal and to educate".

Congruent with cultural protocols, this research was grounded on Torres Strait Islander values of *apasin* (humility) and *debe tonar* (kindness), which determines our way of being with each other and of managing our place in society*.* Our interactions, and reactions, are again centred on the principle of respect. Being respectful of self and of others, of where and how you walk, act and talk is learned through observation, instruction and lived experience. My own personal lived experience as a Torres Strait Islander woman, born and raised in the Torres Strait, meant that I was immersed in our way of being from childhood, and keeping close to family and culture ensures that these values are maintained and managed as I move between the two worlds (Martin 2003; Rigney 1997). To maintain respect and manage my place in the research, I deliberately chose to start with people familiar to me who would then re-introduce me to the unfamiliar. Despite knowing most of the people I referred to as 'unfamiliar', I did not have a close relationship with them and because of this it was important that I maintained a respectful distance until I was referred or re-introduced to them again. This process ensured respectful entry into the personal lives of others.

I also respected people's time, which is important to maintaining good relationships. Often university-imposed time constraints can be seen as aggressive and disrespectful to Indigenous ways of doing business. Stanton (2014) emphasised the need to create culturally responsive research practices and methodological structures that value the time and energy community members spend contributing to projects. Rushed projects can be detrimental to the researcher, research community and the institutions involved. In both phases of my research, I had to allow my research timeline to blow out. Despite being concerned, I had to tread gently and rely on reciprocity, as these were people I had pre-existing relationships with from my own presence in those communities in my previous occupation. This was where I was asking for that reciprocity, meanwhile respecting people's rights to privacy and refusal.

5.6.1.2   *Ways of knowing*

Our ways of knowing includes what we consider to be knowledge, how this knowledge is shared, by whom and for what purpose (Martin 2003). Knowledge transfer must be relevant and subjected to the listener's worldview and be imparted with good intent (Wilson 2001). Good intentions determine which knowledges are disclosed, concealed, adopted, adapted or abandoned.

Constructivist grounded theory methods recognise the subjective nature of research and require constant reflexivity to ensure that Indigenous researchers do not become an outside expert or an official insider voice (Smith 1999). Maintaining Torres Strait Islander worldviews in co-construction that involved meaning making was equally important, and this meant that Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing had to be at the forefront of this research. In order to achieve this I used metaphor, yarning, and reflection (memoing).

I also used storytelling as the medium for sharing knowledge. Storying is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the "diversities of truth", which the storyteller retains control over as opposed to the researcher (Bishop, 1996, cited in Smith, 1999, p. 144). Storytelling not only fits Indigenous epistemologies but is also central to human understanding, and according to Lewis (2011, p. 505) stories "makes life livable, because without a story, there is no identity, no self, no other". When recollecting experiences to share as stories, we draw on our own potential for meaning making and narrate our own ways of knowing and being (Lewis 2011). Gorman & Toombs (2009) recognised the benefits of information gathering through the process of narratives. These narratives are developed in partnership with the participants, who

determine what information will be used and how the story will be told. Stanton (2014) emphasised the iterative and dialogical nature of storytelling that allows the participant to expand and clarify where they see fit, through unstructured or semi-structured interviews. Such interviews were done with some people to enhance theory building.

5.6.2 Relevance

The relevance and appropriateness of research to participating communities is most critical to upholding ethics. The primary value is that the research is tangibly operating for, and in, Indigenous interests (Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Kovach 2009; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2001). As stated by Walter & Andersen (2013, p. 100): "The first axiological infused decision, therefore, is whether the research should be undertaken at all".

Indigenous research should add value to and support community needs and interest, and be developed, implemented and reported in a way that is culturally consistent with local language and ways of knowing. Research findings must be accessible and beneficial by way of extending the quality of life of the community (Louis 2007). Relevancy of research, as Kovach (2009, p. 38) suggests, includes the researcher asking themselves, "Am I up for the journey?". Wilson (2008, p. 74) states that "indigenous epistemology is our cultures, our worldviews, our times, our languages, our histories, our spirituality and our places in the cosmos"; maintaining that our existence as Indigenous peoples and the knowledge we form are built upon relationships rather than on the things themselves.

5.6.2.1 Interest and needs

The interest and needs of the Indigenous community must be paramount when working with Indigenous peoples. As my Advisor Professor Tsey consistently repeated, "research must add value". Therefore, when working with communities, the research process should be flexible enough to pay attention to individual and community interests, questions, and needs as they arise (Beeman-Cadwallader, Quigley & Yazzie-Mintz 2012). Mertens (2009, p. 74) maintained that "when the balance between the needs of the community and the needs of the researcher is upset, trust may be broken, resulting in problems in the research study". This meant being extremely careful that information provided by people was not generalised to include all Torres Strait Islanders or used to speak on behalf of other Australian Indigenous peoples. Without due care, the researcher can assume the token position of insider-expert and perpetuate the marginalisation of 'other' voices (Smith 1999).

For this research, I had been in discussions over a number of years with elders and community leaders from the Torres Strait Island communities, an area of interest I explored while on work-related visits to the various island communities. These discussions have informed the research question for this research and have elicited strong support from the respective community members to investigate the issue of contemporary Torres Strait Islander out-movement.

5.6.2.2   Language and meaning

The skill of making research methodology relevant and interesting to community rests largely with language. The ability to craft our own research stories, in our own voice, provides the best chance of engaging others. One strategy is to integrate stories that paint the context of our research into our own research findings, which includes involving people and their respective communities in guiding the process of interpretation and meaning making to advance the cause of decolonization (Kovach 2009). Stanton (2014) asserted that mainstream-oriented researchers tend to manipulate the experiences of research participants, which potentially impedes the projects relevance to the community. For this reason I enlisted the support of peers and cultural mentors to check the concepts that were emerging from the individual and group stories, as I recognised my own immersion in mainstream (illustrated in the memo below).

> **Memo: 18 April 2013 - Peer reference for authenticity**
>
> *The thought of forming a peer reference groups emerged during a supervisory session. I had already collected 3 interviews with fellow peers yet I had not considered them to be in the 'field'. After being questioned by my supervisor, I concluded that these were people similar to me, educated, working, multiple movers, around the same age and were raised in the islands by an older generation. We were the last that peered into the past through the eyes of our elders. We had been chosen to carry our history forward. We had sat beside them and listened intently to their stories. We questioned for more knowledge and we were instructed at intervals of what our roles were and would be like.*

Language is considered a central component of Indigenous epistemologies and must be considered within Indigenous research frameworks (Kovach 2009). Stanton (2014) noted in his study that one of the participants made it clear that his use of specific non-standard grammatical constructions was intentional as a form of resistance to mainstream academic culture and a sign of political and cultural solidarity with other

Native people who spoke 'Indian English'. The participant's intention was to deliberately disrupt the discourse of power and align himself with the experiences of other Native peoples (Stanton 2014). Language therefore can be seen as a place of resistance for Indigenous peoples.

5.6.3 Reciprocity

Integral to the relevance of research is the ethic of 'giving back' or reciprocating to those involved. In the case of a thesis, it is the information that must be returned to the people in a form that is accessible, useful, relevant and respectful. Giving back is not limited to dissemination of findings, but it also means creating and maintaining long lasting relationships that may be called upon again in the future should the need arise. It is also the giving of 'self' in the form of respect, generosity, humility and acknowledgement. Rice (2005, cited in Hart, 2010 p. 7) summed this up as a "belief that as we receive from others, we must also offer to others". In my case, I am giving back to my people and community, who have sustained and nurtured me from birth.

The gifting of knowledge is also a form of reciprocity and is valued as a two-way process of sharing, validating or challenging information. Just as information is relevant to the research, it must also be of use to the community (Donovan & Spark 1997). Maar et al. (2011) found that respondents did not just want another survey that is going to gather dust, but to also receive feedback in a report based on results given back to the community in a presentation. They also maintained that knowledge translation should be a key outcome, and "feedback must be accessible to all residents and written in accessible language" (Maar et al. 2011, p. 751).

Information on the findings from both phases of my research was returned to individuals, respective communities and organisations. Giving back is not only an obligation but a responsibility that I assumed throughout the research.

5.6.3.1   Giving back

Studies indicate that besides reporting the findings by way of writing, community members have requested face-to-face engagements and oral presentations (Stanton 2014). I knew at the beginning of my research that I would have to take my data home for authentication, and for my work to be known and supported. My visit to Mabuiag appeared to be timely, according to cultural mentors that live there. It was a time of significant political and social change and local people were starting to recognise the

magnitude of the out-movement. The elder asked whether I could develop a resource pack for future movements, including his own, should the need arise one day.

I had envisaged the overall benefits of this research as both immediate and long term. Immediate benefits are realised through the process of co-learning, and co-construction, leaving the participant with a deeper understanding through raising consciousness. The long-term benefits include sharing the findings with the Torres Strait Island Regional Council (TSIRC) and the people of the Torres Strait to understand and support out-movers.

5.6.3.2 Sharing stories

Giving back is not limited to extrinsic returns or rewards, but can be in the form of sharing stories and insights that can be intriguing, thought provoking, validating and reassuring. The gifting of stories that answer someone else's query or concern can leave them feeling good, and as a result may have therapeutic benefits. The therapeutic power of sharing experiences through stories is recognised as having the "energy that can heal entire communities and guide the process of decolonizing understandings" (Stanton 2014, p. 579).

My own experience of this energy took place after I had completed my first interview with one of my peers. Towards the end of our interview, the peer recounted the importance of home and family and the need to return home regularly in order to draw strength. The story flowed on to describing the smells, sights and sounds of the islands, and how one could lie there at night and hear the waves rolling in on to the beach. At that point, I found myself choking as my mind reached homewards, and tears welled in my eyes. I was emotionally besieged by the feelings and experience of home and my family for whom I also longed. I could sense the heaviness of others who were in a similar situation, but unlike me, could not return home. I was overwhelmed with mixed feelings of sadness, empathy, compassion and anguish. The healing that can take place through stories during times of sharing experiences such as these can transform both the storyteller and the listener as they exchange emotions. Stories heal from the inside-out. They reconnect and re-establish our place within ourselves, within our families, and in our communities.

5.6.4 Responsibility

Responsibility is about being accountable to the research relationships, individuals, the communities involved, as well as to the university and to oneself. Responsibility is also

about authenticity. Being responsible for the integrity and protection of those directly and indirectly involved in the research. It is also the responsibility of Indigenous researchers that any research or scholarly discourse must lead to change "out there" in the community. Otherwise, without action, this pursuit becomes useless (Weber-Pillwax 2001, p. 169).

Constructivist grounded theory protocols and Indigenous Research Principles informing this research ensured integrity, transparency, and accountability in the conduct and dissemination of results. Decolonizing Methodologies ensured that Indigenous research is humble, with the researcher maintaining awareness of the power differentiations that may exist between her and her research participants (Smith 1999). Even as an insider, the researcher must remain conscious of issues surrounding gender, language, and her own professional positioning so that these do not render, reinforce and maintain the domination of Western values and knowledge systems (Smith 1999).

5.6.4.1   Authenticity

To work from the inside-out and outside-in required critical self-reflection in order to identity where my own experiences, assumptions, beliefs and values penetrated. This was necessary so that these did not direct the data collection and analysis processes away from their originating sources. Constructivist grounded theorists recognise and value the co-construction of meaning and recognise that knowledge creation is a two way process, involving both speaker and listener. Because stories are told using complex circular structures that connect experiences, it is assumed that all participants "collaboratively determine the meaning(s) of the stories, and it is understood that the interpretations are fluid and depend upon the people involved, the broader context, and other factors" (Stanton 2014, p. 576). Because I shared the same story of moving as others, and similar experiences resonated with my story, it was important not to overshadow the voices of others.

It was important for me to engage peers who had been interviewed in the course of the data analysis stage of the research, particularly towards the end, as I developed categories. I engaged these individuals in the discussions around the preliminary findings. I would relate to them what my findings were saying to me and they, in turn, would authenticate and add to this from their own experiences, perspectives and insights. These discussions not only concerned what I was uncovering, but provided alternate explanations and dimensions, which I could then explore as reflections or integrate into my questions for the next interview. I found this process very useful in

extending on my own knowledge and understanding, but also keeping my recruitment and data collection on track, especially as I stepped out into the unfamiliar. The storytelling form which I used to gather data through interviews, during the analysis and now in its presentation, required member checking (Kovach 2009).

The use of rich, thick description to convey findings is one strategy for validating data as it can "transport readers to a setting and give the discussion an element of shared experiences" (Creswell 2014, p. 202). Another strategy to enhance authenticity is to have a peer review the findings, and ask questions that may resonate. This strategy can provide an interpretation beyond the researcher's own understanding of an account. I frequently enlisted the support of my cultural mentors, who not only acknowledged the creation of new knowledge, but questioned alternative viewpoints and their implications.

As I continued into the write-up phase of this research, I experienced a number of unsettling events that consumed as well as compounded existing commitments. One such event was the sale of the property I had rented for the past eight years. The thought of moving to a new area, combined with the cost of moving, threw me back to the experiential dimensions I had previously explored through the stories of others. I re-experienced the uncertainties of living on the mainland. The experience was unsettling, not knowing where I would end up, while at the same time factoring in all the logistical, affordability and safety concerns that accompanied the prospect of moving. While I was going through this experience, I could see myself occupying different locations on the diagram (Chapter 7, Figure 7.5), often in multiple locations simultaneously. This re-lived experience of moving authenticated the experiential dimensions of my findings.

5.6.4.2 Accountability

To ensure accountability it was important that I knew my position as a researcher. This higher self-awareness, according to Mertens (2009, p. 76), "is necessary for personal transformation and critical subjectivity". Self-knowledge is required in doing any type of valid research in order to recognise that there are no value-free interactions between two human beings, no matter what method you use (Mertens 2009). This is where locating self in the research is important and the respectful representation of "yourself, your research and the people, events, phenomena you are researching" becomes critical, as neutrality and objective does not exist in research (Absolon & Willett 2004, p. 15).

As colonized peoples of first world nations, we are to an extent immersed in Western paradigms, infused into us through our schooling, religious affiliations and the constant bombardment of mainstream media. These external forces and factors influence how we see the world (Walter & Andersen 2013). Weber-Pillwax (2001, p. 172) supported this by stating, "any methodology will suit my purposes in research if it permits a fluidity that can encompass any social or cultural context that I choose to work in without breaking the boundaries of personal integrity". She added that that the principles of the methods and methodologies must fit with, and balance her "way of being and looking at the world" (Weber-Pillwax 2001, p. 72).

Cram et al. (2004, cited in Mertens, 2009, p. 76) added to the importance of knowing self in terms of the social, cultural, and political context in which the research is situated, further noting that as researchers we need to be aware of our own expectations and assumptions and have competence in communicating these to participants. It was important that I managed my place in the community, which meant that I had to be respectful of my place in the Torres Strait Islander community, whether I was a relative through blood or marriage, or had past relationship with individuals from my previous employment.

I had to be accountable to people's stories. Condensing these stories to fit into one mainstream academic package conflicted with the storytelling tradition. In many research contexts, scholars independently make decisions to preserve or modify spoken stories as they are moved to a written form that is relevant to mainstream academia, but which loses relevance at the community level (Stanton 2014). I wanted to keep my participants' stories as having a beginning, middle, and an end that captured the main point or moral of the story. I maintained accountability to all these stories by weaving different voices and experiences together to form one integrated story of out-movement.

Most contentious and critical to Indigenous research is representation. How do we re-represent our research, our participants and our communities to the reader in a way that does not misrepresent our culture, lifestyle and belief systems (Smith 1999)? I was extremely conscious of the controversies that may arise from emphasizing out-movement from the region. I remained mindful of this fact throughout the course of the research, as I did not want to portray the communities as deficient and in decline. There are many positive aspects of island life that I wanted to share with others without perpetuating injustice and justifying the actions of paternalistic control. I negotiate these tensions by working alongside my cultural mentors. The following memo

provides an example of the importance I placed on 'just' representation of our communities.

> **Memo: 16/06/14 – You have to keep reading**
>
> *Spoke with Au Bala Ron today, cultural mentor. He seems happy with the findings chapter now that he's read through towards the end. When I first emailed him the chapter, he read the first few pages and was concerned that I had not included the benefits of 'island life', from only reading the motivation section of the chapter that spoke of people's aspirations. I explained to him that things changed after people had start living in Cairns and that he would need to read further to hear of their experiences, the challenges people face and their lifestyle comparisons to home.*
>
> *I gave Au Bala a few weeks to read through the chapter and then rang again to see what he thought of it. He said, "Yes I can see the change in it, when you go into it further". I thanked him after talking some more about local and family matters. I was pleased to know that he approved of my work.*
>
> *The representation of Torres Strait Islanders must be carefully thought through as I did not want to portray the islands as deficit as this was not true, and most importantly, I could not leave us open to misinterpretation, condemnation and manipulation of others.*

Part Three

Findings

Chapter 6. First Voyage

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on the virtual remote surveying that was attempted of all islands, using semi-structured telephone surveying and descriptive statistics (Mosby 2014). The findings are presented in this chapter as they were presented to the community, using graphical displays to stimulate discussion around the issue and raise awareness of the significance of the out-movement.

6.2 ABS census count

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data establishes a scenario of decline in the Torres Strait outer-island population over time (Figure 6.1). Some of the limitations of census data include the issue of accuracy on Indigenous collection before 2006 (Wilson & Barnes 2007). The population had shown a small decline between 2001 and 2011, while 2006 to 2011 shows a much larger decline (Figure 6.1). The census information from 2001-2011 suggested a decline of 130 people. More reliable census data between 2006 and 2011 indicated that the population decreased by 1184 people over this short time (Figure 6.1). The ABS captures 'change in residence' only. Nonetheless this confirmed the decline in the overall population indicating that people have moved out of the region. I recognise the ABS as the official statistics; however acknowledging their limitations I developed an alternative approach to uncover the reasons behind this out-movement.
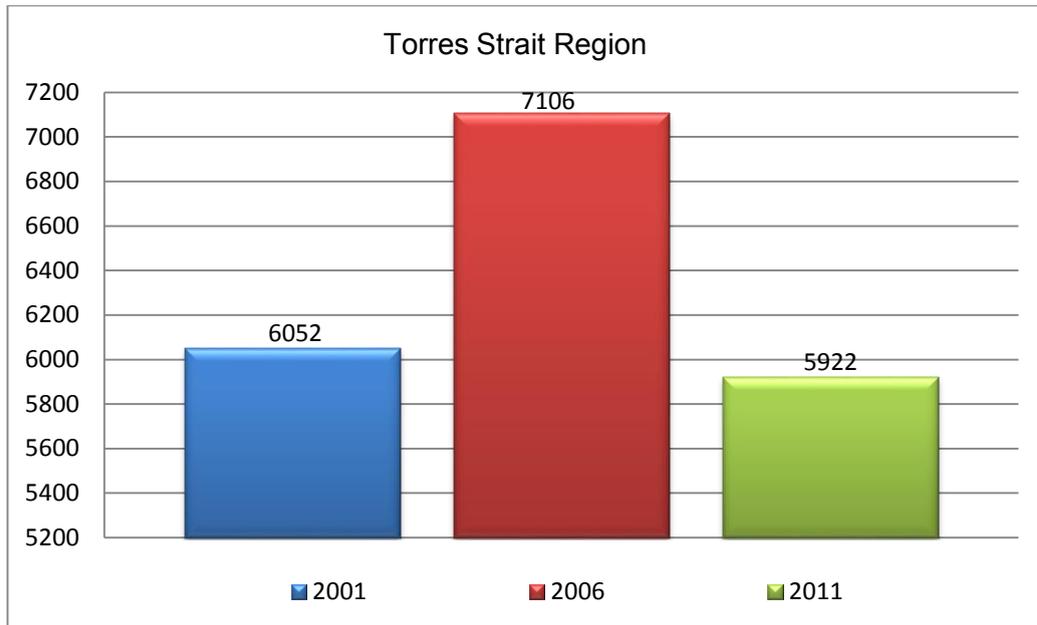
Figure 6.1 ABS Census data for Torres Strait Islanders residing in the Torres Strait

In the following sections I will present the finding from the remote community survey to illustrate the nature and scale of this out-movement as perceived by key informants who witnessed this movement from the inside-out.

6.3   Survey results

The results from the survey were divided into six sections aligned with the key questions asked: how many (moved), who moved, when, why, where, and what were the post-movement circumstances?

6.3.1 How many?

From the data collected in the virtual remote survey, there were 411 out-movements from the TSIRC region between 2001 and 2011. An out-movement was defined as a semi-permanent or permanent movement away from a TSIRC community. These out-movements included 175 individual out-movements and 236 family group out-movements. The total number of people involved in these out-movements was 950.

I did note some people returning to the communities, particularly if the return was after more than one year. I counted return movement for baseline data purposes, and as the numbers were minimal, and the focus of the research was to look at out-movement, I left them out of the report to the communities, and from this thesis.

6.3.2 Who moved?

The question on family type in the survey sought to identify the types of family groups who were moving, the age of adults, their skills and previous living arrangements, and whether they moved as a family with or without children, or as individuals. The survey questions looked at different family structures in order to gauge any variance in movement between types. The types were couples with children, couples with no children, single parent families, couples but only one partner moved, and individuals. The survey established that Individuals moved more frequently followed by couples with children and single parent families (Figure 6.2).
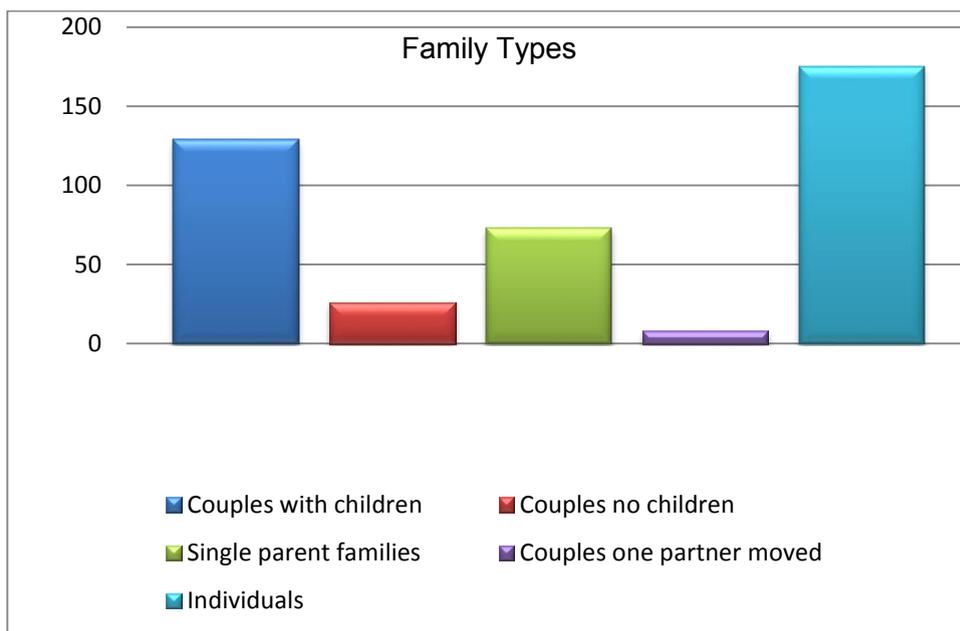

Figure 6.2 Family types moving between 2001 and 2011

The question on age group sought to identify the out-movement of certain age groups. Age was grouped in intervals from 0-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, and 70 years and above. Age at out-movement was estimated by the respondents. The most frequent age group to have moved out was 20-29 years, followed by 40-49 years (Figure 6.3).
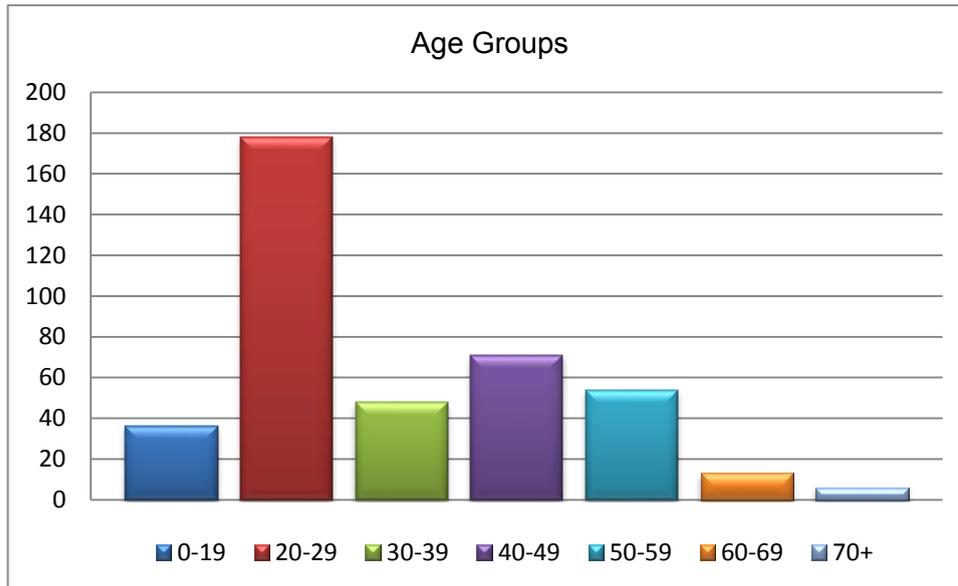
Figure 6.3 Age groups of people moving between 2001 and 2011

The next question sought to establish out-movement by gender. Gender analysis was possible for individual out-movements only. Findings indicate that individual males had a higher frequency of out-movement than individual females (Figure 6.4).
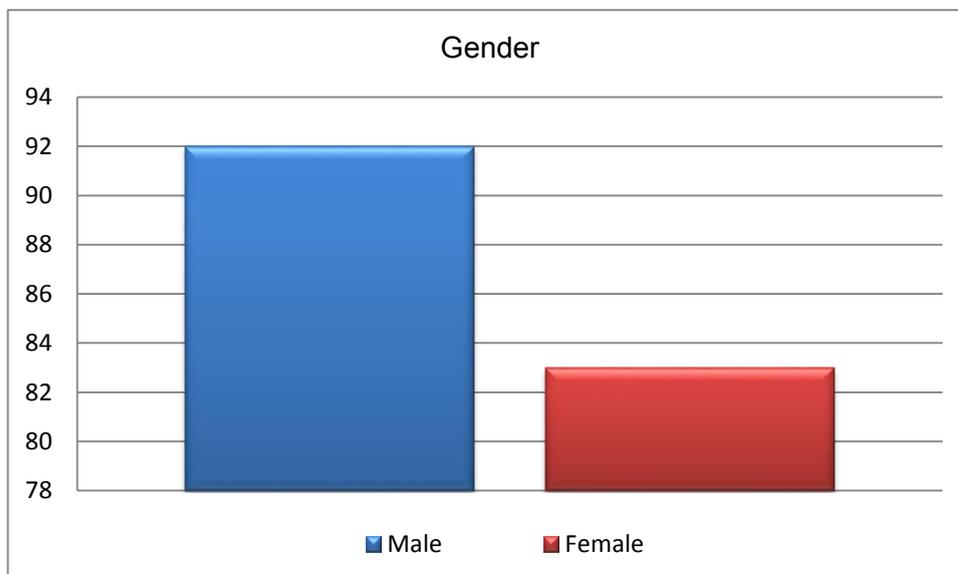
Figure 6.4 Gender for individual out-movements between 2001 and 2011

The question on the skill base of those who moved sought to establish the skill levels of people prior to moving. Data for male and female skill-base is presented separately in order to identify any disparities between genders. The reason for this is that traditionally employment opportunities and other caring responsibilities vary between

genders. Skill base was established through a combination of the sector of employment of a person and/or their known trade qualifications. The 'other' category included employees of government agencies such as Australian Quarantine and Inspection Service (AQIS), Australian Customs Services, and Department of Immigration. This also included other private employment providers.
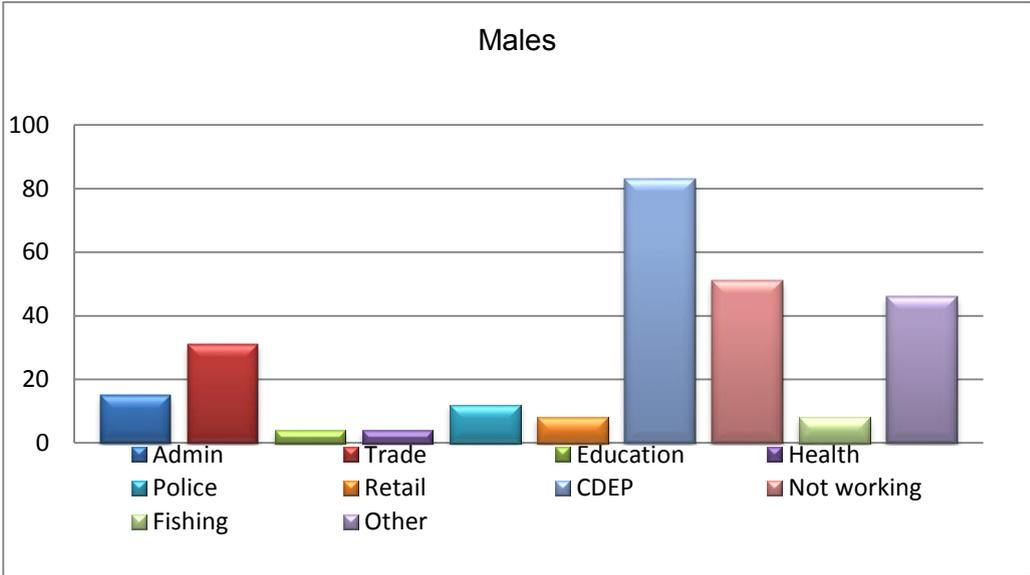
Figure 6.5 Male skill base before move
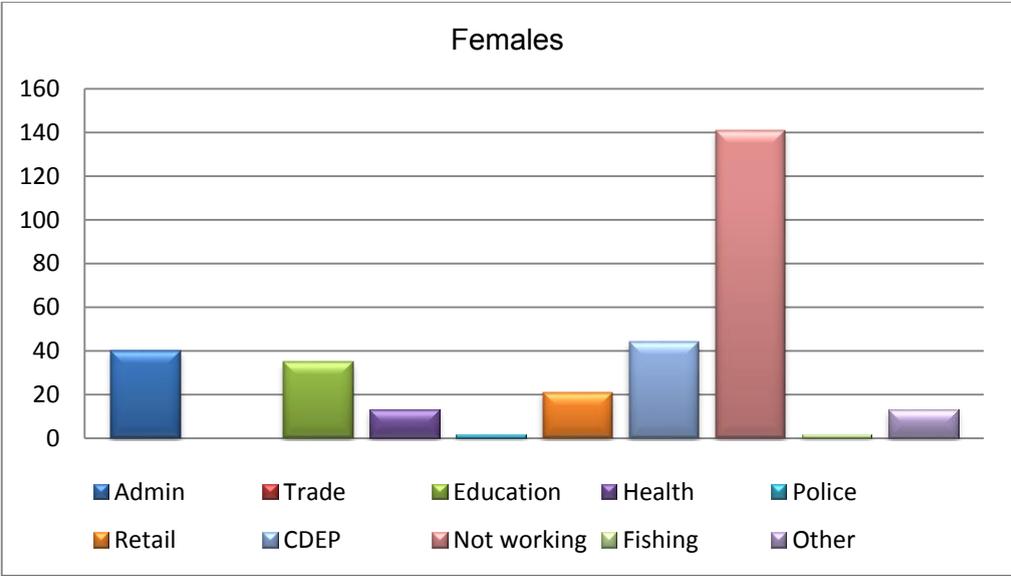
Figure 6.6 Female skill base before move

Findings suggested that males who were engaged in the Community Development and Employment Program (CDEP) had the highest frequency of out-movement, followed by males who were not working at the time, and those employed in government agencies

and as para-professionals (Figure 6.5). Females who moved were frequently not engaged in the workforce at the time of move, engaged in CDEP or employed in the administration and education sectors (Figure 6.6).

Information on the living arrangements of adults prior to moving was required to establish whether housing was an influencing factor. Adults who moved were most frequently living in social housing or with their parents prior to the move (Figure 6.7).
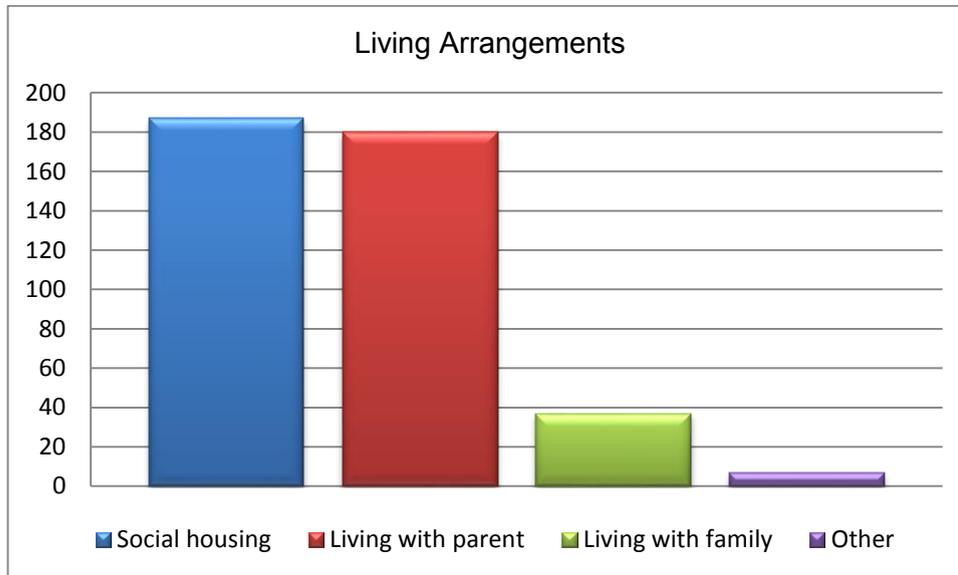
Figure 6.7 Living arrangements before moving

6.3.1 When?

There was a gradual increase of out-movement in the TSIRC region from 2008, peaking in 2010 (Figure 6.8).
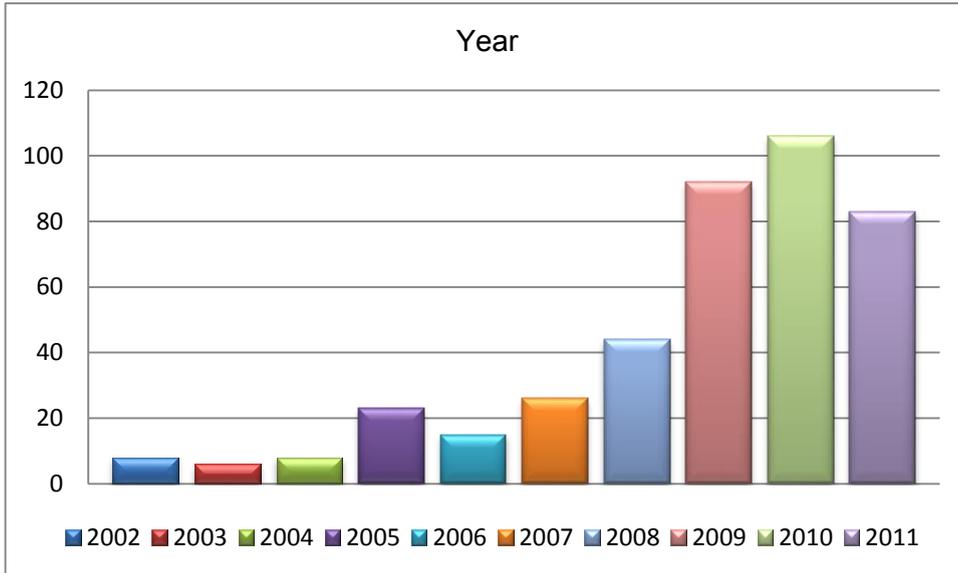
Figure 6.8 Year of movement

6.3.2 Why?

For this question in the study five key motivations for out-movement were used: employment, housing, education, family and medical. The family category included situations with multiple reasons such as seeking better opportunities; relationship breakdown or establishing relationships; family conflicts; land disputes; caring responsibilities; or to be close to kin. The housing category referred to situations such as an existing home being condemned or demolished or known cases of overcrowding. People moved most frequently for family reasons followed by employment (Figure 6.9).
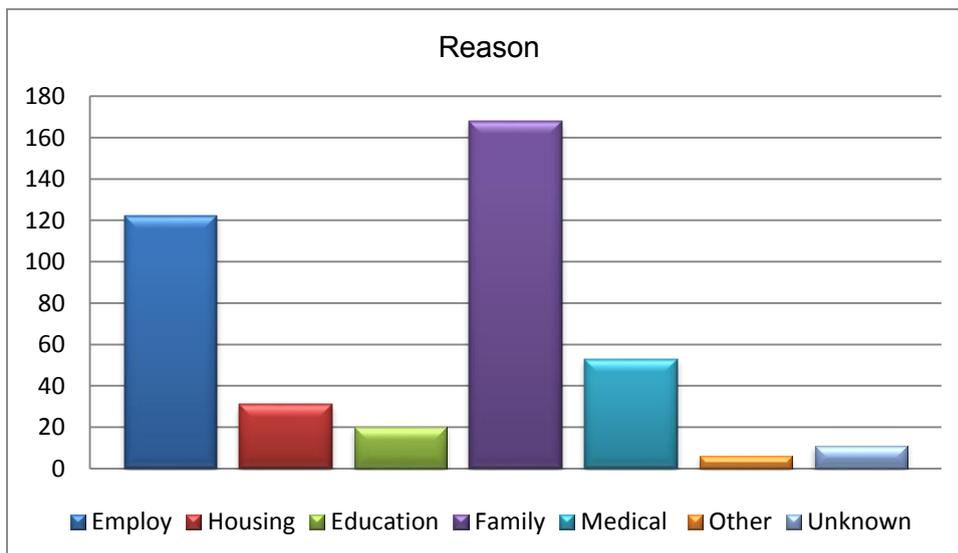
Figure 6.9 Reason for moving for the period 2001 to 2011

6.3.3 Where to?

The main destination for out-movement between 2001 and 2011 was Cairns (Figure 6.10).
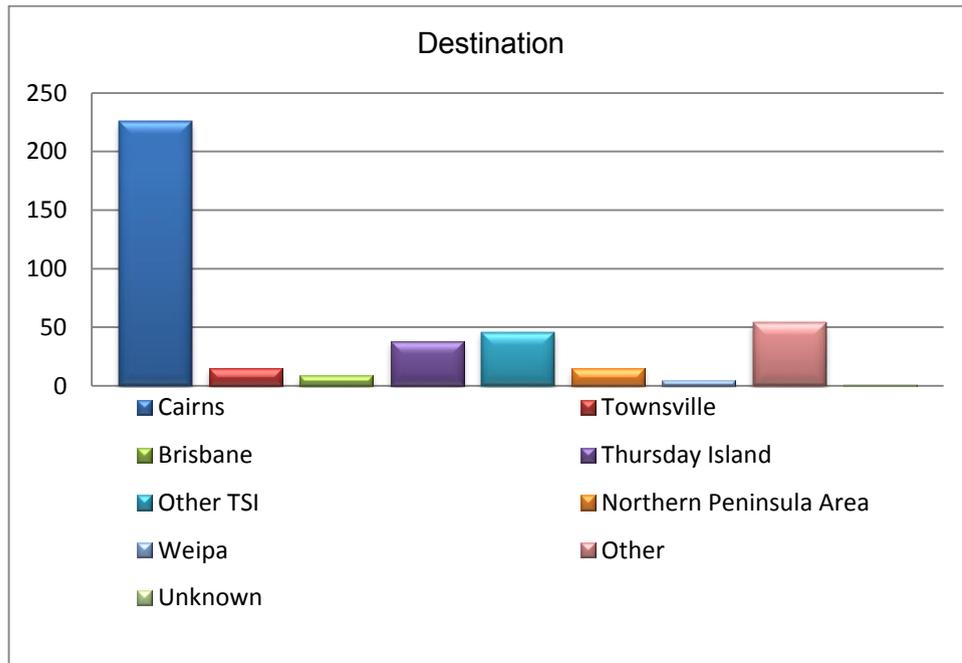
Figure 6.10 Destination of out-movement for the period 2001 and 2011

6.3.4 Post-movement circumstances

These questions looked at people's post-movement circumstances for their employment status and living arrangements. This information was collected for all adults. Post-movement, males were most frequently in employment though a considerable proportion of those who moved were reported to be not working at the time (Figure 6.11).
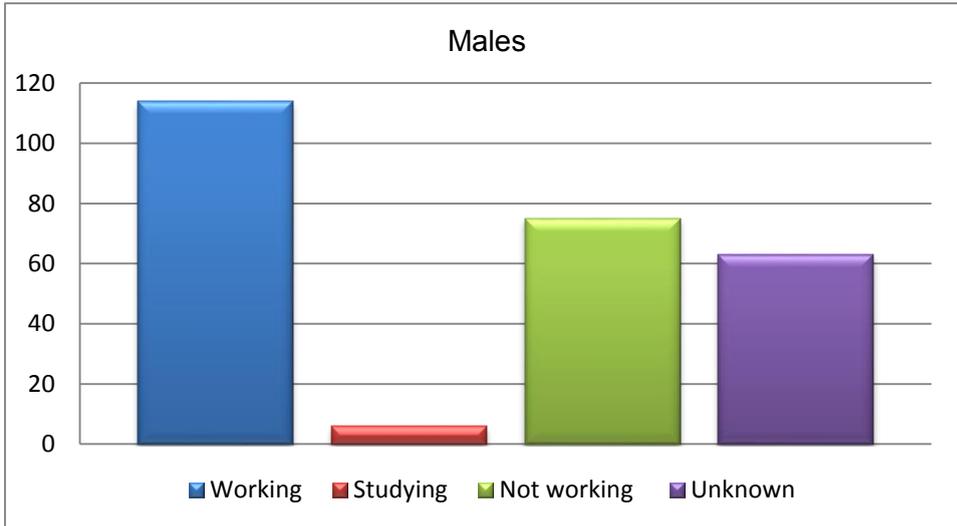
Figure 6.11 Male after move employment status

Females post-movement were more frequently not working, replicating their positions prior to movement (Figure 6.12).
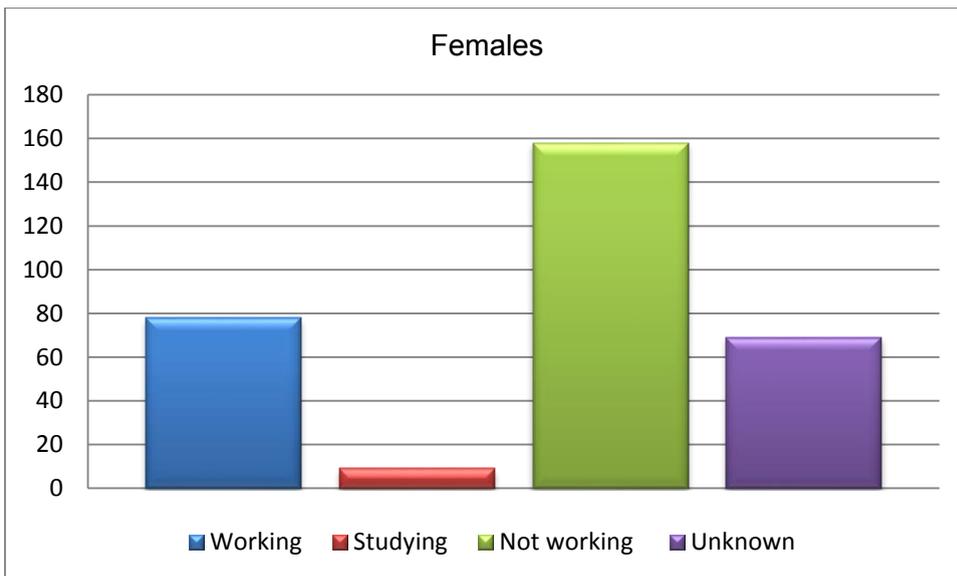
Figure 6.12 Females after move employment status

People post-movement were either renting privately or were living with other family members.
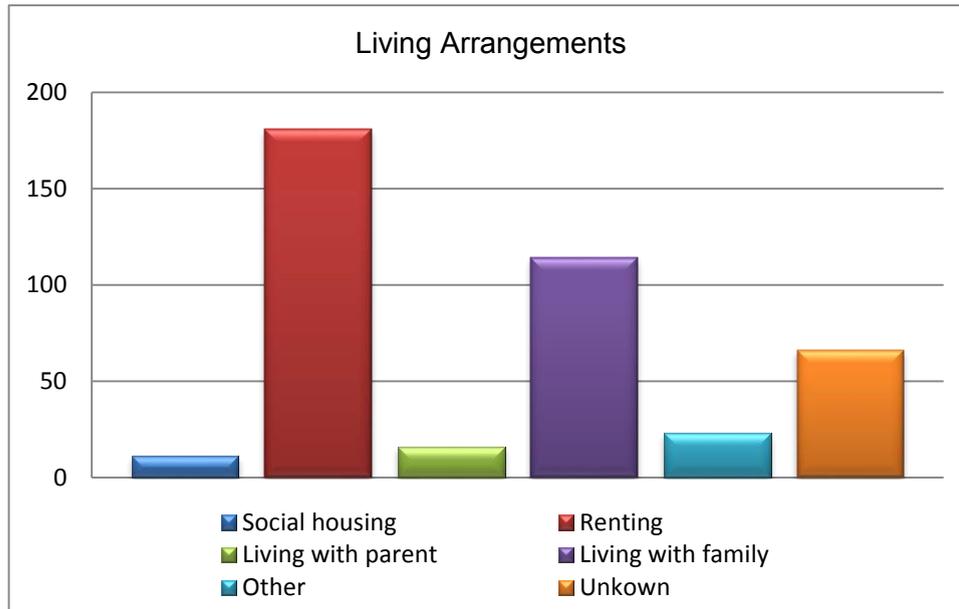
Figure 6.13 Living arrangements after moving

6.4 Discussion

In this section I relate these basic findings to migration literature from Chapter 2.

This study recorded 411 known out-movements by individuals or family groups. The findings suggested that most people were moving to Cairns and a large number of people moved between 2009 and 2010. The findings also suggested that people moved mainly for family reasons often times seeking opportunities such as better education and lifestyle options for themselves and their children. Findings also indicated that people sometimes moved to ongoing unemployment and from social housing to private rental accommodation.

I purposely chose to present the findings and discussion of Phase 1 separately because I wanted to draw clear distinctions between the pre-movement motivations and the post-movement experiences. Pre-migration decisions tend to be motivated by deficiencies and aspirations and external drivers such as economic, political and social factors. It was important to contextualise pre-migration circumstances and experiences that prompted migratory decisions in order to situate peoples 'in' and 'post' migratory experiences. The objective of Phase 1 was to set the scene for the research, whereas Phase 2 was fundamental to developing the grounded theory that was the overall objective of the research.

Although the out-migration of Islanders from the Torres Strait is not a new phenomenon, the conditions under which people are moving differ from those of their predecessors who sought 'freedom from' restrictive government policies in exchange for 'freedom to' earn a better wage and access better education, housing and opportunities for themselves and their children (Beckett 1987, 2010; Fisk et al. 1974). Studies have indicated that the factors which motivate migration and the conditions under which migration occurs, influence the experiences of resettlement. These factors also determine the degree to which people integrate and participate in the receiving locations and whether they achieve what they had hoped to realise at the onset of moving (Berry 1997; Berry 2005).

6.4.1 Political reforms

The highest out-movement occurred during 2008-2010, with people moving at a gradual rate up to the time of data collection (Figure 6.8). The time of the highest out-migration took place after the local government amalgamation in 2008, followed soon after by the CDEP Reforms in 2009. The local government amalgamation meant that administrative positions in each island community were reduced, revised and centralized. The CDEP reforms also meant that top-up wages, that once created and subsidized full-time employment opportunities in the community, were no longer available.

The outcomes of political reforms affecting the Torres Strait Islands are similar to the Cook Islands' experience of the political reforms of 1995, when aid organisations and the New Zealand government withdrew financial support, and instead adopted a free-market approach to stimulate economic development. The reduction of government involvement in the local economy was mostly felt by remote outer island regions of the Cook Islands, where approximately 75 percent of the workforce had been employed in public service jobs (Alexeyeff 2008). Without tourism or other private industries to generate income, the rate of out-migration dramatically increased. People moved for reasons attributed to social and economic wellbeing (Alexeyeff 2008). Although the Cook Island example covers an earlier time period, the experiences are comparable to economic changes and governance of the outer-island regions of the Torres Strait.

6.4.2 Seeking opportunities

The survey findings suggested that the people moved mostly for 'family' reasons (Figure 6.9). This category encompassed multiple reasons, including the search for 'better' opportunities for themselves and their children.

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Limited education and economic opportunities in the Torres Strait contribute to the out-movement. People move in search of opportunities for their children, recognising that better educational opportunities would lead to better employment prospects (Gough 2006). Migration, therefore, is recognisably a strategy employed by those who wish to increase their social and economic positions by moving from a poor area to a different location, which they perceive as being superior or more advantageous. Most of the out-movements from the Torres Strait were prompted by lack of employment, which resulted in a decrease in income that could not cope with high living costs. The high cost of shop-bought, mostly imported Western food items and general household consumables makes living on the island very expensive (Dunlevy 2009). In addition, rental housing provided by the community councils and the cost of energy and fuel mean that investment or saving opportunities are often unavailable.

In the Cook Islands' example previously provided, many migrants viewed their movement as a temporary solution to the lack of opportunities available in the Cook Islands (Alexeyeff 2008). Others migrated for further education and training and with the intention of returning with new skills, hoping that would give them comparative advantage for employment, or to establish private businesses (Maron & Connell 2008). Others saw employment-related migration as a chance to work and save money before returning to build a house or start their own business (Alexeyeff 2008).

The results from the remote survey found the highest movement was those in the age group 20 to 29 years (Figure 6.3). Young people completing secondary schooling on the mainland are more likely to remain on the mainland after school due to the scarcity of employment opportunities in the Islands. This trend is consistent with other Australian studies of rural-urban migration, which identified lack of meaningful, full-time work opportunities as one of the main reason forcing younger people to move away from rural areas in search of higher education in order to obtain full-time employment in urban areas that often requires a highly skilled workforce (Alston 2004).

6.4.3 Medical movers

A driver of migration that is not covered in the Pacific literature but is frequently evident in Australian Aboriginal temporary mobility is the need to access vital health services (Figure 6.9). The availability and accessibility of specialist medical care frequently requires people to relocate temporarily or permanently to urban centres. For many Torres Strait Islanders, such movements are usually involuntary, due to lack of health services and specialist facilities in the region. Findings from the survey identified a

number of multiple out-movements occurring as a result of medical reasons. Subsequent movements included the patient's adult children along with their own families. In some cases multiple generations and households relocating to the mainland. The findings also suggested that a number of families that had moved together or followed close behind, were living in the same household at the time. Often subsequent movers resided with siblings, parents or other family members when first arriving in Cairns. This can be temporary, or a permanent arrangement out of necessity, personal preference, or obligatory expectations to provide care for the young, sick and elderly.

Coulehan (1996) noted similar examples in Yolngu households in Darwin (Australia), in which extended family members resided with families of established household while undergoing medical care. It was common for an extended family to relocate with the patient, who also required supported accommodation, either staying with kin or in temporary government hostels. The established Yolngu households were frequently required to provide accommodation, family support, out-patient care and mediation between the patient and non-Indigenous medical staff (Coulehan 1996). Family support in the location of treatment is critical, especially when access to housing, transportation and finance is difficult, and the emotional cost for those leaving the community needs to be supported. The difficulties of permanent medical-related relocations are compounded by obtaining housing or setting up a new household, particularly when people are in poor health and in a strange town (Coulehan 1996; Prout 2011).

6.4.4 Destination Cairns

The preferred destination of this out-movement was Cairns (Figure 6.10), the closest regional centre to the Torres Strait that hosts the largest Torres Strait Islander population in Australia. Thus, Cairns was chosen as the site for this research (refer to Chapter 5). Other studies have suggested that people tend to move to destination where they have relatives or social networks (Connell & Viogt-Graf 2006; Gough 2006; Hanna 1998). This is important to assist in the process of resettlement as families often provide temporary accommodation, help the new arrivals get work and show them around.

Since the inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the 1971 National Census, large numbers of Torres Strait Islanders had settled in the Queensland coastal regions of Cairns, Townsville and Mackay (Fisk et al. 1974). Results from this survey

suggest that Cairns is still the preferred location and the Torres Strait Islander population in Cairns now exceeds that in the other historical locations of Townsville, Mackay and Brisbane (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012).

Findings from this survey established that out-movement has occurred and is driven by different motivations, informing Phase 2 data collection, which needs to consider different years of movement, reasons, family structures, age, gender and motivations in early quota sampling decisions. In the following chapter, I explore the experiences of out-movement as participants recount their motives to move and the experiences that followed moving.

Chapter 7.   Second Voyage

[Thesis convention would dictate that I write in past tense. I chose to write in present tense in this chapter as experiences and sense-making are dynamic and living processes which stands in opposition to the notion of 'history' which is often written about us. The past is a reference point that we use to explain the present and understand our future].

7.1 Introduction

The process of resettlement for Torres Strait Islander people moving to the Australian mainland is one of 'living in two worlds'. These two worlds are 'island life' and 'mainstream' (Figure 7.1). 'Island life' is a simpler lifestyle that offers a greater sense of certainty and familiarity and 'mainstream' is the larger, more complex way of life. 'Mainstream' tends to present many challenges and consists of competing demands and expectations. 'Living in two worlds' is about residing in 'mainstream' while belonging to 'island life'. 'Living in two worlds' involves two dimensions: the experience itself and the sense-making that comes with it, including specific strategies that people develop to manage the multiple crossings between the two worlds (Figure 7.2).

'island life'   'mainstream'

Figure 7.1 Living in two worlds, 'island life' and 'mainstream'
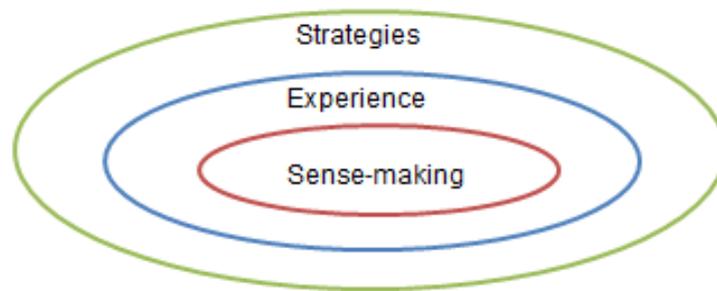
Figure 7.2 Experience and Sense-Making Dimensions

The experiential dimension includes seven experiences. These are ' a new adventure';
'living with uncertainty'; 'feeling out of place'; 'getting back on your feet'; 'finding the
right spot'; 'managing obligations'; and 'growing from here up' (Figure 7.3). The sense-
making dimension has four aspects. These are: 'sense of belonging'; 'sense of
security'; 'sense of purpose'; and 'sense of hope' (Figure 7.3). Living in two words
requires the development of strategies to manage the crossing. These strategies are
'setting boundaries'; 'making adjustments'; 'taking responsibility'; and 'keeping close'
(Figure 7.3).
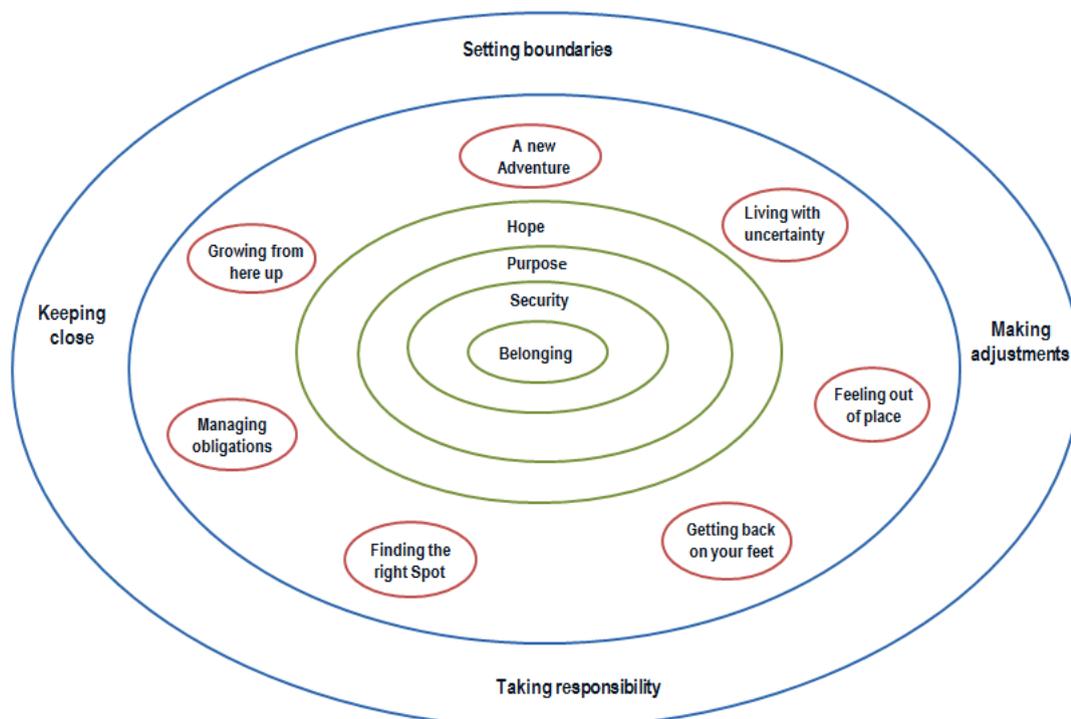
Figure 7.3 Grounded theory of 'living in two worlds'

Managing the crossings is a constant lived experience and sense-making process that can occur daily and many times a day as people live in two worlds, 'island life' and 'mainstream'. A person moves between the two worlds both physically and metaphysically (Figure 7.4).
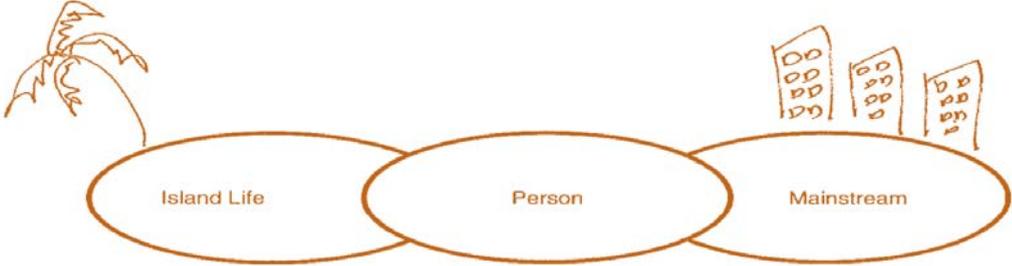
Figure 7.4 Managing the crossings

In this chapter, I first present the motivating factors that influence Torres Strait Islander people's physical movement from the islands to the mainland. I then present the seven experiences that pervade moving, followed by the four sense-making aspects. The chapter concludes with the four strategies people develop to manage the process of resettlement.

7.2 Motivations

People move to accomplish goals that are unattainable on the islands, to take hold of opportunities for themselves and their children, to find work and to develop career opportunities (Table 7.1). They are drawn by lifestyle aspirations and the 'flood of services' available to them on the mainland. Before leaving people imagined how life would be, the hope of renting their own place, finding work, buying a car and taking their families on outings. Some move for medical reasons as facilities do not permit their return to the islands, while others wanted to find their 'own life' away from the confines and gazes of the islands and their families (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1
Considerations and aspirations influencing move

Islands	Mainland
Too close to pack Under surveillance Interference	Independence, self-expression, finding space, living by own rule, open options, privacy
Lack of work opportunity	More work opportunity Freedom to choose
Lack of housing, land disputes and housing allocation issues, overcrowding	Home ownership, living independently, finding own life
Lack of further education, poorer quality	Next generation readiness, improved work opportunities, developing self
Lack of services, poor quality diet, high cost of living	Specialist care, better food availability

The simplicity of 'island life' can be experienced as mundane, where life plateaus leaving little or no incentive to stay. Lacking opportunities, people are lured by the lifestyle aspirations of mainstream, enticed by things to do and things to buy. Without jobs, housing and essential services the simple lifestyle of the islands loses appeal. People see something in front of them and without anything to hold them back they slowly slip away from the islands and head south.

> *People get caught up 'big eye' for the city attraction and the materialism,*
> *slowly getting caught in the complexities, car loans, credit cards, radio rental.*
> *Living beyond their means they then look for quick cash, gambling and cash*
> *advance, so from once a simple existence to getting caught up in the flood of*
> *services, and then there's the value shift.*

The decision to move away from the islands is seldom limited to a specific cause, but consists of a number of compounding factors that convinces people that life on the mainland would be better than what they are experiencing on the islands. Apart from the more obvious reasons, such as for medical or housing-related concerns, out-movement is driven by a number of underlying issues that fester over time, and eventually people get up and leave.

We moved in (year) when my job ended and the house needed maintenance. I looked forward to moving to Cairns as I need time out and break from my previous job as I was on the verge of burnout.

Some move for opportunities, to be independent and find their 'own life' as personal freedom for self-expression is often restricted on the islands where people tend to be part of the larger 'herd'.

One of the shortfalls of community life is having people watch you. In Cairns, you have much more freedom of expressing yourself without repercussion. On the island, you're part of the herd and you stay close to the pack otherwise you're seen as different, and then you can become isolated.

Others move to experience the freedom to live by their own rules, something that can be difficult in a society where 'everyone is watching you'. People move to find their own space and to experience something different. Breakdowns in family relationships also force people to move, especially when there is limited housing available locally. People move away to start their lives over again.

...was just to experience something different. Work wise cos, ah we were building same buildings over and over again. I just want to experience something else, and yeah just, I don't know, just something different I suppose. Move down, move out.

I be move come down because um, well e bin gad too much family living in the house so I bin think of doing something else, move out from the house ene come find e my life ya down south.

I moved because we have a large family and there were too many of us living in the house. So I thought of doing something else, move out of the house, and find my own life here down south (mainland.)

Well the reason was um I bin, well I bin gad problem where my relationship, and then you know I had enough of you know dealing with my problems and I be wana just move come down and start a new life.

Well the reason was that I had problems with my relationship and I had enough of dealing with my problems and I just wanted to come down and start a new life.

Others leave to complete further studies, to 'move up' in a professional capacity and to establish themselves independently. Career development opportunities are limited on the islands, and it seems that once you are in a job you tend to stay there indefinitely.

> *One of the things was being able to a… establish myself independently in my own space….Um, moving up a level in my, in a profession and also commencing studies at uni and having access to uni.*

> *…there's not much jobs there. Like you just sidown were the one job for how many years. You gad nowhere for move round. Once you sidown where that spot, when you apply for natha job oli can't put e you there because you already gad job.*

> *…there's not much jobs there (on the island). Like you just sit down in one job for years, with nowhere to move. Once you're in that spot, when you apply for another job they won't put you there because you've already got a job.*

> *… the main priority, the main thing was, like move down here, was for my job. There's a lot of opportunity here. I've worked in different industries like before, and good cos I like, I get all the skills and experience in different jobs I in, in the past and maybe when I go back home I can start probably start something else there.*

People speak about their inability to 'move around' in jobs and of the outsourcing of jobs that undercuts local employment opportunities.

> *Yeah, and it doesn't really encourage people to stay on, you know. You only got that and crayfishing. Um, cos most of the trades been given out to other businesses that go up there. I think there still, when new houses and that has to be built, they send sub-contractors up there anyway.*

Others see their move as making sacrifices to accomplish things that could only be attained by leaving the safety and security of the islands.

> *I guess what motivated me to move was realizing that my age was moving on and there were things in my life that I had not, um done that I've wanted to do and I found that I could only do it by leaving the community by making that sacrifice and moving down to the mainland to be able to accomplish those things at that time of my life.*

Housing availability is a major factor that prompts people to move. Couples without children are not often prioritised for housing so they either reside with other family members or are forced to move away to find their own accommodation.

> *…like the housing too, I was waiting for a house and they didn't give me a better house and whatever so, I decided then that I move down and get my own house, or better house anyway, than what I was staying up there with. And it didn't help cos we had no kids, made it even harder for us to get a house, so that's another factor of why we move down anyway. We couldn't really get another house. And they kept putting us back on the housing list… We wanted to buy a house as well we couldn't really do that up in the Straits.*

Readying the next generation for mainstream life pushes family away from the island as they seek a better life for themselves and their children. People see their children's future as living on the mainland, so they 'ready' them by providing better educational opportunities.

> *Well that was the main reason for my motivation to leave, to further my education and, more opportunities for my kids' education.*

> *My reason for going, for leaving the island at the time was, because of my gel (daughter). Um, it was nothing to do with work or anything, cos I was working, but I left because my gel was having some problems in school. So it was just an all of a sudden decision, I just packed us up, me two and we came down. Um, I knew my gel could do a lot better at school as well*

Some people are forced to move for health reasons, as medical facilities and specialist care are unavailable locally. Travel distance between the islands and the mainland makes living on the islands risky, so people end up residing permanently on the mainland. When people move for medical reasons, whole families tend to move with them or follow soon after.

> *So we bin stap ya since then. I be feel this kine, I spik for (wife's name) this kine we matha stap ya close toon for hospital. And it seems to me two the sensible decision and then the kids just follow us down here.*

> *So we've been here since (after hospitalization). I felt that, and I told my wife, that it's better for us to stay close to the hospital. It seemed to both of us that it was a sensible decision. And the kids just followed us down here.*

Moving to the mainland is favourable when considering the high cost of living on the islands. Groceries are expensive and the quality of fresh produce deteriorates during

transportation. People with health issues are unable to afford good food and perishables that frequently outlive their shelf life.

> *…the cost of living down here compared to island is so much better and the food quality is better and everything's better, and I think because you're not… there's enough food for everybody (laughs)…remember when we use to go to store we use to have to hurry up before all them natha families get because by the time you get there, there's nothing left (referring to partner in conversation). Whereas here, you know you have food. You have healthy food, doctors are here, all the specialists are here, everything's here.*

Inadequate services on the islands encourage out-movement. The centralisation of services and the lack of confidence in the services available locally make it difficult for people to attend to their personal, financial and business affairs.

> *So you have to travel gen, natha travel come down if you need something. If you need for pay house there untap, for you land, you have to travel come down ya, talk ya. You can't wase talk gor TI ol can wase lie you gor baik, so you have to from there straight come down ya.*

> *So you have to travel again to come down (mainland) if you need something. If you need to pay for housing cost or for land up there, you have to travel down (mainland) to talk (fix business). You can't talk to (those) on TI (Thursday Island), it's like they lie to you. So you have to come straight down here (mainland).*

7.3   Experiential dimension

The experiential dimension of moving away from the islands is likened to 'a new adventure'. But at times, reality sets in and people experience 'living with uncertainty' and 'feeling out of place'. Sometimes, they 'get back on your feet' and 'find the right spot' and at other times they experience 'managing obligations' and 'growing from here up'. The experiential dimension is non-sequential, and can be made up of multiple experiences occurring simultaneously or at multiple times.

Figure 7.5 Experiences of moving

7.3.1 A new adventure

The initial experience of moving away from the islands for many was excitement tinged with sadness, as they leave families behind. Although considerable challenges lie in front of them and they are leaving behind a place of security and familiarity, the idea of moving is exciting.

> *Ah, both exciting and bit sad that you leaving home you know. But exciting because you going to a new adventure.*

> *The idea of it was exciting. And um, it was like an adventure but I guess in reality it was a huge challenge in itself, moving away from home. As in an island living and moving into a more contemporary society, mainstream society.*

Leaving family behind, especially parents and the place where people lived for most of their lives was difficult. Some know that they could only achieve a better life for themselves and their children if they leave behind the islands and move away. Without the incentive to stay or the hope of improving their circumstances, people are left with little or no option but to move. Looking forward to something new or starting a new life elicits the feeling of excitement.

I be look forward to leave but I be still feel sad because like, cos I bin living there since, like my, half of my life and e bin sad for leave my family, like my parents behind, but I had to, like I had to do it them kine to leave the island like to have a better life or something, yeah.

…was exciting but I was going through a relationship breakdown at the time too so, it was, um… there was other different emotions because of that, but deep down inside I was excited to move cos I never lived in one area for more than five years, I move, move, move.

7.3.2 Living with uncertainty

The excitement lasts a short time after arriving when reality sets in and people experience difficulties in finding accommodation, getting work and getting around. Plans of starting a new life sometimes take a while to be realised, as people find themselves waiting for opportunities. The daily challenges of always needing to have money, having greater distances to travel and coping with the high cost of living leaves people feeling vulnerable. Despite groceries being relatively cheaper on the mainland, the cost of catching taxis to and from the shops takes a significant proportion of people's income.

Sometimes e hard to get around, because e nor gad car. So when you gor shopping you have to kese taxi gor there and spend that much gor there shop, you shopping and you spend come baigen come ya… Where ilan e orite you can wagbout gor de kare plastic baig come house, wagbout. Ya e very hard, you have to gor there where taxi, kese taxi come baigen.

Sometimes it's hard to get around because you don't have a car. So when you go shopping you have to catch a taxi there and spend that much (money) to go to the shop, after you shop you have to spend (money) to get back here. On the islands it's alright, you can walk (to the shops) and carry (groceries) in plastic bags back home, walking. Here it's very hard, you have to go there by taxi.

…sometimes you don't realise how much taxi e cost until the meter stops and you know, and that's like quarter of your pay gone. Takes a big bite out of your wallet.

There is often no guarantee of keeping appointments. Without transport or the money to pay for transport, appointments have to be rescheduled until there is money to travel, again leaving people with little or no control over their lives.

Or sometimes, hospital wise blo them two, appointments I have to teke them two gor inside every time, sometimes e nor gad money for teke them two gor so mepla have to ring up ane cancel em for next day. When mepla gor e gad money mepla gor inside. teke them two gor shopping.

…hospital wise for their (older relatives) appointments, because I have to take them in every time, sometimes there's no money (to pay for transport) to take them in so we have to ring up and cancel (the appointment) for the next day. When we have money then we go in (to the appointments) or take them out shopping.

The distances between people and place keeps people busy and they tend to have more to do then on the islands where life is less demanding. With always having something to do, it can leave others feeling lonely and isolated.

…sometimes when I gor with all my sisters like sometimes they're busy, they got things to do and you know I don't want to go fishing on my own so I just stap, I don't want to go.

…relationships are affected living in Cairns, especially when your freedom and ability to socially engage is determined by your bus ticket, how far that bus ticket will take you.

The unexpected high cost of living on the mainland especially the cost of getting around is a frequent challenge for families who compare it to living on the island where the shop is within walking distance and people go fishing to supplement their diet. People see money as something unstable, something you see one minute and then it's gone.

…money wise, sometimes you look money blo you next minute e nor gad, e pinis. Bills to pay. If you gad family there em give you lift. Ya you have to buy e meat, nor gad meat you kaikai rice ene flour. Wer island e orite you fish, if you nor gad meat inside fridge you gor kese sardine, fish come easy wan. Come ros em, kaikai. Boil em kaikai. But ya south we can't gor fishing, you have to…if you gad transport you gor outside fishing. If e gad fish, if no gad you come baik gen nor rice, flour.

Money wise, sometimes you see money and next minute it's gone. Bills to pay, whereas on the island it's alright, you can walk to the shops and carry your shopping bags home. Here it's very hard; you have to go to and from the shops by taxi. If you have family with a car they may offer you a lift. Here, you have to have money to buy meat, otherwise you resort to eating

rice and flour. On the islands it's alright because you can fish if you don't have meat inside your fridge. Fish comes easy. You can catch sardines, boil them and eat then. But here we can't go fishing; you have to have transport to go a far way to fish and if then if you don't catch any fish, you come back again to eat rice and flour.

Finding accommodation is a major challenge that people confront on the mainland. Securing affordable and suitable housing, close to shops, schools and other amenities becomes difficult when people have large families and little or no income. Without secure accommodation, people become itinerant, moving from house to house and living with other families.

Housing was one of the biggest challenges. I guess it was also around, you know, where to set up myself, what part of the city or what part of the place I was moving to like, what part of Cairns I wanted to set up in and where I could. Not just concentrate on my goals and what I wanted to do but also maintaining a space I could feel almost as if I've never left home. I guess the hardest thing that I found was trying to, trying to work fulltime and looking for a suitable place at the same time.

…it's been difficult at times like, um home life and like financially. For the last three years we moved probably three times, three to four times. Um, we haven't find something stable yet, maybe one day down the track we might get something more stable. Um, yeah, and probably be steady then.

Once people find housing, they are constantly worrying about neighbours complaining about the noise or having too many people over. It is a constant worry for some whose life on the islands involved regular family gatherings, especially in the evenings where they sit around yarning, singing and practicing traditional dance. The potential threat of eviction and homelessness is a constant reality for some.

Wa, you nor sabe might letter e fall down, move out 10 days something kethda. Wa, them kine mina kethda upa. Wa, but we need to (be) careful.

You don't know when you will receive a letter giving you 10 day to move out. This is real, we need to be careful.

It's already been happen here, like when you practice dancing they complain. One time, think lady be come, and I spik well them wan all family e come we sit together normally in the evenings and sometimes we gor this kine for thempla place, thempla come we sidown we yarn.

While people are renting they equate it to 'temporary living'. This is like living on the surface while still considering the islands 'home' or one's spiritual home. Living on the mainland is to reside physically without any degree of permanency and association to place, whereas on the islands, houses are often built on family land, so the connection to place supersedes physical and material existence.

> *Cos I'm renting, I feel like when I buy but then I'll you know, but in terms of 'hey I live here', but I still call it temporarily living….*

Finding work is often difficult, as people now have to compete with others for jobs that require specific skills. On the islands people are usually employed by their local council or engaged in employment projects as a condition for receiving unemployment benefits. Some feel that discrimination may be a factor that limits people's work opportunities.

> *But I'm still looking for job ya. I bin come long time come down, I'm still looking for job.*

> *Yeah, um like I said I was lucky I came down, I could come down to a job. I don't know if other people, they might find it hard because… I think more because of our colour ah? You know we find it hard to… most people do get jobs but I think you find it little bit more harder because of our colour… lack for getting jobs and stuff like that… especially good jobs.*

Living on the mainland means that people have to have money on them all the time to pay for food, bills and meet other daily living expenses -- unlike the islands where the cost of living is shared among households and everything is in walking distance. On the mainland, everywhere you go and everything you do costs money.

> *I had to make sure my bills are paid, I have to make sure there's always money available for me to survive till my next pay for things like my bus ticket, my basic food that I need milk, sugar what not.*

> *…like I have to have money with me like often to buy um like things for my daughter for school.*

> *I think basically before you jump on the plane for come down make sure you gad enough experience cos it's totally different like from home. You can't go*

*and knock where next door this kine 'or you gad flour or sugar', it's totally
different like at least you gad money in your pocket and know what to do or
get something before you move your family down or move down then you
bring your family after.*

The simplicity of island life is tested on the mainland where life is experienced as 'more
fast' and 'more on a schedule'. The routine lifestyle requires people to keep up with the
demands if they wish to maintain a certain standard of living.

*…because the life, unlike living on the islands, the life on the mainland is
more fast, more on a schedule, I travel to work every day, it's a more
routine…a routine that you can't break, or you can't have a gap within, it
always has to be a full on routine, to be able to maintain that lifestyle to live
in the mainland.*

*Island lifestyle is very laid back. You have every family around you that can
support you from every direction. So you only live on basic things. The life
is simple in itself. You know what you have to pay every fortnight, you know
what your bills are and they're always the same bills. You buy your food,
pay electricity bill and that's it, whereas in the city I have to pay my weekly
bus ticket, I have to buy food, I have to pay electricity, I have to pay my rent
and then other extras, you know I might have to go out to dinner for work, or
go out to dinner with friends and it means catching a bus or a taxi, buying
new clothes to dress up to go to certain venues and functions just to be part
of it, you know.*

Others contemplate whether life is better or worse living on the mainland, especially
when people cannot get work.

*There's a few people around here, they just get on the pension and by the
time they pay everything off, I don't know if they're more worse off? Cos at
least there where island you can go fishing.*

7.3.3 Feeling out of place

Homesickness is a constant feature for those who move. Being removed from a place
of familiarity and breaking or changing routine habits can leave people 'feeling out of
place'. Leaving family behind and the everyday patterns of life like raking up, burning
leaves, going fishing, roasting fish on the coals or just sitting around yarning with
families is no longer available. People talk about missing the smells of the sea, the
seasonal changes and the clear open skies.

Umm, fresh air...fire smell, sidown for smoke, rake em, burn em, sidown for… ros e fish, sidown clos toon [fire].

(I miss the) fresh air, the smell of smoke, sitting close to the fire and roasting fishing. Raking up leaves and burning them.

…smell of freshness I think, I don't know. Sea smell, I think we grown up next to the sea all the time helps.

Trying to fit into another world and routine becomes challenging when people are out of place and removed from a space of comfort, security and certainty. Roles and responsibilities change daily and people are no longer doing the work they used to do.

It's important (to go home) cos I really get homesick sometimes, or I'm feeling bit out of place cos I don't do the things I use to do. Cos all my life I've been working, I never stap house and this thing be make me stap house.

It's important to return home because I really get homesick sometimes, or I feel a bit out of place because I no longer do the things I use to do. All my life I've worked. I never stop home (been without work), and this thing (illness) has made me stop home.

On the islands, people have the freedom to move about. On the mainland, they miss the freedom of going fishing and feel out of place when their usual daily activities change. Freedom is restricted on the mainland by numerous rules dictating where people can and cannot go.

Like you're leaving home and family and you know things you've always done up there just has to be changed to, has to be different now like fishing… we do fishing like that a lot. Crayfishing at that, you can't do that down here cos too much all them green zone (restricted areas). You can't go fishing in there.

Sometimes we misi island go untap, or I go out fishing every day…yeah, when you go e gad law.

Sometimes we miss the islands, or go out fishing every day. Here, when you go (fishing) there are laws.

Yeah, and plus the challenge, (I) can't jump inside dingy and go outside reef for fishing.

7.3.4 Getting back on your feet

Adjusting to a new timeframe and a routine lifestyle eventually follows as people realise they have to forego the relaxed attitude, interdependency and frequent social contacts that they are used to from the islands. Getting back on your feet can mean, getting a job, finding accommodation, or simply having their children settled and attending school.

> *Yeah, I feel settled (positively responded). Um…the best thing was just to get on my feet…and um get my boys into school, like settled into school properly.*

Getting back on your feet can also mean that people have the financial capacity to establish themselves comfortably on the mainland. Those who are employed seem to manage their resettlement experience easier, even though at the end of the day, after paying bills and other expenses, people still find themselves with little to spare.

> *Yeah, and once I got that job and all that everything sort of came easy but at the same time like you said before, at the end of the day when you pay everything you still end up back down there with nothing…pretty much.*

> *…settling for me means having a little extra, like when my partner found work we could do things , we were able to have the boys in football which gave them something to do and expended their energy so that they were more settled at home. Buy football uniforms and take them on outings.*

Having transportation also makes life easier, especially when taking children to school and not having to depend on public transport.

> *…well e bin good cos I can just drive to like drop my kids off and pick them up and then I can take them anywhere they want to go now like now I don't have to depend now on going on the bus or taxi. So e bin mina good for me when I be get the car, e help me a lot like to get around Cairns*

> *…well it's been good because I can just drop my kids off at school, pick them up and I can take them anywhere they want to go and I don't have to depend on going by bus or taxi. So it's been real good since I got my car. It helps me a lot getting around Cairns.*

Having family support on the mainland can be good. At other times staying with relatives longer than expected can become a burden. The stay becomes longer when

those moving find themselves contributing more than their share of household expenses, and as a consequence are unable to save money to rent on their own.

> We were supposed to stay with family for six weeks, but it ended up being six months. It was either we stayed on the island, and slept in another family's lounge or we move down. But we ended up sleeping in the lounge here anyway…

7.3.5 Finding the right spot

The right spot may mean finding the right location or suburb, somewhere close to shops, schools, work and family. It can also mean finding a place that is away from family. The right spot can be a physical location, or a place of contentment that allows people to sit back and relax. Finding the right spot also requires being close to essential services, especially for those relying on public transport.

> …it's like ah…where you feel you in between of everything. You know what I mean, you gad family there, work there and you're right in the middle…and where you and your kids e look settled you can just sit back and relax because there you in the right spot. If you gad job, um on the north side of Cairns and you're living on the South side you know it's very difficult, it's challenge too if we can get the right, um… area you want to live and all that.

It also means finding the right accommodation, usually a place that resembles the security and ambience of the islands. Being close to the sea or having access to the beach is important to some, as it reminds them of the islands and recreates a new space that is conducive to their resettlement experience. People feel good when they can smell the ocean or live close to family so they can get together, sit around and have a yarn.

> It's always a good thing hey, being close to the sea. I don't know if I can live away from the sea (laughs). But all depends like I'm trying to get down to them mines now and that'll be inland even more. You always got a week on, and then they reckon a week off so you still can sort of come out and experience the seaside again.

> And one of those things was being near the water. Near the ocean, being able to feel the wind, the direction of the wind, stuff around I guess what I would usually feel or do at home on the islands... And for me the biggest thing is living next to the ocean, to the beach. I can lie in my bed and listen to the wave, which is what I do at home. So, it's having that…

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…yeah and that's another thing to, is by smelling the ocean and yarn wer all them family blo you, brothers, sisters, aunties, uncles ya, thempla everywhere ya round.

…yeah and that's another thing, to smell the oceans and yarn with your family, brothers, sisters, aunties, uncles who are all around here (in Cairns).

7.3.6 Managing obligations

People soon realise that certain obligations become unreasonable and unsustainable on the mainland, especially when cost of living, travel distance and other commitments exceeds those borne on the islands. Reciprocity becomes unequal and most people find themselves giving more than they receive in return. On the islands, the expectation of sharing food and resources and accommodating relative's long term is without question. On the mainland, people's values change and often times caring for others can become difficult. Western value systems based on fiscal and material wealth produce conditions where reciprocal transactions become unbalanced.

> *The cultural obligation of living with family can exceed expectation, especially when there's gambling is involve and money is pretty much spent on gambling on the same day without paying bills or buying groceries. Then they expectation is placed on others to fork out endlessly.*

With great distance between people, the expectation of family visiting can be demanding, particularly when having to travel far. On the islands, people live in closer proximity, usually within walking distance of each other; therefore distance is not an issue. On the mainland the expectation for people to gather is greater, often without concession for distance and travel costs.

> *It's more big and because you don't live close to each other, you know youpla (you are) long way, long way, you have to travel. Especially with me for my family down Townsville, they want me down there, and they expect me to find my way to get down there. Because I klostun (close) know, I'm not up on the island. Wa, so I'm expected to run go down there and ol my, some of my thawian (brother-in-law) as well. I think them travelling distance with everything, like island alright you walk you know, everything klostun (close). Like here, you've got to travel go there, got to run gor there, and everything always impacts on something else, which impacts on something else.*

Those who have their own vehicles find themselves caught up in the 'taxi business', driving others around and running errands for families both on the mainland and on the islands.

> *We get a lot of that um, taxi business where we're driving people around um, (name of partner) ya, she's yeah (the) taxi driver. When it comes to tombstone (unveilings) or moving, or driving down to Townsville or something there is always people expecting a lift and stuff like that. Or even here around town you know you gad people ring up 'oh, can you come pick me up take me gor ya (go here), take me gor there (go there), you know.*

Family passing through or visiting often stay with relatives on the mainland. Problems arise when the host becomes burdened with the financial cost of carrying others. In some cases, this could be out of inexperience on the part of the visitor, who may not be aware of the additional financial constraints that come with mainstream living.

> *Well, it's hard you felt like you've been used but at the same time they don't understand where you're coming from, they don't know what it's like, or they probably haven't you know felt responsible to pay rent, to pay water, or you know or to take so many minute shower, rather than 10 minute shower, you know everything cost, you know wase off e fan off e light them thing, you know we have to be power savvy, water savvy and you know kai kai (food) savvy . You know, everything cost. It's about laying down the rule in the nicest possible way in the beginning.*

Others have to give up paid employment to help care for older family members or those that require medical attention. The tension of not working and receiving an income and the boredom that comes from being at home is a constant struggle as people try to manage cultural and financial responsibilities.

> *I feel bored but I can't um, sometimes I think this kine oh I shouldn't, I gor matha lebe them two ar gor work because I gad them things ya lor me ya. I try for… but then again I think this kine, if I gor gor work, wanem e gor happen for them two.*

> *I feel bored. Sometimes I think that I should leave them (elderly family members) and go to work because I have those things (credentials) with me. I try, but then I think again if I go to work, what will happen to them.*

7.3.7 Growing from here up

One of the benefits of living on the mainland is the opportunity for self-development. People speak about their own personal development as a consequence of moving from the islands and having the space and opportunities that allow for this growth.

> *I guess one of the positive things is that, it's given me an opportunity to grow as a person because, there's more things I can tap into. Opportunities are widely available, I meet different people who give me different perspectives to life, people who I can lean on professionally, have different…so I guess the positive side of it is, being able to...I guess being able to hold on to things or touch opportunities that are not, you know so close and available up on the islands.*

Living on the islands can be restrictive, particularly when people are placed within a family structure that is determined by gender, age, position of birth and family responsibilities. On the mainland, people are much freer and are able to move beyond the confines of the 'structure' and develop new skills.

> *Being on the island you're restricted. You sit within a structure that you either follow it or you're alone. So you really can't break structure, you can't break thought, you can't break something that someone's thought for, a thought that's been there for a very long time basically, a practice or…there's no room for adjustment that I find whereas down here I can still have my culture, practices, my values but it's just how I set them in this society.*

People living on the mainland are exposed to different things and have the freedom to think about things differently and in ways that enrich their own lives as well as their communities.

> *That was one of the major positives for me, um apart from you know the opportunities and things and it's being able to be open about, what we think about things. Like, I actually I have opportunity to see different things but also have view about it…. But then at the end of the day, I get opportunities left for me to determine how that fits into my life or if that fits or sits well in my cultural life, my values. Um, and it's also looking at how something either can contribute towards to community at home, how I can assist or it's something that I can just utilize on the mainland.*

> *You know I get to see things that I don't see at home, I get to do things, I get to meet people that I would not normally meet.*

While people are trying to adjust, establish boundaries and teach their children about life on the mainland, they recognise their own growth and learning in the process. People learn new ways of doing things while taking care of their families.

> *Well I can't say I'm stable yet, it's in between right now, so I'm not satisfied yet, yeah there's a lot of work to be done, you know family life, yeah plus teaching my kids the way of life. Cos sometimes, you're like also teaching your own self at the same time when you think about it and it makes sense sometimes (because) that's why you moved down, that's why you took the step to move down ya. Yeah, it's a growing, um learning thing for us, like also for me and my kids, we all learning.*

Growing up from here can also be measured by children attending school and adults going to work, which is likened to 'normal white man life'. Having extra money and taking part in the wider community are seen as fundamental for their children to confidently and competently make the crossings as they learn to live in two worlds.

> *…being stable at the moment, like my kids go school, I gor work come back home and we gad weekends that (we're) all into football. It's like how I would say - a normal white man life.*

> *(Life) has been stable at the moment, with my kids going to school, and I go to work, come back home and we have weekends where we all get into football. It's like, how should I say - a normal white man life.*

> *Having more time with (name of child). We can go somewhere. We can go pictures (movies) and spend more time with her to do stuff. And I help her too. I can buy more things for her. Like now, she's going to (oversea destination). I could put more money aside for her trip.*

7.4 Sense-making dimension

The sense-making dimension gives meaning to people's experiences, which then determines their decisions and actions (Figure 7.6). Maintaining a 'sense of belonging' means that people can return home to the islands should life become difficult on the mainland. People maintain a 'sense of purpose', knowing why they are here, which provides a 'sense of hope'. Belonging to a family, place and a cultural group fosters a 'sense of security', knowing that others are looking out for them. Knowing why they moved gives people the strength and resilience necessary to persist in mainstream.
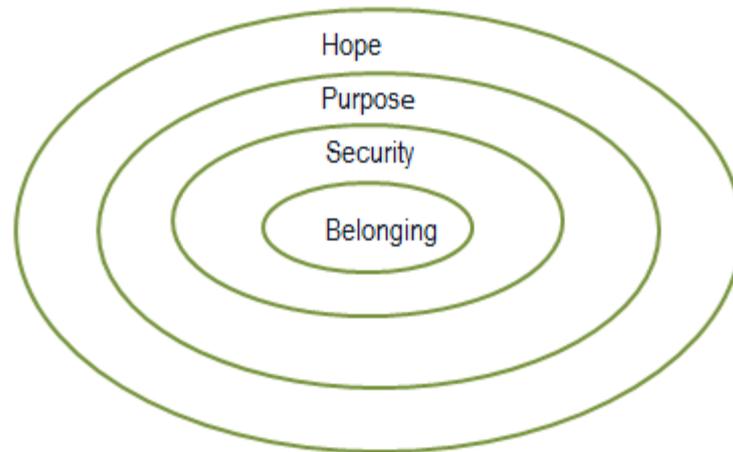
Figure 7.6 Sense-making dimension

7.4.1 Sense of belonging

A sense of belonging means that people have somewhere to return to, to renew their spirit and connect with kin. Belonging is more than just an attachment to a physical place; rather a metaphysical space entrenched in memories, history, ancestry and identity. Residing on the mainland is often referred to as 'second home' while the islands remain 'home', a spiritual place and a place of origin or belonging. The islands are considered a spiritual home, a place where memories and stories are engraved, where religious, social and cultural identity is founded.

> *Physically, my home is here but spiritually my home is (name of island)*
> *Yeah. Um… religious connections, religious beliefs with families that are*
> *there and memories of childhood and you know cultural, family… ya I wande*
> *cry now…*

The islands are where ancestors are buried and returning home is like a 'home coming'. No matter how far people travel, home is always at the back of their minds.

> *Yeah, Yeah, that's where parents and that are all buried so, I don't know*
> *when you go back you always got somewhere, like you have to go visit*
> *family at the grave and all that it sort of, more less like a home coming you*
> *know.   I don't know, it's always at the back of my head, about home. You*
> *know like, I don't think it will never come out of there. Cos um, I was in*
> *(name of town) for 15 years and I always thought of home, and even that*
> *long didn't drive it out of my head. So I don't think you can ever forget home*
> *hey?*

The land or islands holds memories, history, ancestry and knowledge of how relationships were formed and how people came to be.

> *Even though the house e blo council but e built on our land and is part of our ownership, that house and our land. Cos e gad lot of memories attached to the land, which I like to teach to my kids and thempla gor teach thempla pikinini, how important is the land and how that land bin come to us. Through my grandfathers, your great grandfathers, where e gad a lot of stories behind and history and of internal moving of island within the island through clan system, whereas you go and, if you come to a place you gad no ownership and you're given land, either through friendship or through securing a vacuum that bin created by marriage. Them pasin blo youmpla, land is passed on this kine. That way e spik this kine, it draws power too from the land itself and also provided how you use it to benefit you. Or if someone e give you land to work for maniotha, banana them kine…*

> *Even though the house belong to the council it's built on our land and is part of our ownership, that house and our land because there is a lot of memories attached to the land which I like to teach my kids and they then teach their children (of) how important the land is and how it come to us. Through my grandfather, your great grandfather where there's a lot of stories behind and history of internal movement within the island through the clan system. Whereas, if you don't have land ownership you're given land through friendship or through marriage, our ways of passing land on. That's how you can say, power is drawn from the land itself, and of how you use it to benefit you. Or if someone gives you land to plant cassava, banana (and so forth)…*

It is important to have somewhere to return to, although some people are no longer able to return as they no longer have a physical dwelling or families remaining on the islands to accommodate their return. Those who can return home consider themselves lucky.

> *I see some of them island lot e be live, grew up, actually born and raised down here, um thempla wande gor baigen untap home or for look how it's like. And I always spik for my boys this kine 'you consider youpla selves lucky because you gor you gad room to go to when you go back home'. So all nor quite get it yet, but hopefully there one day gen all go see the point.*

> *I've seen some Islanders who live, grew up (or) actually born and raised down here (on the mainland), who want to go back up home or to see how it looks like. And I always tell my boys, 'consider yourselves lucky because*

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you'll have a room (waiting for you) when you go back home'. They don't quite get it yet, but hopefully one day they will see the point (of what I'm saying).

Yeah, I've talk to a few people on that same thing, and then they said the same thing for me like um, big bala there down, two small bala (brother) there down, (name of brothers), they said the same thing that they want to go back up there but, it's just, where do they go to stay? You know and there's a lot of talk about land and all that thing there and they saying they don't mind giving land, long as they got somewhere to go when they go back.

Yeah, well I lucky little bit e gad (name of brother) there and all them small one blo sister there, (name of sister). And, we gad family there, cos if all the family of yours leaves there, then the door shuts on you. But if you got relatives there that are very close to you, you can still sort a go back there, stay there for little while and then get a house.

…Yeah, well I'm a bit lucky, I have (name of brother) there and all my sisters children, and we have family there (on the island). If all the family leaves then the door shuts on you. But if you have relatives that you are close to you (living on the island), you can still go back, stay with them for a while until you get a house.

Others view returning home as being fundamental to their existence in mainstream. Not to be able to return home is likened to being 'lost in someone else's world'.

Yes, I couldn't live like that. I mean, if I couldn't do that then I would have no option but to move back home. I would be very lost. In someone else's world. Honestly I would be lost in someone else's world.

Ah, no, just the sense of belonging I suppose, like I've just forgotten what it's like. I suppose now and again you want to get away from that, that noise, but then you come baigen (back) for that noise, you know, because that noise is what makes you. That noise it what makes a community.

People talk about returning permanently to the islands so that their children have somewhere to return to, both physically and metaphysically. It is important to take children back to the islands so that they too are infused with the feelings and memories of 'home', so that they too have somewhere to return to one day.

…yeah, but probably natha few more years. See them two if them two satisfy where this city life ya, they know what to expect. When I can see them two can understand the life then e time for gor back. Wa, time for gor baigen back home so holidays them two can come back home.

…yeah, but probably in a few more years (return home), when I see my two sons are satisfied with life, when they now what to expect and understand the time (mainstream), then it's time to go back home, so that they can come back home for holidays.

Some people leave belongings behind on the islands in order to maintain their place and connections during their time of absence. Others go back for short visits to renew and strengthen their spirit.

…ane the two old lady ya, I have to teke them two gor baigen. Them two gad everything blo them two there lor house. But the reason we down here is just the medical condition blo them two.

And the two old ladies here, I have to take them back (to the islands). They both have their belongings in the house. But the reason we're down here (mainland) is just for their medical condition.

Yeah, yeah, that's the thing I want to go baik. E gad old saying that "wherever you are, there is no place like home". When you go back you draw strength from it, you feel good inside. You renew your, every section of your body. You come wase new. But at the same time we also know that some of that gonna happen for there is always a second home here in Cairns, and because of the reasons I explain earlier to be closer to doctors and so forth.

Yeah, yeah, that's the things that I want to go back to. Like there is this old saying, "wherever you are, there is no place like home". When you go back, you draw strength from it (home), you feel good inside. You renew every section of your body. You become like new. But at the same time we also know that there is a second home here in Cairns, and because of the reasons, I explained earlier, to be closer to the doctors and so forth.

7.4.2 Sense of security

As people conceptualise and refer to the islands as home, it creates a sense of security which safeguards and allows people to take the risk of moving away and embark on 'a new adventure'. People realise that they have another option and that mainstream is not everything, which in the beginning gives them the confidence to move away.

It's a sense of security knowing that this is not it, I do have another option.
But an option that will have consequences as well that I'm prepared to take,
but you know I'm still here, so I've come that far. So that option is still, hasn't
been activated yet. But just knowing that that option is there, you know if I
fall anywhere there's always my family from home that can pick me up, or
take me home, if I need that time out, from this world, from this society.

… and with family and just going back and being able to live that simple life
for a couple of days. It just reassures me that regardless of how far I go that
will always be there. You know I can always have access to that.

Knowing that family is always watching out for their wellbeing and ready to help them
provides the sense of security needed to overcome some of the challenges of
mainstream.

So my family was always there. Watching out for me, making sure I was
alright, putting me back on track if they felt that, you know, went off the track
or being concern for my wellbeing and things like that. So having, having
had that kept me going. Knowing that I could fall back on somebody, that I
could always go home. I could pack up and go home if I had to and I would
not have lost anything.

Having family already established on the mainlands makes leaving the islands easier,
as they provide a place to stay and help the out-movers get back on their feet.
Therefore this 'sense of security' can be found in both worlds.

Um, bit difficult we be have to adjust there. Um, but the same time Mum and
them was down here. So I just come and stay with Mum there for a while
until I get on my feet again.

…yeah, well my sister and em (her) partner bin supportive, like we not bin
face much challenge.

Support really, where I can just go and sit down and yarn, have a cup of tea.
You know, talk our language, speak our language, that's was the biggest
thing that I was looking for. If I can hear someone speak full on KKY (Torres
Strait dialect) I would feel at home, just to hear that language, you know
being spoken.

When there is a sense of security, connections can be broken and then reconnected as
people move about in difference life stages, and between 'island life' and 'mainstream'.

Yeah, yeah is was, I mean like the connection that we have back at home it isn't as permanent as it used to be before, because I've broken it, gone back, maintained, connected again, and move again you know.

…most of the family know that um, that I work and all that and like, I nor (don't) have to let them know that um I can't be there, and ring me up and let me know, then we make plans to do whatever we want to do. And work is like is the main thing at the moment. You have to go work to stay afloat cos this life ya down lor Cairns, and plus you not only there to support yourself but you gad your kids, behind you that need your support.

7.4.3 Sense of purpose

Having a 'sense of purpose' is about holding on to the things that motivated people to move in the first instance, and it is also the reason keeping them from returning to the islands. This 'sense of purpose' is what instigates the actual crossing, from the islands to the mainland, and sustains them while away. Knowing why they moved or remain residing on the mainland fosters, as well as maintains, their 'sense of purpose'.

Passing on traditional knowledge encourages some to persist despite the challenges of living in mainstream. Teaching the next generation cultural knowledge through song and dance reinforces people identity and nationhood.

Our place is to make sure these things are being taught to young people, otherwise you gor keep e this wan ya and e go shut away. But I see the interest in them young people and e make me feel good too, cos I'm certainly giving something away that sit fit with them young fella's. They now understand that we gad our culture around us, we very proud. So I gad purpose, me two.

But our place is to make sure these things are being taught to young people, otherwise you will keep this knowledge until you pass. But I see the interest in the young people, and it makes me feel good too, because I'm certainly giving something away that sits well with them. They now understand that we have culture around us, and we are very proud. So my wife and I have purpose.

It is important to those who moved with their families to hold on to their cultural identity so that they know where they stand in both worlds. Knowing oneself keeps the next generation from losing their cultural identity. They are to know this world but not to become it.

I want them two for still hold on to them two culturally identity…and, so maybe one day they want to go they know where home is. You know what I mean? And, it's also big part of our culture um, we come from there ilan. Um…e means a lot, like for our elders like one day when your children's children gor back home, all nor gor have to adjust back to that island life and all that. You see, I don't really want that cos e gor be tough enough for them two and they gor probably be confused and um where them two at. You know what I mean? Where them two stand between white man life or ilan life.

I want them to still hold on to their cultural identity so that maybe one day when they want to go home, they'll know where home is. You know what I mean? It's a big part of our culture, we come from the islands and it means a lot to our elders as well. Like one day when your children's, children go back home, they will know how to adjust back to island life. You see, I don't really want that, because it will be tough enough for them both, and they will probably be confused as to there they at (belong). You know what I mean? Like where they stand, between white man life or island life.

… it seems like a long three years that we been ya down since then, and um you see a lot of change in ourselves and our life, livelihood, and now my boys e start to adjust to the city life and that, what… other thing too I nor want them to get too um… stuck into that white man kind of style.

Some find purpose in readying their children to live in mainstream by teaching them to understand the complexities of life and the challenges that lie ahead. Most realise their children are better positioned living on the mainland where there is ample opportunities to sustain their adult lives.

For me, it's always been, like in regards to (named daughter). I've always thought, em can't do it on em own, and you can't just let e thempla, go. Lego thempla and lete thempla run their own course you mus be in the thing for stret em and guide em, and you know tell em this wan e wrong and… you just don't let them go

For me, it's always been about my daughter. I've always thought, she can't do it on her own and you can't just let them go and let them run their own course. You must be there to straighten them and guide them, and you know tell them this is wrong. You just don't let them go…

So yeah, I tell them two like, take it as it come, like um nor try and adapt too quick, just go with the flow and like we only ya for one purpose… mainly you

two only for one purpose is for you two get some education before you two move on.

My main priority was um, getting my sons um education, just to go to school…um then to stup (stay) baigen (back) and do nothing. That was the only, ah natha reason that…ah bring all them kids down. It's probably um, to get them to use to both part of the world, like island and white man way. So, just to give them the heads up, what to expect.

Taking an interest in family, especially grandchildren, makes life secure and happy for some people while away from the islands. People try to remain hopeful and make the best out of their circumstances, by focusing on their family and seek out other ways to fill the void of absence.

…um, my being with my family. Importantly, grandchildren, even though I growl too mus but at least I gad something to do. And when I sit back and watch them play around me, I think them kine, them wan ol come from me, why should I growl thempla. So it keeps my mind at rest. Thinking I gad pikinini ya and I gad grandchildren, me two. And that seems to complete the whole world around me, me two. And ah, we feel secure and happy. But there's still that thing missing, you home island, you home nation, Torres Strait.

…um, my being with my family, most importantly my grandchildren, even though I get cross a lot, but at least I have something to do. And when I sit back and watch them play around me, I think, they come from me, why should I get cross with them. So it keeps my mind at rest, knowing that I have children and grandchildren around us. And that seems to complete the whole world around me, around both of us (referring to wife). And we feel secure and happy. But there's still that thing missing, your home island, your home nation, Torres Strait.

While some have to leave paid work to care for elderly family members they find purpose helping others, in this case, filling in forms, providing moral support and advocacy.

But I'm not only doing that ya lor house. Them families ya, cos oli sabe this kine I bin work inside office, so when they're in need of anything ya round oli come for me I fix em for thempla from ya where house. Wase I still gad the knowledge blo me, my brains e still open this kine. When families, when thempla, oli.. wase Centrelink ah, anything to do with office work, admin, fill out forms and everything. Oli come ya, I fill mout em for thempla ya then I

give e thempla and oli teke em gor, or I gor where thempla gor fix em for thempla there.

But I'm not only doing that (caring) here at home. The families here know that I worked in an office (before), they when they're in need of anything around here (Cairns) they come and see me and I fix it for them here at home. Like I still have the knowledge, (and) my brain is still open. Like Centrelink ah? Anything to do with office work, admin, fill out forms and everything (else). They come here, I fill out the forms and give it back to them and they take it, or I go with them and fix it for them.

Some strive to help others make the crossing and achieve a 'good life' on the mainland by way of improving health and wellbeing. The stress of moving from the islands is often compounded by stressors associated with changing lifestyle, diet, and societal expectations.

Well for me I ol time think this kine ya, come help them family. Help family live in good life. But wase, sidown where thempla, tok for ol family round. Like I be tok for them natha boys ya, ol them, mainly them nephew blo me ya. I tok for thempla… you can get them exercise thing for thempla. For them mother, you look ol gad them wanem, stiki thempla self were needle and them thing. Gede them thing for thempla, like them exercise walking thing, ol wande walk bout ol can walk bout underneath floor blo house. Wa, them kine exercising things where e can help e thempla. And set e family, where family can cook for thempla, instead of live where rice and chicken, ol wase gor baik por wase ol be eat lor island. Yeah, if we ol come together. We ol come together and we talk to each other about something. Cos once we nor ol come together, we ol go astray.

Well for me, I always thing about helping family. Help families live a good life. Like sitting down with them and talking. Like I talk to other boys, mainly my nephews, I talk to them about exercise. For the mothers, who you see inject themselves with needles (diabetics), get them walking machines so if they want to walk they can walk under the house (privacy). Yeah, exercise things that can help them. And set families up where they can cook for them instead of living on rice and chicken. It's like going back to what we ate on the island. Yeah, if we all come together and talk to each other about things, because once we stop coming together we all go astray.

Knowing why they moved and why they are still here keeps people focused on reaching their aspirations. There are moments when people contemplate returning home, especially during times when they become disillusioned and feel isolated.

> *You know, it may not be somewhere I'm going to live for the rest of my life*
> *but I'm here for a purpose and just knowing that keeps me going. I mean*
> *there have been moments where I've wanted to just pack up a leave. Just*
> *go back home. Give up on the whole thing because at times, then when*
> *those thoughts entered my mind, it was at a time where I was struggling,*
> *thinking that I couldn't do it. And most of that was because of loneliness,*
> *because I had no company here at home with me. It was coming back home*
> *to an empty house.*

7.4.4 Sense of hope

For some, maintaining a 'sense of hope' can be about building a bridge between 'island life' and 'mainstream' so that others can make the crossings. The bridge becomes the conduit for maintaining culture, language and a way of life, while at the same time keeping families together and creating a sense of belonging among successive generations that reside away from home.

The hope of returning to the islands makes residing on the mainland tolerable. The ability to travel to the islands, even for short visits makes people 'feel good' and settles them within.

> *So wa, but anyway, I feel good too talking about going back, even though for*
> *a week or little bit, three to four days it's still something. At least you can*
> *have a feeling for it and it settles you inwardly, it settles you down and you*
> *think then you got the ability to travel, still got the ability to travel and that, go*
> *back for short time.*

While wanting their children to becoming competent with mainstream, their hope is to have 'island life' instilled in them so that they maintain a sense of identity and belonging to the larger collective.

> *Wa, you have to be able to create that feeling of belonging to that bigger*
> *purpose, because it's no use you wagbout outside and yes you have a*
> *sense of identity, "oh, my mum from (name of island) and my dad you know",*
> *but you've never been to (name of island) you know. I think our purpose, if*
> *we, if we want to be good cultural citizens we meke effort for expose our*
> *children for them kine thing. And them thing, they come with dangers too. I*

think that's the thing. You have to instill in your children that feeling. Because if ol nor gad that feeling, then they've done the cross over.

Yes, you have to be able to create that feeling of belonging to that bigger purpose, because it's no use walking out there and yes, you may have a sense of identity, "oh, my mother's from that island and my daddy you know", but you've never been home. I think our purpose, if we want to be good cultural citizens; we make the effort to expose our children to the things of home because those things come with dangers too. I think that's it, you have to instil in your children that feeling, because if they don't have that feeling (of home), then they've done the cross over.

Hope is sustained through focusing on spiritual matters, which seems to help people manage living with uncertainty. Attending church, reading the Bible and helping others keep people happy as well as hopeful.

Well, for me is come and help e church, wase help e one another wer church them kine. And study my word, that's most important thing in my life I keep up. Wa. So that's it, that makes me happy…when you see things spiritually, the word e meke you free. E wase keep e everything out, wis kine you col em, magnet wase, magnetic...e wase two magnets wase you push e the thing gor outside wase you spiritual wall.

Well for me it's to come and help with church, like helping each other out.   I study my word (bible), that's the most important thing in life that I keep up with. Yes, so that's it, that makes me happy…when you see things spiritually, the word makes you (feel) free. Like it keeps everything out, like how would you say, like a magnet, magnetic? It's like two magnets pushing things away, like your spiritual wall.

Taking responsibility and leading by example motivates some to take up opportunities that may inspire others, while at the same time concealing their struggle so that their children do not become discouraged.

Like when you see your other family members study, or I wana achieve their goal, make you wana go follow their footstep.

…so when my kids gor come old all gor look them kine I be do, achieve this much in life and thempla, I want to make them do the same like I did like go and do further studies and work and nor like, just sit around like where house, make them go and study and get a job after like when they come big.

So when my kid become older they will see that I achieved this much in my life and it will make them want to do the same, like go and do further studies and work and not like just sit around at home. Make them go and study and get a job when they grow up.

Yeah, that's it. So you don't want to show yourself you're struggling or else um kids might, can think or do the same thing later on the track and all that.

There is hope of returning home one day: when the time is right and when the children have grown and are able to live independently. The hope of return gives people something to which to look forward.

Yeah, I was thinking about go back home, um cos now that my boy's in high school. We be already show em what to expect now, he sees now what to expect. There's a sense that, within the talks at the moment. It's not definite yet we're moving back. Yeah, but one day we're thinking about moving gor back home. That's if we get something set up before we gor.

Yeah, I was thinking about going back home, because now that my boys are in high school. We've already shown him what to expect now, and he sees now what is expected. There is this sense that, within our talks that we're moving back, but that's not definite yet. Yeah, but one day we're thinking about moving back. That's if we can get something set up before we go (business venture).

As people become better educated and skilled, their ability to return home can either increase or diminish. Some see it as a responsibility to return and to 'give back' to the islands in a professional capacity or to go back and take care of elderly family members.

… I mean I even think about it very strongly now and it's like nah I can't, there's nothing there. Unless you go back for holidays because you know everybody's relaxed and, but I don't think I can go back to live. Not yet, I don't feel experienced enough to take my experience back, yet. There will come a time, wa, yeah definitely. I can see myself working there but I'd have to really know what I'm doing. That could happen, probably about, I don't know probably within the next six to seven years.

One of the things, pulling me back plus mum getting old now and be close to mum, help her out, in that way too as well.

7.5 Strategies

To manage 'living in two worlds' people develop ways of 'setting boundaries', 'making adjustments', 'taking responsibility' while 'keeping close' to family, culture, and self. Strategies are about staying afloat and keeping on track. Managing is about being in a state of stability that facilitates resettlement while fostering and maintaining healthy relationships with kin. Strategies help people manage living in and between 'island life' and 'mainstream'.

7.5.1 Setting boundaries

To resettle on the mainland means altering or forming new habits, rules and boundaries. Setting boundaries for self and others means being wise with one's budget at home and on social outings, and laying down the rules when relatives come to stay. Over time people learn to say no to family while still maintaining relationships.

Maintaining a certain standard of living on the mainland involves having a stable income. To maintain a stable income people must set boundaries for themselves and on others, know right from wrong, and learn to say no in a nice way.

> So, for me, what's kept me is the fulltime job, having a stable income and putting boundaries down in my life. Readjusting my boundaries from, I had to reassess you know my boundaries, my values, what I can and cannot do. You know it's different at home. So laid back, simple life and then coming into a very structured routine style of life to be able to maintain my independency, my own roof over my head and just keeping a sanity of knowing that, that I can survive on my own.

> In this sense, having that income, putting boundaries down, know where you can and cannot go. Know how far you can and cannot go. Know you're weaknesses, you know for me it was stopping my drinking, going out, I had to draw a line. And it comes down to money.

One of the hardest things people find about living on the mainland is the ability to survive financially through each fortnight. Creating boundaries and limiting spending shields people from experiencing extreme financial hardship.

> Yeah, I think knowing your boundary and setting your boundaries, knowing right from wrong, having a job to go to, um these are ol things that makes your own life good. You know if you don't have a job you don't have that extra income coming in, cos Centrelink (social security) is nothing. You just

sort of get by with Centrelink. It doesn't let you have, like enjoy your money
sort of thing. You striving when you're on Centrelink, cos you're striving to
make ends meet, you rent, your food ol this stuff. Once you got a job it's that
extra dollar more than what Centrelink offers you that helps you to make
your life better.

Some find it difficult in the initial stages of moving, as they feel obligated to help others. Some move away to live their own life, removing themselves from cultural obligations, which continue to be practiced on the mainland.

Yeah, cos you're brought up always to say 'yes, yes, yes, yes' and to say no
now, like my dad keep saying to me, you just got to say no, that's it, and cop
the consequence really ah, of what's going to happen there and then. Yeah,
that's it cos you try to get away from that cycle up there hey.

Well, me and (name of partner) have learnt to say 'no'. And um I think most
of the time just say no and then it's only very, like emergencies that you
accept, cos you're going that way anyway, you're not going out of your way.
I think when it's when you're going to go out of your way that you put the 'no'
in, you know.

People find it hard to be up front with families especially when it comes to laying down house rules and asking others to contribute financially during their stay. Some find ways of laying down rules in a subtle and roundabout way.

Or if I have families passing through I tell em like straight up you know, this is
how much gar I want for food and how long, you know good ways, but you
have to say it in the nicest way. That form of negotiation sometimes is
chucked way under the carpet and then before you know it you're all broke
and you've felt the burden and there's no food in the cupboard and you're
still waiting for the shopping to be done from the boarders, or someone,
family living with you.

For others, moving away and establishing themselves independently means that they are prepared to learn from their mistakes.

For me it was either living with family by their rules by their lifestyle, under
their roof or live on my own, have my own routine, draw my boundaries and
lines and stick to them or learn from them.

7.5.2 Making adjustments

Adjusting to a new pace of life means that people have to fit themselves into a nine-to-five schedule, unlike the life they are used to on the islands where time is experienced at a much slower pace. The routine lifestyle must be mastered in order to achieve a certain level of comfort. Making these adjustments provides a certain degree of stability, which is necessary for people to manage and maintain their own space. Adjusting to different social habits, restricting visitations from families, and maintaining some distances between self and others during workdays are just some things that require adjusting.

Certain obligations commonly practiced on the islands cannot be sustained on the mainland, and new practices need to be developed to accommodate the changing concept of time, distance and priorities. .

> *Um, yeah. It wasn't hard to change, it wasn't that hard. I was just that you missed a few things that's all. Like I said the fishing and stuff like that that's all.*

Adapting to mainstream life often means making sacrifices. Some people are unable to return home as regularly as they would like to.

> *Wa, lot of times but sometimes you have to… um sacrifice… what needs to be done… to get on…like wanem ….how you say…um…to adapt to the city life. The cost and them kine thing cos it's totally different for ilan life as we all know.*

> *Yes, lots of times (I think of home), but sometimes you have to make sacrifices. Have to attend to what needs to be done, to get on with, how would you say, adapt to city life. The cost (of living in the city) and so forth, because it's totally different to island life as we all know.*

Mainstream tends to move at a different pace to 'island life' and there is no room for complacency or slackness when it comes to holding a job and paying for food and bills. People have little choice but to adjust and fit into the nine-to-five routine that dictates mainstream living.

> *Wa, e nor more (Yes, it's no longer) TI time (island time) now this is Cairns and you gad to move where time otherwise, up there you can take a day off and don't get sacked. Here, you take a day off you get sacked.*

There untap e nor gad routine, but ya we gad set nine to five, that's it.

Up (on the islands) there's no routine, but here (on the mainland) we have a set nine to five (routine), that's it.

7.5.3 Taking responsibility

To take responsibility means that people have to stand up and do things for themselves, which may include self-advocacy, developing skills to gain employment, and being responsible for self and others. Responsibility is assumed as well as bestowed upon those who exhibit leadership qualities and prove that they are capable of caring for themselves and their dependents. Taking responsibility may mean taking practical steps towards reaching goals, to pay bills on time and buy food. It is about shifting the onus to oneself and owning responsibility, as opposed to being selfish.

Wa, e wase wanem this kine wase I learn for be responsible for myself. Learn how for budget e money myself, when e nor gor gad mum around au. Just when the time gor come when e nor gor gad them two I gor sabe waskine I gor budget e my own money. Wiskine for shopping. This money for shopping, this wan for power. Wanem e come pas where house before anything else.

Yes, it's like I learnt to be responsible for myself. Learn how to budget money, because when mum is not around, when the times comes when they won't be around I will know how to budget my own money. How to shop, to put money aside for shopping and for power (electricity bills). To know what comes first, house (household expenses) before anything else.

Oh yeah, definitely. And also to look at your income roughly, if you going to be earning this much will you be able to keep up with your weekly rent, you food, you know school fees whatever.

To lead by example is another way of taking responsibility, as is sharing the responsibility, and looking out for each other.

…sometimes you look some them kids e come down e do smoking and that because wanem thempla see their parents doing. If you set an example, hold hand together and talk for your kids everything e right. But if you no hold e hand, e gad gap there middle. The kid e look you, like em wagbout and em look you dis way and dis way, em say or my parents e smoke, I gor smoke too. So em gor smoke cigarette too, or em go drink. The same thing wanem parent e do, piknini gor mekem… e spoil e fruit.

…sometimes you see kids come down (from the islands for schooling) and take up smoking and that, because they see their parents doing it. If you set an example, hold hands together and talk to your kids then everything will be right. But if you don't hold their hands, there will be a gap in the middle. The kids are watching you, like they walk around and watch you do this and that and say "my parents smoke, so I'll smoke too". So they will smoke cigarettes too, or they will drink (alcohol). The same things that parents do, children will do. It spoils the fruit.

.... when them kine thing e fall down, when people stap, stop looking out for one another then, that's when the community fails. Where all nor bother for other peoples kids, all nor bother bout other peoples welfare.

…when these things fall down, when people stop looking out for one another, then that's the community fails. When no one bothers about other people's kids, then they don't bother about other people's welfare.

Teaching the younger generation to take responsibility is also important to those who are readying their children for mainstream living.

What I get them to do is take their own responsibility and fend for them two self one day in case we won't be around, mepla could be somewhere else and you have to make a decision for thempla self. So I try for tell thempla that if you want something you gor get it yourself. Even a glass of water you want it, you get up and go get it, same thing. So if you want something real bad you have to work hard for it…we try and break that thing, or wase the pasin blo island people wase to be reliant on others. Like you have to get up and do something. That's the natha thing blo island, this wan natha island pasin. When we look e too hard we turn the other way...That's what my family teach us like take responsibility into your own hands. Like if you do something wrong and you want to make it right, you have to make it right…this is what I'm teaching my boys now.

What I get them to do is take responsibility so that they can fend for themselves one day in case we won't be around or we could be somewhere else and they have to make decisions for themselves. So I try and tell them that if you want something you go and get it yourself. Even a glass of water you want it, you get up and go get it, same thing. So if you want something real bad you have to work hard for it… we try and break that thing, or the habits of island people to be reliant on others. Like you have to get up and do something. That's another thing from the islands, another island habit. When we see something is too hard we turn the other way…That's what my

family teach us, like take responsibility into your own hands. Like if you do something wrong and you want to make it right, you have to make it right…this is what I'm teaching my boys now.

Family support may not be present on the mainland, so raising children becomes a sole responsibility, which can oftentimes be rewarding. Without the support of immediate family, people become self-reliant and learn to seek alternate means of support.

…and then she would have more leeway to run off here and there, cos every families there, she knows she can walk into any families home and make herself at home more or less you know. Whereas here, we're limited and it's like you're at home, you're under my roof, these are the rules and this is how it's going to be.

Yeah, it's like, this wan job blo you (this is your job). This is what you want the best for your kids, and from, now till they are man this is what you have to do, like guide them through. You have to steer the right course for them. If thempla (they) jump the course, you know somewhere there down the track, behind there you didn't do your job properly or something. So it's like (at the) back of my head there this is what my, my job is, is to see that [I] give them the right direction.

For those raising children, taking responsibility means to constantly and continually talk to them and to teach them right from wrong.

…keep talk, and I spik for them two guys, you sit down one day, when you go back you home, you gor sit down one day, you have a look at how all them people your age or older e too reliant on the family and I guarantee you that e true because this one e carry on, you know it's good to break it there, you know. Like where you think it's wrong you one time tell your kids. So wa, all getting there.

…I keep talking to my boys and tell them, you sit down one day, when you go back home and take a look around at all those people your age or older, they are too reliant on their family. I guarantee you that it's true, because this still carries on, you know. It's good to break it (dependency) there you know. Like where you think something is wrong, you immediately tell your kids. So, yeah, they're getting there.

Being responsible for others means that you will extend yourself to help others when they are in need. Oftentimes, roles and responsibility are assigned to people culturally.

However, roles can change daily, and people are required to adjust quickly to carry out other responsibilities.

> *Wa, so suddenly we've got that responsibility and that's what makes our society, when someone can turn around and spik, "yagar, I need help". And you go "wa, I gor mekem", and you just take that mantle for that short time and then that even e finish, and that role e finish. And then the next day gad natha role now. We can change roles every day. You know, wa, but today you could be head honcho, tomorrow you just clean e house blo somebody. That's how we are, if somebody sing out you for clean e house you gor. That person might be sick, that person might be stressed. But I think that's the wonderful thing about mepla society.*

> *Yeah, so suddenly we've got that responsibility and that's what makes our society, when someone can turn around and ask "Oh please, I need help". And you go "Yes, I'll do it", and you just take that mantle for that short time until that role finishes. And then the next day, you may take on another role. We can change roles every day. You know, today you could be head honcho, tomorrow you just clean somebody's house. That's how we are, if somebody calls out for help to clean their house, you go. That person might be sick, that person might be stressed. But I think that's the wonderful thing about our society.*

Taking responsibility means that people must also speak up for themselves, which is especially important when seeking housing and employment. Those unable to speak for themselves experience difficulties accessing vital resources.

> *It's because oli can't tok, oli nor gad the wanem now for ask ane speak out, confidence blo thempla. If oli speak and ask wa, wanem oli look there were kole man e tal em oli mata spik "yeah", "ok", "yes" e wer mouth. But if you open your mouth ane ask questions, or tele kole man baigen you gor gede them things. But if you only sidown mir kak you can't gedem.*

> *It's because they can't speak for themselves, or have the confidence to ask and speak out. If they can speak and ask then they would not have to agree on what white man tells them, "yeah", "ok", "yes" on their mouths (immediate response). But if you open your mouth and ask questions, and speak back to 'white man', then you can get those things. But if you sit without talking you can't get them [things].*

> *I one time request for them people look after us in the hospital if I can get a place. Home for me two, one granddaughter and one, last picknini blo me*

two. So this one we be gede three bedroom through hospital. And housing bin put me two on priority list. So when I be come out from hospital, wan time go inside this house.

I immediately requested from those people looking after us in hospital if I could get a place (house in Cairns). Home for us both, our granddaughter and our last child. So we got this three bedroom (house) through the hospital. And housing (department) placed us on their priority list. So when I came out of hospital, we immediately moved into this house.

Teaching cultural knowledge and practices is often assigned to those who themselves take responsibility. Having a house with a spacious yard provides a place to practice traditional dancing as well as hosting large family gatherings.

We have to show e culture blo youmpla ya down, you know for everybody. Well, when I ya at the moment them mob blo mepla ya, keriba them dancing gear blo mepla e ya wer me. Cos I gad the waup, lumut everything ya. E wase, (name of older cousin) thempla e give e me that responsibility de mara ya. Because you stap meta ge ah.

We have to show our culture down here to everybody. Well, at the moment I have all our dance groups gear here with me, I have the drums and lumut (percussion instrument) and everything here. It's like (name of older cousin) gave me that responsibility because I have a house.

7.5.4 Keeping close

People realise the importance of maintaining contact and relationships with kin on the mainland as well as on the islands. 'Keeping close' tends to support people's resettlement experience while providing them with the security of returning home should the need arise. 'Keeping close' to culture, language and tradition as well as maintaining and performing cultural roles and obligations are equally important as it 'keeps the door open' for them to return home. Those who moved for medical reasons have family keeping them company, while others remain behind on the islands holding their place, so that they are not forgotten. 'Keeping close' mean that obligations are performed and reciprocation continues.

Keeping in regular contact with family, attending cultural events and being able to hear and speak language tends to compensate for the physical disconnection from home.

> *Or sometimes, when you get the feeling that you tired from tok English and*
> *all that, well I gor there my brothers and sisters place there sidown yarn big*
> *tap, e gad plenty (island name) family ya, where ever you look e gad thempla*
> *there. Sometimes a day every second person you see e family.*

> *Sometimes, when you get the feeling that you're tired of speaking English*
> *and all that, I go to my brothers and sisters place and we sit around speaking*
> *'big tap' (heavy creole or traditional language). There are plenty of (island*
> *name) families here. Where ever you look they're there. Sometimes every*
> *second person you see (daily), is family.*

Keeping close to family back home is also important to keep the door open. This comes with certain obligations that require those living on the mainland to run errands and accommodate families as they visit or pass through. Financial and material support is frequently requested by relatives on the mainland and on the islands to pay for funeral expenses, cultural events such as 'tombstone unveilings' and other ceremonies.

> *It's cheaper, I mean cost of living up home compared to here, and you can*
> *save money here rather than up home…um, but there'll be, now and then*
> *where you know, there's a phone call can you buy that $400 whatever*
> *(laughs)…*

There are also advantages with 'keeping close' to family as responsibilities can be shared. Sometimes, children remain on the islands while the parents move to set themselves up on the mainland before sending for their children.

> *My daughter lives at home with my sister. She's not coming down until high*
> *school so that was one of the hugest things for me to go home. And not just*
> *to be with my daughter but to connect with my sister as well who is a very big*
> *part of my strength.*

Others on the mainland remain in close contact with each other and catching up with family is sometimes a weekly event. This tends to quell the homesickness people experience when away from the islands for extended periods.

> *…but there's couple of days in the week there that's, or few days in the week*
> *that sometimes sidown and talk about home, or we gor there family, catch up*
> *with family. We have dinner or whatever and um or any cultural event e*
> *come up or, we attend all them things just so that we can still be connected.*

…but there's couple of days in the week, or few days in the week that we sometimes sit down and talk about home, or we go and catch up with family. We have dinner together or attend any cultural events that come up. We attend those events just so we can still be connected.

People tend to maintain strong family ties on the mainland after they move. Those that are not working often have family dropping in regularly to spend time, sit and yarn and share a meal, things people had done on the islands.

Oh, I gad family visit every day, from Monday to Friday, or Sunday to Sunday ol families come around, we sidown yarn. Then ol gor house blo thempla, next day ol come gen. I suppose because we come from the family where, we big family… Wa but mepla still stap this kine, the unity blo mepla still strong ya dis kine. Wiskine mepla stap there island, ya semkain.

Oh, I have family visit every day, from Monday to Friday or Sunday to Sunday. Families come around and we sit down and have a yarn, then they go back to their house and the next day they come again. I suppose it's because we come from a big family. Yes, we're still doing that same as we did on the islands. How we lived on the islands, the same is happening here (on the mainland).

One of the greatest things that I find, another positive is, that's kept me strong and I always come back to every time is, is my cultural way of doing things. You know little things like cook a cultural dish, or catching up with a friend, a very good friend for sidown (sit down) and have a good laugh and a yarn. Just little things that I would do at home.

Loneliness is one of the shortfalls of living in mainstream as people can become busy and isolated. Keeping family close, even having family residing with them seems to compensate their separation from home, especially for those who otherwise would be living on their own.

… I've worked around getting people to be with me, having someone at home here all the time, to come home to a family member. So that helped a lot, having that, having a family member around to keep the house warm for me or to come home, knowing that there's someone at home.

Part Four

Discussion & Conclusion

"Au bala e be spik for me, when you come out from ya, that place there em e big place, more big than ya. You must find your way and swim out from the coral there. This wan big place there now, big sea there now you gor. You find your way, you gor stap there down you gor have to meke yourself come somebody there down, wer people for respect you, realise that you are there, ah. People for notice you. So before I be come, Au bala e spik for me that tok. So I still gad the tok blo em inside".

Big brother said to me before I left, "when you come out from here (islands) that place you're going to is bigger than here. You must find your way, and swim out of the corals. That place is big, big sea out there. Find your way, make something of yourself where people will respect you, realise that you are there, for people to take notice of you". So before I left, big brother said to me those words. So I still carry those words inside.

(Translated from an account of moving)

Chapter 8.   Sighting Land

8.1   Introduction

This chapter is presented in three main sections. Firstly, the different aspects of the grounded theory will be discussed in relation to existing literature from Chapter 2. Secondly, the grounded theory will be positioned against existing models of migration and resettlement, and finally, the implications of 'living in two worlds' will be presented in relation to social work policy and practice.

Throughout this chapter, I am going to refer to the people from this research as 'Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers', 'contemporary out-movers', or simply 'out-movers', to distinguish them from Pacific Island migrants or other migrants.

8.2   The grounded theory and existing migration literature

The 'experiences', 'sense-making', and 'strategies' of the grounded theory of 'livings in two worlds' are considered here in relation to existing literature.

8.2.1 Experiences

This section considers the contemporary out-movement experiences of Torres Strait Islanders moving to the mainland. They included the experiences of: 'like a new adventure'; 'living with uncertainty'; 'feeling out of place'; 'getting back on your feet'; 'finding the right spot'; 'managing obligations'; and, 'growing from here up'. For this chapter, experiences that have a similar thread have been grouped together and are considered as: like a new adventure, living with uncertainty and feeling out of place, getting back on your feet and finding the right spot, and managing obligations and growing up from here. However, all seven experiences are interrelated, partial and non-sequential.

8.2.1.1   Like a new adventure

Moving from the islands was experienced with mixed emotions. While there was sadness at leaving family and the familiarities of 'island life' behind, Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers expressed a feeling of excitement as they embarked on a new adventure. The prospect of creating opportunities for a better life

or starting a new life, outweighed some of the challenges that later presented when living on the mainland.

Apart from Tabuna (1985) whose study found that young internal migrants were attracted by the adventure and excitement of town life, literature on Pacific Islander migration suggested migration tended to be driven by the necessity for remittance out of cultural, social and economic obligation (Connell, 2013). The motivation to move was spurred by economic and social reasons as a result of poverty, and the poverty of opportunities (Connell & Viogt-Graf 2006).

Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers were mostly driven by aspirations towards 'mainstream' and perceived deficiencies in 'island life'. Unlike Pacific migration, which is often remittance-based and involved family decision-making (Connell & Conway 2000), Torres Strait Islander out-movement tended to be one of personal choice and freedom. Torres Strait Islander out-movement was internal and without restrictions, nor did it require substantial financial capital to move. Therefore, Torres Strait Islanders' out-movement was somewhat different as they moved with excitement, anticipating a new adventure.

8.2.1.2 *Living with uncertainty and feeling out of place*

Living on the mainland was likened to 'living with uncertainty', not knowing what tomorrow would bring. The challenges of getting through each day, the uncertainty and instability of rental accommodation, and not knowing when they might be evicted, increased levels of uncertainty. Homesickness was a constant feature and ever present to this group of movers. Removed from a place of familiarity and breaking routines, or changing day-to-day activities left others feeling out of place especially when trying to fit into another's world.

Migration literature had noted a sense of loss and a mourning for place, alongside a disruption of routine. Rosbrook & Schweitzer (2010) found that the longing for home was experienced as a feeling of emptiness and as a deep cavity that seemed to be an all-encompassing phenomenon, pervading both thoughts and emotions. Migrants longed for the familiar of the landscapes of their place of origin, as they attempted to resettle in a new, unfamiliar, and sometimes hostile environment. In extreme cases, the sense of placelessness as ascribed by Wrathall (2012), led to downward social mobility and further impoverishment, especially as migrants' grappled with learning new behaviours and conforming to unfamiliar social norms (Nelson et al. 2013b). Compounding these uncertainties was the clock-bound schedule and costly lifestyle of

urban living. This was repeatedly contrasted in Bedford's (1985, p. 357) study as internal migrants' compared the "virtue of freedom and variety in village life" to the restrictive nature of urban life. The freedom to "choose if and when to go fishing, visit gardens, make handicrafts, or sit around and gossip was highly valued by those who had experienced the routine of laboring, office work, or factory employment" (Bedford, 1985, p.357).

The process of uprooting from one's homeland involved severing longstanding ties with families, friends and community, and disrupting an individual's daily routine and activities. This disruption was most prevalent when physical and emotional support was withdrawn (Greene et al. 2011). Mourning the loss of familiar people, places, practices and landscapes was constantly experienced in the new world, and so was the remoulding of personal identity (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). To be able to smell familiar scents (Greene et al. 2011), and revisit the physical landscapes of one's childhood (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010) evoked pleasant memories for participants.

Torres Strait Islander out-migration, although being internal, shared similarities to international migration as described in the literature, particularly in terms of homesickness, feeling out of place, and having to adapt to a restrictive, clock-bound routine.

8.2.1.3   *Getting back on your feet and finding the right spot*

'Getting back on your feet' meant that out-movers had to adjust to a new timeframe and routine, get a job, find accommodation, or have their children settled into school. These were some of the challenging aspects that confronted out-movers on arrival. 'Finding the right spot' meant either becoming established physically in a stable or suitable location or dwelling, or a psychological space, which allowed for rest, regeneration and contemplation. This could also mean living within close proximity to services, family or other support networks; or living a safe distance away from these communities to avoid obligation. The support of established kin in the new location alleviated some of these tensions by providing emotional, financial and in-kind support, such as free accommodation and assistance with finding housing and employment when out-movers first arrived.

Existing literature on migration suggested that staying connected with family back home, or making new friends in the new location tended to enable migrants to establish themselves in new environments (Gough, 2006). Restoring the old sense of 'being' was achieved by connecting with ethno-cultural communities and surrounding

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oneself with the art, food and language of the former country (Greene et al. 2011). These studies found that such social support enhanced wellbeing and facilitated the experiences of resettlement. Social support was also important as it increased "self-efficacy and self-esteem that provides the confidence and skills to cope in the new situation" (Kawachi & Berkman 2001, p. 461). Seeking support from others from the same background or country of origin was helpful, since they might share similar migratory experiences and challenges with adjusting, and as such, provided some "points of reference" to the newly arrived (Simich, Beiser & Mawani 2003, p. 888).

The experience of Torres Strait Islander out-movement was similar, in that contemporary out-movers tended to move to destinations with existing social networks that helped them to 'get back on their feet', and 'find the right spot'. Social support in the new location was important during the initial stages of post-movement.

8.2.1.4   Managing obligation and growing from here up

While Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers moved for increased opportunities and an improved standard of living, afforded through participating in the cash economy, their level of participation was often uncertain, with some struggling to achieve the lifestyle they had hoped to create. Having to keep good with kin, by contributing financially, placed a burden on families who were obligated to support new arrivals and families passing through. Households often experienced emotional and financial strain as they sought to balance family obligation and 'mainstream' responsibilities. Sometimes, these commitments extended beyond the household, and included providing support to local community, church groups, and large family or cultural events. 'Managing obligation' enabled contemporary out-movers to stay close to 'island life' and maintain connections with kin, while participating in 'mainstream'. In order to find a balance between social and cultural obligations and mainstream expectations, out-movers found ways to manage obligations.

The task of managing obligations required courage and diplomacy. This usually came with experience, as contemporary out-movers developed different perspectives, formed new social networks and found other ways of overcoming challenges in the absence of close relatives in the new location. This meant 'growing from here up'. Similarly, Greene et al. (2011) found in their study of migrant families, that migrants overcame their sense of loss by developing connections within their new environment, achieved financial stability, and saw the benefits in the lives of their children.

The literature on Pacific movement confirmed that managing obligations was important. Hanna's (1998) study found that it was often the women who carried these additional responsibilities, alongside their own career commitments and family life. Another example of urban obligations were those experienced by the Yolngu people of Northern Australia in whose culture kin must not be neglected when sick (Coulehan 1996). The responsibility to take care, 'keep-company', and host and house sick relatives from remote communities, fell on urban Yolngu households. Medical visits were often prolonged, with the urban-dwelling household becoming overburdened (Coulehan 1996). Studies noted that those most in need of support were least likely to receive support (Kawachi & Berkman 2001). However, from a recipient's position, the acquisition of social support contributed to the "psychological costs in the sense of indebtedness and obligation" (Kawachi & Berkman 2001, p. 462). It was this sense of indebtedness that sustained the obligation to reciprocate.

The importance of maintaining place, space and face in Torres Strait Islander society meant that contemporary out-movers still had to carry out social and cultural obligations while living on the mainland. Tabuna (1985), in a study of Fijian internal migration, noted that social ties and obligation to kin still operated in urban areas, while in rural areas these ties might be more intense but expressed less in terms of money. Rural-urban migration was supported by relatives already working in town. They informed rural relatives of job openings or provided accommodation for members of their extended families until they found work. Sometimes this arrangement could drag on for years, as in Fijian custom, obligation to kinsmen was met regardless of the hardship involved (Tabuna 1985).

While there was a paucity of literature on the role of social and family obligation in urban settings, this was one of the more pronounced resettlement experiences of Torres Strait Islander out-movers. As contemporary out-movers became established and secure in the new surroundings, they were able to let go of some of these obligations, and set boundaries on those that become unreasonable or overwhelming. While physical and social support was essential in the initial phases of resettlement as out-movers became established, they developed other support networks outside the family unit, and found new ways of confronting difficulties. 'Growing from here up' was a new concept not mentioned in existing Pacific and international migration literature. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 did not focus on growth and strength.

8.2.2 Sense-making

This section looks at the four sense-making dimensions from the grounded theory: 'sense of belonging', 'sense of security', 'sense of purpose', and 'sense of hope'. Here, they are combined and considered as: a sense of belonging and security; and a sense of purpose and hope.

8.2.2.1   *Sense of belonging and security*

Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers generally had a 'sense of belonging' and a 'sense of purpose', which influenced their decision to move from the islands, or continue living on the mainland. This belonging was more than just a physical place to return to, but a metaphysical space entrenched in memories, history, ancestry and cultural identity. Some spoke of returning to the islands one day, when they accomplished certain aspirations, or when opportunities on the islands permitted their return. Maintaining links to the islands guaranteed their return: physically, emotionally and spiritually. A 'sense of belonging' provided contemporary out-movers with a cultural and group identity; knowing who they were, where they came from, and why they were here (on the mainland). Because of this 'sense of belonging', contemporary out-movers felt a 'sense of security'. The security of knowing that others are keeping watch from afar kept them on track. Belonging to place and family, and the security that came with it, gave them the courage to sail out into the new and unfamiliar.

In Rosbrook and Schweitzer's (2010) study, home was as an experience of a psychological place of safety and retreat. Home was a space that allowed the expression of love and for the opportunity to feel comfortable within oneself.   It was also seen as a socio-emotional space of relatedness to family (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). The concept of home could be experienced as both a tangible place and an intangible perception, which consisted of family or community (Rosbrook & Schweitzer 2010). In the Pacific literature, the act of remittances not only secured the migrants' places during their absence, but served as a continuous reminder of their connection to their place of belonging. Hernández & García-Moreno (2014) found that strong family and social network to fall back on when in times of difficulty provided people with the courage to migrate and face challenges in the new location.

Migration literature also suggested the closeness of community and family was missed when migrants became displaced. This was evident in Murakami-Ramalho and Durodoye's (2008) study of Hurricane Katrina evacuees from New Orleans. Those who were forced to rebuild their lives in other parts of the country missed the

closeness of family and the things that they would do at home during family gatherings. In Kingston and Marino's (2010) study of the *Ugiuvangmiut* (King Islanders) of Alaska, who had been twice displaced, the physical closeness of their former community of King Island, and then the makeshift community of East End, guaranteed the protection and survival of language, dance, and traditions (Kingston & Marino 2010). This all changed when the *Ugiuvangmiut* were relocated to the larger city of Nome, where families were separated by distance and their time was taken up in the cash economy.

The Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers' experiences of living together in large, multiple households not only nurtured the 'sense of belonging', but provided the security of pooling resources to support each other: physically, emotionally, financially and at times, spiritually. Accommodating extended kin over long periods was a responsibility that left the door open for out-movers to return home (in the different meaning of this term), when needed.

8.2.2.2 Sense of purpose and hope

Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers initially moved in search of opportunities to create a better life for themselves and their family. Those who moved maintained hope of one day returning back to the islands with skills to help others, or when the time was right. Knowing what is expected of them gave them purpose and the courage to face the uncertainties of mainland living. Maintaining daily responsibilities, such as caring for elderly family members or helping relatives navigate the complexities of 'mainstream', gave others a 'sense of purpose'. The ability to teach cultural practices outside of the homeland and watch grandchildren grow, sustained others while away. Those who could not return home found solace in their family and cultural community. Others invested in their children's future, with the hope of a better life for their children. Having a 'sense of purpose', gave the out-movers a 'sense of hope'.

Equally important to maintaining this sense of purpose was having meaningful and supportive relationships in the new destination. Studies have indicated that social support can impact positively on migrants' health and well-being (Hernández & García-Moreno 2014). Emotional and affirmation-al support were important aspects of refugee mobility and came from both formal and informal sources, including peers and professionals (Simich et al. 2003). Hernandez and Garcia-Moreno (2014) found, in their study of Latin American immigrants, that migrants' were coping relatively well

despite the adversities, due to protective factors such as social networks and a strong sense of meaning of life. The aspiration of achieving a better life for their family, and especially their children, provided migrants' with the resilience required to endure challenges (Hernández & García-Moreno 2014). A study of urban settlements in Vanuatu found that those trapped in towns, "realistically believed that they remained in town for their children's sake" (Mecartnet, 2001, p. 80, cited in Connell, 2003, p. 58). Others saw their return back to the village as imminent, once their children completed formal schooling (Tabuna 1985).

The literature affirms that it was this 'sense of purpose' and 'sense of hope' that prompted migrants to move in pursuit of opportunities. Torres Strait Islander out-movers sought opportunities that would improve the next generation's place in 'mainstream'. When this was accomplished some hoped to return to the islands. Again, the motive for return was purposeful, and in that there was hopefulness in maintaining the connection between the islands and the mainland. In a sense, it was like forming a bridge that would help others, and especially subsequent generations, cross back and forth with greater ease.

8.2.3 Strategies

This section considers the four strategies: 'setting boundaries', 'taking responsibility', 'making adjustments', and, 'keeping close'. Here they are combined and considered as: setting boundaries and keeping close, and, taking responsibility and making adjustment.

8.2.3.1   *Setting boundaries and keeping close*

'Setting boundaries' enabled Torres Strait Islander out-movers to effectively engage in mainstream while still attending to social and cultural obligations. Some found the need to reassess and set new boundaries for self and others in order to effectively manage the resettlement experience. Certain cultural aspects could no longer be sustained on the mainland, and had to be adjusted, modified or abandoned in order to fit within mainstream priorities. 'Keeping close' related to the earlier work of the metasynthesis and the concept of 'staying close'. Attending to obligation was important for 'keeping close', especially for those contemplating return, whether for short breaks or permanently. This 'keeping close' must be managed and balanced, while at the same time allowing mainstream engagement. Maintaining close family and social ties on the mainland also meant that Torres Strait Islander contemporary

out-movers could rally support when establishing, or when needing help to 'get back on their feet'.

Studies in the larger regions of Melanesian found that many established urban dwellers (internal movers) maintained strong ties to their original rural villages. Not only was this out of obligation and identity, but as insurance for their return in "response to the bleak prospects of access to housing, insecurity of urban land tenure, low or no pension payments and health benefits after retirement from wage employments" (Connell, 2003, p. 70).

For Torres Strait Islander out-movers, 'setting boundaries' and 'keeping close' are interconnected. To nurture and maintain healthy relationships, there must be a balance between cultural obligations and mainstream expectation. In order to support 'island life', the out-movers must be able to participant in 'mainstream'. The migration literature identified major advantages with 'keeping close' in the new location (Greene et al. 2011; Hernandez-Plaza et al. 2006; Simich et al. 2003). Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers were also maintaining these connections, both on the mainland and on the Islands. Keeping the door open by 'keeping close' not only provided the assurance of return, but also ensured that the younger generations had somewhere to return to. Taking children back to the Islands cultivated the sensations of belonging to home, and re-established and reinforced connections to people and place.

8.2.3.2   Taking responsibility and making adjustments

To take responsibility meant that Torres Strait Islander out-movers had to stand up and do things for themselves. This involved self-advocacy and efficacy. The out-movers took responsibility by taking practical steps towards reaching goals, paying bills on time and budgeting wisely. The constant routine of 'mainstream' had to be mastered. Adjusting to different social habits, restricting family visits, and maintaining space between self and others during work days were some of the adjustments that contemporary out-movers had to make to live comfortably in 'mainstream'.

'Taking responsibility' for family also meant caring for the elderly, to the extent that Torres Strait Islander out-movers had to exit 'mainstream' (leave work) to meet these responsibilities, and give back those who raised them. This was also exemplified in the literature around remittances, particularly in the context of love and loyalty, as opposed to personal insurance for return. For the *Kukipi* of Papua New Guinea, remittances were more about "'returns for benefits already received, not anticipating

future benefits…a lifetime exchange relationship between parents and children" (Morauta, 1979a, p. 6, cited in Connell, 1980, p. 46).

Irrespective of distance or whether migration was internal or international, Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers were required to take responsibility and make certain adjustments in order to negotiate and re-establish themselves under new conditions. These adjustments helped contemporary out-movers respond to changes in everyday life. Living on the mainland came with uncertainty and was perceived as unpredictable, restrictive, costly and isolating. The contemporary out-movers took responsibility and made adjustments to balance family and cultural obligations, all within the demands of 'mainstream'.

Torre Strait Islander contemporary out-movement had similarities, but also different experiences to international migrants. I found that Torres Strait Islander movers experienced their out-movement as a new adventure, and that this adventure soon passed when faced with demands and the expectations of 'mainstream'. With support, the movers where able to get back on their feet and find the right spot. They also found that they needed to 'manage obligations' and eventually they experienced 'growing from here up', a new concept not mentioned in the Pacific and International migration literature. Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers sense-making had parallels with Pacific migration literature, especially in relations to obligation and responsibility for family and extended kin and the need to stay close to ensure their return. The strategies of, 'setting boundaries', 'making adjustments', 'taking responsibility', and 'staying close', used by Torres Strait Islander out-movers were not named in the Pacific or international migration literature, although there were similar, underlying notions that such strategies were taking place at post-migration.

8.3 Migration theories and models

This section will look at the grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' against some existing theories and models of migration and resettlement, particularly Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies.

8.3.1 Models of migration and integration

When seeking to understand the experiences of migration and resettlement, I encountered a variety of literature much of which considered experiences of forced

migration and mainly of refugees. The following table provides a summary of some of the literature surrounding migration and resettlement experiences (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1
Related concepts and theories in migration literature

Authors	Field/Discipline	Focus
Ager & Strang, (2008)	Refugee studies	Integration
		Displacement
		Refugee resettlement
Berry (1997)	Cross-cultural psychology	Current mover
		Acculturation and adaptation
		Resettlement strategies
Barnes (2001)	Social Work	Resettlement experience
		Attachment
		Refugee
Hanna (1998)	Physiology	Acculturation
		Stress
		International
Greene, Tehranifar, Hernandez-Cordero, & Fullilove (2011)	Socio-medical Sciences	Displacement (of families)
		International
		Stages of migration and resettlement
Rosbrook & Schweitzer (2010)	Psychology & Counselling	Refugee displacement
		Resettlement experiences
		Concept of 'home'

While literature on migratory experiences presented first person accounts using quotes throughout, Greene et al. (2011) was distinctive as they provided a model to illustrate the phases of managing displacement.
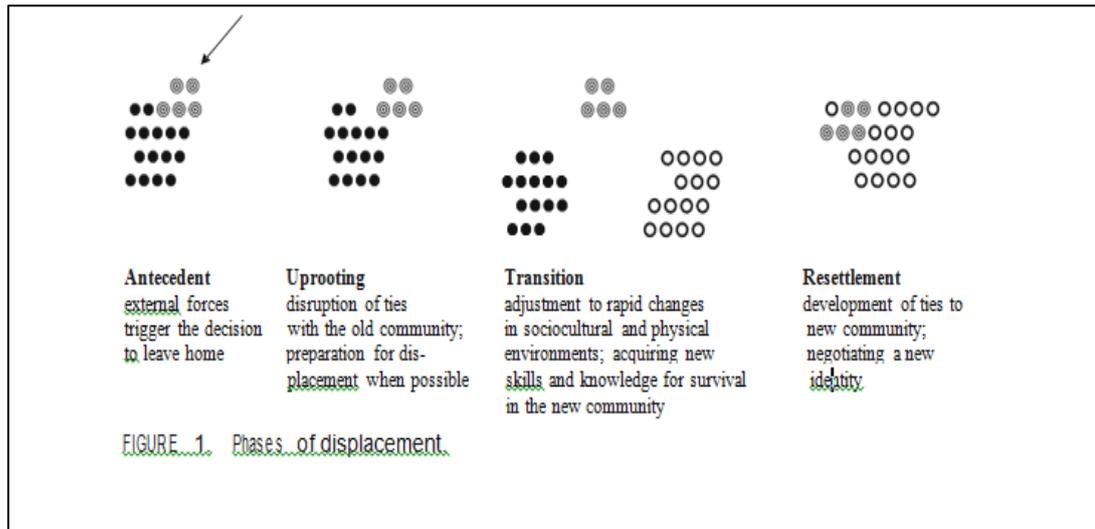
Figure 8.1 Four phases of managing displacement (Greene et al., 2011, p. 410)

Greene et al. (2011) uncovered four phases of managing displacement from their study of immigrant families in America. These were antecedent, uprooting, transition, and resettlement. Their study looked at the experience of migration in three stages: pre-migration, in-migration, and post-migration. Greene et al.'s (2011) study was similarly concerned with understanding the motivations for migration and the migrant's circumstances (pre-migration), followed by their experiences of moving and resettling (in and post-migration). Greene et al.'s (2011) study does not consider the other dimensions, such as sense-making and strategies in great detail.

Migration studies tend to include discussions around integration, especially in terms of refugee resettlement. Although the concept of integration is widely used when defining migration models and theories, the concept remains controversial and debated, yet continues to be the preferred policy option targeting refugee resettlement (Ager & Strang 2008). Ager & Strang (2008) attempted to explore the operational definition of integration, which resulted in a model consisting of ten core domains for understanding the concept, along with factors that may contribute to 'successful' integration. Their model builds on the foundational domains of citizenship and rights, from which other domains are grouped. The groups include facilitators, social connections, and markers and means.
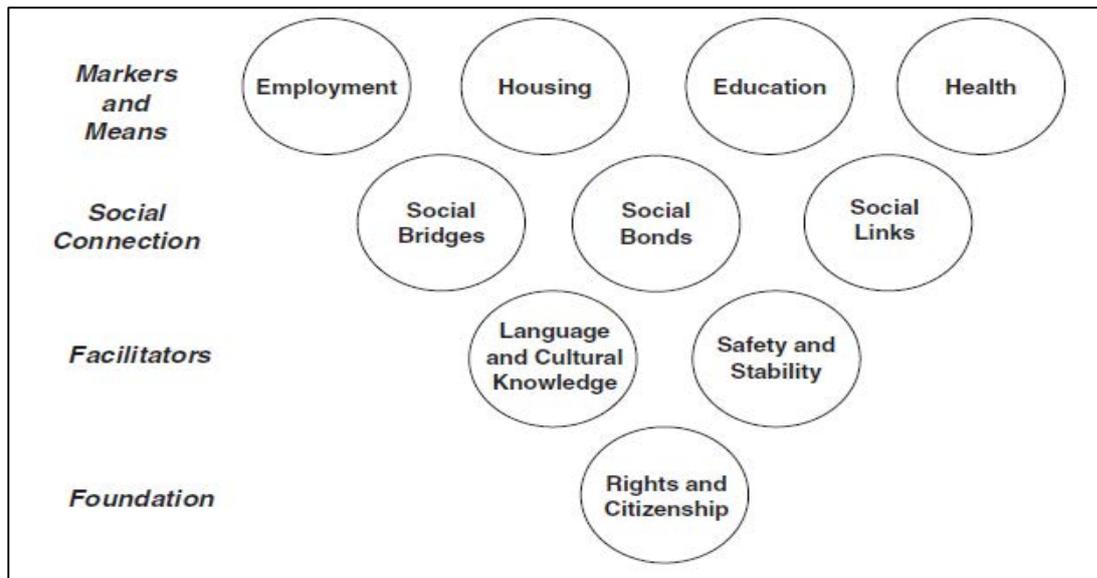
Figure 8.2 Ten core domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 170)

The conceptual framework presented by Ager & Strang (2008) serves as 'middle-range' theory in understanding the key components of integration and identifying potential indicators. Though Ager and Strang's (2008) model provides important understandings on integration, taken from documentary analysis and field work with refugee communities, their model does not consider experiences in detail.

I chose to position my work against Berry's (1997) model as his was foundational, while other models were built from his model outwards. Berry's model looked at current movers and resettlement strategies (Table 8.1). The acculturation strategies proposed by Berry and his colleagues (Berry 1992; Berry & Sabatier 2010; Sam & Berry 2010) have gained prominence in the field of psychology, and have been extensively cited. Berry's analytical framework forms the basis of numerous migration studies that look at resettlement experiences from the vantage point of integration (Hanna 1998; Hernandez-Plaza et al. 2006; Phillimore 2011; Wilson-Forsberg 2014), the different factors that influence acculturation and adaptation (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder 2010), and how these affect migrants' capacity to integrate or not.

Other migration studies focused on the drivers of migration (Black et al. 2011) and the implications (Barnett & O'Neill 2012; Cernea 2000; Wrathall 2012), which were previously covered in Chapter 2 and again in Chapter 6 in reference to Phase 1 findings.

8.3.2 Berry's model of acculturation strategies and adaptation

A number of migration models and theories have attempted to understand and explain the experiences of migrants, particularly international movements that cross social, economic, political and cultural borders. One such model, cross-cultural psychology, has demonstrated important links between the cultural context and how that shapes individual behavioural development (Berry 1997). Cross-cultural psychology focuses on the development of individuals who have developed in one cultural context before re-establishing their lives in another, with a particular interest in long-term psychological consequences that flow on from the acculturation process (Berry 1997). According to this model, the process of acculturation is highly variable, and influenced by a number of social and personal factors that exist in the society of origin and society of resettlement (Berry 1997).

8.3.2.1   Acculturation strategies

Berry (1997) developed an analytic framework consisting of two major issues that arise when two separate cultures come together and various compromises are made. These issues are: cultural maintenance (to what extent cultural identity and characteristics are to be considered, and their maintenance strived for), and contact and participation (to what extend do they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves). When these two issues are considered, migrants 'chose' one of four strategies assimilation, separation, integration, or marginalisation (Figure 8.2).

On the continuum of acculturation, Berry (1997) maintained that, on one extreme migrants become assimilated, meaning that they discard almost all of their former culture, language, traditions and mores, and become part of the dominant society. At the opposite extreme, migrants remain separated out of fear or discrimination. This often leads to isolation and resentment on the part of the migrant and the host community, and if this persists, leads to marginalisation (Berry, 1997). The idea is to understand the balance of what to keep from the former culture and what to take on board from the new culture. This balance presumably facilitates a smoother transition and resettlement process, and allows a more productive and comfortable life in the new country. Berry (1997, p. 10) also conceded that successful integration can only be pursued "freely" by the non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and orientated towards cultural diversity, and respects the rights of others to live "culturally different".
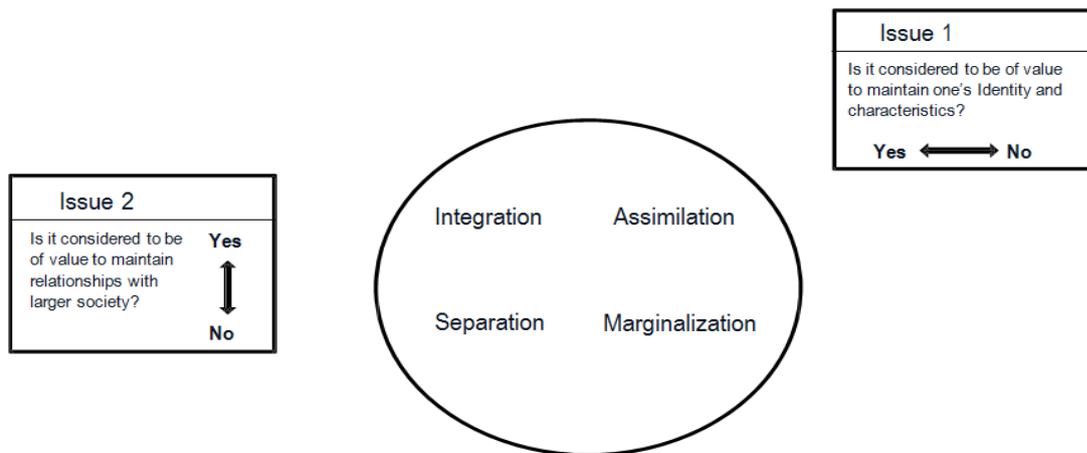
Figure 8.3 Acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997, p. 10)

Studies suggested that integration is the most effective strategy of acculturation and is associated with better psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Berry & Sabatier 2010; Ward & Kennedy 1994; Wilson-Forsberg 2014). The strategy of integration involves the "selective adoption of new behaviours from the larger society and retention of valued features of one's heritage culture" (Berry, 2005, p. 708). According to Berry and others (Berry & Sabatier 2010; Ward & Kennedy 1994; Wilson-Forsberg 2014), the integration strategy tends to result in better adaptation outcomes when there is double competence and resources available from one's own ethnic and cultural group, and from the new dominant society. Double competence and resources increase the individual's ability to cope with change.

In terms of migration, it is often the stronger and more dominate culture that is assumed, while certain aspects of the former culture are abandoned as migrants adjust to new conditions. These behavioural shifts take place as migrants make adjustments to 'fit' into the larger society through the sub-processes of culture shedding, culture learning, and culture conflict (Berry, 1992). Difficulties arise when the individual is overwhelmed by the cultural distances and is faced with problems beyond his/her control. This may result in the individual withdrawing (separation), or experiencing culture shedding without culture learning, and as a result becoming marginalised (Berry, 1997). These behaviour shifts and changes to individuals "behavioural repertoire" is often termed "adjustment", because most of the adaptive changes takes place in the acculturation individual with little or no change among

members of the dominant population (Berry, 2005, p. 707). These adjustments are often taking place with minimal difficulties, and are non-problematic in regards to the acculturation experiences (Berry, 2005).

Acculturation involves various forms of mutual accommodation that leads to some longer-term psychological and socio-cultural adaptations in both groups. The process of acculturation is on-going, and continues for as long as there are culturally different groups in contact (Berry 2005). These mutual adaptations either take place easily, or create cultural conflicts that can lead to acculturative stress (Berry 2005). In addition to the acculturation strategies migrants may choose, situational factors can also alter the experiences and course of acculturation. As migrants experience different outcomes in response to their changing circumstances, they may choose a different strategy out of those listed by Sam & Berry (2010).

8.3.2.2   Adaptation

Closely related to acculturation is the concept of adaptation. While not synonymous with acculturation, it proceeds from the changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands to improve the "fit" between them and their new environments (Berry, 2005, p. 709). Adaptation with regards to Berry's work refers to an individual's psychological well-being and how they manage socio-culturally in terms of their acculturation experience (Berry, 1992, 1997). Acculturating individuals can either adapt to their new environment immediately or over longer periods, again depending on a number of influencing factors (Berry, 1997). While good psychological adaption is predicted by personality traits and social support, successful socio-cultural adaption is predicted by cultural knowledge (cultural maintenance), degree of contact (contact and participation) and positive intergroup attitudes (Berry, 2005, p. 709).

8.3.2.3   Positioning the grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' against Berry's model of acculturation strategies

Berry (2005) talks about living successfully in both worlds, whereas I wanted to understand how Torres Strait Islander out-movers were managing their migration experiences. Berry's model of acculturation leads on to adaptation, which is the "relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands", as migrants attempt to fit into their new environment (Berry, 2005, p. 709). The two main outcomes are sociocultural and psychological adaption, which occurs at group and individual level (Berry 1997). My findings suggest that Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers are adjusting to manage the obligations of

'island life', and the expectations of 'mainstream', in order to realise both individual and group aspirations.

The concept of integration is highly contested, raising questions such as what constitutes an integrated community, and on whose terms, since it is often the dominant group which sets the terms and conditions of integration (Phillimore 2011). Looking beyond the concept of integration, there is the idea of adjusting. Migrants are adjusting, to fit into and participate in mainstream in order to acquire resources necessary to sustain their cultural identities. Wilson-Forsberg's (2014) study of Latin American immigrants in Canada found that skilled migrants were not integrating but adapting, as skill-loss as a result of migration placed them in a lower socioeconomic position, which in turn limited their ability to integrate. These immigrants tended to relate to the receiving society on an "as-needed basis" (Wilson-Forsberg 2014, p. 783).

Adaption seems to be a more permanent form of modification, changing the original culture and behaviours to conform to the status quo, whereas adjusting, enables contemporary out-movers to 'manage the crossings'. Managing the crossings by adjusting enables migrants to maintain the old, while attending to the new. 'Living in two worlds' suggests that Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers are not integrating, but are managing by adjusting their routine and lifestyle to suit mainstream. They are making these daily adjustments to access what is needed to support and maintain 'island life'. My model is not about integration, or living successfully in two cultures (Berry, 2005). It is about 'managing the crossings', from one world to another.

Berry's framework of acculturation has had its critics, who argue that this approach is "fixed, invariant, and apolitical" (Bhatia & Ram, 2009, p. 140), and that acculturation should be understood as an "ongoing negotiation between past and present, the country of origin and settlement and where identities are contested and constantly moving" (Phillimore 2011, p. 590). My model extends Berry's work by moving from acculturation strategies, as a definite outcome, to considering the experience of out-movement as an ongoing and dynamic process. The process of resettlement for Torres Strait Islanders moving to the Australian mainland is one of 'living in two worlds', constantly managing the crossings. This is a constant lived experience and sense-making process that can occur daily and many times a day, as the person moves between 'island life' and 'mainstream'.

My model adds this dynamic of 'managing the crossings' and is supported by Bhatia and Ram (2009) who see this process as complex, dynamic, contextually located and shaped by larger political and social conditions that also influence the acculturation process. Torres Strait Islander out-movers experience their resettlement as constantly shifting as they negotiate between 'island life' and 'mainstream'. Unlike Berry's model, where there tends to be an end point or outcome, my research found that the notion of acculturation was neither fixed nor absolute, but a process that is continuously negotiated daily and contextually-derived. All seven experiences can occur together, in any order and at multiple times. Likewise, the four sense-making dimensions can happen together as out-movers contend with all four strategies, at the same time, or in different combinations (Figure 8.4).
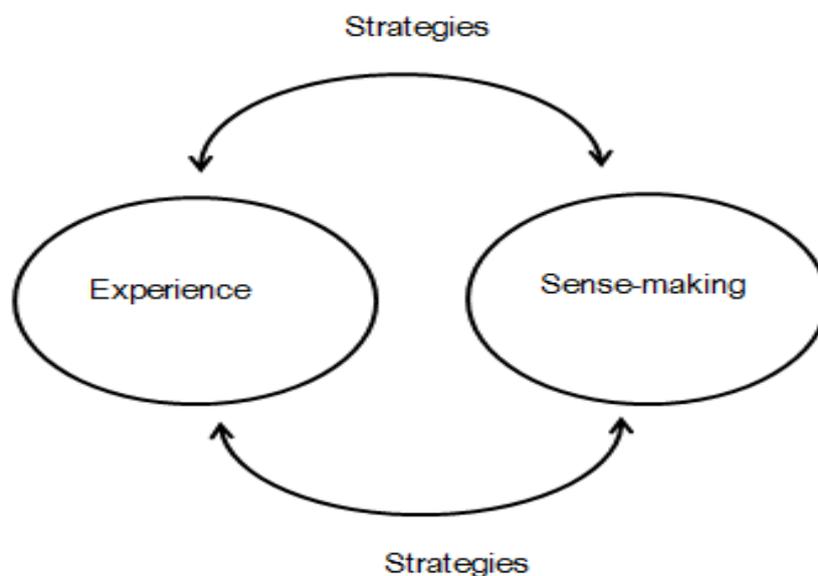
Figure 8.4 Dynamic model of 'living in two worlds'

The grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' by 'managing the crossings' is a dynamic and conscious act of meeting new challenges, making sense of the experience and developing strategies. Making sense of the experience can lead to action that involves developing and testing new strategies from which new experiences are formed, that stimulates sense-making, new strategies, new experiences and so forth. The experiential and sense-making dimensions are mutually entwined, while strategies emerge from the process that contemporary out-movers develop to reach their aspirations. Torres Strait Islanders are 'living in two worlds' and 'managing the crossings', and in order to do that, they are making adjustments, not integrating.

8.4 Implications for social work policy and practice

This section looks at the implications for social work policy and practice, and how my research adds to existing models and practice frameworks. This section is considered in three parts: macro (social policy); messo (community awareness); and micro (individual and groupwork practice).

Social work policy and practice varies considerably across institutional contexts and practice situations (Healy, 2005), and is located at the interface between people and their social, cultural and physical environments (AASW, 2010). The unifying features of social work professional practice are its commitment to five basic values: respect for human dignity and worth, pursuit of social justice, service to humanity, integrity and practice competence (AASW, 2010). The aim of social work is to pursue the maintenance of human wellbeing, maximise the development of human potential, and the fulfilment of human needs (AASW, 2010). Social work functions at the micro, messo and macro levels of society and adopts various theories, methods and practice models or frameworks to achieve its objectives. Different models of assessment and intervention are used in different practice settings, informed by the purpose, assumptions and institutional context of practice (Chenoweth & McAuliffe 2012).

My research aimed to raise consciousness in the profession and community, and to inform practice. At the macro level, I wanted to raise consciousness of those working to support Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers at the policy level. At the messo level, I wanted to raise community consciousness about the issue with councils, the community and the non-profit sector. At the micro level, I wanted to provide a theoretical basis for subsequent development of practice tools for individual and group support.

8.4.1 Macro: Social Policy

Historically, large industrial nations welcomed immigrants as workers to fill the labour market, but not as long term settlers (Iredale, Castles & Hawksley 2003). As workers they were temporarily integrated into certain societal sub-systems such as the labour market and some aspects of the welfare system, but excluded from other such political participation (Iredale et al. 2003; Taffe 2009). In Australia, this was evident with the integration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' who were previously subjected to policies of segregation and then assimilation under the White Australia Policy (Jupp 2002). By the 1970s, Australia saw an influx of immigrants and refugees from Indo-

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China escaping war and persecution (Castles et al. 2014). With the increase of foreign-born citizens, the policy of multiculturalism was introduced in "an attempt to dispel the myth of a homogenous and monocultural society and pursue ways of managing the permanent settlement of various and diversified groups" (Iredale et al. 2003, p. 12). The underlying assumption was that once these immigrants settled, successive generations born in Australia would be both citizens and nationalists, and belong to "one society and loyal to one nation-state" (Iredale et al. 2003). Since its inception, multiculturalism has been a contested policy in Australia (Koleth 2010). The policy of multiculturalism has since been abandoned, and has been regarded by some as, "failing attempts of integration and social cohesion" (Iredale et al. 2003, p. 12). Despite ongoing debate, the integration strategy is still favoured by most policy-makers, while opponents reject the approach as a "process through which people pass *en route* to assimilation" (Phillimore 2011, p. 557).

Literature suggests that those working to support migrants, tend to work from a heavily bureaucratised, risk-based perspective, that does not adequately promote migrants' strengths (Hernández & García-Moreno 2014). Resettlement policies often promote the concept of integration, and social workers are directed to mainstream migration by adapting their practice and education to address cross-cultural issues in an attempt to improve intervention, and meet service delivery outcomes (Cox & Geisen, 2014). However, studies also indicate that migrants are coping relatively well, due to protective factors such as social networks, and a strong sense of meaning attributed to their reason, or reasons to migrate (Elliot & Segal, 2012). Literature also suggests that social work lags behind in migration research (Cox & Geisen 2014). Earlier literature on migration focused on the challenges and mental anguish (Casado et al. 2010; George 2012). My research was informed by a strengths' perspective, which aligns with current literature and practice frameworks used by non-profit and government agencies (Chenoweth & McAuliffe 2012). I looked for islands of strengths, concealed beneath the everyday challenges that contemporary out-movers faced.

The implication of my research for social work policy is that while the focus has been on integration, the Torres Strait Islander out-movement experience is actually about 'managing the crossings', a different model. While policy-makers are attempting to integrate migrants into 'mainstream', my findings suggest that out-movers are making adjustments to navigate the two worlds, and are not seeking integration. Therefore, structurally, the experience is not about integration, it is about adjustment. These adjustments are happening at an individual level within this relatively small Torres

Strait Islander community in Cairns. These adjustments need recognition, and through that recognition, contemporary out-movers can be supported to live the ongoing adjustment that is necessary to 'get back on their feet', to 'find the right spot', to hold on to their sense of hope and belonging, to have purpose, and help them develop their strategies.

8.4.2 Messo: Community Awareness

The idea of theorizing is to produce new ways of thinking, knowing, feeling and doing. The implication for social work is that there is a new model, a model of 'adjustment' based on the lived experience of Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers. Sharing the collective experience and uncovering and naming the processes are all part of theorizing.

Because social work engages with theories borrowed from other disciplines to inform practice and intervention, theory development is essential to developing new models and understanding in step with the rapidly changing conditions and needs of diverse and marginalised groups. This is where I see my grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' as potentially useful. 'Living in two worlds' is about self-determination for out-movers within their own structures and understandings from their perspective. Social work is about understanding people in their environment in order to promote and preserve, personal, interpersonal, socioeconomic and political wellbeing, so that they can improve their conditions. The grounded theory of 'living in two worlds' conceptualises the experiences of people on the move. Theorizing is important to support the efforts of communities, councils, and the non-government sector in supporting out-movers at the messo level. Working at the messo level is also about sharing knowledge with the community in order to raise awareness and stimulate discussion that may lead to positive changes from the 'grassroots' level up (Ife & Tesoriero 2006).

8.4.3 Micro: Individual and groupwork practice

Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movement is internal, and out-movers' positions can be understood as 'temporary residents', but without a timeframe. The drivers of this move are aspirational and often purposeful: to establish the new generation in mainstream before returning home. The experience of moving is understood to be a roller-coaster experience, from setting out on a new adventure to living with uncertainty. At any time in their lives, contemporary out-movers can re-live

these experiences, try and get back on their feet, and find the right spot as they go about managing the crossings. Social workers are in a position to help contemporary out-movers understand what experiences are happening for them and make sense of them. Most importantly, social workers can help out-movers with developing strategies to improve their experience of 'living in two worlds'.

The experiential and sense-making dimensions from my model of 'living in two worlds' can be used by social workers as a developmental tool to help contemporary out-movers understand and locate themselves, to help them make sense of their experiences, and help them develop strategies. Finding strategies can lead to self-development and self-determination. Social workers can help contemporary out-movers find new ways of doing things *prapa* (the right way), to set boundaries when necessary, and to stay close. Essentially, it is about understanding the client's worldview and their need to stay close. This can be achieved through providing appropriate support and resources that enable out-movers to self-determine.

Torres Strait Islanders are in a precarious position, as a distinct cultural minority within another minority group, Aboriginal Australians. Torres Strait Islanders' homelands are geographically and culturally separated from the Australian mainland. The retention of their culture and separate group identity were important to many contemporary out-movers, and their attachment to home permeated throughout the research project. Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers spoke as though they were only temporary residents and physical occupants of the mainland, while at the same time belonging to home. Their connections to home, and what constituted home, allowed them to live in two worlds. Berry's (1997) strategy of marginalisation may eventuate if contemporary out-movers are expected to integrate too quickly, and forced to abandon what may seem to be unrealistic and unhelpful cultural practices that impede individual progress. While the integration strategy remains contested, the concept is entrenched in the political, economic and social structures of large nation states, whose terms and conditions are being imposed on others.

Social work practice is at the forefront of human rights concerns and confronts issues relating to human suffering and oppression (Briskman & Cemlyn 2005). Social workers are being urged to understand the context of their clients' experiences, including the structural complexities that formulate migration policies (Elliott & Segal, 2012). Together with cross-cultural and anti-oppressive practice competencies, social workers are well placed in terms of promoting human rights and social justice. The need to address inequalities and support clients and communities to self-determine is

most critical, and especially so, as the out-movements of Indigenous people from remote communities to urban centres are expected to increase in response to economic and environmental imperatives (Green, Alexander, et al. 2010; Petheram et al. 2010). The need for consciousness-raising at the macro, messo and micro levels is vitally important, so that contemporary out-movers can be supported as they make these adjustments. Hence, understanding the experiential and sense-making processes and developing strategies involved with 'living in two worlds' is highly relevant to social work policy and practice.

Chapter 9.   Setting Anchor

9.1   Introduction

This research was undertaken to understand the experiences of Torres Strait Islanders' contemporary out-movement. It sought to raise consciousness and increase understanding of the experience within the community, and to inform policy and practice to support future predicted out-movements arising from climatic and economic imperatives.

I was initially interested in exploring factors that determined successful experiences of Torres Strait Islander contemporary out-movers who had resettled on the Australian mainland. This question came to mind as I contemplated how people were managing their lives on the mainland and whether certain factors, attributes and characteristics determined successful resettlement outcomes. I soon discovered that 'success' was a construct based on people's perceptions, values, life-chances and what mattered to them most. The meaning of success was contentious, contested, subjective and contextually-derived. I moved on from looking at success factors to simply listening to people's stories of out-movement, from which emerged a grounded theory of 'living in two worlds'.

I also assumed, as an insider that working with my own cultural community would give me right of way. I soon discovered that I was both insider and outsider to the research location and focus. This meant that I had to consciously and critically manage my place in the research from the outside-in, and inside-out. Through this process I became aware of my own knowing and being, found new ways of doing (method), learnt to trust the process, and to go with what felt right.

In this chapter, I summarise the main arguments of the thesis by providing an overview of each chapter. I conclude by noting factors which (de)limited the research, highlighting the use of current research, and make recommendations for future research.

9.2   Thesis overview

In Chapter 1, I introduced myself and provided a vignette on my own experience as a Torres Strait Islander woman, a contemporary out-mover, and social worker.

Anchoring self as researcher and then the research is important for Indigenous research. This ensured cultural safety, and provided the platform from where I could speak; since this is also my story and a story co-constructed in partnership with my participants. In this chapter I presented some important considerations in relation to insider-outsider research, cultural grounding and the use of metaphor. I located place; identified the research problem, aims, question, and key terms, and developed the rationale for the research and the approach to the research across paradigm, methodology and design considerations. Again, for the purpose of locating the research and providing background and context, a brief history of the Torres Strait was presented - its people and their historical experiences of movement.

In Chapter 2, I commenced my literature search by conducting a metasynthesis of qualitative studies using Noblit and Hare's (1988) approach to synthesis (Mosby 2013). I needed to deepen my knowledge of the literature surrounding migration, particularly of Indigenous and minority groups, using first person accounts in my research period of 2001 and 2011. I looked for experiences of migration that included first person's voices. This was a deliberate and necessary attempt to develop sensitizing concepts as well as challenge my own experience and assumptions, as I was also a contemporary out-mover and close to the research focus and location. The overarching construct from the metasynthesis was 'continuity of being', consisting of sensitizing concepts of: 'freedom to be', the motivational factor; and 'staying close' and 'forming anchor', the experiential dimensions. The results of the metasynthesis were integrated into this chapter.

The second literature search was conducted after the grounded theory was developed and again in the write-up phase of the discussion chapter, consistent with grounded theory methods. I found, in this quest, that there were gaps in social work literature in terms of migration research, particularly internal migration, which received relatively little attention. In my search for literature that might parallel Torres Strait Islanders' experiences, I sought literature from around the Pacific. I found that Pacific Islander migration was mainly driven by economic imperatives and the need for remittance, and obligation and responsibility to family and community. Climate change-related movement did not take precedence in the Pacific literature as one would expect, given increased publicity around rising sea levels and sinking islands. I also found that the concept of migration was complex and transcended space, time and distance, and consisted of individual, family, and large group movement under diverse conditions. Whether migration was internal or international, forced or voluntary, aspects of the

experience were similar, in that migrants sought better opportunities, experienced disconnection from their community of origin, and had to reconnect again in their new location. I also reconfirmed that Torres Strait Islander internal migration had so far not been considered in social work literature, reaffirming the need for this research.

In Chapters 3, I introduced and discussed my theoretical framework, based on the metaphor of an out-rigger canoe, *serib serib nar.* Developing my theoretical framework was an ongoing reflective task, constantly looking inwards and outwards, retracing my journey and asking questions such as 'why did I do things a certain way?' This process was extremely tense and emotional, involving serious self-interrogation, delving deep down into the invisible and inquiring within the spirit. I found that my intuition, decisions and actions were congruent with the chosen paradigms of Decolonizing (Smith 1999), Constructivist (Charmaz 2006), and Indigenous (Kovach), together informing a transformative agenda (Mertens, 2009). This merging and reworking of paradigmatic perspectives raised my own deep understanding of ontology as my way of 'being', epistemology as 'knowing', methodology as 'doing', and axiology as my way of 'feeling', and research as paradigm, process and product in the form a *seuri seuri* (warrior's club).

In Chapters 4 and 5, I presented my mixed methods design and the learning from Phase 1 and Phase 2 data collection and analysis. Phase 1 data collection consisted of remote surveying of Torres Strait island communities with the intention of establishing the nature and scale of out-movement. I did this virtually, by phone, as I walked alongside the informants who resided on the islands. I found that Western surveying techniques were not going to work, and in the process of developing other techniques, I found that I needed to 'take off my hat', 'take a walk', and ensure people 'won't get burnt' if I was to research from a Decolonising perspective using Indigenous Research Principles. Phase 2, consisted of in-depth interviews and grounded theorizing using a Constructivist Approach. I interviewed people living in Cairns and sought to understand their experiences of moving. I used story-telling and yarning processes and encouraged people to speak in the language they were most comfortable with, Torres Strait Creole. I started with a quota sampling method, followed by purposive and theoretical sampling. Data collection and analysis occurred together, consistent with grounded theory methods. I used the metaphor of the rolling waves, *zeuber,* to guide the process of data collection, and I used the metaphor of migrating birds as meaning making for data analysis. This helped guide the process of analyses, from developing codes, concepts and categories, to finally finding the core

construct. I grappled with positioning self in the overall storying and presenting 'people' as *buai* (kinfolk). I learnt that my insider-outsider position was contentious at times, and the recruitment processes had to be balanced, since interviewing can create lifelong obligations. I worked around this by interviewing those 'familiar' to me, and then moving outwards to the 'unfamiliar'. I found that snowball sampling, through referrals by gatekeepers, was useful, culturally safe, appropriate for Indigenous research, and was respectful of people's time, priorities and privacy. I also found that Western-style interviewing was not appropriate and I shifted to a discussion and talking style as I learnt to trust the process. I concluded that virtual remote surveying (Mosby, forthcoming) and grounded theorizing, using a Decolonizing stance, a Constructivist Approach and Indigenous Research Principles were useful and appropriate, particularly for insider-outsider research.

In Chapter 6, I discussed the findings from Phase 1 data collection and analysis. I found that most out-movement was aspirational, driven by perceived deficiencies on the islands. People moved mainly for 'family' reasons, to create opportunities for a 'better life'. Young people between the ages of 20 and 29 years, had the highest out-movement, followed by those unemployed at the time. I found that a high portion of movers resided in social housing prior to moving, and often consisted of multiple households. I also found that there was a new movement of people relocating to the mainland for 'medical' reasons, and that the preferred destination for this out-movement was Cairns. Phase 1 data was analysed using descriptive statistics and the results were returned to individual islands in the form of separate reports to raise consciousness, and as part of reciprocity. I found simple graphical displays useful in stimulating both thought and discussion around the issue of out-movement, as no longer was this phenomenon elusive, but something tangible that people could see and hold.

The findings from Phase 2 data collection and analysis were presented in Chapter 7, as a grounded theory of 'living in two worlds'. The concept of 'living in two worlds' consisted of experiences, sense-making and strategies. As people make sense of their experiences, out-movers developed strategies to 'manage the crossings' from one world to another - 'island life' and 'mainstream'. Managing the crossing was a dynamic and conscious act that occurred daily, and possibly many times a day.

In Chapter 8, the grounded theory - 'living in two worlds', was compared with existing migration literature, models and theories. I chose models that looked at the experience of migration and the strategies that were used by people to manage their

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migratory experiences. I chose to position the grounded theory against Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies, which consisted of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation. Of these, integration was seen to be the most favourable option by Berry (1997), in which both cultural groups meet in the middle and mutually make changes in order to successfully coexist. What I found from my research was that Torres Strait Islanders were not integrating, nor was integration an intended outcome. Instead, people were making 'adjustments' on an individual level, and on an as-needed basis. The integration strategy is often pursued and encouraged by policy-makers; however, the concept remains contested and vague. My contribution of 'living in two worlds' is relevant for understanding Torres Strait Islanders' contemporary out-movement experiences: an experience that is dynamic, constant, consciously-lived, contextually-derived, and that occurs daily. It is important for social work policy and practice to ensure that people are not forced to assimilate or integrate, or become segregated or marginalised out of ignorance and complacency. The strategies used by the people in this research to manage their experiences of out-movement, included 'keeping close' yet 'setting boundaries'; and 'taking responsibility' by 'making adjustments'. Having a 'sense of belonging' gave them the security to 'live with uncertainty' and 'get back on their feet', while having a 'sense of purpose', gave them the strength to persist when 'feeling out of place'; and sustained the 'sense of hope' of one day returning home to the islands.

9.3 Acknowledging (de)limitations

This research is (de)limited by time, geographic extent, methods and co-constructors. The term (de)limitation or (de)limited is used as it is more appropriate to qualitative research, as such research is by nature focussed on smaller sample sizes; and does not seek to generalise to a wider population, but rather seeks analytical generalizability and potential transferability for other groups, times and locations (Charmaz 2006).

The research was (de)limited to out-movement in the period 2001-2011 for both Phase 1 and 2; to out-movement from the remote islands for Phase 1; and to out-movers residing in Cairns for Phase 2. I deliberately placed a time limit of ten years for both Phase 1 and 2 of the study, seeking the nature and scale of out-movement and the out-movement experiences between 2001 and 2011. This period captured two national census collections (2006 and 2011), and witnessed two major political reforms in the Torres Strait region, the amalgamation of local councils in 2008 and the

cessation of the Community Development Employment Project (CDEP) in 2009[1]. The purpose of Phase 1 data collection was to compliment the 2011 ABS census that recorded a significant reduction in the population, as well as to explore the nature and scale of out-movement. As the intent was to delve further into the nature and motivations of the out-movement in Phase 2, a simple descriptive account of the phenomenon was sufficient for Phase 1. I chose to limit my sampling for Phase 1, to people living on remote island communities that came under the Torres Strait Regional Council local government arrangement; and in Phase 2, to those living in Cairns. In Phase 1, I excluded the larger Shire of Port Kennedy, which included the inhabited islands of Thursday Island, Horn Island, Prince of Wales and Friday Island, and also the two discrete Torres Strait Islander communities of Bamaga and Seisia located on the Cape York region of mainland Australia. My reasons for eliminating these communities were twofold. Firstly, there was the difficulty and do-ability of collecting data for Phase 1, where I used virtual remote surveying methods. For the larger mainland-based communities of Bamaga and Seisia the task of surveying virtually would have been too difficult, due to size and the realistic extent of informants' knowledge. Secondly, the islands within the Port Kennedy Shire were not discrete Indigenous communities. There was the assumption that people living outside the discrete Indigenous communities may have additional advantages and greater opportunities available to them in the pre-, in-, and post-migratory phases of out-movement and they may have already moved from the remote islands in the past. Hence, I limited my research to understanding the experiences of out-movement from the perspective of remote island communities, which I considered most likely to be affected by government reforms. The field site of Cairns, selected for the in-depth interviews in Phase 2, did not take into account the experiences of those who may have travelled further South, and whose experiences might have been different. It must be acknowledged, therefore, that this timing and geographic extent, meant that the research in Phase 1 did not include the entire Torres Strait region and all out-movements; and in Phase 2, not all out-movers' destinations.

The chosen methods also (de)limited the research, especially the reliance on memory for Phase 1 data collection; and the need for relationality and reciprocity in sampling for Phase 2. The method of virtual remote surveying used in Phase 1 of the research relied on informants' recollections of past movements, their assumptions on people's

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[1] To refresh, CDEP provided jobs and services for remote Indigenous communities, and most importantly, retained populations by reducing the need for out-movement (Jordan 2012; Shnukal 2001).

motivations for moving, and sometimes hearsay information of what people were doing post-move. What I noticed through this process was that movements of significance were easily recalled and did not require additional prompting, whereas movements that were of lesser significance (according to the informant), were least obvious and may have slipped from the informant's memory. I tried to counter this by probing more deeply, and using of my local knowledge to facilitate remembering of streets and dwellings to prompt memories of people.

Sampling for Phase 2 interviews of people residing in Cairns, relied on availability and referrals by current participants and an Indigenous non-profit organisation, which meant that my sample population was relational, reciprocal and limited to certain groups. Recruitment of this nature was consistent with Indigenous research as the researcher must first build rapport with the participant and community before commencing, and then maintain a respectful relationship with those involved beyond the life of the study (Kovach, 2009). In Phase 2, there were pre-existing relationships that I had to manage. I had to be wary of these relationships throughout the recruitment process, especially in regard to whom I approached.

This research is a co-construction, and as researcher, I was the research tool. Another researcher might very well have developed a different surveying technique for Phase 1 and a different grounded theory for Phase 2. Indigenous Research Principles guided my actions and decisions throughout the research and informed how I approached the research topic and participants, basing the process on respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility (Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991). The Indigenous rationales of relatedness and self-in-relation (Kovach, 2009), were congruent with the social work notion of use of self in practice situations (Trevithick 2005), and heightened my own awareness of self-in-environment. Decolonizing perspectives reminded me of the power differentiation between my participants and me, and ensured that I did not become the inside expert, especially being an Indigenous woman, a contemporary out-mover, a social worker, and now (social work) researcher.

In Phase 2 data analysis, to manage my insider-outsider status, I used constructivist grounded theory methods and first person's voice in the analysis phase (Birks & Mills 2011). I also returned to my peer participants and cultural mentors throughout the data collection and analysis phase. Besides critical self-reflection, returning my data to my reference groups allowed for self-interrogation, ensuring that my experience, voice and assumptions were not imposed on those participating. I kept the interviews in Torres Strait Creole; I transcribed the interviews in Torres Strait Creole and presented

them in the thesis in Torres Strait Creole, to retain voice and language. At all times I sought to ensure authenticity and trustworthiness in my processes and this product.

9.4   Use of current research

Phase 1 findings on the nature and scale of out-movement were released as reports to individual Island councils and communities and as an aggregate report to aid understanding and give depth to the census data on population decline, particularly 'family' out-movements. The reports have provided a baseline and foundation for future analysis of population change and were welcomed by Councillors who are advocating on this issue. The virtual remote surveying method is being published internationally for other Indigenous researchers to access, and the method can be used for future small-island or remote community research elsewhere, but also in the Torres Strait. This method can also be used by researchers and communities to survey other topics. The grounded theory findings on experiences of out-movement from Phase 2 were taken back to the islands, and the communities have asked for the findings to be developed into a resource pack to aid future movers. The findings can also support Indigenous non-profit organisations in resettlement locations.

9.5   Future research

Torres Strait Islanders, as a distinct cultural group and as one of Australia's first peoples, are in a precarious position due to their small numbers and their unique languages and culture. While Torres Strait Islander out-movement is internal, there are similarities to international migration experiences, and like other internal movements, this movement tends to go unnoticed. It is an important area of policy and practice that needs the attention of social workers, particularly with the predicted increases in out-movements that may occur in response to economic and climate-related change.

Social work migration research is a new and emerging field. Existing literature tends to be limited to international migration and refugees, and even less attention is given to internal movements of vulnerable groups. The theory of 'living in two worlds' may be transferable to explore further stories of strength and growth, particularly in relation to internal movements of Indigenous peoples within large developed nation states. The transferability of the grounded theory may support future migration research and

increase awareness for those working to support migrants' resettle into new environments.

The findings from this research challenged notions of successful migration assumed through integration, promoted by Berry (1997) and colleagues. Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies tend to be presumed outcomes, while adjusting through 'managing the crossings' was the result of strategies developed by people as they make sense of experiences. What determines successful migration is context-dependent and value-laden, and the process of acculturating can take many years to ascertain whether migrants' have assimilated, separated, integrated, become marginalised (Berry 1997), or remain in an active process of 'adjusting'.

While much attention is focused on climate change-related adaptation, mitigation, and migration, social sustainability is an important aspect of maintaining sustainable communities (Connell 2013a). Social sustainability is a necessary component of environmental and economic sustainability, and may contribute towards alleviating the need for further out-migration (Duce et al. 2010). Sustaining communities in the Torres Strait is critical for maintaining social, economic, political, cultural and spiritual connections, factors that are essential for maintaining cultural identity and wellbeing. As I finalised this thesis, two of my participants had returned to the islands, indicating that there is an opportunity to explore the conditions that motived return migration. Moreover, there is the need to explore what factors keep people from leaving the islands, asking the question: Why do people stay? The findings from such future studies may contribute towards creating opportunities for those living on the islands, and contribute to, or extend, existing knowledge surrounding the sustainability of remote tropical regions. The baseline data collected in this research can also contribute towards a longitudinal study from the contemporary out-movers pool, as well as a starting point for exploring the next generation's experiences of living in 'mainstream'.

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Appendices

Appendix A Support Letter Pastor Brian

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Appendix B Letter to Mayor (Report)

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Appendix C TSIRC Support Letter

TORRES STRAIT ISLAND REGIONAL COUNCIL
Lot 12 Francis Road Hammond Island QLD 4875
Ph: (07) 40486200 Fax: (07) 4069 1868

All Correspondence to: Chief Executive Office
PO Box 501, Thursday Island Qld 4875

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Appendix D TSIRC Questionnaire

Community:	Representative:	Date:

What is the population of your community?   : .... (Est.)   ABS 2006: ....   ABS 2011: ....

How many houses are in your community? : .... (Est.)   ABS 2006: ....   ABS 2011: ....

How many people/families have moved over the past 10 years? :

Out Migration

Families   /   Individual

        Couple / Single Parent

        Number of children: ....   (School aged children: Yes / No)

Age group   0-19   20-29   30-39   40-49   50-59   60-69   70+

What do you think was the reason for moving?   Health   Housing   Employment   Other: ....

What skills or work was the person/s engaged in before moving?

What was their living arrangement before moving?

Do you know where these families/individuals have moved to?

Return Migration

Has anyone moved back in the last 10 years? : ....

        Families   /   Individual

        Couple / Single Parent

        Number of children: ....   (School aged children: Yes / No)

        Age group   0-19   20-29   30-39   40-49   50-59   60-69   70+

General/Closure

Why do you think they've moved back?

 What do you think is the main reason for people leaving or returning back to the community?

Appendix E Data collection sheet

	Family 1	Family 2	Family 3	Family 5	Family 6
Family structure					
No. Adults					
No. Children					
School aged Child.					
Age Group of Adult					
0-19					
20-29					
30-39					
40-49					
50-60					
70+					
When did they move?					
Reason for move?					
Skills/work?					
Where have they moved to?					
What are they doing now?					
Living arrangement before move?					
Current living arrangement?					

Appendix F Mabuiag Island TSIRC Letter to Visit

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Appendix G Interview Schedule - Cairns

Name:	Location:	Date:

Demographic   (Methodology/sample/description

Individual/ Family   -   Couple / Single Parent

Number of children: ....   (School aged children: Yes / No)

Age group   0-19   20-29   30-39   40-49   50-59   60-69   70+

Living arrangements:

Part 1: Experiential/ Phenomenological (findings)

When did you leave the Torres Strait?

What was the reason for moving?   Health   Housing   Employment   Study   Other: ....

What skills or work were you engaged in before moving?

What are you doing now?

Can you tell me a little bit about how you experienced your move to Cairns?

Part 2: Analytical/Reflection

What would make it easy for you to settle in Cairns?

What did you hope to find here?

Did things work out the way you thought or wanted it to be?

Have you thought about moving back?

If you could move back, what would make it possible for you to move back?

Part 3: Projection/inspirational (theory development)

What are your hopes for you and your family for the future?

Where do you see yourself in the next 5 years?

What would you like to see happen in the next 5 years?

Part 4: Generalisation to others/closing/who else (theory development)

What do you think is the main reason for people leaving or returning back to the Torres Strait?

What would you say to people who want to move to Cairns for the Torres Strait?

What would make the process of moving/transitioning/resettling easier?

Appendix H Informed Consent Form - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

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has been removed

Appendix I Information Sheet - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

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