

# Socio-political perspectives on localism and regionalism in the Pintupi Luritja region of central Australia: Implications for service delivery and governance

S. Holcombe

WORKING PAPER No. 25/2004

ISSN 1442-3871

ISBN 0 7315 4924 4



CENTRE  
FOR **ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC  
POLICY RESEARCH**

## **SERIES NOTE**

The Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) was first established in March 1990 under an agreement between The Australian National University (ANU) and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). Since January 1999, CAEPR has operated as a University Centre and is funded from a variety of sources including the ANU, Australian Research Council, Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, and the Department of Family and Community Services. CAEPR's principal objective is to undertake high-quality, independent research that will assist in furthering the social and economic development and empowerment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

CAEPR's aim is to be a world-class centre undertaking research on Indigenous economic development issues that combines academic excellence with policy relevance and realism. In Australia, CAEPR is currently the only dedicated research centre focusing on Indigenous economic policy issues from a national perspective. The Centre's publications aim to examine government policy, influence policy formulation, and inform public debate.

The CAEPR Working Paper series was established in 1999. Working Papers are often work-in-progress reports and are produced for rapid distribution to enable widespread discussion and comment. They are available in electronic format only for free download from CAEPR's website:

[<www.anu.edu.au/caepr/>](http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/)

Enquiries may be directed to:

The Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research  
Hanna Neumann Building #21  
The Australian National University  
Canberra ACT 0200  
Telephone: 02-6125 8211  
Facsimile: 02-6125 9730

As with all CAEPR publications, the views expressed in this Working Paper are those of the author(s) and do not reflect any official CAEPR position.

Professor Jon Altman  
Director, CAEPR  
The Australian National University  
June 2004

Cover page images courtesy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and CAEPR staff members.

## CONTENTS

---

Abbreviations and acronyms .....	ii
Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Introduction .....	1
What is a region? .....	3
Inter-regional networks .....	4
Pre-contact patterns: Dispersed localism and regionalism .....	5
The Reserve and its people.....	7
Contemporary localism: Inter-community competition .....	9
Contemporary regionalism: Language and territory.....	11
Conclusions.....	13
Notes .....	14
References .....	16

## FIGURES

Fig. 1. Current distribution of Central Australian languages .....	3
--	---

Sarah Holcombe is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, The Australian National University.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

---

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
ANU	The Australian National University
ARC	Australian Research Council
CAEPR	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects (scheme)
IAD	Institute for Aboriginal Development

## ABSTRACT

---

This paper explores the tensions between localism and regionalism within the Indigenous polity of the Haasts Bluff Land Trust. The anthropological trend has been to focus on localism and the tendency toward dispersal and 'atomism'. As a result less recognition has been accorded the Indigenous social and political structures that radiate out from the local to incorporate people in a wider region. The early ethnographic material on pre-contact demographic patterns is overviewed to gain perspective on these tensions and how they may be played out in the contemporary context. I raise issues about the implications of these focused networks for proposed larger-scale service delivery and governance arrangements within the Haasts Bluff Land Trust as a whole. I consider whether there is any sense of correspondence between the region as bounded by the Haasts Bluff Land Trust boundary and Indigenous socio-political 'boundaries' with the view to casting some light on the emerging issue of regionalising local community government.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

---

This paper was first presented at the Contemporary Indigenous Issues in North Australia seminar series, held at the North Australia Research Unit, Darwin, in October, 2003. I would like to thank Will Sanders for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper, along with other discussants at the seminar, including Diane Smith, Jon Altman and Gary Robinson. Thanks also to Hilary Bek, Melissa Johns and John Hughes for editorial input. The impetus for this background working paper is two interrelated research projects that I am involved with at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR). The first involves research with the Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre (theme 3 governance) where CAEPR is, at this stage, collaborating with the Central Land Council and the Northern Territory Department of Community Development, Sport and Cultural Affairs on several projects concerning community governance and the possibilities for regional authorities. The second is an Australian Research Council (ARC) linkage project 'Understanding and developing effective Indigenous governance in communities and regions' with Reconciliation Australia. Both projects are in the early stages of research, with field research yet to be undertaken.

## INTRODUCTION

---

A recent issue to emerge in relation to the Pintupi Luritja region and the Haasts Bluff Land Trust in Central Australia is the proposal for a regional authority or council (henceforth referred to as authority) to replace the four local community government councils of Papunya, Haasts Bluff, Mt Liebig and Kintore (see Fig. 1). This amalgamation of the local councils with a regional authority is proposed to counter duplication of resources and achieve economies of scale through a regional program of service delivery. This regional authority consists, at this stage, of an Aboriginal steering committee of four people from each community. This proposal is one element in a Northern Territory wide regionalisation policy that the Northern Territory Minister for Community Development, John Ah Kit, launched in 2003, known as *Building Stronger Regions—Stronger Futures* (Northern Territory Government 2003). At this early stage, 22 regional geographic 'possibilities' across the Northern Territory have been suggested, based on areas 'with a reasonable degree of common purpose, identity, geography, issues or challenges' (Northern Territory Government 2003: 4). According to the Northern Territory Government, the approach taken to 'development' in each region will be specific. However, the policy appears to hinge on an overall strategy of regional authorities taking over from local community councils and, at least in this potential region, the concept of bicameralism (Coles 1999: 11; Sutton 1985), or perhaps some notion of managing different constituencies. Although I touch on the implications of bicameralism for this region, it is a complex topic suited for another paper.

This paper also requires some qualification. Since it was written late last year the Aboriginal steering committee has decided to withdraw from negotiations over the regional authority. So from one perspective the emergence of a regional structure in this area has stalled. Nevertheless, the conceptual framework outlined in this paper and the issues it raises remain relevant for this potential region and others.

---

This paper considers the implications of regionalism for the Haasts Bluff Land Trust. I analyse some of the complex interrelationships and intersections between Indigenous settlement patterns and the concomitant social groupings constructed, and the channelling of these groupings into administrative systems that have, to date, been locally oriented. Taking a lead from Keen's engaging paper (1997: 261), I consider Indigenous socio-political networks along a continuum, that extends from the individual to the community, the regional and inter-regional in scope. One of the key issues here is the tension between the individual or ego-centric networks, and socio-centric networks. The anthropologist Myers (1986), in particular, has considered this in terms of the tensions between 'autonomy and relatedness'. To over-simplify, one could translate this as individuals being both 'boss for themselves' *and* dealing with the pressures of 'demand sharing' (Peterson 1997) with family, however family may be constituted on the day. Both of these socio-political pressures play significant roles in Indigenous governance and have implications for decision-making in communities, as do the socio-centric networks that derive from affiliations to Dreaming tracks through the sub-section (or 'skin' in Aboriginal English) system. It

is only by understanding how these networks are structured that light may be cast on those Indigenous structures that most affect service delivery.

This paper responds to the imbalance in Australian anthropology which has traditionally leaned towards ethnographies of localism and the Indigenous tendencies for dispersal and 'group' fragmentation. Keen suggests that this theoretical tendency results in 'forms of Aboriginal social life ... represented as a collection of discontinuous cells' (1997: 262). This is not surprising, as the core methodology or hallmark of anthropology involves fieldwork in one location with a particular group of people, often on an outstation or in a community. Partly as a result of this tendency toward research on localism and territorial attachments, wider regional social and political networks that radiate out from the community or outstation don't tend to be investigated; they are often only acknowledged in the background. My project seeks to offer equal weight to both these cultural tendencies and to begin exploring the tensions between localism and regionalism.

In my attempt to map the socio-political networks that impinge on and intersect with introduced governance structures, I am among those who argue that delineating culturally distinct structures is no longer relevant (Martin 2003; Merlan 1998). Analysis should revolve instead around the 'intercultural', the shifting ground of Indigenous and non-Indigenous engagement as a result of the intercultural encounter.

Considerable change and innovation has occurred within Indigenous social discourse. Likewise, the role that local settlement history has played in the contemporary construction of Indigenous identity is a key to understanding socio-political networks and requires close examination. The decisions by individuals and families to live in one of the four communities or neighbouring outstations within the Land Trust reflects this and will be examined in terms of community identities.

The language of Luritja itself was developed in the first settlement of Haasts Bluff and plays a role in the wider construction of a regional identity in socio-linguistic terms and in territorial terms. As the term Pintupi Luritja is really only used by linguists, I will henceforth use the term Luritja, as do its speakers.<sup>1</sup> As will be discussed, the single language name Pintupi is another Western Desert dialect, to the west of Luritja.

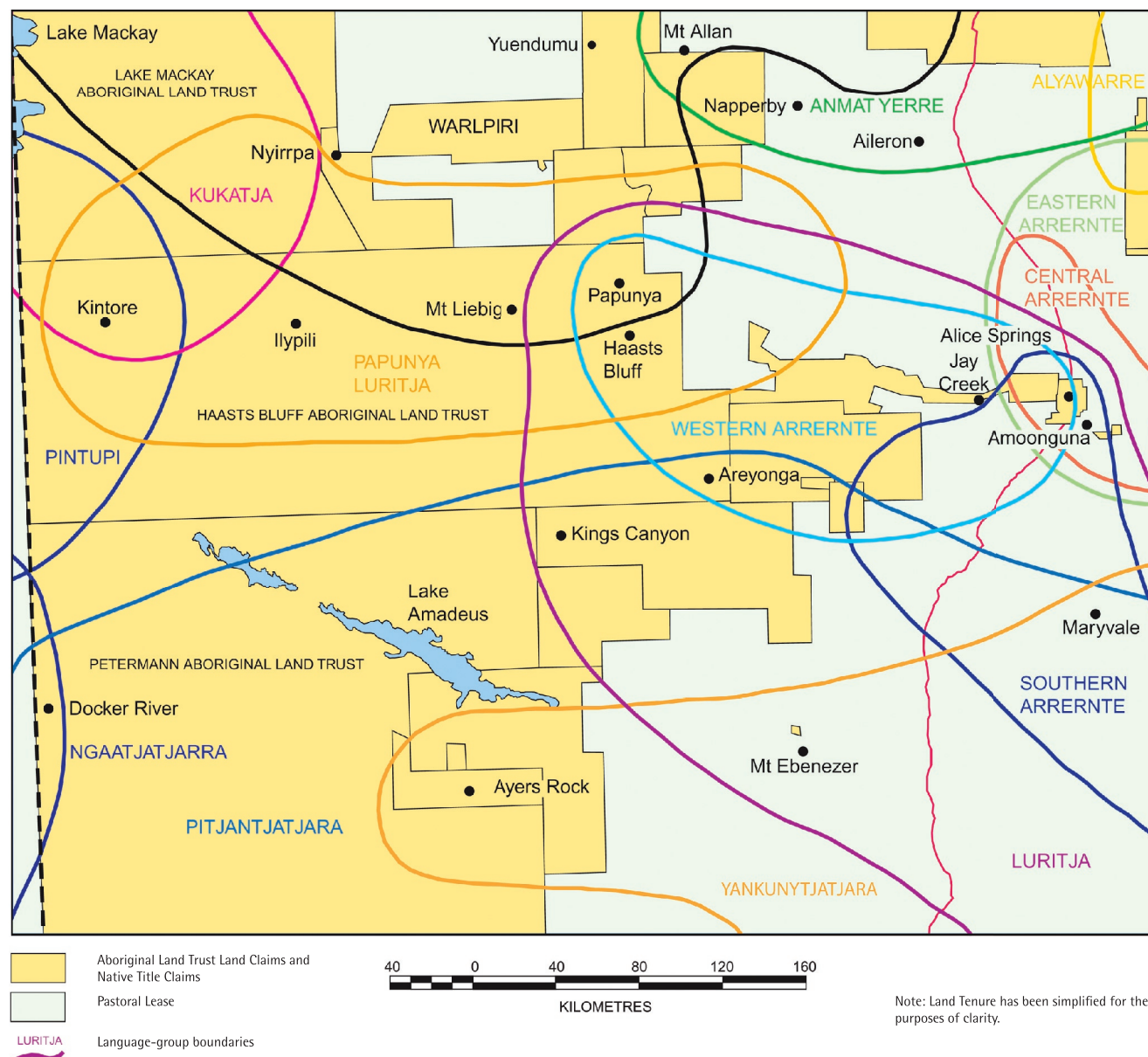
Even though I argue for an intercultural approach, for Indigenous people this region is one where 'the social relations from their pre-settlement times remain relatively lightly transformed' (Peterson 2000: 206). This region is, in fact, an Indigenous 'domain' as per von Sturmer's definition:

In parts of remote Australia it is possible to talk of Aboriginal domains, areas in which the dominant social life and culture are Aboriginal, where the major languages ... are Aboriginal, where the dominant religion and world views are Aboriginal, where the system of knowledge is Aboriginal; in short, where the resident Aboriginal population constitutes the public (1984: 219).

This region's status as Aboriginal land and, prior to that, as an inviolable reserve has had major implications for engagement with service delivery agents.

This investigation into the relationships between service delivery structures and Indigenous structures of engagement is interrogative and lays some foundations for future research. It aims to expose at



**Fig. 1. Current distribution of Central Australian languages**

### Current Distribution of Central Australian Languages

Adapted from the Institute of Aboriginal Development (IAD) map (1990), focusing on the Haasts Bluff Land Trust region.

least some structural elements that play active roles in determining Indigenous responses to the administrative structures of service delivery. However field research is required to further develop this research question.

## WHAT IS A REGION?

I have been using the term 'region' rather broadly at this stage and it needs definition. In Taylor's overview of regions as classificatory concepts, he discusses the early 'geographic determinism' whereby the physical environment was thought to underpin the human environment—and regions were therefore

defined by uniformity and homogeneity (Taylor 2003). Although he notes that this view of regions may no longer be relevant for urbanised areas, when considering the boundaries of regional authorities in this remote context the continuing importance of the land base remains a central organising feature in Indigenous social and economic life.

Anthropologists, such as Peterson (1976) and Sutton (1990), have also analysed Indigenous demographic patterns as adaptive strategies that create 'culture areas'. Peterson proposed 17 'culture areas' across Australia, emphasising their approximate correlation with the major drainage divisions of the continent. Sutton developed this concept further by categorising three main kinds of ecological breaks that 'commonly provide key imagery for the way fundamental distinctions ... of local Aboriginal geography and ... local Aboriginal society are symbolised' (1990: 75). In this desert region, such an ecological break is 'hill versus plain'. As will be elaborated further, the key topographic features of this Luritja region—the fragmented line of ranges that are the western end of the McDonnell Ranges—played a major role in settlement patterns, the journeys of early explorers and laying the boundaries of the early reserve in the 1930s.

The second and more recent view of regions is, according to Taylor (2003), a more functional one whereby the region is simply a method of classification. This 'functional region' displays coherent interdependence of parts, such as a network of towns that may be defined spatially by the pattern of flow of goods, services and people. Such regions are often described as nodal, composed of heterogeneous units and populations. It seems to me that these two types of regional classifications—the uniform geographic and the modern functional—coalesce to some degree in this Luritja area. And it is this interplay of the alignment of the Haasts Bluff Land Trust boundary, and thus the creation of the functional region, with the geo-social distribution of people and their networks that is considered in this paper.

## INTER-REGIONAL NETWORKS

In considering social networks along a continuum of more inclusive to less inclusive it is useful to begin from the widest or most inclusive level of Indigenous structural network that operates systemically. This is the level of ritual that has been examined by Kolig (1981), Poirier (1992), Holcombe (1993) and Peterson (2000). The *Building Stronger Regions—Stronger Futures* policy, also stressed that major ceremonies link people from across communities and regions, creating networks that have little relation to their place of residence (2003: 6). It is significant that this policy was articulated by a government department whose portfolio is held by an Indigenous politician (John Ah Kit).

Peterson argues that through ritual (he specifically analyses the male initiation journey) the 'Aboriginal domain' has expanded in an unprecedented way both because of permanent settlements and access to vehicles in the 1970s. He discusses three broad types of 'ceremonial integration' in this desert region that link regional domains. He has classified these complex ceremonies as 'religious festivals, initiation ceremonies and cults', each linking dispersed (sometimes widely dispersed) people in different ways.

I am interested in the local ramifications of this inter-regional level of network, as it has implications for socio-political networks within communities and the drawing of boundaries between 'regions'. Such ritual



networks are integral to the economy of traditional knowledge controlled by senior men. The correlation between control of this ritual knowledge and the concomitant control of community resources has been drawn before (see Bern 1988; Gerritsen 1982). However, the implications that this has for defining the constituency of a proposed regional authority, if it has to also deal with issues of customary law as has been suggested, and community level/local decision-making has not been so widely considered.

The patterns of migration and settlement continue to elaborate on the potential of socio-centric networks. As these networks revolve around affiliations to Tjukurrpa (Dreaming) and thus to land and kin, they create complex interconnections among people that transcend administrative boundaries. For instance, a Dreaming may have the sub-section affiliations, as patrilineally defined, of Tjampitjinpa/Tjangala. The men and women (women being Nampitjinpa/Nangala) of these sub-sections who 'hold' the Dreaming, which may travel over vast distances, also may be dispersed. They hold varying degrees of rights to the land upon which the Dreaming traversed and in places created the form of the landscape. This has implications for the feasibility of a bicameral system; that is, as it would delineate a set of 'traditional elders' for a region, and as it would seek to define the constituency of this new regional body. Are they residents only or also traditional owners who live elsewhere?

## **PRE-CONTACT PATTERNS: DISPERSED LOCALISM AND REGIONALISM**

---

Before I can consider the contemporary situation, pre-contact patterns of desert demography need to be re-visited. It is worth recalling that in this region the people under consideration came in from the desert to settlements between the 1930 to the 1980 period. This is still within living memory of a considerable number of people.

In this western desert region, group structure revolved around families of three to 12 people (Cane 1990: 152; Long 1971: 265). Long suggested these 'loose associations of families, commonly foraged independently but often within a days march of each other' (1984: 5, quoted in Cane 1990). They were highly dispersed, such that for the Pintupi it was likely that there was one person per 200 square kilometres. The population density of this Western Desert area was found to be not only the lowest in Australia, but the lowest of any permanently occupied desert in the world (Cane 1990: 156). The high variability of rainfall patterns radically underpinned the possibilities of cultural life. After good rainfall there was an expansion of social networks as large groups were able to come together through ceremony. When water supplies contracted, family groups fell back to their territories and their main soakages and waterholes. The concentration of people at any one place was influenced by rainfall and the possibilities this allowed for ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

In Clastres' (1987) terms this was a non-stratified stateless society. In analysing the source of power in stateless societies he concluded that '[hunting and gathering] society is the place where separate power is refused, because the society itself, and not the chief, is the real locus of power' (1987: 154). Meggitt (1966: 73) indicates that 'there was no solidary group of elders who possessed authority or wielded power throughout the tribe as a whole or even throughout the constituent local unit'. Rather, although 'fighting men, ritual experts, medicine men or elders' may have commanded respect, such prestige was

not the source of real political power (Meggitt 1966: 73). This is because, as Meggitt argues, there 'existed interlocking sets of clearly formulated, publicly accepted and religious sanctioned norms covering all manner of activities, [thus] there was little need or room for chiefs or headman' (1966: 71). This analysis of the classical structures of authority is a valuable insight into pre-contact forms of governance. However, such social structures are themselves capable of transformation. Contemporary ethnography has to take account of possibilities of change as social structures evolve to meet new demands.

Linguistic identities were also extremely localised. The historical complexity of the Pintupi language, for example, can only be understood by recalling the composition of pre-contact family groups and collections of families, whom Hansen refers to as 'multigroups'.<sup>3</sup> Each of these multigroups had minor speech variations and were often tagged with a name derived from such speech differences. For instance, '*Ngapi wangkatjarra* ... were so called because they used *ngapi* instead of *ngaatja* for this. *Ngapi wangkatjarra* means (the people) with the talk/word *ngapi*' (Hansen 1984: 7). Hansen indicates that while such linguistic differences existed they were not considered as any barrier to communication or socialisation, as the differing speech forms only affected 20 per cent of their speech, while the other 80 per cent was shared (1984: 7). He lists 17 of these multigroups, but states that there must have been scores of such multigroup dialect names over the entire Gibson and Great Sandy Desert.<sup>4</sup> Clearly the contemporary language label 'Pintupi' was not used as a regional language name in the bush prior to settlement. Many of the so-called Pintupi only learned of it after meeting people from Papunya and other settlements for the first time.

The forces of regionalism—toward aggregation and the extension of regional networks—were led by ceremony. The records of early explorers and oral histories in this Western Desert region indicate that 300 people gathering for several months after good rains was not uncommon (Cane 1990: 153). Meggitt, who worked with the Warlpiri, suggested that such large gatherings were more common than generally believed (1986). People knew where to meet. It has been noted that there is often a correspondence between the ritual importance of a place and its environmental fecundity (Payne 1984, 1989): a spiritually important place *could* support large numbers of people in order to celebrate it. These ceremonial gatherings also played a key role in marriage. With the practise of exogamy—that is marrying out of the group—the need to access all available partners was vital, particularly as it was also likely that your neighbours were extended family. Myers indicates that for the Pintupi this group, or extended family, were regarded as 'one countrymen', so the individuals who one can marry must be from different localities. He states that 'marriage establishes not only the immediate relations of production but also, by creating ties between distant people ... access to land within a larger ecological region' (1986: 71).

The scarce resources, both human and environmental, meant that the range a man or group would travel over the course of a year or even a few months could be considerable. Long estimates that of the roughly 52,000 square kilometres of Pintupi country, 'few if any of the adults living within it would not have from time to time lived outside that area' (1971: 265). Mobility within and, potentially, outside the region could have been great. Knowledge of land, adaptability and flexible groupings were essential for survival.

## THE RESERVE AND ITS PEOPLE

---

An understanding of the history of the development of this Land Trust informs the present. A severe drought prevailed over much of Central Australia during the late 1920s and early 1930s (Kimber 1981: 12). Soakages, such as Ilypili in the Ehrenburg ranges of the central west of this Land Trust and those around Mt Liebig, were key areas during such times of stress. This drought was a major catalyst for the people, now known as the Pintupi, the Ngaliya Warlpiri and the Luritja to move east and south to this area.

This movement had been encouraged by (or developed from) the increasing number of contacts with prospectors and evangelists.<sup>5</sup> For instance, prospectors such as Donald Mackay and Harold Lasseter's party, searching for the elusive gold reef, met up with about 30 people in the Ehrenburg Ranges (Ilypili).<sup>6</sup> These people were identified as the 'Pinto and Eumo tribes' (Long 1989: 19), or Pintupi and Yumu. Towards the end of the same year, Pastor Albrecht led a party with camels to the north-west from Hermannsburg, again towards the Ilypili area, 'to bring the gospel to the nomads'. For several years after this trip an evangelical party left Hermannsburg each winter in an effort to establish mission outposts at natural waters in the area (cf. Long 1989: 20–1).

In 1932 the University of Adelaide (also with researchers from the South Australian Museum) mounted an anthropological expedition to Mount Liebig.<sup>7</sup> At the research camp there were eventually about 90 people, the majority of whom were recorded by Tindale (1932) as Ngaliya [Warlpiri] and Pintupi.<sup>8</sup> They were, according to Tindale, in the country of the Yumu (whom he refers to as Jumu), which extended west toward the Ehrenberg Ranges, and east and south to Papunya and Haasts Bluff. However, he indicates that the majority of these 'original inhabitants' had earlier migrated east toward Alice Springs and many were 'killed off' by an epidemic (Tindale 1974: 138).

Research by the Lutheran linguist Heffernan (1984), and my own work (Holcombe 1998), concur with Tindale's findings of the decline of the original or earlier inhabitants. However, we both found that the term Yumu was not locally used, but rather the language terms Mayutjarra and Kukatja<sup>9</sup> were used to refer to those who were generally regarded as 'mirri tjuta' (all dead). Nevertheless, the migration of the northern and western neighbours of these 'original' people into this country was an extension of regional interconnections and in some cases of succession—calling on 'company relationships'—through networks of Tjukurrpa. These migrations can also be understood in terms of the cultural tendency of desert dwellers toward expansionism (Sutton 1990).

Government concern was nevertheless growing over this eastward 'drift' toward the pastoral stations of Glen Helen, Derwent and Tempe Downs, which were established from 1878. These stations form portions of the eastern and southern borders of the Land Trust today. The massacre of Warlpiri and Anmatyerr people in 1928 on Coniston station to the north had a significant effect on the early establishment of this Reserve to the south. Lutheran missionaries from Hermannsburg and anthropologists such as Olive Pink were strongly advocating the need for inviolable Aboriginal reserves. These reserves would keep Aboriginal people in and keep pastoralists, doggers and explorers out. However, they were only set aside if they didn't jeopardise the regional economies that were already underway. Significant areas of Warlpiri

and Anmatyerr country, although strongly advocated for at the time, were excluded as possible reserves, because pastoralism, and mining for wolfram and gold, were encouraged as a burgeoning industry.

The first portion of what is now Haasts Bluff Land Trust was gazetted as the Western Reserve in 1929. It was extended in 1933 and again in 1940, when it became a separate reserve from the Petermann Ranges Reserve in the south. This last extension included the buying back of the grazing license, which covered the Haasts Bluff area. The ration depot and mission station of Haasts Bluff was then established in 1941 (Long 1989: 23). Like Ernabella to the south-east, established by the Presbyterians in 1936, this reserve was also considered a 'buffer zone' (Hilliard 1968) with missions, rather than forts on the front line. The location of the first two missions/settlements of Haasts Bluff and Papunya at the two possible road access points of the Land Trust accentuate that they were situated as gate keepers.

Many of the people who initially moved to the Haasts Bluff settlement in the 1940s had been living in the outlying areas. On an annual visit from Hermannsburg in 1936, Pastor Albrecht estimated that his party contacted groups totalling nearly 300 people in the area between Haasts Bluff, Mount Wedge and Mount Liebig (Long 1989: 21). These people were, at this stage, the Eastern Pintupi and the Ngaliya Warlpiri. Many of these people were drawn into the settlement, as they would have been to any significant economic resource in their socio-spatial range (Hamilton (1972: 41) refers to this unprecedented abundance of food as the 'super water-hole' in Indigenous terms).<sup>10</sup> The exceptions here were the Pintupi from Western Australia who probably began travelling as far east as Haasts Bluff in the 1960s.

Long (1989: 22) estimated that of the 263 people in Haasts Bluff in 1941 about one-third were Pintupi—primarily eastern Pintupi of Ilypili, one third were Ngaliya Warlpiri, and the remaining were Kukatja, Pitjantjatjara, Ngaatjatjarra, and Anmatyerre.<sup>11</sup> Long states that, because of the considerable intermarriage that occurred between these groups, 'the intertribal lines of division, never clear-cut, are thoroughly blurred' (1970: 323).<sup>12</sup> These groups—beginning with the processes of shared settlement life in Haasts Bluff—were to become amalgamated into the Luritja. Heffernan classified this language as a communilect, rather than a dialect. This is because the language grew 'out of the various family and horde groups which now live in these communities [of Haasts Bluff, Papunya and Mt Liebig]' (Heffernan 1984: 1). This process was particularly cemented in Haasts Bluff by the relative lack of inter-settlement communication or visiting by Aborigines from the 1930s to the 1960. Those who came to the settlement during this period stayed or moved to Papunya and Mt Liebig, while the later arrivals, the Pintupi, returned to their country in the far west of the Land Trust at Kintore as will be discussed below. This language of Luritja will be discussed further in terms of the creation of a regional identity.

With the passing of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* this Western Reserve became the Haasts Bluff Land Trust. It was automatically scheduled as Aboriginal land and its inviolability was assured, consolidating the region as an Aboriginal 'domain'.

## CONTEMPORARY LOCALISM: INTER-COMMUNITY COMPETITION

---

The history of the establishment of each settlement on the Land Trust has also fed into the contemporary identity of each community, establishing a pattern of rivalry and ethnocentricity between them, as people made active choices as to where and with whom they would live. Whereas Haasts Bluff was a rationing centre and mission outpost that encouraged Aboriginal people to lead their own lives on the Reserve, Papunya was set up as a 'training institution' (Davis, Hunter & Penny 1977) that would only feed people who were living there. It was highly centralised, as it was set up during the period of assimilation from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. By 1966 there were 800 people at Papunya, of whom a significant number were western Pintupi, who had been bought in by the welfare patrols. Of the 72 people 'trucked in' in 1963 and 1964, 29 died (Kimber 1981: 26). Accusations of sorcery and fighting were common. There was significant antagonism between the Pintupi who arrived during this later period and the others. These western Pintupi were also the first to leave Papunya. A report written for the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Education entitled *Papunya: its History and Future Prospects* (Davis, Hunter & Penny 1977) outlines this dramatically unsuccessful attempt at centralisation and assimilation. This policy of centralisation had a major impact on both the development of Luritja as a regional language and a 'modern' identity, partly at the expense of excluding the Pintupi.

Nathan and Japanangka (1983: 79–80) indicated that there was an unofficial policy change in 1964 from centralisation to dispersal, as questions were raised in Parliament about the high mortality rates. The late 1970s produced a pattern rather like that of the 1950s, when many of the people based at Haasts Bluff had lived for much of the year at camps at natural waters or bores. In the 1980s two of these camps developed into the communities of Mt Liebig and Kintore. Neither settlement were associated with missions or set up as 'training institutions' and the location of their establishment is reflective of a desire to live closer to country associated with traditional territory, and the need for autonomy.

Respect for autonomy is a central principle of sociality in stateless societies: there were no 'bosses' prior to settlement. In his 1974 seminal work, *Society Against the State*, Clastres examines stateless societies in which cultural practices are not only *not* submissive to the state model, but actively subvert it, rendering impossible the very conditions in which coercive power and the state could arise (Clastres 1987). Myers observed that for the Pintupi, 'at best, respect for a councillor's authority is more a product of his personal relations with individual followers than a consequence of him representing a level of organisation that transcends individuals. Such authority is sustained by generosity in providing access to valued resources ('looking after'), not by withholding them for the greater good' (1986: 265; see also Clastres 1987: 29). Although I tend to agree with Myers (as there is much supportive evidence), I argue that as a result of settlement a new type of leader has emerged, whom I refer to as a 'big man'.<sup>13</sup> The qualities of this type of individual suggests a convergence between religious knowledge (local and regional) and abilities to engage with administrative issues and other secular issues as may affect the residential community, such as the law and order issues associated with substance abuse (see Holcombe forthcoming).



The monopolisation of resources and channelling of service delivery away from the wider community toward dominant men and their families is, according to Gerritsen (1982: 18), about 'the politics of scarcity that these situations reveal as much as any particular incompetence in management' and, as discussed above, structural relations underpinning autonomy. This competition for access to scarce resources is a common theme in remote communities. It not only impacts on relations within communities, but also on relations between them. The current situation has local community councils pitted against each other in relation to gaining Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services funding, specific program funding such as aged care and women's centres and, to some degree, more general administrative funding. Ironically, however, if a regional authority—in seeking to address issues of economy of scale—were to reduce this inter-community competition for resources would they in effect be making the resources even scarcer, and thus the competition for them even greater? This is likely to be of general concern to community residents.

Religious knowledge also needs to be understood in terms of political opportunism, as a convergence between religious knowledge and contemporary knowledge has occurred in the case of many dominant decision-makers. 'Self determination' or autonomy should refer to the self-determining individual, as well as referring to Aborigines' relationships with non-Aboriginal society, and, just as importantly, to their relationships with one another (see Rowse 1992: 90). Such autonomy, however, may be understood by non-Indigenous people as fragmentation or 'atomism' in Sutton's (1995) terms.

The opportunism of 'big men' is, nevertheless, tempered. Although these 'big men' or dominant men appear to be the primary decision-makers, they are situated in the kind of non-stratified societies that Clastres identified, so that their 'word carries no force of law' (1987: 206). It is a non-coercive authority. The kinship-based nature and small size of these communities effectively ensures that everyone hears of events/decisions that may concern them, *sooner or later*. It is an interactive place: consultation about issues of import tends to occur by default. These men are not 'bosses'. Yet they do monopolise resources and gain from their roles—for which there appears little competition. The high profile roles of community council president and vice president are often interchanged by the same individuals, so that the concept of democracy appears to have little relevance. Perhaps it is acknowledged that they perform functions in which many others have limited interest. The work they perform for the council curtails their freedom to some extent. As mediators they act as a link between the community and the government, allowing the majority of community members a considerable degree of autonomy from the bureaucratic process. Tonkinson notes a similar situation in Jigalong (1978: 96). Howard, likewise, pointed out that the 'brokers/leaders' actually serve as a 'buffer' which allows the others, the majority, to retain a degree of autonomy from the bureaucratic process (1978: 34).

Communities develop into places that are more than a jumble of housing and infrastructure. Strong sentiments form over time, developing a local identity and ethnocentricity. A fundamental feature of Aboriginal customary law is attachment to what is often referred to as inherited 'estates' or territories. With migration and settlement, however, attachment has the potential to become transfigured and re-located to the community and surrounding land. To varying degrees this has been the case with long-term community residents of all these communities, some of whom are also traditional owners. In some

circumstances succession to this land has also occurred, but in most cases community members come to 'know' the local landscape and its cosmological traditions, and 'look after' it. In this looking after—through natural resource use and the practise of ritual—a sense of association, attachment and shared identity is created. This local attachment exerts itself in many ways, such as through competition and rivalry during annual community sports carnivals, the biannual 'women's law and culture meetings', and the competition for funding discussed above. Elements of 'social closure' (see Parkin 1982)—a classical attribute of a community—occur in such contexts.

## CONTEMPORARY REGIONALISM: LANGUAGE AND TERRITORY

---

This early history of settlement patterns has formed a basis for developing a contemporary Indigenous identity, not only locally, but also regionally. Although the contemporary language grouping of Luritja could be considered as a modern, firmed-up 'tribe', the connotative baggage that the term 'tribe' carries with it obscures my focus in this paper. I will, instead, focus on how this new Indigenous language developed into a people and a territory (and so avoid the anthropological jargon). Luritja is effectively a new Indigenous language, though known generally as a Western Desert dialect (in the Pama-Nyungun family (Yallop 1982: 43)). It developed as a lingua franca, to enable the Aboriginal people who came into Haasts Bluff from the Western Desert and from Warlpiri and Anmatyerr country to the north to communicate. Linguistically it could perhaps loosely be described as a pastiche of these surrounding languages (though principally informed by Pintupi) and, thus, it is different to the Luritja spoken to the south at Kings Canyon and Finke.

The term 'Luritja' is derivative from a general term for Western Desert people. Strehlow (1947: 177–8) indicates that Luritja is a name applied by the Arrernte to all Western Desert speakers. Tindale emphasised that the name Luritja was derogatory, an insult.<sup>14</sup> This Arrernte ethnocentrism was earlier recorded by Elkin, who noted that 'Loritja is an Aranda word meaning stranger' (1938: 424, quoted in Doohan 1992: 36; see also Heffernan 1984).

Those who had been in the settlements the longest and had become accustomed to the new ways of interacting in this context, had differentiated themselves from those newly arrived 'from the west'. They did this by speaking this new language and learning the appropriate behaviours for both interacting amongst large groups of kin (classificatory and biological) and with the non-Aboriginal service workers. This distinction between newcomers and residents became so marked that to be called 'Pintupi' was an insult (like the term Luritja before it), comparable to the 'poor country cousins', the unsophisticated (see also Davis, Hunter & Penny 1977; Myers 1986: 36). Many chose instead to be called Luritja. This term evolved from being a derogatory term of exclusion to being complimentary and inclusive. It connoted the modern in the context of settlement life. Perhaps this transformation of Luritja was possible precisely because, like Arrernte before it, it needed an 'other' to distinguish itself from. Today the term 'Pintupi' is still used as a joking insult for the naïve or inadequate, in certain contexts.

The three communities and the neighbouring outstations in the east of the Haasts Bluff Land Trust all identify as Luritja. Rosen notes that settlement, like urbanisation, is a great eroder of linguistic frontiers

and a great builder of new political formations that stem from this (see Rosen 1980 in Wardhaugh 1998).

Sanders' study on the potential sharing of a Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme between the four major communities that lie in the Haasts Bluff Land Trust, regionalised from Papunya, confirms this long memory of the Pintupi experience at Papunya. Sanders (2001: 17) found that those interviewed at Kintore 'are still somewhat suspicious of Papunya as a regional centre of non-Indigenous governmental power and they do not entirely trust that a CDEP based at Papunya would in fact be fully shared with them'. There is a direct equivalence with the proximity of communities from Papunya, the extent of their shared history and the sentiments attached to this, and their levels of interest in sharing a CDEP. Those at Haasts Bluff entertained the possibility of sharing a CDEP with Papunya; those in Mt Liebig were only interested if their CDEP could be separate from Papunya; while those at Kintore were only marginally interested in a CDEP scheme and not at all in sharing with Papunya (Sanders 2001: vii–viii).

The language of [Pintupi] Luritja was first known as Papunya Luritja (Heffernan 1984). The 'Papunya' at the forefront of this earlier labelling is significant, not only as it reminds us of the place where this language was consolidated, but also because the concept of the proposed regional authority of this Land Trust grew out of the strong leadership of Alison Anderson. The ATSIC Central Zone Commissioner, Anderson is also a Luritja speaker and member of the Papunya community. This political dynamic, in itself, has ramifications for the regional success or otherwise of this governance proposal. There are already indications that, after a number of steering committee meetings, the Pintupi community of Kintore is not as interested as the three eastern communities Luritja communities in creating this type of regional alliance.

These people, now termed Luritja, came together primarily from the neighbouring country in the north and west onto a country that had been apparently 'vacated'. Through classical processes of succession over the following generations, some of these new settlers succeeded to land in this country. Although not all Luritja are land-holders, there is nowadays a correlation between language territory and language ownership. Unlike the term Pintupi, the term Luritja is more than a conflation of linguistic frontiers and language labelling. It does seem to be the case, contra Rumsey, that the relationship between territory and language is subject to change under certain conditions, as 'one people conquers or assimilates another' (Rumsey 1993: 204). The emergence of this grosser political identity, as an active response to early policy regimes on the Papunya settlement in particular, has broad contemporary ramifications. On one level at least, assimilation has been successful. As disparate Aboriginal groups were bought together and forced to communicate and create a shared history, a modern identity was forged. There is now a label for this group of people who share the same language, the same settlement histories and intermarried during this early period. Fried noted this possibility when he suggested that the treatment by government of an Indigenous population as a more or less homogenous population of wards will create a tribal level of consumption: the early creation of 'a reservation system [is] one way of bringing such a condition into existence' (Fried 1975: 49).<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, the contemporary shape of Pintupi Luritja territory is reasonably clearly defined. There appears to be some considerable coincidence between this Land Trust boundary and the Luritja language territory. The Luritja heartland is the ranges and soakages that fall mainly to the south of the Papunya-Kintore road, the road that leads to the Ehrenburg Ranges (Ilypili) and continues west to Kintore. The major features of Kings Canyon and Lake Amadeus, and the pastoral station of Tempe Downs, form the southern borders. This country is associated with a different Luritja language. The hinterland areas—the plains and sand hills—are areas of language ‘mix-up’. The Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) language map also indicates that the language borders are hazy (IAD 2002). Nevertheless, the creation of this Land Trust boundary, the restriction of movement of Aboriginal ‘wards’, and service delivery programs, have all impacted on this articulation of a larger identity. This larger identity is also assisted by the mobility resulting from access to vehicles, allowing inter-regional networks to develop through ceremony and sports carnivals. Although on one level it is undoubtedly true that communities are highly competitive in this environment, such events continue the tradition of marriage exogamy. In fact, as this region is enlarging so to is the pool of potential marriage partners and political alliances.

## CONCLUSIONS

---

There are Indigenous structural forces working both for and against a regional system of service delivery. This paper has attempted an exploration of these forces in terms of the tensions between localism and regionalism. It is clear, in this particular Aboriginal domain, that there is considerable continuity in Indigenous forms of governance from the recent pre-contact past to the present. These socio-political structures interact with introduced structures of service delivery. It could be argued, in fact, that these cultural structures have become intensified with settlement and concomitant access to unprecedented resources. With sedentarism a greater localism has developed than was previously possible. Access to ready resources has in some ways intensified competition to monopolise them by individuals and community leaders. Community spokes people have learnt to advocate on behalf of their communities. Local desire for autonomy in decision-making and allocation of resources is strong, pitting communities against each other. Powerful sentiments are attached to each community, as people have re-located themselves and their traditional imaginations. Thus, community identities have emerged with development. Conversely, regional and inter-regional networks have expanded in an unprecedented manner as access to transport has enabled the cultural priorities of ceremony and exogamous marriage to thrive. The tendency to expansion has intensified.

John Ah Kit has indicated in the Northern Territory Government's regionalisation policy that ‘Aboriginal people ... have always worked together—socially, culturally and economically—as a series of overlapping and interconnected regions’ (Northern Territory Government 2003). This paper has elaborated on past and present Indigenous social and political drivers toward regional networks. The question remains of how the operations of such Indigenous regional networks are relevant for a regional level of service delivery. There can be no suggestion, for instance, that ritual networks consisting of complex socio-centric relationships and esoteric knowledge can be levered or attached to a regional service delivery framework. However, there is potential and capacity within Indigenous socio-political networks for

a web of relations wider than the purely local. As the overview of the history of this Land Trust has indicated, a regional identity has emerged through the development of the Luritja language, the overlap of social institutions that this shared language entails, and the shared settlement histories. There is potential therefore for an alliance between Papunya, Haasts Bluff and Mt Liebig. However, this tends toward excluding the Pintupi.

Finally, to return to Keen (1997), one must consider networks of interaction and connection, as this beginning with the dynamic assumption that local groups are not the natural order. Local groups must be situated in their wider contexts as contingent and relational entities.

## NOTES

---

1. This language was referred to as Papunya Luritja on the 1990 IAD language map. The most recent IAD language map of 2002 has renamed this language Pintupi Luritja.
2. Cane, who collected oral histories of pre-contact demography from the Kukatja (north of the Pintupi), stated that 'they complained that the [people who came in for ceremony] often stayed on and foraged in the area after ... and that there were often too many people living in the vicinity of the ... range and that this resulted in a lot of fighting' (1990: 154). This would suggest that the contraction of family groups back to their 'estates' was also necessary for social control.
3. Hansen draws on Long (1971) about the composition of these groups. Long terms them 'family groups' which ranged in size from 'three to twelve people ...'. Hansen also interviewed four Pintupi men regarding their travels. He states that 'normally there was a great deal of movement between local groups and multigroups. This would have meant that vocabulary and grammatical borrowings would have become widely known. The practice of intermarriage with members of more distant multigroups also would have resulted in a great deal of synonym and grammatical variation' (Hansen 1984: 8).
4. Hansen further indicates that he has made no attempt to list all multigroup dialect terms because of a complicating factor such that 'when eliciting some of the above terms it became evident there is a variation of dialect terms for the same multigroup, depending on which other multigroup member refers to them' (1984: 7).
5. This movement east had begun earlier for the eastern Gibson Desert people, such as the Kukatja. Note that there are two languages that cover different areas of this name.
6. The severe drought may account for the large numbers of people at Ilpili at this time (Kimber 1981: 12).
7. The expedition leader was J.B. Cleland and included N.B. Tindale and H.K. Fry. Aboriginals were to be gathered at Mt Liebig for research assisted by Ted Strehlow, who travelled north to find people, as Mt Liebig was practically depopulated (Strehlow 1932: 60).
8. However, he also recorded three people as Jumu (Mackay's 'E umo', Yumu) and one as Luritja. As stated above, Albrecht recorded that the situation had changed four years later, in 1936. This was, perhaps, due to the increased number of contacts in 1930–32, with more 'Pintupi' families having moved into the area (Long 1989: 21).
9. There are two languages of this name. One of them is to the north of the Pintupi, referred to by Cane (1990) in Western Australia, and this group of people who were the western neighbours to the Arrernte.
10. They were also actively encouraged by the missionaries and patrol officers (see Nathan and Japanangka (1983) and Long (1992) for conflicting accounts of this contact period).



11. The question of how the Pitjantjatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra (who are primarily south and south west of the Luritja) came to be in Haasts Bluff during this early period is interesting. According to Nathan and Japanganka two different groups of people were bought into Papunya from Giles in 1964 by the WRE Patrol Officers (1983). Those who have worked among the Pitjantjatjara, such as Wallace, focus only on South Australia and southern Northern Territory communities, rather than this region.
12. It is worth noting that according to Long the most common intermarriage was with the Pintupi, who complained that their women were being taken away. However, it was 'probably a working out of demographic trends; the people from the eastern parts have suffered a declining population in contact with White society' (1970: 323).
13. To quote from Holcombe (forthcoming) 'This term has been loosely borrowed from Melanesianists, such as Sahlins (1966), to define a political type of actor, a 'leader' in local terms. The emphasis on the Melanesian big-men has been on their general personality traits, as they 'do not come to office ... The attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person above the common herd...' (Sahlins 1966: 165). The comparable political actor in this [region] is also a composite of strong personality and oratorical ability. However, although he also 'does not come to office', he must bear an apparently immutable right to the ... country [on/around which the community is situated]. It is primarily on the basis of this inherited, and elaborated upon, right reaffirmed through long term residence and the concomitant attainment of the appropriate knowledge, that he can become such a man' (Sahlins 1966: 165).
14. Tindale maintained that Strehlow referred to the Kukatja from the Arrernte perspective. Tindale indicated that 'in 1929 [he] was asked by the old men of this tribe to refrain from using the term imposed on them by the [Arrernte] and to record their 'true' name—Kukatja' (1974: 229).
15. See Holcombe (forthcoming) for a detailed analysis of these issues.

## REFERENCES

---

- Bern, J. 1988. 'Structures of inequality and the meaning of surplus: A conundrum in the anthropology of Australia Aborigines', *Anthropological Forum*, 5 (3): 560–73.
- Cane, S. 1990. 'Desert demography: A case study of pre-contact Aboriginal densities in the Western Desert of Australia', in B. Meehan and N. White (eds), *Hunter-Gatherer Demography: Past and Present*, *Oceania Monograph* 39, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Clastres, P. 1987, originally published 1974. *Society Against The State*, Urzone Inc, Zone Books, New York.
- Coles, D. 1999. 'The marriage of traditional Aboriginal and Western structures in local government in the Northern Territory', Paper delivered to the Institute of Public Administration Australia Conference, 8–9 September 1999, Darwin.
- Davis, K., Hunter, J. and Penny, D. 1977. Papunya: Its History and Future Prospects, Unpublished report prepared for the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Education, Canberra.
- Doohan, K. 1992. 'One family, different country', *Oceania Monograph* 4, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Fried, M.H. 1975. *The Notion of Tribe*, Cummings Publishing Company, California.
- Gerritsen, R. 1982. 'Blackfellas and Whitefellas: The politics of service delivery to remote Aboriginal communities in the Katherine region', in P. Loveday (ed.), *Service Delivery to Remote Communities*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, ANU, Darwin.
- Hamilton, A. 1972. 'Blacks and Whites: The relationships of change', *Arena*, 30: 34–48.
- Hansen, K.C. 1984. 'Communicability of some Western Desert communilects', in J. Hudson and N. Pym (eds), *Work Papers of the SIL-AAB Series B Volume 11. Language Survey*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Darwin.
- Heffernan, J.A. 1984. *Papunya Luritja Language Notes*, Papunya Literature Production Centre, Papunya, Northern Territory.
- Hilliard, W.M. 1968. *The People In Between: The Pitjantjatjara People of Ernabella*, Hodder and Stoughton, Great Britain.
- Holcombe, S. 1993. 'One mob, one voice, one land?' Perceptions of Central and Western Desert Aboriginal women's law meetings', *The Olive Pink Society Bulletin*, 5 (1): 10–14.
- 1998. Amunturrngu: An Emergent Community in Central Australia, PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, Newcastle.
- forthcoming. 'The Luritja Management of the State', *Oceania Monograph* special edition, 'Articulating Culture', University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Howard, M.C. (ed.) 1978. *'Whitefella Business': Aborigines in Australian Politics*, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia.
- Institute of Aboriginal Development (IAD) 2002. *Central Australian Aboriginal Languages—Current Distribution*, IAD Press, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

- Keen, I. 1997. 'A continent of foragers: Aboriginal Australia as a 'regional system'', in P. McConvell and N. Evans (eds), *Archaeology and Linguistics: Aboriginal Australia In Global Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kimber, R.G. 1981. The Pintupi of the Kintore Range, Unpublished report for Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra.
- Kolig, E. 1981. *The Silent Revolution: The Effects of Modernisation on Australian Aboriginal Religion*, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia.
- Long, J. 1970. 'Change in an Aboriginal community in Central Australia', in A. R Pilling and R.A Waterman (eds), *Diprotodon to Detribalisation: Studies of Change among Australian Aborigines*, Michigan University Press, East Lansing.
- 1971. 'Arid region Aborigines: The Pintupi', in D.J Mulvaney and J. Golson (eds), *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra.
- 1989. 'Leaving the desert: Actors and sufferers in the Aboriginal exodus from the Western Desert', *Aboriginal History*, 13 (1): 9–43.
- 1992. *The Go-Betweens: Patrol Officers in Aboriginal Affairs Administration in the Northern Territory 1936–74*, North Australian Research Unit, Darwin, ANU.
- Martin, D. 2003. 'Rethinking the design of Indigenous organisations: The need for strategic engagement', *CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 248*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra.
- Meggitt, M.J. 1986 (1962). *Desert People: A Study of the Walbiri Aborigines of Central Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.
- 1966. 'Indigenous forms of government among the Australian Aborigines', in I. Hogbin and L. Hiatt (eds), *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Merlan, F. 1998. *Caging the Rainbow: Places, Politics and Aborigines in a North Australian Town*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
- Myers, F. 1986. *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place and Politics Among Western Desert Aborigines*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, and Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Nathan, P. and Leichleitner Japanangka, D. 1983. *Settle Down Country: Pmere Arlaltyewe*, Central Australian Aboriginal Congress and Kibble Books, Victoria.
- Northern Territory Government 2003. *Building Stronger Regions—Stronger Futures Strategy*, Minister for Regional Development, Department of Community Development, Sport and Cultural Affairs, Northern Territory Government, Darwin.
- Parkin, F. 1982. 'Social closure and class formation', in A. Giddens and D. Hale (eds), *Classes, Power and Conflict*, Macmillan, London.
- Payne, H. 1984. 'Residency and ritual rights', in J. Kassler and J. Stubington (eds), *Problems and Solutions: Occasional Essays in Musicology Presented to Alice. M. Moyle*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.

- 1989. 'Rites for sites or sites for rites?: The dynamics of women's cultural life in the Musgraves', in P. Brock (ed.), *Women: Rites and Sites*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Peterson, N. 1976. 'The natural and cultural areas of Aboriginal Australia: A preliminary analysis of population groupings with adaptive significance', in N. Peterson (ed.), *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*, Social Anthropology Series No. 10, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra and Humanities Press Inc. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey.
- 1997. 'Demand sharing: Sociobiology and the pressure for generosity amongst foragers', in F. Merlan, J. Morton and A. Rumsey (eds), *Scholar and Sceptic: Australian Aboriginal Studies in Honour of LR Hiatt*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- 2000. 'An expanding Aboriginal domain': Mobility and the Initiation Journey', *Oceania*, 70 (3): 205–18.
- Poirier, S. 1992. 'Nomadic' rituals: Networks of ritual exchange between women of the Australian Western Desert', *Man*, 27 (4): 757–76.
- Rowse, T. 1992. *Remote Possibilities: The Aboriginal Domain and the Administrative Imagination*, North Australian Research Unit, ANU, Darwin.
- Rumsey, A. 1993. 'Language and territoriality in Aboriginal Australia', in M. Walsh and C. Yallop (eds), *Language and Culture in Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Sanders, W. 2001. 'A Regional CDEP for Four remote communities? Papunya, Ikuntji, Watiyawanu and Walungurru', *CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 224*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra.
- Sahlins, M.D. 1966 'Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: Political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', in I. Hogbin and L. Hiatt (eds), *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Strehlow, T.G.H. 1932. Journal of Expedition to Mount Liebig and Surrounds, Unpublished manuscript, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- 1947. *Aranda Traditions*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Sutton, P. 1985. 'Suggestions for a bicameral system', in *Anthropological Forum*, 5 (3): 395–99.
- 1990. 'The pulsating heart: Large scale cultural and demographic processes in Aboriginal Australia', in B. Meehan and N. White (eds), *Hunter-Gatherer Demography: Past and Present*, *Oceania Monograph 39*, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- 1995. 'Atomism versus collectivism: The problem of group definition in native title cases', in J. Fingleton and J. Finlayson (eds), *Anthropology in the Native Title Era: Proceedings of a Workshop*, AIATSIS, Canberra.
- Taylor, J. 2003. Data Issues for Regional Planning in Aboriginal Communities, Seminar presented in the *Contemporary Indigenous Issues in North Australia* series, Darwin, May, available at <<http://naru.anu.edu.au/publications.php>>
- Tindale, N.B. 1932. Journal of a Visit to Mt. Liebig, Central Australia, August 1932, Unpublished manuscript, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.

- 1974. *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.
- Tonkinson, R. 1978. 'Aboriginal community autonomy: Myth and reality', in M.C. Howard (ed.), *'Whitefella Business': Aborigines in Australian Politics*, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia.
- von Sturmer, J. 1984. 'The different domains', in *Aborigines and Uranium, Consolidated Report on the Social Impact of Uranium Mining on the Aborigines in the Northern Territory*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Wardhaugh, R. 1998. *An Introduction to Socio-Linguistics*, 3rd Edition, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts.
- Yallop, C. 1982. *Australian Aboriginal Languages*, Andre Deutsch, London.