Aboriginal poverty is of the worst kind. It is the poverty of the few alongside the affluence of the many, self-generating, associated with ethnic heritage and colour, and dependent on others for alleviation. In this book an economist deeply concerned that Australians, one of the world's wealthiest people, still have in their midst the poorest and possibly the smallest indigenous ethnic minority of any country, proposes urgently and cogently a wholly practical solution to the problem. His starting point is with the Aborigines as all too many of them are now—institutionalised, segregated, dispirited, illiterate, and members of broken families. If the measures he proposes were to start now, integration could be virtually completed by the end of the century. Dr Schapper sets out the necessary and sufficient conditions for Aboriginal advancement to integration, translates these into needs, quantifies them, and gives details of plans and programs. This controversial work is many-sided and should be required reading for administrators, politicians, social and welfare workers, teachers, Aboriginal leaders, students of social anthropology, and—not least—the Australian public.

Price in Australia $4.20
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ABORIGINAL ADVANCEMENT TO INTEGRATION
Aborigines in Australian Society 5

A series sponsored by
The Social Science Research Council of Australia
ABORIGINAL ADVANCEMENT TO INTEGRATION
CONDITIONS AND PLANS FOR WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Henry P. Schapper
THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA, WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN ITS PRESENT FORM IN 1952, IS THE NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. SOME OF ITS MAJOR FUNCTIONS ARE:

- to encourage the advancement of the social sciences in Australia;
- to act as a co-ordinating group for the promotion of research and teaching in the social sciences;
- to foster research and to subsidise the publication of studies in the social sciences.

To these ends the Council has sponsored a number of major research projects. The first related to the role of women in public and professional life in Australia and was carried out by Mr Norman MacKenzie. His report, together with the associated study of the legal status of women in Australia by Dr Enid Campbell, was published in 1962 in a book, *Women in Australia* (F.W. Cheshire Pty Ltd, Melbourne).

The second major project, carried out by a group of economists, was concerned with the Australian taxation structure and under the authorship of R.I. Downing, H.W. Arndt, A.H. Boxer, and R.L. Mathews, the results were published in 1964 in *Taxation in Australia: Agenda for Reform* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne).

In 1963 the Council approved its third and most ambitious major project, *Aborigines in Australian Society*, with the broad objectives of:

- elucidating the problems arising from contacts between Aborigines and non-Aborigines and formulating policy implications from these;
drawing together existing knowledge in various parts of Australia and undertaking such further original research as can be carried out over a period of three years.

In May 1964, Mr C.D. Rowley, formerly Principal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration in Sydney, was appointed Director of the Project, to work under the general guidance of a Project Committee appointed by the Council. The volumes now being published represent a major research enterprise in which many social scientists collaborated over the length and breadth of Australia.

However, the whole enterprise depended in very large measure on the magnificent support received, from the outset, from the Myer Foundation of Australia and the Sidney Myer Charity Trust. The Council wishes to acknowledge its gratitude for their generosity.

W.D. Borrie

Canberra 1969
I accepted with pleasure Dr Schapper's invitation to write a brief Foreword to this book. It is the work of a man of integrity and ardour, and is the most searching criticism I have read of the conventional wisdom underlying our approach to the social problems in which the Aboriginal people of Australia are entrapped.

The purpose of the book is to stimulate debate about ideas and methods. I have a high expectation that it will do so. It deals with Western Australia only but, if the critical analysis applies at all, it applies about as well to Queensland, the Northern Territory, New South Wales, and South Australia. The life-conditions of Aborigines there, the mentality of Europeans towards them, and the historical development of both, are not all that different. His contribution, properly judged, is towards a national rather than a parochial debate.

I became aware of Dr Schapper's work only after he had completed his field studies and had begun to write. The rigour and completeness of his attack impressed me and, with the consent of his University and of my own, I gladly made available to him some facilities in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the Institute of Advanced Studies so that he might discuss methods and conclusions with interested scholars at a helpful remove from the scene of study. Discussion turned into a very animated debate which, I am sure, but heralded what will occur more widely when the book is in print.

No one now needs to be told that there is a chasm between European and Aboriginal life-conditions, but even those who may suppose themselves well-informed will be jolted to discover from Dr Schapper's book just how wide and deep the chasm is. Further, they will be unable to avoid the conclusion that the chasm is widening, not narrowing, because the growth-rate of the Aboriginal population far exceeds the present rate of remedy. It may be at this point of discovery that readers will see the need to give thought to Dr Schapper's central thesis: that the ideas and methods expressed in present welfare and advancement programs, being
wrong in their assumptions, ensure the worsening of conditions which already dismay the conscience.

In any study of the kind three things get run together: facts, interpretations of them, and the ideas that lead to the interpretations. I do not foresee a successful rebuttal of Dr Schapper's account of the basic facts of Aboriginal life in Western Australia. He describes with clarity and economy the self-perpetuating poverty, lack of identity, family failure and dependency against which the Aborigines for the most part struggle in vain, or have ceased to struggle. His is but the forerunner of similar studies elsewhere. When they are complete we shall have a continental picture that will distribute more fairly the limelight that the book for the moment, but only for the moment, will concentrate on Western Australia. The statistical tables, which make up nearly a third of the book, are an essay in themselves. However imperfect—and the very absence of more precise information is itself the best evidence of past indifference—they nevertheless disclose a scale and depth of human wastage through poverty, ill-health, ignorance, squalor, felony and misdemeanour that can neither be ignored nor concealed. Dr Schapper argues that they cannot be cured, either, by policies and methods which, he contends, frustrate their own purposes. It is here, I imagine, that the analysis and recommendations will draw most fire. Some of it may well come from the Aboriginal people themselves.

I am probably unqualified to comment on Dr Schapper's prescriptions because the idea of 'total' social policies put into operation through 'comprehensive', 'co-ordinated', and 'integrated' plans and programs seems to me a scientist's remedy for human problems scientifically but not administratively appraised. Even if conviction and impulse were themselves 'total', their transposition into public and private acts within a democratic polity remains the greater part of the problem. And I for one am by no means sure that the process would have much appeal to many of the Aboriginal people. Yet I am in little doubt about the essential rightness of Dr Schapper's analysis, and of his list of the necessary ingredients of remedy so far as the problems are indeed remediable—money, skill, training, special centres and services, better administrative machinery, and the setting of definite standards and targets under a deep public obligation of attainment.

Western Australian history is now presenting for payment bills for social debts incurred without thought of the eventual day of settlement. Perhaps the most significant part of Dr Schapper's book, therefore, is his demographic projection. He considers that by the year 2001 there may
be nearly 74,000 people of Aboriginal descent within the State. The assumptions of the projection appear to be moderate and probable. To the extent that existing plans fall short of meeting the backlog of present needs and the compounding effect of new family-formation the issuance of enforceable bills goes on. The fact of present shortfall is not to be denied. While this remains so the gap between Aboriginal and European standards of life in Western Australia will widen. If Dr Schapper's downright and at times abrasive language helps to bring this certainty into public focus then he has put Western Australia in his debt.

The Australian National University

Canberra, A.C.T.

May 1970.

W.E.H. STANNER
This study is an attempt to define and analyse the current social and economic condition of Aborigines in Western Australia, to determine necessary and sufficient conditions for their social and economic advancement, and to set guidelines for plans for their advancement to integration. A basic premise is that it is the responsibility of the Australian people to ensure that all Aborigines, as indeed all environmentally disadvantaged persons, have real opportunities to acquire the ability to cope as independent, self-sustaining families and individuals within Australian communities. For Aborigines, such opportunities must extend far beyond bringing them fully within the scope of the social and industrial legislation we have designed for ourselves, beyond subsidising the uncertain charity of churches and other voluntary organisations, beyond relying on the continued goodwill of the Lotteries Commission and Save the Children Fund, and beyond granting official approval to professional and lay missionaries to work among Aborigines.

The test of the Australian society's acceptance of this responsibility is the provision of necessary reaching-out services and assistance to all Aborigines who want to advance from their present state of dependent, self-perpetuating, and extreme poverty, regardless of the State of the Commonwealth in which they live. Whether this responsibility will be undertaken remains to be seen. Society has not been challenged hitherto with such a responsibility, nor has it been presented with the opportunity to accept or reject it. Only now are Aboriginal needs being made known to society in ways that confront it with reasonably clear and adequate choices. It is premature to yield to the idea that the Australian people are apathetic to the needs of Aborigines. To suggest that society has not yet fully accepted the responsibility for Aboriginal advancement is not to

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1 Integration can have many meanings. In this study, wherever the word is used by the author, as distinct from its use in quotations from other authors, its meaning is as on p. 56 unless otherwise stated. Briefly, integration caters for real and equal life opportunities and tolerates cultural differences between persons with different ethnic heritage.
overlook the efforts of governments, church and other organisations, and many individuals who have worked to improve the conditions of Aborigines. Nor is it to ignore the attempts of many individuals and private organisations to stimulate more action through governments. Governments seldom initiate social reform. In the past they have had to be led and pushed for many decades after needs first became apparent into enabling society to provide assistance and services to disadvantaged people.

A strong impression gained from the many persons contacted in the course of this study is that there is widespread and genuine interest and concern associated with feelings of frustration with the Aboriginal situation, and of bewilderment as to what should be done about it. These attitudes are consistent with a sense of responsibility towards Aborigines expressed in the 1967 Referendum, when 90 per cent of electors in Australia voted in favour of altering the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act to enable the Commonwealth Parliament to make laws with respect to Aborigines in any State. Now seems a propitious time for planning Aboriginal advancement and for actions to effect it.

It is a widely held belief that Aborigines are a subject of study mainly for anthropologists and sociologists, and that it is mostly political agitators who are involved in their advancement. Many persons have expressed surprise that an economist could appropriately be involved in research for Aboriginal advancement. But studies for social and economic planning are properly within the scope of the professional economist, regardless of the ethnic heritage of the people involved. However, where plans are to embrace persons in another culture or sub-culture such as Aborigines, special care is required to ensure that proposals are in accord with findings and assessments of the social sciences.

Concerted effort on many fronts is a requirement for Aboriginal advancement. Many things require to be done simultaneously for advancement to become a reality, for avoidance of waste by government and voluntary organisations, and for avoidance of administrative frustration and further deterioration of the moral and living conditions of Aborigines. The requirements for advancement at satisfactory rates demand a comprehensive and co-ordinated plan wherein each element reinforces each other element. Such a plan has not yet been presented in Western Australia.

This was confirmed by surveys of attitudes of persons selected at random in Katanning and Moora, and of key personnel (for example medical doctors, police, politicians, school teachers) servicing East Perth. These surveys were made by R. Johnston and H.P. Schapper for this study. Their results have not been published.
It will not evolve of its own accord, nor is it likely to emerge from the government without public stimulus. This study may help to initiate and to sustain the required stimulus and to provide assistance to administrators, politicians, and indeed Aborigines themselves to plan effectively for Aboriginal advancement.

The research reported in this study is meant to be operational in the sense that by design it is policy-oriented and action-oriented. The task is to establish necessary and sufficient conditions that require to be fulfilled in order to achieve Australia's goal of integration of the Aborigines in Western Australia. To establish these conditions it is necessary to identify the needs of Aborigines in diverse situations with respect to both economic and social conditions; to translate the requirements for their fulfilment into specific kinds of resources and programs; and to design an administrative structure that will facilitate, not frustrate, the planning and operation of the required resource interventions.

Preconceived notions, about the nature of aboriginality, about the desirability of Aborigines remaining in the north, and about what Australian society might be prepared to spend on Aboriginal advancement in this State have not been permitted to influence this research. But there are such preconceived notions as that Aborigines are human and that their basic needs for living in Australian communities are no different from the needs of other Australians.

This study attempts to integrate and synthesise relevant facts and ideas into relevant plans and programs for action here and now. The proposed resource interventions are meant to be relevant to the characteristics of human nature, to the present Aboriginal situation, and to the goal of integration. The plans and programs are meant to be relevant to scientific knowledge about human behaviour, to Aboriginal needs, and to the goal. In this study the proposals for advancement and for a new administration are based on inter-relationships between these parameters. It is these interrelationships which make the current piecemeal and improvement approaches to advancement inappropriate. The needs for personal development and for advancement to integration as independently coping individuals are intimately interdependent. Effective plans to fulfil these needs would reflect this interdependence and require that planners cross the boundaries of academic disciplines and integrate relevant findings. In this study a basic premise is that Aborigines, like all other people, can advance only when interplay among social, economic, and psychological factors permits. This implies that, for their success,
programs for education, employment, job-training, child-rearing, health services, and home-making should emerge from a single plan.

A shortcoming of this study is some reliance on circumstantial evidence. In all social and economic planning, reliance on such evidence is necessary because even where planning is really planned, especially in its early stages, not everything can be researched before plans are prepared and decisions made. In this case there were many obstacles to the acquisition of incontrovertible facts. The inevitable political implications of the study frightened some persons and encouraged them into silence. Aboriginal advancement *per se* is not the subject of ongoing research in university or in government departments in Western Australia, so that much basic information for the local situation did not exist. The wide scatter of the Aboriginal population within the State’s one million square miles made for difficult and imperfect access to facts in all situations. The lack of local professional expertise in relevant Aboriginal matters meant the absence of suitable reference persons. The lack of vigorous voluntary activity in Aboriginal advancement in Western Australia meant that voluntary help for this study was meagre. Partly offsetting the effects of some of these disadvantages were visits by the author to almost every school, mission settlement, and hostel for Aborigines in Western Australia, and to some pastoral stations and many native reserves. The experience of seeing almost every kind of Aboriginal situation in the State and of speaking with persons involved in each, enabled the opinions of numerous people who are sensitive to the current Aboriginal situation and reports and statistics to be realistically interpreted and developed.

This study is based firmly on the premise that Aborigines are in a problem situation that is solvable, not in a situation that is immutable. Because government is heavily involved with this problem, both the problem and its solutions in the final analysis are political. But whichever solutions are chosen, implied in them will be a network of social, economic, and psychological inter-relationships. The attempt to lay these bare for the solutions proposed in this study is directed to facilitate rational political choices. But this study is not oriented towards what government is most likely to have in mind or towards what it is most likely to accept. Rather, it emphasises what should and must be done if Aboriginal advancement to integration is to become a reality for all the children of today’s Aboriginal children.

In a study such as this it is almost inevitable that some personal value preferences will become evident. One of these will be made explicit. It is
that human talent, ability, and potential is the most precious resource, from which follows the preference for a social order which reduces to a minimum, needless human suffering and degradation; which avoids human waste; and which stresses the development and utilisation of human resources.

H.P.S.
I am acutely aware that to a considerable degree this study is a collective effort and that I am indebted to some very willing helpers.

Missionaries, school teachers, and station people particularly gave generously of their time and hospitality when visits were made to mission settlements, schools, and pastoral stations. Some Aborigines and other persons interviewed Aboriginal householders for the Household Survey (Appendix B) at personal cost to themselves. Many other persons, including voluntary helpers and workers with Aborigines, helped by giving information and discussing ideas. Persons known and unknown to me including housewives, doctors, teachers, nurses, professors, psychologists, and administrators, read and commented helpfully on part or all of various drafts of this book.

Some persons must be mentioned by name: Joy Schapper in her capacity as wife and as a practising clinical psychologist; Mrs Monica Dowley and Dr Ruth Johnston as graduate research assistants; Professor W.E.H. Stanner, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, who arranged seminars in his department for testing ideas and provided refuge during the final drafting phase; Mrs Marian Pollak and Mr J. Barnacle for painstaking commentaries; and Miss Coralie Solomon who patiently typed many drafts.

To all concerned I am deeply grateful.

A grant from the Social Sciences Research Council and a major grant from the Australian Universities Research Grants Committee provided the necessary finance. I hope that the persons who decided in favour of this allocation will consider the money to have been well spent.

HENRY P. SCHAPPER

Perth, 1969
CONTENTS

Note on the Series, by W.D. Borrie .................................................. v
Foreword, by W.E.H. Stanner ......................................................... vii
Preface ......................................................................................... x
Acknowledgment ......................................................................... xv

BACKGROUND

1 Before the White Man ................................................................. 3
2 Contact and Impact ................................................................... 8
3 Legislation and Administration .................................................. 11
4 Reports and Recommendations .................................................. 20

CURRENT REALITIES

5 Resource-learning Mixes ............................................................. 31
6 Attitudinal and Behavioural Consequences ................................. 44

CONDITIONS OF ADVANCEMENT

7 Clarification of Goals and Means of Achievement ...................... 55
8 Recognition of Blind-alley Propositions ....................................... 61
9 Identification of Needs ............................................................... 72

GUIDELINES FOR PLANS FOR INTEGRATION

10 Administrative Organisation ...................................................... 85
11 Principles of Intervention ........................................................ 95
12 Strategies of Intervention ........................................................ 102
13 Planning and Programs ............................................................ 110
RESEARCH FOR ACTION

14  Research and Evaluation  121
15  Benefits and Costs  132

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

16  Main Points  141

POSTSCRIPT

First Questions Answered  147

APPENDICES

Introduction to Statistical Appendices  154
A  Characteristics and Projection of the Aboriginal Population  157
B  Aboriginal Housing and Households  166
C  Aboriginal Employment and Occupations  172
D  Aboriginal Schooling and Educational Achievement  176
E  Aboriginal Health  182
F  Aboriginal Crime and Delinquency  188
G  Aboriginal Family Characteristics  191

INDEX  193

MAP

Location of Aboriginal Population of Western Australia, 30 June 1966  facing 196
| TABLES |

**TEXT**

1. Aboriginal population on mission settlements, 1966  
2. Aboriginal population on sheep and cattle stations, 1966  
3. Occupied camping reserves, by size, 1966  
4. Specified phases of life cycle and associated requirements for Aboriginal advancement  
5. Principles and strategies of intervention and programs for 1971  

**APPENDICES**

A 1. Aboriginal and total populations by location, 1966  
A 2. Aboriginal and total populations by five-year age groups, 1966  
A 3. Aboriginal and total populations—Selected characteristics, 1966  
A 4. Aboriginal population by five-year age groups in two regional areas, 1966  
A 5. Aboriginal population by age group and domicile, 1966  
A 6. Aboriginal and total populations, urban and rural, 1966  
A 7. Infant mortality rates used in projection of Aboriginal population  
A 8. Age specific fertility rates used in projection of Aboriginal population
<p>| A 9 | Aboriginal population by five-year age groups, 1946 to 1966 | 164 |
| A 10 | Aboriginal population by five-year age groups, 1966 to 2001 | 165 |
| B 1 | Department of Native Welfare Housing, 1966 and 1969 | 166 |
| B 2 | Location of dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 167 |
| B 3 | Dwellings by type of location, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 167 |
| B 4 | Dwellings by class, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 168 |
| B 5 | Construction of dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 168 |
| B 6 | Rooms per dwelling, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 168 |
| B 7 | Beds per dwelling, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 168 |
| B 8 | Facilities in dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 169 |
| B 9 | Ratings of facilities in dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 170 |
| B 10 | Size of households, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 170 |
| B 11 | Occupants of dwellings by age, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 171 |
| B 12 | Relationship of occupants, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 171 |
| C 1 | Aboriginal and total population by occupational status, 1966 | 173 |
| C 2 | Aboriginal population by occupational status and age, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 173 |
| C 3 | Aboriginal population by occupation, 1966 | 174 |
| C 4 | Aboriginal population by occupation, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8 | 175 |
| D 1 | Level of educational attainment of Aboriginal and total populations, 1966 | 176 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D 2</td>
<td>Education, adult Aborigines, 1966</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 3</td>
<td>School grade for chronological age, Aboriginal children, 1962 and 1968</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 4</td>
<td>Educational drop-outs, Aboriginal children</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 5</td>
<td>Educational retardation of Aboriginal and European children, 1965 and 1966</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 6</td>
<td>School grade for chronological age, Aboriginal children, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 7</td>
<td>Concentration of Aboriginal children in schools, 1966</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1</td>
<td>Infant mortality rates by Statistical Divisions and regional areas, 1967</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>Aboriginal and European morbidity, Derby District Hospital, 1966</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 3</td>
<td>Aboriginal and European patients by age groups, Derby District Hospital, 1966</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 4</td>
<td>Princess Margaret Hospital admissions, September 1965 to August 1966</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 1</td>
<td>Summary convictions of adults, magistrates’ courts, 1966</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 2</td>
<td>Trend in convictions and committals for penal imprisonment, adults and juveniles, 1950 to 1968</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 3</td>
<td>Convictions of juveniles, magistrates’ courts, 1966</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 4</td>
<td>Convictions of juveniles, magistrates’ courts, 1966-8</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1</td>
<td>Selected characteristics of Aboriginal and European families, 1966</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BACKGROUND
Before the white man came, the Aborigines of Australia lived in a manner which required minimal modification of their physical environment. This man-nature relationship was reflected in their social organisation, and determined almost every aspect of their culture. Their way of life was an integrated, internally consistent, harmonious whole. There was complementarity within and between the social structure, law and order, family functioning, subsistence activities, code of behaviour, mythology and ceremonial and ritualistic activities.

The most widely accepted estimate of the Aboriginal population immediately before the white man is 300,000 persons, of whom 50,000 to 100,000 were in Western Australia. Throughout Australia the population was grouped into about 500 to 700 tribal units ranging from 100 to 1,500 persons in each. The Aboriginal tribe refers to the largest social grouping of Aborigines. It was recognised as a discrete group both by its members and non-members alike. The tribe was an endogamous unit, and it had a common language and recognisable territorial and hunting rights, though between tribes there was overlap in language, marriage, and hunting. Within a tribe there may have been several other social groups, with families being the smallest. All of the groups were totemic, and some were descent and kinship groups but not all were territorial. These various groupings constituted social structures through which personal rights, obligations, and responsibilities were learned, recognised, enforced, and acted out.

The Aborigines were semi-nomadic. They were frequently on the move and hunted and gathered food within the range of well defined
geographical and sacred sites. They were organised for mobility, being without cumbersome possessions, permanent structures for living or shelter, and without flocks, herds, or beasts of burden. Families moved together in small groups. The population was sparsely distributed throughout the continent from one person per four square miles in coastal regions to one per twenty square miles in desert regions.

Almost everywhere the environment was harsh and ungenerous and subsistence demanded human sparseness and small group isolation. Gatherings of large numbers of people could only be infrequent and temporary. Thus contacts between groups were for ceremony and feuding, not for wealth-getting purposes. Small group isolation was conducive to the development of numerous dialects, to self-sufficiency, to limited specialisation of labour, to personal sharing and co-operation, and to the development of tightly-structured personal relationships specifying in detail marital eligibilities, patterns of reciprocity in giving, how to obtain redress, and from whom to obtain food, support, and protection.

Complete dependence for existence upon the natural environment was reflected in the mythology. The personal self was psychologically identified with locality, site, flora and fauna. Sacrosanctity was imputed to features of the landscape. The personal relationship to land and landscape was more than that of legal, possessory, or user rights. The personal self and the local group were identified with the land. Land was inalienable from the individual.

The marriage unit was the smallest social group. Some units consisted only of a man and his wife, though the man would probably have had clearly defined responsibilities for the protection, good behaviour, and supply of food to others among the groups of families with whom he and his wife were domiciled. Other marriage units consisted of a man with several wives, occasionally up to ten or fifteen, and numerous children. The marriage unit was closely interwoven within a group of families. Early child rearing was highly permissive, there being nothing for the child to be disciplined about, or for, in terms of training consistent with the management of a permanent home. Nor did the parents need to discipline their children to take their place in an unseen and strange society. Throughout childhood children were surrounded by the members of a group of families and these constituted their present and future relevant society. The marriage unit fed the children who, initially, were socialised informally by the wider group. In due course they were formally initiated into their social responsibilities. Progression was rapid: from childhood, without responsibilities, to maturity for work and marriage. Sexual
relations commenced at an early age. They were restricted to within the kinship system though not restricted to the married couple, either before or after marriage. Most persons would have had more than one spouse in their lifetime and many men more than one at a time, but not so the women.

There was limited specialisation of labour, though men’s and women’s duties overlapped. Men made tools and weapons and they hunted the larger animals and fished. Women built shelters, gathered fruits and seeds and dug for roots and water, hunted smaller wild life and carried the babies and fire sticks. The men were responsible for the preservation and transmission between generations of the sacred law, for the maintenance of order, for punishment, for most of the major ceremonies, the rituals of initiation, magic and healing, the settlement of inter-tribal differences, revenge, and the performance of rites after death.

Interpersonal relations, the intricacies of formal rights and obligations, knowledge, personal relationships with the physical environment, and the cyclical scheme of spiritual continuity, constituted a unified whole. It was knowable by, and fully known only to, persons with adequate experience and who had learned the songs, myths, and rituals. These persons were the elders. Their knowledge was not freely available. It was obtainable only in the prescribed manner: that by which they themselves had obtained it. Initiation, training and indoctrination, with appropriate ceremony and ritual, were the means of learning how to live out one’s man-man, man-nature and man-spirit relationships and of transmitting the store of belief and knowledge from one generation to the next.

The world of reality and of spirit, and knowledge and religion, were an integrated whole. The personal self was identified with nature: the land and all that was on it, and all things alive, shared the same life essence. Life was a phase in a cyclical continuum. It was part of a previous spiritual state from which the living were derived and to which they would return. Awareness of the spiritual was ever-present and embodied in the sacred myths. Myth and ritual linked human life and the physical environment to the spiritual continuity. They were the bond between man and nature. Each major feature of landscape had its place in the mythical scheme. Each was part of the essence of life through which personal identification was made with the physical environment, so that knowing and understanding, and the environment itself, were personal, emotional, and spiritual, and implied total involvement.¹

The Aboriginal mode of daily living was based on its semi-nomadic subsistence economy and sparse population. It provided for all of the basic requirements of man needed there and then. In modern terms there was freedom from want (most of the time), from ignorance, disease, squalor and idleness, and Aborigines were self-determining. Consistent with the Aboriginal socio-economic structure there had developed a number of features that eventually were to influence and mould the relationships between Aborigines and the white man, not only at the time of the initial contacts but for the next couple of centuries. These features included:

1. Several hundred independent tribal and semi-tribal groups; not national unity.
2. Several hundred dialects; not a lingua franca.
3. Mythical and religious significance of specific geographical sites; not the precise delineation of territorial boundaries.
4. Wide dispersal of power and authority within and between tribes; not centralised leadership based on royal or hereditary power, or on election.
5. Patterns of behaviour and thought in accordance with limited choices in static to slow-changing traditional society oriented to harmony with nature; not decision making in a fast-changing society presenting wide ranges of alternatives oriented to mastery over nature.
6. Inter-group interactions of a ceremonial and ritualistic nature and limited and occasional co-operation in fishing and hunting ventures and seed gathering; not continual inter-group discipline for work or war.
7. Occasional trade of ceremonial and novelty items and of weapons and implements; not a continuous interchange of goods and materials.
8. Local and unwritten laws; not a formal legal code.
9. Compromise rather than confrontation in the settlement of disputes.²
10. Interpersonal obligations discharged through the kinship system; present-day society demands loyalties beyond kinship groups—between employer and employee, teacher and child, and to elected leaders.
11. Inalienable personal and group identification with the total physical environment; not individual alienable rights to land.
12. Traditional behavioural rights and responsibilities; not contractual behavioural rights and extensive personal property rights.
13. Informal co-operative mode of group living; not interpersonal competition.

²J. Wilson, Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, personal communication.
14. The marriage unit commonly one part of a cluster of families living together; not separate household units.
15. Past and present-time oriented; not future-time oriented. (Hourly time as distinct from seasonal time was irrelevant.)
16. Investment limited to tool-making; no savings other than for subsistence.
17. Work-leisure dichotomy non-existent.
18. Politics, law, and religion were one.

Before the white man came these features of traditional social organisation and mode of living were strengths of, and essential to, the Aboriginal culture. From the time of the white man they were weaknesses in the ensuing clash of cultures. In this clash Aborigines lost the basic socio-economic freedoms: freedom from want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness, and lost also the right to self-determination. Aborigines had no effective means of resistance to the white man’s intrusion, annexation of land, and usurpation of women, and the Aborigines’ social organisation and mode of living ensured the maximum of difficulty for the white man to appreciate the nature and extent of his impact. The cultural background of many present-day Aborigines, as may be inferred, is so dissimilar from that of other Australians that goodwill, good intentions, and good actions of many individuals, and of governments and other organisations concerned with Aboriginal advancement are being, and may long continue to be, thwarted by misunderstandings. Moreover, because of Aboriginal powerlessness, there will not be mutual adaptation of the two cultures to one another. At best, there will be help from the one for the adaptation of the other.
Before permanent settlement by the white man, many north-coastal Aborigines had become accustomed to oversea intruders whose stay always had been temporary. Thus, in their first contacts with permanent settlers Aborigines were curious and peaceful. They had no way of knowing that the intruders' presence was to be permanent. But the settlers came to grow crops and to graze flocks and herds on what appeared to them unoccupied and unused land. There was no evidence of recognisable modes of land use by the Aborigines as distinct from their occupation. Their nomadic way of life and sparse population made it virtually impossible for settlers at the time of contact to have been aware of the fine equilibrium between the indigenous population and the physical environment. Nor could they have been aware of the personal, social, and psychological bonds of the Aborigines with land.

With permanent settlement, clash was inevitable. The settlers required that the areas they farmed be rid of what to them was vermin and to Aborigines was food, and that sheep and cattle graze undisturbed and multiply rapidly. These requirements conflicted with traditional territorial rights of the Aborigines and their food-gathering and hunting. Their food animals were disturbed and destroyed by settlers and were replaced by, or put into competition with, sheep and cattle which were not to be hunted. The dwindling traditional food supplies and the territorial restrictions caused by the settlers created a situation for the Aborigines, who were spiritually bonded to locality and were organised into small independent groups without centralised power or political unity, in which they were no match for the settlers' power and from which there
was no escape. Almost everywhere Aborigines resisted the settlers. They defended their land against trespass and annexation in the only ways possible to them. Everywhere they were defeated in a century-long history of resistance at the frontiers of settlement. In Western Australia this began in the early 1830s in the south at the 'Battle of Pinjarra', and ended in 1926 with a police and settlers' posse in the Kimberleys. The lesson learned was that men with guns could defeat men with spears. The Aborigines' only choice was either to be killed or imprisoned for spearing sheep and cattle and for raiding settlers' huts for food or to succumb to whatever the settlers demanded.

The demands of the settlers were for peaceful use of land, for Aboriginal labour on farms, pastoral stations, in homesteads and on the pearling luggers, and women for concubinage. In exchange Aboriginal workers and their dependants were given food, tobacco, clothes, blankets, axe-heads, and knives. But these were not the exchanges of free trade. The Aborigines traded and yielded from the desire to live, not from the freedom of choice. Land was settled beyond the influence of effective legal restraints on personal relationships between Aborigines and Europeans, and relationships were partly influenced by the common belief that Aborigines were uncivilisable and doomed to extinction. Defence and retaliation by Aborigines was responded to by punitive expeditions by settlers over many decades. These harsh realities fundamentally transformed Aborigines from semi-nomadic food gathering and hunting tribes into sedentary families, and into persons with an entirely different ethno-genetic make-up. Most Aborigines today are culturally and genetically different from Aborigines at the time of first contact. They are a creation of the white man.¹

Western culture has extreme penetrability, and the Aboriginal culture was without power to resist. But contrary to early predictions, the Aborigines themselves survived the penetration. They adapted to it. Adaptation required abandonment of their culture, except for those remnants not in conflict with the functioning of western society's property relationships and behavioural requirements. It required the adoption of new patterns of behaviour: from hunting to labouring, from self-determination to dependency.

Aboriginal adaptation and adjustment was to forces of exploitation. Labour was wanted by pastoralists, who did not want Aborigines to work

¹ They have this in common with American Indians and Negroes. 'The American Indian, like the American Negro, is the white man's creation—a creation conceived in error and developed by a ghastly series of compounded errors.' A.R. King, The School at Mopass. A Problem of Identity (New York, 1967), p. 91.
at mining. Trade unionists wanted them excluded from employment as shearers, and Labor politicians advocated that labour on pastoral stations be restricted to whites and that Aborigines be employed by the government on reserves. Aborigines worked as subsistence labourers on the pearling luggers and on pastoral stations from their opening up to the present day. Until 1969, in Western Australia they have specifically been excluded from the provisions of industrial awards which set minimum rates of pay for station hands, the occupational category of most Aborigines. Now that Aboriginal station labour may have to be paid for at award rates, it is being used more economically and some Aborigines are being dismissed from station employment.

The history of European contact records the annexation of land, usurpation of women, clash and pacification by force, protection of Aborigines from the white man, protection of the white man from Aborigines, exploitation of labour, forcible separation of families, segregation by exclusion from schools and towns and by restraints on movement from place to place, and non-citizenship. Now there is peace and quiet and welfare and favourable attitudes to governmental outlays aimed specifically at Aboriginal advancement and integration. But the past is still present. Aboriginal adaptation and adjustment was not to forces of advancement, integration and assimilation, but to forces of exploitation and segregation which still continue in some measure in Western Australia. The present legacy is attitudinal and physical. There is Aboriginal resentment, hostility, feelings of injustice, lack of co-operation, absence of dependability in work, and shirking social responsibility. Among Aborigines there has long been a high level of adult illiteracy; lack of houses; high unemployment; high rates of ill-health, of educational retardation and of school drop-outs; physical isolation, segregation, excessive institutionalisation, and continuing dependency. These Aboriginal attitudes and physical conditions have become interwoven into distinct social subsystems aptly described as sub-cultures of extreme poverty which, left alone, are self-perpetuating and to which the inevitability of progress does not apply. Associated with these conditions is Aboriginal degradation by dependency and by non-acceptance in the wider society. The present Aboriginal situation now pricks the conscience of many other Australians who are beginning to see what has been done but yet have not begun to see what ought to be done to ensure Aboriginal advancement to integration.

2 This is still doubtful. See A.J. Lloyd, 'Aborigines and Wages', Farm Policy, vol. 8 (1968), pp. 35-40.

On 5 November 1828 the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, signifying His Majesty’s pleasure that they should give orders to The officer commanding His Majesty’s Naval Forces at the Cape of Good Hope to dispatch one of the Ships of War under his command, without the smallest loss of time, to the Western Coast of New Holland, with directions that he take formal possession of the Western side of New Holland in His Majesty’s name.\footnote{A copy of this letter is in the Western Australian Archives (ref. S.W.P. Vol. 3, p. 26, Accession 58).}

On 18 June 1829 Lieutenant Governor James Stirling delivered his proclamation establishing the colony. Stirling, noting that ‘Possession of the Territory having been taken’, gave notice of his power ‘to grant unoccupied lands’, and of ‘Conditions and existing Regulations under which Crown Lands will be granted’. The proclamation also conferred the ‘Protection of Law’ on Aborigines as the equals of ‘other of His Majesty’s subjects’. Aborigines in Western Australia, ever since, have continually been the concern of governments.

Ordinances and Acts of parliament are the legal framework within which parliament wishes to constrain, constrict, or encourage actions of individuals. Although they do not reveal fully the \textit{modus operandi} of the law, they reflect the intentions of a society (though not necessarily its accomplishments) and indicate the intended limits of legal social action. The ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Western Australia relating to Aborigines reveal, in a particular form, aspects of relationships between Aborigines and the wider Western Australian society. What these were
and how they have changed may be inferred from major provisions of the legislation in force at various times from the coming of the white man until the present day.

The preamble to an Act in 1844\(^2\) to prevent the enticing away of girls of the Aboriginal race from school, and the Act itself, reveal some attitudes and actions in the earliest years of the settlement.

Whereas laudable efforts have been made to introduce Christianity and civilization amongst the aboriginal race of this Colony by instructing their youths of both sexes in schools, and admitting them as domestic servants into families of the colonists, and whereas it is expedient to provide a remedy against mischievous and evil disposed persons enticing away the girls of that race either from the schools in which they are kept or from the houses in which they are employed: be it therefore enacted . . . that any person who shall be convicted . . . of having enticed . . . shall forfeit and pay . . .

By 1849 it was found expedient to provide for the summary trial and punishment of Aboriginal offenders in certain cases.\(^3\) The ordinance permitted up to six months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour and, in addition to or in lieu of imprisonment, whipping of up to two dozen lashes. In 1883 whipping was dropped and reintroduced, for males only, in 1892.\(^4\) In 1859 imprisonment for summary punishment was raised to a term not exceeding three years (reduced in 1883 to two years and increased again to three in 1893\(^5\) ). In 1874 half-castes came within the scope of these ordinances.\(^6\) The following year the Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1871, was amended to make provision for Aborigines condemned to death to be executed in public, and this was not excised from the Statutes until 1952.\(^7\)

The first legislation governing industrial relations between Aborigines and employers was in the pearling industry in 1871.\(^8\) The employment of Aboriginal women was specifically forbidden, a written contract of agreement setting the amount of daily rations, clothing and blankets to be received by the Aboriginal worker, the period of the engagement (limited to one year), the work on board, and a provision that the employer return the employee to the district to which he belonged had to be endorsed by an authorised person certifying that the agreement was genuine and voluntary, and that the Aboriginal concerned was physically

\(^{2}\) W.A. Statutes, 8 Vic. No. 6.
\(^{3}\) 12 Vic. No. 18.
\(^{4}\) 47 Vic. No. 8, and 55 Vic. No. 18.
\(^{5}\) 23 Vic. No. 10, 47 Vic. No. 8, and 56 Vic. No. 15.
\(^{6}\) 38 Vic. No. 8.
\(^{7}\) 39 Vic. No. 1, No. 27 of 1952.
\(^{8}\) 34 Vic. No. 14.
fit for the work specified. The Pearl Shell Fishery Regulation Act, 1873, made it an offence for an Aboriginal against his will to be kept on a ship or island, and it empowered a Justice of the Peace to forbid the master of a vessel to go to sea without a good and sufficient supply of food, drink, and articles of protection against cold and heat.

It became an offence in 1880 for any person to sell, supply, or give spirituous or fermented liquor to any Aboriginal, unless given by an unlicensed person with whom the Aboriginal was in service, and to permit any Aboriginal to remain on or loiter about licensed premises. An amendment to this Act in 1902 expressly permitted Aborigines, including half-castes, to be employed on such premises.

The first comprehensive legislation concerning Aborigines was the Aborigines Protection Act, 1886. This followed the Forrest Commission Report of 1884 (see p. 21). It provided for the appointment by the Governor of an Aborigines Protection Board. The Board’s duties were to distribute government moneys for the benefit of Aborigines, to distribute blankets, clothes, and other relief, medicines, rations and shelter to sick, aged and infirm Aborigines, to make proposals to the Governor relating to care and education of Aboriginal children, and to protect Aborigines against ill-treatment, imposition, and fraud. The Act made it lawful for the Board to bind by indenture any half-caste or other Aboriginal child having attained a suitable age as an apprentice until 21 years of age to any persons willing to receive such a child in any suitable employment. It made it lawful for a Justice of the Peace to order from a city or town any Aboriginal found loitering or not decently clothed from neck to knee. The Act also extended the definition of Aboriginal Native to include half-castes and the child of a half-caste, where such child habitually associates and lives with Aborigines.

Anticipating self-government of the Colony in 1890, the Act was amended by the Aborigines Act, 1889, wherein it was made clear that for the purposes of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1886, and the Pearl Shell Fishery Regulation Acts, 1873 and 1875, the word Governor meant such person acting alone and without the advice of the Executive Council. This Aborigines Act, 1889, also enabled the Governor to resume Crown lands for the use and benefit of Aborigines, including half-castes, and for such and existing reserves to be vested in the Aborigines Protection Board in trust.

9 37 Vic. No. 11.
10 44 Vic. No. 9.
11 2 Edw. VII No. 44.
12 50 Vic. No. 25.
13 52 Vic. No. 24.
The Constitution Act, 1889, also anticipating responsible government, the following year, provided for £5,000 from the Consolidated Revenue Fund until such time as the gross revenue of the colony should exceed £500,000, when an amount equal to 1 per cent of gross revenue would be substituted for the £5,000, to be appropriated annually to the Aborigines Protection Board for food and clothing for destitute Aborigines, for promoting the education of Aboriginal children and welfare of Aborigines. This Act also set out the qualifications of persons eligible to vote for members of the Legislative Council and Assembly. Although the property requirement effectively made most Aborigines ineligible, they otherwise were not ineligible to register as voters. But this was amended by the Constitution Act Amendment Act, 1893, which specifically excluded Aborigines from registration as voters for the Legislative Council and Assembly except in respect of a freehold qualification.

A few years later the Aborigines Act, 1897, removed control of Aborigines from Her Majesty, who had specifically retained it at the time when the Colony was granted responsible self-government in 1890. It repealed the part of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1886 establishing the Aborigines Protection Board and the section in the Constitution Act, 1889, containing provisions for finance for the Board. The new Act set up a sub-department called the Aborigines Department with £5,000 per annum at its disposal and no reference as in the Constitution Act to possible automatic increases. It also repealed the whole of the Aborigines Act, 1889, by which the Governor had specifically been given the power to act independently of the Executive Council in matters relating to Aborigines. This new Act permitted him to function only as Governor-in-Council.

It had become a practice for Aborigines to be employed under terms of a written contract between individual employer and employee. In 1892 it became an offence for an Aboriginal to neglect or refuse to commence his service according to the contract, or to absent himself from or refuse or neglect to work, punishable by imprisonment for up to three months, with or without hard labour.

The Land Act, 1898, provided for grant or lease to any Aboriginal or his descendant of any Crown land up to 200 acres. It is relevant to observe that during the next fifteen years there probably were more Aboriginal owner-operator farmers than at any time since.

The law relating to dogs was revised in 1903 when a new Act permitted any adult male Aboriginal lawfully to keep one unregistered male dog which was to be kept free from mange and other contagious diseases. Whenever the number of unregistered dogs (registration cost 7s. 6d. per annum for every dog, 10s. for every bitch) found in the possession of one or more natives exceeded the number of adult natives in such party, such dogs in excess were to be liable to be destroyed and the Act authorised all police to destroy them.

By the Mining Act, 1904, Aboriginal labour was not permitted to be accounted bona fide work in fulfilment of the labour conditions on any mining tenement, except with the written permission of a Warden.

In 1905 a new Act which followed the Roth Commission Report of 1905 (see p. 21) replaced most of the previous legislation relating to Aborigines. An Aborigines Department under a Minister was created and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of Aborigines, providing them with food, clothing, medicine and medical attendance, when otherwise they would be destitute, providing for the education of Aboriginal children, and generally assisting in the preservation and well-being of the Aborigines. The department was to be allocated £10,000 per annum and such further moneys as might be provided by parliament. Protectors of Aborigines could be appointed, and the head of the department was made Chief Protector. He was made the legal guardian of every Aboriginal and half-caste child until it reached 16 years of age, and, by an amendment in 1911, to the exclusion of the rights of the mother of an illegitimate half-caste child. It was an offence for any person without written authority of a protector to remove an Aboriginal from one district to another, though the Minister was authorised to remove Aborigines, to keep them on a reserve, or to move them to another district. Aborigines were not to be employed except under permit, which could come only from a protector, or permit and written agreement. All Aborigines in employment were to be under the supervision of a protector or police officer and every employer was made liable to produce on demand the permit under which each Aboriginal was employed. The Chief Protector was empowered to undertake the general care, protection, and management of the property of an Aboriginal or half-caste, provided he had the consent of the Aboriginal or half-caste, except to ensure due preservation of such property. It was made an offence for any person

19 No. 6 of 1903.
20 No. 14 of 1905.
21 No. 42 of 1911.
without lawful excuse to be found within five chains of any place where Aborigines or female half-castes were camped, and made lawful for a protector to cause Aborigines to camp or to remove their camp to a distance directed by him from the limits of any town or district. Female Aborigines were forbidden to remain, between sunset and sunrise, within two miles of any creek or inlet used by the boats of pearlers, and it was forbidden to bring any female child under 16 years of age to such areas. Marriage of a female Aboriginal to any person other than an Aboriginal required the written permission of the Chief Protector, and it became an offence for every male other than an Aboriginal to cohabit with any female Aboriginal not his wife. It became lawful to arrest without warrant any Aboriginal offending against any provision of this Act, and all offences could be prosecuted summarily. The Minister was given the power to exempt any Aboriginal who, in his opinion, ought not to be subject to the provisions of the Act, and to revoke such exemption. It became an offence for any person to supply any Aboriginal with liquor or opium. Finally, the Governor could declare up to 2,000 acres of Crown land in any one magisterial district to be a reserve for Aborigines.

The Act to provide for the proper and sufficient accommodation of shearers and shed hands specifically excluded any Aboriginal native from its detailed provisions.22

The Health Act Amendment Act, 1932,23 enabled the Chief Protector of Aborigines to request any medical officer to examine medically and physically any Aboriginal, and required any Aboriginal to submit to such examination and to subsequent treatment that might be ordered.

The Aborigines Act, 1905, and its amendments, were amended again in 193624 after the Moseley Commission Report (see p. 23) when the Chief Protector of Aborigines became the Commissioner of Native Affairs and Aborigines became known as natives. Every holder of a permit to employ a native, in lieu of liability for worker’s compensation was now required to pay to the Commissioner a contribution to a medical fund which was to be used to defray medical, hospital, and maintenance expenses of natives who fell ill, and to provide free transport to hospital. A native was not to be married according to the laws of the State unless and until the prescribed written notice had been given to the Commissioner, who could object on grounds that included that one of the parties was afflicted with a communicable disease, or that there was

22 No. 43 of 1912.
23 No. 30 of 1932.
24 No. 43 of 1936.
gross disparity in the ages of the parties. Soliciting for cohabitation with a native became an offence, and every person charged with assaulting a native was to be summarily tried. Courts of native affairs were established for the trial of any offence committed by a native against another native, and whenever the Minister on the recommendation of the Commissioner was of the opinion that any tribal practice was injurious to natives he could give instructions that would minimise or stamp out the practice.

In 1940 it became an offence for any native to ask for, solicit or otherwise attempt to procure intoxicating liquor or opium, and in the following year travelling restrictions on natives were enacted to limit the spread of leprosy. The Act required natives wishing to cross the 20th parallel of south latitude to be medically examined, to have a permit from the Minister, and to return at the completion of the purpose of the visit beyond the boundary line.

Half a century after an amendment to the Constitution Act, 1889, specifically excluded Aborigines from acquiring voting rights, an Act was passed to provide for the acquisition of full rights of citizenship by Aboriginal natives which entitled any adult native to make application to a magistrate for a Certificate of Citizenship. This Certificate of Citizenship granted the holder all the rights, privileges, and immunities, and made him subject to the duties and liabilities of a natural-born or naturalised subject of His Majesty, but he was thereby deemed to be no longer a native or Aboriginal. Before granting any application for citizenship the magistrate had to be satisfied that, for the two years immediately preceding, the applicant had adopted the manner and habits of civilised life; that the full rights of citizenship were desirable for the applicant; that the applicant was able to speak and understand the English language, was not suffering from active leprosy, syphilis, granuloma, or yaws, was of industrious habits and good behaviour and reputation, and was reasonably capable of managing his own affairs. Upon the complaint of the Commissioner or of any other person a magistrate could suspend or cancel a Certificate of Citizenship if satisfied that the holder was not adopting the manner and habits of civilised life; had been twice convicted of any offence under the Native Administration Act, 1905-41, or of habitual drunkenness; or had contracted leprosy, syphilis, granuloma or yaws. In 1950 an amendment provided for the names of any children, not of full age, of whom the applicant for Citizenship was the responsible parent, to be included in the Certificate. The following year a Natives

25 No. 37 of 1940; No. 4 of 1941. 26 No. 23 of 1944. 27 No. 44 of 1950.
(Citizenship Rights) Board was substituted for the magistrate, and the principal Act was amended by deleting the words, ‘shall be deemed to be no longer a native or aborigine’. The Act\textsuperscript{28} was amended again in 1958 by deleting the two years qualifying clauses, the references to diseases, and the right of cancellation or suspension of a Certificate of Citizenship.\textsuperscript{29} In 1964 a further amendment entitled persons named as children on Certificates of Citizenship to a Certificate of Citizenship at the age of 21 years, without inquiry.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1954 there was a major revision of the principal Act relating to Aborigines. Many of its sections were repealed and two important new powers were given to the administration. The long title to the Native Administration Act, 1905-1947 was amended by substituting the word ‘welfare’ for the words ‘better protection and care’, and the duties of the Department of Native Welfare were now specifically directed also to assist in the economic and social assimilation of Aborigines by the community of the State. The new Act,\textsuperscript{31} the Native Welfare Act, 1954 empowered the Minister to acquire, improve, and dispose of land to a native, and it empowered the Commissioner to direct what person was to have the custody of a native child of whom he was the legal guardian.

The major statute now relating to Aborigines is the Native Welfare Act, 1963.\textsuperscript{32} This Act specifically provides for relief, rations, and medical care to natives, for custody, maintenance, and education of native children, and such general supervision, care, and welfare as will assist in their assimilation, and for protection against injustice, imposition, and fraud. To these ends the Minister may acquire and dispose of land to natives, lend money on first mortgage to a native to enable him to improve and develop land, declare up to 2,000 acres of any Crown lands in any one magisterial district to be reserves for natives and appoint managers of reserves, establish in the Treasury a natives’ trading fund to enable and assist natives to engage in work, production, and sale as a group or by community effort for the benefit generally of that group. Duties of employers of natives and of their dependants ordinarily resident on the employer’s property are set out in the Act. Admission of guilt before trial from any native living north of the 26th parallel is now admissible in evidence and a departmental officer may address the court or jury on behalf of any native who is party in any legal proceedings in any court. The Commissioner is empowered by the Act to have access to natives in employment, and to manage the property of adult

\textsuperscript{28} No. 27 of 1951. \quad \textsuperscript{29} No. 58 of 1958. \quad \textsuperscript{30} No. 82 of 1964.
\textsuperscript{21} No. 64 of 1954. \quad \textsuperscript{31} No. 64 of 1954. \quad \textsuperscript{32} No. 79 of 1963.
natives provided he has their consent. Finally, the Governor is empowered to make regulations prescribing all matters relevant to the Act; specifically they include prescribing duties of officers of the Department, providing for the control, care, and education of natives in native institutions, and for the supervision of native institutions, for the inspection of native employees and their conditions of service, for the control of reserves and supervision of natives on reserves, authorising entry to reserves, and making regulations for the establishment of mission stations and issue of permits to mission workers.

The foregoing ordinances and Acts of Parliament of Western Australia relating to Aborigines reveal:
1. The helplessness of Aborigines in the western culture: the need for guardianship and to provide necessities for living.
2. The breakdown of Aboriginal traditional social structure within which all Aborigines had well-defined roles: many had become nuisances to be ordered out of towns.
3. The pauperisation of Aborigines.
4. The need for protection of Aborigines against exploitation of employers.
5. The need for protection of Aborigines against degradation through drunkenness and sexual exploitation.
6. That Aborigines were open to fraud and imposition, and to injustice before the law.
7. For the most part Aboriginal unwillingness to work voluntarily for the white man.
8. That Aborigines were not to be regarded as equals: they were disenfranchised and needed special requirements for citizenship.
9. A history of legislation aimed to shield and to protect Aborigines from the effects of culture contact and to maintain them as non-citizens, rather than to assist Aborigines to independent coping status as full citizens within the mainstream of Western Australian society.
Legislation is not always appropriate and adequate. It is a purpose of Royal Commissioners and government committees of inquiry to review a particular situation; to examine the administration and effects of relevant legislation; and to report and make recommendations to parliament. Unlike the annual report of the head of a government department, reports of commissions of inquiry have elements of evidence, observation, and judgment that are made independently of the government and the administration. There have been several of these relating to Aborigines in Western Australia. They reveal and reflect patterns of behaviour of Aborigines and Europeans in their relationships with one another, indicate what some Europeans consider ought to be the relationships, and in some cases have led to legislative changes.

'The true state of the relations that exist between the settlers and aboriginals in the Murchison and Gasgoyne districts' was investigated in 1882 by Resident Magistrate Fairbairn at the request of the Governor.\(^1\) Although his report was inconclusive, he found that the hostility of the natives to the settlers had been exaggerated and that the settlers were partly to blame. The settlers attributed large numbers of sheep losses to natives but were unable to distinguish accurately between losses caused by dogs, drought, and natives. Although they attributed all losses to natives, settlers were found to be careless in leaving food in huts and leaving other stores unattended. They permitted the seizing of native women, and this was thought to be sufficient cause for Aboriginal reprisals by murder and sheep stealing. The magistrate found that natives waited for chances to

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\(^1\)*W.A. Parliamentary Paper, No. 33, 1882 (Perth).*
procure their women in exchange for sheep for food. He also found that
a few settlers wanted to take the law into their own hands and apparently
had done so. This report turned out to be an exposé of the behaviour of
certain settlers rather than a basis for further government assistance to the
‘oppressed’ settlers, as had been hoped at the outset of the investigation.

The next year Governor Broome appointed a Commission to inquire
into the Aboriginal situation, and John Forrest was to be its Chairman.²
The Commission stated that Aborigines were ‘fast disappearing’, that this
was inevitable and usual among similar ethnic minorities in other parts of
the world, and that Aborigines were a ‘vagrant race’, unresponsive to
measures for amelioration of their conditions. It was observed that
Aborigines were ‘in every way a most useful factor in the prosperity of
the settlers’ and that their usefulness to the pioneer ‘can scarcely be over­
estimated’. The Commissioners noted that ‘sick and needy natives are
treated by the government as paupers’, and stated that it was society’s
‘duty to see that natives be kindly treated’, helped with food and clothing,
that missions be encouraged, and the old, infirm, and sick be provided for.
The appointment of a Board for the management of Aboriginal affairs
was regarded as necessary, as were Native Protectors, to see that employers
did not ill-use natives and clothed and fed them properly, and to encourage
a good understanding between settlers and natives. The philanthropic
efforts of missionaries should be supervised and supported by the State,
though there was no hope that the Aboriginal ‘will ever be more than a
servant of the white man’, and ‘it seems impossible to expect that much
will or can be done’. The Commissioners concluded that ‘fifty years of
settlement by Europeans has had the effect in the “Home District” of
causing the gradual disappearance of the native race’. They feared ‘that
this will continue, and that the forces that have been at work in the past
will in like manner work in the future’.

In 1904 the Governor appointed W.E. Roth to be Royal Commissioner
‘to inquire into the administration of the Aborigines Department, and the
employment and treatment of the aboriginal and half-caste inhabitants of
the State’.³ The Commissioner noted that Aborigines employed under
contract ‘are certainly not protected against the fitness or unfitness of his or
her future employer’, ‘wages are not stipulated for in the contract’, there is
‘unjust inequality of punishment for the two contracting parties: the
native may receive up to three months’ imprisonment, with or without

² Ibid., No. 32, 1884.
³ Ibid., No. 5, 1905.
hard labour, while the employer can only be mulcted by fine', and 'warrants are issued for native women absconding from service'. 'There is a sort of code of honour [sic] amongst pastoralists to the effect that one station owner, etc., does not interfere with his neighbour's blacks, the outcome of which is apparently to prevent them absconding'. 'Even without contracts the blacks are not free to come and go as they please. The assistance of the police is also invoked to bring such runaways back. . . .

'At Broome quite one-half of the children, ranging from 10 years and upwards, are indentured to the pearling industry and taken out on to the boats'. 'No education and no wages are stipulated for in the indenture.' The Commissioner recommended the cancellation of indentures of apprenticeship, that 'if children of school-age are in employment, and a school is available, the employers should be compelled to fulfil their duties in this respect as the legal guardians under the Education Act'; 'that the police should be instructed not to lend any assistance whatever in the way of bringing back runaway natives . . . a minimum wage . . . exclusive of food, accommodation and other necessaries . . . [and] the period of leave of absence to be also paid for'. The Commissioner reported that, 'along the whole coast-line extending from a few miles South of La Grange Bay to the Eastern shores of King Sound, drunkenness and prostitution . . . with consequent loathsome disease, is rife amongst the Aborigines'. With reference to the treatment of Aboriginal prisoners the Commissioner found that in the North, 'cattle-killing is the chief offence for which natives are sentenced'. 'In connection with the arrest of aborigines accused of this crime, . . . [the] Commissioner has received evidence which demonstrates a most brutal and outrageous condition of affairs': arrest 'without instructions, authority, or information received from the pastoralist whose cattle are alleged to have been killed', chaining of captive prisoners by the neck to prevent escape between the point of arrest and gaol, pecuniary gain to arresting police for each person arrested, prostitution of young women witnesses by escorting police, the absence of witnesses for the defence, and the use of summary jurisdiction against the natives. In gaols throughout the State the Commissioner noted that there were about 300 native prisoners, and 'two very degrading and yet remediable features . . . neck chains and their continuous use—morning, noon and night—usually throughout the entire period of sentence'. He recommended 'the abolition of chains of all descriptions within the precincts of gaols, the insecure conditions of which should be remedied without delay'. He found 'the existence of grave irregularities in the distribution of rations' to the aged, infirm, sick,
and destitute. Referring to the general treatment of natives the Com­
mis­ioner stated, ‘unfortunately it is not compulsory for the reputed
father to support his half-caste children’; ‘in the North Western District
the pastoralists have taken most of the native boys from the tribes’ . . .
‘this leads to a lot of immorality with the women’. ‘The frequency with
which liquor is being supplied to natives varies from its alleged absence
at Onslow to the terrible drunkenness reported on the Cooglegong
tinfields’ (near Marble Bar). ‘The consensus of opinion appears to be that
it is given for purposes of immorality and prostitution.’ ‘The right
reserved to the aboriginal by the government to hunt for native food
over the land when taken up by Europeans is of practically little worth’,
and ‘there is no reserve for natives in Western Australia that is devoted
exclusively for their use and benefit’, and ‘if natives continue to be
dispossessed of the country upon which they are dependent for their food
and water supplies, by their lands being rented for grazing rights at a
nominal figure—lands from which the lessees naturally desire to drive
them—bloodshed and retribution will be certain to ensue.’ The Com­
mis­sioner ‘pleads again that large areas be resumed in the northern
unsettled districts for the sole benefits of the natives. . . .’

Taking the Mission in Aboriginal Institutions generally, your Commissioner recom­
mends that: (1) they be regularly inspected by the Chief Protector or other officer
authorized by him, (2) the standard of the Government Provisional School system
should be at least maintained, (3) that uniform returns be forwarded to the Depart­
ment. [In conclusion, he stated that] in the settled areas of . . . the State . . . the
natives, generally speaking, are not subject to any actual physical cruelty. On the
other hand, the wrongs and injustices taking place in these areas, and the cruelties
and abuses met with in the unsettled districts cannot be longer hidden or tolerated.

In 1934 Stipendiary Magistrate Moseley was appointed Royal Com­
mis­sioner ‘to investigate, report, and advise upon matters in relation to
the condition and treatment of Aborigines’. 4 In his report he observed of
natives on pastoral properties ‘in the main they want for nothing’, that ‘in
the Kimberleys the native is not paid’, and ‘is not being deprived of
anything’, and ‘it would be fortunate for all natives in the Kimberleys to
be employed on cattle or sheep stations’. He stated that ‘the native is
naturally lazy’, and accepted it as a ‘sound view’ to preserve the country
for those who have not contacted missions or stations where water and
game are to be found for their use and ‘leave them to their natural life’.
Moreover, ‘any scheme for bringing [Aborigines] under our code of
civilization will react to their disadvantage’. He noted that ‘intercourse

between the white man and the aboriginal woman exists to a degree which is as amazing as it is undesirable', and that the law 'be amended and administered with the greatest severity to minimize if not to eradicate this lamentable feature'. The Commissioner expressed the opinion that full-blood natives and half-caste natives should be allowed to visit Broome only by 'permit and greatest supervision exercised over their reserve to prevent contact with white men and, of course, Asiatics'. He found the half-caste woman in the south of the State more fitted to take her place in surroundings better than those of the native camps and said, abolish the native camps which, without exception, are a disgrace, and provide settlements where the families may be taken ... housed ... usefully occupied ... where the children may occupy quarters of their own, attend a school of their own ... and where ... they may be gradually weaned from the Aboriginal influence.

The care of the half-caste child was found to be 'hopelessly inefficient', and many were living in 'huts worse by far than some dog kennels, in 'abject squalor', 'no beds', 'no cooking or eating utensils worth the name, no proper facilities for washing, and dressed in clothes a tramp would despise'. He stated 'without hesitation' that the 'time is not far distant when these half-castes, or a great majority of them, will become a positive menace to the community: the men useless and vicious, and the women a tribe of harlots'. He recommended that reserves for Aborigines be removed and established as far from towns as practicable and that 'a system of permits be introduced' for Aborigines whose jobs were in a town. The reasons given by the Commissioner were that such a measure would minimise the opportunities for natives to develop 'begging habits', which seem to be 'natural' to them, for the spread of diseases, and to obtain intoxicating liquor. With reference to the health of Aborigines the Commissioner found need for hospital accommodation at Wyndham, Broome, Roebourne, and Onslow for natives, and, perhaps above all other matters in his report, for urgent attention to leprosy and an immediate independent and authoritative investigation into tropical diseases. The native settlement at Moore River (now Mogumber) was found to be 'a woeful spectacle'. He found the dormitories 'vermin ridden' and all buildings over-taxed, no vocational training for the want of equipment, no cutlery at meal-times for the children, inadequate diet, and idleness of adult natives. Other native settlements and ration stations were noted for their lack of work opportunities and of training facilities. The Commissioner stated that he would like to see 'a settlement established where half-castes may be trained to work for themselves—not merely to carry out the white-man's wishes'. For the type of native who exercised
a bad influence over others an off-the-coast island settlement was suggested as was the establishment of a medical fund for natives from fees for permits to employ Aborigines. Referring to missions, the Commissioner noted that ‘their main purpose is to Christianize’. He found that there was a ‘tendency for missionaries to encourage the inherent laziness of Aborigines by giving food for nothing’, that ‘they are prone to be too indulgent with the native’, and that ‘they should remember that a Christian outlook will not of itself fit the native for the life to which the missionaries say he is entitled’.

In 1947 another Resident Magistrate (F.E.A. Bateman) was appointed to survey native affairs. Referring to missions he noted the tendency on the part of some ‘to encourage idleness’, their ‘absence of policy’ and ‘shortage of money’ and lack of trained workers. He considered that the government should lay down a positive policy for them, for ‘the days of evangelising the natives unaccompanied by other activities to uplift them are gone’. Discussing the settlements under government control he noted that some were ‘hopeless’, ‘without possible chance of success’, ‘wasteful of money and effort’, and with elements that were ‘stupid and futile’, ‘disgraceful’, ‘filthy’ and ‘shocking’. With reference to the pastoral industry in the Kimberleys, ‘except in isolated cases wages are not paid to full-blood employees’, and to retain their services ‘stations are obliged to feed and clothe working natives and their dependents’. ‘Schooling in the north should not aim at a high standard of education’, ‘wages should be introduced gradually’, and ‘the sooner the better a start is made in the advancement of northern natives’. The pastoral industry was entirely dependent on Aborigines, but they ‘should not receive the same rate of pay as the white man where they perform the same services’; accommodation for natives on Kimberley stations ‘in general does not exist’, and there were ‘no amenities for natives in the way of lavatories, bathing or washing facilities’, that rations were ‘far from satisfactory’ and ‘the native diet is deficient’. In the North West ‘natives generally are not badly treated both in respect to wages and food’, and ‘great vigilance should be exercised’ to forestall any Communistic influence leading Aborigines to strike action; a minimum wage should be fixed for native pastoral workers, and the Department of Native Affairs should prescribe a standard of accommodation for employers of native labour. The native hospitals of Port Hedland, Broome, Derby and Wyndham, administered by the Department of Native Affairs, were all stated to be unsatisfactory. Leprosy was noted to be increasing, and ‘there is an immediate want of
urgent dental examination'; 'hundreds of natives including children, all over the State, require immediate dental treatment'. The report noted the unsatisfactory system of employing police as protectors. On the education of native children it commented that a great number of children in the Kimberley and North West districts 'receive no schooling whatsoever', and 'that native children can attain higher standards in smaller, segregated classes'. The report noted the interdependence of school performance and home environment, the latter being 'all against their climb to future citizenship and is a heavy burden rather than an assistance'. For children on the pastoral properties 'there does not appear to be any possibility of providing schooling for them all at present', and it is 'most undesirable to remove the native children from the stations to the towns for schooling'. 'So long as the natives receive fair treatment on the stations it is in their best interests, as well as the State’s, that they should be employed in the pastoral industry'. For the half-caste population south of Geraldton, education for assimilation is 'the one policy'—'educating and training the natives in order to fit them to enter our own economic and social life'. The magistrate emphasised the interdependence of school and home, how possibly can children progress when after the day’s schooling is over they are forced to return to the disgraceful verminous conditions of native camps, where six or seven children together with their parents and perhaps an adult relation or two and more often than not a dog, occupy on a communal basis a shack, inadequate in size and constructed of old kerosene tins and bags?

The establishment of two colleges for native children of the south for education and vocational training, and the enactment of legislation to provide for the removal of neglected native children from their parents were also recommended. The report rejected the suggestion 'that the natives in the towns should be compelled to reside in compounds out of the town, being allowed into the towns during the day only'. But it was noted that, many of the reserves were badly-selected in the first place often being adjacent to sanitary sites or rubbish tips with no water laid on and no provision in the way of lavatories or washing facilities . . . these native camps should be abolished and the natives placed in settlements where they should be compelled to work. A housing scheme for selected families was recommended. 'Natives should be encouraged to regard employment in the [pastoral] industry as their main source of employment', but there appeared to be every reason to endeavour to train natives to be tradesmen in the north. The Department of Native Affairs was recommended to 'make provision for the establishment of two hostels, one for each sex, . . . [to] . . . provide board
and lodging for the natives employed in the metropolitan area'. Referring to the administration, 'insufficient care has been exercised in the past in the selection of the staff for the Department of Native Affairs'. 'Other nations throughout the world possessing native populations require the best brains available'. 'It is entirely wrong in principle' for police to administer native affairs as is done in the north.

Appointed by the Minister for Native Welfare in 1958, a Special Committee on Native Matters under the chairmanship of F.E. Gare, now Commissioner of Native Welfare, investigated the 'cost involved in providing adequately for the requirements of natives in Western Australia'. The Committee made sixty-three recommendations and estimated that their implementation would require additional capital expenditure of £2 million over three years and additional revenue expenditure of £144,000 per annum. Observations recorded by the Committee included, that the detribalised natives 'constitute a depressed, dispirited and demoralised minority', living a life 'characterised by dirt, inferior housing, gambling, instability and excessive drinking', for whom the 'only practicable solution ... is the integration of the coloured population with the white'. Referring to the Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act, 1944, the Committee said, 'Western Australia, however, has enacted special legislation which deprives aborigines ... of some of the normal rights and privileges of citizenship', that 'they are not full citizens of their own State', that 'the present legislative restrictions which apply to natives only should be repealed', and that 'the assistance of a specialised welfare agency should be available to any person with any degree of aboriginal blood until the need no longer exists'. On health, the indications were that the general health of natives is reasonably satisfactory and that apart from intermittent and selective malnutrition in isolated tribal groups and special disease and trachoma, the prevalence of conditions requiring medical attention among natives is comparable to that in the rest of the community.

In a preamble on education, the Committee noted that the native's mode of living and his whole outlook on life must undergo a complete transformation. He must leave the filth and squalor of the camp, and adopt standards of hygiene, a personal cleanliness ... [and] abandon ... habits of slothfulness, indolence and dishonesty and become industrious, reliable and trustworthy.

The Committee believed that 'education alone will not achieve the desired end' (integration) and that it should be supported by 'adult education and improvement in living conditions'. It recognised the need

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*Report of the Special Committee on Native Matters (Perth, 1958).*
for compensatory programs: 'the normal curricular trends should be related to both the needs and the abilities of particular groups of children'. The Committee saw 'the so-called native problem . . . as being essentially one of a depressed section of the community rather than a question of race or colour', which could be remedied by 'making real citizens of these people, first on a legal level and then by the improvement of their education, housing, economic and other social conditions'. On housing, 'integration will have been achieved only when natives live in and maintain homes of the same type as other members of the community'. 'Integration' of natives should be in the 'shortest possible time', by 'raising the productivity of native workers', by 'increased pastoral and agricultural training', and by 'some special wage fixing provision'. Referring to missions, the Committee had serious 'doubts whether pastoral or agricultural projects can be developed economically at missions with good prospects of success'. On administration the Committee considered 'that the continuance of a separate Native Welfare Department only serves to perpetuate the concept of segregation and is inconsistent with the objective of integration', and 'the arguments in favour of a single welfare authority to be incontrovertible'.

Most parents of Aborigines living today have been reared in the shadow of legal injustices and have learned to cope with the socio-economic deprivations reflected in the foregoing reports. Moreover most Aboriginal families today are still living in conditions which, if they existed among whites, the Parliament of Western Australia most probably would be forced to alleviate with great expedition.
CURRENT REALITIES
There now are about 24,000 Aborigines in Western Australia. Typically, they are without property, without a conventional home, poorly nourished and meanly dressed. Delinquency, crime, imprisonment, drunkenness, idleness, unemployment, unemployability, illiteracy, institutional living, broken families, parental deprivation, cultural disadvantage, educational retardation, emotional disturbance, disease, malnutrition, and infant mortality are at much higher levels among Aboriginal people than among persons in the main society. These are some of the measurable results of 80 to 150 years of Aboriginal contact with the white man.

Hundreds of Aboriginal families live in shelters which are no more than patches of bare earth kept dry and shaded by a few sheets of iron, tarpaulin, and bags. This is the household space from and in which these Aborigines procreate and rear their next generation and cook and feed themselves, their children, and their dogs. Hundreds of other Aboriginal families live in transitional housing provided and administered by society. Most of this is little more than superior shelter with communal toilet, shower, and laundry facilities. Some Aborigines prefer their wurleys and erect them nearby, whilst transitional facilities remain vacant. Some Aboriginal families live in conventional houses.

1 This term was coined for this study. Although it is the same as 'socio-economic environment', the term 'resource-learning mix' is meant to emphasise that learning—whether at school, home, or on the job—is a function of a combination—of a mix—of resources including all aspects of the physical environment, and of all persons with whom there is significant contact.

2 For the definition of Aborigines, see p. 153.

3 For available figures see the Statistical Appendices.
The attitudes, beliefs, and personalities of Aborigines appear to reflect these living conditions, although a study to test this has not been done. Meantime the hypothesis is that most Aborigines today suffer from anomie, apathy, depression, fatalism, passive hostility, resentfulness, mistrust, absence of self-esteem, self-depreciation, shyness and withdrawal, lack of ambition, unwillingness to work, and unreliability, and a far greater proportion of them than of others suffer from anti-social behaviour leading to court appearances.

About three-quarters of the Aboriginal population in Western Australia live in four major sub-cultures or sub-systems, each socially and geographically peripheral to the mainstream of society and each a different resource-learning mix. They are: (i) mission settlements, (ii) mission and government hostels, (iii) sheep and cattle stations, and (iv) camping reserves. None of these was designed specifically for Aboriginal advancement. They were created for protection, care, control, convenience, and welfare, and some of them simply happened. About one-quarter of Aborigines live in conventional and near-conventional houses, located within town boundaries and not on camping reserves. These Aborigines are at least geographically integrated within viable communities.

The mission settlements are shown by size on a population basis in Table 1. Almost all are located beyond the fringes of settlement and

**Table 1: Aboriginal population on mission settlements, 1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aborigines on mission*</th>
<th>Missions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding where possible children boarded for education only. Total mission settlement population on this basis was 2,302.


centres of economic activity. Not one is economically viable, nor does it appear possible, under current conditions, for any to become viable for its present total population. They all are under-staffed and are dependent for maintenance staff on a few white lay missionaries willing to work for no more (or little more) than board and lodging. They could not

4 See Appendix, Table A 5.
continue without government financial assistance and grants from their parent missionary organisations. The resources of some missions are further strained by Aboriginal workers and their families from nearby pastoral stations who live on the mission during off-work months. There are inadequate work opportunities for Aboriginal labour skills, and in such situations where economic opportunities do not appear to exist there seems little point in providing training facilities. It is unrealistic to contemplate the provision of job-training where jobs other than minor, part-time, virtually unpaid tasks do not exist on or near the settlement. Thus idleness rather than work is the general rule. However, most mission superintendents aver that the rule is 'no work, no tucker'. The point is that the work for the most part is trivial, part-time, and for little more than token payment. Housing for most Aborigines on mission settlements reflects the missions' own financial stringency and dependency. The best housing for Aborigines on mission settlements is superior to Department of Native Welfare primary transitional housing, but not equal to the minimal standards of the State Housing Commission. At the other extreme, and for almost half the total mission settlement population, housing consists of their own wurleys. For children, there are three housing situations: with parents in a house or shed; with parents in wurleys; and dormitories for school-age children. Where children live in wurleys and dormitories, the preparation of their food, eating, daily ablutions, and the washing and care of clothes are usually arranged for by the missionaries on a communal basis. The parents of dormitory children meet their children in the mission surroundings. There is a government primary school on most settlements. A few have lay teacher pre-schooling, and an adult literacy class is taken for one to two hours twice weekly during school term on some settlements. Teacher-pupil ratios are the same as for all schools throughout the State and facilities and equipment are standard. Many children are above age for school grades and do not continue to high school. Those who do must leave the mission settlement and they usually go to a mission hostel. Girls and boys of high school age who do not continue their schooling are usually absorbed into domestic and maintenance tasks on the settlement, from which some will graduate to station work as 'mission trained' boys and domestics. All missions are served by the Royal Flying Doctor Service and most have a qualified nurse or sister on permanent duty. The standards of health, hygiene, and dress on missions reflect the general living conditions. The only money that these Aborigines handle, if any at all, is little more than pocket money, there being no occasion to do otherwise. On some missions,
Aborigines personally handle their child endowment and pension receipts and pay over the counter for their purchases from the mission store. At weekends and during school holidays some missions encourage Aboriginal families to live off the land. They are taken by truck miles away from the mission centre and left with supplies of flour, tea, and tinned food, to 'live in their natural state'. This sort of freedom is congenial to these Aborigines.

The resource-learning mix of mission settlements is well suited to maintaining Aborigines in isolation, to maintaining them in their present socio-economic condition which is dependency and subsistence, and to sheltering them from personally harmful influences, such as alcoholism and prostitution. A few Aborigines have reached independent coping status from mission settlements. However, the resource-learning mix of missions is not suited to achievement of the goal of integration by most Aborigines. Specifically, mission settlements cannot provide adequate work opportunities, and in no case does it seem feasible for them to become economically viable for their current size of population, even with substantial financial help. Where economic viability is not possible, massive capital grants for resources and personnel for housing, schooling, job-training, and health could not simulate the needed resource-learning mix. A necessary ingredient is real job opportunities in an economically viable community. Without these, further capital investments will simply reinforce Aboriginal isolation, segregation, and dependency.

It is now fashionable to expect mission settlements to adapt their activities towards the goal of integration, and to put forward plans to this end to government. For mission settlements which are without potential for economic viability, this is an inducement for them to perpetuate Aboriginal dependency. It is to invite permanence through further fixed capital investment in situations that are isolated and segregated from the integrating influences of Australian communities. It would be more realistic to give help to these missions to phase themselves out of their present localities and to transfer to economically viable communities.

It has also become fashionable to blame missions for the plight of Aborigines in their care. This is misplaced criticism. Some missions in Western Australia were invited by government to accept the management of Aboriginal feeding depots which it was unwilling to maintain. Other missions undertook the care and education of Aborigines in the face of local community hostility to Aborigines and official indifference to them. At the time of their establishment, and until quite recently, the socio-political situation was such that protection, segregation, and care of
Aborigines appeared to be the only possibilities for their survival. Moreover, the extent of government assistance has not enabled missions to adopt any other role, even had they wished to do so, and the government grants to missions have set the seal of official approval on their aims, methods, and achievements. Although missions are an apparent cost to government, mission settlements are the cheapest way by which government can ensure the provision of minimal services to Aborigines in locations where otherwise they would probably not survive, or from which they would migrate to centres of European population with resultant disturbances.

Hostels cater for four kinds of populations: (i) children whose parents live on pastoral stations where there is no primary school; (ii) children who continue their schooling at high or technical school and whose families do not live in the town; (iii) children who are without parents or have been removed from them under provisions of the Child Welfare Act; and (iv) young people who have left school and are in employment. Aboriginal children living in hostels in 1966 were: 74 of pre-school age, 1,358 of school age and 258 of working age. Together they constituted 8.1 per cent of the total Aboriginal population. They lived in about thirty hostels (it is not possible to avoid double counting with mission settlements—some are both), the smallest catering for up to 10 and the largest up to 100 Aborigines. Almost half of the hostels are located in remote rural and pastoral areas where community activities are almost non-existent. This applies particularly to most hostels administered by the Department of Native Welfare. These and other hostels for the accommodation of Aboriginal primary school children are located where it is virtually impossible for such children to be exposed to an adequate range of social and environmental experiences essential for learning coping behaviour in the wider society. For forty school weeks in each of 6-8 years, hundreds of Aboriginal children grow and develop in these isolated and segregated institutional locations. For the remaining twelve weeks, many of these children are with their parents on stations. The

5 This is not specific to Western Australia, for example: 'the organized purveyors of Christianity bear the brunt of responsibility for the non-functional adaptation of Indians in today's Yukon society. This conclusion is not an indictment of any church, or of the good and conscientious people who have made contributions by way of church responsibilities. It is rather an assertion that Canadian society has forced upon the churches collectively, both by default and by actual direction, a function that the churches are incapable of performing. In a sense, the Christian churches have been the white man's scapegoat—the buffer instruments with which he hoped to assuage his collective guilt and polish his tarnished conscience.' A.R. King, The School at Mopass. A Problem of Identity (New York, 1967), p. 89.
opportunities for an adequate variety of out-of-school learning experiences from hostel and home are virtually nil. The typical hostel situation is simply a dormitory with communal dining, ablution, and laundering facilities. It can no more provide experiences and skills for home-making, independence, and integration than could a prison. These children are imprisoned by and in a particularly impoverished environment—an environmental vacuum. Nor is this situation compensated for by specially trained teachers and additional equipment for school enrichment programs. This is the resource-learning mix for these Aboriginal children for 6-8 formative years of their lives. It is suited to maintaining their present condition rather than to advancing them towards integration. School children in the remaining hostels which are located close to or within a local community have a substantially better resource-learning mix, though it is still inadequate, particularly for informal training in home living and for the growth and development of many personal attributes relevant for living in the main society as reasonably well adjusted persons. For ourselves, these attributes are acquired from within western-style family living which is fundamentally different from dormitory living supervised by untrained house parents. For all preschool and primary school children, Aboriginal and European alike, it is a necessary condition for learning to cope adequately in our society that the resource-learning mix for child-rearing be an emotionally and economically stable family home situation.

For working teenage children, mission hostels have been established in Perth and Esperance. They provide suitable and sometimes more than adequate and supervised accommodation for young Aborigines who leave home for employment. Some are well managed and the Aborigines within them often receive emotional support and help in their personal hygiene, dress, manners, money management, employment and other problems. Young people may remain in some of these hostels until marriage. Such hostels constitute a necessary bridge for young Aborigines wishing to attempt to learn the skills required for independence. They are an alternative for school leavers who otherwise would return to their homes on pastoral stations or to other isolated or sub-standard situations, often without any high school experience, where they have little hope of acquiring skills for independent coping. Most Aboriginal teenagers require the continued support of this latter type of hostel, at least until adulthood, if they are to advance.

In 1966 about 4,000 Aborigines, comprising almost one-fifth of the total Aboriginal population of Western Australia, lived on about 300
sheep and cattle stations. From Table 2 it may be seen that 61 per cent of this population lived on seventy-five Kimberley stations, and it may be calculated from the table that 2,015 Aborigines, or 86 per cent of those in the Kimberleys, were in groups of over twenty per station. In the rest of Western Australia the Aboriginal station population numbered 1,484 or 39 per cent on 210 stations where 85 per cent lived in groups of up to twenty per station. These data emphasise the wide geographical dispersal and isolation of a substantial proportion of the State's Aborigines.

The sub-culture of pastoral station life is distinctive. In the Kimberleys most Aborigines on stations have several strong ties with station life. Their closest kinship group work and live on the one station as their forebears have done since the coming of the white man. The station camp way of life into which they were born and reared makes them socially unacceptable in other communities. The training of girls as station kitchen domestics and of boys as stock and station hands is highly specific and is their only job-training. The resultant skills are virtually useless for other situations. Family formation continues on the station regardless of whether its labour is needed. But it is used, and at traditional rates of pay and plentiful supply it is often used wastefully. Nor do the work habits and attitudes to work of many Aborigines warrant higher payments, and they are an effective obstacle to employment by employers who are required to pay full wages. Station managers have a vested interest in not bidding Aboriginal labour away from each other. Wages for Aborigines on pastoral stations have been specifically excluded from industrial awards, and even from December 1968, when the Pastoral Industry Award applied fully in Western Australia, it has covered only

Table 2: Aboriginal population on sheep and cattle stations, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aborigines on station No.</th>
<th>Kimberleys</th>
<th>Rest of Western Australia</th>
<th>Total Western Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stations No.</td>
<td>Aboriginal Stations population No.</td>
<td>Aboriginal Stations population No.</td>
<td>Aboriginal population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper, estimates from records of the Department of Native Welfare
those Aborigines who are members of the Australian Workers’ Union. Aborigines have no property stake in stations, except for outmoded and virtually worthless legal hunting rights. They have no real alternative but to stay where they are and to be submissive. Dismissal from a station would present an Aboriginal with loss of job, home, and family. Misbehaviour or disorderliness is likely to result in court appearance with the manager of an adjoining station as the Justice of the Peace.

The station manager’s job is to produce beef or wool. To this end he uses the resources and facilities available to him. He is not obliged to care for pensioners, nor to train, pay, care for, or treat his labour force beyond the requirements of the laws of man and the laws of nature. He is simply a hirer, user, and firer of labour. In the event of conditions becoming intolerable, all that Aborigines can do is to leave. This involves choice between three possibilities: (i) to move to a distant station and generally similar conditions; (ii) to move to a camping reserve, from which to seek work, and on which his family will be introduced to drunkenness and prostitution; or (iii) to become dependent on a mission settlement. The Department of Native Welfare is without legal power to insist on adequate station housing and living conditions and its officers are few and untrained, and distances are great. The officers are virtually powerless, and their sole influence is through moral suasion, which is particularly ineffectual in station situations. They make an annual routine visit to most stations to record the Aboriginal population, inspect living conditions, and, where necessary, attempt to persuade the managers to improve them, to ask Aborigines whether they have any complaints, and to keep them informed of their rights.

During the work season many Aborigines spend many weeks in the mustering camps. On some stations all hands return to the homestead centre every weekend. On others, only the head and assistant head stockmen return for a weekend of relaxation and drink, and during this time Aboriginal women are sometimes taken. Boys as young as 12-14 years are sometimes ‘apprenticed’ to the cattle camps. During ‘the wet’, which is the off-work season in the Kimberleys, and during the off-work periods on the sheep stations there is considerable movement of Aborigines to reserves and missions. This is often encouraged by station owners and managers in the interests of peace and relief from having to ‘care’ for Aborigines during this time, which may amount to a few months or to most of the year. Stations normally purchase stores for re-sale to Aboriginal workers and pensioners. This is a major outlet for Aboriginal earnings, child endowment, and pension receipts. Another major outlet is gambling.
Most station managers treat Aborigines in a kindly fashion and often as children. Some station managers' wives care for the Aboriginal women and children almost as if they were their own, but are hindered in almost every way by the inadequate housing and camp-like facilities and by various forces which seem to ensure that nothing can be achieved without close and continuous supervision.

In 1966 government primary schools were located on five Kimberley stations. From all other stations, children go to live in government or mission dormitory hostels during school term and usually return home for vacations. The schools on stations are staffed and equipped to the State-wide standards. A few of the 'brighter' boys and girls may go on to high school for a year or two from these schools, but this is unusual. The effects on children of schooling on stations are likely to be such as to reinforce the ties of station life. Every station influence on their lives except the school teacher works against further education and the widening of horizons. And even the school curriculum permits teachers on station (and other) schools to release older pupils—in 1967 some were 12 and 13 years old—from the classroom for 'pre-vocational' training, which in some situations means early apprenticeship to the stock camp, station kitchen, and laundry. Children returning from school hostels for vacations join their parents in station housing and camp conditions. Housing varies from the more typical galvanised-iron sheds to varying grades of transitional housing, in the style of that administered by the Department of Native Welfare on camping reserves, with communal facilities. On many stations some Aboriginal families live in near-conventional types of house and often in an old or first house of the owner or manager. Station Aborigines usually cook for themselves, purchase clothes and food from the station-owned store, meat from the station, and bread baked on the station.

The resource-learning mix on stations is utterly inadequate in almost every respect for the goal of integration. It is inconceivable that it ever could be otherwise. The total environment is completely impoverished and such that it is not possible for Aborigines (nor anyone else in such conditions) to learn patterns of behaviour for coping adequately, or for living in any other situation but on a camping reserve. Nor can society rightfully expect the station manager, of his own free will, to do more for or with Aborigines than he is bound to by law and the requirements of running his business. It would be only after Aborigines had become integrated into an Australian community that they could reach the position whereby they could work on a station by deliberate choice, as
do the station managers and white stockmen. Until then, most station Aborigines are imprisoned within the sub-culture of pastoral life. In the light of the foregoing, the suggestions for advancement that have been made, such as conventional housing on stations, industries on stations, a piece of land from each station for Aborigines, don’t seem to make much sense.

In 1966 less than 1,000 Aborigines lived in the Perth metropolitan area and a small number, 100-200, in accommodation on farms. Of the other 12,000 Aborigines not so far considered, just over one-third lived in urban areas (excluding Perth metropolitan) and the remainder in other rural areas. The urban Aboriginal population of 4,549 is that which lived in towns of 1,000 or more inhabitants (excluding Perth). About 2,500 Aborigines lived in these towns and about 2,000 on Department of Native Welfare reserves adjoining them. Of the Aboriginal population of 7,637 in other rural areas, about 2,500 lived in small rural centres and country towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants, about 1,900 on Department of Native Welfare reserves in rural areas, and about 3,000 in transit, in camp conditions on unofficial reserves and elsewhere. Thus about 5,000 Aborigines lived in urban centres and in country towns, and about 4,000 lived on official reserves.

The camping reserves occupied in 1966 are shown in Table 3 by size. There were about fifty of them located from Wyndham to Esperance adjacent to centres varying from the one-store village to large towns.

### Table 3: Occupied camping reserves, by size, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of reserve</th>
<th>Number of reserves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper, estimates from records of the Department of Native Welfare.*

Their size and location suggests that their economic potential is as residential sites, not as industrial sites nor as the basis of other economic activities.

Housing on camping reserves is ‘native’ and ‘transitional’; that in towns is ‘conventional’. The native housing consists of shanties and wurleys. The primary transitional houses range from one-room shelters,
bare of any facilities, to three-room cottages with veranda and wood stove. All are constructed of unlined corrugated-iron and have concrete flooring. Communal ablution, toilet, and laundry facilities are nearby. This housing is standard on most camping reserves. These reserves are usually within one or two miles of a village or township centre. The standard transitional dwellings are fully self-contained and comply with the building by-laws of the local government authorities. There are some fully-conventional houses provided by the Department of Native Welfare within the metropolitan area and townsite boundaries of local government authorities, and within urban boundaries throughout the State there are some Aboriginal families living in State Housing Commission houses. The primary transitional housing is maintained by mobile service units which effect repairs, spray for vermin, and re-paint. Some reserves are without electricity, others have street electrical lighting, and some reserve houses have electric lights. On many reserves there is no facility for heating water for ablutions. In many of the primary transitional houses there are no possessions other than clothing, blankets, cooking and eating utensils. Others have also bunks, benches, and tables. All are utterly inadequate for hygienic family living, although some could cater for the needs of childless married couples. The communal facilities are often unusable because of their misuse and inadequate supervision. The self-contained standard transitional, and conventional and State Housing Commission houses are of relatively superior quality and size, and for the most part are adequately cared for by the Aborigines themselves. However, they are grossly overcrowded and for this reason are inadequate for Aboriginal-sized family living. The location, design, construction, size, fittings, amenities, and furnishings of the great majority of dwellings in which Aborigines in Western Australia live are far below minimal standards of the State Housing Commission, are not conducive to healthy and hygienic living, and are utterly inadequate as the physical micro-environment within which parents could, even if they knew how, rear their children to become motivated to achieve success at school and at work, and from which children could learn to live in and manage a conventional home.

Camping reserves are legally inaccessible to persons, other than Aborigines, without a permit authorised by the Minister for Native Welfare. The reserves, as they are now, are symbols for segregated housing. Aboriginal housing is segregated by location, by standard, by appearance, and by its administration. Camping reserves are the

6Appendix, Table B I.
manifestation of a policy of Aboriginal housing for Aborigines. Most are little more than rural black slum ghettos. The life-style of the inhabitants is highlighted by drunkenness, idleness, disorderly behaviour, and card-playing. Most of the menfolk of working age on these reserves are unskilled, itinerant workers, who commute to a casual farm job or who are living with their families on the reserve during the off-season. Children go to school from these reserves and some pre-school children to kindergarten. For as long as these reserves exist, they are a demonstration, to Aborigines and to local communities alike, of the current social inferiority of these Aborigines. Moreover, there are virtually no influences within the resource-learning mix of the reserve sub-culture, despite the closeness of reserves to various Australian communities, that do or can work in favour of advancement to integration.

A characteristic feature common to the resource-learning mix situations in which most adult Aborigines are to be found is extreme dependent poverty. This is not the poverty of merely being without adequate income. It is way-of-life poverty. Aborigines are born into it, reared in it, and remain in it. They are psychologically attuned to it and probably are reasonably content in it. Their poverty is inherited and self-perpetuating. It will not yield merely to greater transfers of income alone, to a stepped-up housing program alone, to more education alone, to pre-school centres alone, to an army of social workers or medical workers, or to family planning clinics. For Aborigines to be able to live in the wider society, as self-sustaining independent persons and families, their whole life-style must change. Where dependent poverty has become the way of life it appears to have become for Aborigines, as distinct from the mere hardship it is for some other persons, the creation and presentation of opportunities for Aboriginal advancement require to be in the form of new learning situations specifically designed for Aborigines to see real opportunities and how they may be grasped. The within-family influences which perpetuate the particular life-style of Aborigines in Western Australia are strengthened rather than weakened by their institutional-locational-domicile. That some Aborigines have advanced from a degraded, alienated, and poverty-stricken family situation to integration or assimilation within an Australian community is due to

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7 'Some families cannot be fitted for a normal life in the community by grants of material aid, or by the work of services that are concerned only with one aspect of their problems. They must in a sense be “converted” to a new way of life. The only means yet discovered for doing this is the personal influence of someone prepared to help them in every way that is needed'. Evidence to the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Services (The Association of Children's Officers, England, 1966), p. 4.
exceptional ability and exceptional circumstances. This is not evidence that current welfare measures are effective or that the majority of Aborigines have any real choice between their present way of life and advancement. The isolation of Aborigines insulates them from Australian communities except for occasional fringe activities. This ensures continuity of their present conditions with minimal change. Continuity is reinforced by their high dependant:breadwinner ratio which, combined with low income, ensures low levels of consumption and no surplus income for advancement. Nor if there were a surplus is it likely that it would be used for advancement. Present conditions are reinforced also by the conspicuous absence of motivation for the achievement of little other than the current way of life, and by welfare measures of relief and social service payments and benefits. For the accustomed level of material living and the life-style of many Aborigines, relief, welfare payments, and benefits alone are almost adequate. Such payments to such people are not conducive to the development of incentives to work, budget, and save. Rather, they encourage gambling and spendthriftiness.

Lack of incentive and motivation for Aborigines to advance out of their situation is not only a partial cause of Aboriginal conditions but also a result of them. On mission settlements, pastoral stations, and most camping reserves, little purpose is to be served by higher income, better education, and greater skills. At these places idleness, squalor, and ignorance suffice. In these situations ambitions within children cannot readily be generated and sustained in isolated and segregated schools and in mission and Department of Native Welfare dormitory hostels. Attitudes and behaviour of most Aborigines today are fully consistent with their present socio-economic conditions which are characterised by want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness. They are fully consistent with personal characteristics acquired directly from living in such conditions, and indirectly from parent by child.

About 75 per cent of Aborigines in Western Australia are now living in these four main resource-learning mix situations. The remaining 25 per cent are domiciled within viable communities and, although this is a necessary condition for advancement, it is not sufficient. Most of these Aborigines are socially isolated and segregated, and for as long as these conditions prevail an increasing number and proportion of Aborigines throughout Western Australia are likely to be found living the same life-style as now pertains.
The resource-learning mixes which are the matrices which have given rise to the Aboriginal sub-cultures of Western Australia are very different from those found in typical Australian communities which constitute Australian society. The differences are such that the resultant patterns of behaviour constituting the whole life-style of Aborigines reared in one of these sub-cultures do not fit them to cope adequately as self-sustaining independent persons and families in Australian communities. In them, Aborigines are unable to acquire personal and social characteristics for advancement. Australian society has numerous mutually reinforcing processes, formal and informal, family and institutional, governmental and voluntary, to ensure acculturation for the independently-coping family as its basic social unit. Most Aborigines in Western Australia are outside the influence of these processes, and advancement to integration requires that they come within their scope. But Aborigines are at a social disadvantage in being unable to use, as effectively as other Australians, the resource-learning mixes of Australian communities to acquire patterns of coping behaviour. Their disadvantage arises from several sources:

1. Lack of motivation to try to use the resource-learning mixes of Australian society; the incentives, positive and negative, to do so are inadequate.

2. Social and physical barriers; social discrimination and physical isolation ensure inaccessibility of many Aborigines to typical resource-learning mixes of Australian society.

3. Absence of compensatory programs to bridge the gap between
patterns of behaviour in Aboriginal sub-cultures, on the one hand, and in the dominant Australian society on the other.

4. Virtual impossibility of some Aborigines (particularly the elderly) being able to learn new behaviour patterns.

Whereas, for instance, compulsory schooling for all Aboriginal children physically brings them, as equals with other children, within the scope of one of these processes of acculturation for Australian society, namely schooling, such schooling as it is now continues to handicap Aboriginal children, and it will continue to do so for as long as it does not include compensatory programs. Unless and until there is specific recognition that acculturation within a sub-culture is acculturation for that sub-culture, programs will be irrelevant, wasteful, and may worsen the situations they endeavour to rectify.\(^1\)

The current Aboriginal sub-cultures in Western Australia are the creation of a massive on-going intervention network, part of which was unplanned and part of which was planned for protection and welfare. For the new goal of integration, new interventions need to be designed. To be effective they will have to recognise that most Aborigines who wish to prepare for advancement to integration start from a disadvantageous position compared with that from which most other Australians start. This is because the Aboriginal sub-cultures as they are at present provide experiences that are depriving and socially handicapping for integration into Australian society. This is not to say that Aborigines are innately deprived or handicapped; it is to say that they do not have patterns of behaviour for coping in Australian communities, and that they are disadvantaged in comparison with other Australians in acquiring the skills of coping behaviour. Aboriginal social disadvantage is not obvious, as a physical handicap is, and the common reaction is to regard it as characteristically Aboriginal, innately or by deliberate choice.

Few studies have examined the nature and effects of Aborigines' social disadvantage and none has examined its extent. However, there is a vast literature which reports the results of numerous researches into extreme dependent inter-generational poverty and inequality in other parts of the world. It is because many of these findings appear to have relevance for the Aboriginal situation and because plans and programs for Aboriginal integration do not take into account the full implications of the nature of Aboriginal social disadvantage, that a summary outline of major findings is presented here to define further the nature and effects of way-of-life

poverty so that needs can be correctly identified and relevant intervention strategies can be specified. It is repeated that it is way-of-life poverty as a sub-culture in a dominant western-style society that is under discussion, not the poverty resulting from sudden disaster, war, unemployment, family breakdown, or the poverty in less developed countries.

Way-of-life poverty of many groups of people throughout the world (but not that of Australian Aborigines) has been studied, and characteristic traits common to all have been indentified and systematised and here are briefly summarised:\(^2\)

1. Typically, the relationship between sub-cultures of poverty and the main society is alienation from the major institutions. People in these subcultures are not members of trade unions, political parties, or recreational and other local societies, and such 'involvement as there is in the institutions of the larger society—in jails, the army and the public welfare system—does little to suppress the traits of the culture of poverty'. This reflects isolation, segregation, discrimination, apathy and suspicion of, by, and against, people in such sub-cultures. 'There is hostility to the basic institutions ... hatred of police, mistrust of government and of those in high places, and a cynicism that extends to the church.'

2. People in slum communities characteristically have low economic productivity and low income. They live in poor housing, in conditions of overcrowding and gregariousness. There is chronic unemployment, underemployment, low wages, lack of property ownership and of savings, a chronic shortage of cash and consequent absence of food reserves in the home and frequent purchase of small quantities at high prices. There is a high incidence of borrowing at usurious rates of interest, informal credit arrangements among neighbours, and the use of second-hand clothing and furniture.

3. The family tends to be mother-centred. Marriage is often on a *de facto* basis. Childhood is not cherished and there is early initiation into sex. There is overcrowding and little privacy.

4. Typical attitudes, values, and characteristics of individuals reared in sub-cultures of poverty include strong feelings of fatalism, helplessness, dependence, despair, apathy and inferiority. There is low self-esteem, strong present-time orientation with little capacity to defer gratification of wants and to plan, a high incidence of mental illness, psychological maladjustment and immaturity, confusion of sex identification, and among men, strong preoccupation with male superiority and masculinity.

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Many of these traits that characterise sub-cultures of poverty in other parts of the world are matters of common observation in the sub-cultures of Aboriginal poverty in Western Australia, though few of them have been measured, and there are observed differences between the several Aboriginal sub-cultures in Western Australia. Moreover, there are no reasons for thinking that a comparison of studies of Aboriginal sub-cultures with studies of extreme dependent inter-generational poverty in other parts of the world would reveal any but minor differences. However, there are likely to be attitudinal and other differences reflecting both the culture of the dominant society and historical background of those in each sub-culture. Most Aborigines in Western Australia are attached by ties of dependency to various Australian communities. A few have become fully integrated, a few have assimilated, and it is estimated that there are fewer than fifty living as nomads, independent of an Australian community.

In a recent study of 129 non-coping families in England 70 per cent were found to be multi-problem families, in the sense that they had problems in six or seven of the following different areas of their lives:

1. Situational: inadequate housing; absence of male head in the family.
2. Domestic economy: fluctuating income; income at or below 'minimum need' level; long-term support from public funds: significant debt.
3. Home care: lack of domestic equipment; lack of domestic routine.

For example, 'today the Yukon Indian is culturally deprived, economically deprived, and living as a transitional migrant in his own homeland. He is extremely ambivalent in his attitudes, uncertain as to whether he should fight or capitulate ... Although identifiable persistences of attitude, behaviour, language and the individualistic aspects of native culture are still present, the essential common characteristics of Yukon Indians today are poverty and a low level of participation in community affairs. What Oscar Lewis has referred to as the "sub-culture of poverty"—"a set of transitory patterns by which a once primitive population strives to make at least a peripheral adaptation to rapid urbanisation by another society"—is more valid as a description of the present Yukon Indian population than any idealised traditional cultural base-line.' A.R. King, *The School at Mopass. A Problem of Identity*, p. 12.


Another definition: 'The multi-problem family denotes a family with disorganizational functioning that adversely affects the following sets of behaviour: (i) relationships inside the family; (ii) relationships outside of the family group, particularly neighbourhood and community relationships; and (iii) the performance of tasks such as those concerned with wealth, and with economic and household practices that are designed to maintain the family as a physical unit.' Such a family is characterised by 'a multiplicity of problems; chronicity of need; resistance to treatment; handicapping attitudes'. L.L. Geisman and Michael A. La Sorte, *Understanding the Multi-Problem Family* (New York, 1964), pp. 20-1 and p. 32.
5. Health and adjustment of parents: mental ill-health and personality disorders; intellectual difficulties; physical incapacity; conflict with the law.

6. Health and adjustment of children: emotional and behaviour difficulties; intellectual retardation; physical ill-health; non-attendance at school or poor work adjustment; delinquency.

7. Inadequate personal relationships: between husband and wife; in the family network; with neighbours and friends; with workmates and friends; in the 'formal' network.

Here again, although many of these problem areas are commonly observed in Aborigines, the results suggest that way-of-life poverty is not restricted to ethnic minorities nor to groups that are segregated or isolated. Way-of-life poverty also exists in individual families scattered throughout society and is transmitted from parents to children within the family. Thus merely to disperse the Aborigines physically from their present locational concentrations may not destroy these sub-cultures of poverty. It may simply hide them.

The relevance of the characteristics of multi-problem families is their positive role in perpetuating the sub-cultures, and their negative role in ensuring failure, in the absence of compensatory programs, to learn patterns of behaviour for coping in the main society. It is also necessary to know these family problems for planning the intervention strategies that will be needed to achieve the goal of integration. They obstruct the development of child-rearing patterns which could lead to coping behaviour. Thus non-coping parents rear children to cope inadequately and for social failure. Child-rearing patterns which lead to coping behaviour are those positively associated with emotional health and stability, educational achievement, social acceptability, adequate conscience formation, and family stability.

Accumulated research evidence strongly suggests that the following personal and family characteristics and methods of child-rearing commonly found in sub-cultures of poverty are negatively associated with emotional health and stability in terms of the realities of the main society. There are: high rates of marital conflict and family breakdown; large families; self-centred parental behaviour, not intimate and expressive relationship between parent and child; abrupt and early yielding of independence to the child, not gradually increasing independence; father out of home; low parental self-esteem, sense of defeat, and without self-regard as competent parents; sense of impotence in handling children's behaviour; distrust of new experience from within a constricted life; rigidity rather than flexibility of outlook; lack of goal commitment and of belief in future success; fatalism; impulse gratification and sense of alienation;
ATTTUDINAL AND BEHAVIOURAL CONSEQUENCES

'keep out of trouble' philosophy for parent and child as against the development of positive social values; limited verbal communication between parent and child; control largely physical; misbehaviour judged in terms of pragmatic outcomes with projection of blame on to others, rather than acceptance of own role; authoritarian rearing methods, mother is chief child-care agent, father is punitive figure, and there is little support and acceptance of child as an individual; failure to accept child's drive for aggression and to channel it into socially approved outlets; harsh physical and inconsistent discipline, rather than verbal, mild, reasonable, consistent punishment and emphasis on rewarding good behaviour; repressive, punitive and exploitative attitudes to sex.7

It has been reported that the parental patterns more characteristic of the very poor, in reference to educational achievements, seem to be oriented towards an anticipation of failure and a distrust of middle-class institutions such as the schools. Constriction in experience, reliance on a physical rather than verbal style, a rigid rather than flexible approach, preference for concrete rather than abstract thinking, reliance on personal attributes rather than on training or skills, a tendency towards magical rather than scientific thinking: these values and attributes provide poor preparation and support for many of the children of the very poor as they struggle to meet the demands of the middle-class oriented school.8

Social acceptability is not a well researched field. However, the following characteristics have been found to be typical of persons in sub-cultures of poverty: little social skill in dress, manners, speech, games, and little value placed on neatness and cleanliness; slight sensitivity to feelings and attitudes of others; poor impulse control; low self-esteem, distrust, tendency to hostile aggression and/or withdrawal; little respect for property rights of others; tendency to rigidity and non-conformity and to be inflexible and unadaptable to group decisions; academic failure.9

The formation of good character or conscience is also not a well researched field. In this study it is defined as including honesty, responsibility, dependability, and the ability to resist temptation. Research conclusions are that children in sub-cultures of poverty tend to be reared in ways that are not conducive to self-control and to conformity to generally accepted social standards. Specifically, parents do not set

8 Chilman, pp. 41-55.
9 Chilman, pp. 57-60.
examples to children; their own behaviour is impulsive and gratification-oriented; harsh, physical and inconsistent disciplining of children and authoritarianism lead not to the acquisition of good character traits but, rather, to a 'don't get caught again' conscience. In positive terms, there is a consistent pattern of findings which shows that for achievement motivation and morality, acceptable standards and conduct require to be taught with love and understanding and through firm, kind, and consistent discipline which rewards achievement and morality rather than punishes failure.\textsuperscript{10}

Research shows more marital unhappiness and instability among persons in sub-cultures of poverty than elsewhere. There are high divorce and separation rates; high proportions of families without a male head; ignorance regarding sex relations and contraception; exploitative use of sex; low level of companionship in marriage—men's and women's worlds held to be separate; frequent quarrelling, violence, wife-beating, heavy intoxication, and hostile interaction between parents and children; frequent moving of domicile; early marriage, short courtships, and high rates of pre-marital pregnancy.\textsuperscript{11}

Aborigines who are in one or other of the sub-cultures of mission settlements, pastoral stations, reserves, and dormitory hostels (and this is the vast majority in Western Australia) have acquired many of the personal characteristics outlined here which are similar to those found among people living in sub-cultures of poverty in other parts of the world. This is not to say that such characteristics are found only in sub-cultures of poverty or that all Aborigines have them, but it is to say that these characteristics are more common among persons who are not coping than among persons who are coping in the main society.

It is a matter of common observation that most Aborigines in Western Australia now are in sub-cultures of poverty with characteristics similar to such sub-cultures in other parts of the world, that many Aboriginal families are multi-problem families with characteristics similar to those in other parts of the world, and that child-rearing practices of most Aborigines in Western Australia differ only slightly from those reported from other parts of the world and presented here. For understanding of the present Aboriginal situation in Western Australia it is relevant to examine studies of persons in similar situations in other parts of the world. The life-styles of Aborigines today resemble those of such persons much more closely than they resemble those of their forebears before the

\textsuperscript{10} Chilman, pp. 61-5.

\textsuperscript{11} Chilman, pp. 67-74.
coming of the white man. Thus, the proposals made in this study for Aboriginal advancement to integration do not arise from unique elements in the Aborigines' ethnic heritage, but rather from their present-day characteristics, and these appear to have much in common with those of people everywhere in similar situations of poverty. But their skin colour is a handicap in that it may expose them to stereotype responses and negative attitudes.

Confusion between ethnic heritage and personal characteristics that are specifically associated with a sub-culture of poverty is understandable. Often it is an ethnic minority that exists in such a sub-culture for historical reasons, and it is only recently that the concept of a sub-culture of poverty has evolved and has been critically examined. Also, it is only recently that awareness has emerged of the destructiveness of the penetration of traditional cultures by western-type culture. When a way of life is destroyed and bridges to acceptable alternatives do not exist, the inevitable result is alienation, despair, and the development of a sub-culture of poverty. The way out of this sub-culture is integration with the dominant society. It is not possible to reconstruct the original minority culture because its determining conditions no longer exist. The only way out is integration.
CONDITIONS OF ADVANCEMENT
The Australian society has an overwhelming influence on Aborigines, and this would be so even if it were to ignore and by-pass them. The non-Aboriginal population of 12 millions, with its techniques, resources, control of the environment, and its rapid rates of social and economic change, is not matched by any comparable influence from the 200,000 Aborigines alongside. Although some unique skills and art forms have aroused interest, Aborigines have not yet made significant social, cultural, or economic impact, nor has this been possible. Australian society will develop in much the same way whether Aborigines are involved or not, whereas Aborigines cannot advance independently. Nor can there be a return to the semi-nomadic tribal way of life as it was before the white man. This way of life depended on a specific combination and delicate balance of biological and psychological forces. Aboriginal living, outlook, and philosophy and the flora and fauna were in an equilibrium which everywhere has been substantially disturbed. The dependency of most Aborigines in Western Australia makes it virtually impossible for them to have independent social goals.

There are four major goals that Australian society could have for Aborigines. These are laissez-faire, apartheid, assimilation, and integration. Each implies a specific set of policy measures.

Laissez-faire is the policy of non-interference by government with the actions of individuals. For Aborigines such a policy means that their advancement would be a matter for themselves, either alone or helped by other persons in their private capacities and by non-government organisations. It is probable, however, that such a policy would lead to
measures by government directed to the containment of Aboriginal unrest and of contagious diseases, both of which are likely to be consequent upon such a policy. This policy would require of government only more police and more health personnel from time to time. It would lead to Aborigines becoming a gypsy-like class of people.

Apartheid implies maintaining and ensuring Aboriginal segregation, apartism, and isolation. There would be a separate administration and legal restriction on jobs, places of living, and partners in co-habitation. Apartheid would require formal or informal specification of Aborigines as second-class persons, regardless of their actual or potential personal and social achievements and contributions.

Assimilation implies that opportunities for needs fulfilment be made available as readily to Aborigines as to other Australians. It implies also that Aborigines would shed from themselves all but innate traces of aboriginality. As a process, assimilation requires that persons with dissimilar ethnic backgrounds interact freely. It requires freedom from official barriers to biological, cultural, social, and economic interaction between people, whatever their ethnic heritage. In Australia, Aboriginal assimilation could not be other than one-way assimilation. As a final goal, it would mean ultimate loss of identity of Aborigines by absorption, and would require that ethnic heritage be not taken into account. This goal was clearly enunciated as official policy by Commonwealth and State Ministers for Aboriginal Affairs, in 1961, and re-affirmed in 1963.

For a policy to qualify as integration it must cater for real equal-life opportunities but, as distinct from assimilation, tolerate and value cultural differences between persons with dissimilar ethnic heritage. As a final goal for Aborigines it means that they would be free and able to be equally and fully involved in various Australian communities whilst observing and practising among themselves many of their own customs, as may Jews, Italians, and Greeks. Having reached the position of integration within an Australian community, the persons concerned could decide for themselves whether they would assimilate. Integration of Aborigines would seem to be the feasible and acceptable social goal for Australian society.

1 "The policy of assimilation, in the view of all Australian governments, means that all aborigines and part-aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians." Statement in the House of Representatives, Canberra, by the Minister for Territories (the Hon. Paul Hasluck, M.P.) 20 April 1961; see also Statement of the House of Representatives, Canberra, by the Minister for Territories (the Hon. Paul Hasluck, M.P.) 14 August, 1963.
near-precedent for it is embodied in attitudes and policies towards New Australians. Ethnic differences are recognised, tolerated, and sometimes valued. But a basic requirement for integration is willingness and ability to become an independent self-sustaining unit in a community. Only the goal of integration requires this and caters specifically for the right to retain those cultural differences which do not conflict with the requirements of society. Although Commonwealth and State governments claim that assimilation is still the goal of official policy, it was re-defined at the Ministers' Conference in 1965 to mean integration. In Western Australia it is now officially stated that assimilation is integration. However, despite what the policy is stated to be, it will only become integration in fact when its results show it to be capable of achieving the objectives of integration as stated above. But there are some who have raised objections to the goal of integration and to its requirement that Aborigines become independent and self-sustaining individuals and families. Some of these objections are: that advancement will make Aborigines similar to other Australians and why should they conform to the social patterns and cultural values of other people; that Aborigines should be helped to preserve their own social patterns and cultural values; that Aborigines as communities should be enabled to become independent and self-reliant; that independent Aboriginal communities are an alternative to advancement to integration in Australian society; that individual and personal advancement suggests ultimate genocide; that advancement does not cater for those who do not want to advance, what of them?; and that the way to Aboriginal community independence is not through advancement but through land rights and compensation to which Aborigines are entitled for deprivation of land and culture. Only in this way, it is claimed, can dignity and self-reliance be restored.

There is nothing in the requirements for integration of Aborigines that is not tacitly prescribed by Australian society for all of its members.

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2 'The policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of Aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community—enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Any special measures taken are regarded as temporary measures not based on race, but intended to meet their need for special care and assistance and to make the transition from one stage to another in such a way as will be favourable to their social, economic and political advancement.' Statement in the House of Representatives, Canberra, by the Minister for Territories (the Hon. C.E. Barnes, M.P.), 10 December, 1965.

3 '. . . "integration"—is, in fact, the policy being pursued by the Department of Native Welfare, although, in accordance with the policy statement expressed at the Conference of Ministers in 1965, the word "assimilation" is used.' Department of Native Welfare, Newsletter, vol. 1, No. 5, August 1968, p. 36.
A basic requirement of Australian society is that each person with the potential achieve a role that enables him to become an adequately self-sustaining and independent individual. This requirement is inherent in the pattern of mutual rights and responsibilities between society and the individual. In order to achieve independent status, the individual requires fulfilment of the socio-economic needs of freedom from want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness, for which he requires income, health, education, house, and employment. Not only does the individual require them, society now has undertaken the responsibility to ensure that he gets them. It is the individual’s right to have them, his responsibility to contribute appropriately for each: labour for income, rent for a house, and it is society’s right to expect him so to contribute.

For Aborigines to be integrated with an Australian community, the requirement is that they learn to cope as independent self-sustaining persons and families. For most Aborigines this requires that they leave their present sub-cultures of extreme, dependent poverty, or that these sub-cultures be transformed into socio-economic situations that are similar to typical communities in Australian society. Aborigines will need to become more like us in many more respects than they are now.\(^4\) Certainly they now are not like they were before the white man came, nor is it possible for them ever again to be so. But there is nothing in being an integral part of an Australian community that would prevent Aborigines from marrying whom they wish, from professing and practising their own religious and other beliefs, from retaining many distinctive customs, and from using their own language.\(^5\) It is true that some Aborigines will not want to advance and that some cannot advance or be helped out of their present situation into any other. Some among the Aborigines, as among other Australians, are social cripples and cannot now choose to be other than what they are.

For handicapped persons society also recognises a responsibility for meeting needs, but without the reciprocal responsibility from such persons for repayment. Where the handicap is the result of society’s

\(^4\) '... all men, everywhere face the same life tasks, share the same anxieties and perplexities, the bereavements and tragedies; seek the same goals in their cultures; to make life meaningful and significant, to find some security, to achieve some social order and to regulate their conduct toward values that make life more than mere organic existence.' Frank, L.K. 'World Order and Cultural Diversity', *Freeworld*, June 1942.

\(^5\) 'And I assert at this time that once again we must reaffirm our belief in building a democratic society in which blacks and whites can live together as brothers where we will come to see that integration is not a problem but an opportunity to participate in the beauty of diversity.' From the address of Martin Luther King Jr, to the American Psychological Association, Washington D.C., September 1967.
CLARIFICATION OF GOALS AND MEANS OF ACHIEVEMENT 59

failure, as it is in the case of Aborigines, society has full responsibility
to ensure that Aborigines reach coping status. Until they do, society has
no right to expect anything of them. On the other hand, Aborigines have
the right to reach this status, and until their needs are fulfilled, they cannot
cope; they cannot fulfil the responsibilities society demands—that is, to
work, to care for children, and to pay for necessities of living. Nor do
they have a responsibility to our society, and they cannot have much
respect for themselves or us. This is where welfare alone fails. It maintains
Aborigines in semi-permanent dependence and renders integration
impracticable.

The first right of everyone in a democratic society, western-style, is to
have, or to be in the process of having, the wherewithal to be an
independent person. Only then is there freedom and the right to choose
a specific life-style. For Aborigines, only then can their ethnic heritage
become a matter of pride, free from shame for them and other Australians.
It is when Aborigines become fully independent persons and families
that this pride is likely to develop. It is those Aborigines who have
achieved this who can and do have this kind of pride, and who can be—
and now are—proud of their ethnic heritage. But to make preservation of
Aboriginal culture or of pride in ethnic heritage the core of advancement
policy will not succeed. An integration policy is a planned change of the
life-style of most Aborigines. This runs counter to the theory that
Aborigines should be accepted as they are and that to attempt to help
them to change is to impose on them our own values and goals. But there
is a distinction between acceptance of a person per se and recognition that
his way of life is destructive of himself and his family. There is a distinction
also between working with people and imposing on people.

In Western Australia welfare is the current means of trying to achieve
the goal of integration. It has two major facets: dismantling legal
restrictions applying only to Aborigines, a process now almost completed,
and bringing Aborigines fully into the scope of all governmental welfare
benefits available to other Australians—for example child endowment, age
and invalid pensions, unemployment benefits and relief payments; and
social services such as housing, health, education, and employment. All
Aborigines now are within the scope of welfare legislation, and relief and
social benefits and services formally apply equally to them as to other
Australians.

Welfare policy for Aborigines, as for other Australians, ensures the
provision of at least minimal amounts of food, clothing, shelter, money,
medical and hospital services for any needy individual adult or dependent
child. But standard welfare assistance is inadequate to transform the Aboriginal situation into conditions that will lead to integration. Basically, welfare is designed to alleviate the poverty of an inadequate income, not to cure way-of-life poverty. It is for people who are part of Australian society but whose ability to cope as independent persons in an Australian community has been impaired; it is not for those who have not acquired this ability, such as most Aborigines and a few whites. The resources required for the former are for income support, for the latter they are for the transformation of a way of life.

Welfare is separated by its own concepts from the goal of integration. It is consistent with maintaining a human zoo. It is compatible with apartheid. Alone, welfare could perpetuate self-sustaining dependent poverty. Its danger is that now it is a means threatening to become the end. In this event it could generate and maintain feelings of hopelessness, unworthiness, discontent, resentment, and hostility, in Aborigines and ourselves alike, thereby threatening the goal of integration.

The condition of many Aborigines in terms of health, housing and hostels, education and employment has improved in recent years. But improvement is not the goal, nor is it a sufficient condition for the achievement of integration. Merely making Aborigines better off than they once were will not necessarily bring them closer to being able to choose between integration and assimilation. For such a choice it is the present standards of Australian society that are relevant, not the past conditions of Aboriginal groups. Improvement may be the outcome of welfare, but alone it is unlikely to result in integration.

For achievement of the goal of integration, advancement as the means must be substituted for welfare and improvement. Advancement implies continually meeting the needs of Aborigines until they have reached the point where assistance is no longer required. It is needs-oriented, whereas welfare is limited by the benefits, payments, and services that we have legislated for ourselves. Unlike welfare, which can easily become a goal in itself, reached when what is due under legislation has been paid, advancement continually poses the question 'towards what goal?' For advancement towards the goal of integration appropriate resource-learning mixes require to be devised for each specific Aboriginal situation. In Western Australia as yet there are only signs of a beginning by society to grope towards this means of achieving the declared policy goal of integration.
There are many obstacles to Aboriginal advancement. Some are physical, behavioural, and political, others are administrative and attitudinal, and yet others are simply blind-alley propositions about Aborigines and about effective policy measures. These blind-alley propositions are based on prevalent, long-standing, and false theories, seemingly confirmed by the wide and continuing gap between the ways of life of Aborigines in their various present-day sub-cultures and of other Australians in the mainstream of society. Most of these false theories fail on the grounds that they do not recognise the behavioural consequences of being reared in particular resource-learning mixes. Theories about life that are false usually contain grains of truth, but these merely prevent them from being absolutely wrong. In this study they are considered obstacles to advancement, leading to blind-alley propositions. If they were to become guidelines of plans for action, they would hinder advancement by negating its need, by slowing its rate, by implementing ineffective measures, or by otherwise postponing or restricting the application of advancement and integration policies.

The following theories have been collected in the course of discussion and conversation with many persons genuinely interested, and often active, in Aboriginal advancement work. Most of them, in some form or another, are held implicitly rather than explicitly, and all are current. That they cannot be formally documented does not either deny their existence or detract from their unfortunate influence on some people. They can be divided into four groups. Those in the first group purport to give reasons as to why Aborigines cannot or do not want to advance.
Those in the second assume that they are already advancing and will do so anyway; in the third group are theories which assume that the answer is to be found in a single main solution; and in the fourth group are those which maintain that this is a problem only for experts or at any rate for somebody else.

On the inability of Aborigines to advance, several theories are current:

Stone-age theory: before the white man came to Australia, Aborigines were in a stone-age culture; it took western culture thousands of years to develop from stone-age ways of life, therefore Aborigines cannot advance far towards our culture in a century or two.

This theory is often used to explain and defend gradualism and go-slow policies of advancement. It implies that there is a predetermined rate and pattern of stages in cultural change, and that these cannot be substantially altered. But whereas a particular way of life may be inherited, it is not innate. Ways of life are learned from psychologically significant influences. These are parents and other members of the family, persons outside of the family including friends, school teachers, employers and authority figures, and elements in the material and social environments. The net outcome of these influences for Aborigines may be such that children learn to live in traditional ways, or learn new patterns of living which, in varying degrees, may be social, non-social, or anti-social.

Low intelligence theory: Aborigines are among the most primitive and least intelligent people in the world, therefore it is impossible for them to advance to non-Aboriginal ways of living.

There is no evidence that groups of people with different skin colour or cultural background differ innately from one another in intelligence. Nor, if such differences were discovered, is it likely that they would be relevant in this context because few, if any, people anywhere, have reached their full intellectual potential. Moreover, within any ethnic group there is wide variation in innate intellectual endowment. This innate endowment sets the boundaries of possible intellectual development. The extent to which intellectual potential is realised depends on the nature of the educative influences of the total environment. Research has found that Aborigines who have had more effective contact with

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1 "The net result of all the research that has been conducted in this field is to the effect that innate racial differences in intelligence have not been demonstrated; that the obtained differences in test results are best explained in terms of the social and educational environment; that as the environmental opportunities of different racial or ethnic groups become more alike, the observed differences in test results also tend to disappear. The evidence is overwhelmingly against the view that race is a factor which determines level of intelligence." O. Klineberg, *Race and Psychology* (UNESCO, 1958), p. 24.
Australian society achieve, on average, higher IQ-test scores than Aborigines with less contact.²

'Aborigines are like children' theory: this recognises the apparently childlike attitudes of many adult Aborigines. From these it is inferred that they are inherently childlike and should be treated as if they were children.

That many adult Aborigines do show childlike propensities may be simply a lack of sophistication or a result of life experiences from infancy. It may be a style of behaviour which has been learned from paternalistic treatment and enforced dependency, and a result of not having been allowed to learn to act independently and to do things for themselves. Aboriginal advancement requires that social workers, welfare workers, and lay people work with Aborigines, not for them, in just the same way as they are needed to help disadvantaged persons in any community.

'Aborigines' choice' theory: this asserts that Aborigines are in their present situation because this is the way they choose to live. Advancement is seen as an attempt to impose non-Aboriginal ways of life on Aborigines. It is also seen as infringement of the individual's right to choose his mode of living.

It is false to assume that Aborigines are in a position from which they can choose their way of life. Choice implies awareness of alternatives and the knowledge and resources for their realisation. Most Aborigines have no real choice but to live as they are. There is no evidence to date of Aborigines having rejected adequate advancement measures.

'White man's fault' theory: this theory recognises that the present-day degradation of many Aborigines is a result of previously harsh and unjust treatment by the white man. From this it is inferred that it is alone the white man's responsibility to restore the dignity and self-respect of Aborigines, to alleviate their poverty, and to advance them socially and economically.

But Aborigines have to want to advance; the white man has to provide resources and create real opportunities; and both the Aborigines and white man have a joint responsibility for Aboriginal advancement.

The second group of theories implies that sufficient action is being taken. They assume that advancement is happening.

'Improvement is advancement' theory: proponents of this theory emphasise that Aborigines now are better off than ever before; they have clothes, medical attention, weatherproof shelter, money, regular meals, education, and all these in increasing amounts.

It is a fact that the socio-economic conditions for Aborigines have improved, but it may be fallacious to see this as advancement. Aboriginal advancement is a rate of improvement that will eventually close the gap between Aborigines and other Australians in the degree of fulfilment of socio-economic and socio-psychological needs, and the needs for the development of relevant personal attributes and for self-determination. Because for ourselves too there is improvement, Aboriginal improvement must be at a faster rate than our own before it can be thought of as advancement. When the gap has been closed, special measures for Aboriginal advancement will no longer be necessary, and Aborigines will share automatically in the general rate of social and economic development.

'Welfare is advancement' theory: this is a variant of the theory that improvement is advancement. The policy of welfare for Aborigines endeavours to bring all Aborigines within the scope of the welfare legislation enacted for other Australians.

But this policy aim has been largely achieved and it is now fallacious to regard welfare as advancement. The purpose of welfare is to ensure minimal levels of living. Its measures are applied also in zoos, prisons, slums, reserves and mission settlements, and dormitory hostels, from where advancement to independent coping may be impossible. Welfare is a condition for advancement. Alone, it can effect improvement, but it is insufficient for closing the socio-economic gap between Aborigines and others.

'Missions are training Aborigines' theory: this is accepted by many lay people and some missionaries. It assumes that Aborigines on mission settlements are being taught, and are learning skills, practices, and modes of living that are relevant for advancement into the Australian society.

There may be some foundation in fact for this theory, but on most mission settlements there is severe lack of skills and resources. The result is that it is hardly possible for Aborigines on these missions to learn properly the skills and discipline of sustained work, the skills of household management, and to acquire adequate levels of hygiene, diet, and health. Because of these inadequacies and because the school curriculum and methods of education are not geared to the needs of environmentally disadvantaged children, the formal education of school children on mission settlements is largely irrelevant, as it is with many children elsewhere. Some missionaries see it as their function to care for Aborigines only medically and spiritually. Others who see the needs for housing and employment and for the development of relevant skills can achieve little with their present resources.
Equality theory: this theory is most clearly exemplified by current official policy in Western Australia which ensures that formal education of Aborigines does not differ from that of the non-Aboriginal population, and confuses compensatory programs with privileges.

The theory fails to recognise that environmental disadvantage is an educational handicap. Environmentally disadvantaged children, like most Aborigines, require special education, equally as much as do physically handicapped children. Another example of this theory is the belief that Aborigines have the same opportunity as other people to obtain a conventional house. But Aborigines have not learned household management and neighbourly behaviour. For these reasons they often are excluded by landlords and by potential neighbours.

‘One swallow makes a summer’ theory: this theory recognises the existence of cases where Aborigines have advanced from a degraded, alienated, and poverty-stricken family situation to integration and assimilation within an Australian community. From this it is often inferred that because some have advanced, all could advance if they wanted to.

The fallacy is to confuse the exceptional person with the majority, or the exceptional situation with the typical. That some few Aborigines have advanced fully is evidence of exceptional ability or exceptional circumstances; it is not evidence that current policy is effective or that the majority of Aborigines have any real choice between advancement and their present way of life.

‘Advancement will happen on its own’ theory: this theory is related to the idea that progress is an inevitable social process. It leads its proponents to believe that Aboriginal advancement will occur of its own accord, and is merely a matter of time.

This theory fails to recognise the existence of forces holding Aborigines within the self-perpetuating conditions of extreme and dependent poverty.

The third group could be called cod-liver oil theories. Basically they amount to the belief that if one core problem could be identified and solved, or one solution discovered, like cod-liver oil for rickets, advancement would follow inevitably. Examples are:

Land rights theory: this theory emphasises the spiritual and physical importance of land in traditional Aboriginal culture. It suggests that land rights be given to Aborigines because they are a requirement for the return of Aboriginal self-respect and for their economic advancement.

This theory may have political value in that to protect their present owner and user rights to land, farmers and pastoralists may insist that
governments move faster than at present on Aboriginal advancement. But it does not seem to be generally realised that it is impossible for land to have the same significance for most Aborigines today as it had for Aborigines before the white man. This is not to deny the annexation of 150 years ago, nor to deny the sanctity of particular sites today. It is to recognise that in Western Australia the traditional culture is virtually shattered and is unlikely to be restored by land rights. In many places in Western Australia Aborigines live where they do, not so much because of traditional ties to land as because of family ties to each other, because of their dependency in the specific situation, and the lack of real alternatives. Where land is necessary for the fulfilment of the socio-economic needs for advancement of any particular Aboriginal person or community, it should be made available. Common decency would ensure the preservation of Aboriginal sacred sites as part of the national heritage. Farm and pastoral lands now are available in plenty through normal market channels without any special land rights. For Aborigines with the skills or desire to own their own farm, station, or any other business as a sole trader, partnership, company or co-operative, land, finance, and other help certainly should be forthcoming and such help is specifically provided for under the present law. But land-righters seem to have something other than this in mind. They talk of land-ownership now being the basis of Aboriginal dignity and self-reliance. This is to assume that Aborigines are living a nomadic existence, or that one aspect of traditional Aboriginal culture is equally important for all Aborigines today. Human dignity and self-reliance, whatever their foundations in the past, today do not have land-ownership as a necessary requirement. Moreover the superior and ultimate right is the right of self-determination, not land rights or the right to compensation. Finally, land-righters have not yet said what land for which Aborigines. Some Aborigines who have advanced already have acquired rights to residential and farm land. Most other people in Australia do not have personal control of capital resources, or ownership of land and mineral rights as the base for their economic advancement.

Professional workers theory: this theory is that a large number of professional social workers is the main requirement for Aboriginal advancement. This fails to appreciate that because of the interdependence of needs, the social services, physical facilities, personnel and other resources to effect advancement need to be available and to be applied to Aborigines as specific resource-learning mixes. For instance, social workers, school teachers, and infant health sisters for Aborigines living in the Kimberleys in Western Australia would be unlikely alone to effect Aboriginal
advancement. They could effect some improvement but until they operated within a total and integrated Aboriginal development program which simultaneously provided personnel, facilities, and resources in terms of houses, jobs, training and other opportunities, their skills and services would be largely ineffectual and constitute governmental waste.

**Family planning theory:** this theory is that a necessary condition for Aboriginal advancement is family planning. It emphasises that many Aborigines now living in squalor and suffering total ill-health are also rapidly increasing in number and that inability to cope, racial discontent, and high costs of hospitalisation could be avoided partly by government family planning services aimed at reducing the number of Aboriginal children born.

Techniques of family planning should be available to all persons. But for government to introduce them for Aborigines as a substitute for faster and adequate rates of application of resources for remediating squalor and ill-health is both wrong and inappropriate. Family planning of itself cannot be a remedy for Aboriginal poverty. Personal and social prerequisites for effective family planning are interdependent with substantial changes in the attitudes, motivations, and living conditions of Aborigines.

**Aboriginal leadership and confrontation theory:** this recognises that there are few Aboriginal spokesmen for Aborigines collectively. It assumes that their advancement is largely dependent upon the development of Aboriginal leadership western-style, and upon its use in making known the needs of Aborigines, and in confrontation of governments to effect fulfilment measures.

Aboriginal leadership in forms most suited to the needs of Aborigines could facilitate advancement. But whether leadership should or will emerge should be left to Aborigines to decide. Their advancement should not be made conditional or dependent upon prior emergence of leadership among them any more than leadership among multi-problem white families should be a prerequisite for assistance to fulfil their needs. The emergence of Aboriginal leadership is likely to be slow, and such leadership is likely to represent only the few who have already advanced substantially. There are no reasons for thinking that the remainder can respond easily or constructively to it. So many are so isolated from each other and so alienated from the Australian society that the effects of leadership on them are likely to be negligible. People in these subcultures are unlikely to be responsive to the stimulus of leadership unless it is combined with needs fulfilment programs in action. Moreover, to rely heavily on the prior emergence of leadership and pan-Aboriginalism
is, basically, to believe in the possibility and effectiveness of Aboriginal confrontation with the Australian society. This confrontation seems neither realistic nor desirable. It may be helpful and convenient for governments to indicate to Aborigines that they will refer relevant policy proposals, for comment before implementation, to associations with all-Aboriginal membership and formed mainly to effect advancement and integration.

'Integration of Aborigines as a people' theory: this assumes that Aboriginal people are a people.

Traditionally this was not so; there were hundreds of distinct and separate tribal groups. They had many things in common, but there were only loose ties between them, and strong ties appear not to have developed since. Moreover the genetic and cultural characteristics of most Aborigines in Western Australia today are no longer uniquely or specifically Aboriginal. It is the proponents of this theory, rather than Aborigines, who wish for the integration of Aborigines as one people as distinct from their integration as families and individuals, and as distinct from the assimilation of individuals. It is individual Aborigines who will or will not advance, integrate, and assimilate socially and economically. Whether they advance singly, in groups, or as one people is for them to decide. For governments to decide that needs fulfilment will be for Aborigines as one people is to exclude them from making yet another decision. There is nothing in needs fulfilment that precludes Aborigines from making the choice of advancing individually or in groups of families and then either integrating or assimilating. Moreover, there is nothing in a policy of advancement and integration that is at variance with the U.N. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 27, which reads:

In those States in which ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Co-operation theory: this recognises that living together as an extended family, and sharing, are part of the traditional Aboriginal mode of living. From this it is often inferred that Aborigines are good co-operators and that co-operative forms of organisation are particularly suited to Aborigines: for example, the idea that Aborigines should be given farm or pastoral land and equipment to be worked as a co-operative.

The fact is there is no feature in traditional or in present-day modes of Aboriginal living that is likely to make Aboriginal co-operatives a
preferred form of organisation. Moreover, co-operatively organised economic activity is notoriously uncharacteristic of the Australian economy.

Community development theory: this assumes that the development of economically viable Aboriginal communities is a necessary or a desirable requirement of Aboriginal advancement. Alternatively, that Aborigines would prefer to advance as a viable Aboriginal community, or as one people, than integrate with Australian communities as independent individuals and families.

In Western Australia there is no viable Aboriginal community. It seems more appropriate to help those who wish to advance as individual families and persons, leaving them to choose and to make their own community arrangements, than to help Aborigines to advance within a pre-determined frame of community development or co-operative enterprise. This is not to deny that advancement measures are likely to be more effective where many Aborigines are involved together, nor is it to affirm that the community is the appropriate unit of advancement. It is questionable whether the ideas of community development, which may be well suited to structured independent village community situations, as in south-east Asian countries, are suited to unstructured and dependent group situations so typical of Aborigines on reserves, mission settlements, and pastoral stations in Western Australia.

Lastly, there are the theories which assume that advancement concerns experts alone:

'Anthropologists know best' theory: studies of Aborigines have been a speciality of anthropologists. This has led to the common belief that social anthropologists know best how to promote Aboriginal advancement.

Anthropological work in Australia has been mainly concerned with Aborigines in their traditional situation, rather than in their current conditions. There are fragmentary surveys of aspects of present-day Aboriginal living by anthropologists and students of anthropology in training, but a comprehensive research study specifically oriented to Aboriginal integration has not yet been published. Moreover there is no one subject of study which entitles anyone to be regarded as an authority on Aboriginal advancement and integration. Anthropology, economics, education, psychology, or social work are useful background training for research into social problems. A team approach involving individuals with different scientific backgrounds and experience is likely to be the best basis of study and research to promote Aboriginal advancement and to plan for integration.
'Government knows best' theory: it is widely believed that the relevant government departments are repositories of information and understanding about the Aboriginal situation, and of knowledge about what best needs to be done.

There is virtually no research into Aboriginal advancement in any government department of Western Australia, nor at the University of Western Australia. This means that at present government policy and administrative action must rely almost entirely on insight and opinion. These, based on experience, are both necessary and valuable; as the sole source of knowledge they are insufficient. Unless they are backed by relevant policy-oriented research they are likely to result in many administrative actions that are ineffectual and wasteful. Continuing research is necessary to assess needs accurately, to evaluate, to test and to modify measures for their efficient fulfilment. This type of research is likely to gain from the opinions and insights of experienced staff.

'Research first' theory: this recognises that Aboriginal policy should be based on the facts of a situation and that to know them research is necessary. Followers of this theory conclude that action should be delayed until all the facts are known, and that until research is done, what to do cannot be known.

All the facts of a changing and complex social situation can never be known, and no action meantime is likely to lead to further deterioration. However, where action is not based on adequate knowledge, understanding, and sound interpretation of facts, it is likely to result in administrative and material waste. Policy-oriented research should be integrated with administrative action.

'Solution in America' theory: this theory is that what to do for Aboriginal advancement is likely to be found in the United States' administration of Indian reserves, in the war on poverty, or in other programs.

The results of research and experience with the environmentally handicapped in other countries can provide a framework for understanding the interdependence of human needs and the relationships of environmental inadequacies to school failure, work failure, family failure, alcoholism, crime, delinquency, and ill-health, and the ways in which these symptoms of personal and social failure are transmitted from generation to generation. Understanding these, and other aspects of the environmentally disadvantaged, are prerequisites for effective policy measures for Aboriginal advancement. But policy-makers have to develop action in terms of each specific situation and in terms of the resources and alternatives available locally. For this reason it is extremely unlikely that
ready-made final solutions are to be found in other countries, though their experiences may provide guidelines for at least some of our Aborigines.

'Not my business' theory: this recognises that Aboriginal advancement is a matter for society through its governments and other organisations, rather than for individual persons alone.

But it does not follow that advancement is not the concern of every individual. In Western Australia most Aborigines are relatively unproductive economically, and are thus a substantial burden on society's resources largely for reasons beyond their control. The social and financial cost of the present situation is high. It impinges on most other people through taxation, and through production forgone. The Aboriginal situation impinges additionally on almost every person living in country towns where Aborigines, living as fringe-dwellers, sometimes cause concern for safety of persons and property, and always are a reminder of an unwholesome situation. Moreover, because of the self-perpetuating nature of their situation and because of the fast rate of increase of the Aboriginal population, this situation will become worse unless advancement becomes a reality. The advancement of Aborigines could be facilitated by more persons regarding faster advancement as their business.
No one arrives at adulthood inherently equipped to fulfil the roles required for being able to cope in society. These roles are learned. The processes of learning commence at birth and are continuous, sequential, and interdependent. They are the outcome of interaction between the child and its worlds. A physical world of adequate shelter, food, and health, and a social world of achievement, work, and well-defined and esteemed roles are some characteristics of the matrix from which most Australian children acquire coping propensities. The actual learning-teaching processes are almost infinitely numerous and range from toilet-training to the development of motivation for achievement and of conscience. And because pre-natal history and circumstances of birth can affect capacity for personal development, most prospective mothers receive substantial instruction and physical and medical care. But in Western Australia, most Aborigines are not conditioned by these processes towards living fully in Australian communities; therefore specific provision must be made for the fulfilment of their needs. Needs that are relevant are all those which necessarily must be fulfilled if the goal of integration is to be achieved. They include: socio-economic needs; socio-psychological needs; needs for the growth and development of relevant personal attributes; and needs for political self-determination. For ourselves, socio-economic needs are fulfilled by being employed, earning income, living in health, in a house or flat, and by having learned or being in the process of learning and acquiring relevant skills, attitudes, beliefs, and motivations. Socio-psychological needs are fulfilled by each person having well-defined and esteemed roles within
family, community, and society. Underlying each role is a pattern of rights and responsibilities recognised by others and ourselves. Personal attributes relevant for being able to cope include self-esteem, social acceptability, dependability, responsibility, and desire to cope. For their growth and development, these require appropriate educational matrices, chief of which is a stable family and local community which reflect such attributes. The need for self-determination is fulfilled by having the full rights and responsibilities of membership of a community in Australian society. Persistent non-fulfilment of any one of these needs eventually leads to impairment of the ability to cope. Not all individuals have all needs fulfilled optimally. Most people in Australia cope adequately as self-sustaining, independent persons. In Western Australia most Aborigines don't.

Before the white man came, these sets of needs were fulfilled in terms of their requirements then. With the coming of the white man new patterns of needs have arisen which are the same as for all other Australians. By the current relevant standards of Australian society, into which it is now official policy to integrate Aborigines, most Aborigines are in material want. They have a high incidence of ill-health and patterns of disease which are related to being in want, to living in squalor, and in ignorance of common rules for health. They lack skills for jobs other than for a limited range of farm and pastoral station tasks. Lack of skills is associated with illiteracy of most Aborigines 30 years of age and above, and with functional illiteracy of a large number between 15 and 30 years. Most Aborigines live in squalor and their home conditions are more aptly described as camps and shelters than as houses. These are ill-suited to the preparation of food, for the maintenance of hygienic conditions for continuous health and social acceptance, for the provision of space and facilities for homework by children, and for other activities and privacy. Many Aborigines live in semi-idleness. On most mission settlements there is chronic unemployment; on farms and pastoral sheep and cattle stations the work is mostly seasonal. To restore to Aborigines freedom from want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness, they each must have health, housing, employment, and education, of a standard that would enable them to be acceptable, and to cope as independent persons and families integrated in Australian communities. The fulfilment of these socio-economic needs is a necessary condition of Aboriginal advancement, but it is also insufficient. These needs could be satisfied fully in gaol.

Arising from man's social nature, the satisfaction of socio-psychological
needs is also a necessary requirement for advancement. These include:

1. To belong to, and to be wanted and needed by family and community. Since the white man, Aboriginal family separation and failure has become extraordinarily high and Aborigines have become dwellers and participants merely on the fringes of Western Australian communities.

2. To develop and to express oneself through creating or contributing to one’s own family and community. About all that most living adult Aborigines have been allowed to be is illiterate and under-paid stockmen and domestics.

3. To have a sense of identity, to be recognised as an individual in one’s own right, and a person with dignity. This is not in accord with being a second-class citizen or with being alienated from the local community and wider society.

4. To have a view of social reality or a frame of social orientation from which to rationalise one’s actions to oneself and to give meaning to existence. Everyone’s need is for a view of the world that makes sense to him. The traditional frame of social orientation of Aborigines no longer fits the present social realities, and most Aborigines do not fully understand or accept them. To many Aborigines, the world they see does not make sense.

5. To have the right and opportunity to influence and be involved in one’s local community and society. This has been denied to Aborigines. Only recently have some obtained the legal right to be full and equal citizens in Western Australian society. Requirements for the fulfilment of these socio-psychological needs include integration within the wider society, the absence of legal restraints applying to Aborigines only, and the absence of informal discrimination against them, associated with their ethnic origins. In Western Australia the conditions of few Aborigines meet all of these requirements.

Integration of Aborigines requires fulfilment not only of socio-economic and socio-psychological needs, but also fulfilment of needs for the growth and development of relevant personal attributes. These require changes in the patterns of child-rearing and family life of most Aborigines. The present patterns are the source of the motivations, values, skills, and behaviour of Aborigines which are relevant to sub-cultures of dependent poverty. They are not relevant to the culture patterns of Australian society, and their modification is a prerequisite for integration into that society. Thus the need arises for different child-rearing and family

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life patterns, the re-socialisation and socialisation of children for Australian society, in terms of emotional health and stability, educational achievement, social acceptance, values, and family stability.

1. Emotional health and stability. Most Aborigines appear to suffer from emotional depression, typified by lack of ambition, alienation and anomie, by distrust, lack of self-confidence, low self-esteem, physically aggressive and impulsive behaviour, withdrawal, present-time orientation, despair and extreme pragmatism.

2. Educational achievement. Many Aboriginal parents do not understand the meaning of school experience or of any role they could have in their children’s school achievement. Many of them and their children seem to be oriented towards the expectation of school failure and to rely on physical rather than verbal expression. Their restricted experience and limited home and social environment provide inadequate preparation and support for most Aboriginal children who are attempting to meet the requirements of school curricula and methods designed for children of a different culture.

3. Social acceptability. Most Aboriginal children are socially isolated from the main culture so that it is extremely difficult, and in many situations impossible, for them to acquire social acceptability within it. Adaptive behaviours are made more difficult by the geographic isolation and institutional segregation of Aboriginal children and their parents.

4. Values. Many Aborigines have not developed the values of responsibility and dependability to levels compatible with integration. Many seem unable to defer immediate gratification and to maintain interest in goals which extend into the future. These characteristics are consistent with emotional instability and are manifested *inter alia* in high rates of disorderly conduct, drunkenness, gambling, and family breakdown.

5. Family stability. Family failure is common among Aborigines in Western Australia. There is a high incidence of broken and fatherless families and of child neglect. There is high incidence of Aboriginal child delinquency and school truancy. Promiscuity and temporary liaisons are prevalent. Many children are institutionalised and without appropriate models for stable family formation.

There is virtually no direct research evidence in support of these being the elements in the socialisation of Aboriginal children in Western Australia today. However, the social statistics, though fragmentary, support many of the points made. Though the foregoing elements in the personality attributes of Aborigines are negatively related to integration, they nevertheless make sense within the sub-cultures in which most
Aborigines now are living in Western Australia. It has been commonly observed that within similar sub-cultures there are also positive elements such as co-operativeness, avoidance of the strains of the rat-race, egalitarianism, informality, and humour, freedom from self-blame and parental over-protection, security within the extended family and in the traditional outlook. It may be that these and other positive attributes in Aborigines could be specifically incorporated into needs-fulfilment programs (and could be useful traits for the wider society to learn from).

Most Aboriginal children lack opportunities for the growth and development of personal attributes necessary for their integration within an Australian community. The motivations, values, and patterns of behaviour of parents tend to be transmitted to and adopted by their children. They represent appropriate and rational adjustments to particular environmental conditions. Thus, Aborigines who live in sub-cultures of dependent poverty raise their children for this way of life. Consequently, such children are ill-equipped for any other way of life and have little choice but to remain in the sub-culture of their parents and in turn to transmit it to their children. To be reared in and for a sub-culture is not to have to put up with it. It is to have specific sets of motivations, values, skills, and behaviour patterns which perpetuate the way of life which has produced it and maintains it, even when substantial material changes have occurred in the environment.

Aborigines have the unique distinction in Australia of being the indigenous ethnic minority. The attitudes of governments and society hitherto often have been paternalistic and authoritarian, to do things to and for Aborigines rather than with them, and to treat and regard them as second-class non-citizens. Recently Aborigines have been granted the right to vote and there have been the beginnings of attempts at consultation. These steps towards Aboriginal involvement in government affairs are steps towards the fulfilment of the needs for political self-determination. For an indigenous ethnic minority to share in the autonomy of a self-determining society from a position of partnership rather than of subordination, an essential element of political self-determination and of integration is that indigenes belong to relevant committees in government as equal members. Extension of Aboriginal involvement beyond consultation, advice, and liaison, to direct involvement in first to final stages of policy and decision making, is a requirement for achieving maximum constructive interaction between the main culture and Aboriginal sub-cultures. This is likely to facilitate the integrating processes.

Although these four sets of needs, socio-economic, socio-psychological,
for growth and development of relevant personal attributes, and for political self-determination, relate specifically to the requirements of Aboriginal integration, they have been identified by reference to the social and behavioural sciences, not by reference to the opinions and beliefs of Aborigines. The needs of Aborigines are the needs of man, that is, there is no specific way in which the needs of Aborigines differ from the needs of other Australians. Moreover, the perceptions by Aborigines of their own needs are likely to be conditioned by the requirements of their specific sub-cultures rather than by the requirements of integration into Australian communities. This is not to deny what already has been identified as a need, namely the need for involvement of Aborigines in the processes of integration. It is to affirm as false the idea that Aborigines per se know the necessary and sufficient conditions for their advancement.

The interdependence of needs can hardly be over-stressed. Its meaning is that no one need is of more or less importance than another; and that the failure to meet one will reduce the effectiveness of the resources and efforts fulfilling the others. Thus, education is not more important than a house or vice versa; neither one can logically precede the other in a needs fulfilment program; unemployment is demoralising, even for persons who are well educated, and who have a house and health. The full range of socio-economic needs is interdependent. A house requires rent, rent requires income, income requires a job, a job requires health and skill, skill requires education and training, education and training require motivation, motivation requires health and a particular pattern of child-rearing, this child-rearing requires a home, and a home and health require a house. Because this statement started and ended with a house, it does not follow that housing is of paramount importance. The statement would be equally meaningful if it were to start and end with education or health or employment. Similarly, there is interdependence within each of the other sets of needs, the socio-psychological, for the development of relevant personal attributes and for political self-determination, and between each set, so that the adequate fulfilment of any one need is conditional upon the adequate fulfilment of every other.

Each basic need has a cluster of requirements which also are interdependent—for example, education. Learning is a process which commences at birth and which, at varying rates, can continue until death.

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2 'Psychologically ill-equipped to meet the demands of the community, these families develop substitute modes of existence and need to retain barriers between themselves and others. When they seek help, they do not have in mind so much to change their way of life but to maintain it.' L. Tierney, *Proceedings of Seminar on Multi-Problem Families in our Victorian Community* (Victorian Council of Social Services, 1959), p. 25.
But what has been learned influences what can yet be learned, if anything at all. Thus to be successful, education, formal or informal, must acknowledge what already has and has not been learned. If the sequence between previous and current learning is ignored, or not adequately taken into account, retardation and failure will result. Again, with the child's development of understanding, if a particular education is not seen by it and its social group to have relevance for the fulfilment of socio-economic needs, or if such education does not have relevance for the fulfilment of socio-psychological needs, for example by helping the child to form a view of the world which makes sense, motivation for achievement at school is unlikely to develop. Such education is not only wasteful, it is harmful to the extent that it develops a sense of failure in the child and belief by the child and its social group that schooling and education are irrelevant. That the belief that education is worthwhile has not developed in most Aboriginal children in Western Australia after six to eight years of schooling is, perhaps, the most widely observed single phenomenon in the State's education system.

Research findings from numerous sources and irrespective of race confirm the interdependence between behaviour patterns, personal characteristics, and socio-economic environment. Whereas it is relatively easy to change the socio-economic environment of Aborigines, for instance by provision of conventional housing within viable communities, it is more difficult but equally important simultaneously to help Aboriginal families to acquire skills and characteristics necessary for living in and managing a home in a viable community. Failure to provide such help is likely to result in destruction of the house and the creation of neighbourhood hostilities. The interdependence between behaviour, personality, and environment is matched by the interdependence of needs. It is emphasised again that Aboriginal advancement requires an attack on whole patterns or syndromes of behaviour and environment. To attack problems or to fulfil needs in isolation will be ineffectual and wasteful. Associated with the right to have is the responsibility to use well, and to pay for. Thus with the providing of houses, jobs, and capital to Aborigines, there should be teaching in their use. Such teaching is compensatory in the sense that most other persons have learned these skills in the normal course of socialisation. But it is not only work and home-making skills that are needed, new personal characteristics have to be learned, for example reliability on the job, punctuality, and desire to achieve.

The relevance to government of the interdependence of needs is that plans must be comprehensive to the point that all needs be fulfilled;
conversely that priority or partial programs are likely to fail by creating new problems as existing ones are tackled. One example is the new move involving only the mothers of Aboriginal children in pre-schooling activities. This seems to raise the status of the mother in the family \textit{vis-à-vis} the father, who typically is a casual worker unable independently to fully maintain his family at all times. The pre-school activity of the mother strengthens her role in the eyes of the children and husband. Because of his inability to cope, and because his wife's role in the family is being strengthened relative to his own, his self-esteem may become lowered further, with a regressive chain reaction effect on his incentives, motivation and so on.

Because needs are interdependent, remedial action will require to be applied both comprehensively and selectively. The reason for comprehensiveness arises from the infinitely complex interrelatedness between needs, patterns of behaviour, and environment. The reason for selectivity arises from the nature of change and stability in human characteristics. Research, theory, and experience strongly support the hypothesis that behavioural and other characteristics develop at varying rates during the lifetime of the individual, and develop fastest during the first few years of life. Thus for maximum effectiveness of remedial action there would appear to be stages in the life of individuals when intervention will be most effective.

A necessary condition for Aboriginal advancement towards integration is help from the Australian society. For the reasons that Australian society has the power, resources, and responsibility, and Aborigines are without these, the initiative for needs fulfilment programs rests with us and not the Aborigines. This is at variance with the view that, provided Aborigines know of our willingness to help them, we should wait for the initiative to come from them. According to this view, our responsibility to Aborigines takes effect only when they realise their rights and avail themselves of them. This implies also that Aborigines \textit{per se} of their own accord can and will identify their needs. Some few Aborigines have identified their needs and are able and willing to reach out for appropriate assistance. This should be given, and because as members of the indigenous ethnic minority they have been severely discriminated against, there is a case for even more assistance to them than to non-Aborigines in similar situations of need. Moreover, there is likely to develop a demonstration and leadership effect as a result, and more Aborigines are likely to identify and make their needs known. But to believe that this type of assistance alone is a sufficient condition for the advancement of the
majority of Aborigines is to fail to understand the full implications of having been reared in, and to be part of a sub-culture of, extreme dependent inter-generational poverty. Such a program can touch only the very few who, through exceptional ability and circumstance, have managed to break from the self-perpetuating forces of their situation. The attractions of this type of program are many: the help for Aborigines is simple and what to do can easily be seen; the results are quick—almost immediate transition from wage-slave to farmer or businessman; help goes to the worthy—to those who already are motivated to achieve and are most like ourselves; and this is a non-intervention type of help—not disturbing Aboriginal ways of living. This avenue of help should be provided for specifically in any plan for advancement, and it already is catered for by funds set aside in the Federal Budget of 1969. However, for reasons already given, this program alone would result in advancement for the few and little or no change for the many.

If society is to take the initiative in providing assistance, as it will have to if Aboriginal integration is to be achieved by most Aborigines, it must have plans to this end. All that society can do is to take the Aboriginal people as they are, and assist them to adopt behaviour patterns for living in Australian society by changing their present resource-learning mixes. Their resource-learning mixes must become at least as good (quantitatively and qualitatively) as ours, and better in most cases to compensate for their handicaps. For ourselves to achieve appropriate patterns of behaviour, we were conditioned by specific resource-learning mix situations which fulfilled our needs as identified above, and in the manner demanded and provided for by our family, community, and society. If Aborigines are to be integrated into our society on the basis of living as self-sustaining persons and families, they too must be conditioned by similar resource-learning mixes directed to a similar end.

For most Aborigines in Western Australia, few if any of the needs identified here are adequately fulfilled. The result is personal characteristics and attitudes and patterns of social behaviour which have become a way of life reflecting the non-fulfilment of these needs. This way of life is distinctive in many ways from that of persons and groups in Australian communities, and is unsuited for, and unacceptable in, the mainstream of society. It is the uniform distinctiveness of the way of life that justifies the term sub-culture. The corollary of unfulfilled socio-economic needs is poverty; of unfulfilled socio-psychological needs, it could be anomie, or inappropriate identity or lack of identity; of needs for development of relevant personal attributes, it is the multi-problem family; and of the
need for self-determination it is dependency. Because needs are inter-dependent and because in the case of Aborigines it is all of these sets of needs that are unfulfilled, present-day Aboriginal sub-cultures may be described appropriately in any or all of these ways. Alternatively, the heart of the current Aboriginal situation rightly may be seen as consisting of four elements: poverty, lack of identity, the multi-problem family, and dependency. However, in this study the term used is sub-culture of poverty or sub-culture of dependent poverty or sub-culture of inter-generational dependent poverty. It is used for convenience as a shorthand term to include all four elements, not to exclude all but the poverty element. This is in accordance with increasing usage in the literature. Also, the extreme poverty of Aborigines in the situations described here is a patently obvious characteristic of their life-style and the one which is of major social concern. If Aborigines were wealthy, their inadequate sense of identity, family failure, and personal dependency (as distinct from social dependency) would be of considerably less social concern.³

³ 'The eradication of poverty would also remove the most clearly identified seedbed on which delinquency, neglect, ill-health, and various forms of social disorganisation, including multi-problem family functioning, are known to flourish.' L.L. Geisman and Michael A. La Sorte, Understanding the Multi-Problem Family (New York, 1964), p. 183.
GUIDELINES FOR PLANS FOR INTEGRATION
Provision of the resource-learning mixes which are required to fulfil the necessary and sufficient conditions for Aboriginal advancement to the goal of integration is beyond the capacity and ability of voluntary organisations alone; only governments can provide them. To do this, government administration itself requires to be appropriately organised and staffed. In Western Australia Aboriginal affairs have long been, and continue to be, a concern of the State government. But the power of the State has been, and still is, oriented towards protection, care, and welfare, with results that border on apartheid rather than advancement to integration. A co-ordinated and comprehensive plan to abolish the self-perpetuating sub-cultures of Aboriginal dependency and poverty has not been put forward, though the effective implementation of such a plan is necessary if this is to be achieved.

The organisation and administration of Aboriginal affairs by government in Western Australia are provided for mainly by its Department of Native Welfare. This single department is an almost complete and separate Aboriginal government administration within the State administration. The staff performs a wide range of duties which includes transporting children to kindergarten and doctor; arranging medical appointments and admissions to hospital; giving instruction in hygiene and baby care; registering births and deaths; assisting with applications for pensions, sickness and unemployment benefits, child endowment and maternity allowance, and legal assistance, and claim for third party insurance and worker’s compensation; allocating shelters and houses; collecting rent; supervising and maintaining native camping and town-
site reserves and mobile maintenance units; inspecting pastoral station accommodation; supervising and managing school hostels; administering grants-in-aid to missions; inspecting mission settlements; child placement, finding and assessing foster homes; supervising native wards of the State; issuing ration and travel warrants; vocational guidance; creating work opportunities; assisting job placements; establishing farm-training facilities; acquiring farm properties; establishing Aborigines on farms; supervising and granting scholarships; checking on school truants; appearing in courts; wholesaling artefacts; making economic surveys; administering maintenance moneys; administering trust accounts; subsidising apprenticeships; desert patrolling; administering the Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act, 1944 (and its amendments); and providing a home-maker service.

The present centralisation of these functions within a single department for Aborigines in Western Australia means that the one department undertakes some or all of the functions of the State government departments of Housing, Child Welfare, Education and Public Health, and of the Commonwealth government departments of Employment and of Social Services. Whereas the services provided by this one unprofessional, unspecialised, multi-functional department for Aborigines may be cheap and adequate for containing and perhaps improving their situation, the services are inadequate in almost every way for advancement to integration. Specifically, the existence of the Department of Native Welfare:

- Effectively blocks other government departments from extending their services to cater for all Australians.
- Centralises within itself most of the numerous petty administrative functions that involve Aborigines, while for other Australians these functions are performed by many other departments. Thus Aborigines are treated administratively apart from all others in society.
- Constitutes a barrier between Aborigines and other Australians, by preventing wide involvement in Aboriginal advancement, and is seen by the community as having sole responsibility for advancement. It is thus the scapegoat both for Aborigines and non-Aborigines.
- Is a means whereby government services can be lower in standard for Aborigines than for others; for example staff ratios, staff training, and facilities for Department of Native Welfare institutions compare unfavourably with those of Child Welfare Department institutions. In the past, when the Department of Native Welfare was in charge of native hospitals and education, standards were widely acknowledged to be far below those for the European population.
Constitutes an obstacle to advancement and integration not only for the foregoing reasons but also because it is virtually impossible in Western Australia for the one department to provide the full range of the high expertise required for compensatory services. Nor is the Department itself staffed to provide any such services. It is one of the least professionalised departments in the State government administration. But even if the Department were fully professionalised with an army of qualified social workers, it would still be a major obstacle to integration for the other reasons already stated—its very existence holds everything back.

The administrative organisation for Aboriginal affairs in Western Australia reflects what was thought to be needed when protection, care, and welfare were the goals. It does not suffice for the present new goal of integration. For this, the resource-learning mixes required are more than can be provided and administered by one department. Further, the specialised departments (Education, Housing, etc.) are not geared to provide them. For example, the State Housing Commission in Western Australia, catering for coping families, cannot with its present resources cater for the housing needs of non-coping Aborigines. It has rejected overtures to do so and the Department of Native Welfare has perforce become the Aboriginal housing authority. This Department is virtually an Aboriginal administration. Other possibilities appear to be:

At 30 June 1968 the proportion of the total permanent and temporary staff who were in special, administrative, and professional categories in the Public Service of Western Australia were as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forests</td>
<td>55.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Town Planning</td>
<td>47.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harbour and Lights</td>
<td>41.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lands and Surveys</td>
<td>34.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>32.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>30.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Water Supply</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Welfare</td>
<td>15.3</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>15.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crown Law</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
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<td>Industrial Development</td>
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<td>Fisheries</td>
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<th>Department</th>
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<tr>
<td>Treasury</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Service Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government Printer</td>
<td>5.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Government</td>
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<td>Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Audit</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Housing Commission</td>
<td>5.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electoral</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Premier’s</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief Secretary’s</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government Stores</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Welfare</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Government Insurance</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worker’s Compensation</td>
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1. To create an Aboriginal department to provide the resources, facilities and compensatory services for health, housing, job-training, employment, education, and child welfare. This would be undesirable on two major counts, the expense and unnecessary duplication of existing services, and administrative segregation which conflicts with the goal of integration.

2. To merge all relevant departments into one. This would enable co-ordination between previously separate departments to become an intra-departmental rather than an inter-departmental problem. This seems an unlikely possibility for Western Australia because of the number of departments involved and because of their size. Moreover, closer co-ordination might not result because of the difficulties in administering the large and diversified department that would emerge.

3. To develop within each department relevant compensatory services and facilities for Aborigines and all others who are in need of them, and to create machinery for their co-ordination and comprehensive application.

This last avoids the problems associated with the others, but has some of its own. These include what to do with the Department of Native Welfare, how to enable existing separate departments to develop and provide the requisite services and facilities, and how to ensure comprehensiveness and co-ordination of compensatory services and facilities from separate departments. What could be done with the Department of Native Welfare is to transfer all of the functions it would not perform if Aborigines were white, which means everything, to relevant existing departments. There are no insuperable difficulties here, because the Department does not have professionally specialised personnel or services for Aborigines, nor is the size of its staff such that it cannot readily be absorbed elsewhere. To ensure that departments would provide the needed facilities and services, a specific and separate budget allocation should be made for each to develop services for those who need more than the existing standard services, that is for those who need special resource-learning mixes to treat their way-of-life poverty. Whereas Aborigines currently are the largest single group in need of such resources and services, there are others with similar needs, particularly multi-problem families with histories.

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2 As at 30 June 1968 the total of 230 staff (including those on departmental wages) consisted of 73 clerical and office workers, 63 hostel supervisors and domestics, 17 mobile welfare unit staff, 3 projects officers, 3 senior administrators and one community liaison officer. Finally, there were also 70 field welfare officers concerned with Aboriginal protection and care. Commissioner of Native Welfare, Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1968 (Perth, 1969), p. 42.
of break-down and institutionalisation. That so many of these people are Aborigines is not a case for a specialist Aboriginal department, nor for specialist Aboriginal sections within various departments. Such specialisation, even though it might be requested by some Aborigines and advocated by some anthropologists, would very likely hinder integration for the same reasons already given as to why the Department of Native Welfare is an obstacle to integration. To establish or to maintain such specialisation is to confuse ethnic heritage and characteristics of aboriginality with present-day needs. Also, it is becoming widely recognised, in the research literature at least, that there is a need for compensatory education for disadvantaged and non-academic children regardless of their ethnic background.

Comprehensiveness and co-ordination of facilities and services from separate government departments could be achieved in Western Australia by the establishment of a Social Planning Council, (i) to plan and budget with and for the relevant departments the provision of resource-learning mixes needed by Aborigines for advancement to integration; (ii) to evaluate and report to public and government, at least annually, in detail, on current progress in Aboriginal advancement and on unfulfilled needs of Aborigines; and (iii) to plan and budget for action-oriented research by and between specialised departments and other organisations.

An appropriate membership for such a Social Planning Council would be:

1. One nominee from the department of each of the State Ministers for Education, Housing, Health, Child Welfare, and Local Government.

2. Five persons elected by the Aborigines of Western Australia in a manner to ensure regional representation.

3. Three persons appointed by the Governor of Western Australia on the recommendation of the Council of Social Services of Western Australia, Inc.

The Social Planning Council would be in the office of the Premier because it would be required to plan and budget comprehensively and to ensure co-ordination of services provided by several government departments and numerous private agencies. It would have its own planning and information secretariat. It would be this Council’s requests for resources and personnel for the provision of the resource-learning mixes for Aboriginal advancement that would constitute the basis of State Treasury allocations to the various departments. But even if the State government were willing to effect a major reallocation for Aboriginal advancement, it could not do so on the scale required from its resources alone.
It is with the Commonwealth government that both the political and financial initiative lies. It is through the Commonwealth government rather than State governments that Australia is sensitive to its international image with respect to the condition of its indigenous ethnic minority. It was the Commonwealth government that was empowered by the results of the referendum (Constitution Alteration [Aboriginals] 1967) to make special laws for Aborigines. It is the Commonwealth government that has the financial resources of the scale required, and for the Commonwealth government Aborigines are only about 1 per cent of the population, whereas for the Western Australian government they are 2.5 per cent. And, finally, the scale and nature of the whole problem are still such that it could be largely solved within a generation at a cost well within the means of the Commonwealth government. Though Aborigines are so poor, even by world standards, they also are so few in Australia, which is a country with one of the world's highest average levels of living, that it is ludicrous to claim that Australia cannot afford to do all that is needed. It is by this same token that the Commonwealth government, if it really wanted to, could so easily demonstrate to the world ways and means of advancing and integrating an indigenous ethnic minority, and in so doing establish for Australia a new international image as one nation that has solved its indigenous minority problem.

There are three major possible roles for the Commonwealth government:

1. Merely to distribute additional finance to the State Treasury specifically for Aboriginal advancement, leaving the State government to allocate as it sees fit. But in this event it is extremely unlikely for reasons already given, that either the appropriate administrative structure or the appropriate resource-learning mixes would be created, although protection, care, and welfare could be developed to higher levels.  

2. To undertake detailed planning of Aboriginal advancement at all levels and either provide the finance for the State to carry out the plans laid down, or also take over from the State all operational functions. But this would contravene a basic principle, namely that social change is best promoted by the involvement of those concerned. Integration requires involvement not only of the Commonwealth government but of State and local governments, Aborigines, voluntary organisations, and local communities.  

3. To provide finance within guidelines and to standards clearly defined and mutually agreed upon, that will enable the State government

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a See especially pp. 86-7.
to provide resource-learning mixes which specifically cater for the interdependence of needs and to provide sufficient personnel and adequate facilities for their training. The procedure for the Commonwealth government's Council of Aboriginal Affairs (not as at present constituted, but with Aboriginal membership) could be as follows:

(i) To set out necessary and sufficient conditions for the advancement to integration of Aborigines from each of their sub-cultures: mission settlements, pastoral stations, camping reserves, and dormitory hostels for young children.

(ii) To lay down standards for the resources, services, personnel, and administration required for the foregoing conditions.

(iii) To obtain State government agreement on (i) and (ii) above.

(iv) To invite the State government, and through it, Local Government Authorities and voluntary organisations, to apply for Commonwealth finance for any detailed plans, worked out within the frame of (i) and (ii) above.

The importance of guidelines and standards can hardly be overstressed. The appropriate sources of standards, for buildings and facilities, staff ratios and staff training, and nature and content of compensatory programs are the relevant professional societies, government and university research institutes, and the findings in a vast literature which yet have not generally been incorporated into Australian governmental and voluntary organisation practice. But standards are not a once-and-for-all achievement. They tend to deteriorate, due to the pressure of rising demand on an inadequately increasing supply of resources. They tend also to become redundant in the light of research and experience. Thus the maintenance of standards requires continuing finance and provision for their continuous revision. It also requires constant professional review of the facilities of State government and voluntary organisations alike. Professional revision should be built into the State government's administrative structure, to ensure maintenance of the standards of its own facilities and those of voluntary organisations, as a condition of obtaining Commonwealth finance.

The role of the Commonwealth government, with which the initiative for Aboriginal advancement now lies, should be involvement in partnership with the State governments and the Aborigines themselves. This would be a new role in Aboriginal affairs for both Federal and State governments. However the responsibilities are shared, and whatever the financial arrangements, if most Aborigines who want advancement and integration are to be integrated within one generation, as is feasible, the
resource-learning mixes for each such Aboriginal person, family, and group must be relevant, adequate, continuous, and within, not outside, viable communities. But it is from the Commonwealth government that the guideline planning and standards must come. For decades, Western Australia has geared its policies to inadequate finance, and because of their resultant inadequacies in almost every way for the goal of integration, the accumulated administrative experience is an inadequate background or guide as to what can be done, needs to be done, or ought to be done.

The long-term effect on an administration without adequate resources, without a built-in research component, and without professional staff linking it to the world’s professional and research literature, is that the administration tends to overemphasise the relevance of its experience, to over-justify its present actions, and to want additional finance merely to provide more of the same. Basically, it is because the State administration is not geared to plan specifically for advancement to integration, and because the Commonwealth government is not yet committed to a particular role or administrative structure, that it is opportune now for the Commonwealth government to consider the establishment of an inter-disciplinary planning and standards-setting unit to serve the needs of all State administrations. This unit could also underpin the recommendations of the Council of Aboriginal Affairs to the Minister and Federal Cabinet.

The administrative organisation for Aboriginal advancement should include specific provision for involvement of Aborigines and society and not be confined to Federal and State government administrations alone. Political self-determination is one of the necessary requirements for Aboriginal integration. It may be attempted by the Aborigines themselves in the development of pan-Aboriginalism and by confrontation of governments with the aid of non-Aboriginal organisations. But for governments to plan adequately for advancement only after confrontation and after crises have emerged, and for governments to permit Aboriginal political self-determination only in this way, would create more delay and more reciprocal hostility and resentment between Aborigines and non-Aborigines. An alternative is for Aborigines to have representation within relevant committees in Federal and State administrations, not only outside such committees as advisers. Consultation and advice-seeking are desirable, and are sufficient for most groups within society. For the Aboriginal ethnic minority, however, which historically has been wronged, and which remains alienated and powerless, there is a moral obligation on society not only to plan adequately for integration but also
to plan for the political self-determination of Aborigines. More is required than having an equal vote like everybody else. It is direct involvement in first-to-final stages of policy and decision making. This requires that Aborigines belong to all relevant committees in government, short of Cabinets. This would promote the development of Aboriginal leadership within a co-operative context and avoid the necessity for leadership to concentrate on confrontation.

Aboriginal advancement to integration requires the mobilisation of more and different personnel than are ever likely to be recruited by standard civil service procedures. Throughout Western Australia there are capable, mature, and intelligent men and women (including Aborigines) who willingly would undergo government selection and training for a wide range of part-time and full-time work with Aborigines. One of the tasks of the proposed Social Planning Council would be to survey the need for skilled personnel to effect advancement in each Aboriginal situation throughout the State, and to help voluntary agencies and Local Government Authorities to recruit and organise programs of personnel selection for training. Personnel and facilities at every local level need to be matched; to have home-makers without houses, to have houses without home-makers, and job-training facilities without instructors and jobs are all wasteful. Although the persons selected and trained would be from non-government agencies, their value should be recognised by the government undertaking to pay them or their agency.

All Aborigines in Western Australia live within a Local Government Authority area. Although integration is a national goal, it inevitably involves local people. It is they who have the power to defeat or achieve this goal. To achieve it, grass-roots involvement is necessary. The need for local people should be recognised and their involvement should be encouraged and rewarded. Local Government Authorities should be involved. The Commonwealth government, through the State government, should invite Local Government Authorities to submit proposals (in accordance with its guideline plans and standards). The pattern in Western Australia now is for Local Government Authorities to be in conflict with the Department of Native Welfare about conditions on camping reserves and the housing of Aborigines in townships. With the suggested termination of the Department of Native Welfare and an invitation to Local Government Authorities to participate without cost in Aboriginal integration, widespread and helpful initiative could be generated from among the people towards whose standards Aborigines will be advancing and with whom they will be integrating.
An appropriate administrative organisation is a prerequisite for Aboriginal advancement to integration. Without it, plans and programs, despite their excellence, will be frustrated. What needs to be done is known. This knowledge lies in a vast literature of experience and research results contained in professional and scientific journals. One major obstacle in Western Australia to its utilisation is the administration itself as it at present exists. Its reorganisation should be an integral part of planning Aboriginal advancement.
The history of intervention between Aborigines and between Aboriginal groups and Australian communities is a history of protection, control, and care of a people considered inferior and incapable of becoming integrated as equal citizens. The administration’s task was to administer laws and regulations based on these beliefs. Recently beliefs and goals have changed and the legislation continues to be modified accordingly. Discriminatory legislation in Western Australia has been repealed almost completely. For advancement to integration legal intervention is inappropriate and insufficient. But intervention nevertheless is an essential requirement; it is the intervention of resources and personnel designed specifically to compensate Aborigines for long-term deprivations of all kinds so that they may see, and may be able to acquire, real opportunities for advancement to integration—to gain responsibility and skills to live satisfactorily in Australian communities. The present goals demand that the intervention of resources and personnel be substituted for the intervention of the old discriminatory legislation. Herein lies an existing obstacle to Aboriginal advancement. The present administrative organisation established originally for legal intervention is now charged with administering the intervention of compensatory programs and appropriate resource-learning mixes. This requires very different skills, resources, and administrative techniques and organisation.

The resource-learning mixes of the situations in which most Aborigines in Western Australia now find themselves bear little resemblance to those of their forebears; they are not of their making, nor are they in them by choice. To break from them is a necessary condition of advancement to
integration, though Aborigines cannot do this unaided, nor may all of
them wish to do so. The aid required inevitably involves intervention
between them and their current resource-learning mix. Nowhere in
Western Australia has a group or community of Aboriginal families
been serviced fully with the best possible resource-learning mix designed
for their advancement. Almost all of what is known and believed about
the possibilities of Aboriginal advancement is the outcome of experience
in four situations, each a situation of failure:

1. School: without compensatory educational and other influences
recognising the severe handicap imposed by the extremely impoverished
environment of most Aborigines, the standard educational facilities
hitherto applied to such people must, and do, result in failure for all
except the exceedingly competent.

2. Administration: lacking the personnel and resources for Aboriginal
advancement and integration, the administration cannot do more than
ensure care and welfare at minimal levels, and this it does.

3. Work: our society’s experience of Aborigines as workers is so far
only of persons who are virtually unemployable, or who are employed
in unpopular and often low-paid casual jobs associated with harsh living
conditions.

4. Living: hundreds of Aboriginal families live in the dirt, a couple of
thousand in little better than concrete-floored shelters with communal
facilities, and a few hundred in conventional and near-conventional
houses. Thus the ordinary person’s knowledge of Aboriginal living is
that of unclean persons in secondhand clothing lazing in a park or on a
street corner, or commuting between pub, betting shop, and camping
reserve.

Intervention strategies, to be effective, must be tailored to specific
existing resource-learning mix situations, and to appropriate stages in the
individual person’s own life cycle and that of his family. For example, the
intervention strategy required for primary school children living in a
dormitory at Yalgoo (Department of Native Welfare hostel) is different
from that required for primary school children living on camping
reserves in the agricultural areas of the State, and both strategies are
different from that required by teenagers on Kimberley pastoral stations.

Broadly, the interventions required for all potential Aboriginal
parents are supports of the kind that each adequately coping person in
Australian society has had since infancy from parents, siblings, and
community, and similar supports for existing Aboriginal parents who
come to desire advancement for themselves and their children. For family-
type support, children require an emotionally and economically stable family, which should be their own or, if this is not possible, a substitute family with these characteristics. And the family as such, too, requires support from its group and community if it is to function as an emotionally and economically stable entity.

The relationships between members of a family and between family, group, and community should be well defined, positive and status-giving for each person. In Western Australia, because such roles for Aborigines have not yet developed adequately, Aborigines are alienated and they will remain so until such links are developed. Strong ties exist within and between Aboriginal families, but integration requires in addition to these that Aborigines have acceptable roles and status in Australian communities. It is not possible to create the roles that could forge links between Australian communities and the great majority of Aborigines as and where they are now in their sub-cultures of camping reserves, pastoral stations, and mission settlements. In fact, the differences that have already been created between Aboriginal sub-cultures and the Australian society are such as to strengthen destructive elements in their relationships, rather than to build constructive links between them. Either the resource-learning mix of these sub-cultures at their present institutional-locational domicile must be transformed in situ or appropriate situations must be created elsewhere.

It is widely believed in Western Australia that transitional housing with communal facilities on reserves, dormitory living in Department of Native Welfare and mission hostels for primary school children, or communal facilities and primary schooling on the pastoral stations with larger numbers of Aborigines are steps in the transition of Aborigines into the mainstream of Australian society. However, these measures, as they operate, break two scientifically established precepts: one of education, the other of child-rearing. For learning to be effective, education must have relevance to the pupil’s frame of reference. Conversely, if education is unrelated to previous learning and to current experiences and expectations, it will be virtually meaningless to the pupil. What is taught now in schools, on mission settlements, and on pastoral stations is not adequately related either to the previous learning of pupils or to their current experiences and expectations, nor is it reinforced by the child’s family or by his or her social and physical worlds. Such teaching is virtually ineffectual. The child’s reaction reflects this; it becomes a learning drop-out long before it becomes a school drop-out.

Dormitories, communal ablutions, central cooking, eating and
laundering, for school-children whose parents live nearby, often in the
dirt, are an existing intervention between parents and children. An
intervening strategy may be necessary where parents, whatever their
colour, seriously neglect their children, and then it should provide
substitute parents and home conditions, not institutional living. However,
in the case of mission settlements, this intervention between Aboriginal
parents and their children arises from the lack of resources for helping
parents to manage the sort of home within which children require to be
socialised if they are to integrate. It does not arise from the neglectfulness
of Aboriginal parents. Intervention strategies such as these concentrate on
the socialisation of the child instead of on that of the family unit. They
are cheap in the short run, and ineffectual and costly to society in the
long run. On mission settlements and some pastoral stations, the ever­
present fact of children seeing their parents and pre-school siblings
literally living in the dirt, and mission, school, and managerial staff living
in houses, whilst they themselves may live in a dormitory or in the dirt
at night-time and communally in the day-time, is a silent but obtrusive
and continuing demonstration to them of the inferiority of their parents
and themselves. For as long as the basic unit of society is the family—in
which it is the responsibility of parents to rear their children to cope in
such a society—the appropriate unit for socialisation is the family within
a viable community.

In Western Australia every mission settlement has been or is subsidised
by the State government. Moreover, mission superintendents and
members of staff are licensed by the government. Thus the people of
Western Australia, through their government, have handed the functions
of protection, care, and welfare of several thousands of Aborigines, and
now their advancement to integration, to missionary organisations,
knowing them to be without adequate finance and with personnel
inadequate in numbers and training. Nor has government laid down
necessary and sufficient guidelines for the missions. The missionaries
themselves are sincere, dedicated, and hard working. Nevertheless,
neither their parent organisation nor the government of Western
Australia has provided Aborigines on settlements anywhere with the

1 'The two potentially most damaging aspects of residential care are that a psychologically,
culturally and educationally restricted, impoverished or, at worst, even depriving substitute
environment may unintentionally be provided; secondly, that unless special steps are taken,
children may grow up without a personal sense of identity, lacking a coherent picture of both
their past and their future.' R. Dinnage and M.L. Pringle, Residential Child Care—Facts and
resource-learning mix that could adequately help them into the mainstream of society.

The principles of intervention of resources and personnel which emerge from looking at the Aboriginal problem in this way are as follows:

1. That intervention should be directed towards the family within its group rather than towards the individual child.

Present practice, for example dormitory living for primary school children on mission settlements and in government hostels, widely ignores this principle. The immediate result is excessive family separation and institutionalisation and inadequate response to schooling; the final result is return to, and adoption of, the parents’ way of life. Educational dormitory hostels in isolation and segregation succeed in bringing primary school children into classrooms, but there is no evidence that for many of them the schooling and other experiences they receive are better than remaining unschooled but at home with their parents.

2. That Aboriginal families and groups of families require real alternatives from which to make free choice between their present resource-learning mixes and those designed specifically for advancement to integration.

Until Aboriginal families have what appear to them to be real alternatives they are likely to remain insufficiently motivated to acquire the skills necessary for advancement from mission settlements, pastoral stations, and camping reserves.

3. That early infancy is a crucial stage in socialisation towards any life-style; (i) rate of learning is probably fastest during this stage; (ii) learning is a sequential process in that current learning is dependent also on previous learning; and (iii) it is easier to learn something new than to substitute one set of learning for another.

This principle is not reflected in present policy measures. Consequently, investment in Aboriginal education is largely inappropriate and wasteful. For example, most Aboriginal adult literacy classes are farcical and wasteful: they endeavour to teach literacy in subject matter and in situations with no relevance for Aborigines.

4. That every aspect of the child’s immediate environment is relevant from birth, not merely from pre-school age or from school age.

To ignore this principle as is done at present is to reduce the efficacy of resource intervention. For example, schooling on pastoral stations is virtually ineffectual.

5. In accordance with the principle that intervention be directed
toward the family within its group, any intervention strategy would begin with an existing family and group structure; that is, it would not begin only with individuals at birth. Therefore, because most individuals within Aboriginal families will have had learning experiences which are unsuited for advancement to integration, compensatory intervention strategies also will be necessary.

Without compensatory programs (and it is wrong to regard these as privileges), Aborigines will continue to seem unwilling and unable to use facilities that are available. For example, it is not generally possible for persons reared in the dirt to manage a conventional home without the support of a home-maker service. And this is true irrespective of race.

6. That a basic purpose of intervention be to break the self-perpetuating character of Aboriginal poverty, lack of identity, family failure, and dependency. Improvement of conditions in Aboriginal sub-cultures should have more than the goal of improvement alone. It must also be advancement towards integration.

It is beginning to be realised that welfare and improvement alone cannot lead to integration. Integration requires closing the socio-economic gap between Aborigines and others, not merely improving on their previous situation. Moreover, improvement by itself can be consistent with a widening gap, whereas integration requires the gap to be closed.

7. That whereas the purpose of intervention is growth and development of self-sustaining coping behaviour, and integration is the final goal, the strategies of intervention should not be geared merely to transforming Aborigines into unskilled and semi-skilled workers. They should be directed towards the encouragement of a final Aboriginal occupational structure roughly the same as our own—jobs and careers for Aborigines, not jobs alone. This should be one criterion of integration, because real integration implies equal opportunities for choice.

8. That intervention strategies be linked so that for any one person or family, needs fulfilment is a continuous program for as long as advancement measures are required.

It is widely recognised that this principle is not observed by current policy. For example most Aboriginal school-leavers are without adequate living conditions, job skills, and job opportunities, consequently their past schooling is largely wasted and any support short of all these further requirements will also be wasteful.

9. Arising from the interdependence of needs, intervention programs for any individual, family, or group, to be fully effective, must be co-ordinated and comprehensive; atomistic solutions will fail. Inter-
vention designed to fulfil needs in accordance with 'something for everyone' will be largely ineffectual and therefore wasteful. For any one person, family, or group, unless all needs are being fulfilled, learning will be partial regardless of how well some other needs are provided for. If it is not possible to meet all needs of all Aborigines at once, however, then the most effective allocation of the resources available for Aboriginal advancement would be in accordance with an order of priorities established between Aboriginal families and Aboriginal groups, so that at least some Aborigines have all of their needs being met. An alternative allocation of available resources is their distribution among all Aborigines in accordance with priorities between programs, for example, family planning before adequate housing. Efficient use of insufficient additional intervention resources requires that they should be made available for some Aborigines and not for others, instead of providing a few for all and the full range for none.

Some establishment of priorities is likely to be necessary because the needed finance is unlikely to be readily available and the needed resources and skills could not all be called forth at once. If priorities are set in accordance with this ninth principle, there follows the need to decide which Aborigines should come first within the scope of the additional resources. This decision is one in which Aborigines should participate.

10. That there be Aboriginal participation in decision-making on all aspects of intervention.

Consultation is currently being provided for by the administration. But although this is important it is insufficient; consultation is not decision making; it is not binding; and it is not involvement in self-determination.

11. That the administrative organisation by which plans and programs of advancement to integration are designed and implemented does not itself become a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals.

The Department of Native Welfare, by virtue of its existence, organisation, and operation, is a major obstacle in Western Australia to Aboriginal advancement.

State and Commonwealth government policy and action does not yet reflect awareness of the foregoing principles.
The necessary conditions for Aboriginal advancement to integration require that the strategies employed reflect the principles of intervention discussed above. An attempt is made here to incorporate these principles in resource-learning mixes and compensatory programs which together would constitute resource intervention. The proposed intervention has the following practical concrete requirements: (i) mothercraft-day-care-pre-schooling-centres for children 0-5 years of age, with their parents; (ii) relevant school curricula, facilities, and teacher skills for children, including compensatory schooling programs; (iii) relevant job-training and continuing education for school-leavers and adults; (iv) conventional housing with necessary supporting services, such as home-making for all Aborigines, whether on mission settlements, pastoral stations, or reserves, who are able and willing to accept the responsibilities of managing a conventional home; (v) conventional living for all Aboriginal children at least from their thirteenth year; and (vi) the opportunity for Aboriginal families to move as part of a group into learning centres which would be semi-sheltered parts of viable communities. These intervention strategies are designed on the assumption that it is neither desirable nor feasible to bring resources for advancement and integration to Aborigines on mission settlements, pastoral stations, and camping reserves, except temporarily, as will be specified.

For pensioners, the socially crippled, and those who prefer to remain as they are, advancement and integration is an unrealistic goal and most of them will remain in need of protection and care. The intervention
strategies outlined do not make provision for these persons though it is made for their children.

It is not possible for the resource-learning mixes of the Aboriginal sub-cultures on pastoral stations and mission settlements in Western Australia to be transformed *in situ* into resource-learning mixes that are likely to achieve integration. None is currently capable of becoming an economically viable community for its total Aboriginal population, and an economically viable community is a necessary condition for advancement to integration. In the sense that it is technically possible to grow bananas in the Antarctic, it would be also technically possible to establish various activities on the required scale on pastoral stations and mission settlements. In the present state of knowledge and economic conditions, however, such activities would require heavy and continuing subsidies which also would have to be increased commensurately with the rapid expansion of the Aboriginal population. Moreover, technological developments currently being introduced into the pastoral economy, which is the relevant economy for mission settlements also, are being geared to labour-saving rather than to labour-using techniques. These are fencing, aerial mustering, and, on the Ord River Irrigation Project, fodder production. For many decades agriculture in Australia has been releasing labour, not employing more labour. This is not to deny that some Aborigines should become farmers and farm- and station-hands. But to emphasise farming (which is almost a traditionally Australian solution to unemployment, or for some economically under-privileged) is now to fly in the face of technical and economic realities. Agriculture is increasingly big business, and farm labouring increasingly a residual occupation for residual people. Subsidies and grants could perhaps transform some mission settlements and pastoral stations into 'viable' communities, but without discounting such action altogether it is highly questionable whether the advancement of Aborigines should be made conditional upon their remaining in their present domicile. Moreover, integration cannot be achieved by substituting group or community dependency for individual and family dependency, and by maintaining communities in isolated and virtually segregated conditions. As has already been said above, these conditions, on mission settlements at least, were established for protection and care. They cannot be geared to the requirements of integration.

Nor is it possible for the resource-learning mix of Aboriginal camping reserves in Western Australia to be transformed *in situ* into resource learning mixes that are likely to achieve integration. Camping reserves
in Western Australia are residential sites without potential for economic viability. To bulldoze existing wurleys, shanties, and transitional housing and replace them with conventional houses is also unrealistic for various reasons, for example many Aborigines who may want to live in a conventional house are neither able nor willing to accept the associated responsibilities; to rebuild on reserves is to maintain aspects of the present segregated housing policy; and it would force partially integrative measures on to people whether or not they want them; conversely, Aborigines who do not wish to integrate at this time would have nowhere to go.

The suggested intervention strategies which follow cater for Aborigines wishing to advance and integrate either as individuals or on a family basis. Many of these persons are likely to be those who are already virtually integrated. Their need is a better house or regular employment. Mostly they are families living in transitional houses on reserves and in other sub-standard housing. A few families could benefit from help directed to raising their status from unskilled and semi-skilled occupations to skilled tradesmen, farmers, and businessmen. The strategies take into account not only the principles of intervention but also the realities of the present several distinct Aboriginal sub-cultures in Western Australia. They are to provide:

1. On stations and missions with fifteen or more Aboriginal children one-day-old to school age, a mothercraft-day-care-centre; and a similar centre in each town with an adjacent native camping reserve with fifteen or more such children. (Admission to these centres would not be restricted to Aborigines.)

2. Conventional permanent housing in towns for Aboriginal families now on reserves, stations, and missions. This is for families who, with or without a daily home-maker service, are able and willing to accept the responsibilities of managing a conventional home.

3. On stations and missions, conventional temporary housing for families who have gained adequately from a mothercraft-day-care-pre-school-centre and who do not wish to leave the mission or station. But a condition of primary schools remaining on these locations is that children attend them from a conventional-type home.

4. School curriculum, educational facilities and teacher skills relevant to the background, current experiences and expectations of all Aboriginal children.¹ The test of equality of educational opportunity between

¹ There is a vast literature on compensatory education for the environmentally disadvantaged. For an excellent summary and annotated bibliography see, B.J. Bloome, A. Davies, and R. Hess, *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation* (New York, 1965).
Aborigines and others is equality of educational results, not equality of educational resources.

5. For all Aboriginal children in their thirteenth year, regardless of their primary school performance, hostel or home living in fully viable communities and compensatory education and job training, at least until the legal minimum school leaving age, with provision for fully conventional accommodation until marriage. (Aboriginal children living with parents in conventional homes and with access to the same facilities for compensatory education and job training could attend from their parents' home.)

6. At the time of marriage of all children included in 5 above, a conventional house in a fully viable community with whatever supporting services are necessary, such as home-maker, job support, and mothercraft-day-care-pre-school-centres.

7. Group or cottage homes in fully viable communities and learning centres for primary school children in place of government and other dormitory hostels.

Not all Aborigines may wish or be able to advance alone; they may be able to advance only as part of a group. For such advancement towards integration, the relevant resource-learning mix would have to be provided on a special group basis. This could be done by the establishment of learning centres in which groups of families lived and worked for the requisite number of years. Housing would be clustered, but not to the complete exclusion of non-Aboriginal families, and the full range of various needed services would be readily accessible. Members of families would have opportunities to learn how to live in and manage a conventional house, to care for babies, infants, pre-school and school children, to acquire work skills, to obtain and keep employment, to manage income, to find and adopt roles in the community, and to learn independence and decision-making; in other words, how to cope as a self-sustaining family. Experience with such centres would assist in deciding later whether they should become passing-through centres, from which families in due course would graduate fully into an Australian community, or whether they should become suburbs of Australian communities. This can be left for the present as an open question. But their existence is a necessary condition of advancement for those Aborigines for whom group support is important or necessary. Such centres must be in viable Australian communities.

The resource-learning mix of learning centres would have two basic components: physical resources, including houses, educational facilities,
and community facilities of acceptable social standards; and personnel especially trained for the various personal services that are required to help Aborigines to learn to live independently at levels appropriate for integration. The features of learning centres include:

1. Groups of Aboriginal families, who would enter these centres voluntarily.

2. Incentives to entry including clearly perceived opportunities for the advancement of children whilst living as an unbroken family within a group and in conditions obviously equal to those of the local community.

3. Conditions of entry including willingness to accept the associated responsibilities: to accept the home-maker service, to participate in pre-school activities, to participate in job training, to work, and to pay rent.

4. Opportunities for learning personal and social skills in a non-threatening situation.

5. Being a continuing demonstration to other communities that many Aborigines are able and willing to learn life-styles that are acceptable to Australian communities. Conversely, learning centres would not require that unsophisticated Aborigines be forced, as they now often are, into unwilling white communities.

6. Recognition that piecemeal and partial programs, though they may incorporate valuable ideas, cannot provide the needed resource-learning mix because they do not cater for the interdependence of needs. The learning centre would provide simultaneously and intensively the full range of opportunities and programs needed for Aboriginal families to learn how to live in viable communities.

7. The learning centre’s staff and their families would live permanently in the centre. A proportion of other non-Aboriginal families would also live permanently in the centre’s area but independently of the centre.

8. Provision for maximum participation by Aborigines, in the centre, in its management and operation, and increasingly as employees.

9. Constant review and revision of the learning situation in the light of experience. Compensatory learning requires compensatory programs which are more difficult to mount than, for example a housing program. Almost inevitably there is a behavioural carry-over from the physical features of the previous sub-culture to the new situation. Characteristics such as rigidity, distrust of social institutions, and magical thinking, of many persons living in sub-cultures of poverty, make for resistance to change. Especially where, as among Aborigines, there is rapid rural to urban migration, the flood of new experiences and complexities that are part of urban life may, through consequent frustration, deprivation, and
threats to self-esteem, reinforce personality rigidities rather than encourage adaptive behaviour. It is for these reasons also that family learning centres are required. The detailed survey on which the number, location, and size of learning centres would be based has not been done. The first learning centre in Western Australia should be established in metropolitan Perth because this is the State’s centre of expertise and training facilities, the demonstration effect of a learning centre on the white population would be greatest in Perth, and it would be the centre of training of Aboriginal and other staff for learning centres in other parts of the State. Whether to establish one or two large learning centres through which Aborigines would pass to settle more or less permanently in other parts of the State, or to establish more and smaller centres which would expand as capacity and needs became apparent, and later become part of permanent suburbs in which Aboriginal and other persons are integrated, should not be predetermined. Planning each learning centre should involve relevant experts in government, some Aborigines, and representatives of voluntary organisations and of the Local Government Authorities where the learning centres are to be established. A preliminary requirement of planning is the creation of a standards-setting body whose functions include laying down detailed standards for all facilities (buildings and their layout), staff training, staff ratios, and staff job specifications.

The foregoing intervention strategies, designed to create the opportunities for Aborigines to learn a life-style that would permit advancement to integration, would have secondary effects including fundamental changes on reserves, missions, and stations. These are likely to include the following:

1. Phasing out native camping reserves with their associated apartheid-like features, and all dormitory-style accommodation for primary school children. Target dates for the closure of each reserve and dormitory should be set and announced.

2. Phasing out mission settlements. This would be a result of teenagers becoming integrated through their cottage and group home and hostel living, job-training for employment, and living in viable communities; some families are likely to have entered learning centres, and other alternatives would have been created for station and reserve families. This phasing out of mission settlements would release some mission staff for re-training and for employment in group homes and learning centres, and other mission staff for improved care of pensioners and others in need of protection rather than of advancement. Target dates for the closure of each mission settlement should be set and announced.
3. Hastening urbanisation of Aborigines. Integration for most Aborigines in Western Australia requires breaking down their segregation and isolation; this means their urbanisation.

4. Expanding much-needed skilled personnel and community facilities for mothercraft, infant day care, pre-schooling, home-making, job training and re-training, education for the socially disadvantaged, youth facilities, etc. Almost every community in Western Australia needs more of these and other facilities, and of a higher quality than those now available. Although, in this context, the initial reason for establishing these facilities would be Aboriginal advancement to integration, they would soon, if not immediately, benefit many other people.

5. Increasing scarcity of Aboriginal labour for pastoral stations. Higher award wages and real alternative opportunities for station Aborigines are likely to effect reduction in the number of Aborigines for station work. However, labour-saving innovations could adequately compensate on the stations for this prospect. Another effect would be that Aborigines would have the choice of taking up station work, after having learned of other opportunities as did station owners, managers, and white stockmen, instead of being born to it. Yet another effect is likely to be substantial improvements in living conditions for Aborigines on stations. Managers will have to attract Aboriginal labour if they want it.

6. Ensuring cross-cultural integration rather than total submergence of the minority culture through absorption by the dominant culture or its complete destruction by the currently strong forces of degradation. Cross-cultural integration would be promoted by specific provision in all educational programs for understanding and appreciation of traditional Aboriginal culture, by Aboriginal participation and employment as staff in the learning centres, and by specifically catering for group advancement in the learning centres, thus conserving group and family ties instead of making their severance a condition of integration.

7. Abandonment of peacocking for and spotting talent. This is a corollary of group advancement which contrasts with, for example, current scholarships policy, whereby individuals are selected for extra help on an individual basis, virtually making it a condition of advancement to integration that the individual breaks away from his group. This places an almost intolerable strain on such people and it is not surprising that so many fail to make the grade.

The foregoing strategies emerge from both the principles of intervention and the specific resource-learning mix situations of Aborigines
in Western Australia. For this reason they constitute a firm base for designing detailed plans and programs. Strategies not based on these considerations are likely to lead to plans and programs that are ineffectual and wasteful.
Planning is implicit in the goal of integration, given the starting point of self-perpetuating dependent poverty so typical of most Aboriginal situations. One requirement of effective planning is quantification of the situation to be planned for, and another is specification of the rate of goal achievement.

By 1971 the Aboriginal population in Western Australia will be about 24,000 (Table A 10). This is about 85 per cent of the average annual increase in the State's population from both natural increase and excess of arrivals over departures during the period 1965-8. Thus, in Western Australia, housing, employment, schooling, and all other social services have been found each year since 1965 for and by an average of 28,000 additional non-Aborigines. The task of integration in Western Australia is to do the same, once, for a smaller number of Aborigines, and thereafter to cater for their natural increase. Although their rate of natural increase is very high, it is from a small total number, so that currently only 220 first marital unions are being formed each year, and by the year 2000 the rate could be 650 new families. However, Aborigines have requirements that are additional to those of immigrants because they need compensatory programs and supporting services without which most of them are unlikely to be able to use the community's standard facilities and services. To see the number of Aborigines now in Western Australia as equal to less than two years' supply of additional persons from net immigration has relevance in that integration of Aborigines requires their immigration from alienated sub-cultures into the mainstream of Australian society. This is one clue to the maximum dimension of any plan for
Aboriginal advancement in Western Australia. Another clue to the dimensions of plans for Aboriginal advancement is the rate of advancement. A wide range of rates is available for selection. Those presented here are individual and collective:

1. The maximum individual rate. This is the fastest possible rate at which individual Aborigines could respond psychologically and behaviourally to optimum resource-learning mixes designed for advancement. Several hundred Aborigines at most now may be experiencing this rate in Western Australia.

2. The zero individual rate. This is the rate at which the individual neither progresses nor regresses. This condition is common on mission settlements and pastoral stations.

3. A negative individual rate. This is where deterioration and degradation occur. It is commonly observed that many Aboriginal school-leavers and Aborigines who leave the supervised life of a hostel, mission settlement, or pastoral station, or who suddenly have acquired drinking rights, regress to a degraded way of life.

4. The maximum collective rate. This is where all Aboriginal children and all adult Aborigines who want to advance are being helped adequately. There is no evidence that current action in Western Australia ensures this maximum collective rate of advancement.

5. The integration rate. This is where the proportion of Aborigines who are being helped to advance is large enough to ensure that the goal of integration is not endangered by forces that may substitute for it some variation of apartheid. This integration rate probably has not yet been reached in Western Australia.

6. The zero, or stagnation collective rate. This is where assistance for individual advancement is applied effectively to an additional number of Aborigines equal to the increase of the Aboriginal population. Thus the advancement of some Aborigines is not conclusive evidence that the collective rate of advancement in Western Australia is faster than this zero rate.

7. A negative collective rate. This could be where the majority of Aborigines are regressing or where assistance is effective for a number less than the increase in the population.

It is for society to choose the rate at which it wishes to achieve its goals. Even if the Australian society were to choose maximum individual and collective rates, some Aborigines would continue to deteriorate and some would neither progress nor regress. It is repeated that because of the interdependence of needs, plans and programs for advancement to integration will be most effective and least wasteful of resources and
personnel where they are applied to ensure the maximum individual rate of advancement. Thus, if resources and personnel for advancement are scarce, they should be allocated to achieve the maximum individual rate for the number of Aborigines who could be serviced at this rate.

In accordance with the principles of intervention a good rate to take would be that given by the number of Aborigines who will enter a specified phase of their life cycle in 1971, and those who will enter the same phases each year thereafter. These phases are, (i) women, first time pregnant; (ii) children entering their fifth year of age; (iii) children entering primary school; (iv) children entering their thirteenth year; (v) children leaving school; (vi) persons entering their first marital union. These phases are strategic in that each represents a point at which it seems most appropriate to initiate specific programs for advancement to integration. Each point is at the beginning of a significant new phase of life in which substantial change in the resource-learning mix of the individual becomes necessary. Thus each point provides the opportunity for upgrading the resource-learning mix to the requirements for advancement to integration with minimal upheaval for the individual. It is when he or she enters these phases that the individual is likely to be most responsive to the resources and personnel of intervention. Another feature of this approach is that after having passed through a program designed for each phase of his life cycle, the individual would link into succeeding programs which would have already been established. Unless provision for succeeding programs were made, gains achieved during the previous phase almost certainly would be lost. For example, where reserve life is the only real opportunity for school-leavers, formal education may be mere waste.

Programs that relate to the foregoing phases should aim to provide for environmentally disadvantaged persons, compensatory learning services, and relevant resource-learning mixes, so that the personal characteristics for relevant behaviour may emerge. The range of needed programs includes pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care services and centres; pre-school services and centres; home-maker services and conventional housing; hostels in viable communities for teenagers at school, in job-training and at work, unless they already live in conventional homes, cottage homes with trained professional house parents, and foster homes.

These are homes for up to twelve children of both sexes and all ages, staffed by a married couple and relief staff and assistants, with the husband following his own employment. They would be for children under 13 years who are without family ties or who are forced to leave home for their primary schooling because their own home is not in reach of a school or in a viable community.
for infants and children under 13 years; relevant schooling; job-training for a wide range of occupations; job supervision services; and learning centres. These programs are related in Table 4 to the number of Aborigines entering each specified phase of the life cycle. Between them they would account for a total of about 3,200 Aborigines, which would be about 13 per cent of the Aboriginal population in 1971. It is in this sense that the rate of advancement presented is not the maximum collective rate. But the maximum individual rate should be planned for the 3,200 Aborigines. This number does not include provision for backlog nor has it been adjusted for geographical indivisibilities: for example, it may not be feasible to provide pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care centres where there are fewer than ten infants.

Features of the foregoing programs are that they are family-oriented, and multi-dimensional in approach. At the one time there is conventional housing with home-maker service for all first marital unions in 1971, and for women first time pregnant, and for these women pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care services. There is pre-schooling for one year for all Aboriginal children due to enter primary school in 1972, and a relevant curriculum for all new entrants to primary school in 1971. All who became teenagers in 1971 would live in either a conventional home or a hostel in a viable community and all primary school children would go to school from a conventional home of their own, from a foster home, or from a cottage with professional house parents. The emphasis in this program is on breaking the self-perpetuating nature of degraded Aboriginal living; helping all newly formed families into conventional houses in viable communities; and bringing almost all young Aborigines.

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2 Relevant schooling, job-training, and job supervision programs should be interdependent. An example is, 'a pupil work experience program that will commence at age 13 or 14 and continue to age 18; will aim at teaching boys elementary work disciplines; will lead directly into stable adult jobs; and will be developed as part of a school curriculum adapted to the intellectual level, interest, and experience of alienated youth. The school concern for content, methods of instruction, and learning materials, would need to be modified in terms of the particular population served. The work-experience program would be organised in three stages, beginning with school-supervised work, in groups essentially outside the labour market, moving to part-time work on an individual basis, and ending with full-time employment in a stable job with some guidance and supervision by the school . . . for girls who are the sociological sisters of the boys for whom a work-study program is desirable . . . a program would be centred on the role of wife and mother, rather than on preparation for the labour market.' R.J. Havighurst and L.J. Stiles, 'National Policy for Alienated Youth', in A.H. Passow, M. Goldberg and A.J. Tannenbaum (eds.), Education of the Disadvantaged (New York, 1967), p. 439.

3 Dwelling construction and purchase by the Department of Native Welfare from 1966 to 1969 was at the rate of seventy-five dwellings per year (Table B 1). This rate was about one-third of that needed to provide dwellings for all first marital unions. The rate in 1968-69 was about one-half of that to provide dwellings for all first marital unions.
Table 4: Specified phases of life cycle and associated requirements for Aboriginal advancement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase of life cycle</th>
<th>Aborigines entering phase in 1971*</th>
<th>Personnel requirements</th>
<th>Building requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First time pregnant</td>
<td>220 women</td>
<td>Pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care</td>
<td>Mothercraft centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job-training</td>
<td>Conventional houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job supervision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First marital union</td>
<td>440 persons</td>
<td></td>
<td>Job-training centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Home-makers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering fifth year</td>
<td>750 children</td>
<td>Pre-school staff</td>
<td>Conventional houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Home-makers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering primary school</td>
<td>700 children</td>
<td>Experts for relevant curriculum and teacher training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Professional house parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering thirteenth year</td>
<td>600 children</td>
<td>Job-training</td>
<td>Hostel accommodation for children not in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>conventional home in a viable community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering fifteenth year</td>
<td>585 children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job-training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hostel staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families wishing to advance as one in a group of families</td>
<td>10 to 20 families</td>
<td>Family learning centre in Perth. This could be the centre of the research and evaluation unit (see Chapter 14)</td>
<td>Full range of buildings to conventional standards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These figures are based on the estimated age structure of the Aboriginal population in 1971 (Table A10)
into contact with viable communities. The viable community is an essential integrating influence, but unless special services and facilities are available and used by Aboriginal newcomers, community hostility and personal degradation are likely results. The programs for 1971 are summarised in Table 5, where they are also related to the principles and the strategies of intervention.

The design of programs of personal services is a matter of expertise. Guidelines already exist in the reported results of world-wide research and experience. Each program, before implementation, should have each critical element specified to standards consistent with the needs of advancement to integration. These are quite different from the needs for improvement and of welfare. The critical elements are curriculum, standards of staff selection, training, qualification and salary, buildings and facilities, case-loads and staff ratios, and Aboriginal participation. The training of personnel for the various services should be undertaken by an existing educational facility assisted by suitably qualified persons already engaged in the relevant facet of advancement of the environmentally disadvantaged. Persons for training should be selected on the basis of both appropriate personality and potential practical skill. The services should be the responsibility of a section in each relevant government department that will be wholly concerned with compensatory services and facilities for the environmentally disadvantaged, both Aboriginal and other. It seems appropriate for ante-natal mothercraft and infant health services to be the responsibility of the Health Department; day-care service, the Child Welfare Department; pre-school service, the Education Department; home-maker service and conventional housing, the State Housing Commission; hostels, foster home placement and cottages, the Child Welfare Department; job training, the Education Department; and job supervision, the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service. Whereas these government departments would provide the organisational and operational framework and finance for these services, they also would encourage and co-operate with local government authorities and voluntary organisations to obtain local support and involvement. A major concern would be for relevant government departments to assist voluntary agencies to establish and maintain adequate standards of resource intervention. Voluntary agencies should not become the means whereby government evades its responsibility to ensure adequate standards. Aborigines should be more than the clients of these programs; wherever possible they should be involved in the organisation and operation of them, both as employees and on a voluntary
Table 5: Principles and strategies of intervention and programs for 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles of intervention</th>
<th>Strategies of intervention</th>
<th>Programs for 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 Intervention directed at family in its group. | 1 *Pastoral stations and mission settlements*  
   (i) For children 0-5 years and their parents, pre-natal-mothercraft-infant health-day-care-pre-school centres.  
   (ii) Conventional housing for families not wishing to leave and who have gained adequately from mothercraft, etc., centres.  
   (iii) Primary schooling on stations and missions to continue only where children attend from conventional home.  
   (iv) All 13-year-olds to live in hostel or conventional home in viable community for at least three years. | 1 Pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care services for all women first time pregnant.  
2 Real alternatives to present Aboriginal life styles. | 2 Conventional house for all first marital unions.  
3 Early infancy crucial stage in socialisation. | 3 Home-maker service for all in conventional homes who require it.  
4 Resource-learning mix relevant from birth. | 4 Pre-school centres for all children entering 5th year.  
5 Intervention starts with existing family structures. | 5 Relevant schooling for all children entering primary school.  
6 Self-perpetuating nature of Aboriginal sub-cultures recognised. | 6 Hostels for all children entering 13th year and who cannot attend school or job training from conventional home in a viable community.  
7 Full range of occupations open to Aborigines. | 7 Hostels for all children leaving school and who cannot continue or start job training from conventional home in a viable community.  
8 Plans and programs linked and continuous for individuals until no longer required. | 8 Job training courses.  
9 Plans and programs comprehensive and co-ordinated. | 9 Job supervision service.  
10 Aboriginal participation and involvement at decision making levels. | 10 Auxiliary volunteer services.  
11 Administration organised to facilitate, not frustrate goal achievement. | 11 One learning centre in Perth. This could be the first project of the research and evaluation unit (see ch. 14).
basis. To ensure comprehensiveness and co-ordination, the plans and programs should be designed in conjunction with the planning unit of the proposed Social Planning Council (see ch. 10). This unit, headed by a senior and qualified planner and supported by a small logistics group, would have the task of ensuring the co-ordination of plans to fulfil needs. The resultant requirements would be submitted to the Council for consideration and referral back to the planner or forward to the Premier for Cabinet consideration and budgetary allocation.

The foregoing programs constitute the core of advancement-oriented action. There is room also for a wide range of complementary services which can be provided appropriately by volunteers who neither seek nor require remuneration. Such services would include auxiliary help in mothercraft, day-care and pre-school centres; holiday services for children in hostels and cottage homes; homework aid and 'uncle and aunt' services for personal support and interest for children without family ties.

The steps in the implementation of plans and programs for advancement and integration should be in the following general order of priority:

1. Establish the Social Planning Council in the office of the Premier (ch. 10).
3. Ministers of Child Welfare, Education, Health and Housing each establish a unit in their department especially to service the environmentally disadvantaged, Aboriginal and other.
4. The planner in 2 above and head of each unit in 3 above establish and quantify needs of the State's environmentally disadvantaged, and draw up plans and specifications of standards (in conjunction with the Commonwealth Council of Aboriginal Affairs where relevant) for the fulfilment of needs in terms of the goal of advancement to integration.
5. Planner and departmental staff co-ordinate programs.
6. Obtain Ministerial approval for each relevant program.
7. Social Planning Council considers the plan of programs and either refers back for modification or refers to the Premier for Cabinet consideration and budgetary allocation.
8. Inform Local Government Authorities and voluntary organisations of roles and finance available for participation and involvement in specific advancement projects.
9. Initiate building program—hostels, cottage homes, conventional housing, pre-school centres, etc.
10. Professionals select all personnel (paid and voluntary) for courses
of training for services of day-care, home-maker, mothercraft, cottage house parents, etc.

11. Set and announce target dates for closure of mission settlements, reserves, and dormitories for primary school children.

12. Transfer all functions of the Department of Native Welfare to relevant departments and agencies.


14. The Social Planning Council in co-operation with relevant departments establishes in Perth the first family learning centre as the administration’s research and evaluation unit (ch. 14).

15. The Social Planning Council, through the Premier, reports to Parliament twice annually both on real progress made with the environmentally disadvantaged, and their unfulfilled needs.

The planning and programs suggested for 1971 have implications for subsequent years. Major implications include the following:

1. Mission settlements which could not become the focus of a viable community would close down because real alternatives would be available for most inmates.

2. Camping reserves would phase out because all additional housing for Aborigines would be conventional and unsegregated, and because all new families would have access and assistance into such housing.

3. Dormitory hostels, government and private, for children under 13 years would be closed by 1972.

4. Pastoral stations would be unable to rely on a supply of dependent Aboriginal labour.

5. An expanded range of job-training facilities for children whose abilities and preferences are for early employment rather than for prolonged formal schooling.

The foregoing planning and programs would ensure, to the fullest possible extent, that the children of all Aborigines first married in 1971 and later will be reared by their parents as independently-coping persons fully integrated in the mainstream of Australian society.
To facilitate planning for the social innovation of Aboriginal integration by the year 2000, which is feasible, research is needed, but of a kind quite unlike that which is characteristic of most social science research in Australia today. The research needed would yield empirical data on the efficacy of several typical existing resource-learning mixes for achieving Aboriginal advancement to integration, compared with that of the best resource-learning mix that can be devised in the light of present knowledge for at least one group of Aborigines. This research should be modified continually in the light of its own and other research findings; serve as a training and demonstration project; and be a continual guide to planners and administrators. It should be located in appropriate social settings, be multi-disciplinary, and be oriented entirely towards the goal of integration. It should be ‘applied’, not ‘pure’, ‘basic’, or ‘fundamental’; it should be action- and change-oriented; and it should cater specifically for administrative, Aboriginal, and community involvement. Its success criteria should be in terms of Aborigines achieving coping status in all stages of their life cycle.

By contrast, the growing social interest in Aboriginal advancement is likely soon to be reflected in heightened conventional research activity into characteristics, performance, and behaviour of Aborigines, specifically from the standpoint of their advancement to integration. It is likely that much of this new research will be undertaken by students undergoing research training in universities, and supervised by heads of departments, particularly of anthropology, education, medicine, psychology, and sociology. It is probable that an outcome will be numerous Aboriginal
social surveys on physical and mental health, infant mortality, morbidity, diet, family living, child-rearing, school and IQ-test performance, employment and unemployment, discrimination and housing needs. It is probable also that a great deal of research will be comparative: establishing and documenting that Aborigines are worse off and perform less satisfactorily in Australian communities than most other people. Whereas research projects such as these are likely to have findings of some relevance to government administrations for Aboriginal advancement, this is likely to be incidental to their central purpose which is student training in research. This is not to say that such research should not be done. If, as expected, much of it will be done, it should not be thought of as something other than it primarily is, namely research to give students training and experience in the construction of questionnaires, in interviewing, in collecting beliefs, attitudes, personal and family characteristics, in analysing social statistics and in report writing.

But there will be a strong tendency, and a dangerous one for Aboriginal advancement, for the results of such research training projects with the endorsement of university research worker on them, to be stretched to generalisations that are attractive to administrations, notwithstanding that the real results are invalid or irrelevant as bases for the design of advancement programs by the administration. For example, in many surveys of Aboriginal living conditions comparisons with relevant standards are not made when, for the validity of the generalisations drawn, they should have been made. In such cases it is impossible to know whether the conditions described warrant the proposed administrative action. Another example is that the comparison that often is made simply makes more precise what already is adequately known for administrative purposes, though not with great exactitude. As a case in point it is known that the rate of infant mortality in metropolitan Perth in 1967 was 13.5 per thousand live births. It is also known that pre- and post-natal health services and infant health services are less accessible to and less frequently used by Aborigines than by other people, and that daily living conditions of Aborigines are conducive to high rates of infant mortality. Thus the infant mortality rate for them is probably several times higher than for the European population, though what it is exactly is not known. Whatever the need to establish precisely the actual rate of Aboriginal infant mortality, there is far greater need to establish and implement various methods to reduce it than to establish exactly what it is. Another example is that throughout the world there are numerous studies testing and re-testing, measuring and re-measuring, proving and re-proving how and why
environmentally disadvantaged people such as Aborigines perform less successfully than other people, and how and why their almost every behavioural characteristic needed for independent coping is impaired and inadequate. For administrative action it is not necessary to repeat many of these studies, though the easiest research is to show that most Aborigines are worse off than other people. These examples raise a principle of relevance for the allocation of resources for research into Aboriginal advancement: student research training, using topics associated with Aboriginal advancement, is not likely to be the type of research most needed for Aboriginal advancement in practice.

Advancement and integration are processes of extreme complexity which warrant much more skill and experience than can usually be brought to bear by a student in training or by workers without research qualifications. Nor are off-the-cuff solutions from academics and administrators good enough. There is no store of certain knowledge from which any one person can draw reliable and ready-made plans and programs for action. Nor is one kind of university or administrative experience and training alone adequate qualification for designing realistic and effective plans and programs. For example, the participant-observer method alone of the research anthropologist seldom yields scientifically valid results. The surveys alone of the data-collectors found in almost every field of study often have no real purpose other than training, which is necessary, and to make social statistics more precise, which is often unnecessary. The model-building of economists and educational and social psychologists is often speculative, and alone such models may be false guides to administrators. There are many research tools and processes which only a team can provide. An administration should want to be associated with such a team and should not cut itself off by rejecting the need for research, by backing a single research person or project, by isolating itself from research processes or by isolating a research unit from itself, by leaving it all in the hands of university experts, or by isolating itself from university experts.

The administration should have its own research unit in close liaison with its own administrators and administrators in other relevant agencies, and the unit itself should be in close and constant touch with more than one relevant university department. In this way student training in research could be part of research into Aboriginal advancement, but without dominating it, and the research projects could be designed at the outset to be fully in accordance with the needs of Aborigines and the administration. Aboriginal advancement to integration is likely to be best
served by studies specifically attempting to solve problems which are obstacles to Aboriginal advancement, and by measuring the outcomes of programs in action. For avoidance of governmental and private agency waste it is necessary to have research designed specifically to measure responses by Aborigines to compensatory programs and to planned changes in their resource-learning mixes.

The research should include four major elements; (i) identification of needs: what are the needs for advancement to integration (including obstacles to fulfilment and their removal); (ii) setting of standards: the qualitative aspects of the means to be adopted for needs fulfilment; (iii) logistic element: quantities of resources including personnel with various skills and determination of appropriate rates of advancement; (iv) evaluation: are the results of policy and of administrative action at any given time real and right, or imagined. These research needs should determine the type and qualifications of research workers sought and appointed. For identification of needs an experienced social research scientist with the backing of consultants in health, education, and job training probably would be best; for the setting of standards, a psychologist or social worker; for the logistic element, an economist; and for evaluation, a social scientist with wide experience of research methods and on-the-job experience. All should freely avail themselves of appropriate consultants.

To determine how best to fulfil the established needs of Aborigines will require research into resource-learning mixes that will enable Aborigines to advance from where they are now on mission settlements, pastoral stations, and reserves into specific viable communities in the mainstream of Australian society. This will require an inventory of needed resources and services required for the fulfilment of needs, and specification of the administrative requirements and reorganisation necessary to ensure effective application of resources and services to specific Aboriginal situations. This research should be undertaken within the administration by a unit that is responsible also for evaluation. It is partly because the administration, and not a university department, will be implementing the means to effect advancement to integration, and partly because the administration will be largely responsible for the successes and failures of plans and programs, that research into ways and means of advancement and into their effectiveness ought to be conducted by a properly staffed research unit within the administration. Such a unit for research and evaluation is new to Australia. For this reason there is presented here a model research project designed to develop an administrative structure,
and to test, develop, and implement programs and services to break the
cycle of dependent poverty among Aborigines. Implicit in this model
and in the intervention programs that are part of it are recognition and
acceptance of the results of both pilot and priority program approaches
in Western Australia and other parts of the world. These results con­
clusively demonstrate that where the problem of the disadvantaged is not
tackled in its wholeness, the work in any one part, no matter how well
done, is at best a partial success, and usually an expensive failure. The
reason, in brief, is that jobs for parents affect the education of children;
so do housing and health; and education affects health which affects jobs
which affect housing; the quality of family life affects all and in turn is
affected by all. To ignore this interdependence is to court failure. Such
failure will not be spectacular; it is likely to be slow and barely visible,
but sure nonetheless. This is because partial and priority social innovations
for Aboriginal advancement at best are likely to yield small responses
over time, and because evaluation is not normally undertaken as an
ongoing part of innovations to measure the responses they were designed
to induce.

The family, the school, and the social agencies are three strategic
influences in socialisation. It is in the family, in the school, and in the
social agencies that research must be translated into practical programs,
and unless programs of advancement take all three into account, they are
likely to be ineffective. They could be ineffective also because their
application to individual families and children is for too brief a period.
For example, it is fallacious to think that two or three years of pre­
schooling alone can or will adequately compensate for a child’s environ­
mental deprivation. Because the child is likely to continue to live in a
deprived situation for at least as long as it lives at home, it will require
both pre-schooling enrichment and special continuing programs into
adulthood. Advancement requires a comprehensive and co-ordinated
series of continuing and inter-related compensatory and preventive
programs, linked vertically from infancy to adulthood and applied from
infancy to adulthood. And each program should be linked and co­
ordinated horizontally; that is, from school to home, and from social
agency to school and to home. A research and evaluative component is
necessary to ensure the ongoing practicality of each program in the total
plan and to ensure that effective improvements in programs are generated
in the light of experience and are implemented. A training facet for

1 This was first presented as, ‘A Proposal for a Demonstration & Research Project in
teachers and various social agency workers should also be included and their experience with Aborigines would be helpful in their work with other disadvantaged persons. There should be an ante-natal-pre-school centre, introducing pregnant women to the centre and preparing disadvantaged children for infant school, a school program and curriculum specially designed for their needs, and post-school training for jobs of choice and such support as is required into adulthood. Contemporaneously with each of these school and training-focused programs, horizontal services should be provided.

There should be provision for children without adequate family ties. There is a large proportion of these children in any environmentally disadvantaged population, and for research to be fully realistic they should be included and compensatory family settings provided as part of the research treatment. Research should not cater only for a population of stable families and children; disadvantaged families typically are highly mobile and to cater for them also would make the research program more realistic and enable comparisons to be made between children who progress through the whole program and those who do not.

The foregoing features are incorporated in the following outline of a model research project for Western Australia. Its fundamental purpose is to ensure ultimate self-sustaining economic independence of Aboriginal people who otherwise would continue to be socially and personally inadequate and dependent. To achieve this purpose both school and home centres are required, and services which extend from infancy to adulthood. The numbers given below are to indicate the minimal size of a practically viable model research project. It would require an ante-natal-pre-school centre for fifty children from 0-5 years of age to provide ante-natal care, modern pre-school activities, parental involvement, research, and training of workers with the environmentally disadvantaged. There would be a special school for environmentally disadvantaged children to cater for all children who advance from the pre-school centre (about ten per year), and others, subject to the condition that class size is limited to about fifteen pupils. Parental involvement would be catered for, as would the training of teachers and other workers with environmentally disadvantaged families. Research oriented toward the development of curricula for the environmentally handicapped would be a feature of the school centre. The post-school centre would provide

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2 This project comes within the scope of 'social innovation research' which is aimed specifically at bridging the gap between research and action programs. See especially G.W. Fair-weather, Methods for Experimental Social Innovation (New York, 1967).
integrated services in job-training, employment, home-making, and continuing education and training for parents and school-leavers. Paralleling these pre-school, school, and post-school centres there would be three types of home centre for children who do not have family ties. Other children would attend school from home. These home centres would be pre-school cottages: four would be required, each with cottage parents and no more than six infants per cottage; school cottages: two would be the minimal requirement, each with selected and trained cottage parents and no more than ten school children; and post-school hostels: these would be required for the school-leavers.

The project is designed to compensate for, and to improve, inadequate home conditions, and to provide the best possible substitute family living for those children who do not have families of their own. For this reason, the project reaches into home living, with the fullest parental participation. Unless this is done contemporaneously with the pre-school, school, and post-school experiences, these experiences are unlikely to stick. This is an outstanding result of experience in Western Australia to date. It is envisaged that the project would be developed in stages over several years. But it is emphasised that, unless it is intended to develop it fully, any stage on its own is likely to fail, and it would be better not to start. (In the United States of America, it is now widely recognised that the much publicised ‘Headstart’ program is effective only where it has been extended upwards through primary and secondary school to adulthood, and downward below kindergarten to pre-natal levels.)

An integrated approach is a distinguishing feature of this research project, and involvement of several government departments is provided for as are Aboriginal and community involvement. There would be four separate stages of implementation: (i) ante-natal-pre-school centre and cottages and associated services; (ii) primary school, cottages, and associated services; (iii) secondary school, hostels, and associated services; (iv) post-school job-training and employment facilities, hostels, and associated horizontal services. Each of these stages should be regarded as part of the one project. Each should be dated well in advance of its implementation in order to ensure mobilisation of finance and staff so that subsequent stages would follow on without delay until the whole project becomes a going concern. Whilst the ante-natal-pre-school centre, cottages, and associated horizontal services are being established, preparations for the development of special school curricula, for job-training and for employment services should be undertaken. In the early years of the school centre, children who have not progressed through the
ante-natal-pre-school centre would be involved. To involve only those children who have so progressed would prolong the establishment of the project in its entirety for 15-20 years. This is unrealistic. The project should be phased into full operation during five to six years from 1971.

Aboriginal involvement from the beginning of the project would be planned for, although initially guidance would continue to be necessary. This is to avoid the weakness of the traditional social service approach elsewhere, which is to do things for people. This prevents the growth of their self-reliance. The project is designed specifically to help people do things for themselves by working with and not for them. Even introduction to the idea of the pre-school centre should be planned and Aborigines, both men and women, may be the best initiators. The home-maker service would be introduced by Aborigines to Aborigines. It would be both possible and desirable to include suitable Aborigines in the home-maker training scheme, or as paid staff elsewhere in the project; for example, as cottage mothers and as helpers at the pre-school centre. Mothers should be involved as helpers with the children and some of the teenage girls may be suitable as assistants. Aboriginal teenagers in institutions or hostels could be helped to take a direct interest by making equipment.

Inter-departmental involvement is another feature of this project. It is both family- and school-centred, and the Education Department is involved from the commencement, although its participation would increase substantially at the school and post-school stages. The Education Department and the research director would co-operate, and in the initial stages, before the appointment of research assistants, educational psychologists and other professionals from this department could be lent to the project. Student teachers could be assigned to the project as part of their training, and there would be liaison with teachers' colleges. The Department could suggest persons who might qualify for positions in the project. It could also assist in identifying children who are eligible for the project program. Curriculum development is a major function of this Department in the project.

The Public Health Department would be intimately involved with the families, with the pre-school centre, and with later stages of the project. The ante-natal and infant health sister would be involved also in the home-making course and co-operate with Health Department personnel. Clinic sisters and nurses-in-training would be attached to the project in order to gain experience. Research into health problems could be undertaken by the Department in co-operation with the research
director. A midday meal would be served at the pre-school centre, and advice on this and other matters of health would be required.

The Child Welfare Department would be involved in the establishment and functioning of the pre-school centre. Training of cottage parents and supervision of cottages and hostels would be its responsibility. It should also assist in identifying suitable children because proper selection is important to get the project off to a good start.

The social workers responsible for the training and supervision of home-makers would be attached to the State Housing Commission. The home-maker service would be contemporaneous with the availability of conventional homes for families which qualify for them, and the home-maker service to each family would continue for as long as it was needed to ensure continued tenancy.

The Department of Labour and National Service would be concerned with employer-employee liaison, advising on job-training, research into job performance and in developing training programs for school-leavers and adult breadwinners. It would also maintain contact with the school. A social worker could be specifically assigned from this Department to the project for these purposes.

The demonstration effect of the project could best be promoted by community involvement. Many organisations could be encouraged to provide facilities and volunteers to assist, for example in transport. Holiday homes for children in boarding cottages could be provided by voluntary organisations. These could provide voluntary workers with particular skills to assist in the enrichment of cottage life in particular. Volunteers would not be used in such a way that parental involvement would be lessened.

Suitable cottages in the neighbourhood could be bought or rented, and administered by the Child Welfare Department. Alternatively, private organisations might be willing to provide this service, and this would be appropriate community involvement. Cottage parents would have to undergo selection by the Guidance and Counselling Service. Training would be through the Child Welfare Department, and standards acceptable to the Department would have to be maintained. Children in the cottages, both Aboriginal and others, would only be those without meaningful family ties.

It is suggested that about a quarter of the children admitted to the project be non-Aborigines, since it is not desirable to establish a racially segregated institution. Nor is it desirable to entirely segregate environmentally disadvantaged children from others. Children learn also from
each other, and because the programs and curricula would be considerably individualised, and the facilities varied and extensive, any child is likely to benefit. Some non-Aboriginal children who live nearby and whose parents are prepared to participate would be admitted and children of project staff would also qualify for entrance. The attendance of their children would demonstrate their complete involvement in the project. Aboriginal children admitted to the project would be environmentally disadvantaged, but not suffering from other severe handicaps. They would come from families who show signs of willingness to participate in the project. Alternatively it could be appropriate for a whole group of Aboriginal families to be re-settled voluntarily from a remote non-viable area into a learning centre which itself would constitute this research demonstration and training model.

The project requires high quality staff and facilities and, whereas these are comparatively costly in the short run, they are inexpensive in the long run. Conversely, money apparently saved at the outset can easily become money wasted. *This model project is capable of implementation in every State of Australia.*

Two features envisaged for this project are research and evaluation, and inter-departmental co-operation. The basic purpose of the project is research into ways and means of Aboriginal advancement to integration by and with the agencies that will be responsible; measurement of the effectiveness of plans and programs in action; and, where necessary, research into needed modifications. The project would be inter-departmental because Aboriginal advancement to integration will require the fullest inter-departmental co-operation and the involvement and application of a wide range of specialist skills within and outside of government. A single government department is inappropriate for apartheid, not for advancement.

There is a wide gap between current Aboriginal welfare practice in Western Australia and what the results of research from numerous studies have shown ought to be practice. Social scientists, given the task, could modernise much that is archaic in Western Australian practice today without immediate research. This is not to say that the research proposed here should not be done, nor is it inconsistent to recommend that it be done. The purpose of this research is to generate attitudes of testing and evaluation on a continuing basis towards everything that is done. It is the sort of research which should be associated with action, not the sort of research that must precede action. Nor is this research proposal seen as the only research requirement for Aboriginal advancement, though it does
include in the one project all of the needed elements for integration with emphasis on interdependence of needs and comprehensiveness and coordination of plans and programs necessary for their fulfilment. Other needed action-oriented research includes feasibility studies of specific proposals for economic enterprises which could be managed by Aborigines, and research that will lead to reliable economic assessments of alternative rates and proposals for advancement to integration.
The benefits and costs of Aboriginal advancement to integration cannot all be measured, yet estimates of the financial quantities involved will be influential in determining the methods and rates governments will select. It is beyond the resources available to this study to obtain the necessary data to make estimates of benefits and costs. However, a model is presented which indicates the nature of data needed and their organisation and treatment for reliable benefit-cost estimates to be made of alternative plans and rates of integration.

Advancement for Aboriginal integration requires socialisation for behaviour in Australian communities of most Aborigines in Western Australia and their natural increase. There is no mystery about the methods, time, and costs. The methods already outlined are the same as for all other Australians, namely all-day learning in and from appropriate resource-learning mixes, including parents, peers, and teachers. The time is the same as for all other Australians, namely fifteen to twenty-five years from birth, which for ourselves is the time taken (in the absence of compensatory programs) to become adequate, independent persons. The costs too are the same, namely conventional housing, schooling and job training, plus the value of consumption forgone by parents and taxpayers during the learning-to-cope period. In the case of Aborigines, most parents are not coping adequately in the main society. They can socialise their children only for their sub-cultures of poverty. Integration requires that society initially provides the resource-learning mixes that normally are provided by independent families, and compensatory programs so that Aborigines can learn from viable communities.
Resource-learning mixes for integration are not costless, though it is not a simple matter to estimate their cost. Conceptually there are three distinct elements in the total social cost of the current Aboriginal situations:

1. The value of production forgone through unemployment and under-employment and under-payment of Aboriginal labour where these are the direct or indirect results of way-of-life poverty.

2. Government expenditure on Aborigines arising from the difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal rates of non-coping.

3. Expenditures by voluntary organisations such as mission societies, plus the value of their unpaid services, arising from the difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal rates of non-coping behaviour.

Assuming the continuation of Aboriginal welfare expenditures rather than of advancement expenditures, welfare costs in constant dollars are likely to increase by the annual rate of population increase (3 per cent currently and rising to 4 per cent perhaps by the year 2000) plus a betterment increase, equal perhaps to twice the increase in national real income per head, namely 4-5 per cent.

On the assumption that present welfare costs (expenditure in 2 and 3 above) are minimal, they will have to continue whilst additional resources and compensatory programs are being provided for, at least in the early years of an integration plan, because of the inevitable lag between the time of additional expenditures for advancement and the time of noticeable effect, for example in better health and less crime. Thus integration will involve additional expenditure, mainly by governments, not mere substitution of integration expenditures for welfare expenditures. However, at some future point in time the compensatory programs will have fulfilled their purpose and could be dropped, and the whole of the costs in 2 and 3 above also would become unnecessary. Also, in due course, production and income forgone would become production and income produced. Thus the marginal increase in governmental and voluntary organisation expenditures, which together could be called the integration increase, may be expected to have the twofold economic effect of transforming production forgone into production produced, and of transforming what otherwise would be rising government and private agency expenditures into falling expenditures. It is likely that the marginal social return to the marginal increase in social outlays (the integration increase) would be extremely high. However, in initial years there would be no return, but eventually there would be no cost. This discussion is illustrated by Figs. 1 and 2.
Fig. 1. Diagrammatic representation of social costs of Aborigines under current welfare programs, and effect of further programs which improve welfare but fail to achieve the goal of integration

The integration increase in social outlays is not the same as a welfare increase in social outlays. A welfare increase, or expenditure for improvement in welfare services, for example to permit substitution of social workers for welfare officers, will not result in increasing Aboriginal productivity, nor will partial or priority programs. Nor will spreading additional outlays thinly over all Aborigines anywhere transform forgone production into produced production.

Notwithstanding the high probability of an attractive social net financial pay-off ultimately to investment in Aboriginal integration (Fig. 2), there are obstacles to such investment being made readily:

1. There would be no immediate pay-off for effective integration
outlays. The outlays would have to be made by governments and voluntary organisations and would have to be additional to current total outlays. Moreover, the pay-off for government and voluntary organisations would be through reduced outlays rather than by increased income from the social returns.

2. The social returns would accrue to Aborigines and to persons with whom Aborigines would spend their increased income, not directly to the sources of the integration outlays.

3. The high degree of uncertainty of best estimates of financial benefits and costs, even with high prospects for favourable net outcome, is not conducive to ready willingness to embark with confidence on comprehensive planning.
4. There is no likely political pay-off to governments in the form of gaining or preventing the loss of marginally-held seats in either House of Parliament.

5. Additional finance is more easily used for improvement and betterment of current welfare than it is for advancement and integration. To ensure the latter will require comprehensive and co-operative planning by and between State and Commonwealth governments. It is easier for governments to spend on more of the same than to set out the new conditions, new standards, new requirements, and new plans for needed new directions.

The nature and scale of the needed resource-learning mixes for Aboriginal advancement to integration, and of the necessary administrative re-organisation, point to the need for fundamental changes by the government of Western Australia both in its concept of Aboriginal advancement and in the execution of its functions to achieve the goal. However, fundamental changes by government occur infrequently and do not come easily. Moreover, currently there is no overwhelming pressure either from outside or inside of government in Western Australia. Aboriginal advancement in Western Australia is not at present an important political issue, nor is it soon likely to become so. Aborigines are only 2.5 per cent of the total population and most Aboriginal adults are actually or functionally illiterate and unable to express themselves effectively. The isolated and widespread domicile of most Aborigines is unfavourable both to strong political interest by the public and to the development of strong leadership and effective pan-Aboriginalism among themselves. Aborigines do not have effective representation in government nor does there appear to be any factor in government likely to force change. It is easier and cheaper, in the short run, for the State government to continue its current policy, and by doing this it seems unlikely that it is prejudicing its political life. For these reasons major additional allocations from the State government resources are improbable, though additional budgetary allocations are likely to be made to cover the increase in Aboriginal population, the fall in the value of money, and a slight betterment increase.

Notwithstanding this formidable list of obstacles to integration outlays being made, there are two reasons why they ought to be made even though, in the short run at least, there are no compelling financial reasons for doing so. These are:

1. It is right to help Aborigines to advance from their sub-cultures of inter-generational, dependent, and extreme poverty and to become
fully coping persons in Australian society and equal to all other Australians.  

2. It is the only way Australia’s image overseas can be brightened with respect to the way it has treated and continues to treat its indigenous ethnic minority.

Neither of these reasons can be translated into financial quantities, but that it can be profitable in the long run to make investments in Aboriginal advancement to integration makes reputation, morality, and profitability a happy combination.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
Until the white man came to Western Australia Aborigines enjoyed relative freedom from want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness in terms of their needs then. They were self-determining; they reared their children to become self-sustaining and independent persons within family and tribal groups; they had well-defined and esteemed roles in their family and tribe; they had an appropriate identity, self-respect, and dignity; and they were motivated to participate as full members of their society.

One hundred and fifty years later the Aborigines are but one-half of their earlier number, they have been transformed from semi-nomadic hunters to sedentary unskilled labourers, and from freely self-determining persons to degraded dependants. About half have become genetically different, and in terms of ways of life now acceptable to both them and us, the needs of most of them are utterly unfulfilled. The transformation of Aboriginal attributes, from what they were then to what they are now, has resulted in ways of life in most Aborigines very different from the traditional, and yet unacceptable within the mainstream of Australian society. These impoverished ways of life are self-perpetuating and are associated with the geographic, social, and economic isolation and segregation of life on mission settlements, pastoral stations, and camping reserves. They constitute distinct sub-cultures which are characterised by extreme poverty, lack of identity, family failure, and dependency.

Set against this general background the aim of this study is to determine the necessary and sufficient conditions for advancement to integration of Aborigines in Western Australia, and to devise practical plans and
programs to this end. For plans and programs to be effective they will have to be comprehensive and co-ordinated, not piecemeal, and will have to be based on an assessment of each currently typical Aboriginal situation in the State, and on principles of intervention which ensure that Aborigines can leave their sub-cultures of self-perpetuating poverty and can in fact advance to integration.

Integration is now the final goal of Australian society for Aborigines. For plans and programs to qualify as advancement to integration, they must cater for real and equal life opportunities and tolerate cultural differences between persons of dissimilar ethnic heritage. There is nothing in the requirements for the integration of Aborigines that is not tacitly prescribed by Australian society for all of its members.

The specific sets of needs which require to be fulfilled as a condition of Aboriginal advancement are socio-economic, socio-psychological, opportunities for growth and development of relevant personal characteristics, and opportunities for self-determination. Welfare, the current means of trying to achieve the goal of integration, cannot succeed. It was designed to alleviate inadequate-income poverty, whereas the poverty of Aborigines is way-of-life poverty. Moreover, welfare is compatible with apartheid. Improvement can be an outcome of welfare, but alone it too is unlikely to result in integration. Improvement is consistent with maintaining and even widening the gap between Aboriginal and our ways of life, whereas in most respects integration means closing the gap. Advancement must be substituted for welfare and improvement if the goal of integration is to be achieved. Advancement alone implies continually meeting the needs of Aborigines until assistance is no longer required.

More resources from governments are an essential requirement for Aboriginal integration. The resources required are for selected and trained Aboriginal and other personnel, conventional housing, cottage homes, teenager hostels, family learning centres, pre-natal-mothercraft-infant-health-day-care and pre-school centres, compensatory and relevant schooling and job-training facilities for all Aboriginal children and for all Aboriginal adults who desire advancement. The purpose of these resources, facilities, and services is to create opportunities for all children, and for all adults who wish, to learn behaviour for life in Australian communities. This involves the creation of appropriate resource-learning mixes for and with Aborigines, and setting a schedule of target dates for the implementation of each component in plans for advancement. It also involves the creation of real alternatives for Aborigines to living on mission settlements,
pastoral stations, camping reserves, and in primary school children’s
dormitory hostels, and setting a schedule of target dates for the closure of
these missions, reserves, and hostels.

For the effective use of resources the administration requires to
facilitate, not to frustrate, the purpose of their allocation. Currently, the
very existence of the Department of Native Welfare in Western Australia
is an obstacle to Aboriginal integration. It blocks other government
departments from extending their services to cater for all Australians; it
treats Aborigines as administratively apart from all other Australians; it is
a means whereby government services are permitted to be lower in
standard for Aborigines than for all other Australians; and it is a barrier
between Local Government Authorities and other organisations and
Aborigines. All of the functions of the Department of Native Welfare
should be transferred to relevant existing government departments, and
the Native Welfare Act, 1963 and the Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act,
1944 should be repealed.

The necessary administrative conditions for Aboriginal advancement
include the establishment of a Social Planning Council with elected
Aboriginal membership located in the office of the Premier; the laying
down of standards by the Commonwealth government for resources,
services, and personnel required to fulfil the necessary and sufficient
conditions for advancement; and the invitation from the Commonwealth
government to the State government, and through it Local Government
Authorities and other organisations, to apply for finance for plans worked
out in accordance with these standards.

Another administrative requirement for Aboriginal advancement is for
the government to set an appropriate rate at which it aims to achieve the
goal of integration. Nowhere in Western Australia is there evidence of
Aboriginal advancement at too fast a rate, or of resources for advance­
ment being made available too rapidly for this purpose. Moreover, the
resource requirements for all Aborigines who can and want to advance
at the maximum rate are well within the means of governments. (An
indication of the size of society’s task of advancement to integration in
Western Australia is given by a comparison with immigration. Housing,
employment, schooling, job-training, and special services have to be
found once, for about 20,000 Aborigines—and thereafter for their natural
increase. This is less than has been found each year recently for the State’s
annual intake of immigrants.) The rate advocated in this study and the
strategies, plans, and programs presented here aim to ensure that the
children of all Aborigines first married in 1971 and later will be reared
by their parents as independent persons fully integrated in the mainstream of Australian society.

What needs to be done to achieve Aboriginal integration is known. The requirements are more resources from governments, selected and trained Aborigines and other personnel, real participation and involvement by Aborigines in decision making from the grass roots to the top, and appropriate administrative, planning, and research facilities. How to get these is known. To mobilise them is the only lack. The State and Commonwealth governments could do this if they wanted to. If Aborigines were white, governments almost certainly would want to mobilise the requisite resources. They probably would be made to. But Aborigines are not white, and governments currently seem not to want to mobilise sufficient resources for their advancement to integration.
POSTSCRIPT
FIRST QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Many persons with considerable experience in Aboriginal affairs have helped this study by their constructive criticism. Some of this criticism is presented here in the form of questions which are replied to in order to encourage further informed discussion on Aboriginal advancement to integration.

*Should Aborigines be taught our way of life, with its many defects and shortcomings?*

Behind this question is the idea that Aborigines presently have a superior way of life or that they can be socialised towards a life-style which is preferable to our own. Those who have this idea fail to see the alternative, namely that Aborigines will have no freedom to choose a life-style until they have learned to cope independently. The idea also implies that what is good enough for us is not good enough for Aborigines. However, it is certain that almost all Aborigines want a level of living equal to that of our own. They cannot achieve this unless they acquire the requisite attributes, motivations, and skills. These can be acquired only through advancement to integration.

*Why not create opportunities for Aborigines to utilise their special innate skills and attributes?*

The only skills and attributes that are relevant are those which can be used in the main society, for instance black-tracking. Aboriginal art forms are being commercialised as designs for European Christmas cards and decorations on china ash-trays and tea towels—hardly adequate occupational outlets for the Aborigines. Corroboree-dancing, artefacts, bark-painting and picture-making may be developed as enterprises for a few.
Integration requires the creation of opportunities for the full range of occupations, from labourer to administrator, not the restriction of opportunities to those associated with ethnic heritage. There is no reason to believe that the Aboriginal population has less innate potential than the non-Aboriginal population in Australia to acquire the full range of personal skills. Given the full range of opportunities, Aborigines will move, in due course, into those occupations which they prefer.

The proposed intervention strategy of providing hostel or home living in fully viable communities and compensatory education and job-training until at least the legal minimum school-leaving age involves separation of children from parents. May this not result in emotional harm greater than the good hoped for?

It is true that separation of children from their parents can be harmful and the younger the child at separation the greater the likely harm. But there are situations in which the interest of the child almost regardless of its age is best served by separation from its parents. In any case, separation of children, particularly adolescents, from parents for the purpose of education and job-training is often virtually a necessary and standard feature of country life in Australia. This separation is planned by many parents for their children and should not be taken as a reflection of parental inadequacies. The tendency is for many Aboriginal children in Western Australia not to finish their compulsory schooling because of lack of adequate hostel and home facilities where high schools are at present located, and because the high school curriculum is unsuitable for them. Although this intervention strategy does involve family separation by bringing adolescents into conventional living situations in viable communities, its purpose is to make the opportunities for Aboriginal children equal with those for our own children. This is not the separation of segregation and of isolation, which is now standard for Aboriginal children in government primary school hostels. It simply means doing for Aboriginal children what other Australian parents are able to do for their children. Separation is important: it can be a damaging experience, but it can also be a constructive experience, and for some it is a necessary condition for personal development.

What becomes of pensioners and others who would be unable to benefit from training and re-settlement programs?

They will continue to receive welfare and to live much as they do now. The intervention strategies and programs constitute opportunities for voluntary, not enforced, participation. Emphasis is on the creation of a wide range of opportunities for advancement to integration of Aborigines who are likely to be most responsive.
Is not the proposed Social Planning Council, except for Aboriginal representation, similar to Boards which have failed utterly in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia?

There is no evidence that these Boards failed because of their constitution or membership; but it is not to be taken as certain that the proposed Social Planning Council would succeed in Western Australia either. An appropriate administrative structure is a necessary but not sufficient condition for Aboriginal advancement. An administration cannot succeed without adequate resources, nor can resources substitute adequately for an inappropriate administrative structure. The point is that, in Western Australia, administration and resources for Aboriginal advancement to integration are both as yet utterly inadequate.

The plans and programs call for skilled and sensitive persons able to work non-directively with Aborigines. Are there sufficient of them to execute the programs?

They must be sought for. How to attract and train such people, both Aboriginal and white, is no secret. If government will not do this, then a necessary condition of advancement will not be fulfilled.

The emphasis in the programs appears to be on advancement at rates not capable of being sustained by Aborigines. Could this result in inverted apartheid (forced assimilation)?

There is no evidence that Aborigines anywhere in Western Australia have been subjected to too rapid a rate of advancement. Moreover, the particular rate advocated in this study relies heavily on the Aborigines' voluntary acceptance of opportunities, and on attempts to equalise the opportunities for Aboriginal children and newly-marrieds, with those that we have for ourselves. This study also specifically recognises that some Aborigines cannot and will not come within the scope of advancement programs as distinct from welfare programs.

Goodwill and co-operation of Aborigines is essential. This does not exist now because of the mistakes of the past. Will it be built up quickly?

No, it will not; nor are the negative attitudes of some Aborigines likely to change. But the quickest way to achieve and maintain the goodwill and co-operation of as many Aborigines as possible is to plan for advancement at the maximum rates to which all are willing to respond, and to provide for their fullest involvement and participation in both the planning and the execution of the programs.

With the proposed closure of the mission settlements, will not evangelist-type missionaries seek to enter the field of family-group-homes and carry on their activities there?
For the programs outlined, the stress is on the need for selection and training of all personnel by government and for facilities of adequate standard. Most missionaries would agree with the need for these.

_Won’t there be great missionary resistance to the proposals in this study?_

There may not be. Many missionaries are aware of the gap between what they are now doing and able to do and what ought to be done. If there is missionary resistance to these proposals it could be due to their failure to distinguish between the Aborigines’ and their own real interests, or to their disagreement that this study has laid down necessary and sufficient conditions for Aboriginal advancement.

_Until the programs outlined catch the imagination of the public so that there is great pressure on government, will the funds for their implementation be forthcoming?_

Probably not. In Western Australia initiative and drive for the Ord River project, for more immigrants, for more foreign investment capital, for regional hospitals, for a naval base, and for the Mitchell Freeway originated largely from within government rather than from public pressure. In the absence of equivalent initiative and drive from within government for Aboriginal advancement, little will be done until public pressure forces it to act.

_The strategies proposed are admirable but will the steps outlined ever be implemented?_

This study set out to determine the necessary and sufficient conditions for Aboriginal advancement to integration. It did not set out to prophesy the strategies that government would be certain to adopt.

_Isn’t the Department of Native Welfare organised to implement everything in this study and its only lack, adequate staff?_

No. The Department’s existence frustrates Aboriginal advancement because it is not an appropriate administrative organisation for this purpose. Moreover, attraction and training of staff is as much a part of the essential procedure as is the creation of opportunities for the fulfilment of the needs of Aborigines.

Integration of Aborigines inevitably requires loss of their identity as Aborigines; how can it be the appropriate goal for Aborigines?

Many Aborigines already display lack of identity, some already have an identity strongly associated with negative elements in their camping reserve way of life, and others still have an identity associated with their traditional way of life. If Aborigines in Western Australia continue to live as now, their traditional identity, which already has largely been destroyed, is likely to disappear altogether. Integration is the only goal that can provide for the
reconstruction of a positive Aboriginal identity based on equal opportunities in the main society.

The learning centres idea sounds good, but what of those who are accepted but after entry cannot or will not respond?

Willingness to participate in the ways laid down is both a condition of admission and of remaining in such a centre. Repeated failure to observe the rules must result in the whole family returning to its previous domicile or in other arrangements being made, such as the children living in homes with substitute parents. This is bound to happen with some persons and families.

Some Aboriginal groups have more than dependence and poverty acting as a social cement. They have some attitudes, values, and practices which stem from their Aboriginal past. Could these not be a positive aid to the process of acculturation?

Aborigines have much more in common than dependence and poverty. They have bonds of kinship, colour, ethnic heritage and, since the coming of the white man, a history of maltreatment and discrimination. For some these bonds may be slight, for others they may be significant. Where they are significant the proposed strategies of intervention have taken them into account specifically by providing learning centres for families who wish to advance as part of a group. Also, the principles and strategies set out in this study include provision for full Aboriginal involvement as participants in decision making and in the operation of programs, not only as recipients of welfare. It is through this involvement that traditional positive values could become part of the acculturation process.

Does the Commonwealth Minister in charge of Aboriginal Affairs place more emphasis than does this study on finding out exactly what are the Aboriginal people’s desires, and on fostering local industries for Aborigines?

Yes, there is a difference of emphasis. The purpose of this study is to set down necessary and sufficient conditions of advancement to integration as the basis for creating and planning opportunities for all Aborigines who already desire to advance. This approach is different from trying to find out what are the Aboriginal people’s desires. In this study the desire for advancement to integration is taken as given and the emphasis is on creating opportunities for advancement to integration, especially for children, adolescents, newly-marrieds, and groups of families. This requires expert planning by many people. Moreover, the strategies proposed here specifically include detailed provision for Aboriginal involvement and participation in all stages of planning and operating programs, and include provision for Aborigines to choose their own leaders rather than for government to decide whom it will recognise as leaders.
With reference to fostering local industries for Aborigines, each situation must be examined on its merits. But in Western Australia this is unlikely to be a major condition of Aboriginal advancement if only because most Aborigines live where there is little or no industrial activity or potential.
The statistical information included in Appendices A to G refers to Western Australia unless otherwise stated. It has the twofold purpose of providing evidence in support of statements in the foregoing chapters about conditions of living and characteristics of Aborigines in Western Australia today, and of providing a basis for estimating present and future needs of Aborigines which require to be fulfilled for their advancement to integration.

The base year in these appendices is 1966 because it is the year of the most recent census and therefore the year for which the greatest amount of relevant statistical information is available. It would have been possible to make 1969 the base year but to have done so would have entailed substantial work merely for the sake of including some more up-to-date figures. These would be unlikely to have materially altered the descriptions, analysis, or proposals in this study. However, a projection of the Aboriginal population by age groups has been made to the year 2001 (Table A 10). This information and the implicit rates of Aboriginal population growth also shown in the table constitute perhaps the most important statistical basis for planning Aboriginal advancement.

The statistics on Aborigines refer to Aboriginal persons as defined by the Western Australian government unless otherwise stated. This definition includes any person with more than one-quarter Aboriginal blood. This is not the same as the definition used for the Commonwealth census, nor that used by all other State governments, nor that which would necessarily be accepted by all individuals of Aboriginal ancestry. The reason for using the Western Australian government’s definition in this study is that for the persons in Western Australia so defined, the government has statutory responsibility. However, in 1968 there was estimated to be a further 3,000 persons of one-quarter or less Aboriginal blood,¹ eligible to receive ‘benefits and privileges conferred on natives’ under the Native Welfare Act, 1963 (section 10), at the discretion of the Minister.

The statistics presented are the best available despite their inadequacies. Administrators in some government departments believe that it is discriminatory to distinguish between Aborigines and others at both the point of collection and of publication of statistics. Other administrators do not see the need for these statistics even for internal departmental use, and from others and most—not all—

¹ Commissioner of Native Welfare, private communication.
missionary organisations there was distinct reluctance even to attempt to provide the few figures requested. These opinions are understandable, unhelpful, and unfortunate; reasonably accurate statistics are a basic requirement for planning. To plan effectively for Aboriginal advancement to integration it will be necessary to obtain better statistics than those presently available. Meantime, the statistics presented in these appendices may be accepted as the best available in 1969.

The statistics on the total population in Western Australia which are included in these appendices for purposes of comparison refer to the total population as defined for the 1966 census unless otherwise stated. This definition excludes persons of more than half Aboriginal blood but includes Aboriginal persons of half-blood or less. It is impossible to exclude the latter from any breakdown of the total, but because they were less than 1 per cent of the total, their inclusion cannot significantly affect the figures presented.
APPENDIX A

Characteristics and Projection of the Aboriginal Population

The definition of ‘Aboriginal’ has varied from one Commonwealth census to another and none is the same as that used by the Department of Native Welfare of the government of Western Australia. The number of Aborigines in Western Australia included in the 1966 census figure for the Aboriginal population refers to those persons who described themselves 'as being 50 per cent or more Aboriginal or simply as Aboriginal'. For the Department of Native Welfare a 'native' is any person with more than one-fourth Aboriginal blood. Population in 1966. The most recent census year is 1966, and this is the base year for the population statistics in this study.

The difference in definition of Aboriginal would account for some of the difference between the Department of Native Welfare figure of 21,890 for the Aboriginal population in 1966, and the census total of 18,439, but it cannot account for it all. For this study a detailed comparison was made of the two estimates and of data derived independently from departmental records of missions, stations and schools, and reports from Local Government Authorities. The figure finally settled on was 20,743. This is 2.5 per cent of the total population of Western Australia. The distribution of the Aboriginal and the total populations throughout the State is shown by Statistical Divisions in Table A 1, and the distribution of the Aboriginal population is also shown on the endpaper map. These presentations show the extreme isolation of most of the Aboriginal population from the non-Aboriginal population.

Age Structure 1966. For the Dowley and Schapper estimates of age structure (Table A 2), data on ages from pastoral station and mission reports and school returns were used in conjunction with the then available census statistics in which the 0-14 years age group was shown in aggregate. For the South-Western part of the State where census omissions were most noticeable, an Aboriginal age structure was derived by projecting figures for half-caste Aborigines from previous censuses. In the first instance a projection from 1961 was made, but this appeared to indicate

4 This and other estimates were made by M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper.
### Table A1: Aboriginal and total populations by location, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistical Division</th>
<th>Aborigines (Census)</th>
<th>Aborigines (Dowley-Schapper)</th>
<th>Total population* (Census)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Agricultural</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Agricultural</td>
<td>1,755</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Agricultural</td>
<td>1,587</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Goldfields</td>
<td>2,162</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>1,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>1,159</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilbara</td>
<td>1,866</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>5,905</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>6,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migratory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,439</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20,743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes full-blood Aborigines.


...
APPENDIX A

Dowley and Schapper for each Statistical Division, and these Divisions were combined into the two groups shown in Table A 4. The Perth and South-West group coincides with the high concentration of European settlement and virtually all the Aborigines here are of part-European blood. The Rest of State coincides with the low concentration of white settlement and contains virtually all of the full-blood Aborigines and nearly one half of the part-European Aborigines.5

Table A 2: Aboriginal and total populations by five-year age groups, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age last birthday (years)</th>
<th>Aboriginals (Census)</th>
<th>Aboriginals (Dowley-Schapper)</th>
<th>Total population* (Census)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>3,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>2,742</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>3,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>2,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1,538</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1,263</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1,071</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding Not stated)</td>
<td>17,767</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>672</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,439</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20,743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes full-blood Aborigines.


From Table A 4 it may be seen that of the Aboriginal population in Perth and South-West region 48.9 per cent were under 15 years of age and that 41.6 per cent in the Rest of State were in this age group. There are three factors contributing to this substantial difference: (i) the higher infant mortality in the Rest of State; (ii) the lower proportion of adult females in the child-bearing age group in the Rest of State, and (iii) the longer intervals between births of successive children to women in the Rest of State.

### APPENDIX A

#### Table A 3: Aboriginal and total populations—Selected characteristics, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Aborigines (Dowley-Schapper)</th>
<th>Total population* (Census)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school children, 0-4 years</td>
<td>3,419</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School children, 5-14 years</td>
<td>5,712</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total children, 0-14 years</td>
<td>9,131</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males, work force age, 15-64 years</td>
<td>5,426</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females, work force age, 15-59 years</td>
<td>4,802</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons pension age</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,743</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children 0-14 per 100 women of childbearing age 15-44 238 154
Children 0-14 per 100 persons of work force age 89 52
Children 0-14 plus persons of retirement age per 100 persons of work force age 103 69

* Excludes full-blood Aborigines.


#### Table A 4: Aboriginal population by five-year age groups in two regional areas, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age last birthday (years)</th>
<th>Perth and South-West*</th>
<th>Rest of State†</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0- 4</td>
<td>1,336</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- 9</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,914</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Comprises the Statistical Divisions of Perth, South-West, Central Agricultural, Southern Agricultural and the southern part of Northern Agricultural. (Department of Native Welfare Divisions: Central and Southern.)

† Comprises the remaining Statistical Divisions of Eastern Goldfields, Central, North-West, Pilbara, Kimberley and the northern part of Northern Agricultural. (Department of Native Welfare Divisions: Northern, North-West, North Central and Eastern.)

Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper estimates.
### Table A 5: Aboriginal population by age group and domicile, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Mission* settlements</th>
<th>Mission* dormitory hostels</th>
<th>D.N.W.† dormitory hostels</th>
<th>Pastoral stations</th>
<th>Perth‡ Metro. area</th>
<th>Other‡ urban areas</th>
<th>Other‡ rural areas</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>1,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-age</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>1,066</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-age persons</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>2,247</td>
<td>3,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>(476)</td>
<td>(136)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(1,530)</td>
<td>(152)</td>
<td>(1,096)</td>
<td>(2,016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>(8.8)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(28.6)</td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td>(20.2)</td>
<td>(37.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>(497)</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(1,024)</td>
<td>(198)</td>
<td>(1,151)</td>
<td>(1,810)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>(10.4)</td>
<td>(2.6)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(21.3)</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>(24.0)</td>
<td>(37.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension age</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>2,302</td>
<td>1,398</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>3,835</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>4,549</td>
<td>7,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Missions are native missions as listed in the Commissioner of Native Welfare's *Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1966*. Children living at mission settlements without their parents were excluded where possible from this column and entered under mission hostels.

† Department of Native Welfare.

‡ Excluding missions etc., in these areas.

Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper estimates.
Location by Domicile in 1966. The distribution of the Aboriginal population between various institutional and other domiciles is shown by four socially important age groups in Table A 5.

From this table it may be seen of the Aboriginal population in 1966:

1. That about 19 per cent were institutionalised: just under 18 per cent by mission organisations and 1.4 per cent in Department of Native Welfare hostels. For school-age children the percentage in institutions was 35.1.

2. That 18.5 per cent were on pastoral stations.

3. That the age distribution within missions, hostels, and stations reflected a high degree of family separation; 18.7 per cent of school-age children were living away from their parents in mission hostels, a further 5.1 per cent in Department of Native Welfare hostels, and 2.2 per cent of the pre-school children were living in mission hostels. The proportion of men of working age was low on missions compared to women and children, and high on pastoral stations.

Table A 6 shows the contrast between the proportions of the Aboriginal and total populations in urban and rural areas in 1966. Only 3.9 per cent of the

Table A 6: Aboriginal and total populations, urban and rural, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aboriginal population</th>
<th>Total population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth Metropolitan Area</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Urban</td>
<td>4,745</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Urban</td>
<td>5,544</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Rural</td>
<td>15,199</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migratory</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,743</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes full-blood Aborigines.

Aborigines lived in the Perth metropolitan area, whereas for the total population the proportion was 59.8 per cent. In other urban areas the percentages were 22.9 for Aborigines and 16.8 for the total. The remaining Aborigines, 73.3 per cent, lived in rural areas in contrast to only 23.1 per cent of the total population.

The data in Tables A 5 and A 6, together with the map, illustrate the isolation of Aborigines due both to their institutionalisation and the location of their domicile. Projections to the Year 2001. The growth of the Aboriginal population was estimated for the next thirty-five years following the census of 1966. For this purpose the State was divided into the two areas detailed in Table A 4. In 1966 about one-third of the Aboriginal population was living in the Perth and South-West group of Statistical Divisions, where living conditions on average are somewhat better than those for the two-thirds living in the Rest of State group of Statistical Divisions. It was assumed that the mortality rates are lower in the Perth and South-West
Divisions, which is in accordance with the scanty evidence available. Higher fertility was also assumed, and this is consistent with the difference in age structure between the two groups—see Table A 4.

For mortality rates at different ages reference was made to model life tables for underdeveloped countries. But appropriate infant mortality rates had to be estimated and these are shown in Table A 7.

**Table A 7: Infant mortality rates used in projection of Aboriginal population***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quinquennia</th>
<th>Perth and South-West</th>
<th>Rest of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-56</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-61</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-81</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-86</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-91</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-96</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2001</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Deaths under one year per thousand live births (excludes stillbirths).

The choice of 120 as the infant mortality rate for the Rest of State for the period 1961-6 was based on a comparison with the Northern Territory (infant mortality rate 1958-60 approximately 135) and data on births and deaths of full-bloods in Western Australia, 1961-6, giving an average infant mortality rate of 102. (These registrations are known to be incomplete.) Rates for subsequent years were obtained by assuming a drop of 20 per cent per quinquennium (4·5 per cent per annum). The rates for earlier years are consistent with the age structure in 1966.

For the population of Perth and the South-West an infant mortality rate of 60 was assumed over the years 1961-6, considerably lower than for the Rest of State and consistent with more adequate living conditions, but still considerably higher than for the non-Aboriginal population (1961-6, average 20). Rates for previous and subsequent years were obtained by assuming a drop of 15 per cent per quinquennium (i.e. approximately 3·25 per cent per annum). This would bring the infant mortality rate for Aborigines in the Perth and South-West region down to 19 by the end of the century, the level at which it stood for non-Aborigines in 1966. Judging by the experience of Western Australia since 1900, and for other countries, these rates of improvement (4·5 and 3·25 per cent per annum respectively) from high infant mortality rates are not unrealistic.

---


8 See United Nations, *Demographic Yearbooks*. 
Table A 8: Age specific fertility rates used in projection of Aboriginal population*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group of females</th>
<th>Perth and South-West (Indians in Fiji 1956)</th>
<th>Rest of State (Maoris 1964)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total fertility rate:
- Children/Woman 6·8
- 6·1

* Rates per 1,000 females in age group.

Table A 9: Aboriginal population by five-year age groups, 1946 to 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age last birthday (years)</th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1947*</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1954*</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1961*</th>
<th>1966*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>1,805</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,541</td>
<td>2,885</td>
<td>3,206</td>
<td>3,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>1,484</td>
<td>1,492</td>
<td>1,523</td>
<td>1,757</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>2,705</td>
<td>3,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>1,421</td>
<td>1,463</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>2,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>1,256</td>
<td>1,326</td>
<td>1,367</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>1,472</td>
<td>1,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1,089</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>1,288</td>
<td>1,251</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>1,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>1,117</td>
<td>1,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>566†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 12,616 12,787 13,542 14,788 15,652 18,101 20,743

Per cent growth per annum‡ 1·43 2·94 2·95 2·76

* Census Years.
† The numbers in this age group are overstated due to overestimation of age when considering eligibility for old-age pension. This causes some distortion in the age pattern in previous years.
‡ Over previous quinquennium.
Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper estimates.
APPENDIX A

There are no estimates at all of the fertility of Aborigines in Western Australia, and no data on which to base an estimate. Therefore the best that could be done was to look at fertility patterns for comparable populations and to select a pattern which fitted the known age structure.

For Perth and South-West the age specific rates of Indians in Fiji (1956) were used, and for the Rest of State, Maoris (1964). These rates are shown in Table A 8. They have been used throughout the calculations from 1946 to 2001.

The estimates presented in Tables A 9 and A 10 are simply the outcome of calculations based on stated assumptions about age structure and mortality and fertility rates. Although they should not be taken as accurate forecasts, they are an almost indispensable set of data for quantifying Aboriginal needs and for planning advancement to integration.

The average annual rate of increase of the Aboriginal population during each quinquennium which is implied in these estimates is also shown in Tables A 9 and A 10. The current rate is estimated to be 3.13 per cent per annum, and it is estimated that it will rise to about 4 per cent per annum by the turn of the century, provided that the assumptions about mortality and fertility rates are correct.

Table A 10: Aboriginal population by five-year age groups, 1966 to 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>3,419</td>
<td>4,216</td>
<td>5,292</td>
<td>6,606</td>
<td>7,872</td>
<td>9,558</td>
<td>11,704</td>
<td>14,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>3,043</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>4,092</td>
<td>5,168</td>
<td>6,474</td>
<td>7,752</td>
<td>9,442</td>
<td>11,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>2,669</td>
<td>3,013</td>
<td>3,264</td>
<td>4,066</td>
<td>5,142</td>
<td>6,447</td>
<td>7,725</td>
<td>9,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1,862</td>
<td>2,650</td>
<td>2,996</td>
<td>3,248</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>5,124</td>
<td>6,428</td>
<td>7,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>1,842</td>
<td>2,626</td>
<td>2,974</td>
<td>3,227</td>
<td>4,025</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>6,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>1,820</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>2,948</td>
<td>3,202</td>
<td>3,998</td>
<td>5,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1,232</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>2,575</td>
<td>2,925</td>
<td>3,179</td>
<td>3,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>3,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>1,189</td>
<td>1,278</td>
<td>1,372</td>
<td>1,762</td>
<td>2,521</td>
<td>2,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td>1,255</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,736</td>
<td>2,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>1,015</td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td>1,224</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>1,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>1,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,743</td>
<td>24,198</td>
<td>28,688</td>
<td>34,434</td>
<td>41,362</td>
<td>49,924</td>
<td>60,558</td>
<td>73,832</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Per cent growth per annum* 2.76  3.13  3.46  3.72  3.74  3.84  3.94  4.04

* Over previous quinquennium.
Source: M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper estimates.
Aborigines in Western Australia live in a wide range of dwellings: wurleys and shanties, Department of Native Welfare types of transitional housing, and conventional housing of State Housing Commission standards. Full statistical details are not available.

*Housing in 1966.* The housing of Aborigines living on mission settlements and pastoral stations has been discussed in Chapter 5. For the Perth metropolitan area it was estimated that one-third of the Aboriginal population were living in hostels, prison, and foster homes, and two-thirds in conventional housing and accommodation of which at least half was sub-standard.

**Table B 1: Department of Native Welfare Housing, 1966 and 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1966*</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary transitional (communal facilities) reserve housing</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard transitional (self-contained)</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth metropolitan area</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>585</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The figures are different from those in Appendix 5 of the Commissioner of Native Welfare’s *Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1966* because houses authorised but not completed have been excluded from this table.


For the 12,186 Aborigines living in Other Urban and Other Rural areas (Table A 5) there were known to be available 584 Department of Native Welfare dwellings, approximately 120 State Housing Commission homes, and a further 400 dwellings provided by Railways Commission, farmers, and other employers, and including some that were privately leased and owned. At the rate of one family per dwelling, this housing would have provided shelter for 1,100 families, whereas there were 1,900 families and 700 pensioners in this section of the Aboriginal population. The calculation equates the one-room primary transitional shelter with a conventional house. This still leaves 800 other families accommodated in wurleys or shanties or doubling up with families in the less primitive dwellings.
Aboriginal Household Survey: 1967-8. An Aboriginal Household Survey was made in 1967-8. Seventeen different interviewers completed a standard questionnaire for 123 households located in the centres shown in Table B 2. The selection was uncontrolled; interviewers were asked to interview Aborigines with whom they were on friendly speaking terms. The results cannot appropriately be used as if they were typical of the total Aboriginal situation or of any part of it larger than is presented here. The results show a situation far better than the total reality if only because wurleys are not included. It is emphasised that the results apply only to 123 households and the 875 Aboriginal persons living in them and the 95 additional persons for whom these dwellings were home.

The location and classes of dwellings are shown in Tables B 3 and B 4.

Table B 2: Location of dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dwellings No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dwellings No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allawah Grove—Perth</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mt Barker</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverley</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moora</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookton</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mookinbudin</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busselton</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Narrogin</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnarvon</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Pingelly</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Perth</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Quairading</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnowangerup</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tambellup</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katanning</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>123</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extent of segregation is shown by the location of 70 per cent of dwellings on reserves, and by style of housing, 24 per cent of which were hut/shanty/shed. Segregation is further emphasised by the data in Table B 5, which show that 45 per cent and 8 per cent of dwellings were of all iron, and canvas/iron construction respectively, and Table B 6 shows that 24 per cent of dwellings had less than three rooms.
Given the location, construction, and size of dwelling, its facilities can generally be fairly accurately inferred; inadequacies in construction and size are not usually compensated for, but are reflected in inadequate facilities. This is confirmed by the

Table B 4: Dwellings by class, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Dwellings No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House or flat</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hut/shanty/shed</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B 5: Construction of dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Dwellings No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbestos</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canvas or canvas/iron, etc.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B 6: Rooms per dwelling, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of rooms</th>
<th>Dwellings No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

data on beds and facilities in Tables B 7 and B 8 respectively. The bed situation, combined with the small number of rooms per dwelling, is in accordance with early initiation to sex, which is a widely observed behavioural characteristic of persons living in extreme poverty. In the 123 dwellings there were 536 beds and cots for 875 people living in the dwellings at the time of the interview. There were also 95 persons for whom the dwellings were home but who were away at the time. Assuming that two spouses in each dwelling shared one bed, there would
have been 413 beds for the other 629 persons. For all persons to sleep in beds at not more than two per bed, only 197 occupants out of the total of 875 could have slept alone. Of these 875 there were 513 under the age of 15 years. The physical conditions required that many persons in addition to spouses nightly slept together, or on the floor, or both.

Table B 7: Beds per dwelling,* Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of beds</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 or more</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>123</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes cots.

Table B 8: Facilities in dwellings, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. with</td>
<td>No. without</td>
<td>Not Recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate kitchen</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communal</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communal</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running water</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electric</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerosene and gas</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lining</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window treatments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glass</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flyscreens</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor material</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concrete</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor coverings</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewers were asked in the light of their own opinion to rate for the family situation in each dwelling the adequacy of furnishings, and of food storage and school homework facilities. Their ratings are presented in Table B 9 and are in general accordance with the data in Tables B 4, B 6, B 7, and B 8.
This survey of housing provides support for the contention that the physical aspects of daily living of many Aborigines prevent them from learning to live in and manage adequately a conventional house.

The 123 dwellings were occupied by 875 persons at the time of interview, and were home for a further 95 persons who were absent at that time. The average number of occupants per dwelling therefore was 7.1 at the time of the interview, and the dwellings were home for an average of 7.9 persons. The Western Australian average was 3.5 occupants per dwelling at the time of the 1966 census.

The size of households is shown in Table B 10. Almost 75 per cent of the households had six or more members. There were 106 families each with a dwelling to themselves, 22 families sharing two to a dwelling, and 18 families sharing three families to a dwelling.

The age structure of the total 970 persons is presented in Table B 11 with that of the Dowley and Schapper estimate for 1966 of the Perth and South-West...
Table B 11: Occupants of dwellings by age, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age last birthday</th>
<th>Occupants of dwellings in household survey</th>
<th>Perth and South-West Aborigines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and over</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aborigines from Table A 4. Comparison of these age structures shows the household sample to be more heavily weighted with persons in the 0-14 years age groups and less heavily weighted with persons 40 years and older. This is in accordance with the expectation that it would be larger and younger family groups living in the Perth metropolitan and larger urban areas than in the more distant areas.

Table B 12: Relationship of occupants, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to head of household</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(109)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-law</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No relation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationships to one another of persons in the households are shown in Table B 12. In-laws, grandchildren, and other relatives accounted for a combined 18 per cent of total occupants. It is commonly stated that this sharing is the Aboriginal way. It may simply reflect physical insufficiency of houses.
There are two sets of statistics which record Aboriginal employment and occupations as at 30 June 1966 in Western Australia: (i) native employment by district and industry in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Native Welfare, and (ii) the 1966 census. Both are inadequate and misleading. Both estimates make inadequate provision for the characteristically seasonal nature of work undertaken by Aborigines. In the case of the Department of Native Welfare estimates, no reference at all is made to unemployment. These estimates, as presented, more properly refer to industry and occupation of persons believed to be in the work force than to employment. In the census the estimate of the number in the Aboriginal work force likewise could not take adequate account of some of its special characteristics: (i) casual work, (ii) part-time work, and (iii) the proportion of the Aboriginal population ‘not receiving wages or a salary and who usually worked less than 15 hours a week’. The census figure of employment is for one day of the year, 30 June. The choice of this day is likely to minimise the unemployment rate among Aborigines, so many of whom work in the Kimberleys where the off-work period is ‘the wet’, which is normally the four months January to April.

The comparative data in Table C 1 show for Aborigines:

1. That the rate of unemployment (5.4 per cent) was three and a half times that of the total population (1.5 per cent).
2. That the work force relative to their total population (26.2 per cent) was much lower than for the total population (40.6 per cent).
3. That there was a higher proportion of children of dependent age (44.8 per cent) than for the total population (33.8 per cent).
4. That there was a rate of institutionalisation four times greater (2.8 per cent) than for the total population (0.7 per cent).
5. That ‘others not in the work force’ were a higher proportion (4.9 per cent) than in the total population (1.1 per cent).

Every feature of occupational status shown in Table C 1 as recorded by the Commonwealth Census 1966 illustrates an aspect of Aboriginal employment disadvantage, in comparison with the total population.

The questionnaire for the Aboriginal Household Survey (see Appendix B) included questions on employment and occupation. The results on occupational status are presented in Table C 2. The rate of unemployment of 16.7 per cent
### Table C 1: Aboriginal and total population by occupational status, 1966

| Occupational status | Department of Native Welfare | Census |  |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------|
|                     | No. % | Aborigines | Total population |
| Employed            | 5,733 | 4,989 | 94.6 | 98.5 |
| Unemployed          | 265  | 5.4 | 1.5 |
| Total work force    | 5,733 | 5,254 | 100 |

Work force as % of total population: 26.2, 28.5, 40.6

*Children:*
- Pre-school and at school: 8,257 (44.8), 33.8
- Under 16 years: 9,577 (43.8)
- Pensioners: 2,818 (12.9), 1,373 (7.4), 6.5
- Of independent means: —, —, 0.8
- Home duties: 2,150 (11.7), 509 (2.8), 0.7
- Institutional inmates: 3,762 (17.2), 896 (4.9), 1.1

Total: 21,890 (100), 18,439 (100), 100


### Table C 2: Aboriginal population by occupational status and age, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status and age</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school children</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children at school</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners—retired</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total outside work force age</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Persons of work force age:*
- Home duties | 139 | 39.4 |
- In prison | 9 | 2.5 |
- Unemployed | 59 | 16.7 |
- Employed | 146 | 41.4 |

Total persons of work force age: 353 (100)

Not recorded: 18

Together with the 2.5 per cent in prison makes for an extraordinarily high proportion of males of work force age not gainfully employed. Further analysis,
admittedly of small numbers, shows that of the total persons who were un­employed, almost half were under 21 years of age. Of the total number of persons under 21 available for employment, 47 per cent were unemployed.

The Department of Labour and National Service made a special survey of Aborigines registered for unemployment with the Commonwealth Employment Service on 26 June 1968. This survey could not give a complete picture of Aboriginal unemployment in Western Australia. The fifteen offices of the department in Western Australia are located in centres of European population and at least two-thirds of the Aboriginal population would be beyond the effective range of these centres. Even so, the survey showed that 4.1 per cent of persons registered for employment on 26 June 1968 were Aborigines, whereas the Aborigines were 2.9 per cent of the total population of Western Australia. However, the relevant populations are those of work force age and in this age group Aborigines were only 2 per cent of the total. Thus the Aboriginal un­employment rate was at least twice as high as the European.

The occupational distribution of Aborigines is shown in Table C 3. At the time of the 1966 census, Aborigines were engaged mainly as station workers and farm hands, not as managers and farmers, and as domestics in farm, station, and other private households rather than in hotels and hospitals. These two occupational groups accounted for 68 per cent of Aborigines employed. The 14 per cent in miscellaneous occupations worked almost wholly as unskilled labourers associated with freight handling and storage, tradesmen's assistants, timberyard workers, and at many other low-level tasks. These data are supported by the Household Survey, Table C 4. This shows a similar pattern of high proportion of Aborigines engaged in unskilled occupations. The main differences are in the lower pro­portions of farm and station workers and domestics. This is because the Household Survey did not include the pastoral areas.

### Table C 3: Aboriginal population by occupation, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stations hands, farm and forestry workers</td>
<td>2,542</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeepers, cooks, maids</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway repairmen and fettlers</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining workers</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and construction labourers</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, clerical, and sales workers</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road transport drivers</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other miscellaneous (mostly unskilled labourers)</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5,254</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table C 4: Aboriginal population by occupation, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm labourers, station hands</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers, factory hands</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic helpers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck/tractor drivers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The jobs of Aborigines are characterised by low pay and no provision for superannuation. They do not require literacy, nor any formal training. Most of the jobs Aborigines are engaged in are seasonal. This means prolonged and enforced unemployment and idleness. Aborigines are almost entirely in residual occupations.
APPENDIX D

Aboriginal Schooling and Educational Achievement

In Western Australia schooling for all Aboriginal children first became compulsory in 1949, by which time for non-Aborigines it had been compulsory for almost eighty years. This dominates statistical comparisons between Aboriginal and European schooling and educational achievement.

The level of educational achievement of Aborigines and the total population in Western Australia as recorded in the 1966 Census is shown in Table D 1. The total population in Table D 1 is the number of persons who were aged five years and over (excluding full-blood Aborigines); that is, all who were at school or would have been had education been compulsory throughout the life-time of the population. The data show that 33·9 per cent of this Aboriginal population had no education and only 15 per cent had formal education of junior certificate level and above, that is more than two years' high school equivalent. For the total population the respective figures were 2·0 per cent with no education and 27·6 per cent with more than two years' high school equivalent. A further analysis presented in Table D 2 shows figures for adult Aborigines only. This shows that about half of the Aborigines aged 15 and over in 1966 had received no education. Moreover the census data do not distinguish between those who had attended school for six days, six weeks, six months or six years; each of these school life-time attendances

Table D 1: Level of educational attainment of Aboriginal and total populations, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level attained</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or higher</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9·2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior certificate</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>18·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended or attending secondary school</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>38·7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended or attending primary school</td>
<td>6,294</td>
<td>29·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 5 and over—no education</td>
<td>5,253</td>
<td>2·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>1·7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total aged 5 years and over</td>
<td>15,479</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

would be shown in the census results as 'attended' school. Of those who had been to school, it is probable that many would not have acquired literacy skills because

Table D 2: Education, adult Aborigines,* 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Known to have attended school</td>
<td>4,785</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>4,651</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total aged 15 years and over 10,470 100.0

* 15 years of age and over. Those aged 5-14 years have been excluded by taking children 5-14 years not at school on 30 June 1966 (602) as having no education, which is an overstatement; the figure for adults recorded as having no education is therefore understated. The figure of 1,034 not recorded was assumed to refer only to adults.


they would not have been motivated sufficiently, they were not at school for a sufficient time, the skills of teachers and their methods and materials were inappropriate, and, finally, because literacy is not a requirement for coping behaviour in typical Aboriginal situations. Of those who may have become literate by the time they left school, it is probable that by now many would be functionally illiterate because there is little or no need for literacy in present-day Aboriginal life.

Table D 3: School grade for chronological age, Aboriginal children, 1962 and 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School grade</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard grade for age or better No.</td>
<td>Total in grade No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,074 3,904* 27.5 1,649 5,249* 31.4

* Total number of children for whom both grade and age were known.

Sources: Estimates by M. Dowley and H.P. Schapper from records of the Department of Native Welfare.
Further statistics on school performance by Aboriginal children are presented in Table D 3. They show children classified by school grade and chronological age. In 1962, out of 3,904 Aboriginal children in Grades 1 to 10, only 1,074 (27.5 per cent) were of the appropriate chronological age for their grade. By 1968, 31.4 per cent were in the standard grade for their age. This overall improvement may be educational, statistical, or both. One factor which would affect the comparison is the proportion of children starting school at the right age; this was higher in 1968 than in 1962. This is particularly apparent in the figures for Grade 1. A high proportion of Aboriginal children above the normal age for their school grade is to be expected. To explain this fully is a complex undertaking beyond the scope of this study. The irrelevance of the school curriculum for Aboriginal children would probably be a major cause of the educational retardation implied in the figures of Table D 3.

The percentages of children in the standard grade for their age fell from Grade 1 to Grade 5 and then rose again both in 1962 and 1968. It is suggested that the fall reflects a small but increasing proportion, up to Grade 5, of learning drop-outs (those who fail to move into the next highest school grade each year), and an increasing proportion after Grade 5 of school drop-outs.

**Table D 4: Educational drop-outs, Aboriginal children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School grade</th>
<th>Standard grade for age</th>
<th>Learning and school drop-outs 1962 to 1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>316</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>781</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table D 3.

Aboriginal drop-outs are shown in Table D 4. Assuming that the numbers in Grades 7 to 10 in 1968 refer to the same persons in Grades 1 to 4 respectively in 1962, it may be seen that of the 316 who were of the standard chronological age for Grade 1 in 1962, 200 (63 per cent) had dropped out from school or remained in lower grades, leaving 116 in Grade 7 in 1968. This pattern of learning and school drop-outs is repeated for the next three grades which overlap in 1962 and 1968. Taking the total of Grades 1 to 4 in 1962 which overlap as Grades 7 to 10 in 1968,
it may be seen that of the 316 grade-for-age children in 1962, 54.9 per cent had dropped out of their standard grade or out of school during this period.

An independent survey made in 1965 and 1966 included 1,084 Aboriginal children in schools of the south-west region of Western Australia and compared them with 273 European children in the Belmont High School, Perth, and with 543 European children at high schools with Aboriginal enrolments but in country areas. The extent of Aboriginal retardation is shown in Table D 5. Whereas 50 per cent of the Aboriginal children were retarded one or more years, 11 per cent

Table D 5: Educational retardation of Aboriginal and European children, 1965 and 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years retarded</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Belmont High</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not retarded</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,084</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: R. McKeich, Uncompleted Thesis, University of Western Australia.

of the metropolitan European school children were retarded one year, 24 per cent of the country European school children were retarded one year, and 2 per cent, two years. These figures for Aborigines, as expected, lie between those presented in Tables D 3 and D 6. In this same survey, teachers gave individual pupil ratings of attainments in separate basic subject units on the scale, above average, average, and below average. Above average ratings were scored by 3 to 12 per cent of Aborigines and below average ratings by 40 to 55 per cent. Of the European children, 35 to 70 per cent scored above average, and 17 to 24 per cent below. Again, these comparisons are in accordance with expectations.

From the Aboriginal Household Survey, data relating school grade and chronological age of Aboriginal children in the households are set out in Table D 6. They show a much higher proportion of Aboriginal children in their appropriate school grade than is shown in Table D 3. This is to be expected, because the Household Survey covered Aboriginal families which have had much closer contact with resource-learning mixes that are more relevant to school achievement than most Aboriginal families. The data in Table D 6 compared with those in Table D 3 may be regarded as evidence of a relationship between resource-learning mixes and school performance.

1 R. McKeich, Problems of part-Aboriginal Education with Special Reference to the South-west Region of Western Australia. Uncompleted Thesis. University of Western Australia.
The concentration of Aboriginal children enrolled in schools throughout the State is shown in Table D 7 as Aboriginal enrolments as a percentage of total enrolments. It may be seen for 1966 that 28-7 per cent of Aboriginal children were in schools which had an Aboriginal concentration of 90 to 100 per cent, and that 46-1 per cent were in schools with more than 50 per cent Aboriginal enrolments.

Table D 6: School grade for chronological age, Aboriginal children, Aboriginal Household Survey, 1967-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School grade</th>
<th>Standard grade for age or better No.</th>
<th>Total in grade No.</th>
<th>Standard grade for age as % of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not stated 30

This is another index of Aboriginal isolation and segregation, and would account in part for the low levels of educational attainment of Aborigines. If it be accepted that most Aboriginal children are educationally disadvantaged, both before and during their schooling, and that special curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training are necessary to overcome or to compensate for this disadvantage, the data in Table D 7 indicate the adequacy of existing concentrations of Aboriginal enrolments to make specialised educational programs with specialist teachers in many schools a feasible proposition.

The statistical evidence, pointing to early and high rates of drop-outs from primary and post-primary school grades, and to high concentrations in schools of substantial proportions of Aboriginal children, together with the absence of compensatory schooling and specialist teachers for culturally disadvantaged children, strongly supports the contentions that the school experiences of Aboriginal children at present are inadequate to enable most of them to break the bonds by which they are tied to their sub-cultures, and are inadequate to enable them to become adequately coping persons in the main society. This situation reflects failure of education and educationalists, not of Aborigines.
## Table D 7: Concentration of Aboriginal children in schools, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proportion of Aboriginal enrolments to total enrolments</th>
<th>Schools No.</th>
<th>Aboriginal children No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 2</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-100</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>5,269</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Estimates from records of the Department of Education.*
APPENDIX E

Aboriginal Health

Despite the fact that an overall comparative survey of the health of the Aboriginal and the European populations in Western Australia has not been made, the available statistical evidence points to substantially higher rates of sickness, ill-health, and disease among Aborigines. Whether these higher rates are determined by inadequate conditions of daily living or by Aborigines' natural predisposition to disease, or both, cannot be stated with certainty. However, what can be stated with certainty is that until the daily living conditions of both populations are the same, it will not be possible to know to which diseases, if any, Aborigines have less natural resistance than the European population. But the statistical comparisons of infant mortality and patterns of disease between the two populations favour the hypothesis that Aboriginal ill-health is primarily a combined result of ignorance of daily hygiene practices and the lack of adequate facilities for their performance. However, the rates of morbidity and mortality are likely to be higher among Aborigines also, because diagnostic, preventive, and remedial health, medical, and hospital services are more accessible to the European population as a whole than to the Aboriginal population as a whole: 60 per cent of the former lived in the Perth metropolitan area in 1966, whereas 4 per cent of Aborigines lived there; only 23 per cent of Europeans lived in rural areas compared to 73 per cent of Aborigines.

Infant Mortality. Differences in rates of infant mortality between populations are often used as an index of comparative socio-economic conditions. Such differences between the Aboriginal and European populations in Western Australia have not been measured directly. However, the difference in rates\(^1\) between the Perth Statistical Division and the remainder of the State (average for 1962-6: 17.2 per thousand and 25.9 per thousand respectively) could be related to differences in conditions of living between Aborigines (excluding full-bloods) and others: "There are many people of Aboriginal extraction living in country areas under what can only be described as slum conditions and these conditions almost certainly contribute their share to the mortality.\(^2\)

In 1967 Aboriginal full-bloods were first included in all vital statistics. Differences between rates of infant mortality by Statistical Divisions related to the proportion

\(^1\) For the population excluding Aboriginal full-bloods but including part-Aborigines.

\(^2\) Commissioner of Public Health, Western Australia. Report for the Year 1966 (Perth), Appendix V, p. 76.
Table E 1: Infant mortality rates by Statistical Divisions and regional areas, 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistical Division</th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Infant deaths</th>
<th>Infant mortality rate*</th>
<th>Proportion of Aborigines in population %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perth Statistical Division</td>
<td>10,952</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Divisions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Agricultural</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Agricultural</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Agricultural</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Goldfields</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilbara</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Other Divisions</td>
<td>7,071</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>18,023</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regional Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Infant deaths</th>
<th>Infant mortality rate*</th>
<th>Proportion of Aborigines in population %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perth and South-West</td>
<td>15,522</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of State</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Deaths under one year per thousand live births.

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Perth.

of Aborigines in the population of each Division are shown in Table E 1. There is a clear association between high rates of infant mortality and high proportions of Aborigines in each Statistical Division. Because of small numbers of infant deaths in some Divisions, the figures for several Divisions have been combined to match the Perth and South-West and Rest of State Regional areas (see Table A 4 note for coverage of areas). For the Perth and South-West region the infant mortality rate was 15.2 per thousand and the proportion of Aborigines was 0.9 per cent, whereas for the Rest of State the infant mortality rate was 31.2 per thousand and the proportion of Aborigines 14.8 per cent. This analysis supports the hypothesis that Aborigines have a higher rate of infant mortality than the European population. There are no known reasons for a belief that rates of infant mortality among Aborigines cannot be improved to equal the comparatively low rate of the European population; Aborigines do not have a known natural predisposition to high infant mortality.

Hospital Morbidity. A summary of morbidity statistics from the Derby District Hospital comparing all Aboriginal and European discharges in 1966 is presented in Table E 2. This hospital serves Aboriginal and European populations of approximately equal numbers, and in the opinion of the Western Australian government’s Commissioner of Public Health, ‘differences in the hospital statistics
of the two communities must reflect differences in their socio-economic position or in their natural predisposition to disease.3

Table E 2: Aboriginal and European morbidity, Derby District Hospital, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for admission</th>
<th>International Classification categories</th>
<th>Cases discharged</th>
<th>Excess* (or deficit) of Aboriginal cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aborigines No.</td>
<td>Europeans No. No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin infections and diseases</td>
<td>690-716</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidents</td>
<td>N800-999</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases of circulatory system</td>
<td>400-468</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion</td>
<td>650-652</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pregnancy—normal delivery</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complications of pregnancy and birth</td>
<td>640-649, 670-689</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases of genito-urinary system</td>
<td>590-637</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases and conditions of eye and ear</td>
<td>370-398</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases of digestive tract</td>
<td>530-587</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>all not elsewhere specified</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infectious diseases arising in intestinal tract, virus, bacterial, and parasitic diseases</td>
<td>040-138</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases of the respiratory system</td>
<td>470-527</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,235</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of days in hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.78</td>
<td>6.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Difference between actual number and expected number of cases if the rate per head of population for each category were at the European level.
† Based on females aged 15-49 years only.

Source: Estimates from records supplied by W.S. Davidson, Commissioner of Public Health, Perth.

Differences between the actual number of Aboriginal cases in each category and the 'expected' number at the European rate are shown in Table E 2 as the excess or deficit of Aboriginal cases. Had the pattern of diseases and the rate of hospitalisation for the two populations been the same, the differences would have been nil. But the pattern of reasons for European admissions was weighted in

favour of accidents, skin infections, and diseases of the circulatory system, and for Aboriginal admissions the weighting was in favour of diseases which are associated with socio-economic deprivation.

The Aboriginal population had almost 40 per cent more children aged 0-14 years than the European population. At the European rate of hospitalisation there would have been 249 Aboriginal child patients in 1966. But there were 633, an excess of 384 cases (Table E 3). In the age groups 50-69 years, there was a deficit of Aboriginal cases (Table E 3). From this it should not be inferred that the health of Aborigines in these age groups was better than that of Europeans. It may be that they were in poorer health. A large number of older Aborigines were cared for on mission settlements and pastoral stations.

Table E 3: Aboriginal and European patients by age groups, Derby District Hospital, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Patients discharged</th>
<th>Excess* (or deficit) of Aboriginal cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aborigines No.</td>
<td>Europeans No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and over</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,235</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Difference between the actual number of cases and the expected number if the rate per head of population for each age group were at the European level.

Source: Estimates from records supplied by W.S. Davidson, Commissioner of Public Health, Perth.

Table E 4: Princess Margaret Hospital admissions, September 1965 to August 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for admission</th>
<th>Total admissions* No.</th>
<th>Aborigines No.</th>
<th>Percentage of total admissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Otitis media</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chest infections</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastro-enteritis</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urinary infections</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to thrive</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,835</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These were the total admissions for each of the reasons for admission. They were not the total of admissions into the hospital at this time.

These patterns of hospital morbidity are not specific to the Kimberleys. Aboriginal admissions to Princess Margaret Hospital for Children, Perth, reflect the living conditions of poor housing and low standards of hygiene. In Table E 4 it may be seen that five different groups of diseases were the reasons for the admission of 2,835 children, of whom 377 or 13 per cent were Aborigines, whereas Aboriginal children in 1966 constituted only 3·5 per cent of the total population eligible by age for admission to this hospital. The proportion of Aboriginal to total admissions for each of these reasons is several times the proportion of Aborigines in the relevant population.

The two sets of hospital data refer only to differences between admissions. It is likely that a greater proportion of Aborigines than of Europeans were admitted at more advanced states of many illnesses and, conversely, that Aboriginal rates of presentation for medical examination, and hence of referral and admission, were lower than for Europeans, suggesting that these hospital data tend to understate Aboriginal rates of ill-health.

Leprosy, Hookworm and Trachoma. These afflictions in Western Australia are found almost entirely among Aborigines, particularly in the Kimberleys, though trachoma is more widespread. The foregoing hospital morbidity statistics would have included few, if any, cases of these three causes of ill-health.

The 1966 report of the Department of Public Health recorded that ‘the Kimberley Division of this State has as high an incidence of leprosy as any part of the world, and higher than most’. About 8·5 per cent of the relevant population (which is the Aboriginal) have or have had this disease, and of these, 30 per cent were in the leprosarium in 1966. Medical opinion is that Aborigines have less natural resistance to leprosy than Europeans and that in the Kimberleys this disease is on the decline. But it is not clear whether this decline is a fall in the total number of cases or a fall in its incidence per head of Aboriginal population.

The incidence of hookworm is believed to be high among Aborigines, though it has not been measured. This infestation reflects the unsatisfactory facilities and practices of hygiene and sanitation which are almost standard among Aborigines in the Kimberleys. Communal toilets and showers for Aborigines are regarded medically as obstacles to the permanent solution of the hookworm problem.

The incidence of trachoma also reflects the socio-economic conditions of daily living. It is relatively uncommon in European children in the Kimberleys, though most Aboriginal children show signs of infection. Moreover it is more likely to be active than healed, even if treated in the previous six months. On pastoral stations the incidence at any particular time varies between 30 and 80 per cent, on mission settlements the position is slightly more encouraging: ‘Probably this reflects the better standard of housing on missions compared with stations and the effect of training in personal hygiene in lessening the risk of re-infection.’

Mental Illness. Two studies in Australian ethno-psychiatry which include references

\footnote{See Commissioner of Public Health, Western Australia. \textit{Report for the Year 1966} (Perth), Appendix IV.}
to Aborigines in Western Australia have both indicated higher rates of mental illness among Aborigines than among the European population.\(^5\)

In a study of Aborigines in mental hospitals it was shown that during the ten years 1954 to 1963 they accounted for 3.6 per cent of the long-stay cases in Claremont Mental Hospital, whereas they were only 2.5 per cent of the total population. However, their proportion of the short-stay cases at 0.8 per cent was strikingly less (though there were grounds for suspecting that the less severe and short-term cases of mental illness in Aborigines were not presented as frequently as they would have been for Europeans).

The second study was of major mental illnesses at the mission settlement of Kalumburu, where prevalence of conspicuous neurosis and personality disorder was estimated to be at least double that in an Australian white rural population. The typology of mental illness included widespread phobia and obsessive-compulsive states reflecting poor satisfaction with activity, industry and initiative; passive-dependent personality disorders interwoven with passive aggression; aggression to white authority; and inability to take responsibility for work. The investigator in this study also observed that parents at Kalumburu seem to have no system of child punishment beyond showing the irritation of the moment; that work habits and a constructive sense of guilt are not imbued in children; that sexual interest and activity are lively and, by western suburban standards, are deviant and excessive; and that children have an uncomfortable sense of shyness and inferiority. These observations on child-rearing practices at Kalumburu are fully in accord with findings presented in Chapter 6.

The evidence in this appendix points to high rates of physical and mental ill-health among Aborigines, from which it may be inferred that they suffer from these causes greater personal handicap than the remainder of the population. Most of the evidence appears to reflect inadequate socio-economic conditions of Aboriginal daily living rather than a natural predisposition to morbidity, except for leprosy, which is in doubt. Doubtless, also, much of the personal handicap of ill-health contributes to inadequate styles of daily living.

Charges and convictions in magistrates' courts, committals to gaols and other institutional care, and statutory supervision in respect of adult and juvenile Aborigines are at rates several times higher, and rising faster, for the Aborigines than for the total population in Western Australia.

In Table F 1 summary convictions of adults in magistrates' courts are shown for major classes of offences for Aborigines and Europeans separately. If Aboriginal

Table F 1: Summary convictions of adults: magistrates' courts, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offences against</th>
<th>Aboriginal convictions</th>
<th>Excess Aboriginal convictions on population basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>3,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good order</td>
<td>5,231</td>
<td>7,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>(3,870)</td>
<td>(4,997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>(1,361)</td>
<td>(2,038)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,820</td>
<td>10,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Welfare Act</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Act</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>31,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>7,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>6,879</td>
<td>49,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Perth.
drunkenness, and drunkenness and disorderliness may be reflections of inadequate housing and unsatisfactory living conditions in addition to drinking. Restrictions which apply to about one-third of the total Aboriginal population are designed to prevent them from obtaining liquor. This means that to use the total adult Aboriginal population as the basis for comparison of conviction rates between the two populations, as in Table F 1, results in gross underestimation of the Aboriginal excess and rate of convictions for drunkenness. The calculation of this excess is meant to illustrate social failure; it should not be used as evidence of legal discrimination against Aborigines.

The situation has been worsening, as is shown in Table F 2. It may be seen that there is a long-term and increasing trend of Aboriginal convictions relative to European for offences against persons, property, and good order, and of Aboriginal

**Table F 2: Trend in convictions and committals for penal imprisonment, adults and juveniles, 1950 to 1968**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Summary convictions*</th>
<th>Persons committed†</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>10,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>11,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>12,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>6,129</td>
<td>13,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>6,488</td>
<td>15,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td>16,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>9,693</td>
<td>18,192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only for offences against persons, property, and good order, for calendar years.
† Persons (not receivals or committals), for years ended 30 June.

Source: *Statistical Registers of Western Australia* (Perth).

persons relative to Europeans committed to penal imprisonment. The number of persons committed to imprisonment as a ratio of their respective adult populations for the census year of 1966 was 11.5 per cent for Aborigines and 0.4 per cent for Europeans. The high ratio for Aborigines is likely to have severe implications for the Aboriginal population in terms of loss of earnings and family separation and disruption.

**Juveniles.** The pattern of convictions of juveniles in magistrates' courts in 1966 is shown in Table F 3.

The trend of convictions of juveniles may be seen in Table F 4. Again, the Aboriginal rate has risen faster than that for European juveniles, and adjustment for the faster increase in total Aboriginal juveniles would not erase the difference in convictions.

Experience has shown that adults convicted and imprisoned for crimes have a high incidence of previous child delinquency. Of the 528 European and 114 Aboriginal prisoners in the four major penal institutions in Western Australia
in February 1966, 22 per cent had juvenile convictions recorded against them, and 61 per cent of the Europeans and 77 per cent of the Aborigines had at least one index of educational retardation.\(^1\) The high rate of Aboriginal delinquency evidenced in this Appendix and the high rate of Aboriginal educational retardation shown in Appendix D support the likelihood of high and increasing future rates of Aboriginal crime and imprisonment.

**Table F 3: Convictions of juveniles: magistrates' courts, 1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offences against</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Aboriginal convictions as % of total</th>
<th>Excess Aboriginal convictions on population basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>4,153</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good order</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>4,790</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2,754</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>7,544</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Perth.*

**Table F 4: Convictions* of juveniles: magistrates' courts, 1966-8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Aborigines No.</th>
<th>Europeans No.</th>
<th>Aborigines as % of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>4,790</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>4,938</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>5,280</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only for offences against persons, property and good order.

*Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Perth.*

APPENDIX G

Aboriginal Family Characteristics

The statistics in the foregoing appendices are in terms of the individual person as the unit. This is necessary but it also is not an entirely satisfactory basis for fully understanding their implications. For example, to know that the 1,000 Aborigines who were imprisoned in 1966 is the equivalent of one person in twenty is qualitatively different from knowing that on average one family in every three had a member who had been in gaol in 1966. For Aboriginal advancement to integration the family rather than the individual person is the appropriate unit. Although it is not possible to relate each of the statistics presented in these appendices to the individual family, what can be done is to estimate the average family incidence of selected characteristics from the available statistics. There are several possible definitions of a ‘family’. In this context family means the group of related persons who, under normal circumstances, would be living together as a single household. According to this definition the estimated number of Aboriginal families in 1966 was 3,250. In addition there were 1,384 pensioners. They, however are omitted from the following analysis because, although they come within the scope of welfare, they are not likely to come within the scope of programs of advancement.

The figures given for European families should not be taken as final and exact. They are the best estimates that can be made from the available statistics and are included simply to indicate the orders of magnitude of the differences between the populations.
Table G 1: Selected characteristics of Aboriginal and European families, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Aboriginal (approximate)</th>
<th>European (approximate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime and delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>convictions*</td>
<td>2 per family</td>
<td>1 family in 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one conviction</td>
<td>1 family in 3</td>
<td>1 family in 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one committal to gaol†</td>
<td>1 family in 4</td>
<td>1 family in 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one conviction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one member unemployed† at 30 June</td>
<td>1 family in 3</td>
<td>1 family in 10§</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: member aged 5§ and over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never attended school</td>
<td>1 per family</td>
<td>1 family in 22§</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child at school retarded by at least one grade</td>
<td>1 per family</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one child under notice of Department of Child Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 family in 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one school child living away from home in a hostel</td>
<td>1 family in 2</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one child at school in 3rd year or higher</td>
<td>1 family in 59</td>
<td>1 family in 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one member of family who has passed junior certificate or a higher examination</td>
<td>1 family in 14</td>
<td>more than 1 per family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>members passed junior certificate or higher</td>
<td></td>
<td>less than 1 per family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living in a standard transitional or conventional house (includes much sub-standard housing)</td>
<td>1 family in 4</td>
<td>virtually every family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living in a conventional house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes convictions under the Traffic Act.
† Average for 1965/6 and 1966/7.
‡ Including 'others not in work force' (see Table C 1).
§ Includes half-blood Aborigines.
|| Excluding children with mothers receiving monetary assistance but not wards of the Department.
INDEX

Aboriginal: definition, 13, 155, 157
"Aborigines' choice" theory, 63
Aborigines Department (later, Native Welfare, Dept. of), 14, 15
Acts of Parliament, see Legislation
Advancement and improvement, 63-4; and welfare, 64, 115; as means to integration, 60; obstacles to, 61-71, 86-7, 101; rates of, 111-12, 113, 143, 149; see also Integration
Anthropologists, 69
Apartheid, 56, 60, 85, 130
Assimilation, 26, 56, 57, 68
Barnes, Hon. C.E., 57n.
Bateman Report, 25-7
Berndt, R.M. & C.H., 5n., 185
Bleakley, J.W., 5n.
Bloome, B.J., 104n.
Cawte, J.E., 45n., 187n.
Child-rearing, 4, 48-50, 72, 74-6
Children's Officers, Association of, 42n.
Child Welfare Department, 86, 89, 115, 129; children under notice of, 192
Chilman, C.S., 49n., 50n.
Citizenship, 11, 17-18, 19, 27
"Cod-liver oil" theories, 65-9
Commissions, see Forrest Commission, Moseley Commission, Roth Commission
Commonwealth Government: role, 90-4, 143
Community development, 69
Compensatory programs, 78, 96, 100, 102, 104-7, 112-17, 125-30; and administration, 88-9; see also Education, Family learning centres
Co-operatives, 68
Costs, 27; social, 132-6, 143
Council of Aboriginal Affairs, 91, 92, 117
Crime, 188-90; incidence by families, 192
Davidson, W.S., 184, 185
Davies, A., 104n.
Delinquency, see Crime
Dinnage, R., 98n.
Drinking rights, see Liquor
Drunkenness, see Liquor, Crime
Education: compensatory (need for), 27-8, 45, 65 (programs), 96, 102, 104-5, 113n., 114, 116, 126; hostels, 35-6, 99, 148; need for relevance, 75, 77-8, 97, 99, 113n.; on missions, 33, 64, 99; on pastoral stations, 26, 39; statistics, 176-81, 192
Elkin, A.P., 10n.
Employment and unemployment: on pastoral stations, 37-8; statistics, 172-5, 192
Ethnic heritage, 51, 59
Fairbairn Investigation, 20-1
Fairweather, G.W., 126n.
Families, multi-problem, 47-8, 50, 88-9
Family characteristics, 191-2; see also Households
Family learning centres, 102, 105-7, 114, 151; model project, 124-30
Family planning, 67
Fertility rates, 164, 165
Forrest Commission, 13, 21
Frank, L.K., 58n.
Fraser, C.B., 190n.
Fromm, E., 74n.
Gare, F.E., 27
Geisman, L.L., 47n., 81n.
Glasser, W., 74n.
INDEX

Hammond, J.E., 5n.
Hasluck, Hon. Paul, 56n.
Havighurst, R.J., 113n.
Hawks, D.V., 190n.
Health, 24, 25-6, 27, 31; infant mortality rates, 163, 182-3; morbidity, 183-7; statistics, 182-7
Hess, R., 104n.
Home-maker service: need for, 78, 100; role in compensatory programs, 102, 104, 106, 112, 114, 115, 128, 129
Hostels, 26-7, 35-6, 97; closure of, for primary schoolchildren, 107, 116, 118; role of, in compensatory programs, 105, 112, 113, 116, 127, 148, see also Institutionalisation
Households: composition of, 170-1, see also Family characteristics
Housing, 31, 113n., 166-70, 192; on missions, 33; on pastoral stations, 39; on reserves, 40-1, 167, see also Reserves
Industrial awards: exclusion from, 10, 37-8
Infant mortality rates, 163, 182-3
Institutionalisation, 35-6, 98n., 99, 148
Integration: and welfare, 59-60, 64, 100, 142; costs, 132-6; definition, x, 56-9, 68, 142; intervention strategies for (in principle) 99-101 (in practice) 102-7; needs for, 72-81, see also Advancement
Intelligence and race, 62
Involvement of Aborigines, 76, 92-3, 101, 106, 108, 127-8
Irelan, L.M., 47n.
Job-training: on missions, 33, 64; programs, 102, 105, 112-16 passim, 118, 127, 129
Johnston, R., xi
Jones, F. Lancaster, 163n.
Karathanassis, C., 63n.
King, A.R., 9n., 35n., 47n.
King, Martin Luther Jr., 58n.
Klineberg, O., 62n.
La Sorte, Michael A., 47n., 81n.
Laissez-faire, 55
Land rights, 4, 14, 18, 23, 57, 65-6
Leadership, Aboriginal, 67, 79, 93
Learning centres, see Family learning centres
Legislation, 11-19, 95, 118
Leprosy, 17, 24, 25, 186
Lewis, I., 185
Lewis, O., 46n.
Liquor: laws, 13, 16, 17; drunkenness, 22, 23, 27, 188-9
Lloyd, A.J., 10n.
Local Government Authorities, 93, 107, 115, 117, 143
McArthur, N., 164
McKeich, R., 179
Missions, 25, 28, 32-5, 98, 103, 116, 149-50; closure of, 107, 118; control of, 19, 23; housing, 33; population, 32, 161; training, 64
Moles, O.C., 47n.
Moseley Commission, 16, 23-5
Motivation, 43, 44, 76, 77, 99
Native Matters, Special Committee on, 27-8
Native Welfare Act, see Legislation
Native Welfare, Department of: alternatives to, 87-8, 118; duties of, 18, 38, 85-6; hostels, 35-6, 161; housing, 166; obstacle to integration, 28, 86-7, 101, 143, 150; policy of integration, 57n.; relations with Local Government Authorities, 93; reserves, 40-2; staffing, 27, 87n., 88n., 150
Needs: identification of, 72-81; interdependence of, 66-7, 77-9, 100-1; socio-economic, 58-9, 72-3; socio-psychological, 72-4
Occupations, see Employment
'One swallow makes a summer' theory, 65
O'Shea, R., 47n.
Participation of Aborigines, see Involvement, Self-determination
Pastoral stations, 20-6 passim, 36-40; labour on, 103, 108, see also Wages; programs for, 116
Pensioners, 103, 107, 148, 160, 161, 164n., 166, 173
Philp, A.F., 47n.
Planning, 89-94, 110-18; and research, 121
Pool, D.I., 164

Population, Aboriginal, 157–65; age structure, 157–60, 164–5; decline, 21; definition, 155–7; location (hostels), 35, 161, (missions) 32, 161, (reserves), 40, (stations) 36–7, 161, (other areas) 40, 161, (statistical divisions), 158, (urban and rural) 40, 162; size (before the white man) 3, (present) 31, 55, 110, 157 (projections) 162–5

Poverty: sub-culture of, 10, 42, 46–51, 58, 76, 80–1, 97, see also Reserves

Pringle, M.L., 98n.

Priorities, 101

Prisons and prisoners, 22, 189–90

Programs, see Compensatory programs and planning

Reports, see Bateman Report, Fairbairn Investigation, Forrest Commission, Moseley Commission, Native Matters, Special Committee on, Roth Commission

Research, 70, 121–31; model project, 124–30

Reserves, camping: conditions on, 24, 26, 40–2; programs for closure, 104, 107, 116, 118

Resource–learning mix, definition, 31n.

Roth Commission, 15, 21–3

Scholarships policy, 108

Self-determination: political, 7, 72, 76, 92–3, 101

Settlers: early contact with, 8–10, 20–3

Social Planning Council, 89, 93, 117–18, 143, 149

State Housing Commission, 41, 87, 115, 129, 166

Stations, see Pastoral stations

Stiles, L.J., 113n.

Stone-age theory, 62

Tierney, L., 77n.

Trachoma, 27, 186

Traditional life, 3–7

Unemployment, see Employment

Voluntary organisations, 93, 107, 115, 117, 129

Voting rights, 14, 17, 76

Wages on pastoral stations, 10, 21, 23, 25, 37–8

Welfare policy, and integration, 59–60, 64, 85–7, 100, 142; costs, 132–6

‘White man’s fault’ theory, 63

Wilson, J., 6n.
Henry Schapper had been farm labourer, clerk and factory hand when at 25 years of age he decided to study economics with the aim of understanding society. Part-time studies led to the award of a M. Com. degree from the University of New Zealand, and later to a Ph.D. from the University of Western Australia. He was appointed lecturer at Lincoln Agricultural College, New Zealand, and then Research Fellow in Farm Management at the University of Western Australia, where he is at present Reader in Agricultural Economics. For this book he travelled extensively throughout Western Australia, visiting mission settlements from Kalumburu to Cundeelee, Department of Native Welfare and mission hostels, many pastoral stations, and most fringe reserves and native schools. His observations and ideas, and those of many people whom he contacted in the course of this study, have led to the design and presentation of guidelines for the first comprehensive and integrated plan for Aboriginal advancement to integration.
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